Tünde Komori

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CHINESE PORCELAIN FINDS OF OTTOMAN BUDA AND THE CASTLE OF EGER

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2017

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CHINESE PORCELAIN FINDS OF OTTOMAN BUDA AND THE CASTLE OF EGER

by

Tünde Komori

(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 Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary

Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

Chair, Examination Committee

_____

Thesis Supervisor

_____

Examiner

_____

Examiner

Budapest
May 2017

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CHINESE PORCELAIN FINDS OF OTTOMAN BUDA AND THE CASTLE OF EGER

by

Tünde Komori

(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 Comparative History, with a specialization in

Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Reader

Budapest
May 2017

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CHINESE PORCELAIN FINDS OF OTTOMAN BUDA AND THE CASTLE OF EGER

by

Tünde Komori

(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 Comparative History, with a specialization in

Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Supervisor

Budapest
May 2017

I, the undersigned, **Tünde Komori**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary 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, 18 May 2017

_____

Signature

Abstract

This work compares the Chinese porcelain assemblages from Ottoman-period Buda (1541-1686) and the Castle of Eger (1596-1687), in Hungary. Being the two largest and most significant Chinese porcelain assemblages of the country, the general description and identification of the assemblages contributes to our knowledge of the material culture of Ottoman Hungary. The results of the thesis on the one hand is the identification of the majority of the types present in these assemblages, part of them to the Wanli period (1573-1620), and another part to the Kangxi period (1662-1722). The rest of the pieces can mainly be dated to the seventeenth century, with some exceptions indicating the second half of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, the comparison shed light on the topographical distribution of the sherds, thus leading to questions that are not thoroughly researched in the previous scholarship. These questions include the use of material culture for mapping social topographies, the definition of the function and social status of the pieces and the consideration of possible trading patterns of porcelain between the Ottoman Empire and Hungary, as well as the Ottoman Empire and China. The methodology relied on traditional archaeological analysis and art historical evaluation of the material; as well as notions of spatial analysis and historical archaeology.

Acknowledgements

Here I would like to grab the opportunity to thank all those contributing to the success of this thesis. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor József Laszlovszky for his kind advices and suggestions, which lead the thesis in the right direction and kept it in focus. Many thanks to Zsuzsa Reed for her language support and work ethic of reading an inhumanely large number of chapters, but somehow still finding the stamina for motivating us in the finish line. I also thank the Budapest History Museum and its archaeologists, Dorottya Nyékhelyi, Zoltán Bencze, Károly Magyar and András Végh for providing me with the porcelain material of their excavations; as well as Eszter Kovács, for collecting and handing me over the rest of the material from older excavation assemblages. I also thank the Museum for providing me space to work on the assemblages for years. I would like to thank the Dobó István Museum of Eger for allowing me to research the porcelain material of the excavations of Károly Kozák. I am especially grateful to Orsolya Zay, for her kind helpfulness in the practical and academic aspects of dealing with this material. My gratitude also goes to Magda Bácsi, whose enthusiastic support of my work and books were crucial for the development of my research. And last but not least, I wholeheartedly thank András Fegyvári for his invaluable help with editing the tables and figures, without which the thesis would certainly would not be the same.

Table of contents

List of Figures, Maps and Tables

Introduction

The main goal of the thesis is to identify, date and compare the Chinese porcelain assemblages of the Buda Royal Palace and its surrounding territories with the Castle of Eger. These assemblages are similar in size: both consist of *c.* 500 fragments, despite the fact that a much smaller territory was excavated in the Buda Royal Palace. The composition of the findings is also similar: most of the pieces come from cups or small bowls. Plates and lids are represented by a very small number of fragments (around 1-2%), and jugs and jars are completely missing. However, the two assemblages show a significant difference in typology, thus most probably in origin as well, namely imperial and private kilns in China.

Besides the typological differences, the analysis of the assemblages revealed a tendency regarding the topographical distribution of the fragments. The patterns of distribution raised the question whether the social topography of the sites can be detected with the analysis of material culture. By mapping this distribution, the comparison of the two sites from the point of view of Chinese porcelain contributes to our understanding of the use of occupied towns and castles of Hungary by the Ottomans. The main research questions of the analysis and comparison of the assemblages include the dating and identification of the sherds, the possible routes of arrival in Hungary, and the placing of this type of object in the everyday context. The latter question considers the function, value and social status of Chinese porcelain vessels in the Ottoman society, mostly based on their site of collection. By placing this type of material culture in a social context, further aspects of the history of Ottoman Hungary might be touched upon, such as trade and trading routes between Hungary and the centre of the Ottoman Empire, our knowledge of which at the moment is scarce. This thesis aims at providing more information about the relationship between material culture and the society using it, as well as

the social topography of the occupied towns, thus contributing to the research of Ottoman Hungary.

Research Background

Chinese porcelain is a so far less known part of the material culture of the Ottoman era in Hungary (1526-1689). After the Second World War, overall excavations of the Buda Royal Palace took place between 1948 and 1964, during which more than 500 Chinese porcelain fragments were unearthed. Some of these findings had been published with brief descriptions of the fragments but no comprehensive analysis had been attempted in order to identify them, except for Imre Holl's summaries on import ceramics in Hungary during the middle ages and early modern times.[1] Imre Holl gave the most comprehensive description of Chinese porcelain in Hungarian language so far, and since the publication of his studies they have been used as a basis for identifying and dating Chinese porcelain.

After the excavations in Buda, porcelain was excavated at several other sites, including the castle of Eger that bears the second largest assemblage known so far in Hungary with more than 450 fragments. One of the earliest publications of Chinese porcelain was in the context of the excavations at the Eger castle in the 1960s[2]. This publication already recognizes the fact that this assemblage is one of the largest ones in the country, taking the first step towards the recognition of Chinese porcelain as part of the Hungarian archaeological material culture.

From the point of view of scholarship, another significant assemblage was unearthed in the Szolnok castle. In its publication the author attempts to identify the origin of the pieces and

[1] Imre Holl, *Fundkomplexe des 15.-17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Burgpalast von Buda* [Assemblage of findings from the 15-17th centuries from the Buda Royal Palace], *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica 17*. (Budapest, 2005) and idem, "Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III" [Foreign Ceramics in Hungary III], *Budapest Régiségei 40*. (2006) 253-294.

[2] Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-1962) I." [Excavation of the Eger Castle (1957-1962) I.], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve 1* (1963) 119-171.

connects them with the Turkish population of the castle, dating the appearance of Chinese porcelain in Hungary to the sixteenth century based on written sources, as well as confidently dates the fragments to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, i.e. to the latter period of the Ming-dynasty (1368-1644).[3] Starting with the second half of the 1980s, the newly unearthed Chinese porcelain pieces were more and more often published, but in general only with short descriptions and broad dating, usually placing them in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but not attempting to further narrow the identification and dating.[4]

The author of the present thesis already produced two other theses[5] and three articles in connection with the Buda assemblage.[6] One of the articles dealt with the material of the

[3] Gyöngyi Kovács, *Török kerámia Szolnokon* [Turkish Ceramics in Szolnok]. Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár 30-31. (Szolnok, 1984).

[4] For further published Chinese porcelain unearthed in Hungary see: Katalin Éder, "Török kori fajanszok a Víziváros területéről" [Faience Finds From the Ottoman-period Víziváros], *Budapest Régisgei* 41 (2007), 239-247.; idem, "Újabb törökkori díszkerámiák Budapest-Víziváros területéről" [New Ottoman-period Ceramics from Víziváros], *Budapest Régiségei* 45 (2012) 159-167.; Attila Gaál, "Kínai porcelánok és utánzataik, valamint üvegkarperecek a Jeni-palánki török palánkvárból" [Chinese Porcelains and Their Imitations, along with Glass Bracelets from the Ottoman palisad of Jeni-palánk], *Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve* 27 (2005), 205-258; Katalin H. Gyürky, "Előzetes jelentés a budai domonkos kolostor ásatásáról" [Preliminary Report of the Excavation of the Dominican Monastery of Buda], *Archaologiai Értesítő* 96 (1969), 99-104.; idem, "A domonkosok középkori kolostorának feltárása Budán" [Excavations at the Monastery of the Dominicans in Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 24/1 (1976), 371-380.; Erika Hancz, "A szegedi vár kerámia anyaga a török korban" [Ceramic Material of the Castle of Szeged in the Ottoman Period], *Castrum* 2006/4, 301-46.; Ágnes Kolláth, "Régiók határán: kora újkori edényművesség és kereskedelem Budán" [On the Egde of Borders: Early Modern Pottery Production and Economy in Buda], in Erika Simonyi and Gábor Tomka eds., *„A cserép igazat mond, ha helyette nem mi akarunk beszélni." Regionalitás a középkori és kora újkori kerámiában. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban 2013. január 9-11. között rendezett konferencia előadásai* [Regionality in Medieval and Early Modern Ceramics: Proceedings of the Conference Held in the National Museum of Hugnary, January 9-11, 2013], Opuscula Hungarica IX., Erika Simony ed. *(*Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2016), 359-368; Eszter Kovács, "A budai ferences kolostor a török korban" [The Franciscan Monastery of Buda in the Ottoman Period], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 31 (2003), 241-263; Gyöngyi Kovács, "Hódoltságkori leletegyüttes Baja belvárosából" [An Ottoman period assamblage from Baja] *Communicationes Archaologicae Hungariae* (2006), 275-295.; Gábor Tomka, "Findzsák, pipák, szürke korsók. Borsodi végvárak kerámialeleteinek török kapcsolatai" [Cups, Pipes, Grey Jars: Ottoman Connections of the Ceramic Finds of Fortresses in Borsod County], in Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács eds., *A hódoltság régészeti kutatása* [Archaeological Research of the Ottoman Period], (Budapest: Nemzeti Múzeum, 2002), 298-308. Anikó Tóth, "Török kori leletegyüttes a budavári Királyi Palota előterében" [Ottoman-period Ceramic Assemblage in the Foreground of the Medieval Royal Palace of Buda], in in Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács eds., *A hódoltság régészeti kutatása* [Archaeological Research of the Ottoman Period], (Budapest: Nemzeti Múzeum, 2002), 261-268.

[5] Tünde Komori, *Porcelánleletek a budai vár területéről. A Budapesti Történeti Múzeumban őrzött porcelántöredékek egy részének új szempontjai* [Porcelain Finds From the Territory of the Buda Castle: New Aspects of a Part of the Porcelain Sherds of the Budapest History Museum], BA Thesis in archaeology (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2014); and idem, Kínai porcelánleletek a török kori Budáról [Chinese Porcelain Finds from Ottoman-period Buda], MA thesis in archaeology (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2017)

[6] Tünde Komori, "A budavári királyi palota porcelán leletanyagának kutatása új szempontok alapján" [New aspects of the Chinese porcelain findings of the Buda Royal Palace], *Budapest Régiségei* 47 (2014), 313-38.;

medieval Royal Palace, and can be regarded as a preliminary summary of the composition of the assemblage. The other article explores aspects of methodology, leading to the notion of searching analogies in the Southeast-Asian market and relevant shipwrecks (hence the cultural heritage chapter of the present thesis). The third article discusses the entire assemblage of the Buda material, also dealing with issues of dating and identification. The results of the articles have been revised, and this thesis offers a new typology, with much of the material identified and more precisely dated. As a large part of the assemblage has already been evaluated in two theses, the catalogue only contains the pieces that are discussed in the present work; a future publication of the results of this thesis will contain the whole catalogue in order to make it more accessible and researchable.

The newly researched part of this thesis is the Eger assemblage, making up half of the entire material discussed in my work. An MA thesis already dealt with the Chinese Porcelain and Persian Faience assemblage yielded by different excavations of the Castle of Eger between 1957 and 1999. Regarding the evaluation of the Chinese porcelain sherds, the thesis mainly described the different decorative styles and motives of the pieces, not attempting to precisely identify and date the types.[7] Therefore, the author of the present thesis re-evaluated the pieces and this thesis offers a different approach to the sherds, with the attempt to date them to the most precise timeframe possible.

idem, "A magyarországi kínai porcelánleletek régészeti feldolgozásának lehetséges útjai" [Methodological Aspects of the Research of Chinese Porcelain Unearthed in Hungary], in Csilla Szőllősy and Krisztián Pokrovenszki eds., *Fiatal Középkoros Régészek VI. Konferenciájának Tanulmánykötete. A Szent István Király Múzeum Közleményei 51.* [Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists. Annual of the Szent István Király Museum 51.], (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 2015), 143-157.; and idem, Tünde Komori, "Prestige Object or Coffee Cup? Problems of Identifying and Dating Chinese Porcelain Unearthed in Buda," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 23 (2017): in print.

[7] Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár oszmán-török kori porcelán- és fajansztöredékei* [Porcelain and faience fragments from the Ottoman-period of the Castle of Eger], MA Thesis (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2013)

Chapter 1 – Methodology

1.1. Methodology and theory

The analysis of the assemblages required an interdisciplinary approach, mainly including traditional archaeological survey and art historical evaluation, with the aim to date and identify the pieces as precisely as possible. The archaeological survey included the cataloguing and documenting of the pieces, as well as the evaluation of their archaeological contexts. Art historical evaluation was used to assess and distinguish different styles, thus establishing a typochronology of the material. This evaluation mainly focused on the decorative motives and their style, which is the most easily observable feature of Chinese porcelain vessels. In order to identify the different types, analogies were used; but only a few types could be identified with direct analogies, most of the types were dated based on more distant parallels. This first stage of the analysis provided a basis for the investigation of further aspects deriving from the character of the material.

