

## THE EVALUATION OF PSEUDO-KUFIC IN MILITARY WEAPONS AND CLOTHING DEPICTIONS



### ASKERİ SİLAH VE KIYAFET TASVİRLERİNDEKİ PSEUDO-KUFİLERİN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

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#### **Abstract**

The subject of the study was the military weapons in the depictions and the pseudo-kufic in clothes. The pseudo-kufic, which were seen in Byzantine and Western art in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and which were applied in Christian religious structures as of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, were evaluated by scientists as a purely symbolic form of semantic and visual expression that was borrowed from a foreign language that could not be read. The dual nature of pseudo-kufic, in which Arabic names, verses, good intentions, and wishes were conveyed, allowed them to spread in a wide range and be evaluated as a transitional decoration at the crossroads of various fields. It was reported previously that the practices explained with various expressions such as trade, conquest, occupation, captives, and interaction had an essentially apotropaic meaning, and those that could not be read were ornaments that had decorative designs. It was determined that pseudo-kufic in depictions of military weapons and clothing had a special meaning, and therefore, they were frequently applied in Byzantine painting, illustrated manuscripts, and small handicrafts. The Arabic independent letters in the depictions of military clothes and weapons, the texts in the form of the abbreviation of the verse Al-Mulk or Al-Mulk Lillah had a U-form or mirror form structure. The application of the verse Al-Mulk or Al-Mulk Lillah on military weapons and clothes depictions in practice shows that the expression of power was at the forefront rather than the meaning of property in buildings and other works.

**Keywords:** *Byzantine, Wall Painting, Kufic, Pseudo-Kufic, Military Clothes.*

#### **Öz**

Çalışmanın konusunu askeri silahlarla kıyafet tasvirlerindeki pseudo-kûfîler oluşturmaktadır. 9. yy.'la birlikte Bizans sanatı ve Batı sanatında görülen, 10. yy.'dan itibaren Hıristiyanlara ait dini yapılarda uygulanan pseudo-kûfîler, bilim insanları tarafından okunamayan, yabancı bir dilden ödünç alınmış anlamsal ve görsel anlatımın salt simgesel biçimi olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Özel anlamları ve okunabilirlikleri çoğunlukla göz önünde bulundurulmamış, salt süsleme ya da dekoratif uygulamalar olarak ele alınmıştır. Arapça isim, ayet, iyi niyet ve dileklerin aktarıldığı pseudo-kûfîlerin çifte doğası, uygulamaların çok geniş yelpazede

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yayılmasını ve çeşitli alanların kavşağında geçiş süslemesi olarak değerlendirilmesini sağlamıştır. Ticaret, fetih, işgal, esirler ve etkileşim gibi çeşitli ifadelerle açıklanan uygulamaların özde apotropaik anlama sahip olduğu, okunabilenlerin dışındakilerin ise dekoratif tasarımlara sahip süslemeler olduğu belirtilmiştir. Askeri silahlar ve kıyafet tasvirlerindeki pseudo-kûfilerin özel anlama sahip olduğu, bundan dolayı da Bizans resim sanatı, resimli el yazmaları ve küçük el sanatlarında sıkça uygulandığı tespit edilmiştir. Askeri kıyafetlerle silah tasvirlerindeki Arapça bağımsız harfler, El-Mülk ya da El-Mülk Lillâh ayetinin kısaltması şeklindeki metinler U form ya da mirror formudur. Uygulamalardaki El-Mülk ya da El-Mülk Lillâh ayetinin askeri silahlar ve kıyafet tasvirlerinde uygulanması, yapılarla diğer eserlerde görülen mülk anlamından çok güç ibaresinin ön planda olduğunu gösterir. İncelemelerimiz neticesinde pseudo-kûfilerin çok geniş alanda uygulamalara sahip olduğu görülmüştür. Almanya, İngiltere, İspanya, İtalya, Türkiye ve Yunanistan gibi ülkelerde görülen zengin uygulamalar ve bu ülkelerin dışında Rusya gibi çok geniş coğrafyalarda da pseudo-kûfilerin uygulandığı belirlenmiştir. Dini yapılarıdaki duvar resimleri, mozaikler, mimari plastik eserler, çeşitli malzemelerden yapılmış liturjik eşyalar başta olmak üzere gündelik yaşamda kullanılan birçok eşya üzerinde de benzer uygulamaları görmek mümkündür. İslam sanatının zengin kompozisyon anlayışında kendine yer edinen pseudo-kûfilerin Hıristiyanlar'a ait dini yapılar ve sosyal yapıların çeşitli alanlarında da uygulanması dikkatlerden kaçmamıştır. Pseudo-kûfilerin Hıristiyanlar'a ait dini yapılarda liturjik tasvirlerin dışında askeri kıyafet ve eşyaların üzerinde de özgün bir kullanıma sahip olduğu belirlenmiştir. Bu durum askeri alanlardaki pseudo-kûfilerin süslemeden çok sembolik anlama sahip olduğunu, uygulandıkların eserlerin bulunduğu yer aldığı bölgelerin Araplardan geri alınması gibi çok özel ve koruyucu anlamları sembolize etmektedir. Pseudo-kûfilerin estetik ve sembolik özellikleri dışında teorik soru ve sorunlar değerlendirilmiş, Hıristiyan-İslam arasındaki etkileşimin askeri tasvirlerdeki uygulama amacının belirlenmesi hedeflenmiştir. 9. yy. ile erken uygulamaları görülen pseudo-kûfilerden incelemenin konusunu oluşturan uygulamalar çoğunlukla 10-11. yy.'lara tarihlendirilmektedir. Dini yapıların duvarları ve cephelerinin dışında dini mimari plastik eserlerde pseudo-kûfilerin görülmesi, İkonoklazm Dönemi'nden (726-843) sonra sanatta yaşanan hızlı değişim ve etkileşimi hatırlatmaktadır. Kilise resim programları, resimli el yazmaları ve fildişi levhalardaki pseudo-kûfilerin dönemin saray atölyelerinde üretilen veya manastırların kütüphanelerinde yazılan kataloglara atıfta bulunduğu bilinmektedir. Bu tür pratikler düşünüldüğünde, İslami etkileşimin sanatsal varlığı, bilinmeyen çekici yönü ve tanımlanamayanın yanı sıra apotropik uygulamaların sanatsal açıdan önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Tüm bu veriler ışığında özetlemek gerekirse, fildişi üzerindeki askeri kıyafetler ve silahlarda, resimli el yazmalarında, duvar resimlerinde ve mozaik tasvirlerde görülen uygulamalar, siyasi ve dini etkileşimin sanatsal etkisini göstermekte, dini açıdan bilinen-bilinmeyen tasarımların tesadüfi olmadığını gözler önüne sürmektedir. 11-12. yy.'larda yaygınlaşan uygulamaların 15. yy.'a kadar ise çeşitli alanlarda bilinçli ve dekoratif tasarımlar doğrultusunda zenginleşerek çeşitlilik göstermesi, pseudo-kûfilerin sevilen tasarımlar olduğunu açıklamaktadır. İncelemenin konusu dışında çok geniş coğrafyada ve çeşitli eserlerde görülen pseudo-kûfiler, Avrupa resim sanatında da önemli bir yer edinmiştir. Avrupa resim sanatında kutsal figürler dışında birçok tekstil ürününde görülen pseudo-kûfilerin daha çok İsa, Meryem ve kutsal kişilerin giysi ve halelerinde uygulanması, çalışma kapsamındaki dini tasvirlerle askeri silah ve kıyafetlerin özel bir güce sahip olduğunu düşündürmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Bizans, Duvar Resmi, Fildişi, Kûfi, Pseudo-Kûfi, Askeri Kıyafet.*

