

Dóra Mérai

**“THE TRUE AND EXACT DRESSES AND FASHION”  
ETHNIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
REMAINS OF CLOTHING IN EARLY MODERN HUNGARY**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2007

**“THE TRUE AND EXACT DRESSES AND FASHION”  
ETHNIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF  
CLOTHING IN EARLY MODERN HUNGARY**

by

Dóra Mérai

(Hungary)

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

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

---

Chair, Examination Committee

---

Thesis Supervisor

---

Examiner

Budapest  
May 2007



**“THE TRUE AND EXACT DRESSES AND FASHION”  
ETHNIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF  
CLOTHING IN EARLY MODERN HUNGARY**

by

Dóra Mérai

(Hungary)

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

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

---

External Examiner

**“THE TRUE AND EXACT DRESSES AND FASHION”  
ETHNIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF  
CLOTHING IN EARLY MODERN HUNGARY**

by

Dóra Mérai

(Hungary)

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

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

---

External Supervisor

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

Budapest, 25 May 2007

---

Signature

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
 <b>CHAPTER ONE</b>	
<b>CHANGES IN THE POPULATION OF THE CARPATHIAN BASIN IN THE PERIOD OF THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST.....</b>	<b>4</b>
 <b>CHAPTER TWO</b>	
<b>THE PROBLEM OF ETHNICITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY .....</b>	<b>10</b>
2.1. ETHNICITY AND MATERIAL CULTURE.....	10
2.2. INTERPRETATION OF MATERIAL CULTURE IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY .....	13
2.3. MATERIAL CULTURE AND ETHNICITY IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF OTTOMAN- PERIOD HUNGARY .....	16
2.4. THE PROBLEM OF ETHNICITY AND COSTUMES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF LATE MEDIEVAL HUNGARY .....	21
 <b>CHAPTER THREE</b>	
<b>GROUPS OF SOURCES AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS .....</b>	<b>28</b>
3.1. SOURCES AND COSTUME HISTORY .....	28
3.1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES .....	31
3.1.1. <i>Churchyard cemeteries</i> .....	32
3.1.2. <i>Cemeteries of Southern Slav ethnic groups</i> .....	37
3.1.3. <i>Crypts and burials in churches</i> .....	40
3.2. PICTORIAL SOURCES .....	44
3.3. WRITTEN SOURCES .....	50
SUMMARY.....	55
 <b>CHAPTER FOUR</b>	
<b>EVALUATION OF THE SOURCES FOR ETHNIC MARKERS .....</b>	<b>57</b>
4.1. ETHNICITY: THE SO-CALLED SOUTHERN SLAV CEMETERIES.....	57
4.1.1. <i>Bronze and iron hairpins</i> .....	59
4.1.2. <i>Silver hairpins with large spherical heads</i> .....	62
4.1.3. <i>Clasps, buttons and reconstructions of oriental garments</i> .....	68
4.1.4. <i>South Slav peculiarities in the present stage of research</i> .....	69
4.1.5. <i>Rituals and the problem of religion and ethnicity</i> .....	70
4.1.6. <i>Summary</i> .....	74
4.2. ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS.....	76
4.2.1. <i>Hairpins</i> .....	76
4.2.2. <i>Female headgear: The pártá</i> .....	82
4.2.3. <i>The cut of female dress</i> .....	87
4.2.4. <i>Shoe heel plates of iron</i> .....	90
4.2.5. <i>Summary</i> .....	91
 <b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>93</b>
 <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>98</b>
 <b>APPENDIX - ILLUSTRATIONS .....</b>	<b>ERROR! BOOKMARK NOT DEFINED.</b>

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1. Hungary after the treaty of 1568. Map 5 from *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol 1, *Magyarország története 3* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985).
- Figure 2. Hungarian and Ottoman Turkish forts and fortresses in Transylvania. Map 11 from *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol 1, *Magyarország története 3* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985).
- Figure 3. The Ottoman-Turkish advancement. Map 2 from *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol 1, *Magyarország története 3* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 102.
- Figure 4. Distribution of hairpins with large spherical head in Hungary. Prepared by the author.
- Figure 5. Plan of the Southern Slav cemetery at Bácsalmás-Óalmás. Figure 1 from Erika Wicker, “Újabb adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz” (New data on the burial customs of Southern Slav population in the period of the Ottoman conquest), in Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, ed. “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok” *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* (“I walk through the valley of the shadow of death” Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 326.
- Figure 6. Photograph of trench S6A in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld. Field documentation by Péter Levente Szócs.
- Figure 7. Plan of trench S6B in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld. Field documentation by Péter Levente Szócs.
- Figure 8. Variations of the positions of the arms in the Southern Slav cemetery at Bácsalmás-Óalmás. Figure 2 from Erika Wicker, “A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary,” in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 239.
- Figure 9. Variations of the positions of the arms in the churchyard cemetery at Óföldreák. Figure 4 from Mária Béres, “Az óföldreáki temető üzenete” (The heritage of the cemetery at Óföldreák), in Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, ed. “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok” *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* (“I walk through the valley of the shadow of death” Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held

in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 300.

- Figure 10. Finds from the Southern Slav cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató. Figure 6 from Attila Gaál, “The Sixteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató,” in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 228.
- Figure 11. Hairpins from grave 39 in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly-Bobáld. Photograph by Péter Levente Szócs.
- Figure 12. Hairpins from grave 995 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Plate 10 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 57.
- Figure 13. Hairpins from grave 773 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Plate 2 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 49.
- Figure 14. Hairpins from grave 773 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Plate 3 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 50.
- Figure 15. Hairpins from grave 773 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Figure 30 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 21.
- Figure 16. Hairpin from grave 4 at Balatonszőlős. Figure 12 from Csaba László, “A balatonszőlősi református templom kutatása” (Archaeological research on the church of Balatonszőlős), *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 15 (1980): 120.
- Figure 17. Hairpin from the treasure hoard from Nagybánya. Figure 4 in József Mihalik, “A nagybányai ékszerlelet” (The jewelry hoard from Nagybánya), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 26 (1906): 121.
- Figure 18. Hairpin from the churchyard cemetery at Zobordarázs. Figure 8 on table 4 from Alexander T. Ruttkay, “Archeologický výskum kostola sv. Michala v Nitre, časť Dražovce a v jeho okolí – informácia o výsledkoch” (Archaeological research on the church of St. Michael in Dražovce, a part of Nitra, and its surroundings – a report on the results), *Archaeologia Historica* 22 (1997).

- Figure 19. Hairpins from the treasure hoard from Drégelypalánk. Page 33 from Béla Kövér, “A középkori sodrony-zománcz kérdéséhez” (On the problem of medieval cloisonné), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 12 (1892).
- Figure 20. Hairpins from the treasure hoard from Huedin (Bánffihunyad, Romania). Plate 1 from Ana Maria Cipăianu, “Din istoricul orfevrăriei transilvănene: acele de păr din tezaurul de la Huedin,” *Acta Musei Napocensis* 10 (1973): 654.
- Figure 21. Hairpins from the treasure hoard from Tomaševac. Plate 13 from Béla Kövér, “Újabb adatok az ötvösség történetéhez hazánkban” (New data on the history of goldsmith’s work in Hungary), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 17 (1897): 247.
- Figure 22. Hairpins from the treasure hoard from Tolna. Figure 6 from Zsuzsa Lovag and Annamária T. Németh, “A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet” (The sixteenth-century treasure hoard from Tolna), *Folia Archaeologica* 25 (1974): 229.
- Figure 23. Objects of the treasure hoard from Visuia (Mezőviszolya, Romania). Figure 1 on plate 2 from Ecaterina Telcean, “Tezaurul de la Visuia (sec. XVI)” (The treasure of Visuia, sixteenth century), *File de Istorie* 4 (1976).
- Figure 24. Hairpin found in the castle of Alvinc (Vințu de Jos, Romania). Figure 25 from Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Gotic și Renaștere la Vințu de Jos* (Gothic and Renaissance in Vințu de Jos) (Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, 1998), 130.
- Figure 25. Hairpins from the churchyard cemetery at Nagykaroly (Carei)-Bobáld (Romania). Plate 44 from Ioan Németh, “Descoperiri arheologice din hotarul orașului Carei” (Archaeological finds in the area of Carei), *Studii și Comunicări, Satu Mare* 5-6 (1981-82).
- Figure 26. Hairpins from the churchyard cemetery at Nagykaroly (Carei)-Bobáld (Romania). Plate 45 from Ioan Németh, “Descoperiri arheologice din hotarul orașului Carei” (Archaeological finds in the area of Carei), *Studii și Comunicări, Satu Mare* 5-6 (1981-82).
- Figure 27. Pendant from the Southern Slav cemetery at Katymár. Figure 7 from Erika Wicker and Mihály Köhegyi, “A katymári XVI-XVII. századi rác temető” (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Rác [Southern Slav] cemetery at Katymár), *Cumania* 18 (2002): 91.
- Figure 28. The disposition of hairpins in graves 98 and 103 in the Southern Slav cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató. Figure 18 from Attila Gaál, “A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető” (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató), *A Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 10-11 (1979-80): 197.
- Figure 29. Hairpins, iron clasps and belt in grave 110 in the churchyard cemetery at Kide. Figure 17 from Júlia Kovalovszki, “A kidei középkori temető (Méri

István ásatása)” (The medieval cemetery in Kide [An archaeological excavation by István Méri]), in *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986), 22.

Figure 30. Hairpins in grave 773 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Figure 28 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 20.

Figure 31. Remains of the costume and headgear in grave 108/a in the churchyard cemetery at Kide (Romania). Figure 16 from Júlia Kovalovszki, “A kidei középkori temető (Méri István ásatása)” (The medieval cemetery in Kide [An archaeological excavation by István Méri]), in *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986), 21.

Figure 32. Iron loops in grave 103 in the churchyard cemetery at Kide. Figure 15 from Júlia Kovalovszki, “A kidei középkori temető (Méri István ásatása)” (The medieval cemetery in Kide [An archaeological excavation by István Méri]), in *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986), 21.

Figure 33. Iron loops of the corset from grave 14 in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld (Romania). Photograph by Péter Levente Szöcs.

Figure 34. Corset from a burial at Boldva. Figure 40 from Katalin E. Nagy, “Die Tracht eines vornehmen ungarischen Mädchens aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Restaurierung und Rekonstruktion des Boldvaer Fundes,” *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 65.

Figure 35. Clasps from the treasure hoard from Tolna. Figure 5 from Zsuzsa Lovag and Annamária T. Németh, “A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet” (The sixteenth-century treasure hoard from Tolna), *Folia Archaeologica* 25 (1974): 227.

Figure 36. Gala dress of Katalin of Brandenburg. From *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 23.

Figure 37. “Spanish corset” from the Sárospatak crypt. Figure 99 from Mária V. Ember, “XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából” (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century articles of clothing from the crypt of the church at Sárospatak), *Folia Archaeologica* 19 (1968): 162.

Figure 38. “Hungarian corset” from the Sárospatak crypt. Figure 110 from Mária V. Ember, “XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom



kriptájából” (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century articles of clothing from the crypt of the church at Sárospatak), *Folia Archaeologica* 19 (1968): 170.

Figure 39. A page of a pattern book from Kassa from 1760. Figure 24 from Katalin E. Nagy, “Die Tracht eines vornehmen ungarischen Mädchens aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Restaurierung und Rekonstruktion des Boldvaer Fundes,” *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 53.

Figure 40. Ornament (*boglár*) from a headgear from a burial at Boldva. Figure 35 from Katalin E. Nagy, “Die Tracht eines vornehmen ungarischen Mädchens aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Restaurierung und Rekonstruktion des Boldvaer Fundes,” *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 59.

Figure 41. Ornaments from the Csenger crypt. Figure 80 from József Höllrigl, “A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei” (Archaeological finds from the crypt of the Protestant church in Csenger), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 48 (1934): 102.

Figure 42. Headgear (*párta*) from Tiszaörvény. Figure 1 from Béla Horváth, “A tiszaoervinyi párta és pártaöv” (The *párta* and belt from Tiszaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 158.

Figure 43. Ornaments (*boglár*) composed of rubies and red glass plates on the headgear from Tiszaörvény. Figure 2 from Béla Horváth, “A tiszaoervinyi párta és pártaöv” (The *párta* and belt from Tiszaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 159.

Figure 44. Headgear (*párta*) from Szada. Figure 3 from Béla Horváth, “A tiszaoervinyi párta és pártaöv” (The *párta* and belt from Tiszaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 160.

Figure 45. Ornaments (*boglár*) composed of red glass plates on the headgear from Szada. Figure 4 from Béla Horváth, “A tiszaoervinyi párta és pártaöv” (The *párta* and belt from Tiszaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 161.

Figure 46. Headgear (*párta*) from grave 1085 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Figure 1 on plate 12 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 59.

Figure 47. Detail of the portrait of Borbála Wesselényi painted by an unknown master in 1662. From *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 64.

Figure 48. Portrait of Kata Thököly, wife of Ferenc Esterházy. Figure 12 from *Főúri ölgalériák, családi arcképek a Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar*

*Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988. március - augusztus* (Aristocratic ancestors' galleries, family portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, Museum of Applied Arts and the Hungarian National Gallery. Hungarian National Gallery, March – August 1988), ed. Enikő Buzási (Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988).

Figure 49. Catafalque painting of Erzsébet Bánffy, wife of László Rákóczy from 1663. From *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history) vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 604.

Figure 50. Catafalque painting of Gáspár Illésházy from 1648. From Gizella Cenner Wilhelmb, “Halotti képmások, ravatalképek” (Burial portraits, catafalque paintings), *Művészet* (1977): 32.

Figure 51. Portrait of Kristóf Thurzó, Count of Szepes and Sáros from 1611. From *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 46.

Figure 52. View of Kolozsvár (Cluj, Romania) in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne, 1572-1617). Figure 199 from Erdély története (History of Transylvania), vol 2, 1606-1830, ed. László Makkai and Zoltán Szász (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).

Figure 53. A Hungarian peasant depicted in Wilhelm Dillich, *Ungarische Chronica* (Cassel: W. Wessel, 1600). From *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history) vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 338.

Figure 54. A Hungarian peasant's wife depicted in Wilhelm Dillich, *Ungarische Chronica* (Cassel: W. Wessel, 1600). From *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history) vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 339.

Figure 55. Saxon costumes depicted in Laurentinus Toppeltinus de Medgyes, *Origines et occasus Transylvanorum seu erutae nationes Transsylvaniae...* (Lyon, 1667). From *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 366.

Figure 56. A Hungarian or Croatian nobleman depicted in Cesare Vecellio, *Degli abiti antichi e moderni di diverse parti del Mondo* (Venice, 1590). From *A*

*kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 297.

Figure 57. Captives lead to Sultan Soliman in 1529. Plate 15 from Géza Fehér, *Török miniatúrák a magyarországi hódoltság korából* (Turkish miniatures from the period of the Ottoman Conquest in Hungary) (Budapest: Corvina, 1975).

Figure 58. Detail of the portrait of Eva Germana Ambruster, a Saxon patrician's wife. Figure 288 from *Erdély története* (History of Transylvania), vol 2, 1606-1830, ed. László Makkai and Zoltán Szász (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).

Figure 59. A young Hungarian noble lady. from Colour photograph 52 from *Erdély története* (History of Transylvania), vol 2, 1606-1830, ed. László Makkai and Zoltán Szász (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).

Figure 60. A young nobleman from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 5 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).

Figure 61. A Greek merchant from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 51 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).

Figure 62. A Hungarian craftsman from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 11 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).

Figure 63. Wife of a *Rác*. Figure 58 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).

Figure 64. A *Rác* from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 57 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).

- Figure 65. A Wallachian woman from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 48 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).
- Figure 66. A Wallachian shepherd from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 27 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).
- Figure 67. Wife of a Saxon minister from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 18 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).
- Figure 68. A Lady from Braşov from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 42 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).
- Figure 69. Wife of an alderman from Nagyszeben (Sibiu, Romania) from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 14 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).
- Figure 70. Wife of a Saxon farmer from *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256. Figure 32 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).
- Figure 71. Fragment of a cup or cross of Byzantine style from the grave of Balotapuszta. Figure 43 from Gábor Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek* (Graves, treasures, misteries) (Kiskunhalas: Thorma János Múzeum, 2005), 51.
- Figure 72. Buckle of the Cuman belt from Kígyóspuszta. Figure 46 from Gábor Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek* (Graves, treasures, misteries) (Kiskunhalas: Thorma János Múzeum, 2005), 57.

Figure 73. Mounts of the Cuman belt from Kígyópuszta. Figure 49 and 50 from Gábor Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek* (Graves, treasures, misteries) (Kiskunhalas: Thorma János Múzeum, 2005), 58.

Figure 74. Shoe heel plates from the castle of Ozora. Plate 72 from László Gere, *Késő középkori és kora újkori fémleletek az ozorai várkastélyból* (Late medieval and early modern metal finds from the fortified castle of Ozora) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2003), 216.

Figure 75. Shoe heel plate from grave 1 in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld (Romania). Photograph by Péter Levente Szőcs.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

## INTRODUCTION

*The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions* are the first few words of the title of a costume book from seventeenth-century Transylvania.<sup>1</sup> Costume books, emerging from the cosmographic literature of humanism, aimed at presenting their readers with the costume of peoples in various parts of the world as – as the title of this album suggests – they were in reality. If one opened up a book like this, he or she could see how a “Wallachian Shepherd” or “A Saxonian [sic] Citizen’s Wife in Hermannstadt” looked.<sup>2</sup> (Figs 60-70) Sometimes archaeologists expect to recover this sort of knowledge based on finds: to be able to present how well-defined groups of people looked, where, and how they lived. This is particularly tempting in an area where various historically known ethnic groups coexisted, and in a period when they are known to have moved, like the period of the Ottoman Conquest in Hungary.

I will briefly survey how the relation of ethnicity and material culture has been dealt with in international scholarship, and demonstrate how the same problem emerged and was treated in Hungarian medieval archaeology. Besides grave goods, the issue of material culture and ethnicity has emerged in other spheres of the archaeology of the Ottoman period in Hungary.

It is a peculiarity of the Hungarian research that the cemeteries of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century South Slav newcomers have been studied more intensely than the contemporary churchyard cemeteries that contain burials of a much larger and more significant segment of the population, including the original inhabitants.

---

<sup>1</sup> *The True and Exact Dresses and Fashions of All the Nations in Transylvania*, London, British Library, Manuscript Collections, Add. MSS. 5256; published in József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990) (hereafter: Jankovics, R. Várkonyi and Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek*).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, figs 26 and 27. Hermannstadt is the German name of Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Romania).

The research on South Slav cemeteries and remains of clothing from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has focused on ethnic interpretation, to circumscribe the material culture of the newcomers. The analysis of a late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century churchyard cemetery<sup>3</sup> and the written sources referring to the population buried there led me to perceive contradictions concerning both the standard ethnic definitions of the finds and the expected character of the material culture belonging to that particular social stratum. This investigation led to the following questions:

To what degree can elements of clothing known from archaeological context be used as indicators of ethnicity?

What other sources are available for different social groups, and what is the quality of that evidence?

How does archaeology modify the picture of clothing in the past and the ethnic, social and cultural structures that produced it, and what does it add?

I will give answers based particularly on those objects and features that have been defined as indicators of ethnicity; I do not aim at surveying all the excavated sites and all types of finds. I will compare the ethnically defined group of objects to the finds of various cemeteries and data of other source types, and check whether it is affirmable that they specifically characterize South Slavs, even if the origins of form and style of certain objects lead towards the Balkans. I will explore alternative explanations for the contradictions in social and cultural patterns existing parallel to ethnicities, like social strata, and possibilities of interactions in the field of material

---

<sup>3</sup> Péter Szőcs, Dóra Mérai, and Jacqueline T. Eng, "A nagykároly-bobáldi temető és templom 2001. évi régészeti kutatása" (Archaeological investigation of the Nagykároly-Bobáld cemetery and church in 2001), in Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, ed. "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ("I walk through the valley of the shadow of death." Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 315-324 (hereafter: Szőcs, Mérai and Eng, "A nagykároly-bobáldi temető"); Dóra Mérai, *A nagykároly-bobáldi kora újkori temető* (The early modern cemetery in Nagykároly-Bobáld), MA thesis, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Institute of Archaeology (Budapest, 2005).



culture using other source types that present the patterns from a different point of view.

This study aims at discussing the ethnic character of some archaeological finds in the early modern period in a Central European region. At the same time, the conclusions that can be drawn are significant for general methodological issues such as the possibilities of ethnic and social interpretation in historical archaeology.

## CHAPTER ONE

### CHANGES IN THE POPULATION OF THE CARPATHIAN BASIN IN THE PERIOD OF THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST

In the first half of the sixteenth century the Ottoman Conquest destroyed the political system of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, and after the fall of Buda (1541) the country was split into three parts. The central part of the Carpathian Basin was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire, the western and northern parts came under Habsburg administration, and Transylvania was formed as a separate principality under the guardianship of the Porte. (Fig. 1) The administrative system of the three political units was completely different, and the same is true for the availability of the demographical sources. The most informative source types related to taxation do not provide a comprehensive picture, as their character depends on the fiscal system, which was different in all three areas, adjusted to the practice of the reigning power of the territory.<sup>4</sup>

The long-lasting state of war in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries caused significant changes in the structure of the society and the settlements in Hungary. Due to the large-scale immigration the result was a slow increase of population, but still falling behind the average growth in Western Europe. However, the ethnic composition went through considerable changes.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> On the character of the sources and the problems of interpretation see Vera Zimányi, “Magyarország 16-17. századi demográfia történeti vizsgálatának problémái” (The problems of research on the demographical history of Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) (hereafter: Zimányi, “Magyarország 16-17. századi demográfia történeti vizsgálatának problémái”) in *Magyarország történeti demográfiája* (The historical demography of Hungary), ed. József Kovácsics, (Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1997), 193-196 (hereafter: Kovácsics, ed. *Magyarország történeti demográfiája*); and Géza Dávid, “Magyarország népessége a 16-17. században” (The population of Hungary in the 16-17<sup>th</sup> century), in *Magyarország történeti demográfiája*, especially 141-145 (hereafter: Dávid, “Magyarország népessége”).

<sup>5</sup> Dávid, “Magyarország népessége,” 151, 171; Zimányi, “Magyarország 16-17. századi demográfia történeti vizsgálatának problémái,” 194; Géza Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század története* (The

The degree and the character of the demographical changes varied according to areas and periods in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The territories that were not affected by the conquest had an increase in population numbers by reproduction and immigration. The number of the inhabitants of the war-stricken territories basically stagnated, but behind the numeric data there was a significant ethnic recomposition.<sup>6</sup>

Migration was less intensive before the Fifteen-Years' War (1591-1606) and there were areas temporarily depopulated by incursions and fights, the inhabitants of which returned in more peaceful times. However, the more systematic campaigns in the 1590s, and the famine and plague that followed, demolished the system of settlements and depopulated the directly affected areas.<sup>7</sup> Often nearly the entire Hungarian population fled from settlements that became administrative or military centers of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>8</sup> The conquest had similar effects on the assimilated Cuman and Iasian population in the central lowlands of the country.

The Ottoman advance, already in the fifteenth century, first influenced the southern parts of the country, Croatia, Slavonia<sup>9</sup> and the region of Szerémség (Srijem,

---

sixteenth century), *Magyar Századok* 6 (Budapest: Pannonica, 2000), 170-171 (hereafter: Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*); Géza Pálffy, "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule on Hungary," *Hungarian Studies Review* 28, 1-2, Special Volume, Hungary: 1001-2001. A Millennial Retrospection (2001):121 (hereafter: Pálffy, "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule").

<sup>6</sup> The proportion of Hungarians within the population of the kingdom before the battle of Mohács has been evaluated as 80 %. By the third part of the sixteenth century about 60% were Hungarian, which fell to 50% after the reconquest, Dávid, "Magyarország népessége," 168, 169 and 171; Pálffy, "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule," 123-124.

<sup>7</sup> Pálffy, "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule," 116-118, 119; on climate and epidemics see Gábor Ágoston, "Ottoman Conquest and the Ottoman Military Frontier in Hungary" (hereafter: Ágoston, "Ottoman Conquest and the Ottoman Military Frontier in Hungary"), in *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. László Veszprémy and Béla K. Király, War and Society in East Central Europe 37, East European Monographs 621, Atlantic Studies on Society in Change 114 (New York: Atlantic Research and Publications, 2002), 103-107 (hereafter: Veszprémy and K. Király, ed. *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*).

<sup>8</sup> Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*, 172-173; Géza Dávid, "Magyarország népessége," 155; on the Ottoman military and provincial administration see Ágoston, "Ottoman Conquest and the Ottoman Military Frontier in Hungary," 91-101.

<sup>9</sup> In the Middle Ages the western part of the area between the Dráva (Drau, Drava) and Száva (Sava) rivers and along the Száva.

Srem).<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 2) At that time the ethnic boundary laid along the Drava River, the population to the south was Slav, basically Serb.<sup>11</sup> After the Ottoman conquest of Serbia in 1459 Serbs took refuge in the Hungarian Kingdom and played an important role in organizing the defense of the southern borderland, forming troops of light cavalry.<sup>12</sup> In the second half of the fifteenth century Valkó and Szerém counties already had Serb populations. A significant number of them lived in Temes, replacing the Hungarian inhabitants that gradually escaped regular fights with the Ottomans,<sup>13</sup> and scattered groups in Bács, Bodrog, Torontál, Csongrád and Békés counties and in the southern part of Transylvania.<sup>14</sup>

The first coherent wave of Serb immigrants arrived in Bács and Bodrog counties from the Szerémség (Srijem, Srem) area in the 1520s, moved by the advancing Ottoman forces after the fall of Belgrade and Mohács.<sup>15</sup> At the turn of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century Bosnians, called in the sources *Sokác* and *Bunjevác*, settled in Bács.<sup>16</sup> The population south of the line between Mohács, Szeged and Arad (Romania) was replaced by newcomers from South Slav ethnic groups, and

<sup>10</sup> The region of Szerémség (Srijem, Srem) is the eastern part of the area between the Dráva and Száva rivers, its name came from the one of the Classical Roman town, Sirmium.

<sup>11</sup> László Blazovich, "Déli szlávok Magyarországon és a Körös-Tisza-Maros közben a 15-16. században" (Southern Slav population living in Hungary and between the Körös, Tisza and Maros rivers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), in Kovacsics, ed. *Magyarország történeti demográfiaja*, 117 (hereafter: Blazovich, "Déli szlávok Magyarországon").

<sup>12</sup> Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*, 174.

<sup>13</sup> The Temes area was finally occupied in 1552. Most of the Hungarian population moved away and a chain of settlements of South Slav (or *Rasci* as they were labeled on a map from 1577) came into existence in a slow and continuous process. Géza Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*, 175-176; Blazovich, "Déli szlávok Magyarországon," 121; Pálffy, "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule," 122.

<sup>14</sup> Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*, 175; Blazovich, "Déli szlávok Magyarországon," 118-119.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>16</sup> Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*, 177-178; László Makkai, "Magyarok és rácok a Dunántúlon" (Hungarian and Rác population in Transdanubia), in *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol. 2, *Magyarország története 3*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 1430-1435 (hereafter: R. Várkonyi, ed. *Magyarország története 1526-1686*); László Makkai, "Az Alföld" (The Hungarian plain), *ibid.*, 1440-1444; Pálffy, "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule," 122.

by the middle of the seventeenth century the southern area of Transdanubia also had a Serb population.<sup>17</sup>

Serbs, as troops of light cavalry in the royal forces, settled in Győr in the 1520-30s. Boatmen from the lower part of the Danube served in the river fleet headquartered in Komárom. After the sieges of the 1590s Miklós Pálffy supplied the devastated Transdanubian areas with a *Rác* population moved from the southern counties by force.<sup>18</sup> After the Ottoman advancement of the 1540-1550s, further South Slav groups arrived in Pozsega, Baranya, Tolna, Somogy and Fejér counties. They included not only Orthodox Serbs, but also Catholic Bosnians, Croats, and an ethnic group from the north Balkans, also of the Orthodox Christian confession, called *Oláh*, *Eflak* or *Vlachus* in the sources.<sup>19</sup> An area inhabited partially by Catholic Croats was formed at the western confines of Hungary, as Croat noblemen fleeing to Hungary settled the population of their southern estates on their properties in the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>20</sup>

Most members of the Ottoman military and administrative system residing in Hungary had Balkan origins; they came from Bosnia, Macedonia, and Serbia, as is shown by cultural impacts besides written documents.<sup>21</sup> Merchants from the same territories and Ragusa played a significant role in the external trade of the period.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Gábor Ágoston and Teréz Oborni, *A tizenhetedik század története* (The history of the seventeenth century), Magyar Századok 7 (Budapest: Pannonica, 2000), 181 (hereafter: Ágoston and Oborni, *A tizenhetedik század*).

<sup>18</sup> Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*, 176-177. *Rác* is an adjective used in secondary literature comprising various ethnic groups of Balkan origins. According to Tubero of Ragusa contemporaries labeled Serbs as *Rác*. Blazovich, "Déli szlávok Magyarországon," 117. On the development and structure of the defense system see Géza Pálffy, "The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Veszprémy and K. Király, ed. *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, 111-135; Géza Pálffy, "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (up to the Early Eighteenth Century)," in *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of the Ottoman Conquest*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 3-69.

<sup>19</sup> Géza Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*, 177-178.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 182-186; Pálffy, "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule," 123.

<sup>21</sup> Klára Hegyi, "Balkan Garrison Troops and Soldier-Peasants in the *Vilayet* of Buda," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum*,

Romanians inhabiting Maramureş and the highlands of the western and southern parts of Transylvania gradually moved towards the lowlands and mixed with the Hungarian population of the estates. From the fifteenth century on they formed more and more agricultural villages, their settlement organized by heads of the communities, called *kenéz* in the sources.<sup>23</sup> In the second half of the sixteenth century a more intensive immigration started from Wallachia and Moldavia.<sup>24</sup>

Northern territories inhabited by Slovaks were not affected directly by the wars. Slovaks started to move into the northern part of the Hungarian plain after the Fifteen-Years' War. Orthodox Ruthenians entered the northeastern counties; other groups came from northeast, called *Vlach* in the sources, a mixed Ruthenian, Slovak, and Polish population dealing with stock-breeding.<sup>25</sup>

German burghers played an important role in the development of towns in Hungary from the age of the Arpadian kings. Kolozsvár (Cluj, Romania), the western towns like Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia), Sopron, and the towns of Upper Hungary had a significant number of Germans even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although in the seventeenth century part of the population of the conquered area moved into the Upper Hungarian towns and the German element became a minority in many cases.<sup>26</sup>

---

*Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 23-32 (hereafter: Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*).

<sup>22</sup> See the references in chapter 3.3 of the present thesis.

<sup>23</sup> On the demographic sources for Transylvania and the results, with further bibliography see Teréz Oborni, "Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség összeírásainak demográfiai forrásértéke" (The demographic documentary value of censuses in the Transylvanian Principality), in Kovacsics, ed. *Magyarország történeti demográfiája*, 187-192; Pálffy, "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule," 123.

<sup>24</sup> Géza Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*, 188.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 179-180; László Makkai, "Magyarok, szlovákok, németek a Felföldön" (Hungarians, Slovaks and Germans in Upper Hungary) in *Magyarország története 1526-1686*, 1452-1456.

<sup>26</sup> Ágoston and Oborni, *A tizenhetedik század*, 179; on the towns in the sixteenth century see Vera Zimányi, "Városfejlődés és polgárság" (Development of towns and the burghers), in *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol. 1, *Magyarország története* 3 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 353-383.

Germans living in the Saxon lands of Transylvania formed a privileged group.<sup>27</sup> They preserved their rights of autonomous jurisdiction and collective taxation even in the seventeenth century. All members of the Saxon nation shared the same rights; Saxon peasants were subject to the administration of urban patricians.<sup>28</sup>

The reconquering fights, plague (like elsewhere in Europe), finally a major epidemic in 1709 and devastations during the Rákóczi war of independence brought further decrease of the population.<sup>29</sup> The eighteenth century repopulation of the devastated areas with Serb, German, Romanian, and Slovak settlers resulted in a significant ethnic and social rearrangement.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> István Draskóczy, “Szászöldi összeírások és a Szászöld lélekszáma a 15-16. század fordulóján” (The population number and the censuses of Saxony at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), in Kovacsics, ed. *Magyarország történeti demográfiája*, 125-140.

<sup>28</sup> Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik század*, 183.

<sup>29</sup> Imre Wellmann, “Magyarország népességének fejlődése a 18. században” (The development of the population of Hungary in the eighteenth century), in *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Győző Ember and Gusztáv Heckenast, vol. 1, *Magyarország története* 4, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 25-39.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-72.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PROBLEM OF ETHNICITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

#### 2.1. Ethnicity and material culture

The first attempts at ethnic interpretation in archaeology date back to the mid-nineteenth century, based on the assumption that an archaeological culture is a phenomenon amenable to historical interpretation. The theory that archaeological finds are adaptable to ethnic identification and to show the descent of present ethnic groups and the direction of influences between cultures, not only played an important role in the political ideology of the first decades of the twentieth century, but it had an impact that is still present in archaeology.<sup>31</sup> Although direct ethnic identification and the attempt to find the prehistoric roots of present ethnic groups has been rejected, the interpretation of archaeological cultures formed by classifying material culture as the remains of certain definable groups of people is present as one of the bases of the culture historical approach in archaeology up to the present day.<sup>32</sup>

The new archaeological paradigm of the 1960s replaced the former static and homogeneous culture concept with that of culture as a functioning system, inspired by social anthropology. The main scope of inquiry was the reason for cultural changes and their process within the framework of socio-cultural systems, rather than ethnic groups, which are taken as only one of the components. Distributions of archaeological remains are determined by various processes and activities in the past,

---

<sup>31</sup> David Austin, "The 'Proper Study' of Medieval Archaeology," in *From the Baltic to the Black Sea. Studies in Medieval Archaeology*, ed. David Austin and Leslie Alcock (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 14-19 (hereafter: Austin, "The 'Proper Study' of Medieval Archaeology"). On the theory of Gustav Kossina and his impact see Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 1997), 1-2, 5, 8 (hereafter: Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*); Margaret W. Conkey, "Experimenting with Style in Archaeology: Some Historical and Theoretical Issues" (hereafter: Conkey, "Experimenting with Style") in *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine Hastorf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 3 and 6 (hereafter: Conkey and Hastorf, ed. *The Uses of Style*).

<sup>32</sup> Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 3 and 15-26. On the critiques of this concept see *ibid.*, 107-111.



which may have been manifested in functional variations that do not have their roots in ethnic differences.<sup>33</sup> This happened in parallel with an anthropological re-definition of ethnicity, which was based on the subjective self-definition of ethnic groups and does not assume a one-to-one relationship between ethnic groups and material (and non-material) cultural similarities and differences.<sup>34</sup> Two basic types of sources of variation in culture were distinguished: functional and stylistic, the latter as a product of the “enculturative milieu,” of which ethnicity is a part.<sup>35</sup>

The subsequent theories about material culture from the late seventies and eighties investigated the aspect of style and its distinctive role in and among different groups of people. The so-called “isochretic” model defines style as a result of culturally determined choices of possible ways to do things that are equivalent in use. The theory rejects separate mechanisms of style and function. Style is not just decoration, but it lies behind all functional choices, too, even the selection of the source of raw material. It bears an imprint of ethnicity because of the infinite number of potential combinations of choices. According to this interpretation style is passive, a result of the subconscious.<sup>36</sup>

The other mainstream of theories about style in archaeology is characterized by a functional approach; it suggests a conceptualization of style as a form of active communication in a social context, related closely to the notions of anthropology and ethnoarchaeology. In terms of material culture, style refers to an active symbolic role

---

<sup>33</sup> On the problem in the so-called “New Archaeology” and processual archaeology see Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 5-6, 26-29; Conkey, “Experimenting with Style,” 36; Matthew Johnson, *Archaeological Theory. An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 20-27 (hereafter: Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*).

<sup>34</sup> Fredrik Barth, “Introduction,” in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth, Reprint of the 1969 ed. (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1994), 9-38; Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 59-60, 72-79. About further suggestions on how to define the relation between ethnicity and culture and the relevance of using these concepts when analyzing past societies see *ibid.*, 84-105.

<sup>35</sup> The distinction originates from Lewis R. Binford. Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 110-111.

<sup>36</sup> James R. Sackett, “Style and Ethnicity in Archaeology: The Case for Isochretism,” in Conkey and Hastorf, ed. *The Uses of Style*, 36; Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 112.

of particular characteristics of artifacts that have distinctive purposes like supporting ethnicity, symbolizing social territories or being associated with ritual.<sup>37</sup> The visibility of the artifact as a symbol corresponds to the closeness of the target group of the message. Thus, stylistic forms that are specific to a social or ethnic group should broadcast messages for the widest target groups, like about group affiliation and boundary maintenance, and less visible objects symbolize the individual's status.<sup>38</sup>

Both structuralist and functionalist theories have been criticized from various points of view. One group of assumptions refers to the active role material culture plays in the mediation of social relations and the construction of identities besides simple transmitting functions, and the different meanings it can have depending upon different social contexts.<sup>39</sup> This contradicts the interpretation of material culture as a passive reflection of determined choices, because according to the latter concept it is continuously active in various social processes.

Thus, it is necessary not only to see the patterns in sets of archaeological remains, but also to analyze them within their context so as to find out as much as possible about social structures and interactions that lay behind their formation.<sup>40</sup> There might be elements of material culture that had a role in constructing and signaling ethnic identities, while others did not or did not always overlap ethnic boundaries in space and time. Spatial spread and temporal changes of material culture

<sup>37</sup> For this active role H. Martin Wobst introduced the notion of "stylistic behavior." See H. Martin Wobst, "Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange," in *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, ed. Charles E. Cleland (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1977), especially 317-321 (hereafter: Wobst, "Stylistic Behavior").

<sup>38</sup> Wobst demonstrated his theory on an example from anthropology: the role of the male headdress among the ethnic groups of ex-Yugoslavia. Wobst "Stylistic Behavior," 330-335; on the evaluation of Wobst's theory see Conkey, "Experimenting with Style," 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 117-119; Conkey, "Experimenting with Style," 12-13.

<sup>40</sup> Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 119. Ian Hodder emphasized the importance of the combination of the two aspects. Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 182. Material culture has been interpreted as a mediator for the archaeology of past practices extending behind it, which does not reflect them directly, but communicates them in non-verbal form. Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, *Re-constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 1992), 130-132.

have multicausal explanations, only one of which might be ethnicity.<sup>41</sup> A wide knowledge of the original cultural and social context based on the manifold analysis of different source types makes it feasible to distinguish between the two categories and to draw conclusions concerning the relation between a given group of material cultural items and ethnicity.<sup>42</sup>

## 2.2. Interpretation of material culture in historical archaeology

The problem of the relation between ethnicity and material culture has usually arisen concerning prehistoric populations and been demonstrated on archaeological samples that antedate the existence of writing. However, historical archaeology has served as a “test-drive” of different theories, because in this case there is an available control sample from a different source group to confirm or disprove their adequacy. Also, the question of material culture and ethnicity is still highly relevant for later periods.<sup>43</sup>

The general approach has been determined by the traditional understanding of archaeology as a complementary method for supplementing written sources. The expected contribution of archaeology was to give insight to spheres of medieval life that were less known from written sources, but its character was less interpretative,

---

<sup>41</sup> Sebastian Brather, “Ethnic Identities as Constructions of Archaeology: The Case of Alamanni,” in *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Andrew Gillett (Brepols: Turnhout, 2002), 174 (hereafter: Brather, “Ethnic Identities”). On the same problem in Migration Period see Irene Barbiera, “Migration and Identity During the Lombard Invasions,” PhD thesis, Central European University (Budapest, 2003), especially 164-181.

<sup>42</sup> On possible practical approaches of relating material culture to ethnicity in archaeology see Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 119-127. Further, see Whitney Davis, “Style and history in art history,” in Conkey and Hastorf, ed. *The Uses of Style*, 27. There are views according to which the question of ethnicity is not appropriate for archaeological sources, and archaeology should search for alternative explanations. See, e.g., Brather, “Ethnic Identities,” 150.