To suggest possible answers for the main research questions of the thesis, i.e. who used these objects and what was its social and material value, and in what way did these vessels arrive in Hungary, a more complex approach was needed. This approach was a combination of spatial analysis and object biographies, both elements being experimental methods for assessing the inarguable topographical patterns shown by the distribution of the types.[8] Spatial analysis lead to the evaluation of the sites of collection, providing a framework for understanding the distribution of the types throughout the territory of Buda, as well as the Eger castle. After defining the collection sites, the approach of object biographies was used to

[8] The theoretical background for object biographies is based on Karin Dannehl, "Object biographies. From production to consumption, in Karen Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture. A student's guide to approaching alternative sources.* (Routledge: London and New York, 2009), 123-138., and

reconstruct the route on which the vessels might have reached their place of use and disposal. Examining the life cycle of an object, the circumstances of production and the possible route leading to its consumption might be revealed.[9] Regarding the examined assemblages, with focusing on the life cycle of the objects and paying special attention to their destinations, a new context of the types dated confidently to the Wanli period (1573-1620) was discovered, namely that those types were primarily distributed at the Southeast Asian market. This shows the potential of examining and interpreting material culture based on different theoretical notions, as demonstrated in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

1.2. Aspects of identification

Dating Chinese porcelain is a fairly unexplored area of the Hungarian archaeological scholarship, which is not that striking, considering that even their inventors, the Chinese have some problems with it. One of the main reasons is the general characteristic of the material itself, namely that production techniques and the composition of the material has barely changed throughout its history, therefore it is mostly invisible to the naked eye. Furthermore, the decoration and motives appearing on the objects do not provide enough differences for a stable typochronology, the only basis one can rely on is the stylistic examination of the painting technique itself, probably together with the analysis of the glaze.

1.2.1. Stratigraphy and archaeological contexts

The main archaeological method, context and layers is tricky when one is dealing with tableware ceramics. Being decorative and usually more valuable, these pieces were in use for

[9] The question whether these objects were commodities or personal belongings was approached with the critical view of gifts and commodities in archaeology by Arjun Apparudai in his article "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value", in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspetive*, Arjun Appadurai ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3-63.

longer periods, sometimes even centuries, therefore a well datable context or layer can only indicate the time of disposal, but certainly not of production. The attached value of the Chinese porcelain pieces is proven by the pieces that show traces of repair: small drilled holes, corresponding to each other along ruptures. Based on one piece with traces of metal in the hole, the reparation most probably happened with a thin metal wire, used for stapling the vessels along the ruptures.

When analysing Buda and the Castle of Eger, archaeological context is rarely helpful in dating Chinese porcelain, as after the re-occupation of Buda from the Ottomans in 1686, the debris was levelled in preparation of the reconstructions of the area. As a result, most of the layers containing sixteenth-seventeenth century material are mixes of waste, litter and debris levelled together during these Baroque reconstructions, therefore no more precise dating is possible. Only a few situations provided well datable archaeological context, which contained Chinese porcelain fragments.[10] Otherwise, in the case of the Royal Palace for example, all the sites of the porcelain fragments are cesspits or other fillings of different trenches, pit holes or *zwinger*s, therefore they do not provide context for more precise dating. [11] As mentioned above, the archaeological context in this case merely provides dates that set the end of the objects' life cycle, but cannot indicate their beginning. Considering the sites in Buda, outside of the medieval Royal Palace, the archaeological situation is very similar, therefore the pieces unearthed at those sites cannot be dated more precisely with this method either. The Eger castle gave more obstacles to the reconstruction of the archaeological contexts, as Chinse porcelain was rarely mentioned in the excavation logs or publications, and the packaging of the material also rarely contained enough information regarding layers or exact dates of collection, per se. In those cases, when information was sufficient to reconstruct the archaeological context, it

[10] For example: Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 131. and 133.
[11] Gerevich, *A budai vár,* and Holl, *Fundkomplexe*

was similar to Buda: mostly mixed debris layers, sometimes with modern debris, or well-defined Ottoman-period pits or layers.

1.2.2. Marks

Marks at first sight can seem like the ultimate solution for dating, as mostly they consist of a dynasty's and an emperor's name. Reality on the other hand shows, that the situation is far more complicated. Ignoring the long and complex evolution of the Chinese writing system,[12] it is the content of marks that can be the most misleading. A part of the marks from the entire assemblage is presented below, in order to draw a picture of how marks can be used for dating.

The pieces bearing a mark unearthed in the Royal Palace are fragmented and only two of them are legible. One of them is the *fu* 福 character (Figure 1), meaning 'good luck' or 'good fortune,' ergo it can be interpreted as a good wish. Different forms of good wishes are very common on Chinese porcelain, and the *fu* 福 character was most often used during the Yuan and Ming periods (1271-1644),[13] which is unfortunately a way too long time period to draw any conclusions regarding a narrower dating. The other legible mark is a date, but unfortunately it is not very precise (Figure 2). The mark says "丁未年製 *dingwei nianzhi*", which means "made in the year of *dingwei*". *Dingwei* is a name of a year in the sixty-year cycle of the Chinese Lunar calendar. China started using the Lunar calendar in the Shang period (商代, 1600-1028 BC), which consists of cycles of sixty years, corresponding to a century in the western sense.[14] The cycles consist of ten Heavenly Stems (*shi tian gan* 十天干) and twelve Earthly Branches (*shi'er zhi* 十二支), creating unique year names of the sixty-year cycle,

[12] Further reading: Jerry Norman, *Chinese.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[13] Gerald Davison, *The New and Revised Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics* (London: Somerset, 2013), no.160.
[14] Ibid., 33.

formed by pairing up the Heavenly Stems with the Earthly Branches. This way the name of a year can only appear once in a cycle, which means that to identify a specific year, one needs to know in which cycle the year is referred to. Unfortunately, just like in the case of the fragment in question, the cycle is usually not specified on the porcelain vessels, leaving us in uncertainty about the exact year it was produced. In case of this piece the year is 丁未 *dingwei*, but the cycle is not mentioned, therefore based on the history of the medieval Royal Palace of Buda and the archaeological context, three years can be considered: 1487, 1547 and 1607, more precise dating might be possible based on analogies.

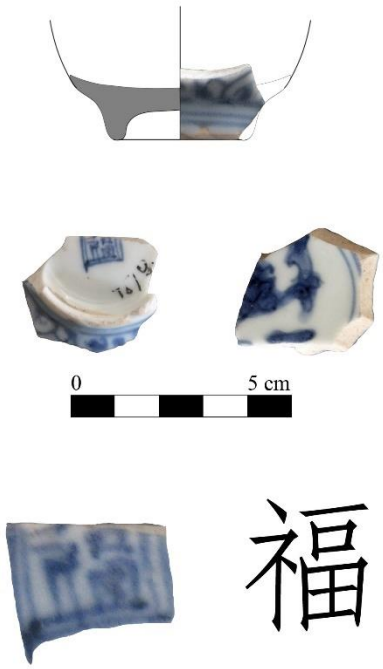


Figure 1: Blue and white cup with the mark "fu"

Figure 2: Blue and white cup with the mark "ding wei nian zhi"

When analysing the Royal Palace assemblage, a piece from the Pasha Palace appeared in it, originating from the excavations of Győző Gerő in the 1960s,[15] which bears the mark "萬福攸同 *wanfu youtong",* meaning *"May infinite good fortune surround you."* (Figure 3). According to Gerald Davison's collected marks, this good wish was in use from the Jiajing 嘉靖 to the Kangxi 康熙 period (1522-1722), covering exactly two hundred years.[16]

[15] See: Győző Gerő, "Budapest I., Színház utca 5–7., volt Pasa–palota (ásatási jelentés.) [Budapest Ist district, Színház Street 5-7., old Pasha Palace (excavation report)]," *Régészeti Füzetek,* 1961-1968. and *idem*, "The Residence of the Pasha's in Hungary and the recently discovered Pashasaray from Buda," in François Déroche ed., *Art Turc – Türkisch Art. 10th International Congress of Türkisch Art – 10 Congrès international d'art turc. Actes–Proceedings. Art Turc – Türkisch Art. 10th International Congress of Türkisch Art – 10 Congrès international d'art turc. Actes–Proceedings. Genève, 1995* (Genève, 1999), 353–360.

[16] Davison, *Marks,* no. 1895. But even Davison draws attention to the fact that the timeframe given for the use of the marks is not exclusive, therefore they could be used especially on later imitations of earlier types.

Figure 3: Blue and white bowl with the mark "wan fu you tong"

The two most interesting fragments from Szent György Square are two cups, very similar in decoration and in the style of their reign marks (Figure 4). The difference is in size, paint colour and the name of the emperor written on them (Figure 8). One of them bears the name of the emperor Chenghua (成化, 1465-1485), and the other one of Wanli (萬曆, 1573-1619). This is a demonstrative case of later porcelain painters following the footsteps of their predecessors and copying their style, sometimes including the reign mark itself, as based on analogies of the Eger assemblage, this type can be dated to the second half of the seventeenth century.[17]

[17] Ibid., 20.

Figure 4: Pair of cups with different reign marks

Another pair of cups, similar in decoration, bear the same reign mark of Emperor Xuande (宣德, 1426-1435), however, based on the context and their style it is unlikely that they were made in the fifteenth century. One last interesting piece with a mark from Szent György Square bears the mark *ya* (雅), meaning elegant or refined; the use of which is dated to the period from Emperor Wanli 萬曆 to Emperor Shunzhi 顺治, 1573-1661.[18] So far this is the most precisely datable piece based on its mark from Buda, which shows that marks are not the ultimate solution to the problems of dating Chinese porcelain. These objects are discussed in more detail in subchapter 3.2.2.

[18] Ibid., no. 194.

Chapter 2 – The Aspect of Cultural Heritage Protection: The Case of Southeast Asian Shipwrecks

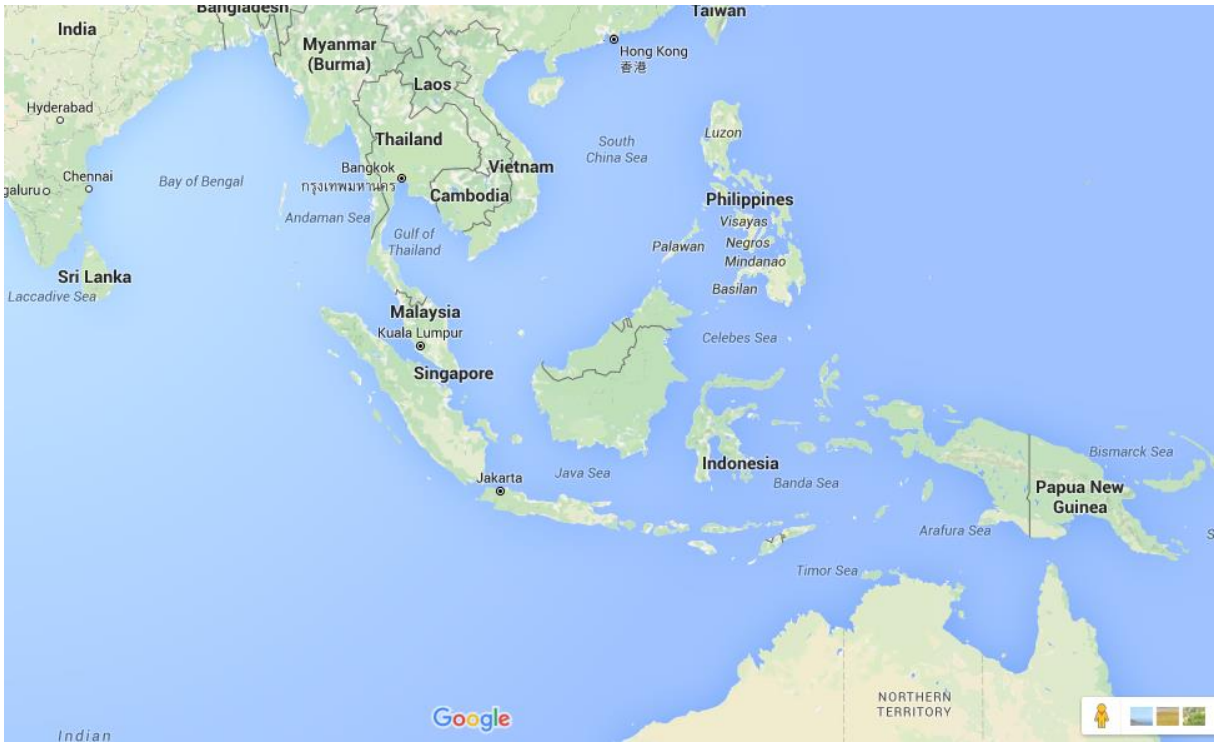
This chapter is focusing on the cultural heritage aspect of the present thesis, as part of my Cultural Heritage Specialisation, undertaken within the MA program. This topic is relevant to my research, because the closest analogies of the types of vessels unearthed in Hungary are most likely to be found among the assemblages produced for the Southeast Asian market. These assemblages, however, are difficult to study as they are mostly shipwreck cargos which sunk in the waters of Southeast Asia, and the underwater cultural heritage situation and policies of this region are not favourable for the professional excavation and examination of these wrecks and their cargos. The aim of this chapter is to draw attention to this situation and to briefly summarize it by comparing the most relevant points in the policies of selected countries of the region to the general UNESCO policies. The selection of the sample countries (Vietnam and Cambodia) mainly relied on the amount of collectable information: the most information was available of the two selected countries.