## **Introduction**

Pseudo-kufic has been studied by many local and foreign researchers since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A large number of pseudo-kufics have been identified in religious buildings and artifacts belonging to Christians in Germany, Austria, France, England, Italy, Spain, Cyprus, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Greece<sup>1</sup>.

Pseudo-kufic is formed from the type of kufic script. Kufic is a type of Islamic script that is still widely used today. In The Introduction of Ibn Haldun's book, he history of Kufic connects to the Hiri script, and it is stated that it emerged in the city of Hira. It is stated that with the construction of the city of Kufa near Hira, the Hiri script turned into Kufic script<sup>2</sup>. It has been determined that kufi, which is stated to be the continuation of the Nabataean writing type, firstly spread to Enbâr, Havran, Hira and then to the Hejaz within the scope of trade<sup>3</sup>. It is stated that the script, which appeared in Kufe and was later used in Hira, was called Hiran-Kufic. In line with this scope, applications defined by scientists with various names such as inscription, ornament, kufesque, kufesco, kufi, pseudo-kufi or fake kufic are known to be called pseudo-kufi with their applications in Byzantine and Western art<sup>4</sup>.

During the caliphate of Hz. Ali, Kufa became the center and the fame of the kufic script was heard in the surrounding settlements, and it became the dominant writing type in the spiritual field since the beginning of Islam<sup>5</sup>. It is known that the kufic script, which developed in the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century in Enbâr and Hira, and gained a new form dominated by geometric lines<sup>6</sup>, has been applied in religious buildings in the holy lands since the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It is known that the first religious building in which kufic script was seen was the Kubbet-üs Sahara (691-692)<sup>7</sup>. Kufic scripts applied in religious, civil, social and military structures in Islamic architecture are also been frequently preferred in religious buildings belonging to Christians since the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The presence of kufic-like decorations in Christian religious buildings reminds the designs (applications on the facades, walls and architectural plastic works of buildings) applied in Islamic buildings in Jerusalem. Although most Byzantine pilgrims cannot read Arabic, they are familiar with the language on the surface of architectural structures and various objects in Islamic lands. Architectural plastic works, mosaics, wall paintings, and religious buildings belonging to Christians have kufic and naskh scripts on their facades. Stylized designs that cannot be

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1 Christie, 1922, 34+37-38+41; Dimand, 1927, 275-279; Fontana, 1992, 285-295; Megaw, 1931-1932, 90-130; Spittle, 1954, 138-152; Kaya, 2017, 174; Strehle, 2017, 246-25.

2 Safarian and Mohammadzadeh, 2019, 77.

3 Zennûn and Serin, 2002, 343.

4 Miles, 1964, 20; Centonze, 2018, 33.

5 Safarian and Mohammadzadeh, 2019, 77.

6 Zennûn and Serin, 2002, 343.

7 Gül, 2004, 80-81.

read apart from their readable applications have been studied by many scientists since the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>.

It has been determined that pseudo-kufics, which are presented as decorative ornaments that cannot be read or understood in the first studies, are based on readable kufic foundations and are not just simple ornaments<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, adorning works of art with pseudo- kufics shows religious and geographical influences and is always considered as a sign of another culture<sup>10</sup>.

Arabic script combinations spread over a wide geography, from China to India in the east, the Balkans in the north and Spain in the west, after a period of about a century after the death of the Prophet Muhammad<sup>11</sup>. Such practices in far-flung countries are explained through Islamic interaction<sup>12</sup>. Before 900, Islamic countries hosted the leading civilizations of the world, and during the next 400 years, especially in the period of the Prophet Muhammad, Islam spread rapidly and took the place of Semitic religions. In the process of development and change, Arabic has been shown among the most common languages. In contrast to early Christianity, the Qur'an in Islam was not translated into other languages to a limited extent, or was not fully translated, as the holy book of Muslims. Arabic was spoken in Mesopotamia, North Africa, Syria, Egypt, and even in parts of Europe (Spain, Sicily, and Southern Italy), and sacred texts were applied in the art fields in these regions<sup>13</sup>.

The term Kufi was first used in the 9<sup>th</sup> century to indicate the shape of the writing pen, and these applications became the preferred type of writing for special uses over time. Kufi in the branches of art have been mentioned with various names such as

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8 Louis Courajod (1876), Henri Lavoix (1878), Archibald H. Christie (1922), W. S. Cook (1924), M. S. Dimand (1927), A. H. S. Megaw (1931-1932), Ahmad Fikry (1934), Richard Ettinghausen (1939), A. Weisgerber (1940), J. J. Marquet de Vasselot (1941), Kurt Erdmann (1954), S. D. T. Spittle (1954), George C. Miles (1964), Don Aanavi (1968), Alison Frantz (1971), Richard Ettinghausen (1976), Sylvia Auld (1986), Moshe Barasch (1989), Maria Vittoria Fontana (1992), Maria Vittoria Fontana (1995), Lale Doğer (1999a-b, 2002), Von Gottfried Tichy and Lisa A. Staley (2005), Jeremy Johns (2006), Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos and Lara Tohme (2008), Rosamond E. Mack and Mohamed Zakariya (2009), Silvia Pedone and Valentina Cantone (2013), Alice Walker (2015), Jeremy Johns (2015), Maria Vittoria Fontana (2016), Ennio G. Napolitano (2016), Vincenza Grassi and Ennio G. Napolitano (2016), Erkan Kaya (2017), Kristen E. G. Strehle (2017), Antonino Tranchina (2018), Clare Vernon (2018), Ennio G. Napolitano (2018), Jeremy Johns (2018), Stephen Houston (2018), Nicholas Melvani (2018), Sabrina Centonze (2018), Zeinab Safarian and Mehdi Mohammadzadeh (2019), Estelle Ingrand-Varenne (2020), Maria Vittoria Fontana (2020).

