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ANTÆUS

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# ANTÆUS

*Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico*

37/2021

*Sigel: Antaeus*



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37

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The publication of this volume was supported by special grants of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
and the Secretariat of Eötvös Loránd Research Network

HU ISSN 0238-0218

Desktop editing and layout by Archaeolingua  
Printed in Hungary by the Prime Rate Kft.  
Cover by H&H Design

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaEthnHung	Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaOrHung	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
ActaMusPapensis	Acta Musei Papensis. A Pápai Múzeum Értesítője (Pápa)
Agria	Agria. Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve (Eger)
AH	Archaeologia Historica (Brno)
AHN	Acta Historica Neolosiensia (Banská Bystrica)
AJMK	Arany János Múzeum Közleményei (Nagykőrös)
AKorr	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt (Mainz)
Alba Regia	Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis (Székesfehérvár)
AnalCis	Analecta Cisterciensia (Roma)
AnnHN	Annales Historico-Naturales Musei Nationalis Hungarici (Budapest)
Antaeus	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico (Budapest)
Antiquity	Antiquity. A Review of World Archaeology (Durham)
AR	Archeologické Rozhledy (Praha)
ArchA	Archaeologia Austriaca (Wien)
ArchÉrt	Archaeologiai Értesítő (Budapest)
ArchHung	Archaeologia Hungarica (Budapest)
ArchLit	Archaeologia Lituana (Vilnius)
ArhSof	Археология. Орган на Националния археологически институт с музей – БАН (Sofia)
ARR	Arheološki Radovi i Rasprave (Zagreb)
Arrabona	Arrabona. A Győri Xantus János Múzeum Évkönyve (Győr)
AV	Arheološki Vestnik (Ljubljana)
Balcanoslavica	Balcanoslavica (Prilep)
BÁMÉ	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve (Szekszárd)
BAR	British Archaeological Reports (Oxford)
BMÖ	Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich (Wien)
BudRég	Budapest Régiségei (Budapest)
Castrum	Castrum. A Castrum Bene Egyesület folyóirata (Budapest)
CommArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae (Budapest)
Cumania	Cumania. A Bács-Kiskun Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Kecskemét)
DBW	Denkmalpflege Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart)
EMÉ	Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve (Eger)
EurAnt	Eurasia Antiqua. Zeitschrift für Archäologie Eurasiens (Bonn)
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica (Budapest)
FontArchHung	Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae (Budapest)
GMSB	Годишник на музеите от Северна България (Варна)
GZM	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu (Sarajevo)
GZMS	Glasnik Hrvatskih Zemaljskih Muzeja u Sarajevu (Sarajevo)
HAH	Hereditas Archaeologica Hungariae (Budapest)

Hesperia	Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Princeton)
História	História. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat, majd a História Alapítvány folyóirata (Budapest)
HOMÉ	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve (Miskolc)
INMVarna	Известия на Народния музей – Варна (Varna)
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen (Tübingen)
JAMÉ	A nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve (Nyíregyháza)
Jászkunság	Jászkunság. Az MTA Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Tudományos Egyesület folyóirata (Szolnok)
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum (Bonn)
JPMÉ	A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve (Pécs)
KMMK	Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Tata)
LK	Levéltári Közlemények (Budapest)
MAA	Monumenta Avarorum Archaeologica (Budapest)
MacAA	Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica (Skopje)
MAG	Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft (Wien)
MBV	Münchener Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte (München)
MHKÁS	Magyarország honfoglalás és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei (Budapest)
MittArchInst	Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Budapest)
MFME	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve (Szeged)
MFME StudArch	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve – Studia Archaeologica (Szeged)
MMMK	A Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei (Budapest)
MŰÉ	Művészettörténeti Értesítő (Budapest)
MŰT	Művészettörténeti Tanulmányok. Művészettörténeti Dokumentációs Központ Évkönyve (Budapest)
NÉrt	Néprajzi Értesítő (Budapest)
NMMÉ	Nógrád Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve (Salgótarján)
OA	Opvscvla Archaeologica (Zagreb)
Offa	Offa. Berichte und Mitteilungen des Museums Vorgeschichtliche Altertümer in Kiel (Neumünster)
PA	Památky Archeologické (Praha)
Prilozi	Prilozi Instituta za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (Zagreb)
PrzA	Przegląd Archeologiczny (Wrocław)
PtujZb	Ptujski Zbornik (Ptuj)
PV	Přehled výzkumů (Brno)
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift (Berlin)
RégFüz	Régészeti Füzetek (Budapest)
RGA	Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde (Berlin)
RT	Transylvanian Review / Revue de Transylvanie (Cluj)
RVM	Rad Vojvođanskih muzeja (Novi Sad)
SbNMP	Sborník Národního muzea v Praze (Praha)
Scripta Mercaturae	Scripta Mercaturae. Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Gutenberg)
SHP	Starohrvatska Prosvjeta (Zagreb)
SlA	Slovenská Archeológia (Bratislava)
SlAnt	Slavia Antiqua (Poznan)

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SIS	Slovanské štúdie (Bratislava)
SMK	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei (Kaposvár)
StComit	Studia Comitatus. A Ferenczy Múzeum Évkönyve (Szentendre)
StH	Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
StSl	Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
StudArch	Studia Archaeologica (Budapest)
Századok	Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat folyóirata (Budapest)
TBM	Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából (Budapest)
Tisicum	Tisicum. A Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve (Szolnok)
USML	Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy (Turnhout)
VAH	Varia Archeologica Hungarica (Budapest)
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (Zagreb)
VMMK	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei (Veszprém)
WiA	Wiadomości Archeologiczne (Warszawa)
WMMÉ	A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve (Szekszárd)
ZalaiMúz	Zalai Múzeum (Zalaegerszeg)
Zborník FFUK, Musaica	Zborník Filozofickej Fakulty Univerzity Komenského. Musaica (Bratislava)
ZbSNM	Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea. História (Bratislava)
ZfAM	Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters (Köln)
ZHVSt	Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark (Graz)
Ziegelei-Museum	Ziegelei-Museum. Bericht der Stiftung Ziegelei-Museum (Cham)
ZRNM	Zbornik Radova Narodnog Muzeja (Beograd)

ÁGNES KOLLÁTH

## THE RESEARCH HISTORY OF EARLY MODERN POTTERY IN HUNGARY

**Zusammenfassung:** Ziel der Studie ist die Zusammenfassung der ungarischen Forschungsgeschichte, die sich der frühneuzeitlichen Keramik während der Türkenherrschaft, und der charakteristischen und sehr vielfältigen Palette an Keramiktypen des einstigen Ungarischen Königreichs widmet. Die Forschungsarbeit dieses Keramikmaterials hatte bereits in den ersten Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts begonnen, jedoch blieb das Interesse am Thema bis zum Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts eher verhalten, weshalb sich im Allgemeinen nur wenige Forscher – die mitunter über grundlegend verschiedene professionelle Hintergründe verfügten – gleichzeitig damit beschäftigten. Deshalb sind sowohl Denkansätze, als auch die Thematik ihrer Werke sehr vielseitig. Die Studie widmet sich den wichtigsten Warengruppen der Keramik und geht auf die Ergebnisse der letzten 120 Jahre, einer lockeren Zeitordnung folgend und anhand der ersten publizierten Abhandlung über das Thema ein. Sie bespricht österreichische unglasierte und osmanische glasierte Keramik, die grauen und roten unglasierten Tafelgeschirre, die über weitverzweigte Wurzeln verfügen, die südslawischen, handgeformten und/oder mit der handgedrehten Keramiktypen, nahöstliche Fayence und chinesisches Porzellan, Habaner Gefäße mit Bleiglasur, sowie weitere, importierte oder lokal gefertigte Tafelware. Außerdem summiert sie kurz die Ergebnisse bisheriger, regionaler Bearbeitungen und bietet so einen Ausgangspunkt für weitere Forschungsarbeiten. Schließlich muss allerdings betont werden, dass sich die vorliegende Abhandlung nicht mit Gebäudekeramik, Kachelofen-Elementen, bzw. Pfeifen beschäftigt, da diese Gegenstände über eigene Forschungsgeschichten verfügen, die das Gebiet von Koch- und Tafelgefäßen nur in wenigen Punkten berühren.

**Keywords:** historical archaeology, research history, pottery research, early modern period, Ottoman period, Hungary

The early modern period spans the 16th to 18th centuries, an age of conflict and transformation in Hungarian history. As the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires had both reached their largest expanse by the mid-1500s, they clashed in this region, occupying the central and the northern–north-western parts of the Carpathian Basin, respectively. The medieval Hungarian Kingdom was torn into three parts, with the Transylvanian Principate becoming the third in the east. This meant 150 years of nearly constant military activity and vastly different cultural and political climates for the local population, which is amply reflected in their material culture.

While these centuries have been extensively studied by historians since the 1800s, archaeological interest in this period remained marginal at best for quite a long time. This was especially true for ceramics, as they were deemed too “new” or too similar to folk pottery by many archaeologists, while ethnographers apparently had no inclination to delve into a period lacking sufficient written sources and the possibility to collect artefacts from their original owners.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, some researchers did show an interest in the period’s ceramics from the end of the 19th century onward, even though from highly different perspectives. This resulted in a heterogeneous research corpus, of which I will offer an annotated overview in this paper (*fig. 1*).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vizi 2002* 209, note 4; *F. Lajkó 2015* 163.

<sup>2</sup> This study was undertaken as part of my PhD thesis, *Typology and Chronology of Early Modern Period Pottery in Buda*, in 2019 at the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest.

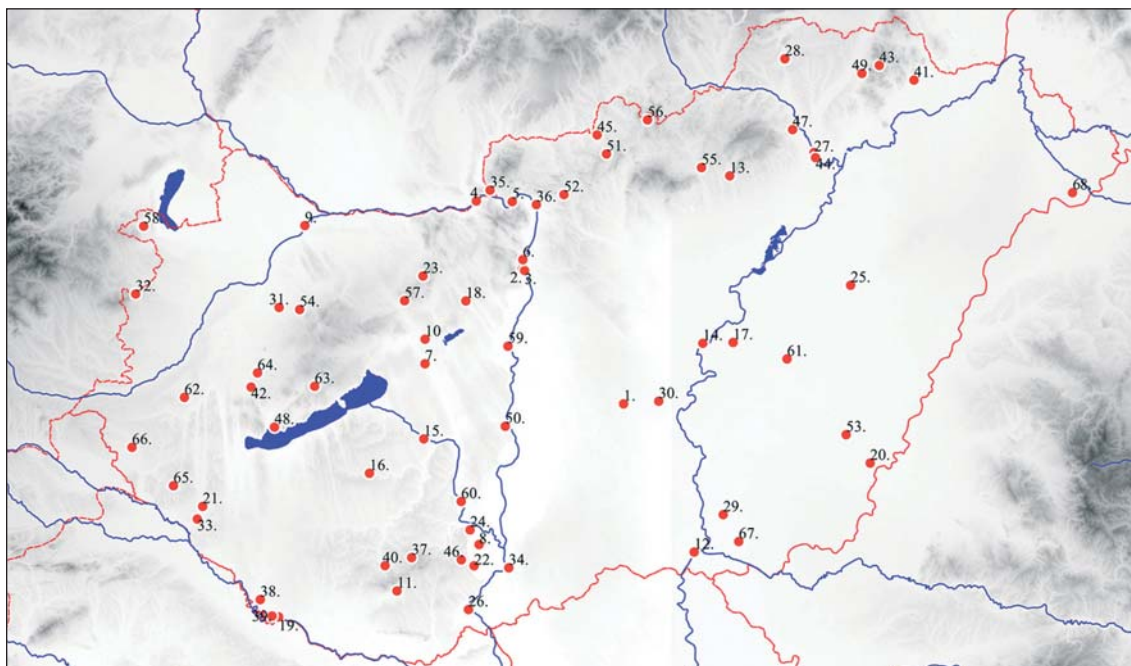


Fig. 1. Location of the studied sites. 1. Kecskemét; 2. Buda; 3. Pest; 4. Esztergom; 5. Visegrád; 6. Óbuda; 7. Tác-Fövenypusztá; 8. Decs-Ete; 9. Győr; 10. Székesfehérvár; 11. Pécs; 12. Szeged; 13. Eger; 14. Szolnok; 15. Ozora; 16. Törökkoppány; 17. Törökszentmiklós; 18. Vál; 19. Barcs; 20. Gyula; 21. Nagykanizsa; 22. Bátaszék; 23. Várgesztes; 24. Szekszárd; 25. Nádudvar; 26. Mohács; 27. Ónod; 28. Szendrő; 29. Hódmezővásárhely; 30. Szentkirály; 31. Pápa; 32. Kőszeg; 33. Nagykanizsa-Bajcsa; 34. Baja; 35. Ipolydamásd; 36. Vác; 37. Magyarereggy-Márévár; 38. Babócsa; 39. Barcs-Pusztabarcs; 40. Magyarhertelend; 41. Sárospatak; 42. Sümeg; 43. Regéc; 44. Mohi (Muhi); 45. Szécsény; 46. Mórág; 47. Miskolc; 48. Szigliget; 49. Boldogkő; 50. Dunaföldvár; 51. Hollókő; 52. Csővár; 53. Békés; 54. Ugod; 55. Sirok; 56. Salgó; 57. Csókakő; 58. Sopron; 59. Ráckeve; 60. Medina; 61. Túrkeve; 62. Egervár; 63. Nagyvázsony; 64. Gyepükaján-Nagykeszi; 65. Bánokszentgyörgy-Szentmihály; 66. Csesztreg-Mihon; 67. Óföldsé; 68. Ura (Map: ©József Attila Csiki)

Even though there was always an active international trade, the aforementioned regional and cultural changes as well as the beginnings of globalisation during this period led to the appearance of countless new pottery types. Most of them were usually named after their assumed origin in Hungarian scholarship, for example southern Slavic pottery, Turkish pottery, Balkan jugs, Chinese porcelain, Iznik and Persian faience, Italian majolica, western imported wares and Haban wares.