<sup>43</sup> The role of material culture in learning about post-medieval communities has been demonstrated, e.g., by James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten. An Archaeology of Early American Life*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1996) (hereafter: Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*). For a general outlook see Anne Yentsch and Mary C. Beaudry, “American Material Culture in Mind, Thought, and Deed,” in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 214-240 (hereafter: Hodder, ed. *Archaeological Theory Today*).

bound to questions which had been formulated based on historical documents.<sup>44</sup> This approach has changed over the last decades, actuated by “anthropologically inspired cultural history” and anthropology. The questions and results of theoretical and methodological debates in prehistoric archaeology have also been incorporated, which meant a claim for an independent archaeological viewpoint on problems that had traditionally been treated based on written evidence.<sup>45</sup> Moving on from the sphere of material culture, archaeology was presented as being adaptable to study other dimensions of life such as social, mental, and political questions. The role of written sources was confined to providing historical background or completely rejected so as to have independent archaeological conclusions about issues of historical interest.<sup>46</sup>

From one perspective texts and objects were approached as basically the same types of sources, as both are signs from the past; furthermore, texts are artifacts themselves. Another perspective on interpretation has been to define written sources and material culture as essentially different, and to focus on contradictions between them, or, combining the two determinations, to take into consideration that the two source groups both bear the characteristics of each other to varying degrees: a written document can be seen as artifact and there are text-like objects such as coins and gravestones. Material culture and text can be considered as different projections of the same past; they were created with different purposes so they transmit different aspects of information. Comparing and contrasting them can lead to new pieces of

---

<sup>44</sup> Anders Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts. Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective* (New York: Plenum, 1998), 31-32, 122-126 (hereafter: Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts*); Austin, “The ‘Proper Study’ of Medieval Archaeology,” 11-14; Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, 124.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 32, on the anthropological approach see *ibid.*, 126-130.

<sup>46</sup> A refusal of written sources is reflected, for example, by the last sentences of the book on the archaeological examination of the American settlers’ life from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by James Deetz: “Don’t read what we have written; look at what we have done.” Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, 260. In spite of this radical formulation he used a considerable number of written sources, and contrasted them to the set of data derived from the research of material culture, but considers material culture as “the most objective source of information we have.” *Ibid.*, 259.

information, so not only can written evidence be used in archaeological interpretation, but archeological results can also contribute to the reinterpretation of texts.<sup>47</sup>

A possible method is to organize the data of both source groups independently, and then try to combine them and see which elements correspond and which do not.<sup>48</sup> There are other potential sources that can be included as well, like depictions, oral traditions, and ethnographic data. Former scholarly experience suggests that since there are usually different categories in the separate classifications, it is not necessary that they overlap each other – written sources rarely provide the exact information one needs (e.g., a detailed description to identify an artifact found in a given archaeological context), rather they inform about function, value, and other characteristics that were important for the creator of the text. The same is true for depictions. The alternative is to compare patterns observed in the different source groups and attempt to correlate them. Correspondences and non-correspondences or direct contrasts all need to be taken into account as they all form the context together, and neglecting any of them can lead to misinterpretation. Questions about differences arise as a starting point for further investigation, and eventual answers can contribute to a more complex interpretation.

---

<sup>47</sup> On this problem in general, see Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts*, 35, 102-103 and 146-157; Austin, “The ‘Proper Study’ of Medieval Archaeology,” 34-35; Johnson, *Archaeological Theory*, 156-161.

<sup>48</sup> On different methods of interpretation of material culture and written sources see Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts*, 146-177.

## 2.3. Material culture and ethnicity in the archaeology of Ottoman-period

### Hungary

The emergence of the problem of ethnicity was unavoidable in Hungary on account of history; waves of peoples from the Eurasian steppe did not cease immigrating even after the formation of the Hungarian Kingdom, and groups of newcomers also entered the Carpathian Basin in the Middle Ages, up to the fourteenth century. The period of the Ottoman Conquest brought further radical changes in the ethnic composition of the area, which has offered a challenge to the archaeology of late medieval and post-medieval periods.<sup>49</sup>

The question of ethnicity and its relation to groups of material cultural items has been most often treated in Hungarian archaeology for the Migration Period, when the relatively great mobility of populations known from historical sources presented itself as an ideal field to attempt ethnic attribution of artifact types and styles. The pre history of Hungarians before entering the Carpathian Basin has been another field of research where seeking correspondence between material culture and ethnic groups formed one of the bases of the investigations.<sup>50</sup> Groups coming from the direction of the Eurasian steppe in the period of the rule of the Arpadian kings, like Pechenegs, Cumans and Iasians, brought new impulses from a different cultural sphere. Attempts

<sup>49</sup> On the archaeology of the Ottoman Empire as “the archaeology of a multi-ethnic polity” see Philip L. Kohl, “Diverse Approaches to the Ottoman Past. Toward a Globally Conceived, Regionally Specific Historical Archaeology,” in *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire. Breaking New Ground*, ed. Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll (New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers, 2000), 253-260.

<sup>50</sup> These fields of Hungarian archaeology are not closely related to my present topic, so I do not present them in detail. For the reasons behind the tendencies see József Laszlovszky and Csilla Siklódi, “Archaeological Theory in Hungary since 1960: Theories without Theoretical Archaeology,” in *Archaeological Theory in Europe*, ed. Ian Hodder (London: Routledge, 1991), 272-298, especially 286-287, with further literature. On the most recent research on questions of ethnicity in the Migration Period and the period of the Hungarian Conquest, coordinated by the Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences see Csanád Bálint, “Az ethnosz a kora középkorban” (Ethnos in the Early Middle Ages), *Századok* 140, No. 2 (2006): 277-348; Eszter Istvánovits and Valéria Kulcsár, “Az első nemzedékek problematikája a Kárpát-medencébe bevándorló sztyepppei népeknel” (The problem of the ‘first generation’ at steppe peoples immigrating to the Carpathian Basin), in *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás* (Nomad migrations, Hungarian Conquest), ed. Szabolcs Felföldi and Balázs Sinkovics, Magyar Östörténeti Könyvtár 15 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2001), 21-24.

to identify their archaeological remains through material culture and traces of pagan rituals led to more general questions about their social and cultural assimilation and interactions before and after their arrival in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>51</sup>

Distinguishing the remains of a culture imported by an ethnically different group of a different religion formed the focus of interest from the very first steps in studying the Ottoman Period in Hungary.<sup>52</sup> The remains of the Muslim religion and Ottoman Turkish architecture offered the most conspicuous contrasts with the local traditions; the first antiquarian collection of epigraphic remains was already established at the end of the seventeenth century. Besides epigraphy, Ottoman buildings caught the eye of nineteenth century scholars. In the second half of the century reconstructions of medieval monuments revealed several fragments of Ottoman-Turkish architecture, but according to the practice of the period they were not conserved after documentation. Systematic research on Ottoman architecture has been a characteristic of the twentieth century, and large-scale reconstructions after World War II were executed following excavations combined with thorough investigation of written and pictorial sources. Not only religious architecture was concerned, but also town houses, baths, and fortifications.<sup>53</sup> The fortification palisades

---

<sup>51</sup> For a short survey of the research on Cuman and Iasian ethnic groups of the late medieval period see chapter 3.4.

<sup>52</sup> On the development of academic studies on the material culture of the Ottoman period see József Laszlovszky and Judith Rasson, "Post-medieval or Historical Archaeology: Terminology and Discourses in the Archaeology of the Ottoman Period," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), especially 377, 381 and 382 (hereafter: Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*); Ibolya Gerelyes, "A History of Research in Hungary into Ottoman Art," in *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005), 11-18 (hereafter: Gerelyes, ed. *Turkish Flowers*).

<sup>53</sup> The history of the research on Ottoman architecture does not pertain to the topic of the present thesis. For further literature see Győző Gerő, *Az oszmán-török építészet Magyarországon* (The architecture of the Ottoman-Turkish period in Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980) and Győző Gerő, "The History of Ottoman-Turkish Archaeological Research in Hungary," in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 17-22.

of both the Ottoman and Hungarian sides have been the focus of research mostly since the 1980s.<sup>54</sup>

These excavations meant an important shift also in knowledge about the material culture of the Ottoman period in Hungary. The most spectacular and valuable artifacts preserved in collections – oriental textiles, leather and metal objects (vessels, arms, jewelry) – have also been in the focus of attention for a long time.<sup>55</sup> Archaeological finds and their interpretation, – e.g., pottery, other ceramic artifacts like pipes, stove tiles, and coppersmith's work – give insight into a different sphere of material culture and other levels of interactions.

The increasing number of pottery assemblages led to distinguishing three basic groups beside the relatively small number of oriental and Western imported pottery items:<sup>56</sup> glazed “Turkish” ware, Hungarian ware, and a group of slow-turned pottery vessels – the so-called Bosnian ware. This latter type has been identified as the heritage of groups of people arriving from different parts of the Balkan together with the Ottoman troops. The interpretation of the relation between pottery types and ethnic groups has been much more refined than the terms suggest.<sup>57</sup> The attribution of

<sup>54</sup> Gyöngyi Kovács and László Vándor, “Remarks on Archaeological Investigations into Smaller Ottoman-era Palisades in Hungary,” in Gerelyes and Kovács ed., *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 109–112, with further references.

<sup>55</sup> See, e.g., Géza Fehér, *Török kori iparművészeti alkotások* (Products of the applied arts from the Ottoman period) (Budapest: Corvina, 1975). On the less valuable coppersmith's work see, e.g., Géza Fehér, “Esztergomi török vörösrézedények” (Turkish copper vessels from Esztergom), *A Komárommegyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 1 (1968): 273–310 and Attila Gál, “A Szekszárdi Múzeum hódoltság kori rézedényei (Copper vessels in the Museum of Szekszárd from the period of the Ottoman Conquest), *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1983): 163–184 and (1991): 191–207, with further literature.

<sup>56</sup> On imported ornamental oriental ceramics see Gyöngyi Kovács, “Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Archaeological Research,” in Gerelyes, ed. *Turkish Flowers*, 69–86; Ibolya Gerelyes, “Kerámia” (Pottery), in *Nagy Szulejmán szultán és kora* (Sultan Soliman the Great and his age), ed. Ibolya Gerelyes (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1994), 44–46. On imported Western ware see, e.g., Gyöngyi Kovács “A bajcsai várásatás kerámia- és üvegleletei” (The ceramics and glass finds from the fort of Bajcsa) in *Weitshawar/Bajcsa-Vár. Egy stájer erődtámasz Magyarországon a 16. század második felében. Kiállítási katalógus* (Weitshawar/Bajcsa-Vár. A Styrian fort in Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century. Exhibition catalog), ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2002), 63–69.

<sup>57</sup> See, e.g., Gyöngyi Kovács, “16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century Hungarian Pottery Types,” *Antaeus* 19–20 (1990–1991): especially 172–174 (hereafter: Kovács, “16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century Hungarian Pottery Types”).



the slow-turned ware to peoples of Balkan origin has been based on the comparison of the spatial distribution of the finds – Turkish castles and forts of southern Transdanubia – and the data of written sources about the ethnicity of the population in these areas.<sup>58</sup> However, Gyöngyi Kovács has called attention to the survival of medieval Hungarian slow-turned pottery up to the sixteenth century in the area in question and the impact that the neighbouring settlements might have had on the composition of the assemblage of material culture in the fortifications.<sup>59</sup>

The types of ceramic labeled “Turkish ware” also reached Hungary through intervention from the Balkans, and the forms, distribution, and composition of assemblages in which it appears, combined with historical data referring to individual sites, has provided a multicoloured and complex image of the ethnic and social interactions of the producers and users.<sup>60</sup>

Pottery of oriental origin appears among the finds of fortifications that were continuously under the control of Hungarian forces. A possible explanation is that they were adopted together with some Turkish alimentary customs, as Gábor Tomka

<sup>58</sup> The most representative historical sources on the problem are the payrolls that indicate the name and in many cases the origins of the Ottoman soldiers. They have been extensively studied by Klára Hegyi. See, e.g., Klára Hegyi, “Balkan Garrison Troops and Soldier-Peasants in the *Vilayet* of Buda,” in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 40.

<sup>59</sup> Gyöngyi Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon* (Turkish pottery in Szolnok) (Szolnok: Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár, 1984): 13 (hereafter: Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon*); Gyöngyi Kovács, “Some Possible Directions for Research into Ottoman-era Archaeological Finds in Hungary” (hereafter: Kovács, “Some Possible Directions”), in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 260-261. Tamás Pusztai, “The Pottery of the Turkish Palisade at Báticaszék,” in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 301-310, comparing the data from the payrolls with the patterns in the composition of the pottery. Further, see Kovács, “16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century Hungarian Pottery Types,” 172-173; Gyöngyi Kovács, “A barcsi török palánkvár kerámialeletei” (The ceramic finds from the Turkish palisade fort at Barcs), *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1998): 168.

<sup>60</sup> Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon*, 18-44; Ibolya Gerelyes, “Adatok a tabáni török díszkerámia keltezéséhez” (New data on the dating of Turkish ornamental pottery from Tabán), *Folia Archaeologica* 36 (1985): 225-229; Ibolya Gerelyes, “Török kerámia a visegrádi Alsóvárból” (Turkish pottery from the Lower Castle at Visegrád), *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1987): 171, 175, 177; Ibolya Gerelyes, “Die Balkanverbindungen der türkischen Keramik von der Budaer Burg,” *Acta Archaeologicae Hungariae* 42 (1990): 272-284.

has suggested about finjans and coffee consumption.<sup>61</sup> Concerning other vessel types, it has been assumed that Hungarian potters on the Great Hungarian Plane made gray ceramics fired in a reducing atmosphere that followed the form and technology of Balkan ware.<sup>62</sup> This phenomenon indicates the emergence of regionalism and a sort of specialization and market orientation in the Hungarian potter's craft. The widespread trade covering large areas is attested by written sources and increasing amounts of archaeological data.<sup>63</sup>

The problem of ornamental tiles found in the castles of Sárospatak, Regéc<sup>64</sup> and Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania) proved to be a similarly complex issue. According to written sources, the tile decoration at Sárospatak was produced in Istanbul, and the same provenance was suggested by the chemical analysis of the material. However, the motifs indicate a knowledge of Western pattern books.<sup>65</sup> The questions that emerged on the origins of the master of the tiles, the place of production and the provenance of the motifs did not yield a clear-cut answer; scholars do not have a single standpoint on whether the tiles were made in Istanbul workshop or by a Turkish master who came to Hungary<sup>66</sup> or by Hungarians following Turkish patterns.<sup>67</sup> Such complex issues as ethnicity, workshop traditions, representative functions and trade have been involved in the explanations. The tiles found in the Gyulafehérvár palace of the prince of Transylvania raised further problems: copies

---

<sup>61</sup> Gábor Tomka, "Finjans, Pipes, Grey Jugs. 'Turkish' Objects in the Hungarian Fortresses of Borsod County," in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 312.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 313-314. On Ottoman and Balkan impacts on the Hungarian potter's craft: Kovács, "16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century Hungarian Pottery Types," 174; Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon*, 38-40.

<sup>63</sup> Kovács, "Some Possible Directions," 261-262; Sarolta Lázár, "Az egri vár törökkori magyar cserépedényei" (Hungarian ceramics from the Ottoman period of the castle of Eger), *Agria* 22 (1986): 46-47.

<sup>64</sup> Zoltán Simon, "Wall-Tiles from Regéc," in Gerelyes, ed. *Turkish Flowers*, 27-34 (hereafter: Simon, "Wall-Tiles from Regéc"); Katalin J. Dankó, "The 'Tiled Room' at Sárospatak Castle," Ibid., 19-26.

<sup>65</sup> Adrienn Papp, "Depiction of Pomegranates and Sárospatak Wall-Tiles in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries," in Gerelyes, ed. *Turkish Flowers*, 45-47.

<sup>66</sup> Veronika Gervers-Molnár, "Turkish Tiles of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century and Their Export," in Gerelyes, ed. *Turkish Flowers*, 41-42.

<sup>67</sup> Simon, "Wall-Tiles from Regéc," 33; Ibolya Gerelyes, "Editor's Introduction," *ibid.*, 8-9.

made by Haban masters probably substituted for damaged pieces of the originals, the provenance of which is still debated.<sup>68</sup>

A recent study investigated the emergence of Oriental elements in Hungarian attire resulting from the multilayer interactions with Ottomans in the trade of textiles, embroidery and the cut of garments, and the representative role of Hungarian costumes on depictions. The author concluded that the issue is far too complex to tell when Hungarian costume was transformed by Oriental influences; simultaneous influences from East and West led to gradual changes.<sup>69</sup>

As is seen in the examples above, the problem of ethnicity has been manifest in research on Ottoman-period material culture in all its complexity for a some time. The approach towards the different cultures represented by the Hungarian, Turkish, Balkan, and Western groups of population that were present in the area has not been characterized by an attempt to make rigid distinctions so as to be able to connect elements of material culture to ethnicities, but to investigate the manifold interactions on different social levels and in various contexts. The present study is intended to focus on the ethnic interpretations in a special sphere of material culture: clothing; and on the most representative archaeological source: cemeteries.

#### **2.4. The problem of ethnicity and costumes in the archaeological research of late medieval Hungary**

The problem of distinguishing the archaeological remains of new incoming ethnic groups has been treated for the period that just predates the time frame of the present study. The presence of Cuman and Iasian groups in the Carpathian Basin is an issue

<sup>68</sup> Tamás Emödi, “The ‘Tiled Room’ in the Palace of the Ruling Prince at Gyulafehérvár,” in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 329-336. *Habans* were a group of Anabaptists settled in Transylvania, they produced high-quality multicolor glazed pottery.

<sup>69</sup> Lilla Tompos, “Oriental and Western Influences on Hungarian Attire,” in Gerelyes, ed. *Turkish Flowers*, 87-100 (hereafter: Tompos, “Oriental and Western Influences on Hungarian Attire”).

that has raised similar questions to those concerning the cemeteries of ethnicities in the Ottoman period, but archaeological researchers developed a different methodology.

Cumans fleeing from the Mongol invasion arrived in Hungary from the steppes of south Russia first in 1239.<sup>70</sup> This was the last wave of nomadic people to reach the Carpathian Basin; they imported Eastern cultural elements from the steppe to a kingdom characterized by Western, European culture. Written sources, visual depictions, and archaeological sources testify that they preserved their language, a number of elements of their original social structure and traditions for a long time.<sup>71</sup>

The Cuman clans were settled on royal estates; they were allowed to preserve their partial autonomy subject to the direct jurisdiction of the palatine. They formed a considerable part of the royal forces with their nomadic light cavalry and they became important supporters of the king, which evoked a counteraction of the oligarchy and the high clergy, who urged the king to compel the Cumans to give up their nomadic and pagan customs and convert to Christianity.<sup>72</sup> From the beginning of the thirteenth

---

<sup>70</sup> After the Mongol invasion of the Hungarian Kingdom, Cumans were accused of spying for the enemy and their khan was murdered, so they left the country, plundering. They were staying on the plain of the Danube in Bulgaria when the Mongols withdrew. King Béla IV called them back to the country with a new alliance against an expected second invasion of the Mongols, probably about 1246, András Pálóczi Horváth, “Nomád népek a kelet-európai steppén és a középkori Magyarországon” (Nomadic peoples on the Eastern European steppe and Hungary) (hereafter: Pálóczi Horváth, “Nomád népek”), in *Zúduló sasok. Új honfoglalók – besenyők, kunok, jászok – a középkori Alföldön és Mezőföldön* (New conquerors – Pechenegs, Cumans and Iasians – on the Hungarian plain), ed. Péter Havassy (Gyula: Erkel Ferenc Múzeum, 1996), 22-23 (hereafter: Havassy, ed. *Zúduló sasok*); “From Central Asia to the Danube Basin,” in András Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians. Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), 39-53 (hereafter: Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*).

<sup>71</sup> See György Györffy, “A kunok feudalizálódása” (The incorporation of Cumans to the feudal system), in *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* (Studies on the history of the peasantry in fourteenth-century Hungary), ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953), 248-275.

<sup>72</sup> In 1279 these demands were laid down as a law, which led to the protest of the Cumans. They were defeated in a battle in 1280 and a considerable number of them left the country, Pálóczi Horváth, “Nomád népek,” 24-25; Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, 68-82.

up to the fifteenth century Cumans gradually lost their military importance, simultaneously with their incorporation into the feudal system.<sup>73</sup>

The transformation and survival of old customs was determined by counteractive tendencies. The royal court urged the Cumans to convert and settle down, but at the same time their military role contributed to preserving their privileges and separation, and to conserving the nomadic costume and weapons of the light cavalry.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, written sources testify that a so-called Cuman fashion emerged in the second half of the thirteenth century among the Hungarians, and also in the neighbouring German and Austrian lands, against which even the apostolic delegate had to take measures.<sup>75</sup> Cuman costume and warfare can be studied from book illuminations,<sup>76</sup> and a considerable number of contemporary depictions on frescoes about the legend of Saint Ladislaus representing the fight of the king with the Cuman as characteristic nomadic warrior.

Iasians in Hungary are first mentioned in historical sources in 1318. The date of their immigration is still debated; it is assumed that they probably moved into the

---

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 27. The original social structure gradually disintegrated up to the end of the fourteenth century; the leading families were able to transform the clan estates into their private domains, and the autonomous government of the clans was inherited by administrative units called *szék* that were independent of the system of counties.

<sup>74</sup> András Pálóczi Horváth, "Régészeti adatok a kunok viseletéhez" (Archaeological data on the costume of the Cumans), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 109 (1982): 89 (hereafter: Pálóczi Horváth, "Régészeti adatok"). On the same topic see András Pálóczi Horváth, "Le costume coman au Moyen âge," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1980): 403-427; Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, 86-95.

<sup>75</sup> Pálóczi Horváth, "Régészeti adatok," 90.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 90-91. Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince. A Study of the years 1340-1365* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: 1980), 92-93. On the interpretation of the depictions in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* as sources for costume history see Ernő Marosi, "A Képes Krónika értelmezéséhez" (On the interpretation of the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*), in *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14-15. századi Magyarországon* (Image and Likeness. Art and Reality in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries in Hungary) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995), 57-66; on the analysis of costumes depicted in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* see Annamária Kovács, "Court, Fashion and Representation: the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle Revisited," PhD Thesis, Central European University (Budapest, 1998).

Carpathian Basin at about the same time as the Cumans.<sup>77</sup> The two groups had common privileges, and archaeological research on them is characterized by similar problems.

Archaeological remains of burials that reflect the respect for imported pagan customs characterize members of the Cuman clan aristocracy and can be dated up to the middle of the fourteenth century. Remains of nomadic armour, horse equipment, and weaponry have been found in the graves of the male elite, and jewelry, metal elements of the garments and other grave goods such as mirrors and knives in the graves of females.<sup>78</sup> The origins of the objects that these burials contain have been approached from three directions. Most of the grave finds and the burial customs point towards the Eastern steppe, but another group of the objects has Byzantine and Balkan connections. (Fig. 71) The third component is Western chivalric culture, represented by accessories with Gothic decorations.<sup>79</sup>

From the mid-fourteenth century the Cuman aristocracy must have adopted Christian practices, so the direct traces of pagan customs disappeared, but remnants can be seen in another type of burial site: the cemeteries of the populations of the Cuman settlements.<sup>80</sup> It has been assumed that the earliest cemeteries belonging to

<sup>77</sup> László Selmecei, "A jászok betelepülése a régészeti leletek tükrében" (Immigration of Iasians reflected by the archaeological finds), in Havassy, ed. *Zúduló sasok*, 69-80, especially 77-78, with further references; Pálóczi Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, 62-67.

<sup>78</sup> The most recently excavated male burial with a horse was published in Ferenc Horváth, *A csengelei kunok ura és népe* (The lord of the Cumans of Csengele and his people) (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2001) (hereafter: Horváth, *A csengelei kunok ura*), with further references; on a similar burial of a female see János Banner, "A bánkúti lovassír" (A burial with horse from Bánkút), *Dolgozatok* 7 (1931): 187-204; István Fodor, "Újabb adatok a bánkúti sír értékeléséhez" (New data on the evaluation of the Bánkút grave), *Folia Archaeologica* 23 (1972): 223-240; on the jewelry of a female burial "A balotapusztai kun úrnő" (A Cuman lady from Balotapuszta) in Gábor Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek* (Graves, treasures, mysteries) (Kiskunhalas: Thorma János Múzeum, 2005), 41-54 (hereafter: Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek*).

<sup>79</sup> The decoration of the metal parts consists of chivalric scenes, heraldic elements and inscriptions that are prayers to patron saints, Pálóczi Horváth, "Nomád népek," 30-31; Horváth, *A csengelei kunok ura*, 165-166; Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek*, 33-34, 56-59.

<sup>80</sup> It is debated whether the burials of converted leaders can be found in churchyard cemeteries. According to Pálóczi Horváth (in "Régészeti adatok," 103), they were buried in graves in churchyards with relatively more grave goods. Hatházi interprets these latter graves as the burials of the middle

the settlements had been established by the end of the thirteenth century and the churches were built later when the population converted to Christianity.<sup>81</sup> A great number of the graves in these churchyard cemeteries are characterized by the absence of grave finds; the quantity of grave goods and costume accessories reflect the social and property status of the deceased.<sup>82</sup>

Written sources and depictions testify that Cumans in Hungary persisted in their traditional way of clothing until the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, the organic materials like textiles and leather vanished without any archaeologically observable remains. Despite attempts to the contrary, it has been confirmed that there are hardly any objects associated with garments that do not equally characterize contemporary Hungarian cemeteries.<sup>83</sup> According to visual depictions, articles of traditional clothing were preserved in the fourteenth century, but the metal accessories were the products of local craftsmen in the Hungarian kingdom. At the same time, the way of wearing the objects indicates the survival of a fashion that they had imported from the steppe; Gothic buckles and clasps were applied to fasten oriental caftan-like robes or on belts.<sup>84</sup>

The most extensively treated example of combining eastern and western factors has been that of the belts, which amalgamate the impact of all three cultural spheres. The nomadic weapon belt was a part of the ancient steppe culture as a

---

layer of the free Cumans because their accessories are not particularly valuable, indeed, they are on the level of the material culture of wealthy Hungarian peasants, Gábor Hatházi, *A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon* (The archaeological remains of Cumans in eastern Transdanubia) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2004), 131-132 (hereafter: Hatházi, *A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon*).

<sup>81</sup> Pálóczi Horváth, "Régészeti adatok," 103.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 103-104. The idea that the oriental object types and customs from this period represent the archaeological remains of the Cumans arose at the end of the nineteenth century. See, for example, Géza Nagy, "A régi kunok temetkezése" (The burial of the ancient Cumans), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 13 (1983): 105-117.

<sup>84</sup> Hatházi, *A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon*, 80-85; Gábor Hatházi, "Besenyők és kunok a Mezőföldön" (Pechenegs and Cumans in Mezőföld), in Havassy, ed. *Zúduló sasok*, 51 (hereafter: Hatházi, "Besenyők és kunok a Mezőföldön").

symbol of the free warrior. However, a group of thirteenth-century belt sets found in the earliest graves of the clan aristocracy show both the peculiarities of Eastern goldsmith's work and characteristics originating from Western chivalric culture. (Figs 72-73) Analogies are not known among the nomads of the Eurasian steppe, but similar belts have been found in southeastern Europe, where they were worn by prominent members of Western societies. The Cumans seem to have adopted a widespread European fashion for belts and adapted them as their traditional nomadic weapon belt.<sup>85</sup>

The popularity of some objects, like for example, earrings with spheriform pendants, has been clearly related to the arrival of late nomadic peoples, but they have been found in the cemeteries of the neighbouring Hungarian settlements as well. They became an element of a more generally spread fashion and did not characterize any ethnic group exclusively.<sup>86</sup> Analysis of the archaeological distribution of bone-mounted belts has led to a similar conclusion.<sup>87</sup> It is the persistence of some pagan ritual elements that seems to distinguish the burials of Cuman and Iasian populations: the relatively richly decorated funeral costume, traces of fire in the grave, and food and tools (provided for the afterlife).<sup>88</sup>

Based on the analysis of the artifacts and features it has been concluded that the various factors of social and cultural incorporation of the newcomers did not

<sup>85</sup> Pálóczi Horváth, "Régészeti adatok," 94-101.

<sup>86</sup> Hatházi, "Besenyők és kunok a Mezőföldön," 51.

<sup>87</sup> For a survey of the problem and further literature see András K. Németh, "Csontosövek a középkori Magyarországon" (Bone-mounted belts from the medieval Hungary), in Ritóók and Simonyi, ed. *A halál árnyékának völgyében járok*, 275-288.

<sup>88</sup> On these ornamented garments see Hatházi, "Besenyők és kunok a Mezőföldön," 51-52, and especially Hatházi, *A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon*, 120-121. On the traces of the burial rites Gábor Hatházi provides a detailed analysis tracing all the features in contemporary Hungarian cemeteries, avoiding the evident interpretation as reminiscences of pagan rites imported from the steppe by the Cumans, *ibid.*, 120-127. On Iasians see László Selmeczi, "A magyarországi jászok régészeti kutatása" (Archaeological research on Iasians in Hungary), in Havassy, ed. *Zúduló sasok*, 85-86.



necessarily proceed simultaneously.<sup>89</sup> Though the ethnic identification of the archaeological sites was built on written sources, the typological system of the finds with comprehensive comparative material from both the Eastern steppe and westward from Hungary revealed that most of the objects are not specific for the ethnic group, but form an integral part of the contemporary fashion and tendencies in the style of dress. In most cases Cuman peculiarities were not manifest in the single types of objects belonging to their garments, but in the system of associated features and customs in comparison to the contemporary Hungarian material.<sup>90</sup> However, it has been noted as a problem of research that the lack of the excavated and analyzed contemporary Hungarian cemeteries as a comparative sample makes the validity of the results limited.<sup>91</sup>

The period that is treated by the research of Cuman and Iasian populations just predates the Ottoman Conquest (or even overlaps, as written sources still distinguished Cumans at that time) and the problems that the research faced are quite similar, but completely different methods have developed. The results of Cuman studies reveal a complex system of interactions between the newcomers, peoples that were adjacent before their arrival, and the contemporary population of the Hungarian Kingdom.

---

<sup>89</sup> Hatházi, "Besenyők és kunok a Mezőföldön," 53.

<sup>90</sup> Pálóczi Horváth, " Régészeti adatok," 105.

<sup>91</sup> Hatházi, *A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon*, 127-128.

## CHAPTER THREE

### GROUPS OF SOURCES AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

#### 3.1. Sources and costume history

The questions of present-day costume history, or rather clothing culture history, are different from the traditional evolutionary approach. They tend towards the subjective aspects of sources – pictorial and written – so as to study clothing both as an element of material culture and as a socially, mentally, and spiritually determined and determining factor. Such issues that came to be a focus of interest have been the role of clothing in the representation and designation of gender, social, and ethnic identity, in interactions between various groups of society and in visual culture.<sup>92</sup> Some of these considerations are closely related to anthropology.

In Hungary, besides the traditional costume historical surveys,<sup>93</sup> some art historical studies have treated the peculiarities of genres with depictions of costumes,

---

<sup>92</sup> E.g., “Costume and Fashion,” in Fernand Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life. The Limits of the Possible. Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*, vol. 1 (New York : Harper & Row, 1981), 311-333; Catherine Richardson, “Introduction,” in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 4-9; “Preface,” in Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), xiv-xv; Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin, “Introduction. Material Strategies Engendered,” in *Material Strategies. Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*, ed. Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin (Malden, MA : Blackwell, 2003), 1-6; Désirée Koslin and Janet Snyder, “Introduction,” in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress. Objects, Texts, Images* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 1-3 (hereafter: Koslin and Snyder, ed. *Encountering Medieval Textiles*); “Conclusion,” in Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 154-156 (hereafter: Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*); Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 9-13; “Introduction,” in Stella Mary Newton, *The Dress of the Venetians 1495-1525* (Aldershot, UK: Scholar Press, 1988), especially 6-8; “Introduction,” in Jennifer L. Ball, *Byzantine Dress. Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 2 (hereafter: Ball, *Byzantine Dress*).

<sup>93</sup> E.g., Mária V. Ember, “Magyar viseletformák a XVI. és XVII. században” (Hungarian forms of clothing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), *Folia Archaeologica* 18 (1966-67): 205-226; József Höllrigl, “Magyar és törökös viseletformák a XVI–XVII. században” (Hungarian and Turkish-like forms of clothing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), in: *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 359-385 (hereafter: Höllrigl, “Magyar és törökös viseletformák”; János Szendrei, “Adatok az erdélyi női viselet történetéhez” (New data on the history of female costume in Transylvania), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 193-205 (hereafter Szendrei, “Adatok”); János Szendrei, “Adatok az erdélyi férfi viselet történetéhez” (New data on the history of male costume in Transylvania), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 28 (1908): 97-122.

which provides essential information about how to interpret individual artworks as sources about clothing.<sup>94</sup> A recent study investigated the emergence of Oriental elements in the attire of Hungarian nobility considering the representative role of Hungarian costumes on local and Western European depictions.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, ethnographers dealing with costume history have used depictions of members of lower social strata from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Carpathian Basin as source material.<sup>96</sup>

Seventeenth-century costume books on Hungary emphasized differences between the outlooks of various ethnic groups. Costume books from the turn of the eighteenth century, however, were already the results of a systematic survey among the population of the country. They presented the peasants' costumes varying in regions and the differences between the clothes of villagers and town dwellers, and at the end of the nineteenth century even differences within regions. This is the period when the concept of vernacular dress developed.<sup>97</sup>

In the mid-nineteenth century the approach towards rural costumes was determined by a historic interest, as they conserved eighteenth century forms, while

<sup>94</sup> Gizella Cenner Wilhelmb, "16–19. századi grafikus viseletsorozatok – Közép-Európa nemzetiségi életének és társadalmi helyzetének képes forrásai" (Graphic costume cycles from the sixteenth to nineteenth century – pictorial sources for the ethnic composition and social status of the population of Central Europe), *Folia Historica* 1 (1972): 23-41 (hereafter: Cenner Wilhelmb, "16–19. századi grafikus viseletsorozatok"). On the symbolic role of anachronistic and modern costumes in tomb sculpture and representative printed portraits see Géza Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar és a késő reneszánsz képzőművészet" (The Hungarian royal court and the art of the late Renaissance), in: *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* (Renaissance courtly culture in Hungary), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 228-248 (hereafter: Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar és a késő reneszánsz képzőművészet").

<sup>95</sup> Lilla Tompos, "Oriental and Western Influences on Hungarian Attire," in Gerelyes, ed. *Turkish Flowers*, 87-100 (hereafter: Tompos, "Oriental and Western Influences on Hungarian Attire").

<sup>96</sup> András Cserbák and Alice Gáborján, "XVIII. századi magyarországi parasztábrázolások és viselettörténeti tanulságaik" (Eighteenth-century depictions of peasants and their contribution to costume history), *Ethnographia* 101 (1990): 51-74; Mária Flórián, "Öltözködés" (Clothing), in *Magyar Néprajz* (Hungarian ethnography), vol. 4, ed. István Balassa, Endre Füzes and Eszter Kisbán (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997), 732. I refer only to those Hungarian works that deal with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century depictions and I do not discuss the approach of secondary literature about medieval material that is not closely related to my topic.

<sup>97</sup> Mária Flórián, *Magyar parasztviseletek* (Hungarian peasant's costumes) (Budapest: Planétás, 2001), 12 (hereafter: Flórián, *Magyar parasztviseletek*).

contemporary fashion was adopted in urban context. This happened in parallel with a revival of national dress developed from sixteenth and seventeenth century costumes of the nobility. Male costume was formed under Turkish influences, and looked oriental in contrast with Western fashion.<sup>98</sup> (Fig. 51) From the seventeenth century its elements became widespread throughout Southeastern Europe through the costume of light cavalry troops called Hussars.<sup>99</sup> Female “Hungarian” dress was formed of a general European costume originating from Italy, and survived parallel with the reception of later European trends. It was a model followed and conserved by folk dress as well.<sup>100</sup> During the revolts for independence of late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Hungarian nobility emphasized their claims with the refusal to follow courtly trends of clothing. During the strife for independence in the nineteenth century, revival of Hungarian national costume became a symbol, and apart from a general inclination toward Romanticism, this phenomenon determined the historic interest in vernacular costumes as well.<sup>101</sup> Institutionalized ethnography first dealt with homemade peasant’s costumes, and only in the first part of the twentieth century involved clothes produced by craftsmen that were adapted to the contemporary trends, and formed the basis of regional ethnographic styles.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>98</sup> On Turkish impact on Hungarian costume see Tompos, “Oriental and Western Influences on Hungarian Attire;” Veronika Gervers, *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe with particular reference to Hungary* (Toronto: The Royal Ontario Museum, 1982), especially 12-15; Irena Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Warsaw: Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1991), 22-26 (hereafter: Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*). On various levels of oriental impacts in Hungarian costume see Alice Gáborján, “Keleti elemek a magyar ruházatban” (Oriental elements in Hungarian Clothing), *Néprajzi Értesítő* 67-70 (1985-88): 19-53.

<sup>99</sup> In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries similar forces followed the Hungarian Hussar garment all over Europe. Gabriella Schubert, “A délkelet-európai népek viseletei – History and Images. Towards a New Iconology, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley, 19-44. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003. megközelítésben” (Costumes of peoples in South-Eastern Europe – a semiotic approach), in *Ethnographia* 105 (1994): 429-431.

<sup>100</sup> This issue is discussed in more detail in 4.1.3. chapter of the present thesis.

<sup>101</sup> Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 24-26.

<sup>102</sup> Flórián, *Magyar parasztviseletek*, 12.

I have already mentioned the problem of regionalism in the research on early modern ceramics. Comparison of archaeological ensembles with regional styles defined by ethnography threw new light on the development of the latter, though archaeological pottery covers types that do not correspond to the ornamental ceramics accumulated by ethnography.<sup>103</sup> Similar questions arise concerning clothing; however, it must be taken into account that archaeological sources cover a sphere of clothing that is determined by special contributing issues.

### 3.1. Archaeological sources

Burials are the most significant group of archaeological sources for costumes. However, there are factors that confine the possibilities of the interpretation. As described above, through a sample of the remains burials reflect a costume chosen for a special occasion. Beside the problem of the character and quantity of what survived, the aims and possibilities of the archaeological research are further straining factors, the last phase of which is the publication, viz. making available the results for further analysis.<sup>104</sup> In the following I will summarize the present stage of research of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century burials in Hungary with special emphasize on these problems.

Churchyard cemeteries were used continuously from the Middle Ages, though there are examples that were established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Another type of early modern cemeteries got to the focus of research in the last few

<sup>103</sup> See chapter 2.3 on page 20 of this thesis and Orsolya Lajkó, "Post-medieval Pottery Finds from Hódmezővásárhely-Ótemplom," in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 321-328.

<sup>104</sup> Helmut Hundsbichler, "Sampling or Proving 'Reality?' Co-ordinates for the Evaluation of Historical Archaeology Research," in *The Age of Transition. The Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600*, ed. David Gaimster and Paul Stamper, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15, Oxbow Monograph 98 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 50.

decades, which was related to newly arrived Southern Slav ethnic groups. The third form of burial places I will discuss is burials inside the churches.

It is necessary to add two further types of archaeological sources that often provide information on clothing, and which I do not treat in detail. Elements of garments are often found in excavated settlements as discards, and also remains of production: raw materials, tools, and waste. Valuable accessories made of precious metals were hidden in treasure hoards, and according to the dating of the coins the number of ensembles increased especially in the periods of military campaigns. Treasure hoards are not informative about the use of the objects, as the owner is known only in exceptional cases and the jewelry appears in a different context. Even if a hoard contains coins it does not make the dating of the objects less problematic, as the hidden values were often accumulated for generations. However, hoards can be interpreted as topographical data for the spread of certain types of jewelry, and they suggest their contemporary evaluation.<sup>105</sup>

### 3.1.1. Churchyard cemeteries

Researching cemeteries – especially churchyard cemeteries – is a field of medieval and early modern archaeology that raises peculiar problems.<sup>106</sup> Most of the churchyard cemeteries in Hungary were in continuous use from the Arpadian age up

<sup>105</sup> On the numismatic interpretation of treasure hoards in the Ottoman period Hungary see György V. Székely, “Differentiation or Homogenisation? Structural Changes in the Composition of Coin Finds in Sixteenth-Century Hungary,” in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, 337-344; on the jewelry contained in treasure hoards Ibolya Gerelyes, *Török ékszerek* (Turkish jewelry) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1999), 41-48.