2.1. UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage

UNESCO adopted the first convention on the protection of underwater cultural heritage in 2001.[19] Out of the countries of the Southeast Asian region (see Map 1) only Cambodia signed the convention. This means, that despite there are UNESCO guidelines for the protection of underwater heritage, most states in the Southeast Asian region follow their own legislation. As the official text of the convention shows, national and international laws

[19] Official text of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, 2001. http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/underwater-cultural-heritage/2001-convention/official-text/ Accessed: 17/05/2017

are not affected by the regulations of the convention, as UNESCO's aim is to help and ensure the protection of underwater cultural heritage. [20] While signatory countries arguably have more developed regulations and approaches to the preservation of this type of heritage, there are good practices to be found outside the convention. Australia, for instance, did not sign it, yet their legal environment protecting and documenting submerged heritage is exemplary on an international scale



Map 1: The Southeast Asian Region
Source: Google Maps

2.2. Examples of Local Legislation

2.2.1. Cambodia

Cambodia can be considered one of the most progressive countries in this region from the point of view of underwater heritage protection. Their Law on the Protection of Cultural

[20] Convention, 2001, excerpt.

Heritage of 1996 can be considered relatively early compared to other countries in the region, and they also signed the UNESCO convention in 2001. [21] The protection of underwater cultural heritage in Cambodia is mainly in government hands. The Supreme Council on National Culture is responsible for the formation of management policy, while the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts is responsible for policy implementation.[22] Other parts of the legislation show that the management is entirely centralized by the government and not delegated to local level. Furthermore, the law only allows foreign institutions to excavate sites if they are supervised by a governmental institution; and all movable and unmovable cultural property discovered by scientific institutions are the property of the state.[23]

2.2.2. Vietnam

Vietnam can also be considered one of the progressive countries in the Southeast Asian region. Their Law on Cultural Heritage adopted by the National Assembly in 2001 shows a less centralized legislation compared to the one in Cambodia. [24] On the national level the law distinguishes two different protection zones. Protection Zone I covers the relic(s) and the area(s) determined as the relic's original constituents, which must be protected in original state. Protection Zone II is the area surrounding the Protection Zone I of the relic, where works can be constructed in service of the promotion of the relics' values, provided that they do not affect the architecture, natural scenery and ecological environment of the relic.[25]

[21] Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Cambodia, 1996 [LPCH-C]
http://www.shipwreckasia.org/wp-content/uploads/Law-on-the-Protection-of-Cultural-Heritage_Cambodia.pdf
Accessed: 17/05/2017
[22] LPCH-C, 1996, Chapter 2, Section 1, Article 5.
[23] LPCH-C, 1996, Chapter 2, Section 5, Article 44.
[24] Law on Cultural Heritage, Vietnam, 2001 [LCH-V]
http://www.shipwreckasia.org/wp-content/uploads/Law-on-cultural-hesitage_Vietnam.pdf
Accessed: 17/05/2017
[25] [LCH-V], 2001, Chapter IV, Section 1, Article 32/1.a-b.

Beyond the central distribution of protection zones, further management mainly takes place on local level, as indicated by the second part of the above cited article.[26] Concerning excavation rights, the national salvage company called Vietnam National Salvage Agency (VISAL) is usually involved, therefore on the international level Vietnam also seems to patronize excavations outsourced to foreign organizations or companies. [27] A slightly earlier legislation was adopted in 1998 that focuses on the management of submerged property. [28] The decree specifies the rights on retrieving, preservation and ownership of any kind of sunken property.

4.2.3. Counter example: the case of Australia

One of the first regulations in Australia was *The Historic Shipwrecks Act* in 1976, which protects wrecks and associated relics that are more than 75 years old in the Commonwealth waters, extending from below the low water mark to the edge of the continental shelf. [29] The legislation aims to protect historic shipwrecks for their heritage values and maintain them for recreational, scientific and educational purposes. The fact that the last two aspects are much less emphasized in the Vietnamese and Cambodian legislation shows a difference in the approach of the two regions. In Australia, divers may use wreck sites for recreational purposes, but no relics are to be removed from the sites, and the physical fabric of the wreck must not be disturbed, unless a permit has been obtained.

[26] [LCH-V], 2001, Chapter IV, Section 1, Article 32/1.b.
[27] Brown, "History of Shipwreck Excavation in Southeast Asia," 46. No information is available about the purview and activities of VISAL online.
[28] Decree No.39/1998/ND-CP on Dealing with Property Sunk in the Sea, Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 1998. http://moj.gov.vn/vbpq/en/lists/vn%20bn%20php%20lut/view_detail.aspx?itemid=1537 Accessed: 17/05/2017
[29] Historic Shipwrecks Act, Australia, 1976. https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2016C00010 Accessed: 17/05/2017

Under the current legislation, as of today fifteen historic shipwrecks lie within protected or no-entry zones in Australia, which means that entry is prohibited to the area without a permit. The legislation also requires anyone who finds a wreck or related relics to notify the relevant authorities. This appears in the Southeast Asian laws too, albeit less emphatically, as they only specify the supervision of excavation by governmental institutions or organizations. The Australian approach from this point of view is exemplary, as it aims to ensure proper documentation and excavation of the sites. An important section in the Australian legislation also states that a registry of historic shipwrecks and relics is to be maintained that allows access to the sites and discoveries. The 1976 legislation is currently under revision.[30]

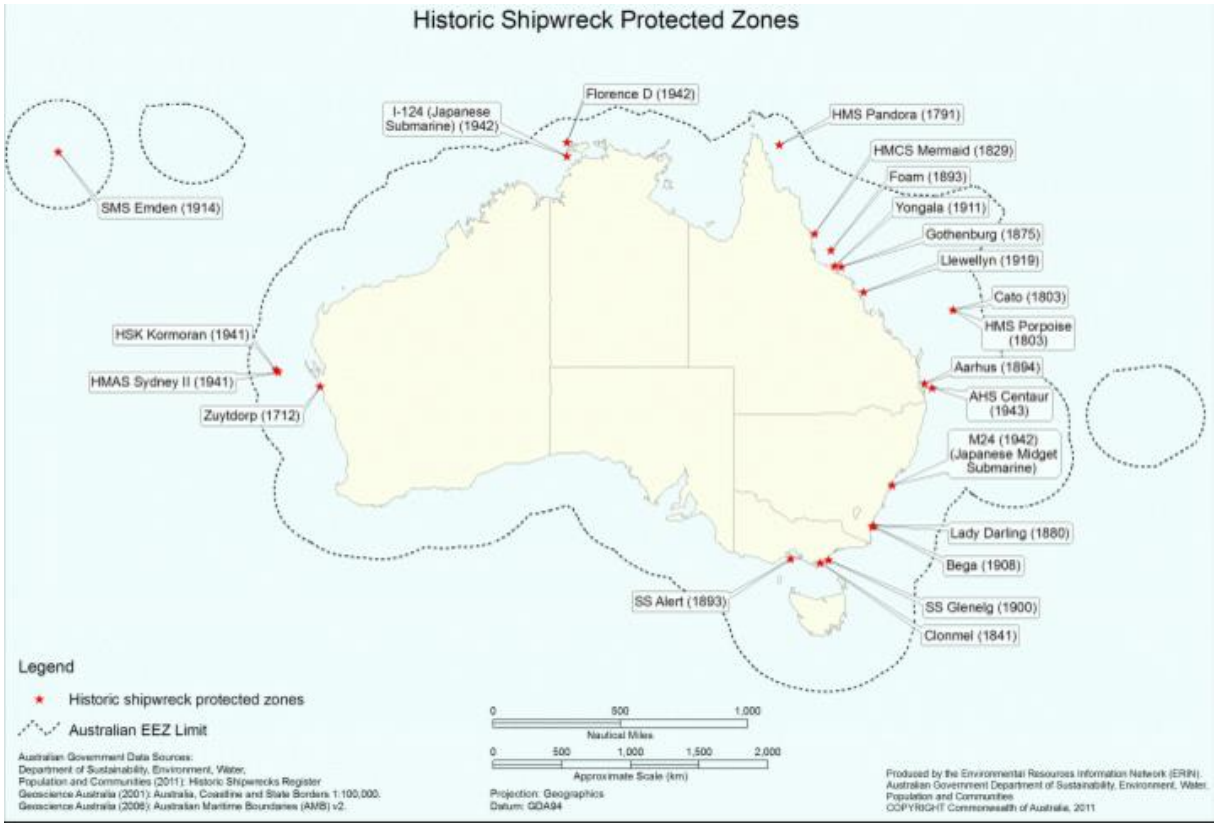
As for the involvement of the public, the Historic Shipwrecks Act is delivered through the Historic Shipwrecks Program. Its objectives are to research, explore, document and protect Australia's historic shipwreck heritage. Each state or territory program offers different opportunities for public participation as do maritime archaeological volunteer associations that exist in Victoria, Queensland and Western Australia.

Besides the Historic Shipwrecks Act of 1976, in 1997 the National Heritage Trust of Australia Act adopted aims for the protection of natural heritage. [31] The act was initiated by the Parliament of Australia after the recognition of a need for action, in order to avoid further decline in the quality of Australia's natural environment. The main objective of the act is to conserve, repair and replenish Australia's natural capital infrastructure. The latest legislation concerning underwater heritage is the Australian Underwater Cultural Heritage Intergovernmental Agreement adopted in 2010.[32] The agreement establishes the roles and

[30] Statute Law Revision Act (No. 2) 2015 https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2015A00145 , Accessed: 17/05/2017
[31] https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2014C00567, Accessed: 17/05/2017
[32] http://www.environment.gov.au/system/files/resources/8320e7bd-b451-4e88-8be1-16cf4687202e/files/underwater-cultural-intergovernmental.pdf, Accessed: 17/05/2017

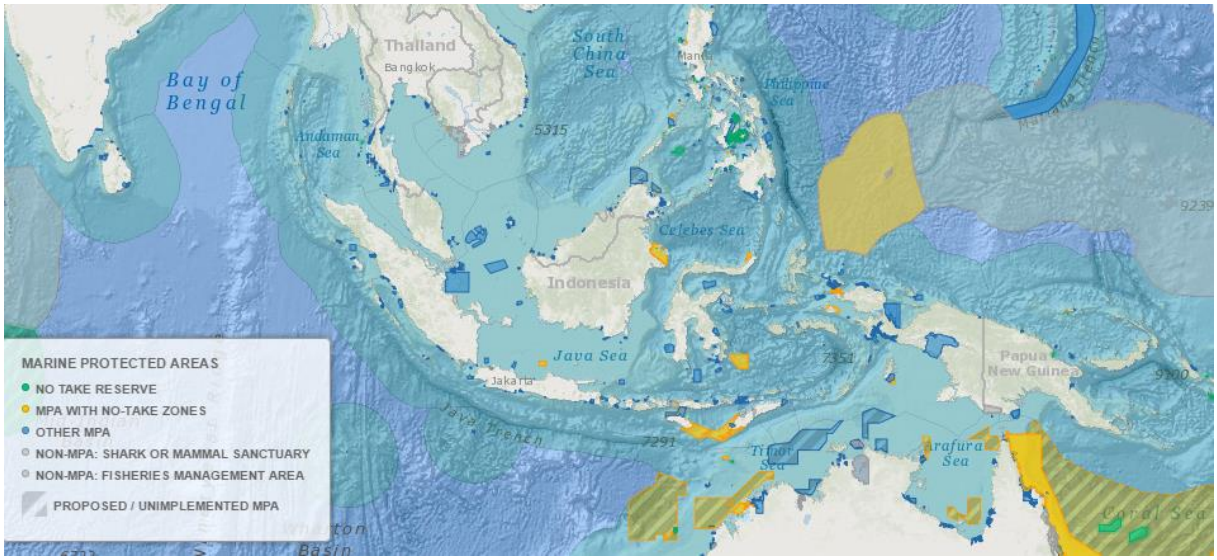
responsibilities for the identification, protection, management, conservation and interpretation of Australia's underwater cultural heritage. The aims of the agreement are to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the Commonwealth, States and the Northern Territory jurisdictions in relation to the management of Australia's underwater cultural heritage; as well as to meet international best practice management of Australia's underwater cultural heritage as outlined in the rules in the Annex to the UNESCO 2001 Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage.

As shown on Map 2, the Historic Shipwrecks Act resulted in the creation of numerous historic shipwreck protected zones. These protected zones ensure the active management of historic shipwrecks—a kind of protection that is not secured in Southeast Asia. Permits related to these zones ensure that any planned activities respect the wreck sites and its associated relics as well as ensure the proper preservation of the above. These zones do not merely protect the underwater cultural heritage, but at the same time safeguard the preservation of the natural heritage and biodiversity of the sites. Maps 3 and 4 show the Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) in the Southeast Asian region, which clearly demonstrate the contrast between this region and the Australian one, despite their physical proximity.