This mid-20th century classification was essentially based on the idea that pottery can be seen as an indicator of ethnicity and on the traditional research methods of art history. Sometimes correlations along these lines proved to be correct, although in most cases, the situation was far more complex. In the following, I will review the development, rejection and/or transformation of these terms and how they influenced or defined research themes as well as the results of more recent directions.<sup>3</sup> I will follow a loose chronological order, taking the first paper published on a particular type as a springboard in the sub-sections in order to illustrate the shifting foci of interests.

<sup>3</sup> Please note that although I will be using the most up-to-date terminology in my descriptions, current research is undergoing a transformative phase, which can lead to further changes. Furthermore, I will not cover stoves and pipes in this paper, as they have their own research history, separate from ceramic vessels. I have also focused on the research of present day Hungary, even though numerous counties of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom lay wholly or partially in other modern countries, due to the change of borders in the 20th century. As for the research of neighbouring countries, the most concise collections can be found in the following publications: *Španihel 2017* (Slovakia); *Kaltenberger 2009* (Austria); *Bikić 2003* (Serbia/former Yugoslavia); *Gaspar 2019* (Romania).

*Austrian-type pottery*

Pottery fired in a reducing atmosphere, often with added graphite and stamps on the rim, were the first medieval-early modern period ceramic type that caught researchers' attention; however, at the beginning, their dating was highly controversial in Hungary and Austria alike.<sup>4</sup>

While evaluating the material of villages abandoned around Kecskemét (southern Hungary) in the 16th century, Kálmán Szabó noted that this kind of pottery had made up a significant part of contemporary kitchenware, although its quantity decreased in direct proportion with the distance from the Danube. He also assumed that yellowish or reddish sherds with the same forms, but without the added graphite and with stamps unattested on Austrian and German sites, could be local imitations.<sup>5</sup> One and a half decades later, Imre Holl refuted this theory based on his examination of find assemblages mainly from urbanised sites along the Danube (Buda, Pest, Esztergom and Visegrád). He claimed that most of the vessels had arrived from Austria, mostly from the workshops of Vienna, Tulln, Passau and Ried according to their rim-stamps.<sup>6</sup> This view remained dominant for a long time; however, the assessment of the finds from more recent large-scale excavations raised certain doubts regarding the locations of the production centres and the role of rim-stamps among Hungarian, Austrian and Slovakian researchers alike. It became clear that it is currently impossible to determine the boundaries of the "original" production district and to distinguish the workshops that had copied these high-quality kitchen and industrial wares. This issue will remain at least partly unresolved until more kiln sites come to light.<sup>7</sup> It also remains a question for the time being whether the trade and/or local production of this pottery type continued during the Ottoman occupation period in central Hungary, as most of the known later examples come from assemblages whose latest pieces date from the end of the 16th century.<sup>8</sup>

*Ottoman pottery**The beginnings: 1930s to the 1980s*

In the wake of the growing interest in the Ottoman period and the first urban excavations in Budapest, this ceramic group drew scholarly attention as early as the 1930s. It was easily identifiable, its basic forms remaining largely unchanged until the 19th–20th centuries in the neighbouring lands ruled or influenced by the Ottoman Empire, but seemingly different from the local material culture.<sup>9</sup> The main types of this rather high-quality, fast wheel-turned, usually lead-

<sup>4</sup> Flóris Rómer had begun collecting stamped pottery sherds of this kind in the second third of the 1800s and Bálint Kuzsinszky had also brought stamped aqueduct pipes from Óbuda to the Aquincum Museum. József Hampel published some pieces from Tác-Fövenypuszta (*Gorsium-Herculia*), although he was uncertain whether they were late antique or medieval. His uncertainty was understandable, as this pottery type had been catalogued as Roman in the material of the *Carnuntum mithraeum* (Petronell, AU). He finally resolved the problem by examining finds from other sites and by turning to Alfred Walcher von Moltheim, one of the earliest experts in this field, through the Museum of Salzburg. *Hampel 1895* 286–288, fig. 7; *Hampel 1897* 381–382; *Hampel 1901* 446–448.

<sup>5</sup> *Szabó 1938* 101–105.

<sup>6</sup> *Holl 1955* 163–176.

<sup>7</sup> *Feld 2008* 310–311. For examples of the unquestionably local production of these types, see Óbuda-Hajógyári-sziget: *Tóth 2016* 256, Pl. 14. Vessels with unknown stamps were also identified in this material (*Tóth 2017* 529), at Decs-Ete (*Vizi 2000*) and at Győr-Széchenyi tér.

<sup>8</sup> *Holl 2005a* 89–90; *Kolláth 2016a* 377; *Kolláth 2019a* 161. Vessels dated to the 17th century by their stamps are known from Óbuda (*Bertalané 1998a* 203, Pl. XIII. 1–2) and Székesfehérvár (*Siklósi 2010* 12, Taf. 20–24), although their contexts are unclear.

<sup>9</sup> First noted by *Horváth 1936* 198–199, 217.



Fig. 2. Footed bowl and glazed lid from Visegrád-Alsóvár, second half of the 16th century. Excavation by Mátyás Szőke

glazed pottery are footed bowls, spouted jugs, ewers, storage jars, stove tiles and pipes, alongside mugs, lids and candlesticks (figs 2–5).<sup>10</sup>

While it was clear from the very onset that these types were only represented by their classical forms during the 150 years of Turkish occupation,<sup>11</sup> their role and interpretation remained highly debated throughout the 20th century.

In 1936, Henrik Horváth pointed out the influence of “Turkish” metalwork on ceramics when describing the finds unearthed by Lajos Nagy on Budapest-Gellérthegy in 1932.<sup>12</sup> At the time, large-scale cityscaping works were undertaken in two historical suburbs of Buda, the Tabán and the Víziváros. Sándor Garády was present at the most promising sites, documenting and excavating Roman, medieval and early modern period features. He had a special interest in Ottoman-period material culture and summarised his observations of ceramics in 1944, laying the foundations of future work in this field during the next decades.<sup>13</sup> He pointed out the connections

with metalwork as well and discussed footed bowls in detail, emphasizing their variability. Starting out from this and the assumed pottery workshops in the Víziváros, he contended that they had been partly imported and partly locally made. He noted the Byzantine origin of the vessel type and the *sgraffito* decoration, and emphasized their popularity in the Balkans.<sup>14</sup>

The next important step was the excavation in 1956 of a potter’s kiln at Esztergom-Szenttamáshegy, a site known since 1927.<sup>15</sup> The broader area of the severely damaged kiln yielded firing tripods (kiln spurs), as well as finished and semi-finished vessels, with the fragments of two extremely rare “inscribed footed bowls” among them. Géza Fehér Jr., who initiated the research, discussed parts of this assemblage in several publications between 1957 and 1968.<sup>16</sup> His most well-known paper, published in 1960, was based mainly on the Ottoman pottery finds from Pécs, but he cited material from Esztergom and Buda as well, marking the start of a new chapter in the period’s ceramic research. The problems he outlined set the course of research until the 1980s and his influence can be felt to this day.

<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed description, see *Kovács 2010b* 92; *Kolláth 2016b* 111.

<sup>11</sup> The survival of some vessel types could be observed on settlements where a sizeable “Turkish” population remained after the re-conquering wars (e.g., Szeged, Eger), but only until the mid-18th century. Some rare 19th–20th-century liquid containers in heavily Slavic-influenced southern Transdanubia also have their roots in Ottoman-period material culture, cf. *Hancz 2006* 38; *Pusztai 1999* 474; *Csupor – Csuporné Angyal 1998* 80, 82; *Kolláth – B. Kovács – Kovács in press*.

<sup>12</sup> *Horváth 1936* 213–214, figs 52–56; *L. Nagy 1936* 26–27, Pl. XIV. 2, Pl. XV.

<sup>13</sup> *Garády 1943a*; *Garády 1943b*; *Garády 1945*; *Garády 1944*. Due to his death in 1944, he could not publish all his findings. Edit Sárosi has re-evaluated his excavations based on his notes and the find material: *Sárosi 2000*; *Sárosi 2002*.

<sup>14</sup> *Horváth 1936* 213–214; *Garády 1944* 385–388; 390, figs 37–38.

<sup>15</sup> *Balogh 1928* 59.

<sup>16</sup> *Fehér 1957* 44–45; *Fehér 1959*; *Fehér – Parádi 1960a*; *Fehér – Parádi 1960b*; *Fehér 1962a*; *Fehér 1962b*; *Fehér 1964*; *Fehér 1968*.

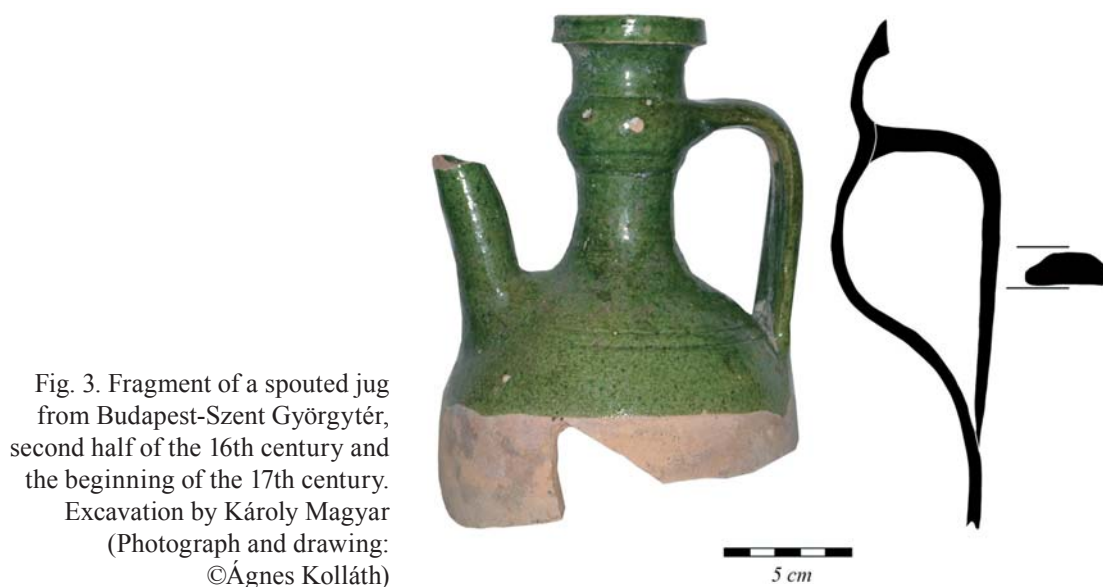


Fig. 3. Fragment of a spouted jug from Budapest-Szent Györgytér, second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century. Excavation by Károly Magyar (Photograph and drawing: ©Ágnes Kolláth)

Most importantly, he recognized the similarities between the Ottoman pottery of Hungary and the 19th–20th-century folk ceramics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria. He pointed out that the subjects of the Sultan who had arrived to and settled in the freshly-conquered province had been mostly Slavic and not Turkish, even if they were designated as such by the contemporaries.<sup>17</sup> He also published the evidence for local pottery production from Pécs and reviewed the written sources on the Hungarian province, in which potters or pottery are mentioned.<sup>18</sup> Although this multidisciplinary approach was instrumental in setting the archaeological data in broader perspective, it also reinforced researchers' preconceptions in dating and typology.