9 Napolitano, 2018, 7

10 Safarian and Mohammadzadeh, 2019, 83.

11 Tichy und Staley, 2005, 340

12 Ecker, 2004, 165-167.

13 Fontana, 1995, 296; Tichy und Staley, 2005, 340.

Andalusian Kufi, Ayyubid Kufi, Persian Kufi, Fatimid Kufi, Iraqi Kufi, Kayrevan Kufi, Mesâhif Kufi, Egyptian Kufi, Mesâhif Kufi, due to their region<sup>14</sup>. As it is understood from the samples determined, it has been understood that pseudo- kufics are applications consisting mostly of Arabic words or letters rather than writings and texts<sup>15</sup>. Researchers evaluating pseudo-kufics in Byzantine and Western art were content with stating that there were some basic Arabic letters in the applications instead of reading the texts, or they evaluated the verses, names or words read only as decorations. In addition to their applications in the form of inscriptions, pseudo- kufics with only decorative designs have been defined by the researchers with the term pseudo-kufi, which means fake. In addition to the applications that offer full text, it has been determined by the studies that pseudo-kufics, which contain partial information, are concentrated in military clothes, shields and weapons. It is seen that the most special applications in this area are in the wall paintings in the churches dated between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Cappadocia region.

Throughout the Byzantine period, the pseudo-kufic was applied in wall paintings, textile products, architectural plastic works, small handicrafts, icons and many other liturgical works. A large number of pseudo- kufics have been particularly identified in Korinthos, Athens Agora, Thebes, Thessaloniki, Chalcis, Pelagonesos shipwreck in Greece, Hippodrome, Great Palace, and Saraçhane in Istanbul, St Jean Church on Ayasuluk Hill, St. Nicholas Church in Demre with many other excavations and underwater research finds<sup>16</sup>. Although the researchers stated that the pseudo- kufics were applied without determining their original meanings, the determination of the pseudo-kufics in the liturgical areas in the churches and the templons (plates, piers, and architraves) showed that these were deliberate applications rather than coincidences. It is thought that pseudo-kufics may have been written for Arabic speaking Christians and Muslims in the vicinity of churches, or were made by Arabic-speaking Christians or Muslim artisans<sup>17</sup>. It is possible to encounter the applications of a wide range of pseudo-kufics in military fields starting from the 10<sup>th</sup> century and state that they became widespread in Christian art between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The application areas of only the specific ones among the determined examples are examined chronologically below. Also, the transcripts of the readable ones were made and the photographs and drawings of some examples were included in the study.

### **Pseudo-Kufics in Military Weapons and Clothing**

Kufic and pseudo-kufic are seen in small handicrafts such as alem, shield, sword, liquid and solid presentation containers, storage vessels, plates, candlesticks and many

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14 Zennûn and Serin, 2002, 343.

15 Centonze, 2018, 33.

16 Doğer, 2002, 255.

17 Kanellopoulos and Tohme, 2008, 139.

other works<sup>18</sup>. It is possible to see similar applications of these in religious works with various depictions. In the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, many items of daily use were produced with expressions of sacred texts, morals or wishes. With the buying and selling of these products, they spread over wide geography from Russia to the north, from Iran to Italy, from North Africa to Spain, and pseudo-kufics were applied in the works in these countries<sup>19</sup>. It has been determined that the practices similar to Nishapur, which has the S-shaped Kaf letter from the Iranian environment, dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, were applied in works in many countries, including Germany and France, apart from the works in Greece and Italy, which were dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>20</sup>.

It is stated that original, early and common examples are found in Greece. Pseudo-kufic is found on many military materials with many depictions and In the military attire of the Angel-speaking Prophet Joshua in the Church of Panagia (10<sup>th</sup> century), Hosios Loukas Monastery, Greece (Safarian and Mohammadzadeh, 2019, 79); on the shield of two martyred soldiers (St. Prokopius and St. Demetrios) in the Hosios Loukas Monastery, Katholikon (11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>21</sup>; on the shield in the hand of St. Demetrios in the mosaic composition in Italy, Cappella Palatina (1130-1154)<sup>22</sup>. On a shield in the hand of one of the 40 matyrs in an ivory triptych (12<sup>th</sup> century) in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad<sup>23</sup>; on the shield designed to glorify the Byzantine Emperor Michael I in the Chronicle of the Madrid Skylitzes (mid-12<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>24</sup>; On the shield on which the Soldier St. Theodoros leans on the right in the mural painting the Martyrdom of St. Eustathios in the Tokalı Yeni Church of Cappadocia (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries)<sup>25</sup>; on the soldiers in the depiction of Jesus on the cross on the southern cross arm and the soldiers' long socks in the Capture of Jesus after the Betrayal of Judas in the Cappadocia Göreme Elmalı Church (11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>26</sup>; in the mural of Christ on the Cross on the northern arm of the cross in the long socks of the soldiers next to the cross, in Cappadocia Göreme Çarıklı Church (11<sup>th</sup> century), in the vault of the northern cross in the same church in the mural painting of the Betrayal of Judas, in the socks of the soldier behind Jesus, in the mural painting of Jesus on the Road to Golgotha on the arm of the eastern cross, in the socks of the soldiers in front of Jesus<sup>27</sup> on the surface of the pot in which the soldier carries vinegar in hand in the depiction of Jesus on the cross, the soldier on the right of Jesus is on the long socks of the soldiers,

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18 Zennün and Serin, 2002, 344-345; Centonze, 2018, 35; Vernon, 2018, 5, 15

19 Mammaev, 2021, 304-329; Grassi and Napolitano, 2016, 12.

20 Grassi and Napolitano, 2016, 12; Fontana, 2020, 82; Tichy und Staley, 2005, 352.

21 Centonze, 2018, 36.

22 Dolezalek, 2017, 182, fig. 61, 90; Miles, 1964, fig. 56.

23 Miles, 1964, fig. 57; Ettinghausen, 1976, 43-44, fig. 24.

24 Papadopoulos, 2017, 112-113, fig. 9.

25 Doger, 2002, 253, fig. 10.

26 Ötüken, 1987, 47; Coşkun, 2009, 152.