Map 2: Historic shipwreck protected zones in Australia
Source of map: http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/historic-shipwrecks/protected-zones
Accessed: 17/05/2017

Map 3: Marine Protected Areas in Southeast Asia
Source of map: http://www.protectedplanet.net/
Accessed: 17/05/2017



Map 4: Types of MPAs in Southeast Asia
Source of map: http://www.mpatlas.org/explore/
Accessed: 17/05/2017

The Australian National Shipwreck Database (ANSDB) is another exemplary initiative by the Australian government. [33] The database was launched in December 2009 and includes all known shipwrecks in Australian waters. Features of the ANSDB include different fields of information, the capacity to store images about the wrecks, the functionality to link shipwrecks to relics recovered from shipwreck sites, as well as site environment information for divers and site managers. An integrated management system is also included in the ANSDB to facilitate online permit applications and notifications. Information stored in the ANSDB has been collected by state and territory historic shipwreck agencies or supplied by custodians of historic shipwreck objects. As mentioned above, there is an initiative for a similar database for Southeast Asia (Shipwreck Asia) but as it is not maintained by governmental support, therefore its scope and efficiency may be on a lesser scale than its Australian counterpart.

[33] http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/historic-shipwrecks/australian-national-shipwreck-database
Accessed: 17/05/2017

2.3. General Overview of the Southeast Asian Situation

So far the only comprehensive study on the history of shipwreck excavations in Southeast Asia is the article written by Roxanna M. Brown, which provides an overview of the general context and problems of this field in the region. [34] According to Brown, one of the major problems is that there is no central repository for information on the various discoveries and explorations, and that only a few excavations are as well documented as, for example, the widely known Belitung shipwreck. [35] A recent initiative to establish a Southeast Asian shipwreck database, called Shipwreck Asia, may solve this problem in the future. [36] Shipwreck Asia aims to maintain a database to promote and provide access to historical shipwrecks of the region. The program was started in 2016, and the website of the database includes a legislation section gathering existing legislation on the underwater cultural heritage protection in the countries of the region. The project is still in an early stage with scarce information on the shipwrecks so far discovered in Southeast Asia.

The first documented shipwreck excavation of the region was the so called *Ko Khram* wreck in 1974, and since then a series of shipwreck finds were excavated up until 2004. According to Brown's data, three-four wrecks are discovered yearly. [37]

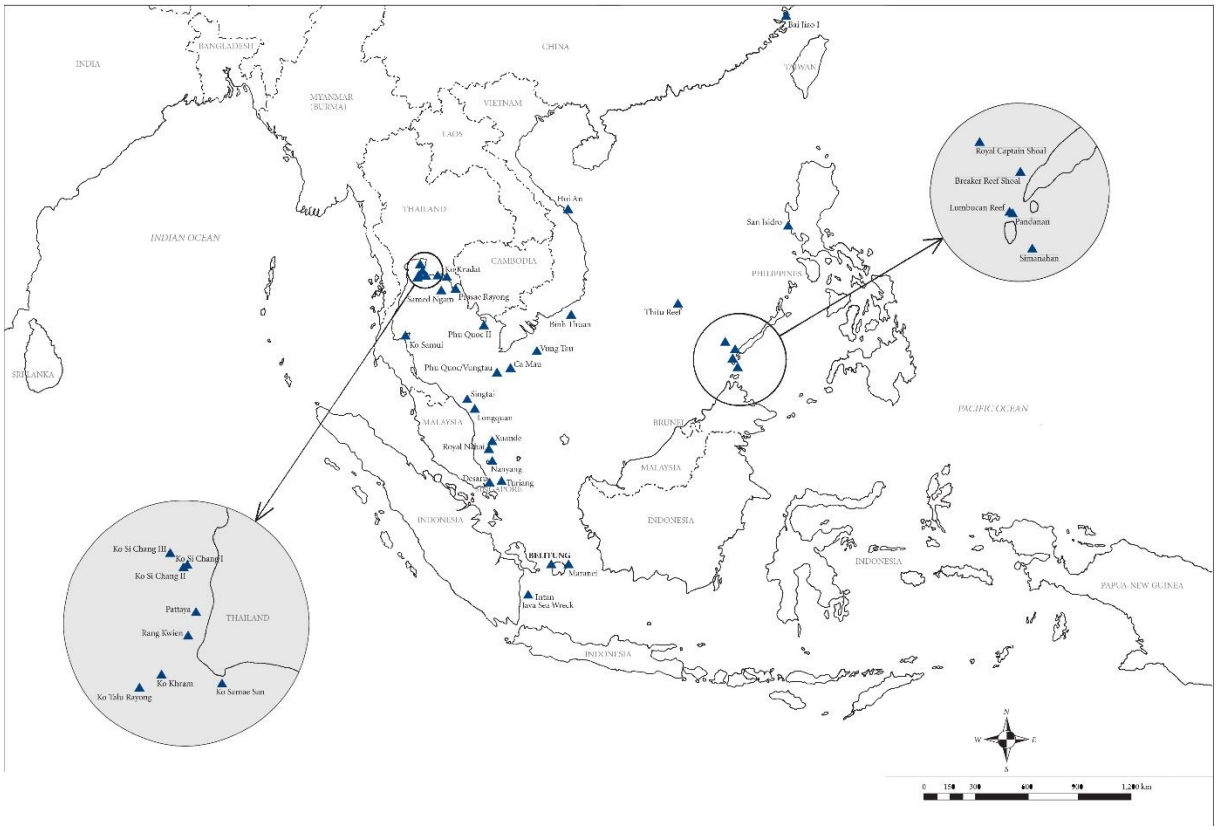
Currently there are two major types of sites in this region: sites in international waters of almost all countries in Southeast Asia, and territorial waters. The international sites are excavated by private entrepreneurs who base their salvage rights on international maritime law. The sites in territorial waters can be excavated by various organizations or institutions, such as

[34] Roxanna M. Brown, "History of Shipwreck Excavation in Southeast Asia," in *The Belitung Wreck: Sunken Treasures from Tang China*, ed. Jayne Ward, and Zoi Kotitsa (New Zealand: Seabed Explorations Ltd., 2004), 40-55.
[35] Brown, "History of Shipwreck Excavation in Southeast Asia," 42.
[36] http://www.shipwreckasia.org/, Accessed: 17/05/2017
[37] Brown, "History of Shipwreck Excavation in Southeast Asia," 43.

relevant national authorities, sometimes in conjunction with private companies or archaeologists from abroad. In certain cases the entire excavation is contracted out to a private company, or the countries can issue an excavation permit to salvors for a fee.[38] These cases show a variability of legislation, financial management and the freedom countries enjoy in centralizing or outsourcing the excavation projects. Due to this situation, the extent of published wreck sites varies considerably, however, what they have in common is that either the archaeology or the data (or both) are incomplete.[39]

As a result of the scattered information about explorations and discoveries in the Southeast Asian region, the number of shipwrecks found in the area is impossible to calculate. Interestingly, Brown refers to the geographical limits as one aspect of the problem. Brown states, that there are wrecks in the Indian Ocean off the coast of Africa, in the Galle harbour of Sri Lanka, in the Pacific Ocean off the shores of California and Mexico, along the South China Coast (e.g. Quanzhou excavation), near Hong Kong, and along the Coast of Western Australia, which all can be included in a list of Southeast Asian sites.[40]

[38] Ibid., 46.
[39] Ibid., 46.
[40] Ibid., 47.



Map 5: Shipwreck sites according to Brown's personal data.
Brown, "History of Shipwreck Excavation", 44-45.

Brown's personal list (see Map 5) includes sites reported by fishermen, sports divers and/or private salvors, that have not been reported in print.[41] The map also demonstrates the impossibility to access comprehensive data about the region's underwater heritage. Brown also draws attention to the rankling fact that in some cases no public report is produced, if the cargo is not commercially valuable. As Brown emphasizes, if it is obvious that not even publication will increase the sales price of a cargo sufficiently enough to cover the expenses, the efforts of proper documentation and publication are often neglected. In other words, the underwater cultural heritage is only properly shared with the public and the academic world when collectors and museums, in some cases even archaeologists themselves, see value in a shipwreck cargo.[42]

[41] Ibid., 48.
[42] Ibid., 48.

The lack of proper legislation causes another type of problem in areas with underwater heritage: the activity of fishermen or sports divers. In the case of shipwreck heritage, for instance, full wrecks are rare, partly because fishermen, who are always the first to discover old wreck sites, retrieve and sell at least a portion of the material. Many sites are disturbed without knowing, and their artefacts break and scatter because of the use of fishing dragnets.[43] These examples show that current legislation is insufficient for the protection of these sites and requires more attention from the national and supranational authorities working on the protection of cultural and natural heritage.

2.4. Conclusions

Underwater heritage protection in Southeast Asia is limited and inadequate, local legislations are not focused enough on the excavation obligations of shipwreck discoveries, such as sufficient documentation and publication of the sites. Furthermore, the number of marine protected areas in the region do not provide a framework for the protection and promotion of areas with a significant number of potential and actual sites. The legislation framework together with the different programs and projects of the Australian government can serve as an example for the Southeast Asian states.

The lack of sufficient legislation and cooperation with international organizations such as UNESCO also harm scholarship. The present piece of research clearly shows that the fragmentary nature of information about these sites and their assemblages, as well as the lack of professional and citable publications, seriously hampers archaeological analysis beyond the wrecks themselves. For example, the scarcity of data reduces the potential of my analysis of a type of material culture from the Early Modern period. The analogies, that the assemblages of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Southeast Asian shipwrecks could provide, would help in the

[43] Ibid., 50.

identification of these objects and fill in the blanks of research that are now present in the Hungarian Ottoman period archaeology.

The case study of the Southeast Asian historic shipwrecks is an example of a cultural heritage preservation malpractice, that has an impact not only on cultural and natural heritage, but on scholarship as well. The accessibility of data, including the actual site and publications of excavations, is a crucial first step of potentially far-reaching research. When this crucial step is disrupted, research cannot progress until more data can be collected.

Chapter 3 – Chinese Porcelain in Ottoman Buda (1541-1686)

The aim of this chapter is to draw a picture of the character of the assemblage from Buda. The results demonstrated here are of my MA thesis submitted to the Institute of Archaeology at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) in 2017, the topic of which was the archaeological analysis of the Chinese porcelain assemblage of Ottoman Buda. Therefore, the outline of the history and the topographical changes which occurred in Buda during the Ottoman era, as well as the description of the finds demonstrated in this chapter, are a succinct summary of that thesis.

3.1. The Development of Buda in the Ottoman period

The Ottoman expansion was already a threat for the Hungarian Kingdom during the reign of King Matthias (1458-1490), but it became reality after the Battle of Mohács in 1526, when the Ottoman troops overthrew the Hungarian army of Louis II, who also died during the battle. After Mohács, Sultan Suleiman marched into Buda in 1526 and 1529, but did not occupy it yet, his reason simply being that John Szapolyai, who ruled over the Hungarian kingdom between 1526 and 1540 with the help of Suleiman, was loyal to him. Consequently, Suleiman only needed to occupy Buda after Szapolyai's death when Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor, elected as the king of Hungary by one part of the Hungarian aristocracy in 1526, began to overtake lands previously ruled by Szapolyai.[44] The sultan's troops took over Buda on 29 August, 1541, on the fifteenth anniversary of the battle of Mohács.

After the occupation the town became the centre of the Buda *vilayet*, the northernmost administrative division of the Ottoman Empire, therefore its primary function was military, and

[44] Gábor Ágoston and Balázs Sudár, *Gül Baba és a magyarországi bektasi dervisek* [Gül Baba and the Bektaşi dervishes in Hungary] (Budapest: Terebess Kiadó, 2002), 5–6.

everything was subordinated to this role.[45] Gradually the social topography of the Castle Hill was fundamentally transformed. The medieval royal palace and its surroundings were inhabited by the soldiers of the garrison, the pasha first moved into one of the aristocrats' mansion on the Danube bank, and then in 1598 moved up to the building that became the Carmelites' convent in the eighteenth century.[46] The janissary agha resided at the northern end of the Castle Hill, in the vicinity of today's Bécsi kapu Square. Based on written sources such as tax registers, the social topography of the town, including the suburban settlements, can be reconstructed, but archaeological investigations have not provided sufficient evidence so far to support these reconstructions. Furthermore, the data is fragmentary and most sources date from the sixteenth century, as the number of registers decreases throughout the seventeenth century.