#### *Dating problems*

Associating excavated features with written data is a fairly common practice in all fields of archaeology, and seemed to be especially logical regarding the early modern period with its abundance of sources. Regrettably, this possibility proved to be so tempting in numerous cases that researchers paid little to no attention to the actual context of the finds and features.

The most prominent case in point is the Esztergom kiln, which Géza Fehér dated before 1594, arguing that the Turkish fortress of Szenttamáshegy had been destroyed that year in one of the numerous sieges of the Long War (1593–1606). Later, he dated the vessels from Eger-Vár (fallen to the Ottomans in 1596) to the end of the 16th century based on their parallels from the above mentioned assemblage.<sup>19</sup> Yet, similar pieces to the published Eger and Esztergom finds, including the inscribed footed bowls as well as the inscriptions' linguistic characteristics, all point to a 17th-century date, which is also underpinned by the original field documentation in the latter case.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Fehér 1959 123–124, 127–128, 136–140.

<sup>18</sup> Fehér 1959 142–146.

<sup>19</sup> Fehér 1972 196–197.

<sup>20</sup> The tell-tale signs are the high, conical pedestals with cordons and the everted, occasionally scalloped rims of footed bowls (Fehér – Parádi 1960a Table XXIX. 2, 4, 6; Fehér 1972 203–207, Pls I–V; Kovács 1990–1991 172; Kolláth 2019a 276–277). For the dating of the glazed stove tile (Fehér – Parádi 1960a Pl. XXVIII. 2), see Sabján – Végh 2003. The other inscribed bowls are known from Esztergom-Várhegy (Gerő 1960 45–46) and Buda-Szent György tér (B. Nyékhelyi 2004). For the translation and discussion of the inscriptions, see Dobrovits 2004; Sudár 2010 571–573. The re-assessment of the kiln's find material is in progress, I would like to thank Gyöngyi Kovács for the information on the original documentation.



The archaeological interpretation of features and stratigraphy was also ridden with preconceptions, which could lead to dating problems. In the case of the numerous storage pits and cesspits characteristic of the settlements under Ottoman rule – called “Turkish pits” in common parlance – the widely accepted view was that they had usually been open for a short time and then filled up in one instance and that their fill was therefore homogeneous. For this reason, most of these features were excavated without even an attempt to observe and record possible stratification in their fills, leading to a serious loss of information.

One typical example of this phenomenon is the publication of a ceramic assemblage from a pit dug near the town walls at Székesfehérvár-Jókai utca 20. site, excavated and evaluated in 1981 by Gyula Siklósi. Based on the stove tiles and debris found in the fill, he assumed that the pit can most likely be associated with ‘cleaning up’ after a siege. Based on a Benedictine medallion from the fill, he dated the find material to the late 1600s.<sup>21</sup> In fact, most of the published vessels themselves are more typical for the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, with several elements indicating the earlier period. Some (absolutely not Ottoman) pots are even earlier, late medieval in date, while a few footed bowls seem to be indeed typical for the later Ottoman period, but there is nothing to indicate the typical “reconquest horizon” of the late 17th century.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, the fill had in likelihood been stratified with layers dating from various periods, and as the broader area of the pit was highly disturbed by a later feature,<sup>23</sup> it is also possible that its latest layers had been simply destroyed by the time of the excavation.

Still, it should be noted in all fairness that the publication of entire early modern period find assemblages was extremely rare at the time. Károly Kozák was among the first to regularly publish vessels together with their short description and exact findspots in his reports on the excavations of Eger Castle. He also wrote, together with László Fodor, the first evaluation of closed, more-or-less well-datable find assemblages from the area of the city’s medieval cathedral.<sup>24</sup>

### *Early typologies*

The correlation of pottery with ethnic groups was a widespread scholarly pursuit in 19th–20th century archaeological scholarship and the well-known and spectacular cultural differences between the subjects of the Hungarian Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire made this theory particularly appealing to some scholars.

Sándor Garády and Géza Fehér were quite cautious in this respect, unlike Olivér Soproni, who strove to separate “Hungarian” and “Turkish” wares in the find material from the city of Szolnok based purely on stylistic grounds (and his own personal taste).<sup>25</sup>

This led to a plethora of erroneous identifications and wrongly used technical terms in itself, and once the view that the Ottoman subjects arriving to the Hungarian province were mostly of Balkanic stock became widely accepted, Soproni strove to classify certain pottery types into rigid categories in his 1981 book. He based his typology on his contention that Hungarian potters commanded the least technical knowledge, Islamized Slavic craftsmen were somewhat better and that “genuine Turkish masters” had made all the high-quality pieces. He linked *sgraffito*-

<sup>21</sup> He was more cautious with dating the assemblage in the original publication (submitted right after the excavation) (*Siklósi 1982* 2–3), but after publishing a paper on the medallion (*Siklósi 1980*), he consistently dated the pit’s material to the late 1600s: *Siklósi 2013* 30.

<sup>22</sup> *Kovács 1991* 172; *Kolláth 2014*; *Kolláth 2019a* 276–277, 307–309; *Kolláth 2019b* 402.

<sup>23</sup> *Siklósi manuscript*.

<sup>24</sup> *Kozák 1963* 130–136, 157–168, figs 30–63; *Kozák 1964a* 222–223, 246, 262–264, 269–271, fig. 15, figs, 41–45, figs 55–58; *Kozák 1966a* 104, 109–111, 113–114, 138, 148, 149, 152, figs 31–32, figs 44–45, fig. 47, fig. 50; *Détszy – Kozák 1967* 97, 104–107, fig. 15, figs 26–29; *Kozák 1969a* 119, fig. 26, fig. 49; *Kozák 1969b* 192, fig. 9; *Kozák 1989–1990* 355–360, figs 31–34; *Fodor – Kozák 1970–1971*.

<sup>25</sup> *Soproni 1956a*; *Soproni 1956b*.

decorated footed bowls exclusively to Armenians, based on the type's assumed ritual usage, although there is nothing to confirm this.<sup>26</sup>

Győző Gerő chose a more nuanced, but similarly ethnicity- and religion-based approach in his studies on Ottoman-period ceramics. His findings regarding the different layers of Ottoman-period material culture were very important in their time, defining the course of research until the 1990s and early 2000s. Given that he studied the find assemblages from some of the most important sites in Hungary such as the Buda-Budavári palota and the Buda-Pasapalota, Eger-Vár, Pécs and other, mainly southern Transdanubian sites, most of which are regrettably still unpublished, his papers remain of key importance.<sup>27</sup> However, he assumed a rather strict social stratification regarding pottery usage, based on the religion and ethnicity of Ottoman subjects, which practically would have meant that in a typical garrison, the low-ranking Christian southern Slavic soldiers and civilians would have used the slow wheel-turned coarse wares (cf. the relevant sub-sections below), glazed Ottoman vessels would have mostly belonged to the Islamized Slavic – mainly Bosnian – inhabitants, while “luxury wares” could only have been afforded by “genuine Turkish” officers and other high-status members of the community.<sup>28</sup> He highlighted the Byzantine roots of Ottoman pottery only in the case of *sgraffito* wares and argued that they had been produced in Balkanic workshops, contending that their local imitations had been solely decorated with glaze-painting, without incised patterns. He named the latter group “pseudo-sgraffito ware” (*fig. 4*).<sup>29</sup>

His contentions undoubtedly had a certain logic to them. Yet, despite the excavations on the period's sites and the more detailed analysis of assemblages during the ensuing fifty years, it is still mostly unclear how the material culture of western and eastern Christian or Islamized southern Slavic groups had varied and to what extent their religion and other cultural elements (ethnicity, location, trade connections, means of communication, etc.) had influenced their pottery usage. It must be borne in mind that the glazed, fast wheel-turned ceramic wares in question had been organic parts of material culture in the southern Balkans, previously part of the Byzantine Empire, and that their origin can be traced to Late Antiquity in some cases. This means that – at least partly – the conquering Anatolian Turks had appropriated the locals' pottery and not the other way round.<sup>30</sup> As the ceramics of the southern Slavs in the Lower Balkans directly preceding the Ottoman conquest are mostly unpublished, we cannot determine when and under what influence their production had begun in that region.

#### *A shifting focus: from the 1980s to the mid-1990s*

Despite the many research results mentioned above and the period's relative popularity among historians, Ottoman-period archaeology remained on the periphery of Hungarian research for a long time and only two researchers with a background in Turkish studies picked up the thread in the 1980s.

Gyöngyi Kovács published her assessment of the Ottoman-period and partly early modern period material of the Szolnok Museum in 1984, re-evaluating the finds that had earlier been discussed by Olivér Soproni among others. She also covered the question of local production and the decoration of footed bowls, with a special focus on the *sgraffito* technique by mapping

<sup>26</sup> Soproni 1981 34–40, 43–86.

<sup>27</sup> Gerevich 1966 10, 27, 33, *fig. 12*, *fig. 25*; G. Sándor 1959–1960; Gerő 1978; Gerő 1985; Gerő 1989; Gerő 1990.

<sup>28</sup> Gerő 1978 350–351; Gerő 1985 195–197.

<sup>29</sup> Gerő 1978 350.

<sup>30</sup> See, e.g., Frantz 1938; Vroom 2003 69–71; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2008; Böhlendorf-Arslan 2013; Bikić 2016.



Fig. 4. Fragments of sgraffito-decorated and glaze-painted footed bowls from Székesfehérvár-Királyi bazilika, Anjou-sírkápolna, second half of the 16th century and 17th century, respectively.  
Excavation by Piroska Biczó  
(Photographs and drawings:  
©Ágnes Kolláth)

out its origins and distribution as well as reviewing the published finds from the regions once ruled or influenced by the Byzantine Empire.<sup>31</sup>

Ibolya Gerelyes also began her ceramic studies by analysing *sgraffito*-decorated vessels, but then turned her attention to well-datable ceramic assemblages. Even though she still had to work with incomplete materials in the case of older excavations from Buda and Visegrád,<sup>32</sup> she participated in the excavations of Ozora-Vár – a medieval noble residence and later a small Turkish garrison – and was able to evaluate its closed contexts almost right on the site.<sup>33</sup> This more inclusive point of view yielded crucial insights. She confirmed the mostly 16th-century dating of *sgraffito*-decorated pottery, but pointed out that the type remained in use during the 17th century as well, although it had become much less popular compared to glaze-painted wares and disappeared only by the last decades of the 1600s.<sup>34</sup> She assumed a central *sgraffito* ware-workshop, probably located in Belgrade or Buda.<sup>35</sup> Her observations on the varying proportions of Ottoman pottery on sites of different locations and dating within the 16th–17th centuries were also quite novel at the time.<sup>36</sup>

Gyöngyi Kovács also noted the spectacular differences in the composition of the finds brought to light in the course of her excavation of two small Turkish garrisons, Törökkoppány in south-western Transdanubia and Törökszentmiklós by the Tisza River in the east. She was the first to discuss various traits with a chronological significance on footed bowls besides *sgraffito* decoration in her 1991 study.<sup>37</sup>

Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács's research has proved that many of the earlier theories – based mainly on highly selected museum collections from

the centres of the former Ottoman province – call for a critical revision. It has become clear that an assessment of certain pottery types without looking at the overall context can yield highly misleading results. Consequently, from the early 1990s onward, there were but few papers focusing solely on Ottoman ceramics – instead, they were discussed as part of entire assemblages.

<sup>31</sup> Kovács 1984 19–34.

<sup>32</sup> The general practice was to inventurise complete or almost complete vessels and pottery sherds representing rare types only, and to discard the rest with minimal documentation.

<sup>33</sup> Gerelyes 1986; Gerelyes 1987a; Gerelyes 1987b; Gerelyes 1991.

<sup>34</sup> Gerelyes 1986 81–82; Gerelyes 1987a 175; Gerelyes 1991 45.

<sup>35</sup> Gerelyes 1987b 258; Gerelyes 1991 45. We only have proof of the production of *sgraffito* ware in Belgrade: Birtašević 1970 fig. 63.