27 Coşkun, 2009, 85, 238, pic. 46.

and on the headdress of one of the soldiers waiting for the grave in the depiction of Marys at the Empty Grave of Jesus in the Cappadocia Goreme Dark Church (11<sup>th</sup> century), on the face of the shield held by the left hand of soldier St. Theodoros Stratelates in the II Basileios Menologion<sup>28</sup>, on the face of the shield in Goliath's hand in David's Struggle with Goliath in the Aristocratic Psalter (Paris B.N. Suppl. gr. 1335 fol. 325v)<sup>29</sup>, on the face of the shield on which the emperor stands in the depiction of the Coronation of Emperor Mikhael Rangabe in the Chronicle of the Skylitzes in Madrid (mid-12<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>30</sup>, on the border of the shield in the wall painting on the south wall in the Church of Santa Maria delle Cerrate (first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century) in Italy Squinzano (Lecce)<sup>31</sup>, on the Soldier Longinus' skirt in the wall painting of Jesus on the Cross, in Cappadocia Belisirma Kırkdamaltı Church (1283-1295)<sup>32</sup>, on the sword in the mural painting of the patron of the church in the Church of the Archangel Michael of Pedoulas of Cyprus (1474)<sup>33</sup>, on the shield of St. Merkourios in the Greece manuscript Parisianus Graecus (mid-15<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>34</sup>. Pseudo-kufics, seen in various handicrafts and composition, have great religious, political and military importance as well as artistic practices.

It is not possible to have information about the formation and mutation of pseudo-kufi or to deal with the issue in military applications from all perspectives with a single study. In pseudo-kufics, which have a very comprehensive and wide application area, the change seen in the transition from writing to symbolism is evaluated as the artistic Christianization of the letters as well as the symbolic intervention to the language. It is known that the Greece, Hosios Loukas Monastery, Panagia Church (10<sup>th</sup> century) was built after the Byzantine conquest of Crete (after 961). It is known that those who made pilgrimages to his grave with the increase of faith in the Christian St. Luke witnessed the apotropaic practices of the holy persons and pseudo-kufics in the wall paintings of the building<sup>35</sup> (Centonze, 2018, 36; Melvani, 2018, 167). The region where the Hosios Loukas Monastery, built after the death of the saint and attributed to the saint, is located, sent many soldiers to the Byzantine army during the war, and it is known that most of the spoils obtained after the victory were brought. Apart from the captives brought to the region, it is stated that the Kufic practices on the Islamic booty cause interaction. .

Pseudo-kufic, which constitutes a model in the arrangement of churches; is thought to be associated with trade, gifts, and the loot resulting from victorious. It is stated that the pseudo-kufics in the murals of the Hosios Loukas Monastery, Panagia

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28 Doger, 2002, 253-254, fig. 11.

29 Doğer, 2002, 253-254, fig. 11.

30 Doger, 2002, 253-254, fig. 12.

31 Fontana, 2020, 104, fig. 8.

32 Restle, 1967, 176-177; Coşkuner, 2009, 52.

33 Papadopoulos, 2017, 109.

34 Papadopoulos, 2017, 112.

35 Centonze, 2018, 36; Melvani, 2018, 167.



Church (10<sup>th</sup> century) in Greece symbolize the victory of Byzantium against the Cretan Muslims<sup>36</sup>. In the fresco of the Prophet Joshua Talking to the Archangel in the depictions, the prophet is depicted with military weapons and in military clothes. Pseudo-kufic in the Prophet's heading emphasizes the effective power of the clergyman, who is exalted as a king, in the appearance of a military and religious leader <sup>37</sup>(Figure 1).



**Fig. 1.** Greece, Hosios Loukas Monastery, Panagia Church (10<sup>th</sup> Century), Fresco of the Prophet Joshua Talking with an Angel (Pedone and Cantone, 2013, 129, fig. 12; Kaya, 2017, 178, Fig. 18)

Similar practices were also used in the mosaic compositions of the Katholikon (11<sup>th</sup> century), south of the Church of Panagia (10<sup>th</sup> century) in the Hosios Loukas Monastery in Greece. Here, pseudo-kufics in the form of SUS monograms on the shield of two martyred soldiers (St. Demetrios and St. Prokopios) are part of the 11<sup>th</sup> century decorative program<sup>38</sup>. Similar pseudo-kufic practices can be seen on the mosaic of the presentation of Jesus to the temple in the Hosios Loukas Monastery, various wall paintings, facades and cornices, especially the arrangements in the form of SUS on the temple cloth. Wall paintings, mosaics and icons are extremely important in terms of expressing religious thoughts in religious buildings. In this respect, it is necessary to consider the Hosios Loukas Monastery (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries), attributed to the cleric St. Luke, as a whole with its religious, political, architectural and artistic evolution. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain pseudo-kufics without considering the historical and religious events of the period<sup>39</sup>. The monograms SUS on the shields of St. Demetrios and St. Procopius in the Katholikon of the Hosios Loukas Monastery (11<sup>th</sup> century) are decorative and apotropaic arrangements of pseudo-kufics in the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>40</sup> (Figure 2-3).

36 Safarian and Mohammadzadeh, 2019, 79.

37 Doğer, 2002, 249.

38 Centonze, 2018, 36.

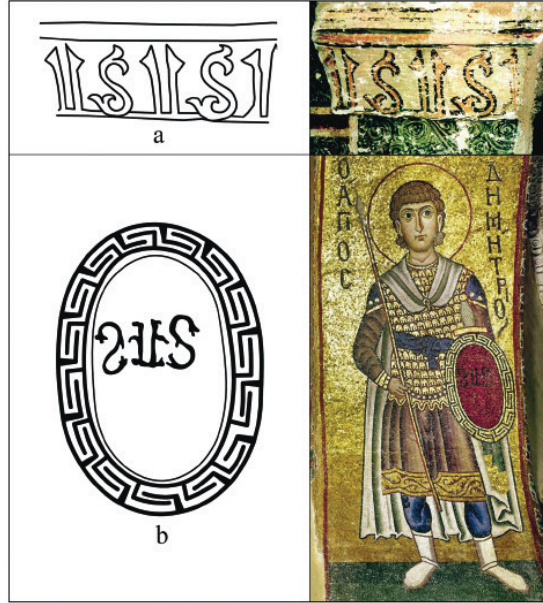
39 Centonze, 2018, 36.