<sup>106</sup> These problems were conceived by Ágnes Ritoók, “A magyarországi falusi templom körüli temetők feltárásának újabb eredményei” (The Latest Results of Excavations of Village Churchyards in Hungary) *Folia Archaeologica* 46 (1997): 165-176. The same issue was brought up by László Révész in the foreword to the conference on medieval cemeteries at the Hungarian National Museum in 2003. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, ed. “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok” *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* (“I walk through the valley of the shadow of death” Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 8. (hereafter: Ritoók, Simonyi, ed. “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok”).

to the eighteenth century, when new regulations were made by Habsburg administration, or even up to the nineteenth century. In areas that were characterized by significant village desertion, because they were under Ottoman rule for a long period, or belonged to the military border zone, burials in the cemeteries stopped in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the same time when the settlements depopulated. The technical aspect of the excavation is complex in many cases due to the great number of overlapping graves dating from different centuries. (Figs 6-7) Moreover, in Hungary it is rare that a cemetery is unearthed for its own sake, determined by academic questions, and it is also special case when the whole site is excavated.

There were a few early exceptions, however, like the excavation of the cemetery of Kide (Romania) that was in use between the twelfth and the nineteenth centuries. This cemetery furnished the basic experience that enabled archaeologist István Méri to establish the methods of excavating churchyards that are influential for Hungarian archaeologists even today.<sup>107</sup> He emphasized in his report that he considered the seventeenth and eighteenth century burials as the most significant from the point of view of the history of costume.<sup>108</sup> Kálmán Szabó excavated and analyzed cemeteries on the Great Hungarian Plain as sources for medieval peasant life. These sites were used until the Ottoman conquest, but he demonstrated that some of the sixteenth-century types of objects survived in the following centuries as well.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>107</sup> István Méri, “Középkori temetőink feltárásmódjáról. Megfigyelések a kidei XII-XIX. századi temető ásatásakor” (On the method of excavating medieval cemeteries. Notes on the research on the twelfth-nineteenth-century cemetery at Kide), in *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986), 26-40 (hereafter: Kovalovszki, ed. *A magyar falu régésze*).

<sup>108</sup> The complete documentation of István Méri has been published only by Júlia Kovalovszki, “A kidei középkori temető (Méri István ásatása)” (The medieval cemetery in Kide [An archaeological excavation by István Méri]), in Kovalovszki, ed. *A magyar falu régésze*. (hereafter: Kovalovszky, “A kidei középkori temető”).

<sup>109</sup> Kálmán Szabó, *Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei* (The culture historical remains of the population of the Hungarian Great Plain) (Budapest: Országos Magyar Történeti Múzeum, 1938).

In the last half century the burials have been considered, at best, as additional data for the reconstruction of the building history, as sources for the chronology of churches, using dating evidence from the graves. Thus, research of churchyard cemeteries has been dominated by interest in the architecture. Sometimes this has meant hundreds of graves that needed to be unearthed inside and around the church, like at the Franciscan church in Kecskemét.<sup>110</sup> However, in many cases only a few burials are dealt with, for instance in the medieval church of Balatonszőlős eight late medieval graves were unearthed in the sanctuary and nine early modern burials in the nave.<sup>111</sup>

Neither does the academic approach determine the rescue excavations on the sites which are disturbed by earthmoving; this is the way that most of the early modern cemeteries are discovered. It is dependent on the earthmoving project which part of the cemetery is unearthed. There are cases when a considerable number of graves is concerned, like for example the churchyard of Tiszanána-Ónána, where eighty-six early modern graves were excavated because of weir construction on the river Tisza.<sup>112</sup> If just a small part of the site is going to be destroyed by earthmoving, the research covers a smaller area of the cemetery. Such an instance is Egervár, where a road in the process of construction cut through the slope of the hill where the church and the cemetery of the early modern settlement were situated. About thirty or forty graves had already been disturbed when the archaeologist was informed, and he was only able to excavate twenty-six burials scientifically.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Piroska Biczó, "Jelentés a Kecskemét - Kossuth téren végzett ásatásról" (Archaeological report on the excavation at Kecskemét-Kistemplom tér), *Cumania* 4 (1976): 329-360.

<sup>111</sup> Csaba László, "A balatonszölösi református templom kutatása" (The research on the Protestant church in Balatonszölős) *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 15 (1980): 113-124.

<sup>112</sup> Nándor Parádi, "A Tiszanána-Ónánai ásatás" (The excavation at Tiszanána-Ónána), *Folia Archaeologica* 44 (1995): 151-189.

<sup>113</sup> Géza Fehér, Jr., "Az egervári leletmentő ásatás" (The rescue excavation at Egervár), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 84 (1957): 66-73 (hereafter Fehér, "Az egervári leletmentő ásatás").



Often only a few graves turn up during earthworks or accidentally, and the only thing the archaeologist can do is to localize the site, document the burials, and take the finds to the museum. For instance, in Bába a collapsing bluff of loess brought to surface the walls of a medieval church and two graves. Though there were no excavations, the archaeologist was able to identify the site with a church already known from written sources.<sup>114</sup> Another mound with cemetery was disturbed by a sand borrow pit at Damóc, and several finds from early modern graves were taken to the local museum, among which, according to the short report, there must have been some significant pieces.<sup>115</sup>

There are many similar cases; because of these methodological, temporal and economic confines few medieval cemeteries in Hungary have been excavated completely. One of these rare examples is a churchyard cemetery in Kaposvár, where, although a third of the cemetery had already been destroyed, 1244 graves were unearthed that dated between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries.<sup>116</sup>

The publication and the analysis of churchyard sites have brought further problems. Most of the results are known to the profession through the yearly issue of short archaeological reports of all the excavations.<sup>117</sup> Before the era of electronic databases there was no possibility to publish the often more than a hundred or thousand graves, even in the more detailed studies. Thus, only a selection of the results has been made available for further analysis or as comparative material: those graves that had been considered to be important or interesting for some reason by the

<sup>114</sup> The name of the site is Bába-Régitemető völgy. Attila Gaál, "Későközépkori leletek Tolna megyéből" (Late medieval finds from Tolna county), *A Béni Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 8-9 (1977-78): 109-131.

<sup>115</sup> Katalin J. Dankó, "Damóc-Temetődomb," *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. 1, 28 (1975): 116.

<sup>116</sup> Edith Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II." (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 8-57 (hereafter: Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.").

<sup>117</sup> *Régészeti Füzetek* (Archaeological Booklets) published annually in Budapest by the Hungarian National Museum between 1958 and 2001, since 2001 the title has been *Régészeti Kutatások* (Archaeological Research in Hungary).

excavator. These difficulties characterize even more the seventeenth and eighteenth century burials: the latest graves are often only mentioned, without any image in the publications, which in most cases concentrate on the Arpadian Age. The dating of these early modern objects and graves is not well distinguished, and the information that is provided in the publication is not sufficient to decide whether a burial comes from the sixteenth or the eighteenth century. However, because this period was usually the last phase of the cemeteries that had been in use for several centuries, the number of graves that were not disturbed by later burials is much higher than from the earlier periods. Only a few churchyard cemeteries have been unearthed and published that date solely from the Early Modern Age;<sup>118</sup> the reason for this phenomenon might be the problematic appreciation of such archaeological research up to the latest times.

This ambiguity was manifested at the conference on medieval churchyards which was organized by the Hungarian National Museum in 2003. However, both the conference itself and the volume of the presentations were significant concerning not just the medieval, but the early modern cemeteries as well.<sup>119</sup> Several wholly or partially excavated cemeteries were published or re-published, and a whole chapter appeared on the Late Medieval - Early Modern era. Some questions arose on methodology and interpretation, too; apparently the excavation and analysis of cemeteries cannot be neglected any longer as a field of archaeology of the early modern period, which itself has come to the foreground in Hungary during the last two decades.

---

<sup>118</sup>Such examples are the cemeteries at Egervár published by Fehér, "Az egervári leletmentő ásatás"; Bobáld by Szőcs, Mérai and Eng, "A nagykároly-bobáldi temető"; Poroszló by János Győző Szabó, "Poroszló, Földvár utca" (Poroszló, Földvár street), *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. 1, 32 (1979): 132.

<sup>119</sup>Ritoók, Simonyi, ed. "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok."

### 3.1.2. Cemeteries of Southern Slav ethnic groups

At the same conference another group of early modern cemeteries was treated: burials of the Southern Slav ethnic groups in Hungary that had arrived from the south together with the conquering Ottomans. These sites are characterized by the parallel arrangement of graves with very few overlapping burials and an absence of a church.<sup>120</sup> (Fig. 5) Some of the methodological difficulties that have been mentioned in connection with the churchyards come up in such cases as well. Most of the so-called Southern Slav cemeteries have been unearthed with rescue excavations, so other aspects than the scientific interest determine the extent of the area investigated. As there is no church or any other feature on the surface that indicates the burials, usually many of the graves had already been disturbed by the time the archeologist was informed. However, the analysis and the publishing is less complicated because the number of the graves is generally smaller than in churchyards, the complex superpositions are absent, and the features date more or less to the same period. Thus, the publications are more detailed, with descriptions and drawings of most of the graves.

Although such fragments of cemeteries had already been excavated in the 1940s and 1950s, they remained unpublished at that time.<sup>121</sup> It was Attila Gaál who

<sup>120</sup> The group of the so-called Southern Slav or *Rác* cemeteries is circumscribed by Erika Wicker, “A hódoltság kori balkáni népesség régészeti hagyatékának kutatása” (Research on the Balkan population in the period of the Ottoman Conquest in Bács-Kiskun county), *Múzeumi kutatások Bács-Kiskun megyében az ezredfordulón* 10 (1999-2005): 19-29 (hereafter: Wicker, “A hódoltság kori balkáni népesség régészeti hagyatékának kutatása”).

<sup>121</sup> Kálmán Gubitza, “A Bodrogh-szigeti pálos monostor” (The Pauliner monastery on Bodrogh Island), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 22 (1902): 1-7 (hereafter: Gubicza, “A Bodrogh-szigeti pálos monostor”); Gyula Rosner, “Szentendre, Paprikabíró u. 5.” (Szentendre, Paprikabíró street No. 5) *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. 1, 20 (1947): 101; József Korek, “A zombor-bükkszállási 17. századi temető sírleletei” (The finds in the graves of the seventeenth-century cemetery at Zombor-Bükkszállás), *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* (1992): 181-200. (hereafter: Korek, “Zombor-Bükkszállás”) The excavation itself was done in 1943. Erika Wicker and Mihály Köhegyi, “A katymári XVI-XVII. századi rác temető” (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *Rác* [Southern Slav] cemetery at Katymár), *Cumania* 18 (2002): 5-94. (hereafter: Wicker and Köhegyi, “Katymár”); rescue excavations between 1952 and 1960. Sándor Mithay, “A győr-gabonavásártéri XVI-XVII. századi temető” (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century

first brought up the subject of the burials of the Slavic ethnic groups when publishing his interpretation of the cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató.<sup>122</sup> He assumed that certain pieces of the costumes that he found had never been recovered before in the cemeteries of Hungarian ethnicity – though he did not mention any such cemeteries – and he found ethnographic parallels for the burial customs among the late nineteenth-early twentieth century Southern Slavic population of Baranya County.<sup>123</sup> He identified the population of the cemetery with that of the erstwhile village Békató, which belonged to the ethnic group called *iflák* in the written sources, and he dated the cemetery from the second half of the sixteenth century to the 1680s. The fact that he had not found any traces of a church and that the graves were arranged parallel without any superposition made him presume that the buried were not even Christian, but Muslim. Kinga Éry, the author of the anthropological analysis of the remains referred to these suppositions, and she found the closest anthropological parallels among the Vlach population of the territory of present-day Albania, Crna Gora and the northwestern part of Greece.<sup>124</sup> Although she expressed her methodological doubts concerning the comparison of an early modern and a twentieth century population,<sup>125</sup> her supposition about the Balkanic origins of the group has taken root in the Hungarian literature as a reference point, together with the conclusions of Attila Gaál about the relation between the finds belonging to the garments and the ethnicity.

---

cemetery at Győr-Gabonavásártér) *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae* (1985): 185-198 (hereafter: Mithay, “Győr-Gabonavásártér”); a rescue excavation in 1949 and 1950.

<sup>122</sup> Attila Gaál, “A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető” (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató), *A Szekszárdi Béni Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 10-11 (1979-80): 133-223 (hereafter: Gaál, “A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető”).

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 171. The author refers to the study by György Sarosácz, “Baranyai délszláv népszokások II. Temetkezési szokások a sokácoknál és a bosnyákoknál” (Folk traditions of the Southern Slavs in Baranya county, 2. Funeral customs among the *Sokac* and the Bosniacs), *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 13 (1968): 152-168.

<sup>124</sup> Kinga Éry, “Balkáni eredetű, török kori népesség csontmaradványai Dombóvár határából” (Anthropological remains of a population of Balkan origins in the period of the Turkish conquest from the area of Dombóvár) *A Szekszárdi Béni Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 10-11 (1979-80): 225-298.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 247.

József Korek, when, after almost half a century, finally published the results of his excavation at Zombor-Bükkszállás in 1992, treated Dombóvár-Békató as the main analogy of his own site.<sup>126</sup> In his report immediately after the excavation he wrote about the mixed Hungarian, German and Serb population of the settlement and assumed that their archaeological remains could not be distinguished,<sup>127</sup> but in his later article he found that the results of Attila Gaál had confirmed his assumption that the cemetery belonged to a Southern Slav ethnic group called *Bunjevác*.<sup>128</sup>

Erika Wicker took up the question of the Southern Slav cemeteries in Hungary when she started to excavate the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cemetery of Bácsalmás-Óalmás. She also, together with one of the excavators, published and interpreted the cemetery of Zombor-Bükkszállás that had been unearthed fifty years before.<sup>129</sup> She defined a group of cemeteries in Hungary that she related to the Southern Slav ethnic groups, and she interpreted certain burial customs and finds relating to the garments as the archaeological indicators of Southern Slav ethnicity and Orthodox Christian or Muslim religion.<sup>130</sup> Neglecting all the problems of ethnic identification concerning single sites, she went even further and attempted to particularize any features in the cemeteries that she had earlier defined as Southern Slav which could be interpreted as the traces of Islamic traditions, using analogies from Anatolia and Afghanistan.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás."

<sup>127</sup> The report of József Korek was cited by the anthropologist László Bartucz, "Die Anthropologischen Merkmale der Bevölkerung aus der Umgebung von Zombor (Sombor) im XV-XVII Jahrhundert," *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestiensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Sectio Biologica* 3 (1960): 25-28.

<sup>128</sup> Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás", 197.

<sup>129</sup> Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár"

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 37-61; Erika Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary" in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 237-248 (hereafter: Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary"; Wicker, "A hódoltság kori balkáni népesség régészeti hagyatékának kutatása," 19-29.

<sup>131</sup> Erika Wicker, "Muzulmán elemek a hódoltság kori rácok temetkezési szokásaiban" (Muslim elements in the burial customs of the *Rác* [Southern Slav] population in the period of the Turkish Conquest), *Cumania* 18 (2002): 95-124 (hereafter: Wicker, "Muzulmán elemek a hódoltság kori rácok

The two groups of sixteenth and seventeenth century cemeteries in Hungary have a well-distinguished and separate research history. The churchyard cemeteries have been excavated and published unsystematically, whereas the so-called Southern Slav cemeteries – or *Rác* as they are often labeled – have stimulated more interest that resulted in a more elaborate literature.

### 3.1.3. Crypts and burials in churches

Crypts are archeological sources for costumes and burial customs of nobility and urban citizens. They have excited wide interest for a long time, partly because of the spectacular finds, as objects owned by relatively wealthy layers of society are generally preserved in fairly good condition, and partly because it is often possible to identify the deceased person from other sources.

There are even data on an “excavated” crypt from the eighteenth century: in 1778, members of the Bethlen family opened up the seventeenth century sepulcher of the related Apafi family and unearthed the remains in Almakerék (Mălîncrav, Malmkrog, Romania) while reconstructing the burial chapel. The objects found in the grave of this prominent Transylvanian nobleman and his family have been lost since that time, but a list of them survives: a broken sword with a gilded hilt, the mounts from its suspension belt, gilded silver coffin nails, a golden bouquet ornamented with precious stones, remains of textile worked with gold and silver, gold and silver clasps and rings.<sup>132</sup>

---

temetkezési szokásaiban”); Erika Wicker, “Adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz” (New data on the burial customs of the Southern Slav population in the period of the Turkish Conquest) *Cumania* 19 (2003): 19-84 (hereafter: Wicker, “Adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz”).

<sup>132</sup> November 18-19, 1778, András Kovács, “Apafi György almakereki sírkápolnájáról” (On the burial chapel of György Apafi in Almakerék), *Református Szemle* 96 (2003): 632-633.

This sort of inquiry in the following century still meant unearthing finds without documenting them and their context. The collection of the Hungarian National Museum preserves such objects, like the golden and silver jewelry from Losonc (Lučenec, Slovakia)<sup>133</sup> and a piece of seventeenth-century headgear decorated with metal and silk flowers with pearls from the crypt of the former Pauliner church at Szent János-Elefánt that was cleared out in 1894.<sup>134</sup> During the demolishing of the medieval church of Tunyog in Szatmár County in 1900, a local eye-witness recorded that she saw about two hundred skeletons in the crypt, some of them still ornamented with “green silk shreds of garment” (probably the remains of textile interwoven with metal wire thus preserved) and headgear decorated with pearls.<sup>135</sup> The crypt of the church at Küküllővár (Cetatea de Baltă, Romania) was opened in 1897. They found three female burials from the sixteenth century, all of which could be identified with historically known members of noble families: Zsófia Patóch, wife of György Bebek, Zsófi Kendy, wife of Menyhért Bogáthy and Judit Bebek, wife of Ferenc Kendy. The find material was rich in precious metal jewelery: it contained ninety-five golden costume ornaments, a gold buckle, ring, and collar.<sup>136</sup>

In 1908, the opening of the crypt of the church in Gernyeszeg was a regular archaeological excavation, which was preceded by a thorough investigation of the historical documents. The archaeologist unearthed and identified the sepulchers of the seventeenth-century Transylvanian aristocrat, Mihály Teleki, his wife, Judit Weér,

<sup>133</sup> Judit H. Kolba, “A losonci ékszerlelet” (The jewelery find from Losonc), *Folia Archaeologica* 40 (1970): 175-193.

<sup>134</sup> József Höllrigl, “A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei” (Archaeological finds from the crypt of the Protestant church in Csenger), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 48 (1934): 109 (hereafter: Höllrigl, “A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei”).

<sup>135</sup> Margit Luby of Benedekfalva, *A parasztelelet rendje. Népi szokások, illendő magatartás, babonák Szatmár vármegyében* (The order of peasants’ life. Folk traditions, superstitions, and conventional behaviour in Szatmár county) (Budapest: Nap, 2002), 11.

<sup>136</sup> Lajos Szádeczky, “A küküllővári sírleletek és régiségek” (Finds and antiquities from Küküllővár), *Erdélyi Múzeum* 14 (1897): 286-290, 293-295; Magdolna Bunta, “A küküllővári lelet” (The finds from Küküllővár), *Ars Hungarica* 5 (1977): 223-239.

and one of their daughters. He found textile remains of the silk cushion on which the head of the females rested and of a head kerchief and corset, a textile belt, metal laces, a headgear decorated with pearls and jewelery: golden earrings and rings. The male burial contained only corded buttons and buttonholes.<sup>137</sup>

The same archeologist, Béla Pósta, published and accurately analyzed thirty-nine graves that he excavated in the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania) between 1907 and 1913. Nine coffins from the southern aisle were not buried in a crypt, but in graves. The findings were: a sabre, spurs, soles of footwear, thongs, remains of silk cushion and female and male garments: veils, bonnets, silver buttons, and a helm, armour, and a mace made of iron. In the northern aisle, graves of a female, a male and two infants were unearthed, in which similar pieces of garments had been preserved, and a mace, a sword, and the full set of armour placed on the coffin of the deceased man, which is an exceptional trace of the early modern burial service of the nobility, the so-called *tropheum*.<sup>138</sup> In the crypts under the southern and northern aisle the archaeologist found eighteenth-century graves that were possible to identify by name, and complete female costumes. He was able to date almost each of the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century graves relatively precisely with the help of the finds, to reconstruct the articles of clothing, and the patterns of textiles as well. The publication is outstanding both for the significant finds and for the interpretation of high standard.<sup>139</sup>

Béla Pósta also investigated the burial of György Sükösd in the protestant church of Nagyeremi (Tirimia, Romania), which was formerly under one of the most

<sup>137</sup> Béla Pósta, "Teleki Mihály sírja" (The grave of Mihály Teleki), *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából* 4 (1913): 3-32.

<sup>138</sup> Péter Szabó, "A fegyverzet szerepe a főúri gyászszertartáson" (The role of the armour in noble funeral ceremonies), *Ars Hungarica* 15 (1986): 115-123.

<sup>139</sup> Béla Pósta, "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírleletei" (Grave finds from the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár), *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából* 8 (1918): 1-203 (hereafter: Pósta, "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírleletei").



prominent figural tombs preserved from seventeenth-century Transylvania. He found only two golden rings and the silver nails with which black fabric was fixed on the coffin during the burial service.<sup>140</sup>

Research on the crypt in the protestant church in Csenger transpired less fortunately than the Transylvanian examples. Only the finds were taken to the Hungarian National Museum in 1931, and the following year, when the archaeologist József Höllrigl arrived to the site, he was no longer able to distinguish the already disturbed individual burials from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He found remains of lace and clothes, amulets, coins, sabres, and fragments of tombstones, but he published only the numerous items of golden and silver jewelry in detail (more than seventy pieces, and several fragments), attempting to reconstruct the original composition of the ornaments with the help of analogies preserved in collections.<sup>141</sup> (Fig. 41)

Since the 1940s several excavations of burials of noblemen and urban citizens have been conducted inside churches, followed by restoration and historical analysis of the garments. The analysis has focused on the female headgear from the burials of the patron family Viczay in the medieval church at Nagylózs.<sup>142</sup> Further graves were found outside, on the southern side of the church, which have been interpreted as the remains of other local noble families from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mária V. Ember has reconstructed the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century male and female costumes, footwear and headgear found in the crypts of the parish church at

<sup>140</sup> Lajos Kelemen, “Sükösd György nagyteremi síremléke” (The tomb of György Sükösd in Nagyteremi), in *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies on art history), ed. Margit B. Nagy, (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 174.

<sup>141</sup> Höllrigl, “A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei.”

<sup>142</sup> Dóra Mojzsis, “XVI-XVII. századi női fejdíszek a nagylózsi leletanyagból” (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century headgear in the finds from Nagylózs), *Folia Archaeologica* 35 (1984): 185-210 (hereafter: Mojzsis, “XVI-XVII. századi női fejdíszek a nagylózsi leletanyagból”).

Sárospatak<sup>143</sup> (Figs 37-38) and eighteenth-century items of the German citizens of Eger buried in the Rosalie chapel.<sup>144</sup>

Excavated crypts from the eighteenth century have a particular significance from the costume historical point of view; it is often possible to reconstruct the cloths and observe the burial customs accurately. One of the most spectacular archaeological investigations of crypts in the last few decades has been conducted in the Dominican church at Vác. It was the burial place of citizens, monks, and the clergy. More than two hundred and sixty coffins were unearthed with completely preserved textiles, which made it possible to study both the outerwear and underclothes.<sup>145</sup>

### 3.2. Pictorial sources

The question of to what degree images can be considered as authentic sources for costume history has been widely discussed in the related literature.<sup>146</sup> The documentary value of the depictions differs from case to case. There are several important factors to take into account when using images to interpret dress, like for example the peculiarities of the genre, the complex problem of symbolic meanings,

<sup>143</sup> Mária V. Ember, "XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából" (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century articles of clothing from the crypt of the church at Sárospatak), *Folia Archaeologica* 19 (1968): 151-184 (hereafter: V. Ember, "XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából"); on written sources and tombstones see Vera Gervers-Molnár, *Sárospataki síremlékek* (Tombs from Sárospatak) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983).

<sup>144</sup> Mária V. Ember, "Az egri Rozália kápolna textiljei" (Textiles from the Rosalie chapel in Eger), *Folia Archaeologica* 9 (1957): 119-236; Mária V. Ember, "Az egri Rozália kápolna cipői" (Shoes from the Rosalie chapel in Eger), *Folia Archaeologica* 13 (1961): 251-268. Costumes from churchyard cemeteries have also been reconstructed, e.g., from Debrecen, Ibolya V. Szathmári, "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' pártá" (*Pártá* from Debrecen decorated with beads and *boglár*), *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1991): 193-224 (hereafter: V. Szathmári, "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' pártá"); Lilla Erdei, "A debreceni temető 17-18. századi textil leletei" (Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century textiles from the Dobozi cemetery in Debrecen), *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (2002-2003): 285-304.

<sup>145</sup> Márta Zomborka and Emil Ráduly, "Vác, Fehérek temploma, kriptafeltárás 1994-95" (Vác, Dominican church, excavation of the crypt 1994-95) *Magyar Múzeumok* (1996): 3-14; Márta Zomborka and Elemér Ráduly, "The Finds of the Crypt of the Dominican Church in Vác," in *Hungarian Museums, Special English Language Edition* (2000): 26-28.

<sup>146</sup> E.g., "Introduction," Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 3-7; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Images and the Historian," in *History and Images. Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 19-44; Anne Sutton, "Dress and Fashion c. 1470," in *Daily Life in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell (Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 7-9; "Methodology," in Ball, *Byzantine Dress*, 4-7.

the certitude of the dating, and the quality of the artwork. It is the task of the analysis of the art historical and social context to reveal patterns and stereotypes that the representations follow and to examine the audience and the purpose of the artwork so as to point out that to what degree and with what confidence it is justified to serve as a source for costume history.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were characterized by a massive increase in the number of visual sources depicting costumes due to the widespread use of printing techniques. This was the period when a genre came into existence with the main purpose of presenting costumes, as is indicated even in the title of the so-called costume books. Of course, various other genres of painting, graphics and sculpture can be used as pictorial sources for clothing, but here I am only going to deal with them insofar as they are peculiar for this geographic area from the point of view of the present study.

The genre of costume codices that first appeared in the second half of the sixteenth century in France, Italy, and German areas was closely related to the illustrated cosmographies produced by the geographical interest of humanism.<sup>147</sup> The costume books contained figures wearing costumes from all parts of the known world as an encyclopedic collection with the same idea that lay behind the cosmographies: to present the whole world. The illustrations in *Civitates orbis terrarum*, published in six volumes in Cologne by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg between 1572 and 1617, even combined the topographical depictions with the representation of the

---

<sup>147</sup> Ulrike Ilg, "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 29-33 (hereafter: Ilg, "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books"); on a German example see Rolf Walther, "Die Trachtenbilder im Thesaurus Picturarum des Dr. Markus zum Lamm," in *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 13 (1971): 77-96; Gabriele Mentges interpreted costume books from the point of view of how they contribute "to compose the Western idea of autonomous subject" in Gabriele Mentges, "Vestimentäres Mapping. Trachtenbücher und Trachtenhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 46 (2004): 19-36.

inhabitants in the foreground, among which some Hungarian sites are included as well.<sup>148</sup> (Fig. 52)

The depictions in the costume books are organized according to geographical and social origins, leading from the more familiar to the more specific areas, from the highest to the lower social strata; the series contains images from noblemen and urban citizens to peasants engaged in different activities and servants. The caption tells the geographical or ethnic origin, sometimes the age, social standing or profession, and moral status of the person depicted. These short texts suggest that those were the features that the costumes reflected and the bases of the encyclopedic classification of peoples that the costume books presented for their readers.<sup>149</sup> They represent rather generalized garments, emphasizing some basic distinguishing features; the figures were often copied from the printed images of formerly published works or followed the representations of paintings.<sup>150</sup>

Even the earliest albums comprise depictions of figures labeled Hungarian; for example, the album of Cesare Vecellio presents the image of a nobleman who is Hungarian or Croatian according to the text.<sup>151</sup> (Fig. 56) Wilhelm Dillich published a whole book about Hungary in Kassel in 1600 (*Ungarische Chronica*). It contains views of forts and towns, and sixteen pages with the depictions of Hungarian noblemen, citizens, soldiers, and peasants; the author even described in the text the way different people dressed.<sup>152</sup> (Figs 53-54)

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 37-40.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 40-47. Géza Galavics, "Erdélyi viseletalbumok a XVII-XVIII. századból" (Transylvanian costume albums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), in Jankovics, R. Várkonyi and Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek*, 61 (hereafter: Galavics, "Erdélyi viseletalbumok").

<sup>150</sup> Ilg, "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books," 33; Tompos, "Oriental and Western Influences on Hungarian Attire," 87-88.

<sup>151</sup> "Vngaro, o' Crouato nobile," Cesare Vecellio, *Degli abiti antichi e moderni di diverse parti del Mondo* (Venice, 1590).

<sup>152</sup> Wilhelm Dillich, *Ungarische Chronica* (Cassel: W. Wessel, 1600); Galavics, "Erdélyi viseletalbumok," 68.

In the seventeenth century similar volumes by local authors dealt with selected regions of Hungary. The Transylvanian Saxons, Johann Troestler from Sibiu and Laurentius Toppeltinus from Mediaș, published their works in Germany and France about the origins, lifestyle, customs, and costumes of Saxon, Romanian, and Hungarian ethnic groups in Transylvania, with illustrations engraved in Nuremberg and Lyon probably using Transylvanian drawings.<sup>153</sup> (Fig. 55) The similarities between the figures in these albums published abroad for foreign readers and locally preserved images that had been painted earlier suggest that the patterns of representing the ethnic and social types were set by Transylvanian masters with the help of their own observations.<sup>154</sup>

Some of the figures were also copied and varied in costume albums done in water color that were again painted for a foreign audience, at least this is suggested by the fact that most of about a dozen of such known works have been preserved in collections outside Hungary.<sup>155</sup> They contain depictions of Hungarian, Sekler, Saxon, Romanian, Serb, Greek, Jewish, Armenian, Turkish, *Habán*<sup>156</sup> and Gipsy figures from Transylvania in their characteristic costumes. (Figs 59-70) The pages were copied, varied, even extended abroad; they bear thoroughly written captions or scratched notes in German, Hungarian, English or Latin that tell the same pieces of information as the printed versions from Western Europe. Albums were created over the next two

<sup>153</sup> Johannes Troestler, *Das alt- und neu-teutsche Dacia, das ist: neue Beschreibung des Landes Siebenbürgen* (Nuremberg, 1666); Laurentinus Toppeltinus de Medgyes, *Origines et occasus Transylvanorum seu erutae nationes Transsylvaniae...* (Lyon, 1667).

<sup>154</sup> Galavics, "Erdélyi viseletalbumok," 69-77.

<sup>155</sup> The most significant volumes are preserved in the Marsigli collection in Bologna and in the Library of the British Museum. In Hungary there are fragments, e.g., in the collections of the Hungarian National Library and the Hungarian Academy, Galavics, "Erdélyi viseletalbumok," 81-85. For further examples see Szendrei, "Adatok," 193.

<sup>156</sup> Groups of immigrant Anabaptists, settled in Transylvania in 1621 by Prince Gábor Bethlen, were called *Habán*. They were excellent craftsmen, especially famous for knives and ceramics, which is why the figure of the *Habán* man is holding a pot in his hand.

centuries, following seventeenth century patterns with anachronistic or more or less up-dated representations, which raises difficulties in dating the copies.<sup>157</sup>

Such typical depictions can contribute to the interpretation of archaeological finds with information that is not available in the excavation results: the color and cut of the garments, which represented the most conspicuous elements of ethnic differences. They suggest what costumes and jewelry were considered to characterize ethnic groups, but this does not mean that those depicted were the only ones who used them, as, according to the aforementioned features of the genre, the representations do not reflect variation. The excavated cemeteries in this part of Europe rarely include shreds of textiles, so these depictions help in estimating how reasonable conclusions can be drawn about the appearance of costumes based only on grave finds.

Except for these examples there are only sporadic visual representations of members of the lower social strata up to the nineteenth century, which became a period of emerging interest in peasants' culture.<sup>158</sup> The number of sixteenth and seventeenth century depictions is much higher for noblemen and urban citizens. Noble families commissioned life-size portraits depicting their ancestors and themselves, generally displayed in the halls of aristocratic residences.<sup>159</sup> (Figs 47-48, 51) This genre was rooted in the Renaissance galleries of prominent people of the past and served to express the legitimacy of Hungarian aristocratic families. Ancestors and contemporaries were depicted in gala dress. The role of sumptuous costume and the setting with objects characterizing the lifestyle of the high aristocracy was to indicate the high position of the portrayed, no matter how much earlier he or she had lived,

<sup>157</sup> Galavics, "Erdélyi viseletalbumok," 102-106.

<sup>158</sup> Cenner Wilhelmb, "16–19. századi grafikus viseletsorozatok," 28-34.

<sup>159</sup> *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek a Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988. március - augusztus* (Aristocratic ancestors' galleries, family portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, Museum of Applied Arts and the Hungarian National Gallery. Hungarian National Gallery, March – August 1988), ed. Enikő Buzási (Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988) (hereafter: Buzási, ed. *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek*).

and it was the painter's task to conceive "how the Hungarians used to dress."<sup>160</sup> Several portraits of sixteenth and seventeenth century personalities were created in the eighteenth century, sometimes reproducing an earlier work.

The painted illustrations of the volumes containing the genealogy of noble families are close to the large-scale portraits in form and content, although they were aimed at a more restricted audience. Another genre of full figure portraits of large dimensions was related to a special occasion: the so-called catafalque paintings used to commemorate the dead.<sup>161</sup> (Figs 49-50) Altogether the painted portraits have served as one of the primary sources in reconstructing the costume of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century nobility, both in identifying articles of clothing mentioned in written evidence and in presenting the general appearance of the garments, like the oriental character of male costume and trends in female dress.<sup>162</sup>

Tombstones are also potential pictorial sources for the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century costumes of Hungary. Figural tombstones were carved for the members of the nobility all over the country and for citizens of Transylvanian towns. The genre of carved stone or painted epitaphs applied on the inner and outer walls of churches with memorial, pious, and votive functions is also present in Hungarian

<sup>160</sup> Mátyás Gödölle, "Főúri udvarok ősgalériái" (Ancestors' galleries in aristocratic courts), in *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 47 (hereafter: Ridovics, ed. *A szépség dicsérete*).

<sup>161</sup> Enikő Buzási, "17th Century Catafalque Painting in Hungary," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1975): 87-124; Andor Pigler, "Portraying the Dead" *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 4 (1957): 1-75.

<sup>162</sup> Emőke László, "A magyar nemesi viselet a családi arcképek tükrében" (The costume of the Hungarian nobility reflected by the family portraits), in Buzási, ed. *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek*, 48 (hereafter: László, "A magyar nemesi viselet"); Emőke László, "Textilmunkák" (Textiles), in Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* (Hungarian family life and households in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), vol. 1, reprint edition (Budapest: Helikon, 1986), 309-319 (hereafter: László, "Textilmunkák"). I will deal with the problem of adapting the terms used in written sources to depicted or existing objects.

towns, depicting the garments of the citizens and members of the nobility.<sup>163</sup> Similar representations appear on votive paintings and altars as well. Various cultural and social reasons lie behind the phenomenon that funeral genres follow traditional standards, even with regard to the costume worn by the effigy of the deceased.<sup>164</sup> Thus, applying tomb portraits as pictorial sources to clothing requires particular circumspection.

The perception of Hungarian costumes from an external point of view is not only recorded in Western sources, but it is represented on Turkish miniatures as well. (Fig. 57) They represent narrative scenes about historical events: military campaigns, legations, and other diplomatic appointments. They only depict members of a layer that participated in such events, so they do not provide a representative sample from the costume historical point of view. They show the Hungarian characters in rather schematic costumes, more or less distinguished by their headgear and sometimes a short dolman coat.<sup>165</sup>

### 3.3. Written sources

A significant increase in the number of written sources from the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth century compared to earlier periods involves a shift in the quantity of the evidence on clothing and costumes as well; in the following I will discuss only source groups of interest to the present issue. Not only the names of various articles survive, but also data about the outlook of people, the stages in the

<sup>163</sup> Alfred Weckwerth, "Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1957): 147-185.

<sup>164</sup> On the survival of the medieval traditions in western Hungary see Galavics, "A magyar királyi udvar és a késő reneszánsz képzőművészet."

<sup>165</sup> See Géza Fehér, *Turkish Miniatures from the Period of Hungary's Turkish Occupation* (Budapest: Corvina, 1978).



process of production, trade and consumption as they built on each other, and the contemporary evaluation and interpretation of elements of clothing.<sup>166</sup>

As has been widely discussed in the literature, however, the identification of certain items in the written sources with surviving or depicted objects is rather problematic.<sup>167</sup> The terms they used often do not correspond to the attributes of present-day classifications; for example, they generally labeled objects according to their function, without any information on formal qualities, which would be necessary to recognize these items in visually known types. Only a complex analysis of various source groups can make it feasible to match the categories of the different systems of classification.

Though the production of the individual types of written sources is related to a certain stage of the operational chain of production, they provide information about other levels as well. In this regard there are no clear distinctions among the sources.

Pattern-books, the most spectacular documents about production, represent a transitional category between textual and pictorial sources, as they contain both the descriptions and the patterns of the articles of clothing that were required to be made by the masters of the tailors' guilds.<sup>168</sup> (Fig. 39) Both Hungarian and German tailors prepared custom-made clothes for urban citizens and nobility, though the members of the highest nobility had their own tailors in their courts. The trade lists and rates of the

<sup>166</sup> Walter Endrei analysed from this point of view the data of written sources on fabrics, Walter Endrei, *Patyolat és posztó* (Batiste and cloth) (Budapest: Magvető, 1989), especially 11-35 (hereafter: Endrei, *Patyolat és posztó*).

<sup>167</sup> On the problem in general see "Typen und Namen," in Gerhard Jaritz, *Zwischen Augenblick und Ewigkeit : Einführung in die Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989), 41-49; "From Romance to Account Book" in Piponnier and Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, 7-9; on the problem in the context of medieval Hungary András Kubinyi, "Über das Alltagsleben im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn," in *Alltag und materielle Kultur im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, Medium Aevum Quotidianum 22, ed. András Kubinyi and József Laszlovszky (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1991), especially 16-19.

<sup>168</sup> Ottó Domonkos, *A magyarországi céhes szabók mintakönyvei* (Pattern books of tailors in Hungary) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1997) (hereafter: Domonkos, *A magyarországi céhes szabók mintakönyvei*).

towns record similar items, together with the prices.<sup>169</sup> It appears that the tailors produced clothes for both German and Hungarian customers and articles of different quality for higher and lower social strata, which is indicated by the price. The products of tailors working for the market are clearly distinguished even by their names.<sup>170</sup>

Lists of external customs due, called the thirtieth, contain the quantity and customs value of goods transported across the border. Their main items are livestock, salt and textiles, but they often list less valuable goods as well.<sup>171</sup> The lists reveal the direction and route of trade, and even the names of the merchants. The surviving thirtieth lists from the area between Hungary and the Ottoman Empire indicate the significant role of the so-called Greek merchants,<sup>172</sup> the stock-lists of whom – mainly from the eighteenth century – contain ready-made clothes beside smaller wares, belts, footwear, textiles, and cheap accessories. These tradesmen of various ethnicities came from all over the Ottoman Empire, transporting goods from the Turkish and Balkan areas. They appealed for royal protection in 1665; probably their presence dates back before the Ottoman Conquest.<sup>173</sup> The documents suggest intensive interethnic interactions; goods from Western countries and from various parts of the Ottoman Empire were available on the markets of several Hungarian towns and market towns like Buda, Debrecen, Kassa (Košice, Slovakia), Győr, Pécs, Nagykanizsa, Siklós,

<sup>169</sup> Ottó Domonkos, “Ár- és bérszabályzatok” (Limitations of prices and payments), in *Kézművesség. Magyar Néprajz* (Crafts. Hungarian Ethnography), vol. 3 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), 705-708, with references to further literature.