<sup>36</sup> Gerelyes 1986 69; Gerelyes 1987a 171.

<sup>37</sup> Kovács 1990–1991 171–172.

*Age of the large-scale excavations: the 1990s until the 2010s*

Following the political changes in Hungary in 1990, the ensuing economic boom and new legislation on archaeology and monument protection brought unprecedented opportunities, while simultaneously placing a huge burden on archaeologists. All of a sudden, all the infrastructural, industrial and urban developments were required to make preliminary archaeological site assessments, often followed by excavations. This resulted in an enormous amount of data and find material. In general, however, Ottoman-period or historical archaeology continued to remain a marginal field of research.

Gyöngyi Kovács published her findings on the ceramic material unearthed in the area of the medieval church of Vál (later a small Ottoman garrison) near Budapest and in the area of the Barcs palisade fort, which had served as a base for the Ottoman fleet on the Dráva River for a time.<sup>38</sup> Ibolya Gereelyes wrote a summary on the material culture, including the pottery, of Gyula-Vár in south-eastern Hungary.<sup>39</sup>

The change began with a conference held in 2000 whose theme was the fresh advances in Ottoman-period archaeology and its proceedings volume, titled *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*.<sup>40</sup> The 2004 thematic volume of the journal *Budapest Régiségei* similarly represented a major milestone in the field. Both contained noteworthy articles covering Ottoman-period pottery as well, mainly from the new excavations in the area of Budapest.<sup>41</sup>

At the same time, the critical re-assessment of old materials also gained momentum. Imre Holl – the *doyen* of medieval pottery research in Hungary – renewed his interest in early modern period ceramics and analysed the datable find complexes from the excavation conducted in the Buda-Budavári palota in the 1950s. Even though he did not discuss Ottoman pottery in detail, his monograph is still one of the main sources for finding parallels.<sup>42</sup>

These types of pottery evaluations account for the majority of papers to this day. When exceptionally promising assemblages are found, most archaeologists strive to at least partially publish them or they offer them as material for BA, MA or PhD theses.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, most museums hold several find assemblages from old excavations that still lack an assessment since the 1950s. Given that an awareness of Ottoman-period archaeology has been constantly rising, many of these have since been published.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Hatházi – Kovács 1996* 45; *Kovács 1998*.

<sup>39</sup> *Szatmári – Gereelyes 1996* 121–122.

<sup>40</sup> *A hódoltság régészeti kutatása 2002; Archaeology of the Ottoman Period 2003*.

<sup>41</sup> *Tóth 2003; Sabján – Végh 2003; Kovács 2003a; Bencze – Papp 2004* 36–37, 45–46, figs 7–8; *Bertalané 2004* 57, fig. 8; *B. Nyékhelyi 2004* 133–151; *Zádor 2004* 218, 223, 225, fig. 4, figs 9–15.

<sup>42</sup> *Holl 2005a* 45, Abb. 11. 1, Abb. 19. 1–3, Abb. 33. 1, 3, 5–7, 10, 12–16, Abb. 36. 4–5, Abb. 39. 1–5, 11–12, Abb. 41. 2–3.

<sup>43</sup> Budapest: *Tóth 2011a* 228, 230–237, 241, fig. 2; *Kolláth 2012* 177–179, 190–192; *Éder 2014* 283–284, 292–293, 295–296, 302–303, figs 5–9; *Nádai 2016* 58–62, Pls 18–24, cat. VI–VIII; *Horváth – Komori 2020* fig. 6, fig. 8; Eger: *Pusztai 1999* 474; *Somodi 2016* 22–24, Pls VI–VII; Székesfehérvár: *Kolláth 2010* 6 7–75, 134–138, cat. nos 210–255, figs 60–65; Nagykanizsa: *Kovács 2003b* 159, 172, fig. 6; Bátaszék: *Pusztai 2003* 303, 308; Szeged: *Hancz 2006* 36–38; Várgesztes: *B. Kovács 2019*.

<sup>44</sup> The most prominent example is Attila Gaál's work on the find material of the Szekszárd-Újpalánk palisade fort by the Danube River. Excavations and field surveys had been conducted on the strongly eroded site between the 1960s and the 1980s, but he waited until he had the opportunity to publish the most important finds with detailed descriptions and illustrations in colour. It has to be noted, though, that because of the disturbed layers and old survey techniques, most finds do not have a secure context. For the Ottoman-period pottery, see *Gaál 2011*. For the finds from closed contexts from his more recent excavations within the city of Szekszárd, see *Gaál 2016*.

Several overviews of our current knowledge have appeared in foreign publications, and some exhibition catalogues also contain relevant articles.<sup>45</sup> The upsurge in data was much needed for a better understanding of the regional variants and datability of these highly standardised ceramics, even though their scientific examinations are still mostly lacking.<sup>46</sup> These new results have just started to surface and they hopefully mark a new period in the research of Ottoman pottery in Hungary.<sup>47</sup>

### *Unglazed grey and red wares*

This ware group occurs on many early modern period sites in high quantities and has numerous types of different origins, but due to the characteristics of research history, they will be discussed together. Among these wares, grey-fired liquid containers with polished, incised and stamped decoration have the most extensive literature.

These vessels occupy an important place in Hungarian ethnographic and archaeological pottery research, which has mainly addressed their production and has focused on the most lavishly decorated specimens from the Ottoman Province and the Great Hungarian Plain. Their manufacturing process has been described in detail by György Duma, who had studied the present-day jug-makers of Nádudvar and Mohács, and supplemented his observations with scientific examinations in the 1960s.<sup>48</sup> The archaeological evidence suggests that early modern period potting techniques were by and large identical with those of later ages.<sup>49</sup>

The first ware type that gained attention was characteristic of Ottoman garrisons.<sup>50</sup> A rather atypical object of this type was published in 1936 from the excavations on the Gellérthegy in Budapest by Henrik Horváth, who emphasized the vessel's close connections to its metal counterparts.<sup>51</sup> Sándor Garády wrote about the most beautiful pieces found in Buda in 1944. He identified their firing method as "Byzantine", their range of forms as "Turkish" and again accentuated that they imitated metalwork.<sup>52</sup> Géza Fehér concurred with these conclusions in his above-cited 1960 study on the pottery of Pécs, and based on their parallels, he made a case for their Balkanic origin, where their production probably started under Byzantine influence. Since then, these liquid containers were labelled either "Turkish" or "Balkanic".<sup>53</sup> This was supported by ethnographic research, as they seemed to be continuous with the 18th–20th-century "black pottery of Mohács", whose makers were usually Slavic (of *sokác* ethnicity) and mostly produced their wares for the Danube trade towards the Ottoman Empire (*fig. 5*).<sup>54</sup>

Based on these results, ethnographers regarded the question of origin resolved for a long time, even though they did note the striking differences between the Mohács wares and the black pottery made on the Hungarian Plain. Beginning in the 1980s, studies on early modern

<sup>45</sup> *Gerelyes 2008; Dávid – Gerelyes 2015; Kolláth 2016b 111–112; Kovács 2010a; Kovács 2010b; E. Kovács 2010; Kincsek 2017 166–167, 170, 175, 178–182, 187–189, 192–193.*

<sup>46</sup> The only exception is Barcs: *per sylvam 2016*.

<sup>47</sup> E.g., *Kovács 2017 328, 330, fig. 4. 1–3; Szalai 2017 44–54, Pls 18–50; Kolláth 2016a; Kolláth 2018; Kolláth 2019a 274–278.*

<sup>48</sup> *Duma 1963 367–405.*

<sup>49</sup> *Kolláth 2017 307–309; Kolláth 2019a 279–281.*

<sup>50</sup> For their general description, see *Kolláth 2016b 112–113; Kolláth 2019a 281–282*. For the variants, see, e.g., *Gerelyes 1991 fig. 63. 8, fig. 64. 9; Papp 2010 187; E. Kovács 2010 188 (Buda); Fehér 1959 figs XXVIII–XXXI (Pécs).*

<sup>51</sup> *Horváth 1936 213, fig. 52.*

<sup>52</sup> *Garády 1944 387–388.*

<sup>53</sup> *Fehér 1959 122.*

<sup>54</sup> *Sarosácz 1972 32–33; Kresz 1991 32.*



Fig. 5. Footed bowl and „Balkan-type” grey jug from Várgesztes-Vár, second half of the 16th century. Excavation by Mária G. Sándor (Photographs: ©Bianka Kovács)

period finds have demonstrated that “Alföld [Hungarian Plain] black pottery” also had 16th–17th century predecessors, including the containers for some of the period’s early coin hoards.<sup>55</sup> Gyöngyi Kovács highlighted the differing fabric of the Törökszentmiklós and Törökkoppány vessels, which recurs in folk ceramics as well.<sup>56</sup>

Gábor Tomka has demonstrated the presence of jugs fired in a reducing atmosphere at Ónod and Szendrő, two castles that never had an Ottoman garrison. He identified almost all the pottery sherds as representing the “Alföld type” and he also provided a general description and chronology of this ware. As burnishing and firing in a reducing atmosphere were both considered techniques arriving from the Balkans with the Ottoman conquest at that time,<sup>57</sup> he did not rule out the possibility that this ware had originated from the Balkan Peninsula as well, because Slavic (*rác*) settlements were to be found near their traditional production centres since the 15th century.<sup>58</sup>

Other related wares are occasionally attested in early modern period find assemblages that have their own distinct characteristics. For example, Orsolya Lajkó found that pieces from Hódmezővásárhely in south-eastern Hungary display the common decorative techniques of both the “Balkanic” (combed and stamped patterns) and the “Alföld” (burnishing) types and their range of forms is also partly different from the “classical Alföld” wares. It was also observed

<sup>55</sup> Parádi 1963 225. Sherds of local wares fired in a reducing atmosphere were also attested at Szentkirály, a village abandoned in the 16th century. Pálóczi-Horváth 1996 21.

<sup>56</sup> Kovács 1990–1991 174.

<sup>57</sup> Tomka 2002 301, citing Szabadfalvi 1960 177–183, and Soproni 1981 17.

<sup>58</sup> Tomka 2002 303, 306.

for the first time that vessels of seemingly identical shapes had been fired in both reducing and oxidising atmospheres.<sup>59</sup>

Zsuzsa Miklós and Márta Vizi came to the same conclusions regarding the finds from Decs-Ete. Several potters' kilns had been excavated in the 1930s on the abandoned site of this once bustling market town by the Danube and a potter's warehouse complete with a ceramic depot was found in the 1990s. This assemblage was crucial to understanding the product range of 16th-century Hungarian potters and it is by now undisputable that they had fired their pottery both in reducing and oxidising atmospheres. Vessel forms related to "Turkish" or "Balkanic" and to the "Alföld" wares were both present, while most of the ceramics displayed the general characteristics of the neighbouring eastern and south-eastern Transdanubian regions. This diversity can probably be ascribed to Ete's geographic location by the Danube, on the boundary of different landscapes and within the Ottoman province.<sup>60</sup>

The unglazed wares of western Hungary have not been particularly widely studied, which most likely stemmed from the long-standing belief originating from ethnographic research that firing pottery – especially liquid containers – in a reducing atmosphere and decorating them with burnishing had been a new and foreign practice among the country's 16th–17th-century potters. As a matter of fact, the use of both firing methods had a centuries-long tradition in the northern Transdanubian region by this time. Reduction firing had probably been introduced from Austria as early as the 13th century and the techniques' simultaneous use can be traced to the folk pottery of the 19th–20th centuries.<sup>61</sup> However, as 16th-century assemblages that would have easily proven the technique's continuity have only been published from a few sites, the demonstration of this connection ran into difficulties.<sup>62</sup> Hence, local unglazed grey wares have been sometimes omitted from publications of sites within the former Ottoman province on the grounds that they must be medieval, and papers in general have mostly dealt with the classical "Balkanic" or "Turkish" grey jugs from the region (*fig. 6*).<sup>63</sup>

The situation changed with the evaluation of a significant 17th-century ceramic assemblage from Székesfehérvár and of the 16th–18th-century pottery from the Pápa-Fő tér ('Main square') by the present author. The first assemblage also contained "Turkish"- or "Balkanic"- and "Alföld"-type grey liquid containers, while both the grey and the red varieties of the vessels displaying the typical "Transdanubian" traits occurred.<sup>64</sup> In the case of Pápa, it was already known from the written sources that the town had had a flourishing pottery industry and the development of their wares could be traced through the early modern period. Burnishing could be observed both on red and grey vessels for the first time on a Transdanubian site, which had been part of the Ottoman Empire only briefly.<sup>65</sup> Zsófia Nádai analysed the grey-fired liquid containers from the Kacsá utca and Ganz utca site of Budapest-Víziváros with these new results in mind.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *F. Lajkó 2015* 116–118.