40 Centonze, 2018, 36.



**Fig. 2.**

Greece, Hosios Loukas Monastery, Katholikon (11<sup>th</sup> Century), St. Demetrios, Mosaic (Centonze, 2018, 35, fig. 8 a-b)



The Hosios Loukas Monastery is arranged horizontally in the black SUS form pseudo-kufics, isolated in the middle of the red shield of St. Demetrios in the Katholikon (11<sup>th</sup> century), and vertically in the shield in the hand of St. Prokopius<sup>41</sup> (Figure 3).

**Fig. 3.**

Greece, Hosios Loukas Monastery, Katholikon (11<sup>th</sup> Century), St. Prokopius, Mosaic (Miles, 1964, fig. 54-55)



41 Miles, 1964, fig. 54-55; Centonze, 2018, 35, fig. 8a-b.

In Italy, there are many church wall paintings and architectural plastic works in which pseudo-kufics are applied parallel to Byzantine prototypes. In the wall paintings in the churches, pseudo-kufics are often seen on the clothes, weapons, shields and military headings of some figures (Fontana, 1995, 298). In the mosaic of St. Demetrios in Cappella Palatina (1130-1154), Italy, there is pseudo-kufic around the shield in the saint's hand<sup>42</sup> (Figure 4).

**Fig. 4.**

İtalya, Cappella Palatina  
(1130-1154), St.  
Demetrios, Mosaic (Miles,  
1964, fig. 56)



In the mural painting about the Martyrdom of St. Eustathios in the Tokalı New Church of Cappadocia (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century), there is pseudo-kufic on the shield on which the soldier St. Theodoros leans on the right. Near the edge of the shield, the pseudo-kufic arranged from bottom to top cannot be read clearly, but the word Allah in the text is partially chosen<sup>43</sup> (Figure 5).

**Fig. 5.**

Cappadocia, Göreme Tokalı  
New Church (10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> Century),  
The Shield on which Soldier St.  
Theodoros Reclines, Pseudo-Kufic  
(Doğer, 2002, 253-254, şek. 10)



42 Dolezalek, 2017, 182, fig. 61, 90; Miles, 1964, fig. 56).

43 Doğer, 2002, 253, şek. 10.

In the Meneologion of Basileios II (11<sup>th</sup> century), there is a pseudo-kufic on the face of the shield held by the Soldier St. Theodoros Stratilades in his left hand<sup>44</sup>. Apart from the application in the middle of the shield, the pseudo-kufic on the border reminds the stylized 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century examples of the applications<sup>45</sup> (Figure 6).



**Fig. 6.** Meneologion of Basileios II (11<sup>th</sup> Century), Pseudo-Kufic on the Shield of the Soldier St. Theodoros Stratilades (Doğer, 2002, 254, şek. 11; Vat.gr.1613, 388)

The pseudo-kufic is found on the left-handed shield of one of the 40 Christian martyrs in an ivory triptych (12<sup>th</sup> century) in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad<sup>46</sup>. Although the pseudo-kufic cannot be read clearly, Mulk Lillah (?) is pronounced among the words in the text (Figure 7).

**Fig. 7.**  
Leningrad Hermitage  
Museum, Ivory Triptych (12<sup>th</sup>  
Century), 40 Martyr, Pseudo-  
Kufic on the Face of the  
Shield (Miles, 1964, fig. 57)



44 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.gr.1613/](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613/) 25.02.2022, 21.25

45 Doğer, 2002, 254, şek. 11; Vat.gr.1613, 388.

46 Miles, 1964, 27, fig. 57; Ettinghausen, 1976, 43-44, fig. 24.

There are many pseudo-kufics in Cappadocia, Göreme Elmalı Church (11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>47</sup>. Pseudo-kufics are seen in the clothes of the soldiers in the murals on the arm of the southern cross. On the southern arm of the cross, pseudo-kufics are seen in the long socks of the soldiers around Jesus in the mural painting of Crucifixion and in the Capture of Jesus after the Betrayal of Judas<sup>48</sup>. Similar to the applications seen on the stockings of the soldiers such the stockings of the prophet Habakkuk on the arm of the southern cross; in the north wall of the Northwest corner room in the Dark Church, in the mural painting Journey to Bethlehem, on the long socks of the son of Joseph pulling the animal on which Mary is sitting; on the socks of the Astrologers in the Adoration of the Magi mural (Figure 8).



**Fig. 8.** Cappadocia, Goreme Elmalı Church (11th Century), The Capture of Jesus, Fresco [Flickr (24.02.2022, 14:18)]

Pseudo-kufics are also seen on the soldiers' long socks in the mural painting of Crucifixion on the Cross on the northern arm; on the stockings of the soldiers behind Jesus in the mural The Betrayal of Judas at the vault of the northern arm of; on the stockings of the soldiers before Jesus on the eastern cross arm in the mural of Jesus on the Way to Golgotha in Cappadocia Göreme Çarıklı Church (11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>49</sup>. In the mural painting of Virgins at the Head of the Empty Grave in the southwest corner room of the Çarıklı Church (11<sup>th</sup> century), pseudo-kufic is seen on the shields of the two soldiers waiting at the door of the grave. The applications on the shield of the soldier in the back are white on red, and those on the shield of the soldier in the front are black on white.

In the Cappadocia Goreme Dark Church (11<sup>th</sup> century), in the mural painting of Crucifixion, there is pseudo-kufic on the surface of the copper plate in the hand of

47 Ötüken, 1987, 47; Coşkuner, 2009, 152.

48 Coşkuner, 2009, 225, res. 42.

49 Doğer, 2002, 51.



the soldier to the right of Jesus and on the long socks of the soldiers. In addition, there is pseudo-kufic in the headdress of one of the soldiers waiting at the empty tomb in the mural painting of Virgins at the Empty Tomb of Jesus<sup>50</sup>.

In the Chronicle of the Skylitzes (mid-12<sup>th</sup> century) in Madrid, at the Coronation of Emperor Mikhael Rangabe, the emperor and the cleric who crowned her stand on the shield on which there is pseudo-kufic<sup>51</sup>. Black pseudo-kufic saw on the border on the edge of the red great shield dominate the surface of the shield<sup>52,53</sup> (Figure 9).



**Fig. 9.** Chronicle of Madrid Skylitzes (Mid-12<sup>th</sup> Century), Coronation Ceremony of Emperor Michael I Rangabe, Pseudo-Kufic on the Face of the Shield (Doğer, 2002, 253-254, şek. 12; Papadopoulos, 2017, 112-113, fig. 9)

In the church of Santa Maria delle Cerrate (first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century), Squinzano (Lecce), Italy, there is a pseudo-kufic on the wall painting on the south wall, on the border on the shield. There are many pseudo-kufics with various designs in the wall paintings of the church. The pseudo-kufic on the face of the shield shows some similarities with the applications on the apse arch<sup>54</sup> (Figure 10).