<sup>170</sup> E.g., “Szolgának való vásári Mente” (A dolman for market for a servant) “Rövid Paraszt Aszony Mente róka hátra” (A short dolman with fox fur on the back for a peasant’s wife) in the limitation of Somogy county issued in 1793, *ibid.*, 712-713.

<sup>171</sup> Zsolt Simon, “A baricsi és kölpényi harmincadok a 16. század elején” (The thirtieth of Barics and Köpény in the early sixteenth century), *Századok* 140 (2006): 817-882, with further literature.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 857.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 830-833; Lajos Gecsényi, “‘Török áruk’ és ‘görög kereskedők’ a 16-17. századi királyi Magyarországon” (‘Turkish Goods’ and ‘Greek Merchants’ in Royal Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), in *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója emlékére* (Festschrift for the seventieth birthday of Ágnes R. Várkonyi), ed. Péter Tusor (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 1998), 188-189; Mária Pakucs, “The Trade of Sibiu in the Sixteenth Century: the Evidence of the Town’s Custom Registers,” PhD thesis, Central European University (Budapest, 2004), 155.

Kecskemét, Mezőtúr.<sup>174</sup> There are data on the activity of Greek merchants from the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Transylvanian towns as well, like Brassó (Braşov, Romania) and Szeben (Sibiu, Romania). The sources culminate in the first part of the eighteenth century with data from all over the country, not only from the areas that had formerly been under Ottoman rule.<sup>175</sup>

Last wills, dowry lists and inventories made for various occasions give information about consumption and contain extensive data on the names and classifications of clothing items.<sup>176</sup> They use well-known contemporary categories and only some basic information to make the objects identifiable, so their interpretation is rather problematic. Nevertheless, their close connections to individuals of well-defined social strata and to certain stages in their lives such as marriage or death open up otherwise hidden possibilities for contextualization. Combined with representations, particularly large-scale portrait paintings, these have been the most important sources for works treating the costumes of the nobility.<sup>177</sup> Most of such private documents reflect the elements and transmission in the material

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 194, 202-203; Márta Bur, “A balkáni kereskedők és árukészleteik a XVIII. századi Magyarországon (1737-1753)” (Merchants from the Balkans and their stocks in eighteenth-century Hungary [1737-1753]), *Ethnographia* 96 (1985): 252-254 and 272 (hereafter: Bur, “A balkáni kereskedők és árukészleteik”).

<sup>175</sup> Ottó Domonkos, “A magyar vásárok néprajza” (The ethnography of Hungarian markets), in *Kézművesség. Magyar Néprajz* (Crafts. Hungarian Ethnography), vol. 3 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991), 678, 684-686, 700; Bur, “A balkáni kereskedők és árukészleteik,” 252-254 and 272; Endrei, *Patyolat és posztó*, 7, 64. Mária Flórián has called attention to Greek merchants as a neglected field of research, and emphasized their importance, Mária Flórián, “Folyamatok a magyar paraszti öltözködés alakulásában (17-20. század)” (Processes in the formation of Hungarian peasants’ clothing), doctoral dissertation, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnography (Budapest, 2006), 16 (hereafter: Flórián, “Folyamatok a magyar paraszti öltözködés alakulásában”).

<sup>176</sup> A great number of similar documents were published by Baron Béla Radvánszky in *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* (Hungarian family life and households in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), 3 vols (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1896) (hereafter: Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*), and in the volumes of *Magyar Történelmi Társulat Történelmi Társulat*, the journal of the Historical Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences issued between 1855 and 1911.

<sup>177</sup> E.g., Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás*, vol. 1, 67-257; Höllrigl, “Magyar és törökös viseletformák,” 359-385; Lilla Tompos, “Kamuka és korcovány. Textíliák és öltözékek” (“Kamuka” and “korcovány.” Textiles and garments), in Ridovics, ed. *A szépség dicsérete*, 9-25 (hereafter: Tompos, “Kamuka és korcovány”).

culture of the nobility and urban citizens,<sup>178</sup> but last wills of peasants have also survived from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>179</sup> Similar sources on craftsmen and merchants provide further data on production through notes on tools, ready-made artifacts, and debts.

Sumptuary laws on clothing have been preserved in Europe from the thirteenth century onwards. Their purpose was to limit the materials used and the fittings applied on various elements of clothing in order to show one's real social status and to avoid wasting financial resources on vanity and ostentation.<sup>180</sup> In Hungary such regulations appeared relatively late, as sources on seventeenth-century costumes of different social strata,<sup>181</sup> although they present only an ideal picture and conditions to be regulated. The issue of clothing and social layers appears in religious literature as well; in 1602 István Magyari found that one of the reasons for the decay of the Hungarians was following trends that were inappropriate to one's social position.<sup>182</sup> Such sources indicate that one should not expect clear-cut distinctions among archaeological finds; the interpretation needs to work on various levels.

The surviving pieces of private correspondence of the higher social strata may be informative about their acquisitions, their standards, the impressions they made

<sup>178</sup> Katalin Szende, *Otthon a városban: társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* (Home in the town: Society and material culture in medieval Sopron, Bratislava and Prešov) (Budapest : Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2004).

<sup>179</sup> József Horváth, "Falusi végrendeletek formai és tartalmi sajátosságai a Nyugat-Dunántúlon a 17-18. században" (The form and content of last wills from villages in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in western Transdanubia), *Soproni Szemle* 53 (1999): 356-369 with further references.

<sup>180</sup> On sumptuary laws generally, see Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). On clothing regulations in Hungary, see Klaniczay Gábor, "Öltözködés és ideológia a középkorban" (Clothing and ideology in the Middle Ages), in *Divatszociológia* (The sociology of fashion), vol. 2, ed. Gábor Klaniczay and Katalin S. Nagy (Budapest: Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont, 1982), 9-10; Endrei, *Patyolat és posztó*, 112-116, on eighteenth-century examples; Flórián, "Folyamatok a magyar paraszti öltözködés alakulásában," 16-21.

<sup>181</sup> From 1640: Sopron, 1654, 1658: Lőcse, 1666: Sátoraljaújhely. Domonkos, *A magyarországi céhes szabók mintakönyvei*, 7.

<sup>182</sup> István Magyari, *Az országokban való sok romlásnak okairól* (The reasons for so much decay in the country), ed. Tamás Katona and László Makkai (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1979), 83-84.

abroad, and even their personal tastes.<sup>183</sup> Similarly personal is the approach of the authors of memoranda, chronicles or the first Hungarian zoographic work by Gáspár Miskolczi. He and Péter Apor are the most often cited authors, who both condemned their contemporaries for adopting foreign styles of clothing; Miskolczi disapproved of the Turkish, Polish, German and Wallachian impact at the end of the seventeenth century and Apor disfavored the “new style” arriving from the West in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>184</sup> Travelogues by Western and Eastern authors passing through Hungary record costumes that they found exotic and their general impressions.<sup>185</sup> These works tell about the perception of clothing without detailed descriptions, like metaphors in Hungarian poetry and contemporary phrases.<sup>186</sup>

## Summary

Archaeological sources for the history of clothing are finds from settlements, treasure hoards, and cemeteries. The excavation of early modern cemeteries in Hungary has not been guided by an academic approach, but result of either monument protection work or rescue excavations. There are hardly any completely excavated churchyard cemeteries, and even fewer that have been completely published. In contrast, South Slav cemeteries raised interest; their research proceeded more or less independently from churchyards, searching for features analogous to the Balkans and in Anatolia.

<sup>183</sup> Éva Deák analyzed the correspondence of Mihály Teleki, a Transylvanian nobleman, in her MA thesis. Éva Deák, “Status and Clothing: the Case of the Teleki Family at the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century”, MA thesis, Central European University (Budapest, 2000).

<sup>184</sup> “A majomról” (On the Monkey), in Gáspár Miskolczi, *Egy jeles Vad-Kert, Avagy az oktalan állatoknak históriája Miskolczi Gáspár által* (An illustrious park, or the history of the brute beasts by Gáspár Miskolczi), ed. János Striling (Budapest: Magvető, 1983): 172; Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transsylvaniae*, ed. László Kóczyán and Réka Lőrinczy (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1978), 25, 54-69.

<sup>185</sup> Edward Brown, “A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia... With the Figures of Some Habits and Remarkable Places” (London, 1673), cited by Ágnes R. Várkonyi, “Erdély társadalma és az európai hatalmi egyensúly 1660-1711” in Jankovics, R. Várkonyi and Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek*, 23; *Evliya Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai, 1660-1664* (Travels of Evliya Celebi Turkish traveler in Hungary 1660-1664), tr. Imre Karácson, ed. Pál Fodor (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985), 145.

<sup>186</sup> József Jankovics, “Régi magyar irodalmunk viseletképe,” in Jankovics, R. Várkonyi and Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek*, 5-21.

The third group, burials inside churches and in crypts, covers different social layers, their peculiar contributions are finds of complete costumes that can be restored.

Most of the pictorial sources, like portraits and tombs, represent members of the nobility, although the same genres also cover urban citizens. Western European and Turkish depictions present Hungarian costumes from an external point of view; they provide a rather general picture. A characteristic genre of the period is the costume book, printed or done in watercolors, representing the clothing of various ethnic groups. The documentary value of costume books and other images is determined by the characteristics of the genre.

There was a shift in the number of written sources for clothing in the period, the first surviving pattern books, clothing regulations, and peasants' last wills date back to the seventeenth century, and the number of private documents of nobleman also increased. The sphere of commerce has a peculiar importance concerning costumes: customs lists, stock inventories, and limitations of prices mention raw materials and articles of clothing. The data from each source type represents different aspects of the context; their correspondence and contradiction both contribute to the analysis.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### EVALUATION OF THE SOURCES FOR ETHNIC MARKERS

#### 4.1. Ethnicity: the so-called Southern Slav cemeteries

The ethnic identification of the so-called Southern Slav cemeteries has been based on historical sources that referred directly to the inhabitants of the village to which the given cemetery was supposed to belong,<sup>187</sup> or features of the cemetery that seemed to be unusual made the archaeologist search for an explanation and thus to relate the burials to newcomers.<sup>188</sup> The next step in the research was to find the common features of the sites that were assumed to belong to the South Slav ethnic groups and, with the help of these similarities, to characterize additional cemeteries that could not be identified with historical methods because of the lack of the written sources. These common features were the absence of a church and the parallel arrangement of the graves,<sup>189</sup> the relatively rare finds, and some peculiarities of the interment.

As was described above, Attila Gaál first claimed that certain pieces of costumes that he found in the South Slav cemetery of Dombóvár had never been recovered before in the cemeteries of Hungarians.<sup>190</sup> The finds belonging to garments were the followings: clasps with hooks made of bronze and iron, hairpins made of

---

<sup>187</sup> This was the case at the cemeteries of Dombóvár-Békató and Bácsalmás-Óalmás. See Gaál, “A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető” and Wicker, “A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary.” Erika Wicker attempts to identify the data of historical sources with the known sites in Bácska in Erika Wicker, “Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén a XVI-XVII. században” (*Rác ethnicity between the Danube and the Tisza in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*), in *Ezer év a Duna-Tisza közén* (A thousand years between the Danube and the Tisza), ed. János Bárh (Kecskemét: Katona József Múzeum, 2001) (hereafter: Wicker, “Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén”); and in her PhD. thesis at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest that is before defense.

<sup>188</sup> E.g., in the case of Esztergom-Szentkirály and Győr-Gabonavásártér. See Sarolta Lázár, “An Ottoman-age Cemetery at Esztergom-Szentkirály,” in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, 231-236 (hereafter: Lázár, “Esztergom-Szentkirály”) and Mithay, “Győr-Gabonavásártér.”

<sup>189</sup> The existence of a church is problematic in many cases, because just a fragment of the cemetery has been excavated, especially for the sites listed by Wicker, “A hódoltság kori balkáni népesség régészeti hagyatékának kutatása.”

<sup>190</sup> Gaál, “A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető”

bronze with small, round heads or with a glass bead applied as a head, shank buttons made of tin, bronze, bone, and glass, glass beads, bronze and iron rings, a cap made of cloth, iron shoe plates, remains of headgear decorated with cowries, beads, bronze and iron rings, triangular tin pendants, and coins applied as pendants. (Fig. 10) The group of finds from Zombor about which József Korek conceived that it formed a contrast to the contemporary Hungarian material comprised the following: bronze hairpins, headgear decorated with cowries, shank buttons, clasps with hooks made of bronze and iron, glass beads and a seal-ring.<sup>191</sup>

Erika Wicker attempted to circumscribe the group of Southern Slav cemeteries with the help of written sources and some features and finds,<sup>192</sup> although she also found it possible that a group of South Slav newcomers could settle down in a still inhabited or deserted Hungarian village, and their archaeological heritages mixed.<sup>193</sup> She specified the position of the arms and hairpins as the elements according to which the population of the cemeteries could be defined as Orthodox Christian Serb (*Rác*) or possibly *Vlach* coming from the Balkans, and not as the Catholic population called *Bunyevác* originating from the Western Balkans.<sup>194</sup> Analyzing the sites from Katymár and Bácsalmás she even wrote about finds that indicate ethnicity.<sup>195</sup> In the following I will treat those finds and features that have been defined or used in the Hungarian secondary literature as indicators of South Slav ethnicity.

<sup>191</sup> Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás," 197.

<sup>192</sup> Wicker, "Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén," 151. She emphasizes the necessity of finding these common features and finds in the description of her methodology of circumscribing the group of Southern Slav cemeteries in the same study, *ibid.*, 153-154.

<sup>193</sup> Wicker, "Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén," 151.

<sup>194</sup> Wicker, "Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén," 155.

<sup>195</sup> Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 54, 56; Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary," 238.



#### 4.1.1. Bronze and iron hairpins

The hairpins that are 6-8 cm long with a small, round head of 3-5 mm diameter, were some of the most widespread objects of late medieval and early modern sites. (Figs 11-12) A glass bead was often attached to them, but simple pins were used as well. In the Hungarian secondary literature they have been labeled hairpins, round pins or shawl/kerchief pins, which clearly indicates that no single and uniform function has been defined. These objects appeared at about the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century and they were articles of everyday use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>196</sup> These pins are common finds in both the churchyard cemeteries and those cemeteries that have been related to South Slav ethnic groups,<sup>197</sup> and they are present among the archaeological finds of some castles as well.<sup>198</sup> Thus, the conclusion of Erika Wicker, according to which the object “characterizes much more the *Rác* than contemporary Hungarian wear”<sup>199</sup> cannot be proved. Even less acceptable is her other assumption that the hairpins are significant in the above mentioned *Rác* cemeteries as indicators of date and ethnicity.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>196</sup> In burials from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: Alajos Bálint, “A Makó-mezőkopáncsi középkori temető sírleletei” (The grave finds of the medieval cemetery at Makó-Mezőkopáncs), *Dolgozatok* 12 (1936), plate No. 74 (hereafter: Bálint, “Makó-Mezőkopáncs”); Karcag-Asszonyszállítás, see László Selmeczi, “Adatok és szempontok a kunok régészeti kutatásához Szolnok megyében” (Data and aspects of the archaeological research on Cumans in Szolnok county), *Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Évkönyv* (1973): 111. A dated example from the sixteenth century is from grave No. 170 at Alsórajk–Kastélydomb with a coin from 1539. Béla Miklós Szőke, “Alsórajk-Kastélydomb,” *Antaeus Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 23 (1996): 272 and plate No. 143 fig. 4.

<sup>197</sup> Some examples of churchyard cemeteries with bronze hairpins in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century graves: Bajót, grave No. 16, see Sarolta Lázár, “A bajóti római katolikus templom kutatása” (Archaeological research on the Catholic church in Bajót), *Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1999): 297 (hereafter: Lázár, “A bajóti római katolikus templom kutatása”); in eighteen graves at Kaposvár, see Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II,” 20; Kide, graves No. 103., 104, 110 and 112, see Kovalovszki, “A kidei középkori temető,” 21-22.

<sup>198</sup> E.g., Kornél Bakay, “Kőszeg-Alsóvár,” *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser.1, 41 (1988): 86-87; Várad, a pin dated to the sixteenth century, Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Cetatea Oradea. Monografie arheologică, I. Zona palatului episcopal* (The castle of Oradea. Archaeological Monograph, 1. The zone of the episcopal palace) (Oradea: Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, 2002), 93. and plate No. 59.

<sup>199</sup> Wicker and Köhegyi, “Katymár,” 54 (my own translation of the Hungarian original).

<sup>200</sup> Wicker, “A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary,” 238.

These simple and cheap accessories were neither mentioned in the written sources, nor depicted. The way in which they were worn can only be reconstructed with the help of the excavated burials. In most cases the pins belonged to the female headgear. In some graves there are five to fifteen pieces lying in a radius around the skull, often simple pins combined with decorated ones. The positions of the pins indicate that these women used to wear their hair in a bun, probably with a veil, a kerchief or other headwear fixed over it. This headdress was typical in two excavated cemeteries. One of them – Kaposvár – is a churchyard cemetery, the other – Dombóvár-Békató – is a cemetery of a population of Balkan origins.<sup>201</sup> (Figs 28-29)

A pin found either on both sides or one side of the skull characterized several graves in Katymár, one of the so-called South Slav cemeteries. Erika Wicker reconstructed an oriental head covering with a veil that was led in front of the face or under the chin, fixed with one or two pins.<sup>202</sup> However, a similar position of pins was observed in churchyard cemeteries as well, like in Kide or Kaposvár.<sup>203</sup> Also at Katymár the archaeologist found two graves where the pins were applied to fix or decorate an ornamented band-like headgear.<sup>204</sup> Moreover, ethnographic analogies suggest a common way of using the pins, as described in the so-called Chronicle of Nagykőrös in the mid-nineteenth century, according to which women used to fix their fine white batiste head kerchiefs near their ears with two bead-headed hairpins.<sup>205</sup> The most particular, but still grounded, conclusion one can draw is that females belonging

<sup>201</sup> Kaposvár, graves No. 94, 107, 183, 761, 772, 773, 810, 820, 1025, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 26, 27, 32, 33, 35. and fig. 28. Dombóvár-Békató: graves No. 22, 26, 98, 234, Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető," 136, 142, 156 and fig. 10 and 18.

<sup>202</sup> Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 21 and 28.

<sup>203</sup> Kide, on both sides of the skull of a young girl in grave No 104, Kovalovszky, "A kidei középkori temető," 21. Kaposvár, graves No. 930 and 978, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 35.

<sup>204</sup> Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 54-55.

<sup>205</sup> „...patyolat fejeken fehér hordoztanak, azokat két felől a füleik körül gombos gyönggyel fűzött ezüst tűkben ékességnek okáért tartottanak.” *Balla Gergely nagykőrösi krónikája a honfoglalástól 1758-ig* (The chronicle of Gergely Balla of Nagykőrös from the Hungarian Conquest until 1758), ed. László Török (Nagykőrös-Kecskemét: Bács-Kiskun M. Ny, 1970), 45.

to different ethnic groups used to fix their hair or some sort of textile headgear with the help of these pins; with the lack of textile remains and direct written or pictorial sources the reconstruction of any special ethnic wear is merely a question of fantasy. (Fig. 29)

The pins usually belonged to the headdress of women, but they have been found in burials of children and men as well. This was the case in the South Slav cemetery of Dombóvár-Békató, where several male and infant remains had pins on the foreheads.<sup>206</sup> In a grave at Magyarcsanád-Bökénymindszent that has been dated to the first half of the nineteenth century, an elderly man had a pin above the right orbit, which the archaeologist interpreted as the trace of the traditional headwear of aged men with a tuft fixed on the forehead.<sup>207</sup>

The pins do not always turn up around the skull. In the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár there was a pin on the shoulder in the grave of a female and on the arm of another one.<sup>208</sup> At Kide a pin lay on the right side of the jaw of an infant.<sup>209</sup> In the churchyard of Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilvás the archaeologist described pins that belonged to the corset.<sup>210</sup> The situation of the pins was the most diverse in the South Slav cemeteries of Dombóvár and Zombor. They were observed under the chins, on the clavicles, the arms, the chests, the pelvises and the hips of males, females, and infants.<sup>211</sup> According to the latter examples the pins were applied to secure the

<sup>206</sup> Graves No. 35, 87, 94, and 107, Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető," 137, 141, 142 and 144.

<sup>207</sup> János Banner, "Jelentés a Magyarcsanád-bökényi próbaásatásokról" (Report on the trial excavations at Magyarcsanád-Bökény) *Dolgozatok* 2 (1926): 80-83.

<sup>208</sup> Graves No. 149 and 759, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 26 and 32.

<sup>209</sup> Kovalovszky, "A kidei középkori temető," 22.

<sup>210</sup> Erika Simonyi, "Középkori és kora újkori temető Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilváson" (A medieval and early modern cemetery at Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilvás), in Ritoók and Simonyi, ed. "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok," 310 (hereafter: Simonyi, "Középkori és kora újkori temető Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilváson").

<sup>211</sup> Graves No. 5, 36, 86, 103 and 227, Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető," 134, 137, 141 and 143; Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás," 185-189.

garments and probably also the mortuary clothes. It seems that the use of the simple and cheap objects was general and manifold and in no way can they be interpreted as indicators of ethnicity.

#### 4.1.2. Silver hairpins with large spherical heads

Erika Wicker assumed that the simple hairpins pointed towards Serbia, as they were related to ornamented pieces that are known from Balkan treasure hoards. The more spectacular silver pins have a large spherical head that is hollow, made of two hemispheres soldered together. She referred to the treasure hoards from Ritopek and Dubovac in Serbia, Peč in Kosovo, and Battonya and Tomaševac in former southern Hungary (the latter now in Serbia).<sup>212</sup> (Fig. 21) In the treasure hoard from Battonya the pins are connected with a silver tie decorated with drop-shaped pendants, thus it formed a sort of headgear.

Besides the hairpins these treasure hoards contain similar headgear, but with round metal plates instead of pins, furthermore, metal belts, brooches with flat, polygonal heads, pendants, and earrings. The decoration of all the objects is composed of small bent circles of filigree, granulated silver beads, glass inlay and small jingling plates applied as pendants.<sup>213</sup> A pair of ornaments that was to be applied on the veil or kerchief at the temples,<sup>214</sup> a stray find at Katymár, is similar to this Balkan jewelry in its decoration and function, and there are also analogies in the excavated cemeteries in Serbia and Macedonia, thus, it seems to be justified to label it

<sup>212</sup> Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary," 242; Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 54-55, footnote No. 145; Wicker, "Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén," 155.

<sup>213</sup> On treasure hoards and Turkish-Balkan jewelry see Ibolya Gerelyes, *Török ékszerek* (Turkish jewelry) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1999), 41-48 (hereafter: Gerelyes, *Török ékszerek*).

<sup>214</sup> Usually labeled earrings, but Erika Wicker assumed that the hooks are unfit to set them in the ear, Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 57.

as one of the Turkish-Balkan popular items of jewelry.<sup>215</sup> (Fig. 27) However, the identification of the decorated hairpins as indicators of ethnicity is more problematic.

Similar hairpins in the collections of different museums in Hungary have come from treasure hoards from other parts of Hungary beside the southern areas. (Fig. 4) The first known pieces were found in a hoard at Bánffihunyad (Huedin, Romania) in 1882. The hoard comprises six gilded silver hairpins decorated with filigree work, a small triangular plate with six golden tubes that served as an ornament on a garment, and several coins of Prince Gábor Bethlen of Transylvania, which were minted in 1622 and 1625.<sup>216</sup> (Fig. 20) Two pair of buckles and two hairpins were found in a hoard at Drégelypalánk.<sup>217</sup> (Fig. 19)

A hoard comprised of two pair of gilded silver buckles, a gilded silver ring, a silver spoon, a gilded silver pin with filigree work, and the fourteenth-century *typarium* (seal) of Nagybánya was found near Nagybánya (Baia Mare, Romania).<sup>218</sup> (Fig. 17) Agricultural work turned up a hoard in Mezőviszolya (Visuia, Romania). The objects now in the Museum of Bistrița (Beszterce, Romania) are two pendants with small rhomboid rattlers and filigree work, a plate to be applied on cloth, four hairpins and two rings, all made of gilded silver, and 149 silver coins.<sup>219</sup> (Fig. 23)

<sup>215</sup> Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 56.

<sup>216</sup> Károly Pulszky and Jenő Radisics, *Az ötvösség remekei a magyar történeti ötvöskiállításon* (The masterpieces of goldsmith's work at the Hungarian historical goldsmiths' exhibition), vol. 2 (Budapest: 1885), 9-10 (hereafter: Pulszky-Radisics, *Az ötvösség remekei*); Ana Maria Cipăianu, "Din istoricul orfevrăriei transilvănene: acele de păr din tezaurul de la Huedin," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 10. (1973): 653-663 (hereafter: Cipăianu, "Din istoricul orfevrăriei transilvănene: acele de păr din tezaurul de la Huedin").

<sup>217</sup> Béla Kövér, "A középkori sodrony-zománcz kérdéséhez" (On the problem of medieval cloisonné), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 12 (1892): 33.

<sup>218</sup> It was dated with the help of a silver quarter-taler of Emperor Ferdinand I, minted in 1555, and a silver half-taler of Imperial Marshal August from 1564, József Mihalik, "A nagybányai ékszerlelet" (The jewelry hoard from Nagybánya), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 26 (1906): 116-129. (hereafter: Mihalik, "A nagybányai ékszerlelet").

<sup>219</sup> The jewelry has been dated to the sixteenth century, but the dates of the coins have not been published. Ecaterina Telcean, "Tezaurul de la Visuia (sec. XVI)" (The treasure of Visuia, sixteenth century), *File de Istorie* 4 (1976): 205-216 (hereafter: Telcean, "Tezaurul de la Visuia"). Telcean knows only one analogy of the earrings from the nearby village Mittye (Mititei, Romania). She assumes that they were made in a local Transylvanian workshop in the fifteenth or sixteenth century,

Near Tolna, during agricultural work, another hoard was discovered containing four silver cups, four spoons, four pair of buckles and a fragment, three hairpins with filigree work and silver granulated beads, the silver parts of a belt, a piece of an openwork metal lace, and a pendant decorated with a pomegranate.<sup>220</sup> (Figs 22 and 35) All of this goldsmith's work has been identified as coming from a garment of a woman from the middle layer of the nobility from the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Other hairpins are known from archaeological contexts. A gilded silver hairpin decorated with filigree and granulated beads was found during archaeological research at the castle of Alvinc (Vințu de Jos, Romania), dated to the sixteenth century.<sup>221</sup> (Fig. 24) Another piece turned up in Saxon surroundings, now on display in the castle of Barcarozsnyó (Rișnov, Romania).<sup>222</sup>

Probably the reason for the low number of similar hairpins from churchyard cemeteries is that only a few have been excavated in Hungary.<sup>223</sup> (Fig. 4) The earliest known example was found in the medieval cemetery of Kaszaper.<sup>224</sup> The churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár revealed two female graves, each containing two pins with large spherical heads among the nine or ten hairpins that were in a radius around the

---

following fourteenth or fifteenth century Byzantine patterns transmitted from the Lower Danube area, *ibid.*, 215.

<sup>220</sup> Zsuzsa Lovag and Annamária T. Németh, "A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet" (The sixteenth-century treasure hoard from Tolna), *Folia Archaeologica* 25 (1974): 219-244 (hereafter: Lovag and T. Németh, "A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet").

<sup>221</sup> Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Gotic și Renaștere la Vințu de Jos* (Gothic and Renaissance in Vințu de Jos) (Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, 1998), 36, 68 and fig. 130/25. The shank of the hairpin has been bent back; probably it had a secondary use as a button or a pendant.

<sup>222</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>223</sup> It was Edith Bárdos, the archaeologist of the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár, who first stated this question, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 22-23.

<sup>224</sup> Grave No. 407. The cemetery was dated to the age of Ferdinand I (1526-1564), Alajos Bálint, "A kaszaperi középkori templom és temető" (The church and cemetery at Kaszaper), *Dolgozatok* 14 (1938): 161 and pl. 17, fig. 7. The author mentions an analogy with a hairpin from the Gyula-Fövényes cemetery.

skull. In these cases the position of the pins indicates the headdress: the pins probably fixed a sort of bonnet on the bun.<sup>225</sup> (Figs 13, 14, 15 and 30)

Some hairpins with large spherical heads are just briefly mentioned in short excavation reports. Hairpins with granulated ornaments are noted from the site Babócsa-Bolhó.<sup>226</sup> A gilded silver hairpin decorated with openwork was found in one of the eight graves excavated in the sanctuary of the Calvinist church at Balatonszőlős.<sup>227</sup> (Fig. 16) Two gilded silver hairpins are reported from the rescue excavation of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cemetery at Damóc-Temetődomb.<sup>228</sup> A hairpin decorated with filigree work came from one of five sixteenth- and seventeenth-century graves in the church of Zobordarázs (Dražovce, Slovakia).<sup>229</sup> (Fig. 18)

Seven hairpins with large spherical heads from the site Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld are on display in the Satu Mare County Museum in Romania.<sup>230</sup> (Figs 25-26)

<sup>225</sup> In the same article the archaeologist hints at a similar find in a sixteenth-century grave in the churchyard cemetery around the Saint Nicholas chapel in Keszthely, *ibid.*, 22, footnote No. 29.

<sup>226</sup> Kálmán Magyar, “Ispánsági és nemzetségi központok kutatása Somogyban. I. Egyházak és temetők” (Archaeological research at the seats of the *comes* and kindreds 1. Churches and cemeteries), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 4 (1981): 62, 69 and pl. 3, fig. 20-23 (hereafter: Magyar, “Ispánsági és nemzetségi központok kutatása Somogyban”).

<sup>227</sup> Grave No. 4. Another of these burials is dated by a coin minted in 1535, Csaba László, “A balatonszölősi református templom kutatása” (Archaeological research on the church of Balatonszölős), *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 15 (1980): 116 and 120, fig. 12.

<sup>228</sup> Katalin J. Dankó, “Damóc-Temetődomb,” *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. I, 28 (1975): 116.

<sup>229</sup> Alexander T. Ruttkay, “Archeologický výskum kostola sv. Michala v Nitre, časť Dražovce a v jeho okolí – informácia o výsledkoch” (Archaeological research on the church of St. Michael in Dražovce, a part of Nitra, and its surroundings – a report on the results), *Archaeologia Historica* 22 (1997): fig. 8/4.

<sup>230</sup> The archaeologist János Némethi published six of them that were found in 1966. Ioan Némethi, “Descoperiri arheologice din hotarul oraşului Carei” (Archaeological finds in the area of Carei), *Studii şi Comunicări, Satu Mare* 5-6 (1981-82): 172-173 and plates XLIV-XLV. (hereafter: Némethi, “Descoperiri arheologice”). The seventh piece, which turned up in 1994, is mentioned in Ioan Némethi, *Descoperiri arheologice de la Carei-Bobald în anul 1994* (Archaeological finds at Carei-Bobald in the year 1994), Cercetări Arheologice Aria Nord Tracă 1 (Bucharest: Institutul Român de Tracologie, 1995), 125.

A pair of gilded silver buckles, decorated with ornamental foliage held in a bunch by a tiny human figure, is reported from the same grave with one of the hairpins.<sup>231</sup>

There is only one Southern Slav cemetery where – according to the archaeological report – a pin with large head was found. In the publication of Zombor the author compares two pins to the pieces known from Kaszaper and Nagybánya, but neither does he provide a detailed description of the objects including their material, nor a distinguishable illustration.<sup>232</sup> The same is true for the six hairpins coming from Bodrogmonostorszeg, which have been compared to the ones from the Tomaševac hoard.<sup>233</sup> However, according to archaeological report it is not clear whether they belonged to the Southern Slav cemetery or to a treasure hoard that had been found nearby.

Some similar hairpins are referred to in written documents. Baron Béla Radvánszky, who accumulated a huge collection of primary sources on the material culture of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century nobility in the second half of the nineteenth century, concluded that either they attached the veil to the hair on both sides with clasps or decorated pins or they fixed the hair in a bun on both sides with large hairpins.<sup>234</sup>

However, it was not just the members of the nobility who wore such jewelry. The Hungarian Chronicle by Dillich, issued in 1600, tells that among the Saxons in Transylvania “women twine their veil round their head and they fasten it with big, spheriform pins.”<sup>235</sup> A painting preserved in the Bruckenthalmuseum in Sibiu

<sup>231</sup> I did not have the opportunity to study the buckle personally. I used the description of Némethi, “Descoperiri arheologice,” 174. See the photograph of the object, *ibid.*, pl. XLV. fig. 4. The closest analogy of the buckle comes from the hoard of Nagybánya, Mihalik, “A nagybányai ékszerlelet,” 121.

<sup>232</sup> Korek, “Zombor-Bükkszállás,” 183.

<sup>233</sup> Korek, “Zombor-Bükkszállás,” 190. An other pair of pins was mentioned from Baja, Hunyadi u. 2, by Wicker, “A hódoltság kori balkáni népesség régészeti hagyatékának kutatása,” 24.

<sup>234</sup> Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol. 2, 247, 264.

<sup>235</sup> Lovag - T. Németh, “A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet,” 226, footnote No. 10; Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II,” 22, footnote No. 35 (my translation).



(Nagyszeben, Romania) represents a Saxon woman in a Hungarian gala costume with clasp-form brooches, a silver belt and a handkerchief. Her veil is fixed on her hair with two hairpins (one on each side).<sup>236</sup> (Fig. 58)

Similar objects are known in ethnography as well. Their name is “roll-up-pin,” and the process of “rolling-up” means wrapping a fine kerchief around the head of a bride and securing it with hairpins. This tradition was known in different areas and among different ethnic groups of the Carpathian Basin even in the first part of the twentieth century.<sup>237</sup>

In the case of the objects from archaeological contexts it is not easy to define which ethnic groups used to wear them and how. The hairpin from Barcarozsnyó was probably owned by an inhabitant of a Saxon fortified town, and analysis of the written sources revealed that the inhabitants of Bobáld who were buried in the excavated cemetery, belonged to a mixed Romanian and Hungarian population.<sup>238</sup>

Different groups of sources indicate a widespread use of gilded silver hairpins that were manufactured of similar elements. They were not specific to any ethnic group as the pins are found equally among the Saxons, Hungarians, and Romanians. They served as objects for accumulation because of their precious material, without any regard to the original function. In some cases they were hidden together with jewelry of Turkish-Balkan types, but there are hoards where they were associated with objects that were in use in different parts of Hungary in different social and ethnic layers, without any element that would relate them to the Balkans. Thus, neither do the decorated pins essentially lead towards this geographical direction.

<sup>236</sup> *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history) vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 380.

<sup>237</sup> Gyula Ortutay, ed. *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* (The encyclopedia of Hungarian ethnography), vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 62-64.

<sup>238</sup> Szőcs, Mérai, and Eng, “A nagykároly-bobáldi temető,” 315-324.

#### 4.1.3. Clasps, buttons and reconstructions of oriental garments

Two-piece clasps consisting of an omega-shaped loop and a hook are still used today. They occur in burials dating from the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, made of bronze and iron,<sup>239</sup> and a significant number of them is known from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The clasps with hooks were used to fasten the clothes of both males and females, and they have been found in diverse positions in the graves of various cemeteries.

In the South Slav cemetery of Dombóvár most of the clasps were found in female graves. The archaeologist assumed that they could have served to fasten the shirt, the waistline of the skirt or the loose, oriental trousers. A similar female garment was represented on a seventeenth-century watercolour of a *Rác* woman from Transylvania.<sup>240</sup> (Fig. 63) Compared to the representations of other ethnic groups in the same watercolour series, the depictions testify that the main difference between the cloths of different ethnic groups lay in the cut and in the colours.<sup>241</sup> However, only the metal parts that served to fasten the clothes are preserved in the graves, and there is no information about the other characteristics of the garments worn by the population of the particular cemetery. There is no reason to exclude that similar buttons or clasps could have been applied on significantly different garments, and the typical wear of the same ethnic group could have been fastened with different accessories. Even the archaeological finds indicate this: clasps at similar places as in

<sup>239</sup> E.g. in the cemetery at Makó-Mezőköpáncs, Bálint, "Makó-Mezőköpáncs," plate No. LXXIV; at Kaposvár in grave No. 411 dated with a coin of Sigismund, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 27. At Csút in a fifteenth-century grave, László Gerevich, "A csúti középkori sírmező" (Medieval cemetery at Csút), *Budapest Régiségei* 13 (1943): 156.

<sup>240</sup> "A Rascian's wife," Jankovics, Galavics and R. Várkonyi, *Régi erdélyi viseletek*, fig. 58.

<sup>241</sup> E.g. "A Hungarian Trades man's wife" wears similar short dolman with a row of shank buttons, and her hair is covered with a kechief, but the color and the cut of the dress are different, *ibid.*, fig. 12.

Dombóvár have been found in churchyard cemeteries as well.<sup>242</sup> Taking up the question of buttons, a similar cautious approach is expedient when reconstructing oriental, caftan-like clothes fastened by the one, two or three buttons situated on the right side just below the neck.<sup>243</sup>

Shank buttons are common finds in both the South Slav and churchyard cemeteries. They usually lie in a line parallel with the spine, as they were fixed along the front of the dolman.<sup>244</sup> However, the features and objects found in the graves reflect the burial customs, and not necessarily the way of wearing clothing, so even if the buttons are more frequent in one cemetery than another, this does not indicate the actual popularity of wearing a dolman,<sup>245</sup> but may only reflect a difference in the funeral practice.<sup>246</sup>

#### 4.1.4. South Slav peculiarities in the present stage of research

There are objects belonging to garments that have only been found in the cemeteries of South Slav ethnic groups up to now. Burying women and infants in decorated headgear was general in churchyard cemeteries as well, but the ornaments are different and characteristic. In the Slav cemeteries of Dombóvár and Zombor several pieces of headgear were decorated with cowries.<sup>247</sup> The graves of

<sup>242</sup> E.g. Kide, grave No. 110, Kovalovszky, "A kidei középkori temető," 22; Kaposvár, graves No. 99, 292, 550, 559, 933, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 26, 28, 30, 35; Lászlófalva, grave No. 40/II, András Pálóczi Horváth, "A Lászlófalván 1969-74. évben végzett régészeti ásatások eredményei (The results of the 1969-1974 excavations at Lászlófalva), *Cumania* 4 (1976), 298. Dombóvár-Békató, grave No. 185, Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető," 151.

<sup>243</sup> Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 59, footnote No. 163.

<sup>244</sup> Grave No. 19 and 96 in Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 15, 35; grave No. 10 and 18 in Lázár, "Esztergom-Szentkirály," 220-221; eight graves in Mithay, "Győr-Gabonavásártér," 186-193; grave No. 103 in Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető," 143.

<sup>245</sup> As interpreted by Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 59, footnote No. 163.

<sup>246</sup> It is known from ethnography that in several areas of Hungary they used to bury the deceased in a shirt, e.g. Júlia Csapó, *A tarpai temetés* (Burials at Tarpa), Honismereti kutatások Szabolcs-Szatmárban 4 (Nyíregyháza: Jóna András Múzeum, 1977), 81.

<sup>247</sup> Graves No. 65, 84, 100, 130, 224 at Dombóvár, graves No. 72 and 85 in Zombor, Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető," 139, 141 and 143; Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás," 183.