<sup>60</sup> *Miklós – Vizi 2017* 369–383.

<sup>61</sup> *Feld 1987* 262–263; *Kresz 1991* 15, 20, 23. For 14th-century examples see *Tomka 1998* 152.

<sup>62</sup> E.g., Ozora: *Gerelyes – Feld 1986* 165, 173–176, Abb. 6. 3; *Feld et al. 1989* 193; Kőszeg: *Holl 1992* 30–33; Bajcsa: *Kovács 2001* 202, fig. 10.

<sup>63</sup> Buda: *Gerelyes 1990* 274, 277–279, 284, Abb. 3. 1–3, Abb. 4. 2; *Gerelyes 1991* 28–29, 31–33, 35, figs 8–9; Visegrád: *Gerelyes 1987a* 174; Vál: *Hatházi – Kovács 1996* 45; Barcs: *Kovács 1998* 162, 163, fig. 7; Baja: *Kovács 2006* 279, 280, fig. 5. 1–3, 6; Bátaszék: *Pusztai 2003* 301–310; Székesfehérvár: *Kovács 2017* 329, 332, fig. 6.

<sup>64</sup> *Kolláth 2017*.

<sup>65</sup> *Kolláth 2013* 165–168. The evaluation of medieval and early modern pottery from Győr – one of the region's economic hubs and a well known pottery manufacturing centre till the 20th century – would be essential in further research. At the moment, only one grey, burnished shard with a 16th–18th century dating has been published from the city. *Tomka 1998* 146, fig. 3. 1.

<sup>66</sup> *Nádai 2014*.



Fig. 6. Unglazed red „milk jugs” from Székesfehérvár-Hiemer ház, turn of the 17th and 18th centuries.  
Excavation by Gyula Siklósi, courtesy of Gyöngyi Kovács  
(Photograph: ©Tibor Kádas)

As we can see, researchers have primarily focused on grey-fired liquid containers, while other related tablewares were largely neglected. Márta Vizi has published the unglazed bowls and plates from Ozora-Vár,<sup>67</sup> while a few footed bowls fired in a reducing atmosphere are known from Gyula in south-eastern Hungary<sup>68</sup> and two polished, grey-fired plates have been found on Pápa-Fő tér.<sup>69</sup>

#### *Coarse Balkan wares*

These characteristically archaic ceramic wares form an important group of folk pottery across the Balkan Peninsula and their production can be traced back to the early medieval period. On the other hand, their presence in the Carpathian Basin was restricted to the southern peripheries both before and after the Sultan’s rule and they only appeared in garrisons and southern Slavic settlements within the northern parts of the Ottoman province.<sup>70</sup>

The three main types are baking pans and baking bells/lids, pots and lids, and jugs. These differ from each other not just in form and function, but also in fabric, manufacturing technique and decoration.<sup>71</sup> Numerous further wares can also be distinguished within each larger group, as they had been mostly produced as part of local craft industries or made by part-time potters.<sup>72</sup>

#### *Baking bells or lids and baking pans*

Baking bells or lids, which had still been in use in the southern borderlands of Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century, represent the first group that attracted scholarly attention.<sup>73</sup> The

<sup>67</sup> Vizi 2008.

<sup>68</sup> Szalai 2017 Pl. 26. 46–47.

<sup>69</sup> Kolláth 2013 174, 176, fig. 14. 10.

<sup>70</sup> Kovács 2003a 260–261.

<sup>71</sup> For more detailed descriptions, see Kolláth 2019a 165–166, 171–172, 177, 185.

<sup>72</sup> See Djordjević 2011; Djordjević 2013, with further literature.

<sup>73</sup> Bátky 1935 17.



renowned ethnographers Zsigmond Bátky and Béla Gunda debated their origin in the 1930s, based mainly on the linguistic interpretations of these vessels' various folk names. Béla Römer surveyed the available information on baking bells in the 1960s, noting that Gunda had been right and that the Hungarians had started using these vessels in the early modern period under Balkanic influence. He has also published the first such finds from the Pécs Museum.<sup>74</sup> Tivadar Vida's overview of the vessel type's history through the ages revealed that baking bells had been in use between the 7th–12th centuries, but then disappeared almost completely from the material of the 13th–16th centuries.<sup>75</sup>

The first early modern period specimen from a known archaeological context has been published from Eger-Vár. However, this exemplar is quite atypical, being rather fine, wheel-turned and decorated. Thus, although Károly Kozák and László Fodor correctly identified its function, they were unable to find any parallels.<sup>76</sup> Eventually, Gyöngyi Kovács succeeded in correlating this vessel type with its ethnographic counterparts in her assessment of the Szolnok material in the early 1980s.<sup>77</sup> Attila Gaál excavated numerous brick baking surfaces beside open-air ovens and in-house stoves at Szekszárd-Újpalánk. They had quite certainly been used together with baking bells, as one was found *in situ* in the rubble of one of these stoves in a building that had burned down. Gaál also reviewed the research history of the vessel type in his study on the finds from Újpalánk.<sup>78</sup> Other specimens are known from almost all settlements with a significant southern Slavic population within the Ottoman province.<sup>79</sup>

One curious phenomenon is that early ethnographic research apparently had little interest in baking pans, even though they share several common traits with the lids. One possible explanation could be their possibly separate use and different importance among various populations.<sup>80</sup> A casserole of this type was first published from Eger-Vár.<sup>81</sup> In her study on the finds from Szolnok, Gyöngyi Kovács linked this vessel type with the *tepszi* or *tepszija* known from the written sources and noted its Balkanic origin.<sup>82</sup> She published comparable finds from Törökszentmiklós<sup>83</sup> and Barcs.<sup>84</sup> Further pieces are known from various settlement sites of the former Ottoman province (fig. 7).<sup>85</sup>

<sup>74</sup> *Bátky 1935; Gunda 1935* 179; *Bátky 1936; Römer 1966* 411, fig. 14.

<sup>75</sup> *Vida 2011* 726–732, 756. They are known from a few 10th–12th century sites in the southern Hungarian Plains region: *Rózsa 2016* 214–219. A single piece dated to the 15th century is known from Kőszeg: *Holl 1992* 31, 171, fig. 136. 1. However, it is quite possible that additional late medieval specimens will be found or identified in southern Hungarian contexts, as this region had always had close ties with the Balkans. *Kovács 1990–1991* 172.

<sup>76</sup> *Fodor – Kozák 1970–1971* 155, 196, fig. 46.

<sup>77</sup> *Kovács 1984* 42–43, Pl. 34. 1–5.

<sup>78</sup> *Gaál 1986* 189; *Gaál 2013* 229–232, 258–260, Pl. 16. 8–9, Pl. 17. 1–5; *Gaál 2015* 146–147, 148, fig. 1–3.

<sup>79</sup> Buda: *Gerelyes 1991* 35; *Kolláth 2019a* 177–185, 427–428, 557, fig. 50; Visegrád: *Gerelyes 1987a* 171; Segesd: *Magyar 1988* 147, fig. 13. 4; Babócsa: *Magyar 1990* 139, Pl. 30. 1; Törökkoppány: *Kovács 1990–1991* 172, Pl. VIII. 7–8; Barcs: *Kovács – Rózsás 1996* fig. 15. 7; *Kovács 1998* 155–156, fig. 1. 1–5; Bátaszék: *Pusztai 2003* 306; Székesfehérvár: *Kolláth 2010* 33–36, 125–126, 160, fig. 31; *Vida 2011* 803, fig. 25. 1–2; Pécs: *Hancz – Varga 2013* 83, bottom picture.

<sup>80</sup> *Römer 1966* 405, 410; *Djordjević 2011* 11, 17.

<sup>81</sup> *Fodor – Kozák 1970–1971* 157, fig. 45, fig. 47.

<sup>82</sup> *Kovács 1984* 42.

<sup>83</sup> *Kovács 1990* 247, 249, fig. 6. 1.

<sup>84</sup> *Kovács 1998* 161.

<sup>85</sup> Buda: *Tóth 2003* 275, 279, fig. 5. 3; *Holl 2005a* 32–33; *Tóth 2011a* 232, 245, fig. 6. 5; *Éder 2014* 287; *Sárosi 2002* 521, fig. 31. 4; *Kolláth 2019a* 171–176, 180–185, 421–427, 556, fig. 49; Ipolydamásd: *Miklós 1989* 12, 15, fig. 10. 3; Vác: *MRT 9* site no. 31/3, 450–451; Szeged: *Hancz 2006* 36; Ozora: *Vizi 2008* 234–236, 246–250, Pls 2–6; Székesfehérvár: *Kolláth 2010* 35–36, 125–126, 160, fig. 31; Gyula: *Szalai 2017* 55, Pl. 51; Szekszárd-Újpalánk: *Gaál 2013* 232–233, 260–261, Pl. 17. 6, Pl. 18.



Fig. 7. Baking pan from Budapest-Kacsá utca, second half of the 16th century.  
Excavation by Katalin Éder (Photograph: ©Bence Tihanyi)

#### *Pots and lids*

The photo of a slow wheel-turned coarse pot appeared among various other vessels of a 17th-century assemblage from Budapest-Tabán in Henrik Horváth's 1936 article; however, the author did not discuss this find in the main text.<sup>86</sup> The type was next briefly mentioned in Géza Fehér's 1960 study on the Ottoman-period pottery of Pécs, who noted that not only jugs, but slow wheel-turned pots with similar decoration had also been made in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>87</sup> Győző Gerő identified this type in a securely dated Ottoman-period, late 16th-century context in Mária G. Sándor's excavation material from Márévár.<sup>88</sup> Based on these finds and the type's more intense presence in southern Transdanubia, he argued that they had been Bosnian products of the 16th century used by soldiers originating from that region who had retained their Christian religion.<sup>89</sup>

As already mentioned in the section on Ottoman pottery, this theory had been partly refuted and partly refined by Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, in this case based on the finds from Ozora and Törökkoppány. Gerelyes also noted that this kind of slow wheel-turned pottery had been widespread throughout the entire early modern period and across the entire Balkan Peninsula, not just in 16th-century Bosnia.<sup>90</sup> Kálmán Magyar excavated a pottery kiln in Babócsa-Vár, which might have been used for firing such wares.<sup>91</sup>

The next major advance was represented by Gyöngyi Kovács's assessment of the finds from Barcs, Bajcsa and Nagykanizsa Castles.<sup>92</sup> She confirmed that slow wheel-turned wares had been

<sup>86</sup> Horváth 1936 fig. 53.

<sup>87</sup> Fehér 1959 126, fig. 6.

<sup>88</sup> G. Sándor 1959–1960 126–127, note 45.

<sup>89</sup> Gerő 1978 352; Gerő 1985 200.

<sup>90</sup> Gerelyes – Feld 1986 177; Kovács 1990–1991 172–173.

<sup>91</sup> Sherds from vessels of this type were recovered from the fill and around the kiln, but the description of the excavation context is not clear regarding their exact position. Magyar 1990 138–140, figs 41–42, Pls 27–30.

<sup>92</sup> Kovács 1998 162.