**Fig. 10.**  
Italy, Squinzano (Lecce), Church of Santa Maria delle Cerrate (First Quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century),  
Mural on the South Wall, Border on the Shield  
(Fontana, 2020, 104, fig. 8)



50 Doğer, 2002, 250-252, şek. 4-5, 7; Coşkuner, 2009, 45, 141, res. 26.

51 Doğer, 2002, 253-254, şek. 12.

52 [https://stringfixer.com/tr/Michael\\_I\\_Rhangabe#wiki](https://stringfixer.com/tr/Michael_I_Rhangabe#wiki) 25.02.2022, 21.42

53 Papadopoulos, 2017, 112-113, fig. 9.

54 Fontana, 2020, 103-104, fig. 5a-5c, fig. 8.

There is pseudo-kufic on the skirt of Longinus military garb who is on the right of Jesus, behind John the Evangelist, in the mural of Crucifixion in Cappadocia Belisirma in Kırkdamaltı Church (1283-1295)<sup>55</sup>. It has been determined that the pseudo-kufics in yellow-brown tones are arranged in the form of a verse of Mulk Lillah, and the independent letters Vav (و), Tı (ط) and Ayn (ع) are among the designs. It is also known that the soldier Longinus had great importance in the churches of Cappadocia. When Jesus was crucified, Longinus, the soldier with low vision, had Jesus' blood dripped into his eye and his eyes were healed. After this event, with the featured such a practice in the military attire of Longinus, who lived as a monk for 28 years, his privileged is emphasized (Figure 11).



Fig. 11. Cappadocia, Kırkdamaltı Church (1283-1295), Crucifixion, Fresco (Bütünay, 2016, 20-21, Res. 15-16)

### Evaluation and Conclusion

It is believed that warrior saints symbolize castles in cities and protect cities. For this reason, the names of the cities are mostly mentioned with the names of martyrs, soldiers or clergy in the Byzantine period. For this purpose, pseudo-kufic practices were used on the military clothes, shields, and war tools of some saints, soldiers, and clergy. While shields are being made for the soldiers in the Byzantine army, the workshops write the names of the soldiers on the shields. There is no information about whether these names are on the outer or inner faces of the shields. It is seen that such practices seen in daily life continue to be applied with pseudo-kufic descriptions. It is known that decorative ornaments or pseudo-kufics are used on military clothes, shields, swords or various war tools instead of giving place to the names of clergy, soldiers or authorized persons, since the names of the figures are mostly written next to them in their depictions in churches. Pseudo-kufic, which were applied in the depictions of religious buildings in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, became practical over time and turned into a sophisticated design<sup>56</sup>.

55 Restle, 1967, 176-177; Coşkuner, 2009, 52.

56 Papadopoulos, 2017, 119.



Researchers mostly confined themselves to pronouncing some letters instead of reading the detected texts. Kaf, Elif or Lam Elif, one of the letters detected on the vertical line, are the letters that are most easily detected and easily transformed into decorative designs in applications. Used in Byzantium, Lâm Elif is considered equivalent to οσ (pronounced os) in Greece. In addition, it has been determined that the S design, arranged in the form of a horizontal fold of Kaf, was used as an abbreviation of the expressions Ἰησοῦς and Χριστός (Iēsous and Christos) in Byzantine art<sup>57</sup> (Figure 12).

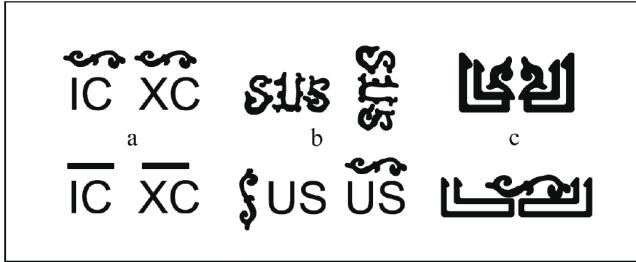


Fig. 12. Monograms, a: IC-XC, b: SUS; c: Lâm Elif and Kaf (Centonze, 2018, 38, fig. 13)

On the west facade of Church of St. Theodoroi Athens, Greece (1065)<sup>58</sup>; in Perachorio of Cyprus, Church of the Holy Apostles (12<sup>th</sup> century), on the face of the liturgical vessel above the altar in the Communion of the Apostles mural<sup>59</sup> and on the murals of the Nativity and the First Bath of Christ<sup>60</sup>; on the border in the Episcopal Church of Mani, Greece (late 12<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>61</sup> and in much more building, the mirror or repetitive applications of pseudo-kufics are read as Al-Mulk or Al-Mulk Lillah. Al-Mulk Lillah is pronounced in Arabic as Power-Property belongs to Allah.

Mülk mentioned here; the thing on which there is a right of disposition means the goods or property that can be bought and sold. Its application on clothes with military weapons means that the power here belongs to God. It is also known that the creator, pronounced Allah in Arabic, is equivalent to God, which means Lord in Christianity. The expression Al-Mulk Lillah in pseudo-kufics should be evaluated within the context of the period conditions. The structure specified in the texts as property is religious buildings such as churches. Churches, chapels, or other religious buildings are considered to be equivalent to Jesus and belong to God. The expression pantocrator (king of all things) has common usage for Jesus and God. In Arabic, it is seen that the verse Al-Mulk Lillah is applied in churches in the sense of Pantocrator. It was determined that the inscriptions and

57 Centonze, 2018, 37.

58 Kanellopoulos and Tohme, 2008, 138, fig. 5 a-b.

59 Spittle, 1954, 142, fig. 12; Megaw and Hawkins, 1962, 318, fig. 23, 33.

60 Megaw and Hawkins, 1962, 318, fig. 33.

61 Fontana, 2016, 72, fig. 15; Fontana, 2020, 104, fig. 7.

depictions of Pantocrator were mostly applied in the iconographic theme of the axis in the apse semi-dome and the central dome. Since churches are sacred structures that need to be protected and mean the house of God, it has been determined that pseudo-kufics with the same meaning are applied on the faces of military clothes, swords, helmets or shields in religious buildings. It is thought that pseudo-kufics may have been written for Arabic-speaking Christians and Muslims in the vicinity of churches, or were made by Arabic-speaking Christians or Muslim artisans<sup>62</sup>. The opinions that the detected samples were prepared in a common pattern, that they were made by wandering masters or artists who saw similar practices, or that they were prepared by taking reference from catalogs as a guide are just some of the various suggestions. It is stated that the mostly unreadable practices dated to the late Byzantine period and after were made by those who could not read and write in Arabic. It is stated that the mostly unreadable practices dated to the late Byzantine period and after were made by those who could not read and write in Arabic<sup>63</sup>. It is discussed that the view that the texts were made by those who could not read or write. It is known that in the designs on religious buildings and sacred objects, references and practices are used, and it is not possible to make arrangements outside the strict line of religious and political power (Figure 13).