Bodrogmonostorszeg were not properly documented, but there are many cowries among the finds that could have belonged to the decoration of headgear.<sup>248</sup> In Bácsalmás a cowry was found in only one grave of an infant.<sup>249</sup> As opposed to the Slav cemeteries mentioned above no cowries have been found in churchyard cemeteries up to now. However, it is of peculiar interest that members of the Hungarian nobility would use horse harness that was decorated with cowries, which is assumed to have resulted from a Turkish, even an Arabic impact.<sup>250</sup>

Pendants meant to be worn above the temples are also ornaments that characterized the headdress of the South Slav ethnic groups, but not the population of the churchyard cemeteries. However, the examples that have been found up to now do not show a uniform pattern. The most valuable silver piece is from Katymár, but, as it was stray find, it is not known where and how it was worn.<sup>251</sup> The same is true for the jingling triangular bronze pendant among the finds from Bodrogmonostorszeg.<sup>252</sup> There was only one grave at Dombóvár in which triangular tin pendants were found at the temples of a woman's skull, the other two pieces came from burials of male infants, possibly from a necklace or just placed in the grave.<sup>253</sup>

#### 4.1.5. Rituals and the problem of religion and ethnicity

Though rituals are not closely related to the topic of clothing, they can be considered as another aspect of the problem of ethnicity, and lead towards the context of religion or confession through the manifestation of the approach towards life and death. Thus,

<sup>248</sup> Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás," 190 and plate No. III.

<sup>249</sup> Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary," 239.

<sup>250</sup> László Kovács, "Cowry Shells in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Hungary," in Gerelyes and Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period*, 345-350.

<sup>251</sup> Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 55-77 and fig. 7 on page 90.

<sup>252</sup> Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás," plate No. V, fig. 1.

<sup>253</sup> Grave No. 5, Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető," 134.

I will briefly survey the traces of rituals that have been defined as indicators of ethnicity or religion in the Hungarian research.

The custom of giving coins to the deceased has been interpreted as a characteristically Southern Slav ritual in some items of the secondary literature on early modern cemeteries. Sándor Mithay, the excavator of the Győr cemetery, brought in this interpretation, using data on Serbs in Baranya County as an ethnographic parallel.<sup>254</sup> It has taken root to such a degree that even the (conditional) ethnic definition of the Esztergom cemetery was based on it besides some historical data; the archaeologist of the cemetery at Esztergom-Szentkirály cited Győr-Gabonavásártér as the closest analogy of her own site concerning the finds and the custom of giving coins.<sup>255</sup>

Giving coins was a practice throughout the Middle Ages, with different intensities in different areas.<sup>256</sup> It became increasingly characteristic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the Southern Slav cemeteries it has been observed in only a few graves, however, in the churchyard cemeteries it is much more common compared to the overall number of excavated graves.<sup>257</sup> Ethnographic research indicates that they were still holding to this tradition in the nineteenth and twentieth

<sup>254</sup> Mithay, "Győr-Gabonavásártér," 194.

<sup>255</sup> Lázár, "An Ottoman-age Cemetery at Esztergom-Szentkirály," 234.

<sup>256</sup> On the custom of giving coins in earlier periods in Hungary see Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 10.

<sup>257</sup> In Southern Slav cemeteries at Dombóvár-Békató in four graves, Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető," 175; at Győr-Gabonavásártér in one grave, Mithay, "Győr-Gabonavásártér," 194; at Bácsalmás-Óalmás in one grave, Wicker "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary," 237; at Katymár-Téglagyár no coin was found, Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár-Téglagyár"; at Zombor-Bükkszállás in one grave, Korek, "Zombor-Bükkszállás," 183. In churchyard cemeteries at Kaposvár in fifty-six graves from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 10; at Ducó (Ducové, Slovakia) in 152 graves from the 310 sixteenth- to nineteenth-century graves, Alexander T Ruttkay, "A szlovákiai templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatásáról" (On the archaeological investigation of churchyards in Slovakia," in Ritóók and Simonyi, ed, "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok," 34; at Óföldreák the archaeologist refers to giving coins as a custom without an exact number, Mária Béres, "Az óföldreáki temető üzenete" (The heritage of the cemetery at Óföldreák), in Ritoók and Simonyi, ed. "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok," 302 (hereafter: Béres, "Az óföldreáki temető üzenete"); at Bobáld in thirteen graves from the eighty-one excavated, Szöcs, Mérai and Eng, "A nagykároly-bobáldi temető," 317. Certainly there might be churchyards where this custom was not practiced at all.

centuries, with various explanations, often concerning the customs due to be paid on the journey to the other world.<sup>258</sup> According to the archaeological material, the custom of giving coins was widespread in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it cannot be related to any single ethnic group, as it has been found among Hungarians, Wallachians, and Serbians.

Another element of the ritual that has been interpreted as ethnicity-, or rather religion-specific is the position of the arms. A wide variety of the positions of arms that characterize South Slav cemeteries has been explained through analogies with Orthodox Christianity, based on a study by János Győző Szabó.<sup>259</sup> He analyzed this feature concerning cemeteries in Hungary from the tenth and eleventh centuries, and explained the position with the hands raised to the shoulder as a possible indicator of Orthodox Christian religion; he mentions the Southern Slav cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató as a late analogy.<sup>260</sup> Following the footsteps of János Győző Szabó, the arms were first observed in some of the Southern Slav cemeteries in the early modern period and connected to the identification of the population as Orthodox Christian.<sup>261</sup> (Fig. 8) This feature even served as a key to define sites as the cemetery of the South Slav population of settlements known from historical sources, as Erika Wicker did in

<sup>258</sup> E.g., János Bencsik, "Adatok a Hajdúságból a temetkezés szokásának és hiedelemanyagának kutatásához" (New data from the Hajdúság on the customs and beliefs of burial), *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1969-70), 432-433; László K. Kovács, *A kolozsvári hóstátiak temetkezése* (The burial in the Hóstát district of Cluj), repr. ed. of Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1944 (Budapest: Gondolat, 2004), 127, 163; Júlia Csapó, *A tarpai temetés* (Burials at Tarpa), Honismereti kutatások Szabolcs-Szatmárban 4 (Nyíregyháza: Jósza András Múzeum, 1977), 180, 181.

<sup>259</sup> János Győző Szabó, "A keleti kereszténység egyik ismertetőjele temetkezéseinkben" (A mark of Eastern Christianity in burials), *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 28 (1983): 83-98.

<sup>260</sup> Though the archaeologist of Dombóvár-Békató, Attila Gaál assumed that the population was not even Christian, but Muslim. Gaál, "The Sixteenth- to Seventeenth-century Cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató," 230.

<sup>261</sup> Wicker, "Adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz," 37-43; Wicker "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary," 239-242; Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár-Téglagyár," 47-49.

the case of the graves from Mélykút, where the only archaeological remain of material culture was a button.<sup>262</sup>

However, similar variations have been documented in churchyard cemeteries, especially those that have been published since the emergence of the question in a Southern Slav context.<sup>263</sup> (Fig. 9) These examples at least counsel caution until there is a sufficient amount of comparative data from churchyards; features in the earlier period of the Middle Ages and in Early Modern Age should not be interpreted implicitly in an analogous way.<sup>264</sup>

A further feature that has been connected to religion and ethnicity is the form of the graves, which I do not discuss here in detail because of the lack of comparative material from churchyard cemeteries. The absence of superpositions in Southern Slav cemeteries has made it possible to observe and document precisely the forms of the graves, which is rarely feasible during excavations in churchyards. Erika Wicker observed that in a great number of graves that the deceased was not buried in a coffin, but he or she was probably folded in a shroud and placed in a hollow on the bottom or side of the grave and covered with wood. She found analogies for these features in Islamic regions like Anatolia.<sup>265</sup> However, to prove that the grave forms and customs

<sup>262</sup> Wicker, “A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary,” 242; Wicker, “Rácok a Duna-Tisza közén,” 152; Wicker, “Észak-Bácska a hódoltság korában” (The northern part of Bácska in the period of the Ottoman Conquest), *Cumania* 20 (2004): 82.

<sup>263</sup> Szöcs, Mérai, and Eng, “A nagykároly-bobálai temető,” 316 (it is not excluded that the population was Orthodox); Béres, “Az óföldreáki temető üzenete,” 300 and fig. 4; Simonyi, “Középkori és kora újkori temető Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilváson,” 308. In Bobáld, Óföldreák and Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilvás burials with hands laid on the shoulder or the pelvis were found, like in Southern Slav cemeteries. The author of the study on Felsőzsolca did not exclude the possibility that burials in these positions can be related to Ruthenian immigrants mentioned in written sources, *ibid.*, 308.

<sup>264</sup> Recently Miklós Takács has compared the positions of arms found in ninth- to twelfth-century cemeteries of the north Balkan and concluded that the position with hands raised to the shoulder “cannot be considered as an indisputably interpretable ritual element.” Miklós Takács, “Egy vitatott kéztartásról” (On a debated gesture), in Ritoók and Simonyi, ed. “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok,” 85-101.

<sup>265</sup> Wicker, “Adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz,” 20-37; Wicker and Köhegyi, “Katymár-Téglagyár,” 41-47; Erika Wicker, “Újabb adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz” (New data on the burial customs of Southern Slav population in the period of the Ottoman conquest), in Ritoók and Simonyi, ed. “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok,” 325-332.

indicate Muslim religion, it would be necessary to exclude the existence of analogous forms among the burials of Christian population, comparing the grave forms of Southern Slav cemeteries to Christian cemeteries on various parts of the Balkan, from where the population came. The possibilities of such a comparative study depend on the state of research in the areas concerned.

#### **4.1.6. Summary**

The ethnic identification of the so-called South-Slav cemeteries based on historical sources led to circumscribing a group of features and objects that have been defined as markers of ethnicity. However, bronze and iron hairpins with small, round heads became widespread from the fourteenth century onwards in Hungary, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they are common finds in both Southern Slav cemeteries and churchyards. The position of the pins is not enough information to be able to reconstruct a piece of headgear that distinguishes ethnic groups, and the same is true for the relations of clasps, hooks and buttons, and entire garments.

Ornamented silver hairpins with large spherical heads have been found in Balkan treasure hoards together with other Turkish-Balkan items of jewelry. Similar hairpins are known, however, in treasure hoards from various parts of Hungary and Transylvania. Several pieces have been published from churchyard cemeteries, and probably the reason for not having even more is the small number of excavated and published churchyards. A further piece was found in Alvinc castle ((Vințu de Jos, Romania), and an other one in a Saxon settlement. Depictions and written sources also attest that Saxon women fastened their veils with similar pins, and portraits of the nobility represent how their more valuable items were worn. Thus, silver hairpins with large spherical heads cannot be considered as specific for any ethnic group.



However there are types of jewelry that seem to characterize South Slav cemeteries, like cowry decoration of the headgear and metal pendants with filigree and openwork.

Besides grave forms, the custom of giving coins and certain positions of the arms of the deceased have been associated with ethnicity and confession. Both the custom of giving coins and the arm positions in question have been observed in churchyard cemeteries as well, though the low number of statistically relevant excavated and published churchyards demands circumspection. Even if a feature or object occurs in each of the South Slav cemeteries it can be interpreted as an indicator of ethnic status only if there is an adequate sample to compare it with – namely the churchyard cemeteries.

It can be concluded that the ethnic interpretation of a site based on written sources and on the archaeological finds must be approached as separate problems. The ethnic definition of the population does not necessarily mean that their objects indicate the ethnicity.

## 4.2. Alternative explanations

Clothing should have corresponded to social status, but in reality it was not always so – at least this is what sixteenth- and seventeenth-century written sources suggest. Sumptuary laws decreed against peasants wearing fashionable and decorated clothes, which probably meant that often it was hard to distinguish them from noblemen.<sup>266</sup> Not only did the regulations complain that servants dressed like burghers, and burghers dressed like nobility,<sup>267</sup> but in 1602 the Protestant minister, István Magyari, also blamed the trend of people not dressing according to their social status for the decay of the country.<sup>268</sup> For his part, Péter Apor, a Transylvanian nobleman described noble ladies wearing the folded red boots of Saxon burghers.<sup>269</sup> In the following I will discuss some examples that show, to what extent the archaeological remains of different social strata indicate the above-mentioned phenomenon, or to what extent it is feasible in general to differentiate the remains of various social strata, and what are the possible reasons lying behind.

### 4.2.1. Hairpins

I have already treated the ethnic interpretation of hairpins with large spherical heads, and concluded that they are not specific to any ethnic group, as is indicated by the context of the archaeological finds. It has also already been mentioned that decorative hairpins formed a part of the headdress of noble ladies and Saxon citizens as well.

Some similar, richly decorated hairpins are referred to in written documents.

Particularly valuable pieces are listed in the inventories of the movables of

<sup>266</sup> A sumptuary law issued in Sátorajújhely. Ottó Domonkos, *A magyarországi céhes szabók mintakönyvei* (Pattern books of tailors in Hungary) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1997), 26 (hereafter: Domonkos, *A magyarországi céhes szabók mintakönyvei*).

<sup>267</sup> Lőcse, 1654, Domonkos, *A magyarországi céhes szabók mintakönyvei*, 107 and 341, endnote 66.

<sup>268</sup> István Magyari, *Az országokban való sok romlásnak okairól* (The reasons for so much decay in the country), ed. Tamás Katona and László Makkai (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1979), 83.

<sup>269</sup> Péter Apor, *Metamorphosis Transsylvaniae*, ed. László Kóczián and Réka Lőrinczy (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1978), 56.

seventeenth-century aristocracy: “a golden hairpin in which there is one sapphire, five rubies, an old [=big] pearl and two small ones” was mentioned in 1639,<sup>270</sup> “a pin to wear on the head and two roll-up pins made of silver” in 1644,<sup>271</sup> and “two pins with gems, one with diamonds and rubies, the other with sapphires and emeralds” in 1647.<sup>272</sup> The heads of these sumptuous pins were not always globes; “a hairpin with rubies in the form of a rose” was listed in a dowry list in 1647, and a gilded silver hairpin “on the top of which [is] a rose in which there are 12 small rubies and in the midst an emerald” appears in a testament from 1651.<sup>273</sup> Depictions of noble ladies show how hairpins were worn, e.g., in the so-called ancestors’ galleries of aristocratic families that displayed life-sized portraits of female members. On the portraits from the last decades of the seventeenth century the hair of the ladies is bound up and hairpins with large, round or rosette heads are stuck all around it.<sup>274</sup> (Fig. 48)

Beside the already quoted description by Dillich,<sup>275</sup> depictions also suggest that hairpins were considered to characterize the headwear of Saxon citizens, for example in the costume book of the British Museum four Saxon women are depicted wearing hairpins.<sup>276</sup> (Figs 67-70) In the case of the objects from archaeological contexts it is more difficult to define which social layers used them. The hairpin found in the castle of Alvinc was associated with the sphere of the highest nobility of Transylvania (Fig. 24), whereas the one from Barcarozsnyó (Râșnov, Romania) was probably owned by an inhabitant of a Saxon fortified town.

<sup>270</sup> The personalia delivered by the wife of Mátyás Andrassy to the wife of Zsigmond Thököly. Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol. 2, 270. The original texts are in Hungarian, translated into English by me.

<sup>271</sup> The testament of the wife of Mihály Bécsi, *ibid.*, 289.

<sup>272</sup> Possessed by Ilona Woiszka, *ibid.*, 294.

<sup>273</sup> The dowry list of Judit Újfalussy, bride of László Zay, *ibid.*, 272; testament of Baroness Ilona Esterházy, *ibid.*, 312.

<sup>274</sup> The portraits of Countess Kata Thököly and Éva Thököly, wives of Prince Pál Esterházy, Buzási, ed. *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek*, fig.12 and 72.

<sup>275</sup> Chapter 3.3 on page 66 of this thesis.

<sup>276</sup> Jankovics, R. Várkonyi and Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek*, figs. 14, 18, 32, 42.

The identification of the population of cemeteries would seem to be an obvious source to answer the question. The present state of research in Hungary, described in chapter 3.1, above however, determines the possibilities of such an attempt. In the cases when hairpins with large spherical pinhead were found in churchyard cemeteries, no attempts were made to identify the social status of the owner. In the churches of Balatonszőlős and Zobordarázs (Dražovce, Slovakia) the graves in question were situated in the sanctuary, which indicates that the deceased were prominent personalities of the area.<sup>277</sup> The historical study of the early modern cemetery of Nagykároly-Bobáld, from which the greatest number of hairpins has been published, led to some different conclusions.

Medieval and early modern Bobáld village was situated on an estate of the Károlyi family; the most important sources for the population buried in the cemetery are the taxation lists.<sup>278</sup> Evidence from the second half of the seventeenth century suggests that most of the mixed Hungarian and Romanian population of the settlement escaped the devastations by the Turks and Tartars and the new layer that replaced them had a different legal status. They did not own the land any more, so they were called *inquilini*. However, it is clear from the documents recording their stocks of animals that this was a rather wealthy stratum.<sup>279</sup> Thus, the gilded silver hairpins and buckle from the graves were owned by the members of a population that belonged to a wealthy, upwardly mobile layer of peasants.

---

<sup>277</sup> Alexander T. Ruttkay, “A szlovákiai templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatásáról” (On the research of churchyard cemeteries in Slovakia), in Ritóók and Simonyi, ed, “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok,” 38; Csaba László, “A balatonszölősi református templom kutatása” (Archaeological research on the church of Balatonszölős), *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 15 (1980): 116.

<sup>278</sup> The documents related to the settlement are in the family archives, now in the National Archives of Hungary, the related documents are in section P, 392, 397. For more details see Szőcs, Mérai and Eng, “A nagykároly-bobáldi temető,” 318.

<sup>279</sup> This phenomenon can be observed all over the country, although regionally in different degrees, see János Varga, *Jobbágyrendszer a magyarországi feudalizmus kései szakaszában 1566-1767* (The system of villainage in the late period of the feudalism in Hungary 1566-1767) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969).

In the case of treasure hoards there is no information on the owner of the objects and nor on the person who hid them, except for the hoard of Tolna. (Figs 22 and 35) One of the objects bears the inscribed name of Mátyás Kádas, who probably belonged to a lower but wealthy layer of merchants. The authors of the study of the hoard assumed that the jewelry was owned by a noblewoman and came into the possession of Mátyás Kádas as a pawn, or their owner entrusted him to hide them together with his own valuables.<sup>280</sup> The gilded and silver mounts, buckles decorated with vegetal ornaments and small figures, and a chain were originally applied on a textile band, and constituted a type of belt that characterized the female costume of the middle layer of sixteenth-century nobility.<sup>281</sup> However, similar belts of worse quality from Transylvania, produced with a less elaborate technology, are found in the collections of the Hungarian National Museum and the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest; they were part of the costumes of burghers in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>282</sup> A similar belt was represented on a painting of the Bruckenthal Museum from about 1680, depicting a Saxon woman in gala dress.<sup>283</sup> (Fig. 58)

The problem of dating and quality concerns hairpins as well. The hoard from Tomaševac (Serbia) was related to rustic jewelry of Turkish-Balkan origin by the archaeologist Ibolya Gerelyes, but she does not mention the hairpins in this context.<sup>284</sup> (Fig. 21) She refers to hoards from the Balkans and Serbia as analogies which are dated to the second half or end of the seventeenth century according to associated coins. The jewelry of these hoards is rather rustic, made of worse quality silver,

<sup>280</sup> Lovag and T. Németh, "A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet," 219-244.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., 224, 232 and 227, fig 5.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., 230, 233-234.

<sup>283</sup> Sándor Domanovszky, ed. *A kereszténység védőbástyája* (The bulwark of Christendom), Magyar Művelődéstörténet (Hungarian culture history), vol. 3 (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d), 380.

<sup>284</sup> Gerelyes, *Török ékszerek*, 41-49 and figs 22-28.

decorated with granulated silver beads, filigree-work, and glass plates. However, the pins from Tomasevác are not of this type; they are more elaborate, with rich, finely formed filigree and without pendants (I have no information on the quality of the silver of any of the pins). Similar pieces from Alvinc (Vințu de Jos, Romania), Nagybánya (Baia Mare, Romania) and Balatonszőlős are from sixteenth-century context. (Figs 16, 17 and 24) The question is whether rustic style and rather low quality indicate a chronological difference, as seems to be the case with the belts, or different economic possibilities, ambitions, and social status of the owners. The answer cannot be given at the present state of research without the detailed archaeological context of each object and historical studies concerning the settlements and the populations of the sites.

The decoration of the pinheads with granulated silver beads and red and white glass inlay imitates the pearl, ruby, and diamond ornaments of the aristocracy; according to the sources these were the most popular elements of their jewelry.<sup>285</sup> Hairpins are the only items of the Balkan treasure hoards that appear in churchyard cemeteries and among the Saxons, probably because the other types of jewelry were not part of the nobility's dress. Balkan-type hairpins were accessible and visible enough to follow the headgear of the highest strata, and burghers, wealthy peasants and the members of the lower nobility could also afford to possess them and apply them to their traditional headgear.<sup>286</sup>

The place of production of the known items of pins has not been identified, it is still to be investigated whether they are products of Balkan craftsmen or there are

<sup>285</sup> Erika Kiss, "Arany művek, köves marhák" (Goldsmith's works, precious stones), in Anna Ridovics, ed. *A szépség dicsérete*, 32.

<sup>286</sup> See the chapter 4.1.1 of this thesis.

pieces that were made in the territory of Hungary or Transylvania.<sup>287</sup> The distribution of the pins can possibly be related to the activity of the so-called “Greek merchants” in Hungary. (Fig. 4) Unfortunately, only eighteenth-century lists of their stock have survived, which contain household articles, spices, different sorts of textiles, ready-made clothes, veils, and small notions: buttons, clasps, and also pins, in one case specified as *báb-tű*, which can mean a pin with a head.<sup>288</sup> Though not hairpins, but similar other goods of Greek merchants were listed in the sixteenth century custom registers of Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Romania).<sup>289</sup> The presence of these merchants of Balkan origins all over the country has been mentioned above, for example in Sibiu and Braşov they appeared as early as at the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>290</sup> In 1587 *Rác* (Balkan-origin) and Ragusan merchants were expelled from certain regions of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>291</sup> They settled down in Transylvania and the Hungarian Kingdom from the 1610s, and their significance is suggested by the fact that Prince Gábor Bethlen issued a limitation on their goods in 1627.<sup>292</sup> Greek companies were formed in Szeben (Sibiu, Romania) in 1636 and in Brassó (Braşov, Romania) in 1678; in the 1660s they were also active at Kassa (Košice, Slovakia) and Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare, Romania).<sup>293</sup> Mária Flórián, in her doctoral dissertation, offers the opinion on textiles that the activity of Greek merchants has not been sufficiently involved in the

<sup>287</sup> The publishers of the finds from Mezőviszolya (Visuia, Romania) and Bánffihunyad (Huedin, Romania) both assumed that the jewelry was the product of Transylvanian workshop, Telcean, “Tezaurul de la Visuia,” 213; Cipăianu, “Din istoricul orfevrăriei transilvănene: acele de păr din tezaurul de la Huedin,” 663.

<sup>288</sup> Bur, “A balkáni kereskedők és árukészleteik,” 257-271.

<sup>289</sup> See Mária Pakucs, “The Trade of Sibiu in the Sixteenth Century: the Evidence of the Town’s Custom Registers,” PhD thesis, Central European University (Budapest, 2004).

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., 154-155.

<sup>291</sup> Gecsényi Lajos. “‘Török áruk’ és ‘görög kereskedők’ a 16-17. századi királyi Magyarországon (‘Turkish Goods’ and ‘Greek Merchants’ in Royal Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), in *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója emlékére* (Festschrift for the seventeenth anniversary of Ágnes R. Várkonyi), ed. Péter Tusor (Budapest: Eötvös Lóránt Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1998), 193.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid., 192.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid., 194., 202-203.

research yet,<sup>294</sup> and the same is true of the objects that turn up in archaeological contexts.

#### 4.2.2. Female headgear: The *párta*<sup>295</sup>

The exact meaning of the word *párta* is still debated; it covers different types of decorated women's headgear. Various adjectives specify the term in written sources referring to either the form or the function, the marital status or age of the wearer, but the correspondence of the types listed in the documents with the objects known from depictions or finds is rather problematic.<sup>296</sup> They are generally classified in the secondary literature based on their decoration, which can be embroidery or lace, pearls or beads, mounts, spirals of bronze wire or composite ornaments (*boglár*).<sup>297</sup> I am not discussing here the issues of definition, types and symbolic meanings, but confine myself to the problem of transmission of forms between social layers, and the relation of the quality and material to the social position of the owner.

The headgear of noble ladies was made of gold and silver or precious textiles like silk and velvet, decorated with pieces of *boglár* composed of diamonds, rubies, and a great number of pearls, usually in the form of a flower; often only these

<sup>294</sup> Mária Flórián, "Folyamatok a magyar paraszti öltözködés alakulásában" (17-20. század) (Processes in the formation of Hungarian peasants' clothing [from the seventeenth to the twentieth century]), Doctoral Dissertation, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnography (Budapest, 2006), 16. When mentioning Turkish traders Lilla Tompos refers to a PhD dissertation awaiting publication by Emese Pásztor, on Ottoman Turkish textiles from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Transylvania and the Royal Hungary, Tompos, "Oriental and Western Influences on Hungarian Attire," 89-90.

<sup>295</sup> In this sub-chapter I have used the catalogue and references of an MA thesis written on *párta*, Borbála Kelényi, "Pártaviselet a 14-17. századi Magyarországon" (Wearing of *párta* in Hungary from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century), MA thesis, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Institute of Archaeology (Budapest, 2006) (hereafter: Kelényi, "Pártaviselet").

<sup>296</sup> Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol. 1, 229-235. The explanation provided by Irena Turneau in the glossary of her book is a simplification of the meaning; *párta* can take various forms, not just semicircular, and neither does the author refer to the diverse decoration patterns, Turnau, *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe*, 164.

<sup>297</sup> Mojzsis "XVI-XVII. századi női fejdíszek a nagylócsi leletanyagból," 206-207; Béla Horváth, "A tisztaörvényi pártá és pártáöv" (The *párta* and belt from Tisztaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 162-163 (hereafter: Horváth, "A tisztaörvényi pártá és pártáöv") provides a combined classification; some of the categories refer to the function, others to the decoration. The word *boglár* means a composite ornament that could be applied on any item of clothing.



ornaments are found, because the textile has vanished. A sumptuous *párta* was depicted on the head of Borbála Wesselényi, an aristocratic lady, in 1662.<sup>298</sup> (Fig. 47) The most valuable pieces are known only from written sources, as usually they were not buried with the owners, but descended to the heirs. They are often listed in last wills, even of males, and not only members of the nobility but wealthy burghers also owned golden headgear; they were considered to be worth keeping.<sup>299</sup>

Valuable pieces as finds have been unearthed from the burials of noble ladies, some of whom it was even possible to identify by name. This was not the case in Csenger, where finds from disturbed burials contained forty-nine pieces of gold *boglár* decorated with enamel and filigree, several of had goldsmith's marks.<sup>300</sup> (Fig. 41) Similar ornaments composed the headgear of a young girl excavated in Boldva, dated to the third quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>301</sup> (Fig. 40) A third *párta* was owned by one of the noble ladies buried in the crypt of Küküllővár: either Zsófia Patóchy or her granddaughter, Zsófia Kendy.<sup>302</sup> Similar ornaments were found in the grave of the daughter of Mihnea Prince of Walachia.<sup>303</sup> According to the analysis of the forms, all these ornaments were made in the same workshop at Kolozsvár (Cluj, Romania).<sup>304</sup> Golden ornaments found in the disturbed crypt of Losonc belonged to the burial costume of a member of the Losonczy family, based on historical data.<sup>305</sup>

Female members of the Dobozy family buried in the Protestant cemetery of Debrecen

<sup>298</sup> Hungarian National Museum, Anna Ridovics, ed. *A szépség dicsérete*, 64.

<sup>299</sup> Kelényi, "Pártaviselet", 79-80; Katalin Szende, *Otthon a városban: társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* (Home in the town: Society and material culture in medieval Sopron, Bratislava and Prešov) (Budapest : MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2004), 140; Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol.1, 232-233.

<sup>300</sup> Höllrigl, "A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei," 101-107.

<sup>301</sup> Katalin E. Nagy, "Die Tracht eines vornehmen ungarischen Mädchens aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Restaurierung und Rekonstruktion des Boldvaer Fundes," *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 58-59, figs 33, 34, 35, 72, fig 48.

<sup>302</sup> Magdolna Bunta, "A küküllővári lelet" (A find from Küküllővár), *Ars Hungarica* 5 (1977): 223-224.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 231.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 235-236.

<sup>305</sup> Judit H. Kolba, "A losonci ékszerlelet" (The jewelery find from Losonc), *Folia Archaeologica* 40 (1970): 181-182, 188 and figs 2, 3.

had embroidered silk headgear with golden ornaments with pearls, and composed of enameled golden ornaments with rubies and pearls, both marked by goldsmiths from Debrecen.<sup>306</sup>

In both Csenger and Debrecen, besides the headgear with golden ornaments, flower motifs were formed of garnet plates.<sup>307</sup> The archaeologist of Csenger listed four sites where similar flower forms composed of garnets were found,<sup>308</sup> and some further examples have been published since that time. In Nagylózs and probably Ják members of local noble families were buried in such headwear in the churchyard.<sup>309</sup> A stray find is known from Bajót.<sup>310</sup> The ornaments on a more valuable piece of headgear from the churchyard cemetery at Tiszaörvény comprise silver beads and rubies, but also red glass imitating rubies; probably it is the product of a workshop in nearby Debrecen.<sup>311</sup> (Figs 42-43) On a similar find from the churchyard at Szada there is only red glass besides the pearls.<sup>312</sup> (Figs 44-45) It is likely that garnet and red glass substituted for the ruby decoration of the objects of the high nobility, as in the case of hairpins. Though these burials have not been attributed to particular families, it seems that at least some of them can be assigned to the lower nobility.

Another way to imitate the pieces of *boglár* on the headgear of high nobility was to form knobs of paper, rags or fibrous plants, cover them with textile and

<sup>306</sup> Ibolya V. Szathmári, "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' pártá" (*Pártá* from Debrecen decorated with beads and *boglár*), *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1991): 195 (hereafter: V. Szathmári, "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' pártá").

<sup>307</sup> Höllrigl, "A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei," 108; V. Szathmári, "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' pártá," 195.

<sup>308</sup> Höllrigl, "A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei," 108-109. The pieces from Miskolc and Tiszaörvény have already been published, Géza Megay, "A miskolci avasi templom 1941. évi ásatása" (Excavation in the church on Avas in Miskolc in 1941), *A Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 9 (1970): 133; Horváth, "A tiszaoérvényi pártá és pártáöv," 157.

<sup>309</sup> Mojzsis, "XVI-XVII. századi női fejdíszek a nagylózsai leletanyagból," 195-196 and 197, fig 1; Judit Edöcs, "Középkori párták a jáki templom mellől" (Medieval headgear from the churchyard cemetery at Ják), *Savaria* 28 (2004): 361-362, and 365, figs 1-7.

<sup>310</sup> Lázár, "A bajóti római katolikus templom kutatása," 294.

<sup>311</sup> Horváth, "A tiszaoérvényi pártá és pártáöv," 157-158.

<sup>312</sup> Horváth, "A tiszaoérvényi pártá és pártáöv," 159.

decorate them with glass, beads, copper or bronze sequins and metal wire<sup>313</sup> or simply to group beads, spirals of bronze and textile twist, and sequins in a way that they composed a flower motif that stands out in relief. (Fig. 46) These types of headgear characterize churchyard cemeteries all over the country, but none of them is formed in exactly the same way.<sup>314</sup> In some cases it has been proposed that such pieces of *párta* belonged to members of the lower nobility.<sup>315</sup> This type has been observed in various ethnic contexts, like in an assimilated Cuman village at Lászlófalva,<sup>316</sup> and in the cemetery of the Hungarian-Romanian population of Bobáld. At the same time, it seems that the headgear in Southern Slav cemeteries is simpler, decorated with beads, coins, bronze buttons, mounts and sequins, and cowries.<sup>317</sup> Cowries seem to characterize Southern Slav burials. A *párta* decorated with coins was also found in the churchyard cemetery of Kaposvár,<sup>318</sup> although I do not know any other examples.

It is easy to distinguish the headgear of the high nobility, both because some of the burials have been identified by name and because written sources and depictions provide detailed information about the forms and the material. The golden ornaments found in archaeological context are the products of craftsmen of guilds, and written

<sup>313</sup> E.g., in Feldebrő, Emőke S. Laczkovits, “16-17. századi kéttornyúlaki párták és párhuzamaik” (Sixteenth- and seventeenth- century examples of *párta* from Kéttornyúlak and their analogies), *Veszprémi Történelmi Tár* (1989): 39 (hereafter: S. Laczkovits, “Kéttornyúlaki párták”); Kaposvár, grave No. 836, Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II,” 17; Kéttornyúlak, S. Laczkovits, “Kéttornyúlaki párták,” 35; Óföldséák, Grave No. 74, Mária Béres, “Előzetes jelentés az óföldséaki templom körüli temetőről” (Report on the churchyard cemetery at Óföldséák), in *A legmakaibb makai. Tanulmányok a 75 éves dr. Tóth Ferenc tiszteletére* (Studies in honor of the seventy-five- year-old Ferenc Tóth), ed. Attila Marosvári and István Zombori (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Önkormányzat, 2003), 189.

<sup>314</sup> S. Laczkovits, “Kéttornyúlaki párták,” 40, list several examples, for further pieces see Szöcs, Mérai and Eng, “A nagyároly-bobáldi temető,” 316 and 323, figs 7-8.

<sup>315</sup> S. Laczkovits, “Kéttornyúlaki párták,” 35-41; Mojzsis, “XVI-XVII. századi női fejdíszek a nagylózi leletanyagból,” especially 210.

<sup>316</sup> András Pálóczi Horváth, “A Lászlófalván 1969-74. évben végzett régészeti ásatások eredményei” (Results of the excavations at Lászlófalva between 1969 and 1974), *Cumania* 4 (1976): 278-280 and 298-300.

<sup>317</sup> E.g., graves No. 65, 84, 100, 130, 193, 224, 227 in Dombóvár-Békató. Gaál, “A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető,” 161, 143, 146, 152, 155, 169, 170, 171; graves No. 64 and 68 in Katymár, Wicker and Köhegyi, “Katymár,” 25, 51; graves No. 42, 72, 85 in Zombor-Bükkszállás. Korek, “Zombor-Bükkszállás,” 186-187.

<sup>318</sup> Kaposvár, grave No. 970, a piece of headgear decorated with Turkish coins, Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II,” 18, 35.

sources testify that noblemen also invited specialists in pearl decoration to their courts.<sup>319</sup>

Examples of *párta* with garnets have been attributed to less prominent noble families, although they were also found in the same context as gold pieces, like in Csenger and Debrecen. József Höllrigl suggested that garnet ornaments were purchased through trade, probably from Bohemia.<sup>320</sup> Headgear was constructed by specialists in making items decorated with pearls and beads and embroiderers residing in towns, but such craftsmen did not belong to any of the guilds.<sup>321</sup> Sources mention eighteenth-century *pártamakers* in Debrecen, still without a guild.<sup>322</sup> Retailers also sold ready-made pieces; a *párta* was listed in the stock inventory of a shop in Szombathely at the beginning of the seventeenth century and Greek merchants offered various elements that were needed to fabricate one.<sup>323</sup> Many items of simple headgear decorated with beads and cowries must have been home-made. There seems to have been no clear distinction between the objects owned by the lower layers of the nobility and wealthy peasants. There are transitional forms of varying value; it may depend on how members of various strata acquired the headgear. In some cases this is indicated by written sources as well; the inventory of the goods owned by Baron

<sup>319</sup> Bona Nyilasy was mentioned in 1567 as the specialist in pearl decoration of the Transylvanian prince. Originally she went from Kassa to Eger to work for a female member of the Magochy family, then to the court in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania). It is also known from the sources that a similar craftsman from Sopron worked for the palatine Miklós Esterházy. Lajos Kemény, “Az erdélyi fejedelem gyöngyfűzője” (The pearl decorator of the Transylvanian prince), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 29 (1895): 285.

<sup>320</sup> There are data on significant Transylvanian garnet sources too, though only from the eighteenth century. Bohemian garnets are of the pyrope type that occurs in much smaller pieces, which might have been the reason for distributing them composed in flower forms. I kindly thank Eszter Horváth for this information.

<sup>321</sup> Lajos Kemény published fifteenth- to seventeenth-century data on specialists in pearl decoration and embroiderers in Buda and Kassa, and he assumed that they produced the headgear. Lajos Kemény, “Gyöngyfűzők és hímvarrók” (Specialists in pearl decoration and embroiderers), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 38 (1904): 446-447.

<sup>322</sup> V. Szathmári, “A debreceni ún. ‘gyöngyös-bogláros’ párta,” 198, 201.

<sup>323</sup> Mária Flórián, *Magyar parasztviseletek*, 83 refers to Antal Horváth, “Szombathelyi kereskedő üzleti leltára a XVII. század közepén” (An inventory of the stock of a merchant in Szombathely in the mid-seventeenth century), *Néprajzi Közlemények* 1 (1956): 256-272.

Benedek Serédy lists a *párta* with a peasant's *boglár* that is not decorated with jewels but with beads.<sup>324</sup>

#### 4.2.3. The cut of female dress

A characteristic piece of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century female garment was the corset. In the sixteenth century, the cut of female dress took shape under a general Western impact originating from Italy; it had an angular neckline on both the front and back and was fastened with clasps on the front. It was first seamed together with the skirt, while in the second half of the century tailors made the corsets as separate articles of clothing, often even in different color, which were called Hungarian bodices.<sup>325</sup> At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, corsets with clasps were used in parallel with pieces that were fastened with lacing on the front (Fig. 34);<sup>326</sup> the same form with a V-neckline, open on the front and closed with lacing, became widespread from the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>327</sup> (Figs 36, 38)

The few surviving original garments and the representations on portraits in the ancestors' galleries reflect that this dress was worn by noble ladies, but the costume books also depict peasants in similar costumes, like in the chronicle of Dillich<sup>328</sup> and

<sup>324</sup> "...paraszt bogláros, nem köves, hanem gyöngy az tetejében," V. Szathmári, "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' pártá," 201. "Peasant's" is an adjective that means "simple" in the sources.

<sup>325</sup> Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol. 1, 183-185; László, "Textilmunkák," 317. Garments in "Hungarian fashion" were already mentioned in fifteenth-century sources, see Tompos, "Oriental and Western Influences on Hungarian Attire," 95-96. She also investigates eastern impacts on the cut of female dresses, *ibid.*, 96-97.

<sup>326</sup> V. Ember, "XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából," 180, figs. 108, 114, 115 and 117.

<sup>327</sup> Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol. 1, 183, 191-193; Höllrigl, "Magyar és törökös viseletformák," 376-379; V. Ember, "XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából," 180; Tompos, "Kamuka és korcovány," 16; László, "Textilmunkák," 317.

<sup>328</sup> An illustration in Wilhelm Dillich, *Ungarische Chronica* (Cassel: W. Wessel, 1600), published in Sándor Domanovszky, ed. *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]) 339.

in the Transylvanian costume albums.<sup>329</sup> (Figs 53, 59). Archaeological sources on corsets show that the dress cut of the higher strata was followed by the lower layers in a simplified form. The lace of the corset was most often led through rings or hooks that were made of precious metal on the costumes of noble ladies,<sup>330</sup> and the ornamented clasps on the front were made of gold. (Fig 35 This may have been the function of the pieces comprised in the treasure hoard of Tolna.<sup>331</sup> (Fig. 47) However, less elaborate pieces were also listed among the valuables in inventories, like a corset with nineteen pairs of iron clasps and narrow lace, owned by Ilona Esterházy in 1650.<sup>332</sup>

The form with angular neckline and clasps formed a part of the preserved costume of a sixteenth-century girl from Boldva.<sup>333</sup> (Fig. 34) Both the type with clasps and with lacing could be restored among the finds from the crypt of Sárospatak<sup>334</sup> (Fig. 38) and the graves in the cathedral in Gyulafehérvár.<sup>335</sup> Finds in churchyard cemeteries also indicate both forms. The earlier type fastened with clasps is represented by the silk corset decorated with metal laces from the churchyard at Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilvás that has been dated to the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>336</sup> The hooks along the spine of a woman probably came from a corset in the cemetery at Esztergom-Szentkirály that has been listed among southern Slav sites, the burial is dated by nine coins to the sixteenth century.<sup>337</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Szendrei, "Adatok," plate V, figs 1-2.