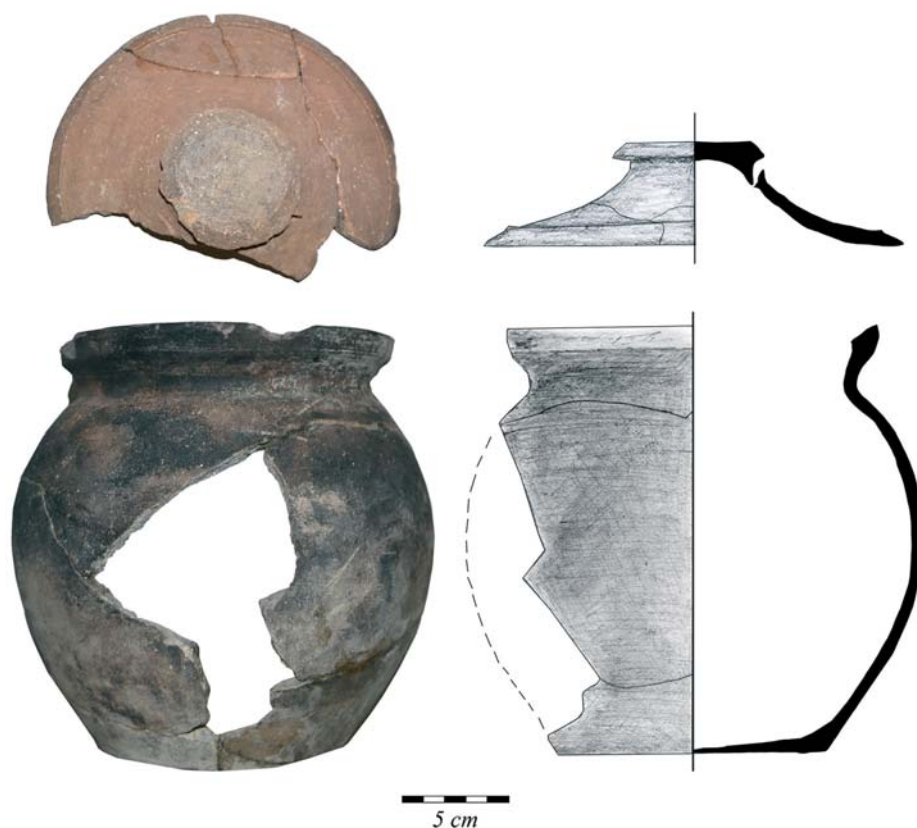


Fig. 8. Slow-turned pot and lid from Budapest-Színház utca and Szent György tér, 17th century. Excavations by István Feld and Károly Magyar (Photographs and drawings: ©Ágnes Kolláth)

produced locally right before the Ottoman conquest in southern Transdanubia, although they differed slightly from the Balkanic wares arriving with the new settlers.<sup>93</sup> Her findings have been corroborated by Vesna Bikić's observations regarding the slow wheel-turned pottery of Belgrade Castle (Serbia), which had been under Hungarian rule until 1521.<sup>94</sup>

Higher quantities of this pottery type have been published by Tamás Pusztai from Bátaszék,<sup>95</sup> by Márton Rózsás from Pusztabarcs<sup>96</sup> and by Attila Gaál from Szekszárd-Újpalánk.<sup>97</sup> It would appear that slow wheel-turned pots and lids played a more important role in the material culture of smaller south Transdanubian Ottoman forts, while they appear in lower numbers in the northern Transdanubian garrisons such as Visegrád<sup>98</sup> and Vál.<sup>99</sup> They are attested sporadically on larger settlements with significant trade connections such as Buda<sup>100</sup> and Székesfehérvár<sup>101</sup> or have not been identified at all yet (Szolnok, Eger). It must here be noted that data on this type are virtually lacking from eastern Hungary (*fig. 8*).

<sup>93</sup> Kovács 1998 156–162; Kovács 2001 197–198; Kovács 2003a 261.

<sup>94</sup> Bikić 2003 179.

<sup>95</sup> Pusztai 2001; Pusztai 2002; Pusztai 2003.

<sup>96</sup> Rózsás 2006.

<sup>97</sup> Gaál 2013 219–227.

<sup>98</sup> Gerehlyes 1987a 175–177.

<sup>99</sup> Hatházi – Kovács 1996 41–42.

<sup>100</sup> Gerehlyes 1991 46, fig. 11. 9; Tóth 2011a 231, 234–235, 237; Éder 2014 286; Nádai 2016 75, XII–XIII. cat. nos 117–118, Pl. 29; Kolláth 2019a 165–171, 417–421, fig. 48.

<sup>101</sup> Kolláth 2010 23, 27–28, 32, 123–124, cat. nos. 61–65, 75, 158, fig. 28. 159, fig. 30.

*Jugs*

This very distinctive, but rather rare type of coarse liquid container was either hand-thrown or turned on a slow wheel, or made by combining the two techniques. It has a distinct form and rich decoration consisting of applied, incised or thumb-indented ribs, incised lines, stamped and rouletted patterns, textile imprints. The vessels also often bear base stamps.<sup>102</sup>

Géza Fehér was the first to identify this ware in the material of the Pécs museum. He called them “prehistoric-like jugs” and found their parallels in Bosnian folk pottery.<sup>103</sup> Even though they occur very infrequently in archaeological assemblages, it seems that a variant had been produced in southern Transdanubia by the women of the Magyarhertelend village until the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>104</sup> It is known in Ottoman-period archaeological contexts from Kanizsa, Barcs, Bátaszék, Szekszárd-Újpalánk and Buda.<sup>105</sup>

*Chinese porcelain and Near Eastern faiences*

Faiences were first discussed in Sándor Garády’s summary written in 1944, in which he identified them correctly as being of Near Eastern origin.<sup>106</sup> In the ensuing decades, faience and porcelain were only mentioned briefly or merely as illustrations of excavation reports.<sup>107</sup> Katalin H. Gyürky was the first to actually cover them in detail and to link the pieces from the Dominican Cloister of Buda to Iznik workshops. These finds could be dated to the earlier 16th century, and thus she and Imre Holl both concluded that they had arrived as gifts from the Sultan’s court or as personal purchases of Hungarian emissaries to Istanbul.<sup>108</sup>

Although Győző Gerő studied such vessels at greater length, he only published concise summaries of his findings. He concentrated primarily on faiences, confirming the Iznik identification of the well recognisable pieces and classifying all the others as products of Persian workshops. He contended that these ceramics were all luxury wares, affordable only to the highest-ranking “genuine Turkish” members of Ottoman-period society.<sup>109</sup>

The first detailed study on faiences and porcelains, complete with find descriptions and illustrations, was Gyöngyi Kovács’s study on the Szolnok material in 1984.<sup>110</sup> Ibolya Gerelyes wrote the first modern comprehensive overview in 1994.<sup>111</sup> The large-scale excavations of the 1990s yielded relatively high numbers of both faiences and china, indicating that they were more affordable goods than previously believed and that their occurrence depended mainly on the proximity of trade routes. However, it has proven true that their presence in the Hungarian Kingdom (outside the Ottoman province) was sporadic and confined to the immediate borderlands.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>102</sup> *Kolláth 2019a* 185.

<sup>103</sup> *Fehér 1959* 126–127, Pl. XXXII.

<sup>104</sup> *Dankó 1968*.

<sup>105</sup> *Kovács 2003b* 159–160, fig. 8; *Kovács 1998* fig. 17. 1–8; *Pusztai 2003* 305–306, fig. 2. 5; *Gaál 2012* 300–305; *Kolláth 2019a* 185.

<sup>106</sup> *Garády 1944* 394, Pl. CXXXIX. 2–5, Pl. CXL. 4, Pl. CXLI.

<sup>107</sup> Buda: *Zolnay 1973* 251, fig. 10; *Kovács 2005* 84, notes 4–6; Eger: *Kozák 1963* 131, 159, fig. 35; *Kozák 1964a* 233, 270, 56; Székesfehérvár: *Siklósi 1982* 3, 11, 81, 200; Mór: *G. Sándor 1959–1960* 126..

<sup>108</sup> *H. Gyürky 1974* 413–423, Taf. XLIX–LII.

<sup>109</sup> *Gerő 1978*; *Gerő 1985*; *Gerő 1989*.

<sup>110</sup> *Kovács 1984* 44–54, 125–130, Pls 28–32.

<sup>111</sup> *Gerelyes 1994*.

<sup>112</sup> *Sárosi 2002* 475, 476, 482, 484, fig. 37. 2, fig. 43. 3; *Tóth 2003*; *Sabján – Végh 2003*; *Bencze – Papp 2004*; *Kovács 2003b* 159, fig. 9. 1–4; *Tomka 2002* 299–300. We have no data about their quantities in the Transylvanian Principate.



Fig. 9. Fragments of Near Eastern fayance cups with bottom marks, from Budapest-Szent György tér, 17th century. Excavation by István Feld (Photographs and drawings: ©Ágnes Kolláth)

Imre Holl's 2005 monograph on the finds from the Buda-Budavári Palota and his later studies on find assemblages from other sites are essential works on this topic. He constructed a typological scheme for porcelains and Near Eastern faiences, taking his cue from Győző Gerő's notion about Anatolian (Iznik) and Persian products, a distinction that remained widely accepted until the late 2010s.<sup>113</sup> Gyöngyi Kovács and Ibolya Gerelyes have also provided summaries on the current state of research, the latter also analysing the *celadon* finds from Hungary.<sup>114</sup>

There has been a welcome surge in publications on these finds from both recent and older excavations during the last one and a half decades.<sup>115</sup> One of the truly remarkable finds of these years was an assemblage of seven Iznik plates carefully placed in a wooden box and then concealed at the turn of the 16th–17th centuries in Esztergom, excavated and published by Edit Tari.<sup>116</sup>

The widely accepted distinction between “Iznik” and “Persian” faiences was challenged following the archaeometric examination of the composition of vessel fabrics from Budapest and Eger, as some of the samples considered “Persian” on stylistic grounds turned out to have the same characteristics as “classic” Iznik wares.<sup>117</sup> These findings and the increasing number of comparative assemblages published from other sites within the Ottoman Empire and along its long-distance trade routes are slowly, but surely transforming Hungarian researchers' views on Near Eastern faiences. However, at present, we are only able to securely identify the products of the classic, state-controlled Iznik workshops (*fig. 9*).<sup>118</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Holl 2005a 100–160; Holl 2005b 212–221, 231–247 figs 16–40; Holl 2006; Gerő 1978 348–349.

<sup>114</sup> Kovács 2005; Kovács 2010b; Gerelyes 2004; Gerelyes 2008.

<sup>115</sup> Szekszárd-Újpalánk: Gaál 2005; Baja: Kovács 2009; Budapest: Éder 2007; Éder 2012; Éder 2013; Tóth 2011b; Kolláth 2016a 370–372; Horváth – Komori 2020 270, fig. 8; Pécs: Hancz 2008; Hancz – Varga 2013 78–80; Székesfehérvár: Kolláth 2015a 391–392, figs 6–11; Gyula: Szalai 2013; Szalai 2017; Szigetvár-Turbék: Hancz 2020 264–271.

<sup>116</sup> Tari 2016.

<sup>117</sup> Zay 2014; Balla – Éder 2017.

<sup>118</sup> Kolláth 2019a 199.

Simultaneously, the research of Chinese porcelains has taken a new turn as well, thanks mainly to the work of Tünde Komori. She explored the provenance of these wares found in Hungary, and was in some cases even able to identify the exact workshops in the city of Jingdehen where they had been made. She has also created a new typology of china, based mainly on finds from Budapest and Eger.<sup>119</sup> Most recently, the present author's findings on the parallels of certain vessel types in the Netherlands have shed light on the Dutch Eastern India Company's involvement in the porcelain trade towards the Ottoman Empire, mostly known from written sources (*fig. 10*).<sup>120</sup>



Fig. 10. Porcelain finds from the Eger Caste under evaluation, 17th century. Excavation by Károly Kozák (Photograph: ©Tünde Komori)

### *Tin-glazed wares*

The first tin-glazed wares appeared at the end of the 15th century in the Hungarian Kingdom. However, most of the early modern period pottery made with this technique was produced by, or at least shows the influence of Anabaptist (also called Haban) craftsmen, who had arrived to this region in the mid-16th century.<sup>121</sup>

These wares have been principally discussed by art historians in Hungary. The first significant researchers discussing tin-glazed pottery were Béla Krisztinkovich, Imre Katona and Magda Bunta, all of whom wrote important comprehensive studies based on the main Hungarian and Transylvanian museum collections.<sup>122</sup> More recently Mária Krisztinkovich and Jenő Horváth have published a monograph on the vessels of the Krisztinkovich Collection in Vancouver.<sup>123</sup> Another volume by László Réti and Diána Radványi as well as numerous exhibition catalogues have also covered these wares.<sup>124</sup>

A few years ago, the Hungarian National Museum launched a research project on Haban pottery led by Anna Ridovics. The known pieces have been catalogued and an excavation has been carried out in the Haban Court of Sárospatak. The results of this research have been published by István Ringer and the scientific examination of the composition of several vessels was performed.<sup>125</sup> A thematic volume of *Acta Ethnographica* was dedicated to this ware in 2015, surveying the results from Hungary and the neighbouring countries.<sup>126</sup>

Haban pottery is fairly rare in the published archaeological assemblages from Hungary. In the case of Budapest, Sándor Garády has discussed the Haban pottery from the Tabán district. Since then, only Orsolya Havasy has published a vessel with the date of 1674 painted on it from Buda-

<sup>119</sup> Komori 2014a; Komori 2014b; Komori 2015; Komori 2017a; Komori 2017b; Komori 2018.