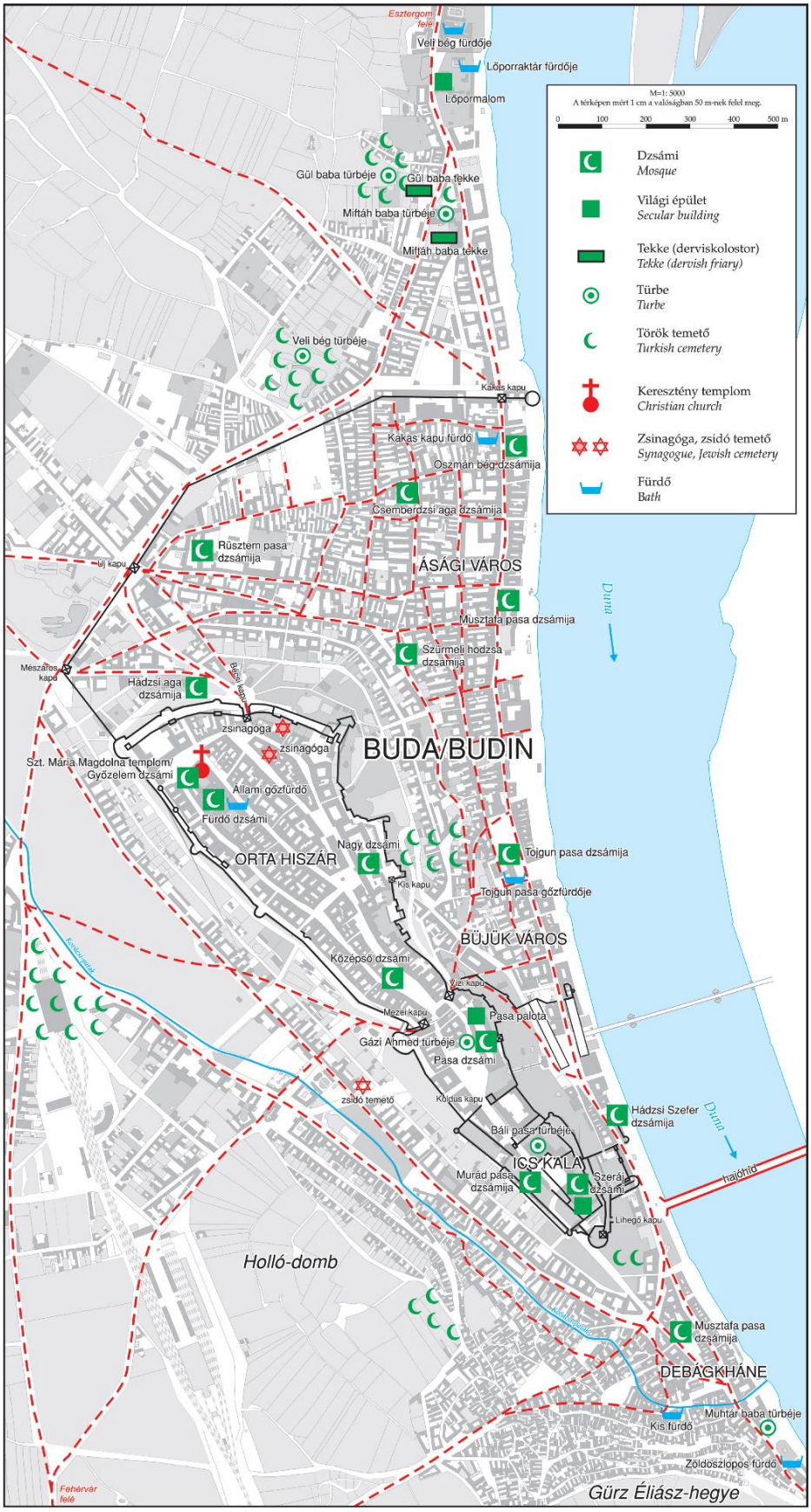
Gábor Ágoston and Balázs Sudár attempted to reconstruct the *mahalle* system of Buda and its suburbs. The theory of the mahalle system itself is not accepted by the entire archaeologist community, mainly due to the abovementioned lack of archaeological evidence. But based on the sources Ágoston and Sudár identified mahalles[47] named after streets (not important religious buildings as was customary in Muslim cities), as well as the parts of the town where ethnic or religious groups were concentrated: Hungarians in the streets north of Dísz tér and in Víziváros; Italians in Olasz utca [Italian Street]; Jews in Zsidó utca [Jewish Street, today Táncsics Mihály utca]; and in Víziváros, separated from Hungarians and Muslims, a large number of orthodox gypsies of south-Slavic origin lived.[48] Travelers, both Christian and Muslim, also describe how the town changed after the Ottoman occupation: *minaret*s and

[45] Ibid., 6.
[46] Ibid., 7.
[47] Ibid., the first scholar to identify mahalles was Lajos Fekete in his seminal work *Budapest története,* vol. 3, *Budapest a török korban* [The history of Budapest, vol. 3, Budapest during the Turkish Era] (Budapest: 1944). Fekete's conclusions still stand, later excavations only add to and refine the material Fekete had accumulated in his work.
[48] Ágoston and Sudár, *Gül Baba,* 7.

*cami*s appeared, the latter transformed from Christian churches, and the occupiers also built wooden stalls, characteristic for *bazar*s and dwelling houses.[49]

Since the Second World War, numerous rescue excavations have been conducted in the present day Castle District, as well as in the areas that used to be Buda's suburbs during the Ottoman period. These excavations supplemented the information derived from the written sources. Excavations on a larger scale were carried out in the Buda Royal Palace right after the Second World War by László Gerevich and Imre Holl between 1958 and 1961.[50] After this major project, smaller excavations occurred throughout the present day Castle District and in the Víziváros lead by the archaeologists of the Budapest History Museum, which still continue. Based on these excavations the Ottoman period topography of Buda and the Víziváros is more precisely reconstructed, the latest results summarized in Map 6. András Végh's map shows the known *cami*s, *turbe*s, cemeteries and baths, which could be identified based on either written or imagery sources, archaeological data or both. Other institutions, such as *waqf*s, *imaret*s, *medrese*s or *karavan saray*s do appear in sources, but these have not been identified so far, as the data at hand does not allow confident topographical identification of these buildings. Therefore, these do not appear in Végh's map.

[49] Ibid., 9.
[50] László Gerevich, *A budai vár feltárása* [The excavation of the Buda Castle] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966).



Map 6: Topographical development of Buda in the Ottoman period, last quarter of the seventeenth century, up to 1686.
András Végh, *Buda*, pt. 1, *To 1686*, Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns 4 (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2015), Map A3.4.

Based on archaeological surveys, two tendencies can be grasped in connection with the Ottoman occupation of Buda: with the extension of the town's fortifications, it was gradually turned into an Ottoman fortress;[51] and the newcomers mostly used the medieval houses with smaller adjustments or renovations.[52] One of the archaeologically best researched parts of historical Buda is the present day Szent György tér [St George Square], which, based on the excavations, mainly functioned as a residential area before the Ottoman occupation.[53] Aristocrats and burghers also owned dwelling houses here, in the neighborhood of a Franciscan monastery and the St Sigismund provostry, which operated until the end of the Middle Ages (i.e. 1541). The area became especially important in the last few decades of the Middle Ages, when the governor and the chancellor of the country both received a dwelling house next to the royal palace.[54] This clearly shows the accentuated character of the square, most probably due to its vicinity to the medieval royal palace. During the Ottoman period, this area apparently held a similarly important position: the medieval royal palace was inhabited by the garrison, the St Sigismund provostry was probably converted into a *cami*,[55] and in 1598 the construction of the pasha palace complex was started in the north-eastern corner of the square (present day Várszínház).[56] The latter one inarguably changed the face of the square and most likely strengthened its previous central function.

[51] András Végh, *Buda*, pt 1, *To 1686*, Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns 4 (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2015, 27).
[52] Ibid., 24.
[53]For a detailed summary of the results of the research until 2003 see Károly Magyar, "A budavári Szent György tér és környékének kiépülése: Történeti vázlat 1526-tól napjainkig" [Development of the St George Square and its Vicinity in the Buda Castle: Historical outline from 1526 to the present], Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából: Budapest várostörténeti monográfiái 31 (2003), 43-127.
[54] Ibid, 50.
[55] The St Sigismund provostry's church was first identified by Győző Gerő as the building mentioned in the Ottoman sources by the name Küçük cami in *idem*, "Hol állott a budai Kücsük dzsámi?" [Where was the Küçük cami of Buda?], *Budapest Régiségei* 19 (1959), 215-18. Gerő's identification was not fully accepted, as of the current state of scholarship, it is only supposed that the church was converted into a cami, but it is not identified as the church of St Sigismund (see András Végh, *Buda*, 42. 9.3/Muslim, "Kis dzsámi").
[56] About the excavations of the Pasha Palace see Győző Gerő, "A budai pasák vári palotája" [The palace of the Buda pashas in the Castle], *Budapest* 6/9 (1968): 42; for the interpretation of the excavations *idem*, "The residence of the Pashas in Hungary and the recently discovered Pashasaray from Buda," in *Art Turc: 10 Congrès international d'art turc; Actes / Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art; Proceedings; Genève, 1995*, ed. François Déroche (Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999), 353–60; for the latest excavations see

Víziváros played an important role in the life of Ottoman period Buda, the elaboration of which is not part of this thesis due to the small amount of excavations and Chinese porcelain sherds of the area. One significant part of the area, however, is the present day Corvin tér [Corvin Square], where remains of a *cami* were excavated, that can be connected to Toygun pasha, who held the title twice in Buda during the sixteenth century. [57] This part of town is generally referred to as *Toygun pasha mahalle*, which also appears in the written sources. Based on the fact that a *cami* and a *hamam* bath were also identified here, the area can be defined as a *mahalle* centre. Written sources also mention that the pashas resided on the Danube bank before they moved up to the Castle Hill;[58] these circumstances provide basis for the hypothesis that their first palace or residence might have been in this area. The central function of the area is also reflected in the porcelain finds of the present day Corvin tér, the second most significant assemblage from the civilian part of Ottoman Buda, after Szent György tér.

3.2. Archaeological context of the findings

3.2.1. The medieval royal palace

The main body of the assemblage originates from the excavations in the territory of the medieval royal palace between 1948 and 1960 (Figure 4). The fragments altogether count 538 pieces (including 75 pieces of a size smaller than 1 cm), out of which at least 412 separate vessels can be reconstructed. Roughly one quarter of the vessels, altogether 110 pieces, come from an unidentified part of the territory. Regarding the layer context, in the medieval royal palace, most of the porcelain fragments were unearthed in layers that were created during the Baroque reconstruction of the palace after its re-occupation from the Ottomans in 1686. This

Adrienn Papp, "Rövid összefoglaló a budai pasák palotájáról" [Succinct report on the Pasha's Palace in Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 46 (2013), 167-185.

[57] Győző Gerő, "A buda-vízivárosi Tojgun pasa dzsámi és a Tojgun pasa mahalle" [The Toygun pasha mosque and the Toygun pasha mahalle in Buda-Víziváros (Watertown)], *Budapest Régiségei* 37 (2003), 197-208.

[58] Gábor Ágoston and Balázs Sudár, *Gül baba,* 7.

means that these fragments were collected from all over the palace and were used to fill up the zwingers as well as the old and new cesspits. Therefore, there were only a few cases when Chinese porcelain was retrieved from datable archaeological contexts, supported by other types of material culture that would allow a more precise dating of the porcelain fragments. Apart from a few exceptions, the majority of the assemblage can be dated to the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, as they were unearthed in Ottoman layers, but more precise dating can only be carried out on the basis of stylistic analysis and material tests. The latter is hardly feasible in the framework of a master thesis, therefore my dating will be mostly based on style and analogies, as the archaeological context can only define the *terminus ante quem* for when the piece was buried, but not its production or arrival at the royal palace. A good example for such finds is the pieces of a large bowl (Figure 5), which were unearthed in the fourth datable layer of the rock trench crossing the palace, together with coins dated from the thirteenth century up until 1568. Based on this data Imre Holl dated the bowl to the second half of the fourteenth century, further narrowing the dating with the help of stylistic analysis.[59] Furthermore, Imre Holl also dates a smaller bowl's fragment to the late Middle Ages (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) based on layer context. This fragment originates from the sixth layer of the inner rock trench of the Large Courtyard, which can be dated with the help of coins from the second half of the fourteenth century to 1469. Based on this, Imre Holl believes that this object must have been imported during the fifteenth century.[60]

There were altogether 31 sites where Chinese porcelain fragments were found, out of which the 10 sites featured on Figure 5 yielded the most pieces. The largest number was collected from the Great Rondella (83 pcs.), but the second largest number is represented by those registered as 'Palace strays' (78 pcs.). Therefore, the distribution of the finds within the

[59] Imre Holl, *Fundkomplexe,* 131.
[60] Ibid., 133.

royal palace does not provide evaluable information, but rather indicates that they were used as filling material during the post-recapture levelling after 1686. Exceptions are the materials of those wells and pits which seem to have been filled by the end of the Ottoman period, featuring those archaeological contexts which are confidently dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Figure 5: Sites in the Royal Palace yielding the most porcelain sherds.
Map by author, after László Gerevich, *A budai vár feltárása* [Excavation of the Buda Castle] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1966), 8.