<sup>330</sup> E.g., the gala dress of Katalin of Brandenburg, first half of the seventeenth century, Anna Ridovics, ed. *A szépség dicsérete*, 23. The portrait of Borbála Wesselényi, 1662, Anna Ridovics, ed. *A szépség dicsérete*, 64.

<sup>331</sup> Lovag and T. Németh, "A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet," 224 and 227, fig. 5.

<sup>332</sup> The inventory of Szittya castle, 1650. Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol. 1, 192; Farkas Deák, "Ipartörténeti adatok," (New data on the history of craftsmanship), *Történelmi Tár* (1879): 142-153.

<sup>333</sup> E. Nagy, "Rekonstruktion des Boldvaer Fundes," 65, fig. 40, 66, fig. 41.

<sup>334</sup> Corsets with clasps: V. Ember, "XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából," 174-176; with lacing: *ibid.*, 175, 177 and figs. 102-104.

<sup>335</sup> Pósta, "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírleletei," 42, fig. 23, 97, fig 55, 132, fig. 81.

<sup>336</sup> Simonyi, "Középkori és kora újkori temető Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilváson," 310 and 311, fig. 6/10, 312, fig. 7/2.

<sup>337</sup> Grave No. 34, Lázár, "An Ottoman-age Cemetery at Esztergom-Szentkirály," 233, 235.

It seems likely that the lace of the corset was pulled through the three pairs of iron rings on the chest of a young girl in a grave in Kide, even a piece of textile edge interwoven with metal was observed on the clavicles.<sup>338</sup> (Fig. 32) In the southern Slav cemetery at Győr-Gabonavásártér there were four graves in which rings of the corset were found, three of women and one of a young girl.<sup>339</sup> In the cemetery at Bobáld, with the remains of a mixed Hungarian and Romanian population, three graves contained similar rings, but only one was in the original context: the burial of an elderly woman.<sup>340</sup> (Fig. 33) Two lines of hooks along the spine of a female in the churchyard cemetery of Kide could have had the same function.<sup>341</sup> (Fig. 32)

A Western trend of dress cut was imported to Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century, the so-called Spanish corset appears in the inventories of the nobility.<sup>342</sup> It was closed with clasps in the front up to the chin, and it had a ruffled stand-up collar.<sup>343</sup> Dresses with Spanish cut were found in the crypts at Sárospatak<sup>344</sup> (Fig. 37) and Miskolc<sup>345</sup> and in the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár.<sup>346</sup> However, it was worn only as a gala costume of the nobility; it did not become widespread and did not replace the Hungarian corset, the descendant of which was conserved as a Hungarian national gala costume of the nobility and in folk costumes up to the twentieth century.<sup>347</sup>

<sup>338</sup> Kovalovszki, "A kidei középkori temető," 15 and fig 7.

<sup>339</sup> Graves No. 70/I, 85/Mg, 138/I and 168/I. Mithay, "Győr-Gabonavásártér," 186 and 190.

<sup>340</sup> Grave No. 14. Szöcs, Mérai and Eng, "A nagyároly-bobáldi temető," 314.

<sup>341</sup> Grave No. 103. Kovalovszki, "A kidei középkori temető," 21 and fig. 15. A similar feature can be seen in grave No. 108/I, but the anthropological identification was an old male, *ibid.*, 21 and fig. 16.

<sup>342</sup> Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol. 1, 203-204.

<sup>343</sup> László, "Textilmunkák," 317; Tompos, "Kamuka és korcovány," 16.

<sup>344</sup> V. Ember, "XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából," 166-173 and 162, figs. 98-100.

<sup>345</sup> Grave No. 7. Megay, "A miskolci avasi templom 1941. évi ásatása," 133-134.

<sup>346</sup> Pósta, "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírletelei," 146-148, 149, fig. 97, 151, fig. 98, 152, fig. 99.

<sup>347</sup> Flórián, *Magyar parasztviseletek*, 32-33. Irena Turnau, based on the chronology of the finds from Sárospatak and Eger, assumed that in the sixteenth century Spanish fashion was widely accepted and it was only in the seventeenth century that "in the impoverished country even magnates adopted more elements of the national dress," Turnau, *History of Dress*, 29. The consideration of further archaeological finds has led to a different conclusion.

#### 4.2.4. Shoe heel plates of iron

Archaeological interpretation uses the finds of cemeteries to reconstruct contemporary clothing. However, such interpretations primarily reflect burial customs that involve the choice of the funeral costume. Last wills testify that people stated in which of their clothes they wished to be buried,<sup>348</sup> and catafalque paintings depict noblemen and burghers laid out in gala dress. (Figs 49-50) Ethnographic descriptions mention that unmarried girls were buried dressed as brides.<sup>349</sup> Thus, it is not excluded that the pattern of the archaeological distribution of an object is the result of specific burial customs.<sup>350</sup> This is indicated by the distribution of shoe heel plates of iron.

Shoe heel plates are among infrequent finds in cemeteries; only a few pieces have been found in either churchyards or South Slav cemeteries.<sup>351</sup> (Fig. 75) This phenomenon does not indicate that their use was not widespread, however, probably it is rather the result of the custom of burying the deceased in foot cloth instead of footwear. This explanation has been supported by ethnographic observations.<sup>352</sup> On the heels of eighteenth-century footwear unearthed from the crypt of the Dominican church in Vác the traces of heel plates and spurs were visible, but they were removed

<sup>348</sup> E.g., last wills of citizens of Győr from the 1630-1640s are cited by József Horváth, "A XVII. századi győri végrendeletek viselettörténeti adalékaiból" (Data on costume history in seventeenth-century last wills from Győr), in *Viselet és történelem, viselet és jel. Az aszódi Petőfi Múzeumban elhangzott néprajzi konferencia előadásai* (Costume and history, costume and sign. Papers of the ethnological conference held in the Petőfi Museum in Aszód) (Aszód: Petőfi Múzeum, 1996), 17.

<sup>349</sup> Flórián, *Magyar parasztviseletek*, 57.

<sup>350</sup> On the same issue concerning buttons of dolmans see chapter 4.1.3 of this thesis.

<sup>351</sup> Graves No. 53 and 60 in Kide, Kovalovszki, "A kidei középkori temető," 16; grave No. 1145 in Kaposvár, Bárdos, "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II," 36; grave No. 9 at Várhegy-Törpevízmű, Magyar, "Ispánsági és nemzetségi központok kutatása Somogyban," 60; graves No. 3, 7, 8, 25 in Egervár, Géza Fehér, "Az egervári leletmentő ásatás," 69-71; in one grave at Óföldséák, Béres, "Az óföldséaki temető üzenete," 302; in grave No. 78 in Katymár, Wicker and Köhegyi, "Katymár," 31; in three graves at Dombóvár-Békató, Gaál, "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető," 174.

<sup>352</sup> Margit Luby of Benedekfalva, *A parasztélet rendje. Népi szokások, illendő magatartás, babonák Szatmár vármegyében* (The order of peasants' life. Folk traditions, superstitions, and conventional behaviour in Szatmár County) (Budapest: Nap, 1935), 181. Mária Béres, "Az óföldséaki temető üzenete," 302.



before the burial.<sup>353</sup>

The widespread use of footwear with heel plates is indicated by written sources,<sup>354</sup> and the high number of them among the finds of castles and forts has even made it possible to classify them and develop a chronological system.<sup>355</sup> (Fig. 74) It is likely that in this case the explanation for their absence in graves is burial customs.

#### 4.2.5. Summary

Archaeological sources testify to the phenomenon often suggested by written sources that the lower strata tried to follow the trends in the clothing of the nobility. Financial possibilities determined the material and the quality of the costumes and accessories, but the objects indicate an attempt to imitate valuable materials with cheaper ones: applying garnets or red glass instead of rubies according to purchasing power, and reproducing the cut of female dress, even if with iron clasps and hooks instead of gold. This raises an alternative explanation for the spread of Balkan type hairpins instead of the ethnic approach; they may have been widely available to substitute for the ruby- and diamond-covered roses of the noble ladies and each layer applied them to its own headdress.

This issue leads to the question of acquisition; a thorough study of written documents can reveal the pattern of trade through which different groups acquired their clothes and accessories (from the archaeological point of view the latter is more promising, as finds of cemeteries of the lower strata rarely recover textiles). The role of the so-called Greek merchants could have been a contributing factor in the

<sup>353</sup> Márta Zomborka and Emil Ráduly, “Vác, Fehérek temploma, kriptafeltárás 1994-95” (Vác, Dominican church, excavation of the crypt 1994-95) *Magyar Múzeumok* (1996): 11.

<sup>354</sup> The limitation of Prince Gábor Bethlen and the towns of the area called Duna-mellék. Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet*, vol. 1, 95.

<sup>355</sup> János Kalmár, “A füleki vár XV-XVII. századi emlékei” (The fifteenth- to seventeenth-century finds from Fülek castle), *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. 2 (1959), 13; László Gere, *Késő középkori és kora újkorai fémleletek az ozorai várkastélyból* (Late medieval and early modern metal finds from the fortified castle of Ozora) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2003), 106-119.

appearance of Balkan elements, but it is hard to interpret the distribution of types unless more finds are published, supported with historical research on their social and ethnic context.

## CONCLUSION

As a result of the Ottoman Conquest, the ethnic composition of the population in the Carpathian Basin changed radically. It is a peculiarity of Hungarian archaeological research that the cemeteries of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century South Slav newcomers roused the interest of scholars and contemporary churchyard cemeteries have been excavated, published, and analyzed less systematically. Research on the Southern Slav cemeteries has been determined by a historical approach; the ethnic identification of the population has been based on written sources and the archaeological results have been interpreted within this framework.

Comparing the find material of Southern Slav cemeteries and churchyards, I have demonstrated that the objects that have been labeled as indicators of ethnicity in the earlier secondary literature, like simple hairpins, ornamented hairpins with large spherical heads, and rituals like giving coins and placing the arms of the deceased in certain positions, appear in churchyards as well as Southern Slav cemeteries, so they do not characterize specific ethnic groups. The only objects belonging to garments that have been found solely in the cemeteries of South Slav ethnic groups up to now are pieces of headgear decorated with cowries and certain types of pendants.

Other source types besides archaeology also contain information on clothing. There was a shift in the number of written sources and depictions of costumes in the transition to the Early Modern period compared to the previous centuries. Documents from the sphere of commerce, like stock inventories, customs lists, and limitations of prices throw light on the origins and distribution of articles of clothing and raw materials. The earliest pattern books, clothing regulations, and peasants' last wills from the area have survived from this period, and the number of extant private

documents and portrait representations of nobleman and burghers also increased. Printed or painted costume books present the clothing of various ethnic groups, but their documentary value, like that of all types of images, was determined by the characteristics of the genre rather than absolute accuracy of details.

Though depictions suggest significant differences in the cut and colours of the clothing of different ethnic groups, at the present state of research neither the finds, like hairpins, clasps and buttons, nor their positions are applicable to reconstructing a piece of headgear or a dress cut that is specific for any of the ethnic groups present in the area in the Ottoman period. The finds and even their disposition are similar in the graves of Southern Slav cemeteries and churchyards. Furthermore, the finds in cemeteries do not necessarily reflect the actual clothing but rather burial customs; for example, the presence or lack thereof of dolman buttons and shoe heel plates in certain cemeteries does not necessarily indicate whether the population used them in general or not, because people could be buried in a simple shirt and with shoe heel plates removed, as eighteenth- and nineteenth-century analogies suggest. It can be concluded that even if the ethnicity of the population is known from written evidence, elements of clothing known from the archaeological context do not indicate the same pattern.

The most conspicuous examples for this observation are the ornamented hairpins with large spherical heads. Though they are characteristic items of Balkan-type jewelry in treasure hoards, similar pieces have been found in hoards and graves in churchyards all over Hungary and they are especially often depicted worn by Transylvanian Saxon women. The explanation for their popularity is probably that they resembled the sumptuous hairpins of the nobility decorated with rubies,

diamonds, and pearls, as the ornamentation of the hairpins with large spherical heads consisted of granulated silver beads and red and white glass plates.

A similar phenomenon of imitating the wear of higher social strata, which is also referred in written sources, can be observed in the decoration of the female headgear called *párta* that was worn among various social layers. Golden ornaments (*boglár*) applied on the headgear of the high nobility were decorated with rubies and diamonds; cheaper variations, made of garnet plates and red glass, characterize similar forms of headgear worn by members of less exalted strata. The archaeological distribution of ornaments suggests that they were spread by trade and members of different social layers acquired their headgear according to their financial resources. Archaeological remains of so-called Hungarian corsets in burials of various social strata, and also in some of the cemeteries that were defined as Southern Slav, testify that the female dress cut of the nobility was followed by lower social layers, but with cheap and simple accessories. The distribution of such articles of clothing does not correspond to ethnic patterns.

The production place of single items of the ornamented hairpins with large spherical heads has not been investigated yet; it is not known whether they were made in Balkan workshops. Supposedly they originated from the Balkans; their distribution may possibly be attributed to the so-called Greek merchants of various Balkan origins, the activity of which is attested by written documents all over the Carpathian Basin, and who merchandised textiles, ready-made articles of clothing, and accessories. Archaeological research on contemporary cemeteries and settlements of the Balkan, and investigation of the distribution of artifacts would contribute to the interpretation of features observed in Hungary.

The example of the activity of the Greek merchants, which is documented even before the Ottoman Conquest and after the end of it in the eighteenth century, indicate that patterns of culture and trade do not correspond to political and/or ethnic boundaries in either in space or in time. Even if the separation of an ethnic group is preserved by privileges, as in the case of Cumans in the medieval period in Hungary, the assimilation in various aspects of their culture is not simultaneous, and is determined by diverse factors on several levels of the social, political and ethnic context.

In the period of the Ottoman Conquest the differences in the ethnicity and origins of new incoming South Slav groups and their distribution suggest that the issue of assimilation and separation is even more complex. It does not seem to be justified to seek objects and features that are indicators of ethnicity, but rather sets of features or criteria can be interpreted in the complex recognition of ethnicity in the context of political, social and cultural structures and processes. There is no other monocausal explanation to offer instead of ethnicity, but a set of alternative explanations: cultural interchange, trade, and financial and mental factors of the market for certain objects, such as social display, prestige representation, imitation of the material culture of a higher social strata. A significant increase in the number of available data, namely excavated, analyzed and published Southern Slav and churchyard cemeteries, would form an adequate base to investigate the manifestation of these aspects.

As a consequence of the character of sources it is not possible to get to a desired “true and exact” knowledge in the sense of a static picture about how an ethnic or social group dressed in the past, because these were not fixed structures but they were continuously in various sorts of interactions with other groups. “None of

the sources was created to answer the questions of our research;”<sup>356</sup> is true in archaeology. The questions of research need to be formulated and adapted to the character of the sources: archaeological remains represent only fragments of their contemporary context, which was much more complex than just ethnicity.

---

<sup>356</sup> Helmut Hundsbichler, “Sampling or Proving ‘Reality?’ Co-ordinates for the Evaluation of Historical Archaeology Research,” in *The Age of Transition. The Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600*, ed. David Gaimster and Paul Stamper, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15, Oxbow Monograph 98 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 49.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

- Fodor, Pál, ed. *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai, 1660-1664* (Trarvels of Evliyā Celebi Turkish traveler in Hungary 1660-1664). Tr. Imre Karácson. Budapest: Gondolat, 1985.
- Katona, Tamás and László Makkai, ed. *Magyari István, Az országokban való sok romlásnak okairól* (The reasons for so much decay in the country). Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1979.
- Kóczián, László and Réka Lőrinczy, ed. *Apor Péter, Metamorphosis Transsylvaniae*. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1978.
- Striling, János, ed. *Egy jeles Vad-Kert, Avagy az oktan állatoknak históriája Miskolczi Gáspár által* (An illustrious park, or the history of the brute beasts by Gáspár Miskolczi). Budapest: Magvető, 1983.
- Török, László, ed. *Balla Gergely nagykőrösi krónikája a honfoglalástól 1758-ig* (The chronicle of Gergely Balla of Nagykőrös from the Hungarian Conquest until 1758). Nagykőrös-Kecskemét: Bács-Kiskun M. Ny, 1970.

### Secondary sources

- Ágoston, Gábor. "Ottoman Conquest and the Ottoman Military Frontier in Hungary." In *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. László Veszprémy and Béla K. Király, 85-110. War and Society in East Central Europe 37, East European Monographs 621, Atlantic Studies on Society in Change 114. New York: Atlantic Research and Publications, 2002.
- Ágoston, Gábor and Teréz Oborni. *A tizenhetedik század története* (The history of the seventeenth century). Magyar Századok 7. Budapest: Pannonica, 2000.
- Andrén, Anders. *Between Artifacts and Texts. Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective*. New York: Plenum, 1998.
- Austin, David. "The 'Proper Study' of Medieval Archaeology." In *From the Baltic to the Black Sea. Studies in Medieval Archaeology*, ed. David Austin and Leslie Alcock, 9-42. London: Unwin Hyman, 1990.
- Austin, David and Leslie Alcock, ed. *From the Baltic to the Black Sea. Studies in Medieval Archaeology*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1990.
- Bakay, Kornél. "Kőszeg-Alsóvár." *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser.1 No. 41 (1988): 86-87.
- Bálint, Alajos. "A Makó-mezőkopáncsi középkori temető sírleletei" (The grave finds of the medieval cemetery at Makó-Mezőkopáncs). *Dolgozatok* 12 (1936), 222-241.



- Bálint, Alajos. "A kaszaperi középkori templom és temető" (The church and cemetery at Kaszaper). *Dolgozatok* 14 (1938): 139-190.
- Bálint, Csanád. "Az ethnosz a kora középkorban" (Ethnos in the Early Middle Ages). *Századok* 140, No. 2 (2006): 277-348.
- Ball, Jennifer L. *Byzantine Dress. Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting*. New York: Palgrave, 2005.
- Banner, János. "Jelentés a Magyarcsanád-bökényi próbaásatásokról" (Report on the trial excavations at Magyarcsanád-Bökény). *Dolgozatok* 2 (1926): 72-122.
- Banner, János. "A bánkúti lovassír" (A burial with horse from Bánkút). *Dolgozatok* 7 (1931): 187-204.
- Baram, Uzi and Lynda Carroll, ed. *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire. Breaking New Ground*. New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers, 2000.
- Barbiera, Irene. "Migration and Identity During the Lombard Invasions." PhD thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2003.
- Bárdos, Edith. "Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II." (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2). *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 8-57.
- Barth, Fredrik, ed. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Reprint of the 1969 edition. Oslo : Scandinavian University Press, 1994.
- Bartucz, László. "Die Anthropologischen Merkmale der Bevölkerung aus der Umgebung von Zombor (Sombor) im XV-XVII Jahrhundert." *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestiensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Sectio Biologica* 3 (1960): 25-28.
- Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. "From Sárospatak to Cairo: the Odyssey of a Design." In *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes, 51-54. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005.
- Bencsik, János. "Adatok a Hajdúságból a temetkezés szokásának és hiedelemanyagának kutatásához" (New data from the Hajdúság on the customs and beliefs of burial). *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1969-70), 429-445.
- Béres, Mária. "Előzetes jelentés az óföldréai templom körüli temetőről" (Report on the churchyard cemetery at Óföldréa). In *A legmakaibb makai. Tanulmányok a 75 éves dr. Tóth Ferenc tiszteletére* (Studies in honor of the seventy-five-year-old Ferenc Tóth), ed. Attila Marosvári and István Zombori, 184-202. Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Önkormányzat, 2003.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Az óföldreáki temető üzenete” (The heritage of the cemetery at Óföldreák). In “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok” *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* (“I walk through the valley of the shadow of death” Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003), ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, 297-303. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005.
- Biczó, Piroska. “Jelentés a Kecskemét - Kossuth téren végzett ásatásról” (Archaeological report on the excavation at Kecskemét-Kistemplomtér). *Cumania* 4 (1976): 329-360.
- Blazovich, László. “Déli szlávok Magyarországon és a Körös-Tisza-Maros közben a 15-16. században” (Southern Slav population living in Hungary and between the Körös, Tisza and Maros rivers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). In *Magyarország történeti demográfiája* (The historical demography of Hungary), ed. Kovacsics József, 117-124. Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1997.
- B. Nagy, Margit, ed. *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies on art history). Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977.
- Bolvig, Axel and Phillip Lindley, ed. *History and Images. Towards a New Iconology*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
- Brather, Sebastian. “Ethnic Identities as Constructions of Archaeology: The Case of Alamanni.” In *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Andrew Gillett, 150-175. Brepols: Turnhout, 2002.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Structures of Everyday Life. The Limits of the Possible. Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century*. Vol. 1. New York : Harper & Row, 1981.
- Breward, Christopher. *The Culture of Fashion*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Britnell, Richard, ed. *Daily Life in the Middle Ages*. Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1998.
- Bunta, Magdolna. “A küküllővári lelet” (The finds from Küküllővár). *Ars Hungarica* 5 (1977): 223-239.
- Bur, Márta. “A balkáni kereskedők és árukészleteik a XVIII. századi Magyarországon (1737-1753)” (Merchants from the Balkans and their stocks in eighteenth-century Hungary [1737-1753]). *Ethnographia* 96 (1985): 251-275.
- Burman, Barbara and Carole Turbin, ed. *Material Strategies. Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003.

Buzási, Enikő. "17th Century Catafalque Painting in Hungary." *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1975): 87-124.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek a Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988. március - augusztus* (Aristocratic ancestors' galleries, family portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, Museum of Applied Arts and the Hungarian National Gallery. Hungarian National Gallery, March – August 1988). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988.

Cenner Wilhelmb, Gizella. "16–19. századi grafikus viseletsorozatok – Közép-Európa nemzetiségi életének és társadalmi helyzetének képes forrásai" (Graphic costume cycles from the sixteenth to nineteenth century – pictorial sources for the ethnic composition and social status of the population of Central Europe). *Folia Historica* 1 (1972): 23-41.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Halotti képmások, ravataképek" (Funeral portraits, catafalque paintings). *Művészet* (1977): 32-36.

Cipăianu, Ana Maria. "Din istoricul orfevrăriei transilvănene: acele de păr din tezaurul de la Huedin" (From the history of transylvanian silverwork. The hairpins from the treasure hoard of Huedin). *Acta Musei Napocensis* 10 (1973): 653-663.

Conkey, Margaret W. "Experimenting with Style in Archaeology: Some Historical and Theoretical Issues." In *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine Hastorf, 5-17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Conkey Margaret W. and Christine Hastorf, ed. *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Csapó, Júlia. *A tarpai temetés* (Burials at Tarpa). Honismereti kutatások Szabolcs-Szatmárban 4. Nyíregyháza: Jósza András Múzeum, 1977.

Cserbák, András and Alice Gáborján. "XVIII. századi magyarországi parasztábrázolások és viselettörténeti tanulságaik" (Eighteenth-century depictions of peasants and their contribution to costume history). *Ethnographia* 101 (1990): 51-74.

Dávid, Géza. "Magyarország népessége a 16-17. században" (The population of Hungary in the 16-17<sup>th</sup> century). In *Magyarország történeti demográfiája* (The historical demography of Hungary), ed. József Kovacsics, 141-172. Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1997.

Dávid, Géza and Pál Fodor, ed. *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of the Ottoman Conquest*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

- Davis, Whitney. "Style and history in art history." In *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine Hastorf, 18-31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Deák, Éva. "Status and Clothing: the Case of the Teleki Family at the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century." MA thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2000.
- Deák, Farkas. "Ipartörténeti adatok" (New data on the history of craftsmanship). *Történelmi Tár* (1879): 142-153.
- Deetz, James. *In Small Things Forgotten. An Archaeology of Early American Life*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Doubleday, 1996.
- Domanovszky, Sándor, ed. *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history). Vol. 3. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942].
- Domonkos, Ottó. *A magyarországi céhes szabók mintakönyvei* (Pattern books of tailors in Hungary). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1997.
- Domonkos, Ottó. "Ár- és bérszabályzatok" (Limitations of prices and payments). In *Kézművesség. Magyar Néprajz* (Crafts. Hungarian Ethnography), vol. 3, ed. Iván Balassa, 705-726. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991.
- Domonkos, Ottó. "A magyar vásárok néprajza" (The ethnography of Hungarian markets). In *Kézművesség. Magyar Néprajz* (Crafts. Hungarian Ethnography), vol. 3, ed. Iván Balassa, 637-702. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991.
- Edöcs, Judit. "Középkori párták a jáki templom mellől" (Medieval headgear from the churchyard cemetery at Ják). *Savaria* 28 (2004): 359-367.
- Ember, Győző and Gusztáv Heckenast, ed. *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686). 2 vols. Magyarország története 4. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985.
- Emödi, Tamás. "The 'Tiled Room' in the Palace of the Ruling Prince at Gyulafehérvár." In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya. Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 329-336. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.
- E. Nagy, Katalin. "Die Tracht eines vornehmen ungarischen Mädchens aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Restaurierung und Rekonstruktion des Boldvaer Fundes." *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 29-79.
- Endrei, Walter. *Patyolat és posztó* (Batiste and cloth). Budapest: Magvető, 1989.

- Erdei, Lilla. "A debreceni temető 17-18. századi textil leletei" (Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century textiles from the Dobozi cemetery in Debrecen). *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (2002-2003): 285-304.
- Éry, Kinga. "Balkáni eredetű, török kori népesség csontmaradványai Dombóvár határából" (Anthropological remains of a population of Balkan origins in the period of the Turkish conquest from the area of Dombóvár). *A Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 10-11 (1979-80): 225-298.
- Fehér, Géza. "Az egervári leletmentő ásatás" (The rescue excavation at Egervár). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 84 (1957): 66-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Esztergomi török vörösrézedények" (Turkish copper vessels from Esztergom). *A Komárommegyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 1 (1968): 273-310.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Török kori iparművészeti alkotások* (Products of the applied arts from the Ottoman period). Budapest: Corvina, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Turkish Miniatures from the Period of Hungary's Turkish Occupation*. Budapest: Corvina, 1978.
- Felföldi, Szabolcs and Balázs Sinkovics, ed. *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás* (Nomad migrations, Hungarian Conquest). Magyar őstörténeti Könyvtár 15. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2001.
- Flórián, Mária. "Öltözködés" (Clothing). In *Magyar Néprajz* (Hungarian ethnography), vol. 4, ed. István Balassa, Endre Füzes and Eszter Kisbán, 585-767. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997.
- Flórián, Mária. *Magyar parasztviseletek* (Hungarian peasant's costumes). Budapest: Planétás, 2001.
- Flórián, Mária. "Folyamatok a magyar paraszti öltözködés alakulásában (17-20. század)" (Processes in the formation of Hungarian peasants' clothing, seventeenth to twentieth century). Doctoral dissertation, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnography. Budapest, 2006.
- Fodor, István. "Újabb adatok a bánkúti sír értékeléséhez" (New data on the evaluation of the Bánkút grave). *Folia Archaeologica* 23 (1972): 223-240.
- Gáborján, Alice. "Keleti elemek a magyar ruházatban" (Oriental elements in Hungarian Clothing). *Néprajzi Értesítő* 67-70 (1985-88): 19-53.
- Gaál, Attila. "Későközépkori leletek Tolna megyéből" (Late medieval finds from Tolna county). *A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 8-9 (1977-78): 109-131.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető" (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató). *A Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 10-11 (1979-80): 133-223.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Szekszárdi Múzeum hódoltság kori rézedényei" (Copper vessels in the Museum of Szekszárd from the period of the Ottoman Conquest). *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1983): 163-184.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Szekszárdi Múzeum hódoltság kori rézedényei II." (Copper vessels in the Museum of Szekszárd from the period of the Ottoman Conquest 2). *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1991): 191-207.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Sixteenth- to Seventeenth-century Cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató." In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 221-230. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.
- Gaimster, David and Paul Stamper, ed. *The Age of Transition. The Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600*. The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15, Oxbow Monograph 98. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.
- Galavics, Géza. "A magyar királyi udvar és a késő reneszánsz képzőművészet" (The Hungarian royal court and the art of the late Renaissance). In: *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* (Renaissance courtly culture in Hungary), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, 228-248. Budapest: Gondolat, 1987.
- Galavics, Géza. "Erdélyi viseletalbumok a XVII-XVIII. századból" (Transylvanian costume albums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). In József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century, 57-131. Budapest: Európa, 1990.
- Gecsényi, Lajos. "'Török áruk' és 'görög kereskedők' a 16-17. századi királyi Magyarországon ('Turkish Goods' and 'Greek Merchants' in Royal Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). In R. Várkonyi *Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója emlékére* (Festschrift for the seventieth birthday of Ágnes R. Várkonyi), ed. Péter Tusor, 185-203. Budapest: ELTE BTK, 1998.
- Gere, László. *Késő középkori és kora újkori fémleletek az ozorai várkastélyból* (Late medieval and early modern metal finds from the fortified castle of Ozora). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2003.
- Gerelyes, Ibolya. "Adatok a tabáni török díszkerámia keltezéséhez" (New data on the dating of Turkish ornamental pottery from Tabán). *Folia Archaeologica* 36 (1985): 225-229.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Török kerámia a visegrádi Alsóvárból" (Turkish pottery from the Lower Castle at Visegrád). *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1987): 167-179.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Balkanverbindungen der türkischen Keramik von der Budaer Burg." *Acta Archaeologiae Hungariae* 42 (1990): 269-285.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Nagy Szulejmán szultán és kora* (Sultan Soliman the Great and his age). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Török ékszerek* (Turkish jewelry). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A History of Research in Hungary into Ottoman Art." In *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes, 11-18. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005.
- Gerelyes, Ibolya and Gyöngyi Kovács, ed. *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.
- Gerevich, László. "A csúti középkori sírmező" (Medieval cemetery at Csút). *Budapest Régiségei* 13 (1943): 103-166.
- Gerő, Győző. *Az oszmán-török építészet Magyarországon* (The architecture of the Ottoman-Turkish period in Hungary). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The History of Ottoman-Turkish Archaeological Research in Hungary." In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 17-22. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.
- Gervers, Veronika. *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe with particular reference to Hungary*. Toronto: The Royal Ontario Museum, 1982.
- Gervers-Molnár, Vera. *Sárospataki síremlékek* (Tombs from Sárospatak). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983.
- Gervers-Molnár, Veronika. "Turkish Tiles of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century and Their Export." in *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes, Budapest: 35-44. Hungarian National Museum, 2005.
- Gödölle, Mátyás. "Főúri udvarok ősgalériái" (Ancestors' galleries in aristocratic courts). In *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics, 47-50. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001.

- Gubitza, Kálmán. "A Bodrogh-szigeti pálos monostor" (The Pauliner monastery on Bodrogh Island). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 22 (1902): 1-7.
- Györffy, György. "A kunok feudalizálódása" (The incorporation of Cumans to the feudal system). In *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* (Studies on the history of the peasantry in fourteenth-century Hungary), ed. György Székely, 248-275. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953.
- Hatházi, Gábor. "Besenyők és kunok a Mezőföldön" (Pechenegs and Cumans in Mezőföld). In *Zúduló sasok. Új honfoglalók – besenyők, kunok, jászok – a középkori Alföldön és Mezőföldön* (New conquerors – Pechenegs, Cumans and Iasians – on the Hungarian plain), ed. Péter Havassy, 37-56. Gyula: Erkel Ferenc Múzeum, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A kunok régészeti emlékei a Kelet-Dunántúlon* (The archaeological remains of Cumans in eastern Transdanubia). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek* (Graves, treasures, misteries). Kiskunhalas: Thorma János Múzeum, 2005.
- Havassy, Péter, ed. *Zúduló sasok. Új honfoglalók – besenyők, kunok, jászok – a középkori Alföldön és Mezőföldön* (New conquerors – Pechenegs, Cumans and Iasians – on the Hungarian plain). Gyula: Erkel Ferenc Múzeum, 1996.
- Hegyí, Klára. "Balkan Garrison Troops and Soldier-Peasants in the Vilayet of Buda." In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 23-32. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.
- H. Kolba, Judit. "A losonci ékszerlelet" (The jewelery find from Losonc). *Folia Archaeologica* 40 (1970):175-193.
- Hodder, Ian. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Hodder, Ian, ed. *Archaeological Theory in Europe*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Hodder, Ian, ed. *Archaeological Theory Today*. Cambridge: Polity, 2001.
- Hollander, Anne. *Seeing Through Clothes*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Höllrigl, József. "Magyar és törökös viseletformák a XVI–XVII. században" (Hungarian and Turkish-like forms of clothing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). In *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky, 359-385. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942].



\_\_\_\_\_. “A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei” (Archaeological finds from the crypt of the Protestant church in Csenger). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 48 (1934): 97-114.

Horváth, Antal. “Szombathelyi kereskedő üzleti leltára a XVII. század közepén” (An inventory of the stock of a merchant in Szombathely in the mid-seventeenth century). *Néprajzi Közlemények* 1 (1956): 256-272.

Horváth, Béla. “A tisztaörvényi pártá és pártáöv” (The *pártá* and belt from Tisztaörvény). *Folia Archaeologica* 21 (1970): 157-168.

Horváth, Ferenc. *A csengelei kunok ura és népe* (The lord of the Cumans of Csengele and his people). Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2001.

Horváth, József. “A XVII. századi győri végrendeletek viselettörténeti adalékaiból” (Data on costume history in seventeenth-century last wills from Győr). In *Viselet és történelem, viselet és jel. Az aszódi Petőfi Múzeumban elhangzott néprajzi konferencia előadásai* (Costume and history, costume and sign. Papers of the ethnological conference held in the Petőfi Museum in Aszód), ed. Zsuzsa Korkes, 5-22. Aszód: Petőfi Múzeum, 1996.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Falusi végrendeletek formai és tartalmi sajátosságai a Nyugat-Dunántúlon a 17-18. században” (The form and content of last wills from villages in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in western Transdanubia). *Soproni Szemle* 53 (1999): 356-369.

Hundsichler, Helmut. “Sampling or Proving ‘Reality?’ Co-ordinates for the Evaluation of Historical Archaeology Research.” In *The Age of Transition. The Archaeology of English Culture 1400-1600*, ed. David Gaimster and Paul Stammer, 45-60. The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15, Oxbow Monograph 98. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997.

Ilg, Ulrike. “The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe.” In *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson, 29-62. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

Hunt, Alan. *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996.

Istvánovits, Eszter and Valéria Kulcsár. “Az első nemzedékek problematikája a Kárpát-medencébe bevándorló sztyeppei népeknél” (The problem of the ‘first generation’ at steppe peoples immigrating to the Carpathian Basin). In *Nomád népvándorlások, magyar honfoglalás* (Nomad migrations, Hungarian Conquest), ed. Szabolcs Felföldi and Balázs Sinkovics, 21-24. Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 15. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2001.

Jankovics, József. “Régi magyar irodalmunk viseletképe” (The image of clothing in old Hungarian literature). In József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient

Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century), 5-21. Budapest: Európa, 1990.

Jankovics, József, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics. *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian Garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century). Budapest: Európa, 1990.

Jaritz, Gerhard. *Zwischen Augenblick und Ewigkeit : Einführung in die Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters*. Vienna: Böhlau, 1989.

J. Dankó, Katalin. "The 'Tiled Room' at Sárospatak Castle," in *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes, 19-26. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005

J. Dankó, Katalin. "Damóc-Temetődomb." *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. 1, 28 (1975): 116.

Johnson, Matthew. *Archaeological Theory. An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.

Jones, Siân. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Kalmár, János. "A füleki vár XV-XVII. századi emlékei" (The fifteenth- to seventeenth-century finds from Fülek castle). *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. 2 (1959): 13.

Kelemen, Lajos. "Sükösd György nagyteremi síremléke" (The tomb of György Sükösd in Nagyteremi). In *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* (Studies on art history), ed. Margit B. Nagy, 174. Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977.

Kelényi, Borbála. "Pártaviselet a 14-17. századi Magyarországon" (Wearing of *párta* in Hungary from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century). MA thesis, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Institute of Archaeology. Budapest, 2006.

Kemény, Lajos. "Az erdélyi fejedelem gyöngyfűzője" (The pearl decorator of the Transylvanian prince). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 29 (1895): 285.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Gyöngyfűzők és hímvarrók" (Specialists in pearl decoration and embroiderers). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 38 (1904): 446-447.

Kiss, Erika. "Arany művek, köves marhák" (Goldsmith's works, precious stones). In *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics, 31-42. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001.

K. Kovács, László. *A kolozsvári hóstátiak temetkezése* (The burial in the Hóstát district of Cluj). Repr. ed. of Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1944. Budapest: Gondolat, 2004.

- Klaniczay, Gábor. "Öltözködés és ideológia a középkorban" (Clothing and ideology in the Middle Ages). In *Divatszociológia* (The sociology of fashion), vol. 2, ed. Gábor Klaniczay and Katalin S. Nagy, 7-34. Budapest: Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont, 1982.
- Klaniczay, Gábor and Katalin S. Nagy, ed. *Divatszociológia* (The sociology of fashion). Budapest: Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont, 1982.
- K. Németh, András. "Csontosövek a középkori Magyarországon" (Bone-mounted belts from the medieval Hungary). In "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ("I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003), ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, 275-288. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005.
- Kohl, Philip L. "Diverse Approaches to the Ottoman Past. Toward a Globally Conceived, Regionally Specific Historical Archaeology." In *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire. Breaking New Ground*, ed. Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll, 253-260. New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers, 2000.
- Korek, József. "A zombor-bükkszállási 17. századi temető sírleletei" (The finds in the graves of the seventeenth-century cemetery at Zombor-Bükkszállás). *A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* (1992): 181-200.
- Koslin, Désirée and Janet Snyder. "Introduction." In *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress. Objects, Texts, Images*, ed. Désirée Koslin and Janet Snyder, 1-6. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress. Objects, Texts, Images*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Kovács, András. "Apafi György almakereki sírkápolnájáról" (On the burial chapel of György Apafi in Almakerék). *Református Szemle* 96 (2003): 632-633.
- Kovács, Annamária. "Court, Fashion and Representation: the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle Revisited." PhD Thesis, Central European University. Budapest, 1998.
- Kovács, Gyöngyi. *Török kerámia Szolnokon* (Turkish pottery in Szolnok). Szolnok: Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár, 1984.
- Kovács, Gyöngyi. "16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century Hungarian Pottery Types." *Antaeus* 19-20 (1990-1991): 169-180, 351-361.

- Kovács, Gyöngyi. “A barcsi török palánkvár kerámialeletei” (The ceramic finds from the Turkish palisade fort at Barcs). *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1998), 155-180.
- Kovács, Gyöngyi. “A bajcsai várásatás kerámia- és üvegleletei” (The ceramics and glass finds from the fort of Bajcsa). In *Weitshawar/Bajcsa-Vár. Egy stájer erődítmény Magyarországon a 16. század második felében. Kiállítási katalógus* (Weitshawar/Bajcsa-Vár. A Styrian fort in Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century. Exhibition catalog), ed. Gyöngyi Kovács, 63-69. Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2002.
- Kovács, Gyöngyi. “Some Possible Directions for Research into Ottoman-era Archaeological Finds in Hungary.” In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 257-266. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.
- Kovács, Gyöngyi. “Iznik Pottery in Hungarian Archaeological Research.” In *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes, 69-86. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005.
- Kovács, Gyöngyi ed. *Weitshawar/Bajcsa-Vár. Egy stájer erődítmény Magyarországon a 16. század második felében. Kiállítási katalógus* (Weitshawar/Bajcsa-Vár. A Styrian fort in Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century. Exhibition catalog). Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2002.
- Kovács, Gyöngyi and László Vándor. “Remarks on Archaeological Investigations into Smaller Ottoman-era Palisades in Hungary.” In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 109–112. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.
- Kovács, László. “Cowry Shells in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century Hungary.” *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 345-350. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.
- Kovacsics, József, ed. *Magyarország történeti demográfiája* (The historical demography of Hungary). Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1997.
- Kovalovszki, Júlia. “A kidei középkori temető (Méri István ásatása)” (The medieval cemetery in Kide [An archaeological excavation by István Méri]). In *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki, 23-24. Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986.
- Kovalovszki, Júlia, ed. *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri). Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986.