<sup>120</sup> Kolláth 2019a 205–206; Kolláth 2019b 403.

<sup>121</sup> Radványi – Réti 2011 21–23.

<sup>122</sup> Bunta 1973; Krisztinkovich 1962; Katona 1974; Katona 1983.

<sup>123</sup> Horvath – Krisztinkovich 2005.

<sup>124</sup> Ridovics 2008; Réti 2007.

<sup>125</sup> Ringer 2014; Ringer 2015; Ringer 2016; Bajnóczi et al. 2011; Bajnóczi et al. 2015.

<sup>126</sup> *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 60/2 (2015).

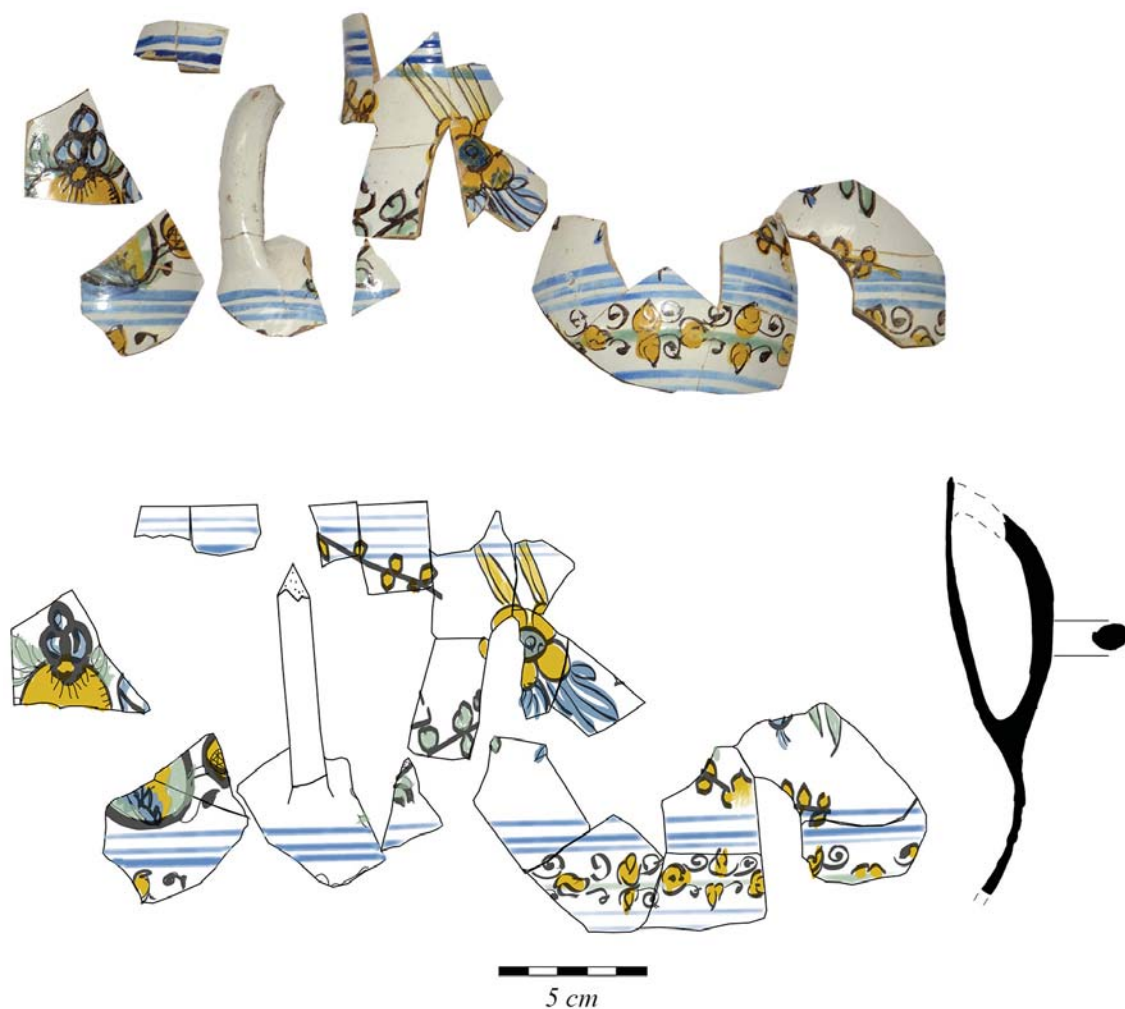


Fig. 11. Fragments of a tin-glazed jug with Anabaptist-style decoration from Budapest-Szent György tér, 17th century. Excavation by Károly Magyar (Photograph and drawing: ©Ágnes Kolláth)

Szent György tér.<sup>127</sup> Gábor Tomka has analysed the finds from Szendrő-Vár.<sup>128</sup> We know quite a few pieces from the inner city of Székesfehérvár, and also a probably unfinished vessel from the western *suburbium*, which sheds some light on the production of Anabaptist-style pottery in the 18th century.<sup>129</sup> A few fragments are known from Sümeg, Regéc, Nagykanizsa, Vál, Szekszárd, Eger and Pápa, but all things considered, much archaeological research is still needed to gain a better understanding of this ware (*fig. 11*).<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Garády 1944 395–396, Pl. CXXXIX. 1, 6, Pl. CXL. 3, Pl. CXLII. 1, 3; Havasy 2016 353–354, fig. 6. 1.

<sup>128</sup> Tomka 2018 62–64, Pls 52–53.

<sup>129</sup> Kovács 2017 336–341, figs 11–12; Kolláth 2010 78–79, 139, cat. nos. 268–275, fig. 67; Kolláth 2015b 131, Pl. 2. 3. The Haban courts themselves had split up by the mid-18th century at the latest, but their influence persisted until the 20th century.

<sup>130</sup> Pető 2015; Kovács 2003b 176; Hatházi – Kovács 1996 46; Gaál 2010 450–451; Somodi 2016 26–28, Pls XXII–XIII; Kolláth 2013 169–172, figs 10–11.

“Cut-glazed” wares

The origins of certain techniques and motifs in Hungarian folk art have been since long debated by ethnographers. Given that the forerunners of several such ceramic wares can be found in 16th–18th-century find assemblages, these arguments have influenced archaeologists as well. Many ceramic groups are virtually unknown, making their evaluation difficult.

The single exception to this rule is the so-called cut-glazed pottery, which is actually one of the best-studied ceramic types in Hungary, and I shall therefore only summarise the main arguments concerning these wares. These various tablewares (mainly plates and liquid containers) have a light fabric and often a rich decoration consisting of multi-coloured lead and tin glazes combined with incised, stamped and applied ornament.<sup>131</sup>

Kálmán Szabó published the first securely identifiable pieces from the broader Kecskemét area.<sup>132</sup> Sándor Garády compared them to *sgraffito*-decorated footed bowls and correctly noted their diverse origins.<sup>133</sup> Imre Holl and Pál Voit voiced their contentions in 1956 based on the excavation material of Buda-Budavári palota, similarly to Katalin Irásné Melis in 1984.<sup>134</sup> The term “cut-glazed” referring to their characteristic decoration was coined by Pál Voit. He linked the vessels using tin glazes to the potters originally working in the majolica workshop of King Matthias I (1458–1490). However, he argued that the ceramics themselves, although displaying German and Czech-Moravian influence, were nevertheless the result of a local development, and dated the last specimens to the 16th century. Initially, he correctly located their production centres to northern Hungary and southern Slovakia, but later he modified his standpoint, deeming them the products of unknown and/or itinerant workshops.<sup>135</sup>

While Katalin Irásné Melis agreed regarding the importance of German and Italian influences, she argued that these wares had been made in Buda during a brief period between the last third of the 15th century and 1541. In her view, the potters fleeing the city occupied by the Ottomans subsequently made poorer-quality vessels in the 16th century in northern Hungary.<sup>136</sup> Herta



Fig. 12. Fine material jug fired to a light colour with monochrome glazing on its mouth from Budapest-Kacska utca, a typical product of the workshops in the Szécsény – Gömör – Rimaszombat region (today Northern Hungary and Southern Slovakia), second half of the 16th century. Excavation by Katalin Éder (Photograph: ©Bence Tihanyi)

<sup>131</sup> The undecorated specimens of this type have been discussed by Gábor Tomka: *Tomka 2018* 85–90, 96–97, 118–119.

<sup>132</sup> *Szabó 1938* 108–109, figs 504–506.

<sup>133</sup> *Garády 1944* 386, Pl. CXXXIV.

<sup>134</sup> *Irásné Melis 1984*.

<sup>135</sup> *Voit 1954* 98–100; *Holl – Voit 1956* 133–134.

<sup>136</sup> *Irásné Melis 1984* 220.



Bertalan has published numerous finds from Óbuda, accepting Melis's dating to the turn of the 15th–16th centuries, as most of the vessels came from mixed layers.<sup>137</sup>

The problems of production centres and dating have been mostly resolved by Gábor Tomka and Maxim Mordovin, based on their assessment of the finds from Mohi, Ónod, Szendrő and Szécsény. They provided the typology and chronology of this ware, dating its last specimens to as late as the 17th century. They also proved that production had taken place mainly in northern Hungary and southern Slovakia. However, the pottery type's connections to the medieval, so-called Buda fine wares remain uncertain for the time being (*fig. 12*).<sup>138</sup>

### *Slipwares*

Early modern period slipwares were first covered by Henrik Horváth and Sándor Garády, who both linked them to Turkish pottery and decorative arts.<sup>139</sup> Gyula Mészáros and Olivér Soproni accepted this theory and developed it further, resulting in many misleading suppositions.<sup>140</sup> Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács began to refine these views in their studies on the find assemblages from Budapest-Tabán and Szolnok, Törökszentmiklós and Törökkoppány, respectively.<sup>141</sup>



Fig. 13. Glazed and slip-painted plates made in Styria from Nagykanizsa-Bajcsavár (Weitschawar), 1578–1600. Excavation by Gyöngyi Kovács (Photograph: ©Tibor Kádas)

<sup>137</sup> Bertalané 1998b.

<sup>138</sup> Tomka 2016; Tomka 2018 31–40, 109, 112–114; Mordovin 2016, all with further literature. Péter Véninger has covered the technical aspects of this ware's production: Véninger 2016.

<sup>139</sup> Horváth 1936 213; Garády 1944 389–394.

<sup>140</sup> Mészáros 1968; Soproni 1981.

<sup>141</sup> Gerelyes 1985; Kovács 1984; Kovács 1990–1991 170–171.

However, in this case, the genuine breakthrough came from ethnography, when Janka Teodóra Nagy found the well-recognisable German forerunners of Szekszárd and Mórág pottery, both of which were earlier considered to be “Turkish-like”.<sup>142</sup> Judit Benda has excavated an 18th-century German potters’ workshop in the Viziváros *suburbium* of Buda (Kapás utca), where the potters had worked with similar techniques and decorations as those of Mórág.<sup>143</sup> We also have some information on the 16th-century imported German slipwares from Bajcsa, Buda and Visegrád.<sup>144</sup> The slipwares found on other sites in Transdanubia are mainly known from brief reports (*figs 13–14*).<sup>145</sup>

The situation is somewhat better in the case of eastern Hungary. Gabriella Vida has pointed out the strong northern Italian influences in the decorative style of these slipwares in her overview on the pottery of Miskolc.<sup>146</sup> Gábor Tomka has analysed the finds from Ónod and Szendrő, while Orsolya Lajkó discussed the slipwares of Hódmezővásárhely in south-eastern Hungary (*fig. 15*).<sup>147</sup>

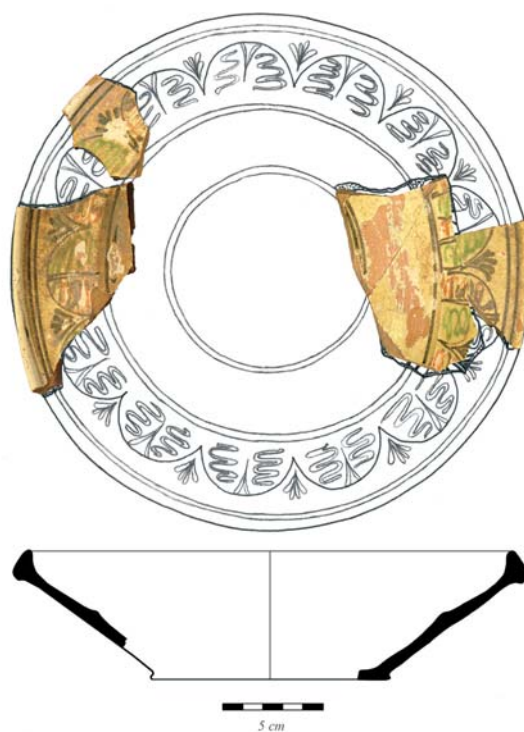


Fig. 14. Slip-painted plate decorated in “Transdanubian style” from Visegrád-Fellegvár, second half of the 17th century. Excavation by Mátyás Szőke (Photograph: ©Edit Kocsis, drawing: ©Éva Molnár)

### *Marbled wares*

#### *Vessels with “sedge-leaf pattern”*

These plates and bowls were named after their specific decoration technique: the potter poured multi-coloured slips and sometimes glazes in them, creating leaf- or petal-like motifs. The colours were then often stirred in the middle, creating a marbled design.