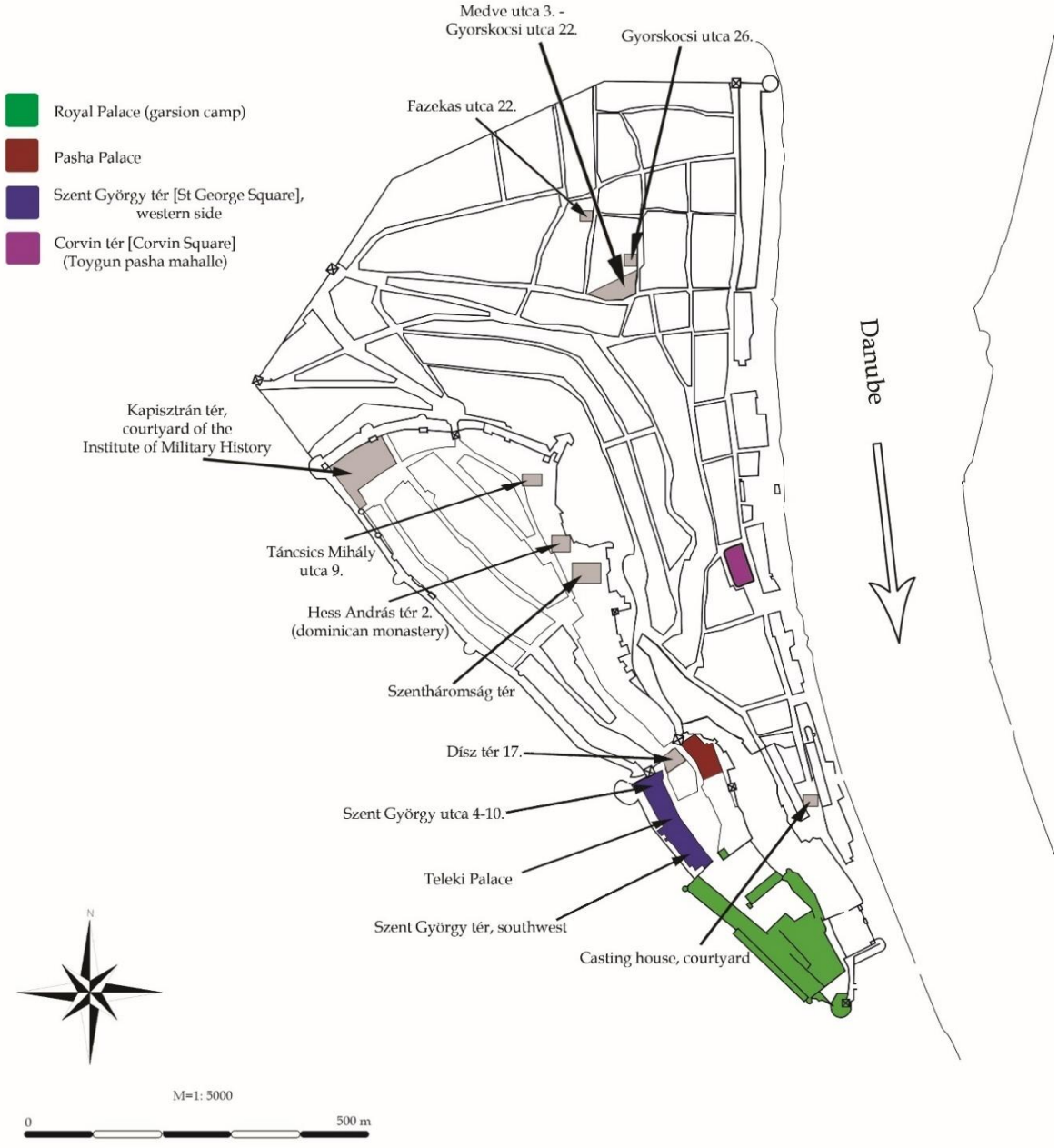
3.2.2. The civilian town

Another significant assemblage was unearthed in the territory of the present day Szent György tér [Saint George Square] situated directly north of the medieval royal palace. On its eastern side the Pasha Palace was excavated, which contained a significant Chinese porcelain assemblage. This assemblage is not accessible at the moment, therefore it is not included in the present thesis. On the western side, however, another assemblage was collected from four different excavation sites: Szent György utca 4-10 [St George street 4-10]; Teleki Palota [Teleki Palace]; Szent György tér, Délnyugat [St George square, southwest] and the Csikós udvar [Horseherd Courtyard]; which took place between 1998 and 2000 (Figure 6).[61] Regarding the archaeological context of the Szent György tér area and in the rest of the civilian town, two kinds of circumstances occurred: 1. modern, mixed layers of construction or levelling debris, and 2. clearly Ottoman layers or pits, dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but other objects that could more precisely date these layers or pits occurred in only a few cases.

Several other smaller excavation sites (Map 7), both within the Castle District and in Víziváros, also yielded Chinese porcelain fragments. The unearthed vessels in general fit the character of the assemblage unearthed in Szent György tér, with some outstanding exceptions from Táncsics Mihály utca; as well as Fazekas utca and Gyorskocsi utca in Víziváros. The distribution of the different types will be attested in more detail in chapter 6, in connection with the analysis of the assemblages. The archaeological contexts in the case of the suburb Víziváros

[61] Excavation reports in Hungarian: Dorottya B. Nyékhelyi, *Középkori kútlelet a budavári Szent György téren* [Medieval Well Find from the Saint George Square in the Buda Castle], Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia 12 (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2003); Károly Magyar, "A budavári Szent György tér és környékének kiépülése: Történeti vázlat 1526-tól napjainkig" [The formation of St. George Square in Buda: Historical overview from 1526 to the present], in *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából*, Budapest várostörténeti monográfiái 31 (2003), 43-127; András Végh, "A Szent György utca 4-10. számú telkek régészeti kutatása: Előzetes jelentés" [Archaeological excavation of 4-10 St. George Street: Preliminary Report], in *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából,* Budapest Várostörténeti Monográfiái 31 (2003), 167-90.

are similar to that of the civilian town, except for a few more fortunate circumstances, where datable objects were found next to the porcelain fragments. But in general, the pieces originated from Ottoman, Baroque or modern layers, which cannot be dated more precisely. [62]



Map 7: Sites from the civilian town.
Map by author, after András Végh, Buda, *Map A3.4*

[62] The information regarding the archaeological contexts was mostly collected from the documentation of the excavations, held by the Budapest History Museum's archive; and partly from the publications of these excavations, see footnote no. 21.

3.3.1. The assemblage of the medieval Royal Palace

The majority of the fragments belong to two types: cups and small bowls. As Chinese porcelain catalogues are not clear on the distinction between the two, I propose a definition for this assemblage and the other two assemblages (the civilian town of Buda and the Castle of Eger). Small bowls are of a cup form, but with a rim diameter above 9 cm and/or a foot ring diameter above 4 cm. Based on this distinction, the assemblage consists of 130 cups, 105 small bowls, 20 dishes or large bowls, 8 plates, 1 cup with handles, 1 lid and 151 unidentifiable fragments (the majority of which possibly belongs to either cups or small bowls).

This shows that small bowls and cups (called cups in general in the Hungarian scholarship) are in overwhelming majority compared to other forms. Imre Holl draws attention to the fact that in the Ottoman period, Eastern import tableware such as faience and porcelain, normally contains no jars, pitchers and large footed bowls, forms that were otherwise popular in the period. According to Holl, this fact might be in connection with the custom of tea and coffee consumption.[63] This tendency of vessel shapes, namely that jugs, jars, pitchers and footed bowls are missing among Chinese porcelain finds throughout the entire territory of Hungary, indicate a special use for these objects. Cups, and probably small bowls as well, were used for tea and coffee consumption, whilst jugs and pitchers were mainly produced by local potters. The latter vessel types appeared in the style of Turkish pottery, as well as products of local Hungarian potters; but footed bowls are also a characteristic type of ceramics in Ottoman Hungary. This shows that the missing vessel shapes are not exactly missing, but are present in different types of ceramics, indicating that Chinese porcelain most probably had a specific role among vessels, naturally with exceptions that corroborate the rule.

[63] Imre Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 130.

The description of the characteristic types of the assemblage detailed below follows the chronology of the Chinese emperors, as in the secondary literature, porcelain vessels are usually dated based on emperors' ruling periods.[64] Those types that were not identified due to the lack of analogies, are described in a chronological order, with suggestions for a chronology, based on stylistic observations. Roughly half of the assemblage can be connected to the Wanli period (1573-1619), but the overwhelming majority of the assemblage is dated to either the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries, three fragments are modern, and one is probably from the fifteenth century.

Wanli period (1573-1620)

As mentioned above, roughly half of the assemblage can be confidently connected to this period, which is represented by three types: abstract small bowls with peach, cups and plates with foliated rims and vessels with underglaze red painting; all types belonging to the blue and white porcelains. All three types were identified as products of a private kiln in Jingdezhen called Guanyinge 观音阁, which was excavated in 2005.[65] Examples of the type were found on the Wanli shipwreck, which sank in 1625 with its whole cargo before reaching Southeast-Asia.[66] This means, that it still contained the merchandise intended for the Southeast-Asian market, therefore types that usually did not reach Europe were also represented. The cargo was identified as Jingdezhen ware, dated to the early seventeenth century.[67] The types described here do not appear in any other publication so far, indicating that they were probably not intended for a Western European market.

[64] See for example Stacey Pierson, *Chinese Ceramics: A Design History* (London: V&A Publishing, 2009), 43.
[65] Sten Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo* (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Muzium, 2007), 306, endnote 124.; about Jingdezhen see Anne Gerritsen, "Ceramics for local and global markets: Jingdezhen's agora of technologies" in ed. Dagmar Schäfer, *Cultures of Knowledge. Technologies in Chinese History.* (Boston&Leiden: Brill, 2012): 161-184.
[66] Sten Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck,* 34.
[67] Ibid., 16.

Figure 6: Excavated private kilns in ancient Jingdezhen

Sten Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo* (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Muzium, 2007), 66, Map 4.

The type represented by the most pieces, eighty-eight in all, is the **small bowl with abstract peach decoration**. These vessels are usually decorated with an abstract peach or peach blossom in the well and on the outside walls, with abstract clouds between them on the outside. The outer rim and foot ring are also decorated with a horizontal line around them, the rim also decorated with stylized ornaments between two lines.

Figure 7: Small bowl with abstract peach decoration, Wanli period, ca. 1625.

BTM inventory no. 63.385
Palace cat. 181.

Figure 8: Small bowl with abstract peach decoration, Wanli period, ca. 1625.

Sten Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo* (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Muzium, 2007),138.
Serial no. 3251.

Cups with foliated rims are represented by 26 fragments, which might belong to much fewer vessels. This type has a very thin, usually 1 mm wall and a foliated rim; the walls are decorated with rich natural motives, such as trees, plants, insects on both sides, divided into

vertical panels. The wall of the vessels is either ribbed or straight. One feature seems to appear on all analogies, the bird standing on a rock in the well, therefore I suggest that the bottom fragments that feature this type of bird motif in the royal palace assemblage also belong to this type. The bird on a rock also appears on the outer wall, examples of which can be found in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London.[68] Analogies of the type with foliated rim were also found during the excavation of the Guanyinge kiln in Jingdezhen,[69] and they also appear in the cargo of the Wanli shipwreck.[70] Sherds of plates with foliated rims, decorated in a similar style are also present in the assemblage, analogies of which can be found in the cargo of the Wanli shipwreck.[71] The piece shown in Figure 9 was found in a cellar's layer that was dated to the second half of the sixteenth century by the excavator, based on the context and other finds.[72] This corresponds to the decades of the Wanli period (1573-1620) in the sixteenth century, therefore supports, or at least does not refute, the notion that it might belongs to the type with foliated rim.

Figure 9: Cup with foliated rim, Wanli period
BTM inventory no. 51.873
Palace cat. 102.

[68] The analogy found here is identified as a piece made in Jingdezhen during the Wanli period (1573-1620). Museum number: C.47-1930. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London 2017, accessed May 8, 2017, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O437292/bowl-unknown/.
[69] Bai Zhang, *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China: Guangdong, Guangxi, Hainan, Sichuan, Chongqing, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan* (Beijing: Science Press, 2008), 232.
[70] Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 160, Serial No. 7916.
[71] Ibid., 208-19. These plates feature a similar decoration on their walls, and different motifs (animal) in their well. It is usually the walls' sherds which are present. Some fragments of wells also appear in the royal palace assemblage, which are difficult to identify, but can probably be connected to this type, identified as Kraak in Sjöstrand's catalogue. More analogies in John Ayers and Regina Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue II; Yuan and Ming Dynasty Porcelains* (London: Sotheby's, 1986): 682-83. No. 1107 and no. 1112.
[72] Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 24-25.

Figure 10: Cup with bird on a rock, Wanli period
BTM inventory no. 51.20
Palace cat. 40.

Figure 11: Cup with foliated rim and bird on a rock in the well, Wanli period

Bai Zhang, *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China: Guangdong, Guangxi, Hainan, Sichuan, Chongqing, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan* (Beijing: Science Press, 2008), 232.