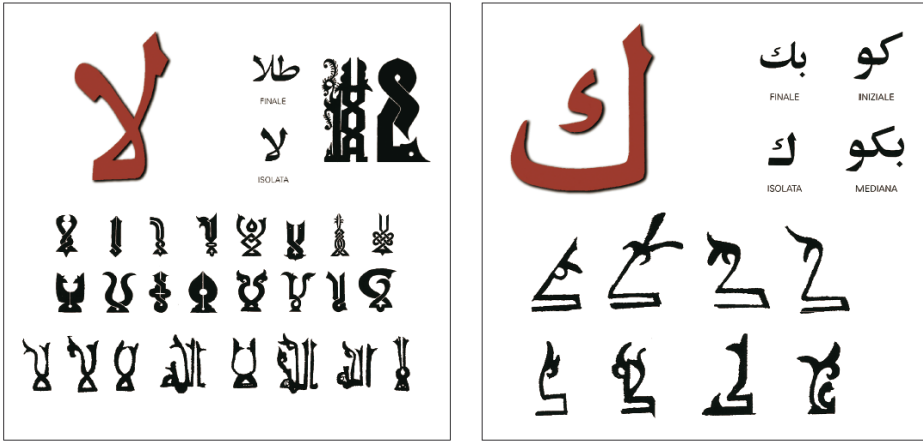


Fig. 13. Pseudo-Kufic Forms of Lam Elif and Kaf (Centonze, 2018, 33, Fig. 1-2)

It has been determined by the Byzantine art scholars that the applications of the kufics, which are prepared as in Arabic or similar to the texts, are used in ornaments. The illegible condition and decorative aspect of the ornaments designed in a similar way were stated by the researchers. It is seen that the arrangements designed and applied in churches since the 10<sup>th</sup> century are used in symbolic and decorative arrangements in harmony with geometric shapes from the first day. Calligraphic applications of Arabic

62 Kanellopoulos and Tohme, 2008, 139.

63 Aanavi, 1968, 353.

letters were applied in various combinations in the depictions in Byzantine and Western art. Although symbolic practices have changed over time, pseudo-kufi has never left the mainline of Arabic in its formation phase<sup>64</sup>.

It was reported that the detected pseudo-kufics reached Europe through trades, wars, gift products, and many other ways. Anatolian applications of pseudo-kufics, which are evaluated in the scope of the transportation network, especially Cappadocian examples were ignored mostly. Most of the pseudo-kufics in Christian religious buildings, archaeological findings, small handicrafts, textiles, or architectural plastic artifacts in Germany, Austria, France, England, Italy, Spain, Cyprus, Serbia, Yugoslavia, and Greece were documented<sup>65</sup>. The works in Turkey, on the other hand, were considered considerable only with recent studies. Pseudo-kufics in Cappadocian churches can be accepted as the widest application area in Turkey. Also, pseudo-kufics that depict military clothes and weapons are common in the murals of churches in Cappadocia.

Content meanings, style, and iconographic characteristics of pseudo-kufics are as important as their locations. It is possible to explain this by the fact that the Dome of the Rock (687-691), which was built where the Temple of Solomon was destroyed, was built in the place where it was destroyed during the siege of Jerusalem (70) by Rome<sup>66</sup>. There is a spiritual bond between the places where the sacred structures were built and the construction stages<sup>67</sup>. It is considered that the examined pseudo-kufics were not made randomly in the places where they were located. It is already known that the Dome of the Rock (687-691) was built with all its glory, in line with the same idea as the other Umayyad Mosques to overshadow the churches and synagogues around it<sup>68</sup>. It is also known that the Hosios Loukas Monastery Panagia Church (10<sup>th</sup> century) was built after the Byzantine conquest of Crete (after 961), and later in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Katholikon, which was built adjacent to its south, was also built for this purpose<sup>69</sup>, and the façades, the wall paintings, the mosaics, and the architectural plastic also included pseudo-kufics.

It was also determined that the first contact with the Arabian world in the Byzantine period began with the Arabic spoken and written language, and its effects extended to China, India, Europe, and even the Iberian Peninsula. Commander Tariq bin Ziyad reached Spain by crossing the Strait of Gibraltar and defeated the Visigoth Army at the Battle of Guadalete near Arcos de la Frontera in the year 711. The Islamic Armies then

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64 Safarian and Mohammadzadeh, 2019, 78.

65 Christie, 1922, 34+37-38+41; Dimand, 1927, 275-279; Fontana, 1992, 285-295; Megaw, 1931-1932, 90-130; Spittle, 1954, 138-152; Doğer, 2002, 249, Res. 3; Kaya, 2017, 174; Strehle, 2017, 246-251.

66 Gül, 2004, 80-81; Centonze, 2018, 36.

67 Gül, 2004, 80.

68 Gül, 2004, 82.

69 Centonze, 2018, 36.

advanced as far as the Frankish Empire until they were defeated in the war between Tours and Portiers, and were defeated and driven back to the Pyrenees in 732. The Arabian Civilization was effective in the Iberian Peninsula until the fall of Granada in 1492, and the interaction in this process caused the spread of pseudo-kufics in military clothing, weapons, and depictions in many areas as of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>70</sup>. The kufic writing reached Western Europe as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>71</sup>. Pseudo-kufics, which were seen in small handicrafts since the early period, were also applied on the Dinars that were minted. Kufic writing was applied to the Dinars of the Abbasid Caliph Abu Cafer al-Mansur in 773-774. Then in 774, gold coins that were very similar to the Dinar of Caliph Ebu Cafer al-Mansur were minted by Offa, the king of Mercia, on behalf of the Pope. The text Arabic Muhammad Rasul Allah/Muhammad is the Messenger of God draws attention to one side of the Latin and relief coins intertwined with the OFFA REX<sup>72</sup>. The common Latin and Arabic practices in the Dinars that were minted in the name of Offa between 757-796 show the power of interaction besides providing the spread of pseudo-kufics (175-176). Interactive Arabic practices, which were frequently minted since the 8th century, were also applied to the coins of the Sicilian King Roger II, Louis Dinar (mid-13<sup>th</sup> century), and some Castilian coins<sup>73</sup>. As seen in the examples that survived to the present day, it is possible to see kufic and pseudo-kufic designs on coins that were minted until the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>74</sup>.