These vessels were generally discussed together with other slipwares until the 1980s: Henrik Horváth, Sándor Garády, Olivér Soproni and Gyula Mészáros all accentuated the oriental, “Turkish” influences on these wares.<sup>148</sup> Gyöngyi Kovács voiced a partly different opinion based on her re-evaluation of the Szolnok finds. She highlighted the decorative technique’s Byzantine roots and associated these vessels with settlers arriving from the Balkan Peninsula.<sup>149</sup> Ibolya Gerelyes refined this theory in her study on the plates from the Tabán *suburbium* of Buda. She

<sup>142</sup> Nagy 1995.

<sup>143</sup> Benda 2006.

<sup>144</sup> Weitschawar 2001 208–209; Holl 2005a 91–95; Kocsis 2016 271–273.

<sup>145</sup> Szekszárd-Újpalánk: Gaál 2010; Tata: B. Kovács 2018 35–36, 50, fig. 16; Pápa: Kolláth 2013 172–176; Székesfehérvár: Kolláth 2010 75–77.

<sup>146</sup> Vida 1999 18.

<sup>147</sup> Tomka 2018 114; Lajkó 2002 316, both with further literature.

<sup>148</sup> Horváth 1936 fig. 56; Garády 1944 389, Pl. CXXXVI. 3–4; Soproni 1956–58; Soproni 1981 224, Pl. 2; Mészáros 1968.

<sup>149</sup> Kovács 1984 33–34, Pl. 33. 4–8.



Fig. 15. Slip-painted jug from Szendrő-Felső vár, 17th century. Excavation by Gábor Tomka (Photograph: ©Judit Kardos)

opined that these wares had been the products of southern Slavic (*rác*) Christian settlers arriving at the end of the 17th century, after the reconquest.<sup>150</sup>

The problem appeared to have been resolved, until the German origin of the Szekszárd and Mórág pottery was identified, as the potters of these settlements had both used this decoration and it was attested in the German (Swabian) villages founded in the 18th century as well.<sup>151</sup> Securely datable proof from the potter's workshop in Budapest-Kapás utca and Pápa also pointed towards the vessel type's western origin.<sup>152</sup>

Adrienn Papp recently revisited this issue in her publication of the plates found in a late 17th-century assemblage during the excavation of the Rácfürdő 'Bath' in Budapest-Tabán. She found their closest parallels in Greece, which – in spite of the abovementioned results – would suggest the Byzantine-Balkan connections of this decoration technique.<sup>153</sup> In this case, the closer re-examination of both the Early Modern finds and the vessels in ethnographic collections may bring the researchers closer to a clarification.

#### "Western marbled wares"

Similar problems arose in the case of the other distinctive group of marbled ceramics, made up mainly of plates and liquid containers of whitish or light red fabric. Their main decoration is multi-coloured marbling, sometimes combined with other techniques. They differ significantly from the marbled wares discussed above.

The first pieces were published from Szigliget and Sümeg by Károly Kozák, who assumed that they had been made in the latter settlement and dated them to the end of the 17th century.<sup>154</sup> Ibolya Gerelyes analysed a plate from Visegrád, found in an assemblage dating from the mid-17th century at the latest.<sup>155</sup> Comparable finds are mentioned mainly in the excavation reports and other shorter studies surveyed by Gábor Tomka as part of his evaluation of the pieces from

<sup>150</sup> Gerelyes 1985 232–240.

<sup>151</sup> Nagy 1995 509–510; Kresz 1991 fig. 73.

<sup>152</sup> Benda 2006 299, 301, 307, fig. 7; Kolláth 2013 171, fig. 11. 8. More specimens are known from Óbuda: Bertalanné 2004 figs 22–23.

<sup>153</sup> Papp 2016. The type is mentioned in early works: for example, David Talbot Rice dated a piece in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London to the 15th–16th centuries and identified it as a Byzantine product. Talbot Rice 1930 114, Table XVIa.

<sup>154</sup> É. Kozák 1970 238, fig. 297; Kozák 1966b 82–83, fig. 2. 1.

<sup>155</sup> Gerelyes 1987a 170, 175, fig. 3. 3.

Ónod and Szendrő. He found their parallels in German territory and in southern Poland.<sup>156</sup> Imre Holl added new details to the overall picture, placing their production between 1600–1688 and locating their workshop to Straubing, Germany.<sup>157</sup> Edit Kocsis described and discussed numerous pieces from Visegrád, dating them to the castle's Christian re-occupation at the turn of the 16th–17th centuries.<sup>158</sup> Additional vessels and vessel fragments are known from Szekszárd-Újpalánk and Budapest-Szent György tér.<sup>159</sup>

### *Regional pottery studies and typologies*

Even though it has been clear since Mária Kresz's ethnographic and Imre Holl's archaeological studies in the 1950s that certain types of Hungarian folk pottery have a distinct regional distribution, which can be traced back to the early modern period or even the medieval period,<sup>160</sup> studies of this type have been few and far between in archaeological scholarship.

Nándor Parádi has collected the medieval vessels containing coins from the Hungarian museum collections in 1963, giving much needed starting points for dating certain types.<sup>161</sup> Károly Kozák was the first to attempt an identification of the products of the Sümeg potters in the 1960s, and published a study discussing the regional characteristics of ceramics in Veszprém County in 1986.<sup>162</sup> Béla Miklós Szőke published a late 18th–early 19th-century find assemblage from Győr, discussing the local ceramic production of the city as well.<sup>163</sup> Sarolta Lázár analysed the pottery types from Eger, considered to be “Hungarian” products at the time, and searched for their parallels among the region's more recent ceramics.<sup>164</sup> Ibolya Gerelyes also published a study with interesting conclusions on the pottery of the broader Ozora area.<sup>165</sup>

Interest in the topic rose considerably in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Gyöngyi Kovács discussed the connections and logistics of the Bajcsa fort by the western border of Hungary, which had been built and financed in 1578 by the neighbouring Styrian nobles. She compared its well datable ceramic finds to those of nearby Kanizsa Castle.<sup>166</sup> Márta Vizi evaluated the ceramic finds from the excavations of Ozora-Vár, later comparing them with the pottery from nearby Decs-Ete. She also mapped the 19th–20th-century production centres of the broader region and experimented with the usage of a pottery typology system developed in northern Germany.<sup>167</sup> Orsolya Lajkó chose another path in her treatment of the pottery of south-eastern Hungary, based mainly on finds from Hódmezővásárhely. She initially adopted the typology developed by Mária Kresz and Mária Igaz for museum collections of folk pottery, but found that it was only partially suitable for archaeological assemblages.<sup>168</sup> Gábor Tomka has contributed some of the

<sup>156</sup> Tomka 2018 64–65, with further literature; Pl. 54. Other pieces are known from Ugod Castle: *Mithay 1988* 76, 80, fig. 24. 10; and from Lenti Castle: *Závodi 2003* 176, fig. 6. 6.

<sup>157</sup> Holl 2005a 92–93, Abb. 52. 5.

<sup>158</sup> Kocsis 2016 271, 281, Pl. 6. 1–5.

<sup>159</sup> Gaál 2010 448, Pl. 12. 3–4; Kolláth 2019a 243–245.

<sup>160</sup> Holl 1956; Kresz 1960 315.

<sup>161</sup> Parádi 1963.

<sup>162</sup> Kozák 1964b; Kozák 1966b 81, 86; Kozák 1986.

<sup>163</sup> Szőke 1974.

<sup>164</sup> Lázár 1986.

<sup>165</sup> Feld et al. 1989 179–181, 182–183, figs 5–6.

<sup>166</sup> Bajcsa was abandoned in 1600. Kovács 2001; Kovács 2003a; Kovács – Vándor 2004; Kovács 2009; Weitschawar 2001..

<sup>167</sup> Vizi 2000; Vizi 2002; Vizi 2006; Vizi 2008; Vizi 2010; Miklós – Vizi 2006; Miklós – Vizi 2007; Miklós – Vizi 2017;

<sup>168</sup> Igaz – Kresz 1955; F. Lajkó 2007; Lajkó 2003; F. Lajkó 2005; F. Lajkó 2006; F. Lajkó 2010; F. Lajkó 2015.

most important findings concerning the early modern period pottery of north-eastern Hungary, based on the material of Mohi, a market town first abandoned in the 16th century and then finally in the 17th century, and Ónod and Szendrő Castles.<sup>169</sup> Gyöngyi Kovács has explored the regional characteristics of the Dráva-region by the south-western border of Hungary together with Márton Rózsás, based on the finds from her excavation of the Barcs palisade fort, extensive field surveys and the petrographic analyses of ceramic samples.<sup>170</sup> The present author's research on the north-eastern Transdanubian region, based principally on the finds from Budapest, Székesfehérvár and Pápa, has also yielded some interesting results, mainly concerning household wares, unglazed liquid containers and local production.<sup>171</sup>

Additional information about the locally developed and produced ceramics can be found in excavation reports and various short studies.<sup>172</sup>

### Conclusion

As shown by this overview, although the study of early modern period pottery in Hungary began at a fairly early date, interest in this topic fluctuated and was highly specialised for a long time, the latter leading to a number of strongly biased theories. Neither was it conducive to studies in this field that the ceramics from this period were often assumed to be younger than their real age, resulting in the destruction of their contexts, or even the finds themselves as they were considered to be modern. Even though there has been a welcome upsurge of publications since the early 2000s, enriching our knowledge of the period's ceramics, reports on individual assemblages or sites are still sorely needed, similarly to research on the connections of ceramic wares within and outside Hungary.

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<sup>169</sup> *Tomka 2002; Tomka 2018.*

<sup>170</sup> *Kovács 1998; Kovács 2012; Kreiter – Pánczél – Kovács 2016; Rózsás 2004; Rózsás 2006.*

<sup>171</sup> *Kolláth 2013; Kolláth 2014; Kolláth 2015b; Kolláth 2016a; Kolláth 2017; Kolláth 2019a; Kolláth 2019b.*

<sup>172</sup> Examples besides the earlier cited works: Boldogkő: *K. Végh 1966* 123, 133, 166–169, Pls II–V; Dunaföldvár: *É. Kozák 1970* 203–205, figs 31–35; Hollókő: *É. A. Kozák 1975* 46, 49–50 figs 28–31; Csővár: *Feld – Jakus – László 1979* 39–49, figs 39–43; Békés-Kastélyzug: *Gerelyes 1980* 110, figs 7–9; Ugod: *Mithay 1988* figs 21–24, fig. 28; Sirok: *Fülöp – Héczey-Markó 2013* 125, 132, fig. 8. 3–6; Salgó: *Balogh-László 2016*; Csókakő: *Hatházi – Kovács 2016* 130, fig. 15; Sopron: *Holl 1967; Holl 1968; Holl 1971; Holl 1973*; Ráckeve: *Fegyő 1973*; Medina: *Csalog 1941*; Túrkeve-Móric: *Méri 1954*; Egervár: *Fehér 1957*; Nagyvázsöny-Csepely: *Kovalovszki 1969*; Gyepükaján-Nagykeszi: *Holl – Parádi 1982*; Bánokszentgyörgy-Szentmihály: *Holl 1987; Holl 1990*; Mihon: *Kvassay 1996*; Óföldség: *F. Lajkó 2004*; Ura: *Fábián – Pintye – Ulrich 2011.*

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