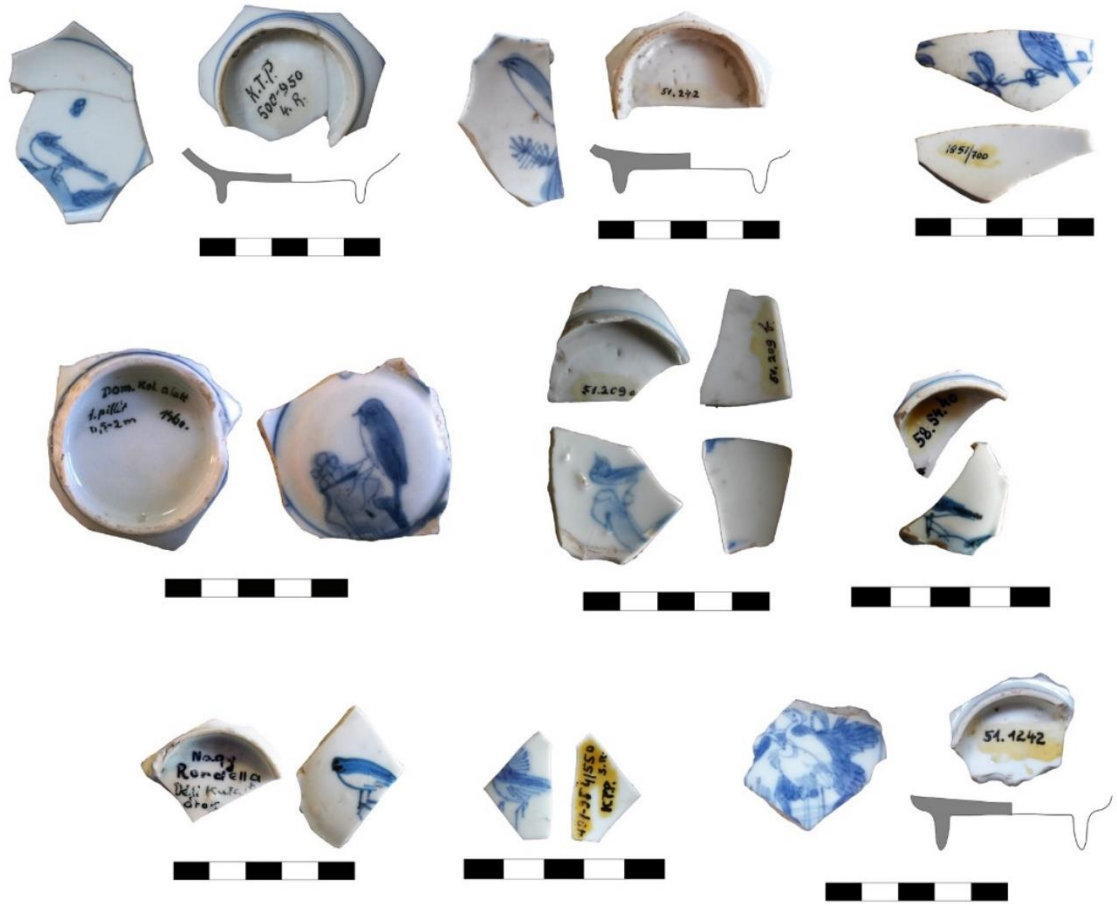


Figure 12: Birds from the assemblage of the Royal Palace

The last type connected to the Guanyinge kiln is represented by **blue and white cups, with underglaze red painting**. There are only 4 vessels of this type in the royal palace assemblage, and their analogies are also found in the cargo of the Wanli shipwreck.[73] This type bears the characteristics of the Wanli period (1573-1620): bluish white glaze, with bright blue underglaze painting, accompanied by some underglaze red painting. The pieces found in the royal palace are not direct analogies of those appearing in the Wanli cargo, but these are the only similar vessels that are published in the catalogues I have had access to. The sherd shown on Figure 13 is also decorated with overglaze gilt, which is not very typical in the Buda

[73] Holl, *Fundkomplexe,*, 66, fig. 65, serial no. 6511.

assemblage, especially not before the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. This even brings the analogy form the Wanli cargo further, but the sherd is probably from the same period.[74]

Figure 13: Small bowl with red painting, Wanli period
BTM inventory no. 97.115.1.
Palace cat. 216.

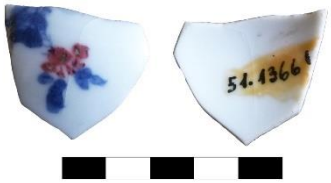


Figure 14: Sherd of a vessel with red painting, Wanli period
BTM inventory no. 51.1366
Palace cat. 28.

Figure 15: Small bowl with red painting, Wanli period
Sten Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 66, fig. 65, serial no. 6511.

[74] Based on the description of the red-painted types in Sjöstrand's catalogue, ibid. 146-47, serial no. 6513.

Shunzhi period (1644-1661)

One type can confidently be connected to this period, with a direct analogy from the Topkapı Saray Museum.[75] The two wall fragments of a small bowl are decorated on the outside with underglaze bright blue painting, featuring a geometric design and a horizontal line around the rim. The inside shows no decoration, and according to the description of the analogy from the Topakpı Saray Museum, this type is plain on the inside. Regarding the archaeological context, the sherds originate from a layer that was dated to the seventeenth century by the excavator.[76]

Figure 16: Small bowl with geometric decoration, Shunzhi period
BTM inventory no. 51.579
Palace cat. 92.

Figure 17: Small bowl with geometric decoration, Topakpı Saray Museum, mid-seventeenth century

John Ayers and Regina Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue*, pt. 3, *Qing Dynasty Porcelains* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986), 968, no. 2011.

[75] John Ayers and Regina Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue*, pt. 3, *Qing Dynasty Porcelains* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986), 968, no.2011.
[76] Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 34.

Kangxi period (1662-1722)

There are four types that can be confidently dated to the Kangxi period. These are cups with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration, and three types of blue and white cups with a monochrome glaze on their outside, which is brown, red or celadon green. The ones with brown and green glaze are basically the same type, they both can appear with a landscape or a flower/fruit basket in the well. Other decoration is simply a double horizontal line around the rim and the well.[77] The celadon glaze in this case is self-explanatory, this colour is named after the forerunner of porcelains, called *celadon*. This was a similarly high-fired pottery as porcelain, but less pure white, and typically covered by a characteristic turquoise coloured glaze. "Celadon glaze" on the blue and white porcelains was named after this proto-porcelain, as it features a similar turquoise colour on the outside, but mostly lighter.

Figure 18: Blue and white cup with celadon glaze, Kangxi period
Palace cat. 314.

Brown colored glaze appears in many several shades, which the secondary literature differentiates as iron-brown, iron-red, soy-brown or coffee-brown. Considering that my

[77] For an analogy of the brown glazed type see Bai Zhang, *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China. Fujian* (Beijing: Science Press, 2008), 197.

experience is limited to publications and their pictures, in this thesis I refrain from making this difference regarding the assemblages of Buda or Eger, and simply refer to this type as brown glazed blue and white. One sherd in the assemblage however is inarguably red and not brown glazed. The sherd belongs to a small bowl's wall, and no decoration can be seen on the inside. Its analogy appears in a collective Jiangxi porcelain catalogue, featuring a crane bird among plants in the well.[78]

Figure 19: Blue and white cup with brown glaze, Kangxi period
BTM inventory no. 66.229.9
Palace cat. 169

Figure 20: Sherd of a bowl with red glaze, Kangxi period
BTM inventory no. 51.136
Palace cat. 27.

[78] [Yuan Tie] 铁源 ed., *江西藏全集—清代（上）*。[The complete collection of porcelain of Jiangxi Province, vol. 1, Porcelain of the Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: 朝华出版社, 2005), 88.

Figure 21: Blue and white bowl with red glaze, Kangxi period

[Yuan Tie] 铁源, ed., *江西藏全集—清代（上）*。[The complete collection of porcelain of Jiangxi Province, vol. 1, Porcelain of the Qing Dynasty]
(Beijing: 朝华出版社, 2005), 88.

Cups with lotus decoration are the second largest part of the assemblage in number, represented by c. 80 pieces. Analogies are not found in the catalogues for this type, but its style and stylized decorative motives, such as the *lingzhi* 靈芝 mushroom, indicate a similar origin, i.e. a private kiln in Jingdezhen. The stylistic features of this type fit the Wanli period (1573-1620), but as analogies from Eger assemblage show, they were most likely produced in the Kangxi period (1662-1722). The cups are covered in a bluish white glaze, with bright blue underglaze decoration, featuring lotus blossoms and *lingzhi* fungi, with an ornamental design around the outer bottom.

Figure 22: Cup with lotus and lingzhi decoration, Wanli period
Hunyadi J. u.; Palace cat. 235.

Regarding the more precise dating in the case of the Kangxi period, it is crucial to ascertain, whether they were made in the seventeenth century, which is still the Ottoman period, or in the eighteenth century, when the Ottoman influence had already ceased in Hungary. Based on stylistic observations, the types presented above are probably the products of the last decades of the seventeenth century; but there are brown glazed pieces in the assemblage that might be dated to the eighteenth century. The archaeological context of the finds is only available in the case of the red glazed sherd, as the other two are stray finds. The red glazed sherd was collected from a confidently dated Ottoman period layer, therefore it cannot be later than the seventeenth century.[79] This suggests that the type can be dated to the sixteenth-century part of the Kangxi period, i.e. 1662-1686. The analogies of the lotus type in Eger with date marks also supports the seventeenth-century dating of the pieces.

Pieces with uncertain dating

Most likely the earliest piece in the assemblage is the sherd of a larger bowl shown on Figure 23. The Hungarian literature described this piece as polychrome, which can hardly be refuted until a direct, identified analogy comes along. This piece was already dated to the fifteenth or sixteenth century by Imre Holl, based on stylistic observations.[80] The characteristics of the type fit the description of the forerunner of the so called *doucai* 斗彩 porcelains, which were decorated with overglaze red and green painting, and their earliest representatives were unearthed from Yongle-period (1403-1424) layers.[81] Based on a distant analogy (Figure 24) of the motif below the tree, it is probably from the sixteenth century.[82] The

[79] Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 27.
[80] Ibid., 174, plate 6.2.
[81] Stacey Pierson, *Earth, Fire and Water: Chinese Ceramic Technology; A Handbook for Non-Specialists* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1996), 43.
[82] Bai Zhang, *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China: Jiangsu, Shanghai* (Beijing: Science Press, 2008), 166.

sherd was found in a pit, together with Ottoman ceramics and three coins dating to 1535, 1571 and 1621.[83] This means that even though the fragment was probably made in the fifteenth century, it arrived in Buda with the Ottomans and was buried in the ground by the first half of the seventeenth century.

Figure 23: Sherd of a larger bowl, late fifteenth to early sixteenth century
BTM inventory no. 52.469
Palace cat. 132.

Figure 24: Footed cup with overglaze red painting, Xuande period
Bai Zhang, *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China: Jiangsu, Shanghai* (Beijing: Science Press, 2008), 166.

[83] Holl, *Fundkomplexe*, 22.

One unique piece of the assemblage is a small bowl, shown on Figure 25. Its decoration features a plum tree, one of the three good friends, pine, plum and bamboo, of Chinese iconography. Its fragments were found in a cesspit filled with material from the seventeenth century, dated to the first half of the century by coins.[84] Considering the deep blue painting and the style of the small bowl, together with the archaeological context, it might have been made during the Wanli period (1573-1620), or later, during the rule of Chongzhen (1628-1644).

Figure 25: Small bowl with plum tree, first half of the seventeenth century
BTM inventory no. 51.121
Palace cat. 17

Another unique piece of the assemblage is the wine cup shown on Figure 26. Its decoration features the Dharma wheel (*falun* 法轮), the analogy of which can be found on a jar dated to the Chenghua period (1465-1487).[85] The style of the cup, and the light blue painting indicates that the vessel can probably be dated to the seventeenth century. The archaeological

[84] Ibid., 25.
[85] [Yuan Tie] 铁源, ed., *江西藏全集—明代（下）。*[The complete collection of porcelain of Jiangxi Province, vol. 2, Porcelain of the Ming Dynasty] (Beijing: 朝华出版社, 2007), 37.

context in this case is unfortunate, as the piece was inventoried as a stray from the territory of the Royal Palace.

Figure 26: Wine cup with Dharma wheel, seventeenth century
BTM inventory no. 61.28.1
Palace cat. 158.

Figure 27: Blue and white jar with Dharma wheel, Chenghua period

Yuan Tie 铁源, ed., *江西藏全集—明代（下）*。The complete collection of porcelain of Jiangxi Province, vol. 2, Porcelain of the Ming Dynasty (Beijing:朝华出版社, 2007), 37.

Figure 28 shows variants of the type with peach, peach blossom or peony. These do not belong to the abstract type (except for no.5), but might be dated to the Wanli period (1573-1620), based on their stylistic features.

Figure 28: Blue and white vessels with variants of peach (2, 3, 4, and 8), peach blossom (1 and 5) and peony (6 and 7)
Buda Royal Palace assemblage

The case of the other pieces presented on Figure 29 is similar, the fragment with the horse (1) was most likely made in the sixteenth century, just like the small bowl with the geometric design on its inner rim (2). The last piece on Figure 29 demonstrates the type of pieces that are decorated with a landscape (3). The dating of these sherds is problematic, as it is difficult to recognize and identify the different scenes. Based on their simplistic style and some distant analogies, these pieces were probably made in the seventeenth century.

Figure 29: Blue and white vessels with no analogies (1 and 2), and blue and white small bowl with landscape, seventeenth century

Figure 30: Larger bowls and plates from the Royal Palace assemblage

Larger bowls and plates are presented on Figure 30. The dating and identification of these pieces is the most difficult, due to their fragmentary character. Based on stylistic features, they are probably products of the Wanli period (1573-1620), except for no. 5 which could be earlier, and no. 7 which could be later.

Figure 31 shows two examples of the white monochrome type. The precise dating of these pieces is only possible with scientific methods. The most famous type of white porcelain was made in Dehua, thus it is called Dehua porcelain. Its production began in the Yongle period (1403-1424), and it was still in production in the Wanli period (1573-1620). The variant that brought overseas fame to the type was the so called *blanc de chine*, the production of which began in the sixteenth century and was the most popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[86] As in the case of the brown glazed blue and white cups, identifying the pieces unearthed in Buda with this type and/or variant is uncertain. The other vessel shown on Figure 31 (2) is decorated with the so called *anhua* 暗画 or secret decoration. This is a type of motif that is carved underglaze and can only be seen properly when directed to light. It was the most common during the early Ming period (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries), but the geometric decoration of the inner rim indicates the Jiajing (1506-1521) or Wanli (1573-1620) periods. [87]

[86] Suzanne G. Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 203.
[87] Pierson, *Chinese Ceramic Technology*, 38.