- Kövér, Béla. “A középkori sodrony-zománcz kérdéséhez” (On the problem of medieval cloisonné). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 12 (1892): 33.
- Kövér, Béla. “Újabb adatok az ötvösség történetéhez hazánkban” (New data on the history of goldsmith’s work in Hungary). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 17 (1897): 227-253.
- Kubinyi, András. “Über das Alltagsleben im spätmittelalterlichen Ungarn.” in *Alltag und materielle Kultur im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, ed. András Kubinyi and József Laszlovszky, 9-31. Medium Aevum Quotidianum 22. Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1991.
- Lajkó, Orsolya. “Post-medieval Pottery Finds from Hódmezővásárhely-Ótemplom.” In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 321-328. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.
- László, Csaba. “A balatonszőlősi református templom kutatása” (Archaeological research on the church of Balatonszőlős). *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 15 (1980): 113-124.
- László, Emőke. “A magyar nemesi viselet a családi arcképek tükrében” (The costume of the Hungarian nobility reflected by the family portraits). In *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek a Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988. március - augusztus* (Aristocratic ancestors’ galleries, family portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, Museum of Applied Arts and the Hungarian National Gallery. Hungarian National Gallery, March – August 1988), ed. Enikő Buzási, 35-44. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Textilmunkák” (Textiles). In Béla Radvánszky, *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* (Hungarian family life and households in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), reprint edition, vol. 1, 309-319. Budapest: Helikon, 1986.
- Lovag, Zsuzsa and Annamária T. Németh. “A tolnai XVI. századi kincslet” (The sixteenth-century treasure hoard from Tolna). *Folia Archaeologica* 25 (1974): 219-244
- Laszlovszky, József and Csilla Siklódi. “Archaeological Theory in Hungary since 1960: Theories without Theoretical Archaeology.” In *Archaeological Theory in Europe*, ed. Ian Hodder, 272-298. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Laszlovszky, József and Judith Rasson. “Post-medieval or Historical Archaeology: Terminology and Discourses in the Archaeology of the Ottoman Period.” In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya

Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 377-382. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.

Lázár, Sarolta. “Az egri vár törökkori magyar cserépedényei” (Hungarian ceramics from the Ottoman period of the castle of Eger). *Agria* 22 (1986): 35-63.

Lázár, Sarolta. “A bajóti római katolikus templom kutatása” (Archaeological research on the Catholic church in Bajót). *Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1999): 291-306.

Luby, Margit, of Benedekfalva. *A parasztélet rendje. Népi szokások, illendő magatartás, babonák Szatmár vármegyében* (The order of peasants’ life. Folk traditions, superstitions, and conventional behaviour in Szatmár County). Budapest: Nap, 2002.

Magyar, Kálmán. “Ispánsági és nemzetségi központok kutatása Somogyban I. Egyházak és temetők” (Archaeological research at the seats of the *comes* and kindreds 1. Churches and cemeteries). *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 4 (1981): 43-81.

Makkai, László. “Magyarok és rácok a Dunántúlon” (Hungarian and *Rác* population in Transdanubia). In *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol. 2, Magyarország története 3, 1430-1435. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Magyarok, szlovákok, németek a Felföldön” (Hungarians, Slovaks and Germans in Upper Hungary). In *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol. 2, Magyarország története 3, 1452-1456. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985.

Makkai, László and Zoltán Szász, ed. *Erdély története* (History of Transylvania). Vol 2, 1606-1830. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.

Marosi, Ernő. “A Képes Krónika értelmezéséhez” (On the interpretation of the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle). In *Kép és hasonmás. Művészet és valóság a 14-15. századi Magyarországon* (Image and Likeness. Art and Reality in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries in Hungary). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995.

Megay, Géza. “A miskolci avasi templom 1941. évi ásatása” (Excavation in the church on Avas in Miskolc in 1941). *A Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 9 (1970): 129-171.

Mérai, Dóra. “A nagykároly-bobáldi kora újkori temető” (The early modern cemetery in Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld). MA thesis, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Institute of Archaeology. Budapest, 2005.

Mentges, Gabriele. “Vestimentäres Mapping. Trachtenbücher und Trachtenhandschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts.” *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 46 (2004): 19-36.

- Méri, István. "Középkori temetőink feltárásmódjáról. Megfigyelések a kidei XII-XIX. századi temető ásatásakor" (On the method of excavating medieval cemeteries. Notes on the research on the twelfth-nineteenth-century cemetery at Kide). In *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki, 26-40. Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986.
- Mihalik, József. "A nagybányai ékszerlelet" (The jewelry hoard from Nagybánya). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 26 (1906): 116-129.
- Mithay, Sándor. "A győr-gabonavásártéri XVI-XVII. századi temető" (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cemetery at Győr-Gabonavásártér). *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae* (1985): 185-198.
- Mojzsis, Dóra. "XVI-XVII. századi női fejdíszek a nagylózsai leletanyagból" (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century headgear in the finds from Nagylózs). *Folia Archaeologica* 35 (1984): 185-210.
- Nagy, Géza. "A régi kunok temetkezése" (The burial of the ancient Cumans). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 13 (1983): 105-117.
- Németi, Ioan. "Descoperiri arheologice din hotarul oraşului Carei" (Archaeological finds in the area of Carei). *Studii şi Comunicări, Satu Mare* 5-6 (1981-82): 167-181.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Descoperiri arheologice de la Carei-Bobald în anul 1994* (Archaeological finds at Carei-Bobald in the year 1994). Cercetări Arheologice Aria Nord Tracă 1. Bucharest: Institutul Român de Tracologie, 1995.
- Newton, Stella Mary. *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince. A Study of the years 1340-1365*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Dress of the Venetians 1495-1525*. Aldershot, UK: Scholar Press, 1988.
- Oborni, Teréz. "Az Erdélyi Fejedelemség összeírásainak demográfiai forrásértéke" (The demographic documentary value of censuses in the Transylvanian Principality). In *Magyarország történeti demográfiája* (The historical demography of Hungary), ed. József Kovacsics, 187-192. Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1997.
- Ortutay, Gyula, ed. *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* (The encyclopedia of Hungarian ethnography). Vol. 2. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979.
- Pálffy, Géza. *A tizenhatodik század története* (The sixteenth century). Magyar Századok 6. Budapest: Pannonica, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (up to the Early Eighteenth Century)." In *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military*

*Confines in the Era of the Ottoman Conquest*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, 3-69. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Impact of the Ottoman Rule on Hungary." *Hungarian Studies Review* 28, 1-2, Special Volume. Hungary: 1001-2001. A Millennial Retrospection (2001): 109-132.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Border Defense System in Hungary in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. László Veszprémy and Béla K. Király, 111-135. War and Society in East Central Europe 37; East European Monographs 621, Atlantic Studies on Society in Change 114. New York: Atlantic Research and Publications, 2002.

Parádi, Nándor. "A Tiszanána-Ónánai ásatás" (The excavation at Tiszanána-Ónána). *Folia Archaeologica* 44 (1995): 151-189.

Pigler, Andor. "Portraying the Dead." *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 4 (1957): 1-75.

Pusztai, Tamás. "The Pottery of the Turkish Palisade at Báticasék." In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 301-310. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.

Pakucs, Mária. "The Trade of Sibiu in the Sixteenth Century: the Evidence of the Town's Custom Registers." PhD thesis, Central European University. Budapest, 2004.

Pálóczi Horváth, András. "A Lászlófalván 1969-74. évben végzett régészeti ásatások eredményei" (Results of the excavations at Lászlófalva between 1969 and 1974). *Cumania* 4 (1976): 275-303.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Le costume coman au Moyen âge." *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1980): 403-427.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Régészeti adatok a kunok viseletéhez" (Archaeological data on the costume of the Cumans). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 109 (1982): 89-107.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians. Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary*. Budapest: Corvina, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Nomád népek a kelet-európai steppén és a középkori Magyarországon" (Nomadic peoples on the Eastern European steppe and Hungary). In *Zúduló sasok. Új honfoglalók – besenyők, kunok, jászok – a középkori Alföldön és Mezőföldön* (New conquerors – Pechenegs, Cumans and Iasians – on the Hungarian plain), ed. Péter Havassy, 7-36. Gyula: Erkel Ferenc Múzeum, 1996.



- Papp, Adrienn. "Depiction of Pomegranates and Sárospatak Wall-Tiles in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries." In *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes, 45-50. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005.
- Piponnier, Françoise and Perrine Mane. *Dress in the Middle Ages*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Pósta, Béla. "Teleki Mihály sírja" (The grave of Mihály Teleki). *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából* 4 (1913): 3-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A gyulafehérvári székesegyház sírleletei" (Grave finds from the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár). *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából* 8 (1918): 1-203.
- Pulszky, Károly and Jenő Radisics. *Az ötvösség remekei a magyar történeti ötvöskiállításon* (The masterpieces of goldsmith's work at the Hungarian historical goldsmiths' exhibition). Vol. 2. Budapest: 1885.
- Radvánszky, Béla. *Magyar családélet és háztartás a XVI. és XVII. században* (Hungarian family life and households in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). 3 vols. Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1896.
- Richardson, Catherine. "Introduction." In *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson 1-19. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Clothing Culture 1350-1650*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Ridovics, Anna, ed. *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001.
- Ritoók, Ágnes. "A magyarországi falusi templom körüli temetők feltárásának újabb eredményei" (The Latest Results of Excavations of Village Churchyards in Hungary). *Folia Archaeologica* 46 (1997): 165-176.
- Ritoók, Ágnes and Erika Simonyi, ed. "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ("I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003). Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005.
- Rosner, Gyula. "Szentendre, Paprikabíró u. 5." (Szentendre, Paprikabíró street No. 5). *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. 1, 20 (1947): 101.
- Rusu, Adrian Andrei. *Gotic și Renaștere la Vințu de Jos* (Gothic and Renaissance in Vințu de Jos). Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, 1998.

- Rusu, Adrian Andrei. *Cetatea Oradea. Monografie arheologică, 1. Zona palatului episcopal* (The castle of Oradea. Archaeological Monograph, 1. The zone of the episcopal palace). Oradea: Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, 2002.
- Ruttkay, Alexander T. "Archeologický výskum kostola sv. Michala v Nitre, časť Dražovce a v jeho okolí – informácia o výsledkoch" (Archaeological research on the church of St. Michael in Dražovce, a part of Nitra, and its surroundings – a report on the results). *Archaeologia Historica* 22 (1997): 9-20.
- Ruttkay, Alexander T. "A szlovákiai templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatásáról" (On the research of churchyard cemeteries in Slovakia). In "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ("I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003), ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, 31-58. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005.
- R. Várkonyi, Ágnes, ed. *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686). 2 vols. Magyarország története 3. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985.
- R. Várkonyi, Ágnes, ed. *Magyar reneszánsz udvari kultúra* (Renaissance courtly culture in Hungary). Budapest: Gondolat, 1987.
- Sackett, James R. "Style and Ethnicity in Archaeology: The Case for Isochretism." In *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. Margaret W. Conkey and Christine Hastorf, 32-43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Sarosácz, György. "Baranyai délszláv népszokások II. Temetkezési szokások a sokácoknál és a bosnyákoknál" (Folk traditions of the Southern Slavs in Baranya county, 2. Funeral customs among the *Sokac* and the Bosniacs). *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 13 (1968): 152-168.
- Schmitt, Jean-Claude. "Images and the Historian." In *History and Images. Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley, 19-44. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
- Schubert, Gabriella. "A délkelet-európai népek viseletei – szemiotikai megközelítésben" (Costumes of peoples in South-Eastern Europe – a semiotic approach). *Ethnographia* 105 (1994): 429-431.
- Selmeczi, László. "Adatok és szempontok a kunok régészeti kutatásához Szolnok megyében" (Data and aspects of the archaeological research on Cumans in Szolnok County). *Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Évkönyv* (1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A jászok betelepülése a régészeti leletek tükrében" (Immigration of Iasians reflected by the archaeological finds). In *Zúduló sasok. Új honfoglalók – besenyők, kunok, jászok – a középkori Alföldön és Mezőföldön* (New

conquerors – Pechenegs, Cumans and Iasians – on the Hungarian plain), ed. Péter Havassy, 67-80. Gyula: Erkel Ferenc Múzeum, 1996.

\_\_\_\_\_ “A magyarországi jászok régészeti kutatása” (Archaeological research on Iasians in Hungary). In *Zúduló sasok. Új honfoglalók – besenyők, kunok, jászok – a középkori Alföldön és Mezőföldön* (New conquerors – Pechenegs, Cumans and Iasians – on the Hungarian plain), ed Péter Havassy, Gyula: 81-88. Erkel Ferenc Múzeum, 1996.

Shanks, Michael and Christopher Tilley. *Re-constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Routledge, 1992.

Simon, Zoltán. “Wall-Tiles from Regéc.” In *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes, 27-34. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005.

Simonyi, Erika. “Középkori és kora újkori temető Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilváson” (A medieval and early modern cemetery at Felsőzsolca-Nagyszilvás). In “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok” *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* (“I walk through the valley of the shadow of death” Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003), ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, 305-314. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005.

S. Laczkovits, Emőke. “16-17. századi kéttornyúlaki párták és párhuzamaik” (Sixteenth- and seventeenth- century examples of pártá from Kéttornyúlak and their analogies). *Veszprémi Történelmi Tár* (1989): 31-44.

Simon, Zsolt. “A baricsi és kölpényi harmincadok a 16. század elején” (The thirtieth of Barics and Köpény in the early sixteenth century). *Századok* 140 (2006): 817-882.

Sutton, Anne. “Dress and Fashion c. 1470.” In *Daily Life in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell, 5-26. Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing, 1998.

Szabó, János Győző. “Poroszló, Földvár utca” (Poroszló, Földvár street). *Régészeti Füzetek* Ser. 1, 32 (1979): 132.

Szabó, János Győző. “A keleti kereszténység egyik ismertetőjele temetkezéseinkben” (A mark of Eastern Christianity in burials). *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 28 (1983): 83-98.

Szabó, Kálmán. *Az alföldi magyar nép művelődéstörténeti emlékei* (The culture historical remains of the population of the Hungarian Great Plain). Budapest: Országos Magyar Történelmi Múzeum, 1938.

Szabó, Péter. “A fegyverzet szerepe a főúri gyászszerartáson” (The role of the armour in noble funeral ceremonies) *Ars Hungarica* 15 (1986): 115-123.

- Szádeczky, Lajos. "A küküllővári sírleletek és régiségek" (Finds and antiquities from Küküllővár). *Erdélyi Múzeum* 14 (1897): 286-290, 293-295.
- Székely, György, ed. *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században* (Studies on the history of the peasantry in fourteenth-century Hungary). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1953.
- Szende, Katalin. *Otthon a városban: társadalom és anyagi kultúra a középkori Sopronban, Pozsonyban és Eperjesen* (Home in the town: Society and material culture in medieval Sopron, Bratislava and Prešov). Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2004.
- Szendrei, János. "Adatok az erdélyi női viselet történetéhez" (New data on the history of female costume in Transylvania). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 27 (1907): 193-205.
- Szendrei, János. "Adatok az erdélyi férfi viselet történetéhez" (New data on the history of male costume in Transylvania). *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 28 (1908): 97-122.
- Szőcs Péter, Dóra Mérai, and Jacqueline T. Eng. "A nagykároly-bobáldi temető és templom 2001. évi régészeti kutatása" (Archaeological investigation of the Nagykároly-Bobáld cemetery and church in 2001). In "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ("I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003), ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, 315-324. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005.
- Szőke, Béla Miklós. "Alsórajk-Kastélydomb." *Antaeus Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 23 (1996): 251-288.
- Takács, Miklós. "Egy vitatott kéztartásról" (On a debated gesture). In "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ("I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003), ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, 85-101. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005.
- Telcean, Ecaterina. "Tezaurul de la Visuia (sec. XVI)" (The treasure of Visuia, sixteenth century). *File de Istorie* 4 (1976): 205-216.
- Tomka, Gábor. "Finjans, Pipes, Grey Jugs. 'Turkish' Objects in the Hungarian Fortresses of Borsod County." In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 311-320. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.

- Tompos, Lilla. "Kamuka és korcovány. Textíliák és öltözékek" ("Kamuka" and "korcovány." Textiles and garments). In *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics, 9-26. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Oriental and Western Influences on Hungarian Attire." In *Turkish Flowers. Studies on Ottoman Art in Hungary*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes, 87-100. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005.
- Turnau, Irena. *History of Dress in Central and Eastern Europe from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Warsaw: Institute of the History of Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1991.
- Tusor, Péter, ed. *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója emlékére* (Festschrift for the seventieth birthday of Ágnes R. Várkonyi). Budapest: ELTE BTK, 1998.
- Varga, János. *Jobbágyrendszer a magyarországi feudalizmus kései szakaszában 1566-1767* (The system of villainage in the late period of the feudalism in Hungary 1566-1767). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969.
- V. Ember, Mária. "Az egri Rozália kápolna textiljei" (Textiles from the Rosalie chapel in Eger). *Folia Archaeologica* 9 (1957): 119-236.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Az egri Rozália kápolna cipői" (Shoes from the Rosalie chapel in Eger). *Folia Archaeologica* 13 (1961): 251-268.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Magyar viseletformák a XVI. és XVII. században" (Hungarian forms of clothing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). *Folia Archaeologica* 18 (1966-67): 205-226.
- V. Ember, Mária. "XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából" (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century articles of clothing from the crypt of the church at Sárospatak). *Folia Archaeologica* 19 (1968): 151-184.
- Veszprémy, László and Béla K. Király, ed. *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History. War and Society in East Central Europe 37; East European Monographs 621; Atlantic Studies on Society in Change 114*. New York: Atlantic Research and Publications, 2002.
- V. Szathmári, Ibolya. "A debreceni ún. 'gyöngyös-bogláros' pártá" (*Párta* from Debrecen decorated with beads and *boglár*). *A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve* (1991): 193-224.
- V. Székely, György. "Differentiation or Homogenisation? Structural Changes in the Composition of Coin Finds in Sixteenth-Century Hungary." In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the*

*Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 337-344. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.

Walther, Rolf. "Die Trachtenbilder im Thesaurus Picturarum des Dr. Markus zum Lamm." *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 13 (1971): 77-96.

Weckwerth, Alfred. "Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1957): 147-185.

Wellmann, Imre. "Magyarország népességének fejlődése a 18. században" (The development of the population of Hungary in the eighteenth century). In *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Győző Ember and Gusztáv Heckenast, vol. 1, 25-39. Magyarország története 4. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985.

Wicker, Erika. "Muzulmán elemek a hódoltság kori rácok temetkezési szokásaiban" (Muslim elements in the burial customs of the *Rác* [Southern Slav] population in the period of the Turkish Conquest). *Cumania* 18 (2002): 95-124.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary" In *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács, 237-248. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz" (New data on the burial customs of the Southern Slav population in the period of the Turkish Conquest). *Cumania* 19 (2003): 19-84.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Újabb adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz" (New data on the burial customs of Southern Slav population in the period of the Ottoman conquest). In "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ("I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003), ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, 325-332. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A hódoltság kori balkáni népesség régészeti hagyatékának kutatása" (Research on the Balkan population in the period of the Ottoman Conquest in Bács-Kiskun county). *Múzeumi kutatások Bács-Kiskun megyében az ezredfordulón* 10 (1999-2005): 19-29.

Wicker, Erika and Mihály Köhegyi. "A katymári XVI-XVII. századi rác temető" (The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *Rác* [Southern Slav] cemetery at Katymár). *Cumania* 18 (2002): 5-94.

Wobst, H. Martin. "Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange." In *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, ed. Charles E. Cleland, 317-342. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1977.

Yentsch, Anne and Mary C. Beaudry. "American Material Culture in Mind, Thought, and Deed." in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder, 214-240. Cambridge: Polity, 2001.

Zimányi, Vera. "Városfejlődés és polgárság" (Development of towns and the burghers). In *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), *Magyarország története* 3, vol. 1, ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, 353-383. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Magyarország 16-17. századi demográfiatörténeti vizsgálatának problémái" (The problems of research on the demographical history of Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). In *Magyarország történeti demográfiája* (The historical demography of Hungary), ed. József Kovacsics, 193-196. Budapest: Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1997.

Zomborka, Márta and Emil Ráduly. "Vác, Fehérek temploma, kriptafeltárás 1994-95" (Vác, Dominican church, excavation of the crypt 1994-95), *Magyar Múzeumok* (1996): 3-14.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Finds of the Crypt of the Dominican Church in Vác." *Hungarian Museums*, Special English Language Edition (2000): 26-28.



## APPENDIX

### ILLUSTRATIONS

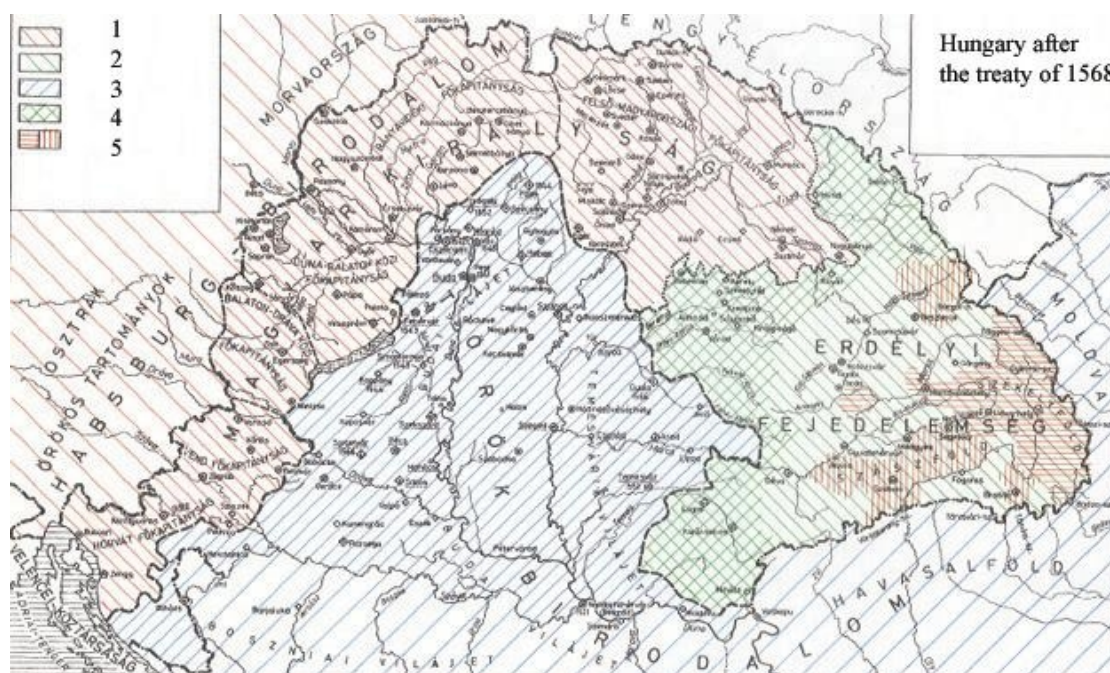


Figure 1. Hungary after the treaty of 1568. 1. Hungarian Kingdom. 2. Transylvanian Principality. 3. Ottoman-Turkish Empire. 4. The *Partium*, areas annexed to Transylvania. 5. Sekler and Saxon territories in Transylvania. Map 5 from *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol 1, *Magyarország története 3* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985).

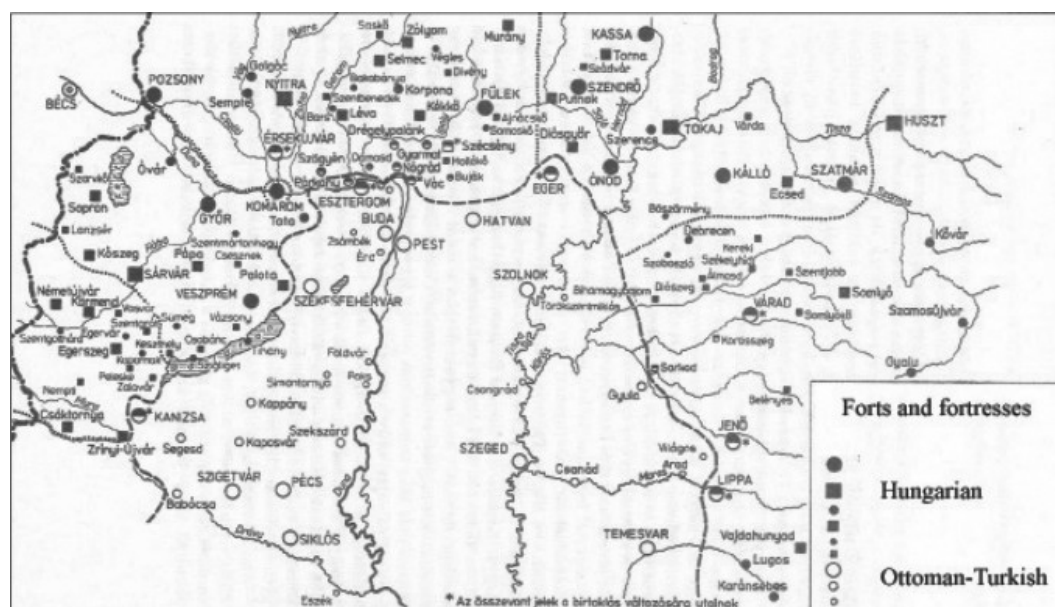


Figure 2. Hungarian and Ottoman Turkish forts and fortresses in Transylvania. Map 11 from *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol 1, *Magyarország története 3* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985).





Figure 3. The Ottoman-Turkish advancement. 1. Ottoman-Turkish territory. 2. 1300-1483. 3. 1514-1551. 4. 1551-1562. 5. Area of Hungary under Ottoman-Turkish rule. 6. Subjected areas. 7. Properties of Venice. 8. The boundary of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire in 1672. 9. The boundary of Hungary until 1526. Map 2 from *Magyarország története 1526-1686* (History of Hungary 1526-1686), ed. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, vol 1, *Magyarország története* 3. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985), 102.

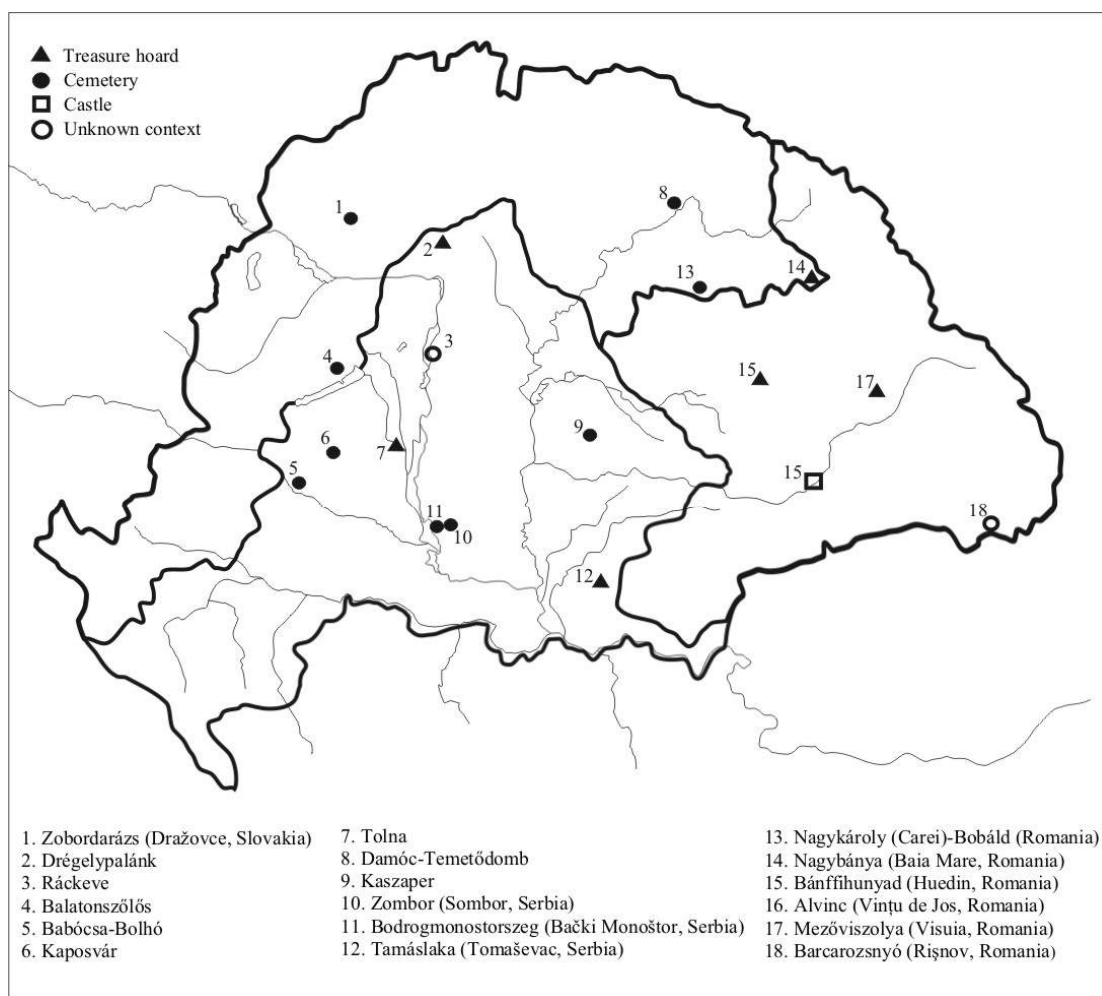


Figure 4. Distribution of hairpins with large spherical head in Hungary. Prepared by the author.

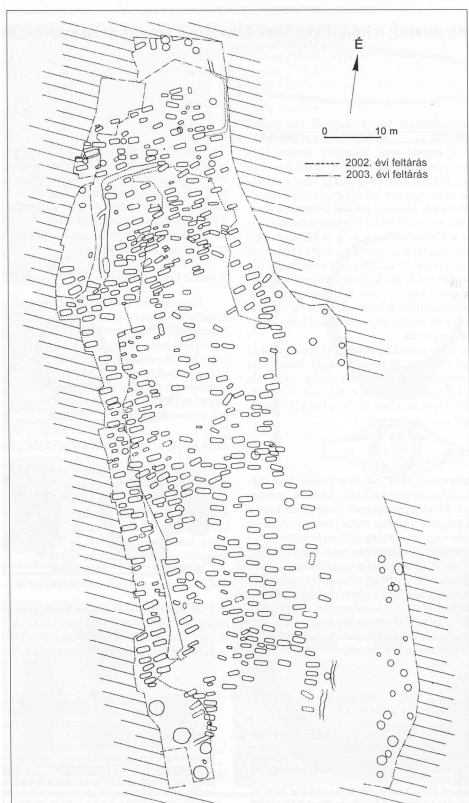


Figure 5. Plan of the Southern Slav cemetery at Bácsalmás-Óalmás. Figure 1 from Erika Wicker, “Újabb adatok a hódoltság kori délszlávok temetkezési szokásaihoz” (New data on the burial customs of Southern Slav population in the period of the Ottoman conquest), in Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, ed. “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok” *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* (“I walk through the valley of the shadow of death” Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 326.



Figure 6. Photograph of trench S6A in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld. Field documentation by Péter Levente Szőcs.

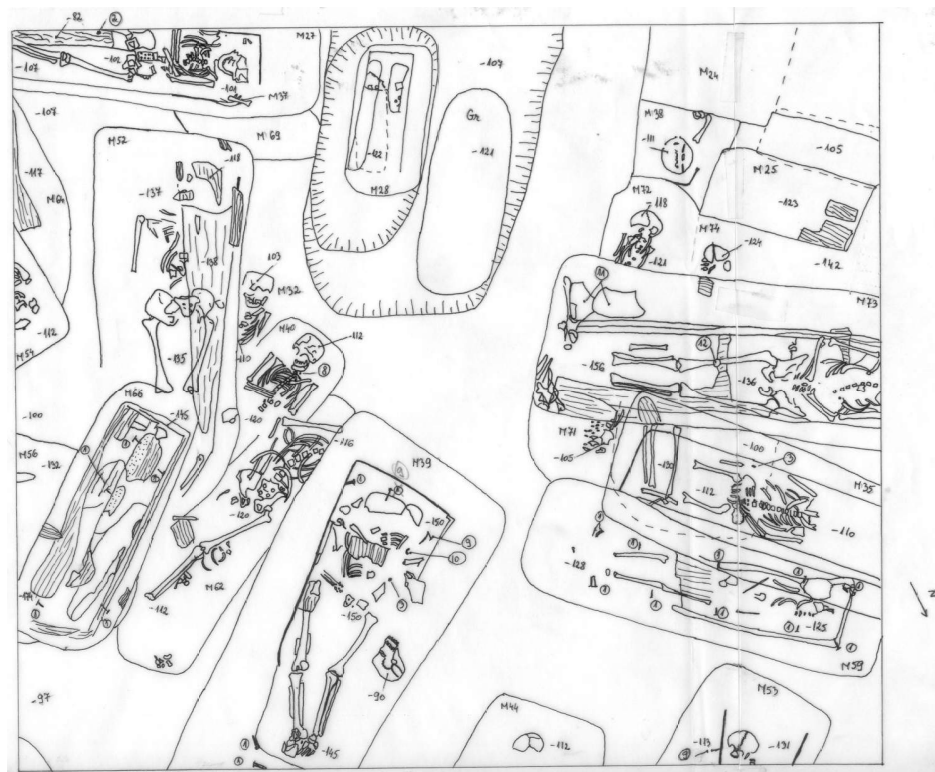


Figure 7. Plan of trench S6B in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld. Field documentation by Péter Levente Szöcs.

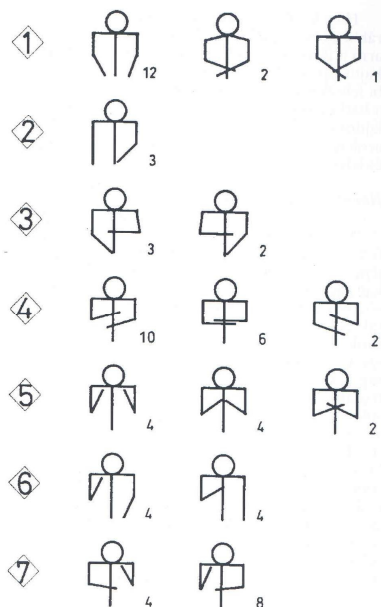


Figure 8. Variations of the positions of the arms in the Souther Slav cemetery at Bácsalmás-Óalmás. Figure 2 from Erika Wicker, "A Serb Cemetery from the Ottoman Era in Hungary," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 239.

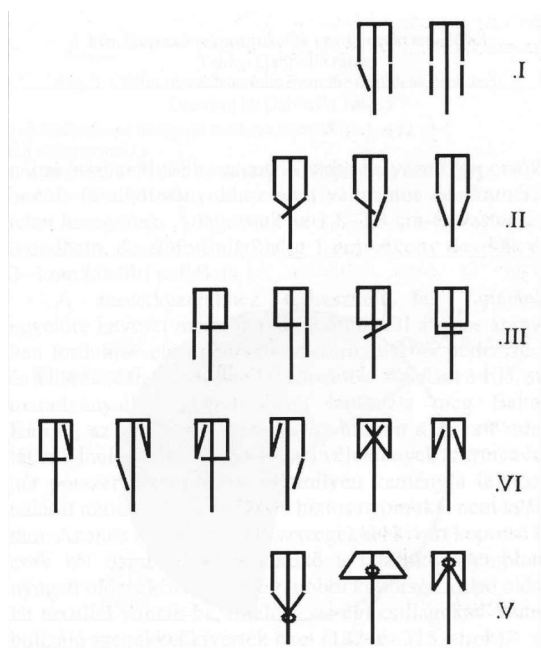


Figure 9. Variations of the positions of the arms in the churchyard cemetery at Óföldsé. Figure 4 from Mária Béres, "Az óföldséi temető üzenete" (The heritage of the cemetery at Óföldsé), in Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi, ed. "... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok" *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2003. május 13-16. között megtartott konferencia előadásai* ("I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" Research on medieval village churchyards. Papers of a conference held in the Hungarian National Museum, 13-16 March, 2003) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005), 300.

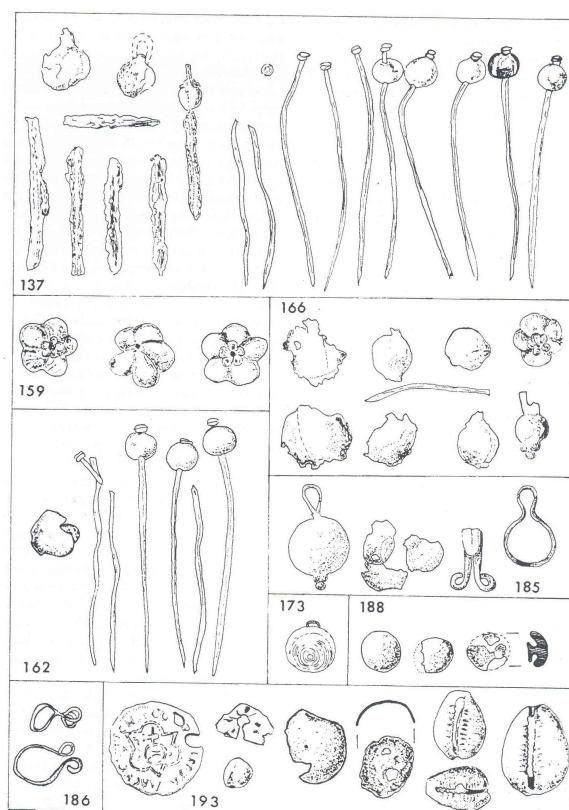


Figure 10. Finds from the Southern Slav cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató. Figure 6 from Attila Gaál, "The Sixteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary: Papers of a Conference Held at the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 24-26 May 2000*, ed. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 228.





Figure 11. Hairpins from grave 39 in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly-Bobáld. Photograph by Péter Levente Szőcs.

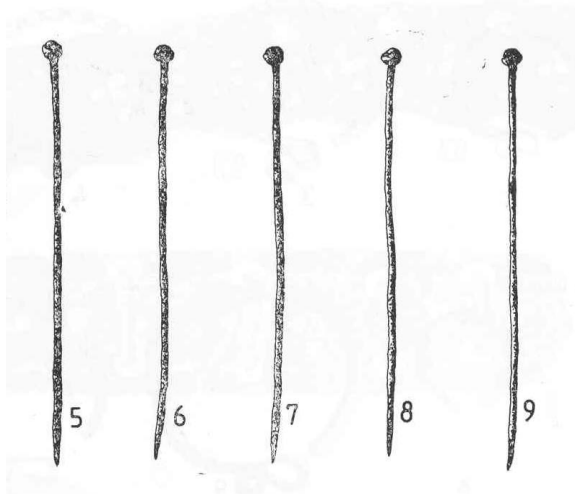


Figure 12. Hairpins from grave 995 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Plate 10 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 57.

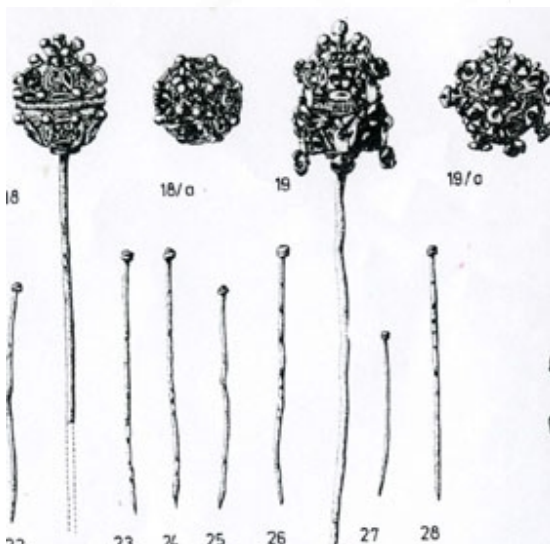


Figure 13. Hairpins from grave 773 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Plate 2 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 49.