Not only did the ancient sciences reach Christians in the West through the Arabic Language, but the numerous achievements and practices of Islamic Culture were also carried to Europe. Andalusia, which is one of the hosts of this transportation, affected European countries with its products<sup>75</sup>. Pseudo-kufics spread in Spain and Italy and were effective on the royal monuments of Norman Sicily, such as the Cappella Palatina (1130-1154), the Cuban Palace, the Martorana Church in Palermo, in the Norman royal monuments of Sicily in the Middle Ages along with the Almoravids of Andalusia works accelerating the interaction between the Western Maghreb, where Almoravid and Almohad arts in Andalusia and Morocco were present<sup>76</sup>.

The apotropaic aspect of pseudo-kufics was mostly ignored by previous researchers<sup>77</sup>. It was found that pseudo-kufics in military clothes and weapon depictions were concentrated in the churches in the Cappadocia Region. Cappadocia was a military and political buffer zone between the Arabs and Byzantium since the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Kayseri

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70 Tichy und Staley, 2005, 340.

71 Tichy und Staley, 2005, 340.

72 Tichy und Staley, 2005, 340.

73 Tichy und Staley, 2005, 340.

74 Ecker, 2004, 33.

75 Ecker, 2004, 28-29.

76 Ecker, 2004, 33; Kapitaikin, 2013, 113-114.

77 Melvani, 2018, 167.

was captured by the Arabs with the first Arab raids in 646, and Kayseri and Sivas came under the control of the Arabs with the second Arabian raids between 640-800. The third Arabian raids and the Iconoclasm period (726-843) in the following process affected military, religious, political, economic, and artistic activities. In this dark process, the condition of the pseudo-kufics in the depictions is unknown. There were theological debates throughout the administration and the empire in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and a negative process was seen in artistic activities with the Iconoclasm Period (726-843). The prohibition of religious images had an unfortunate result for art, and this effective process lasted until 843. The period from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century to the 12<sup>th</sup> century is accepted as the second golden age of Byzantine art (Safarian and Mohammadzadeh, 2019, 76). After the iconoclasm period (726-843), the pseudo-kufics, which were applied apart from the new plan formations that developed in churches, also took place in other art fields, and even the pseudo-kufics in military clothes and weapon depictions, which made up a small part of the practices, also support this view. An atmosphere of trust was restored between the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries in Anatolia<sup>78</sup>. The practices in Cappadocia took their place in the churches that were depicted after this atmosphere of trust.

It is known that Byzantium provided mercenaries from various ethnic cultures between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries as there was the transfer of soldiers, masters, and artists between countries and cultures<sup>79</sup>. It is possible to consider the pseudo-kufics in Byzantine works in the scope of this transfer, even in terms of military transfers. The beginning and ending processes of Byzantine and Turkish domination are discussed in Cappadocia, where political and military struggles were seen many times until the 13<sup>th</sup> century. To explain the determined data with artistic activities, the existence of Byzantine domination in the region is accepted for the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Pehlivan, 2014, 56), the pseudo-kufics in the mural painting of Christ on the Cross in Cappadocia Kırkdamaltı Church (1283-1295) show that this interaction continued until the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>80</sup>.

The pseudo-kufics on the socks, clothes, caps, and shields of the soldiers were applied in terms of design rather than legible and meaningful texts in the murals of the churches in Cappadocia. Aside from military applications, it was also found that the pseudo-kufics on the borders of the wall paintings that resemble textile decoration in the form of mandylian and napkin were more meaningful, and the applications on military clothes, shields, and weapons were purely decorative and for design purpose. The applications in military clothing bring to mind the effect of commercial and textile products on the spread of pseudo-kufics.

Pseudo-kufics mostly belong to the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The fact that it is seen in religious buildings and architectural plastic works dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century reminds

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78 Ötüken, 1987, 9.

79 Haldon, 2010, 132-133.

80 Restle, 1967, 176-177; Coşkun, 2009, 52.

us of the rapid changes and interactions in the art that took place after the Iconoclasm Period (726-843). It is already known that the painting programs of churches, the illustrated manuscripts, and the pseudo-kufics on the surface of the ivory plate refer to the catalogs produced in the palace workshops of the period or written in the libraries of the monasteries. When such practices are considered, the apotropaic practices of the secret one, as well as the artistic existence of Islamic interaction, the attractive side of the unknown, and the unidentified one show that it is artistically important. In the light of all these data, to summarize, pseudo-kufics, which are seen on military clothes and weapons on ivory, illustrated manuscripts, wall paintings, and mosaic depictions, started to be applied politically and religiously as a result of the interactions with the 10<sup>th</sup> century, became more common in 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century, and it is also possible to argue that they became widespread and continued to be applied consciously and decoratively in various fields until the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Pseudo-kufics applied in various works were applied in European paintings for many years<sup>81</sup>. It was also found that pseudo-kufics, which are seen on many textile products aside from holy figures, were mostly applied on the clothes and halo of Jesus and Mary<sup>82</sup>. The power of cultural and theological interaction between Christian-Islamic arts is supported by the identified practices. It is also possible to examine the applications chronologically, most of which are structural and causal, and some of them develop under the effect of random components<sup>83</sup>.

To uncover the subject of synthesis, which includes military and religious interaction as well as artistic relations between the East and the West; such studies must gain more importance and be developed on a large scale. Understanding this interaction and artistic activities will show the effects of ideological and artistic activities that will uncover the transfer of power in production and interaction activities. Also, all these studies must be concluded with the following statement of Adrien de Longpérier, who conducted the first study in this field; “.... In the eyes of many people, anyone who wants to adopt it needs many years of preparatory work. We leave it to the reader to decide on whether the texts must be evaluated differently from the ones read”<sup>84</sup>.

Also, it is suggested that Anatolian practices, especially in Cappadocia, where pseudo-kufics in Germany, England, Spain, Italy, Cyprus, Macedonia, Russia, Serbia, and Greece were studied many times since the 10<sup>th</sup> century, to be investigated further.

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81 Lavoix, 1878, 15-29

82 Ekhtiar, 2018: 112.

83 Pedone and Cantone, 2013: 120.

84 De Longpérier, 1845: 696.



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