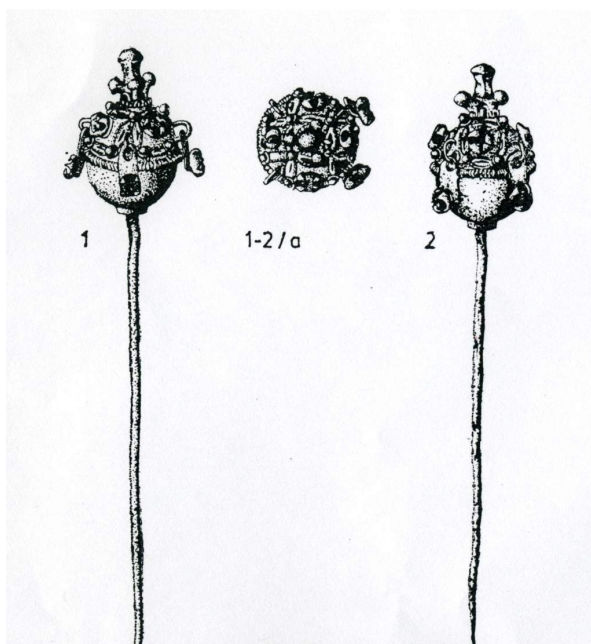


Figure 14. Hairpins from grave 773 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Plate 3 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 50.

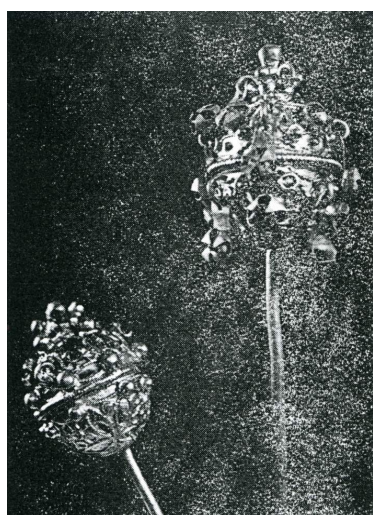


Figure 15. Hairpins from grave 773 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Figure 30 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 21.

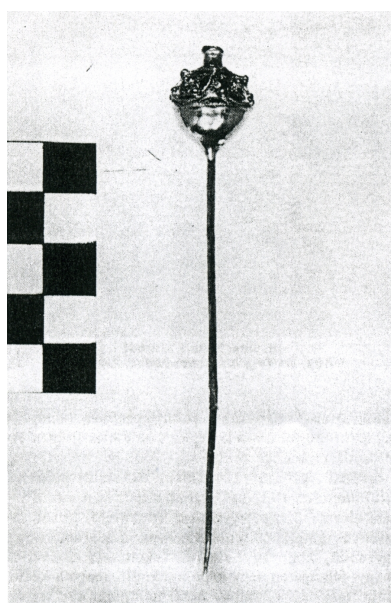


Figure 16. Hairpin from grave 4 at Balatonszőlős. Figure 12 from Csaba László, “A balatonszőlősi református templom kutatása” (Archaeological research on the church of Balatonszőlős), *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 15 (1980): 120.

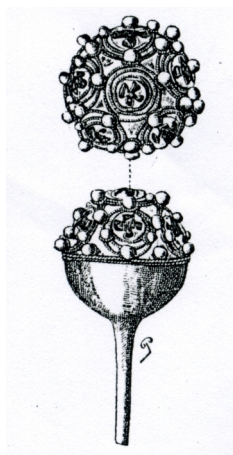


Figure 17. Hairpin from the treasure hoard from Nagybánya. Figure 4 in József Mihalik, “A nagybányai ékszerlelet” (The jewelry hoard from Nagybánya), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 26 (1906): 121.



Figure 18. Hairpin from the churchyard cemetery at Zobordarázs. Figure 8 on table 4 from Alexander T. Ruttkay, “Archeologický výskum kostola sv. Michala v Nitre, časť Dražovce a v jeho okolí – informácia o výsledkoch” (Archaeological research on the church of St. Michael in Dražovce, a part of Nitra, and its surroundings – a report on the results), *Archaeologia Historica* 22 (1997).

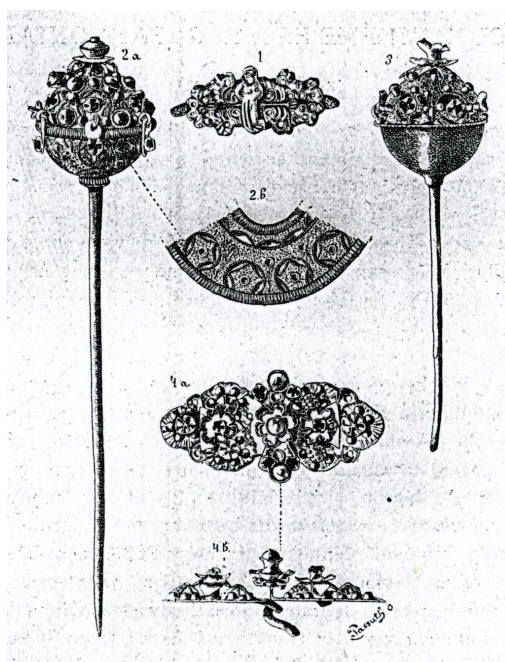


Figure 19. Hairpins from the treasure hoard from Drégelypalánk. Page 33 from Béla Kövér, “A középkori sodrony-zománcz kérdéséhez” (On the problem of medieval cloisonné), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 12 (1892).



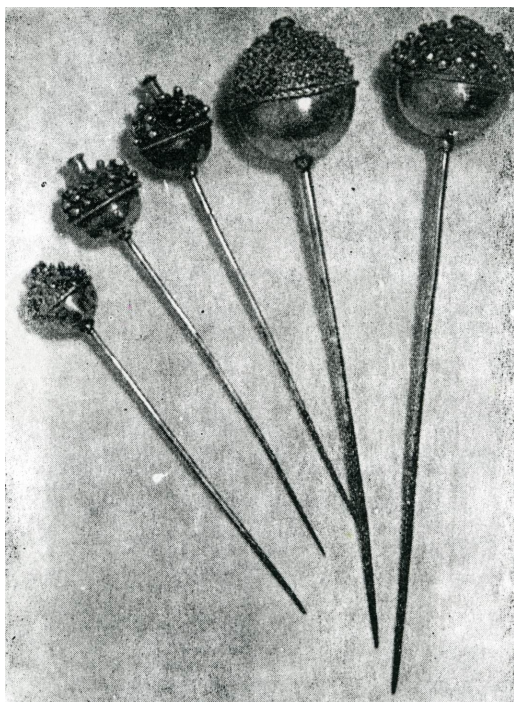


Figure 20. Hairpins from the treasure hoard from Huedin (Bánffihunyad, Romania). Plate 1 from Ana Maria Cipăianu, "Din istoricul orfevrăriei transilvănene: acele de păr din tezaurul de la Huedin," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 10 (1973): 654.

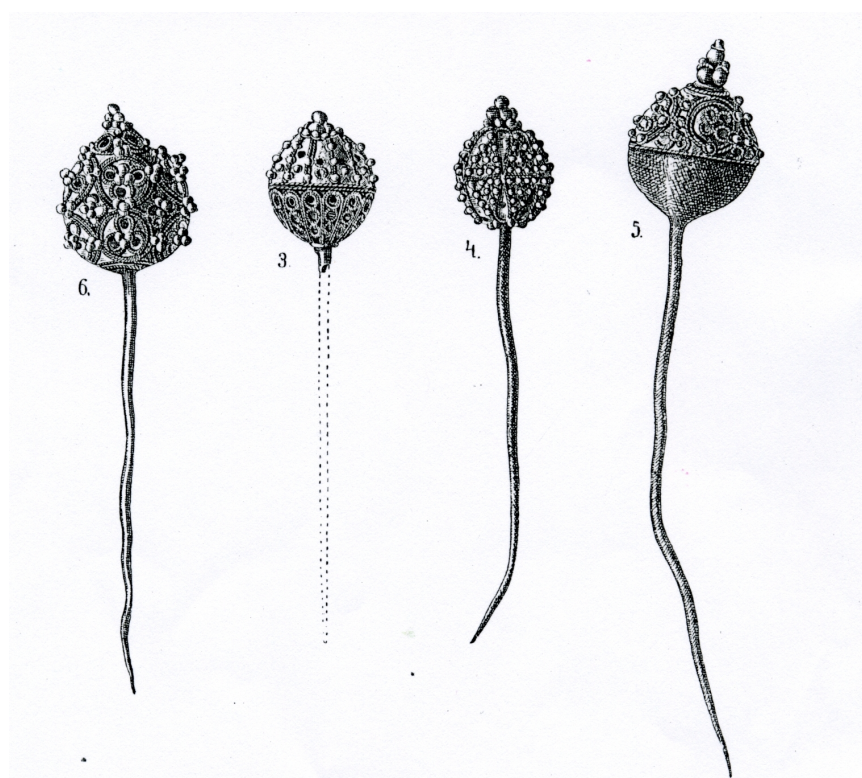


Figure 21. Hairpins from the treasure hoard from Tomaševac. Plate 13 from Béla Kövér, "Újabb adatok az ötvösség történetéhez hazánkban" (New data on the history of goldsmith's work in Hungary), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 17 (1897): 247.

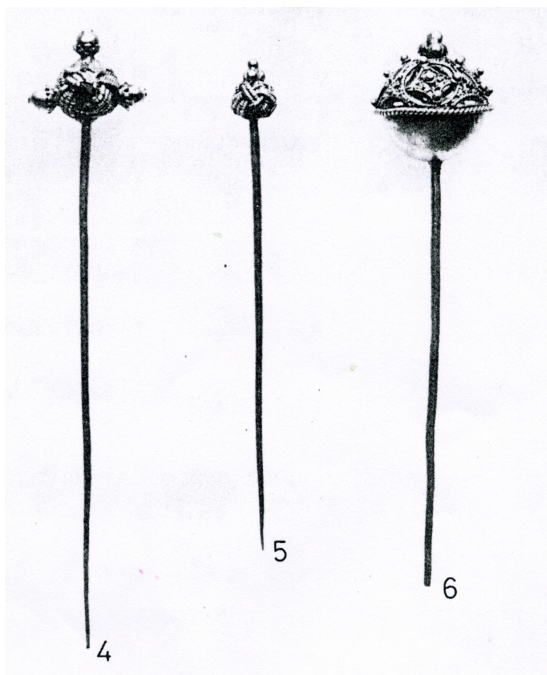


Figure 22. Hairpins from the treasure hoard from Tolna. Figure 6 from Zsuzsa Lovag and Annamária T. Németh, “A tolnai XVI. századi kincslelet” (The sixteenth-century treasure hoard from Tolna), *Folia Archaeologica* 25 (1974): 229.

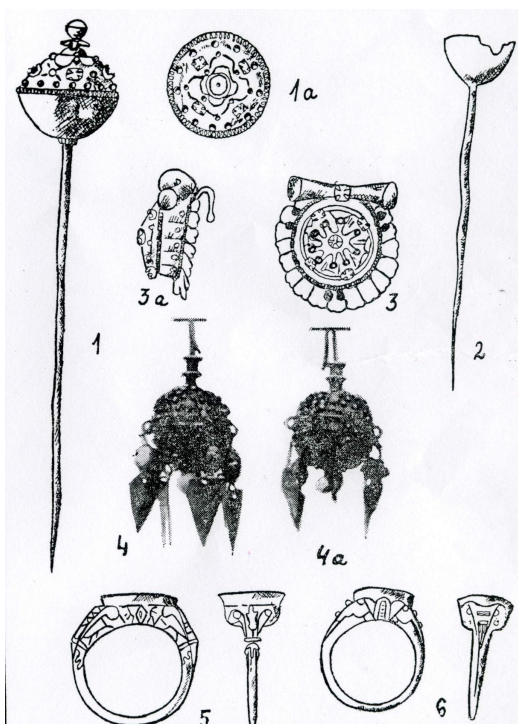


Figure 23. Objects of the treasure hoard from Visuia (Mezőviszolya, Romania). Figure 1 on plate 2 from Ecaterina Telcean, “Tezaurul de la Visuia (sec. XVI)” (The treasure of Visuia, sixteenth century), *File de Istorie* 4 (1976).



Figure 24. Hairpin found in the castle of Alvinc (Vințu de Jos, Romania). Figure 25 from Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Gothic și Renaștere la Vințu de Jos* (Gothic and Renaissance in Vințu de Jos) (Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, 1998), 130.



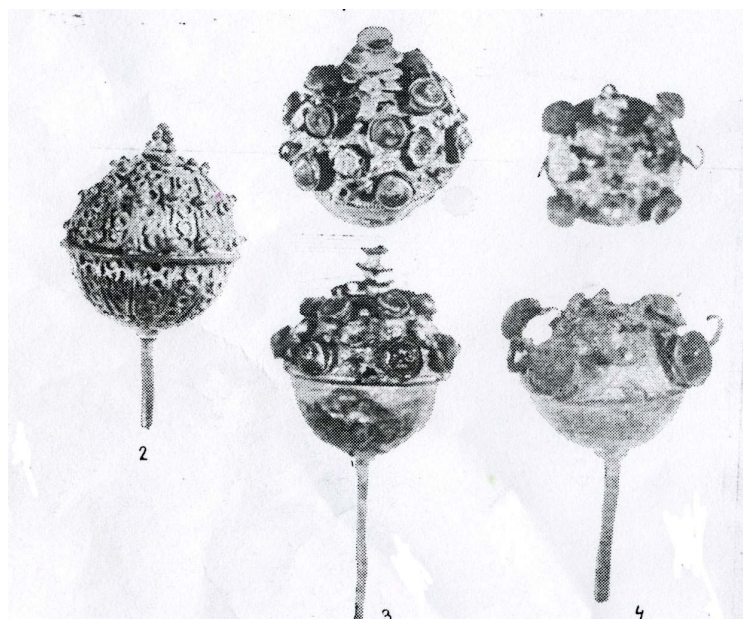


Figure 25. Hairpins from the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld (Romania). Plate 44 from Ioan Némethi, “Descoperiri arheologice din hotarul oraşului Carei” (Archaeological finds in the area of Carei), *Studii şi Comunicări, Satu Mare* 5-6 (1981-82).

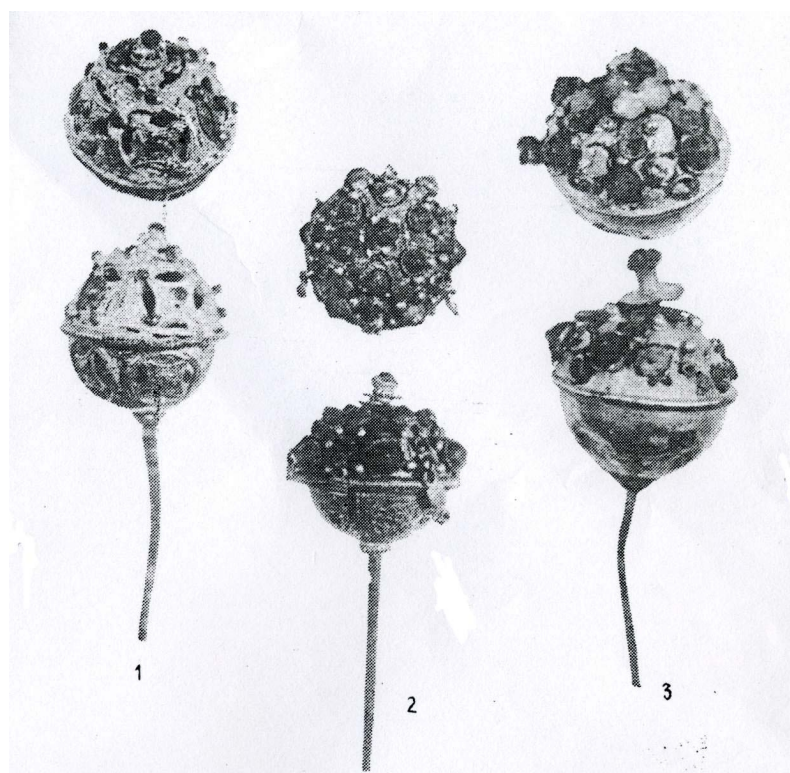


Figure 26. Hairpins from the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld (Romania). Plate 45 from Ioan Némethi, “Descoperiri arheologice din hotarul oraşului Carei” (Archaeological finds in the area of Carei), *Studii şi Comunicări, Satu Mare* 5-6 (1981-82).



Figure 27. Pendant from the Southern Slav cemetery at Katymár. Figure 7 from Erika Wicker and Mihály Kőhegyi, “A katymári XVI-XVII. századi rác temető” (The sixteenth-seventeenth century Rác [Southern Slav] cemetery at Katymár), *Cumania* 18 (2002): 91.

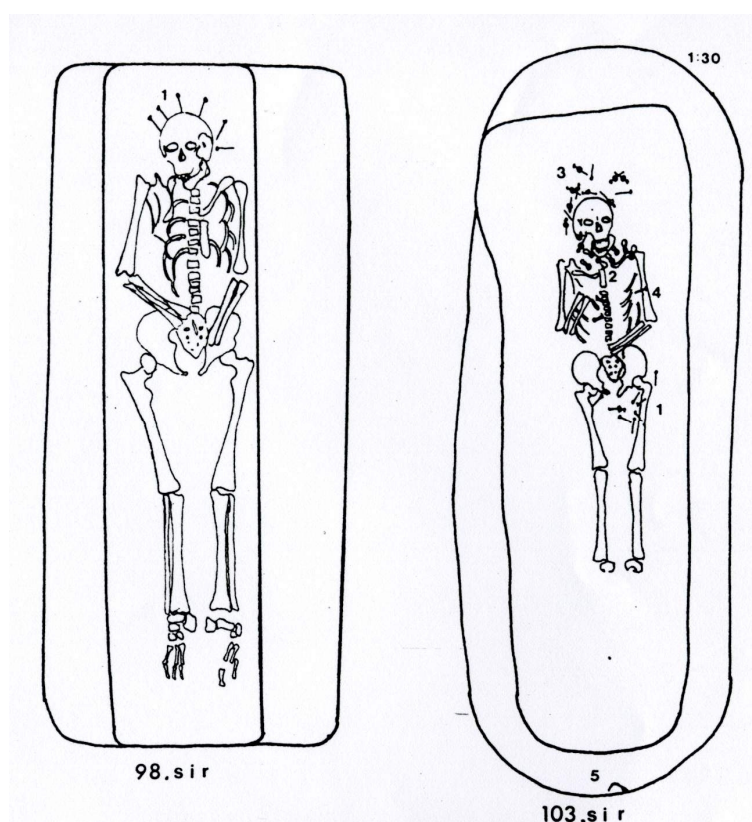


Figure 28. The disposition of hairpins in graves 98 and 103 in the Southern Slav cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató. Figure 18 from Attila Gaál, “A dombóvár-békatói 16-17. századi temető” (The sixteenth-seventeenth century cemetery at Dombóvár-Békató), *A Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 10-11 (1979-80): 197.

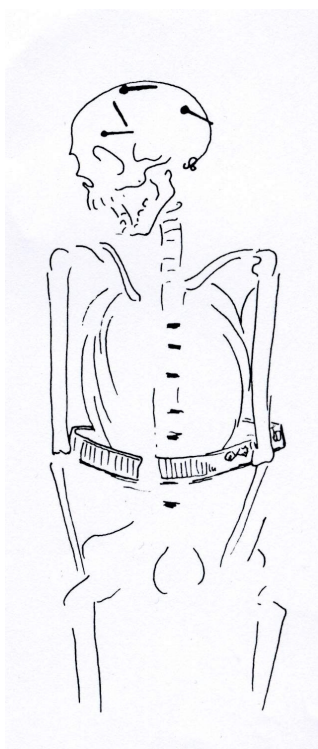


Figure 29. Hairpins, iron clasps and belt in grave 110 in the churchyard cemetery at Kide. Figure 17 from Júlia Kovalovszki, “A kidei középkori temető (Méri István ásatása)” (The medieval cemetery in Kide [An archaeological excavation by István Méri]), in *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986), 22.

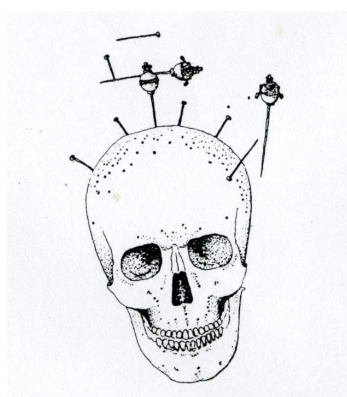


Figure 30. Hairpins in grave 773 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Figure 28 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár 2), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 20.

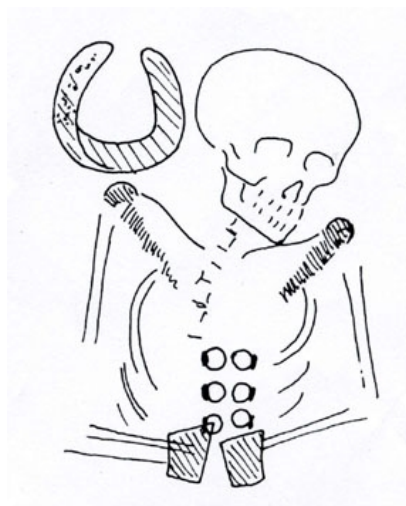


Figure 31. Remains of the costume and headgear in grave 108/a in the churchyard cemetery at Kide. Figure 16 from Júlia Kovalovszki, “A kidei középkori temető (Méri István ásatása)” (The medieval cemetery in Kide [An archaeological excavation by István Méri]), in *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986), 21.



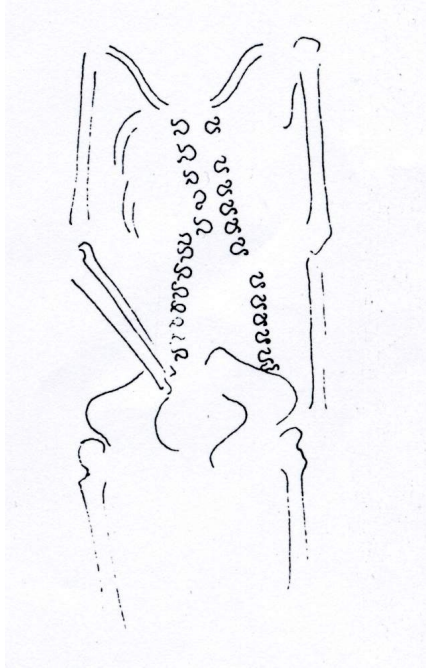


Figure 32. Iron loops in grave 103 in the churchyard cemetery at Kide. Figure 15 from Júlia Kovalovszki, “A kidei középkori temető (Méri István ásatása)” (The medieval cemetery in Kide [An archaeological excavation by István Méri]), in *A magyar falu régésze. Méri István* (The archaeologist of Hungarian villages. István Méri), ed. Júlia Kovalovszki (Cegléd: Kossuth Lajos Múzeum, 1986), 21.



Figure 33. Iron loops of the corset from grave 14 in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld (Romania). Photograph by Péter Levente Szócs.



Figure 34. Corset from a burial at Boldva. Figure 40 from Katalin E. Nagy, “Die Tracht eines vornehmen ungarischen Mädchens aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Restaurierung und Rekonstruktion des Boldvaer Fundes,” *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 65.

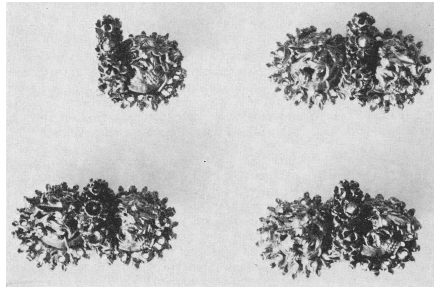


Figure 35. Clasps from the treasure hoard from Tolna. Figure 5 from Zsuzsa Lovag and Annamária T. Németh, “A tolnai XVI. századi kincslet” (The sixteenth-century treasure hoard from Tolna), *Folia Archaeologica* 25 (1974): 227.



Figure 36. Gala dress of Katalin of Brandenburg. From *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 23.



Figure 37. “Spanish corset” from the Sárospatak crypt. Figure 99 from Mária V. Ember, “XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából” (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century articles of clothing from the crypt of the church at Sárospatak), *Folia Archaeologica* 19 (1968): 162.



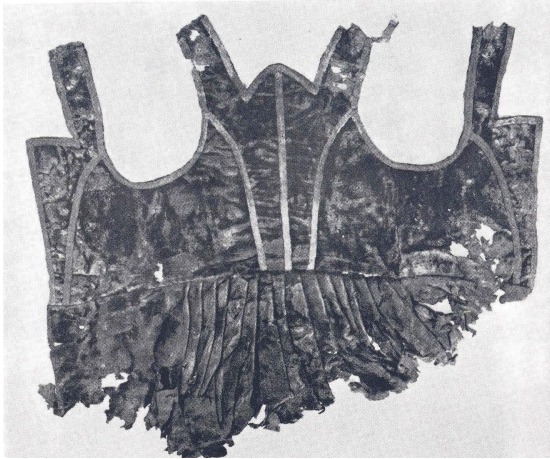


Figure 38. “Hungarian corset” from the Sárospatak crypt. Figure 110 from Mária V. Ember, “XVI. és XVII. századi ruhadarabok a sárospataki templom kriptájából” (Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century articles of clothing from the crypt of the church at Sárospatak), *Folia Archaeologica* 19 (1968): 170.

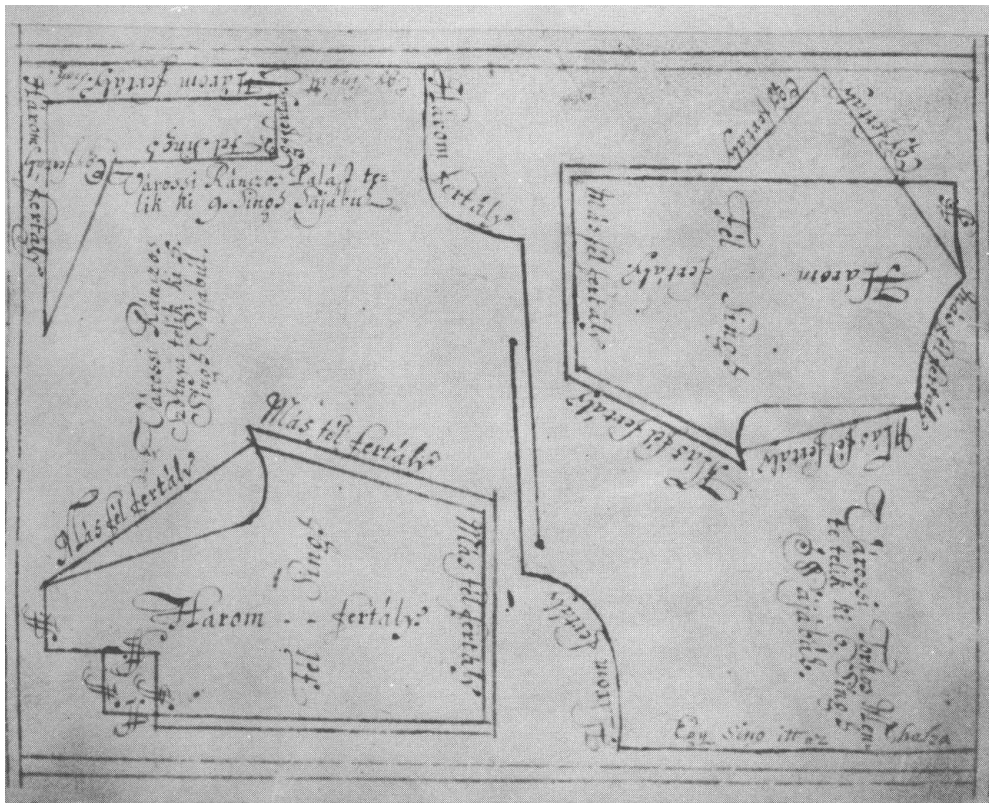


Figure 39. A page of a pattern book from Kassa from 1760. Figure 24 from Katalin E. Nagy, “Die Tracht eines vornehmen ungarischen Mädchens aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Restaurierung und Rekonstruktion des Boldvaer Fundes,” *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 53.





Figure 40. Ornament (*boglár*) from a headgear from a burial at Boldva. Figure 35 from Katalin E. Nagy, "Die Tracht eines vornehmen ungarischen Mädchens aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Restaurierung und Rekonstruktion des Boldvaer Fundes," *Ars Decorativa* 7 (1982): 59.

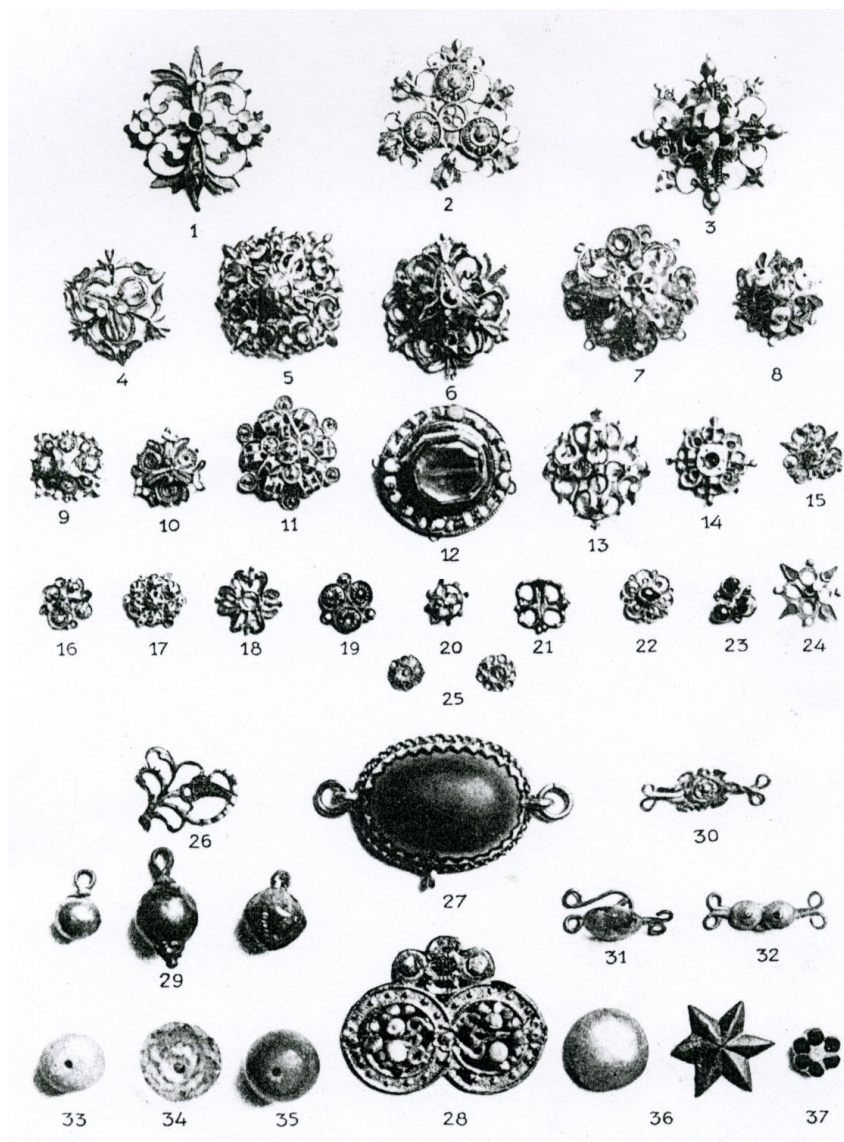


Figure 41. Ornaments from the Csenger crypt. Figure 80 from József Höllrigl, "A csengeri református templom kriptájának leletei" (Archaeological finds from the crypt of the Protestant church in Csenger), *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 48 (1934): 102.

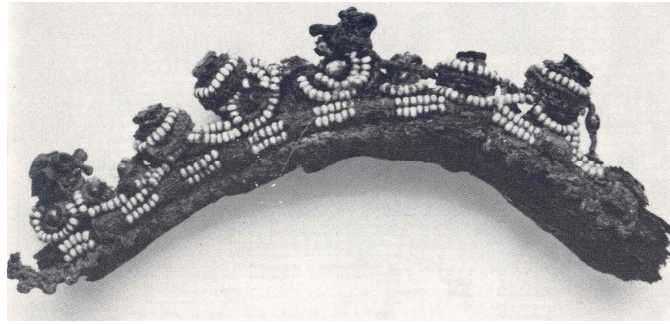


Figure 42. Headgear (*párta*) from Tiszaörvény. Figure 1 from Béla Horváth, “A tiszaoörvényi párta és pártáöv” (The *párta* and belt from Tiszaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 158.

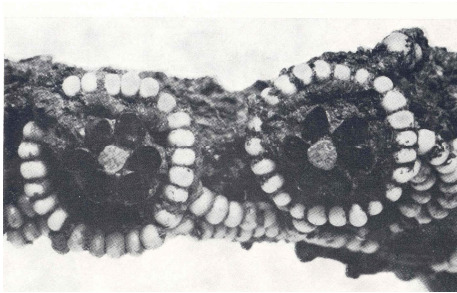


Figure 43. Ornaments (*boglár*) composed of rubies and red glass plates on the headgear from Tiszaörvény. Figure 2 from Béla Horváth, “A tiszaoörvényi párta és pártáöv” (The *párta* and belt from Tiszaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 159.



Figure 44. Headgear (*párta*) from Szada. Figure 3 from Béla Horváth, “A tiszaoörvényi párta és pártáöv” (The *párta* and belt from Tiszaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 160.

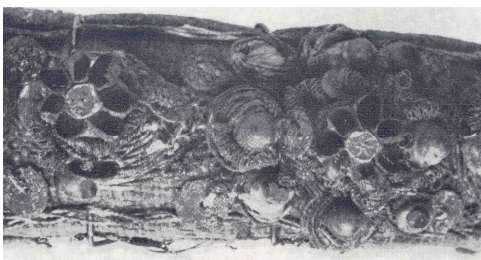


Figure 45. Ornaments (*boglár*) composed of red glass plates on the headgear from Szada. Figure 4 from Béla Horváth, “A tiszaoörvényi párta és pártáöv” (The *párta* and belt from Tiszaörvény), *Folia Archaeologica* 21(1970): 161.



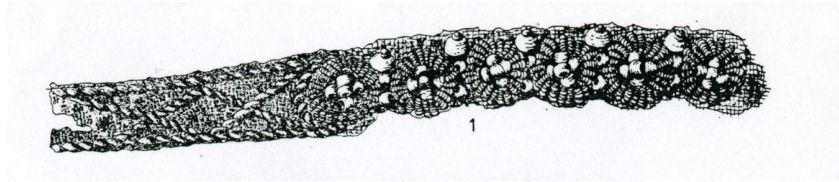


Figure 46. Headgear (párta) from grave 1085 in the churchyard cemetery at Kaposvár. Figure 1 on plate 12 from Edith Bárdos, “Középkori templom és temető Kaposvár határában II.” (A medieval church and cemetery near Kaposvár II), *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1987): 59.



Figure 47. Detail of the portrait of Borbála Wesselényi painted by an unknown master in 1662. From *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup> –17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 64.



Figure 48. Portrait of Kata Thököly, wife of Ferenc Esterházy. Figure 12 from *Főúri ősgalériák, családi arcképek a Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnokból. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, az Iparművészeti Múzeum és a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása. Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988. március - augusztus* (Aristocratic ancestors' galleries, family portraits from the Hungarian Historical Gallery. Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum, Museum of Applied Arts and the Hungarian National Gallery. Hungarian National Gallery, March – August 1988), ed. Enikő Buzási (Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1988).



Figure 49. Catafalque painting of Erzsébet Bánffy, wife of László Rákóczy from 1663. From *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 604.





Figure 50. Catafalque painting of Gáspár Illésházy from 1648. From Gizella Cenner Wilhelmb, “Halotti képmások, ravatalképek” (Burial portraits, catafalque paintings), *Művészet* (1977): 32.



Figure 51. Portrait of Kristóf Thurzó, Count of Szepes and Sáros from 1611. From *A szépség dicsérete. 16-17. századi magyar főúri öltözködés és kultúra. Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2001. augusztus - október* (In Praise of Beauty. Costumes and Habits of Hungarian Aristocracy in the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum, August – October 2001), ed. Anna Ridovics (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2001), 46.



Figure 52. View of Kolozsvár (Cluj, Romania) in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum* (Cologne, 1572-1617). Figure 199 from Erdély története (History of Transylvania), vol 2, 1606-1830, ed. László Makkai and Zoltán Szász (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).



Figure 53. A Hungarian peasant depicted in Wilhelm Dillich, *Ungarische Chronica* (Cassel: W. Wessel, 1600). From *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 338.



Figure 54. A Hungarian peasant's wife depicted in Wilhelm Dillich, *Ungarische Chronica* (Cassel: W. Wessel, 1600). From *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 339.





Figure 55. Saxon costumes depicted in Laurentinus Toppeltinus de Medgyes, *Origines et occasus Transylvanorum seu erutae nationes Transsylvaniae...* (Lyon, 1667).

From *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 366.



Figure 56. A Hungarian or Croatian nobleman depicted in Cesare Vecellio, *Degli habiti antichi e moderni di diverse parti del Mondo* (Venice, 1590).

From *A kereszténység védőbástyája. Magyar Művelődéstörténet* (The bulwark of Christendom. Hungarian culture history), vol. 3, ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, n.d. [1939-1942]), 297.



Figure 57. Captives lead to Sultan Soliman in 1529. Plate 15 from Géza Fehér, *Török miniatúrák a magyarországi hódoltság korából* (Turkish miniatures from the period of the Ottoman Conquest in Hungary) (Budapest: Corvina, 1975).



Figure 58. Detail of the portrait of Eva Germana Ambruster, a Saxon patrician's wife. Figure 288 from *Erdély története* (History of Transylvania), vol 2, 1606-1830, ed. László Makkai and Zoltán Szász (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).





Figure 59. A young Hungarian noble lady. Colour photograph 52 from *Erdély története* (History of Transylvania), vol 2, 1606-1830, ed. László Makkai and Zoltán Szász (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).



Figure 60. A young nobleman. Figure 5 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).



Figure 61. A Greek merchant. Figure 51, *ibid.*



Figure 62. A Hungarian craftsman. Figure 11, *ibid.*



Figure 63. Wife of a Rác. Figure 58 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).



Figure 64. A Rác. Figure 57, *ibid.*



Figure 65. A Wallachian woman. Figure 48, *ibid.*



Figure 66. A Wallachian shepherd. Figure 27, *ibid.*



Figure 67. Wife of a Saxon minister. Figure 18 from József Jankovics, Ágnes R. Várkonyi and Géza Galavics, *Régi erdélyi viseletek. Viseletkódex a XVII. századból* (Ancient Transylvanian garments. A costume codex from the seventeenth century) (Budapest: Európa, 1990).



Figure 68. A Lady from Braşov. Figure 42, *ibid.* .



Figure 69. Wife of an alderman from Nagyszeben (Sibiu, Romania). Figure 14, *ibid.*



Figure 70. Wife of a Saxon farmer. Figure 32, *ibid.*





Figure 71. Fragment of a cup or cross of Byzantine style from the grave of Balotapuszta. Figure 43 from Gábor Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek* (Graves, treasures, misteries) (Kiskunhalas: Thorma János Múzeum, 2005), 51.



Figure 72. Buckle of the Cuman belt from Kígyópuszta. Figure 46 from Gábor Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek* (Graves, treasures, misteries) (Kiskunhalas: Thorma János Múzeum, 2005), 57.



Figure 73. Mounts of the Cuman belt from Kígyópuszta. Figure 49 and 50 from Gábor Hatházi, *Sírok, kincsek, rejtélyek* (Graves, treasures, misteries) (Kiskunhalas: Thorma János Múzeum, 2005), 58.



Figure 74. Shoe heel plates from the castle of Ozora. Plate 72 from László Gere, *Késő középkori és kora újkori fémleletek az ozorai várkastélyból* (Late medieval and early modern metal finds from the fortified castle of Ozora) (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2003), 216.



Figure 75. Shoe heel plate from grave 1 in the churchyard cemetery at Nagykároly (Carei)-Bobáld (Romania). Photograph by Péter Levente Szócs.