Figure 31: White porcelains

(1) BTM inventory no. 61.26.1; Palace cat. 157
(2) Palace cat. 343

About a hundred pieces in the royal palace assemblage were not presented in this section. A significant number of the fragments (75) are too small (i.e. smaller than 1 cm) for any kind of identification or description, 41 pieces bear fragmentary decoration unsuitable for identification, and 3 pieces are modern. Based on the analysed pieces, roughly half of the assemblage can be dated to the Wanli period (1573-1620), the majority of which is represented by two types: the one decorated with the abstract peaches and the other one with foliated rim (see Figure 32). These types are connected to the Guanyinge private kiln in Jingdezhen, together with the type decorated with underglaze red painting.

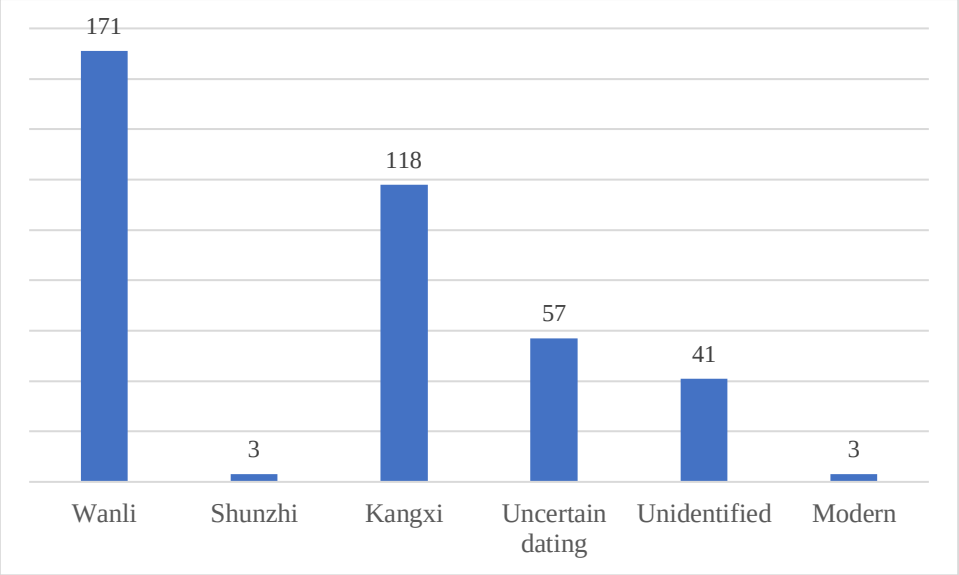


Figure 32: Chronological distribution of the Royal Palace assemblage

3.3.2. Chinese porcelain from the civilian town

The assemblage that was accessible for this thesis and previous studies yielded 165 vessels from seventeen different sites in the civilian town and the suburb of Buda. 20 sherds were too small for identification; 17 pieces are modern; i.e. after the second half of the eighteenth century; 2 fragments can be dated to the first half of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the identification and dating of 44 pieces is uncertain.

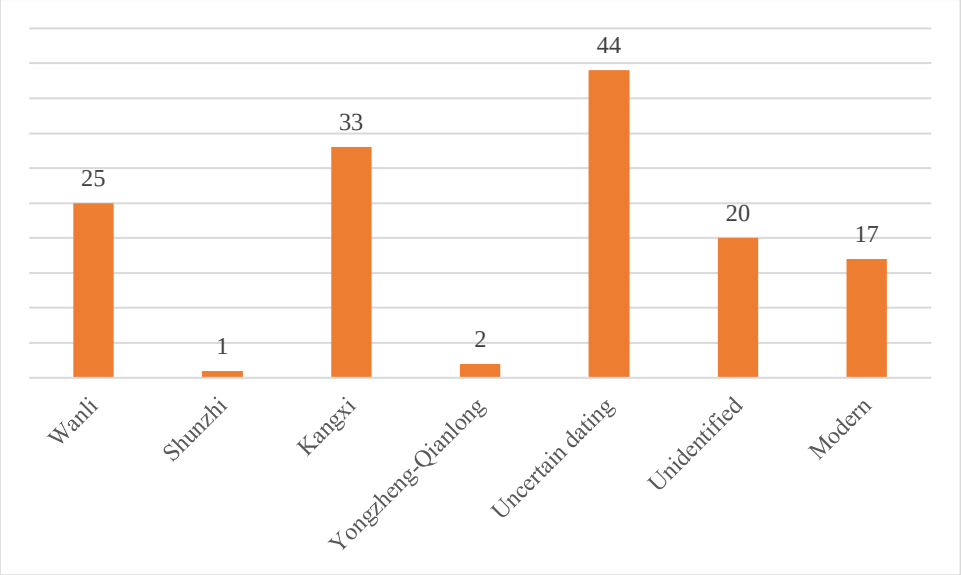


Figure 33: Chronological distribution of the civilian town assemblage

This leaves 66 vessels that can confidently be connected to an emperor's ruling period. These vessels correspond to the types described in connection with the royal palace's assemblage (Figure 33): 24 pieces can be dated to the Wanli period (1573-1620), 16 pieces are that of the abstract peach-decorated type (2), and the foliated rim type is represented by 8 vessels (3). Two matching fragments belong to the type dated to the Shunzhi period (1644-1661). 33 pieces can be dated to the Kangxi period (1662-1722): 21 sherds belong to the type decorated with lotus (1); 12 pieces of the monochrome glazed blue and white type dated, 9 of which with celadon (5), 3 with brown colored glaze (4), and none with red glaze.

Figure 34: Equivalents of the most common types of the Royal Palace from the civilian town

Types which do not appear in the Royal Palace

The vessels presented here belong to the "uncertain" category, meaning that due to lack of direct analogies, their dating depends on stylistic observations, which are then compared to their archaeological context, where applicable. The first two types are white porcelain, which are significantly different from those unearthed in the royal palace. These pieces are not entirely white, some underglaze blue appears on them, examples of which are not known from the royal palace assemblage. Two vessels are highlighted from this type. The one shown on Figure 35

bears no decoration besides the mark on the bottom. Its material is not pure white, and some traces of the firing process are visible on the outer wall. The mark is too fragmentary for identification. The sherd was found in a sixteenth century layer of the Teleki Palace on Szent György tér, accompanied by a 1539 coin or a sixteenth-century book binding.[88] Even though the context is not perfectly clear, the piece was not made later than the sixteenth century, and it can probably be dated to the first half of that century, to the Zhengde (1506-1521) or early Jiajing period (1522-1566).

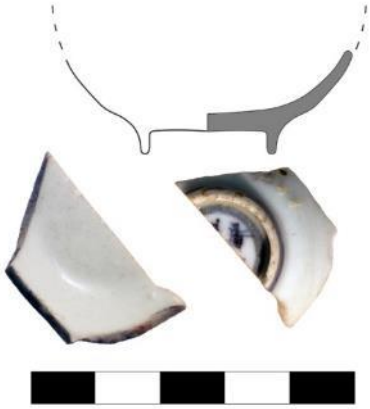


Figure 35: White porcelain cup, Jiajing (?)
BTM Teleki Palace, K/935
Civilian cat. 35.

The vessel depicted on Figure 36 is outstanding, being one of the two sherds in Buda altogether, bearing the *anhua* decoration, featuring the lotus motif. The well is decorated with an underglaze dark blue landscape, depicting plants and a dragonfly. The outer wall and the foot ring are decorated with horizontal lines, and the mark *wan fu you tong* 萬福攸同 can be read on the bottom. The sherd was found at the Corvin tér [Corvin Square] site, and was recorded as a stray, therefore the archaeological context is unknown. Based on its style, it is not impossible that it was made in the sixteenth century, although this mark was in use until 1722.

[88] BTM RA [Budapest History Museum, Archaeological Archive], inventory no. 1883-99. August 6, 1998 and August 10, 1998, in *Excavation log*, 50, 52.

Figure 36: Larger bowl with anhua decoration, sixteenth century(?)
BTM Corvin tér K/137
Civilian cat. 17.

Another white piece presented on Figure 37 is pure white with a shiny glaze, featuring a moderate underglaze blue decoration on the foot ring. Grains of sand are stuck in the foot ring and in the well. This piece was unearthed at the site in Gyorskocsi utca [Gyorskocsi Street] 26, located in Víziváros. Its archaeological context is unknown, but based on the shade of the blue and the motif, it may be dating from the second half of the sixteenth century. Considering the unsual place for the only decoration, it is not impossible the the fragment belongs to a lid and not a cup.

Figure 37: White porcelain cup or lid, sixteenth century(?)
BTM Gyorskocsi utca 26. K/62; Civilian cat. 146

The next type is represented by the pair of small bowls shown on Figure 38. Both vessels were unearthed on the site of the Teleki Palace on Szent György tér. They probably belong to the same set, as their decoration shows a strong similarity, and the style of their mark is almost identical. The marks are the reign marks of the emperor Xuande (1426-1435), but based on their stylistic features they can be dated to the seventeenth century. This dating is partly supported by the context of one of the vessels (K/1291), which was accompanied by other Ottoman period finds.[89] The other bowl (K/536) was found in a modern, mixed layer of debris, therefore its context does not contribute to a more precise dating. [90]

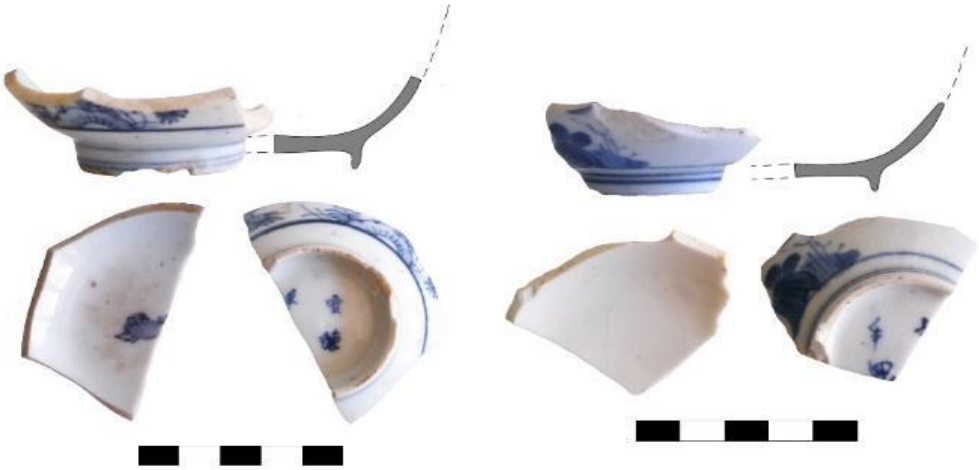


Figure 38: Blue and white cups with landscape, Xuande mark, seventeenth century
BTM Teleki Palace K/536, Civilian cat. 32 (left)
and K/1291, Civilian cat. 34 (right)

The next pair of small bowls depicted on Figure 39 is from different sites: the left one from Fazekas utca [Fazekas Street], the right one from Gyorskocsi utca in Víziváros. They are both decorated with an underglaze blue rosette in the well, with no other decoration on the outside. Their rosettes are not identical, but they certainly represent the same type. The one

[89] BTM RA inventory no. 1883-99; July 8, 1998, in *Excavation log*, 33.
[90] BTM RA inventory no. 1883-99; August 28 and 31, 1998, in *Excavation log*, 63.

found in Fazekas utca (left) was accompanied by at least two pipes with Ottoman makers' mark,[91] dated to the seventeenth century.[92] This context indicates that this type is no later than the seventeenth century, but it can probably be dated to the late sixteenth century, based on the style and colour.

Figure 39: Small bowls with rosette, late sixteenth century(?)
BTM inventory no. 96.95.32, Civilian cat. 138 (left) and
BTM Gyorskocsi utca 26. K/60, Civilian cat. 150 (right)

The piece shown on Figure 40 is somewhat connected to the previous pair of small bowls. This piece is a high quality vessel, with a pure white material, a camellia decorating the well, and lotus motif on the outside. The style and its bluish white glaze indicates a dating of the second half of the sixteenth century, which is supported by the fact that it was found in a

[91] BTM RA inventory no. 1786-96; March 29, 1995, in *Excavation log*, 3. The other one unearthed in Gyorskocsi utca was found during the excavations of 2002, the documentation of which was not available in the Budapest History Museum's archive, therefore its archaeological context is unknown.
[92] BTM Középkori osztály [Medieval department], inventory no. 96.95.21. and 96.95.23.

brown, mixed layer at the southwestern site of Szent György tér, in the company of a sherd belonging to the abstract peach type.

Figure 40: Small bowl with camellia and lingzhi, Wanli(?)
BTM Szent György tér, southwest 97/8
Civilian cat. 112

Regarding the brown glazed blue and white type, two pieces do not belong to those confidently connected to the Kangxi period (1662-1722). The larger bowl shown on Figure 41 is covered with a crazed white glaze, decorated with an oily brown glaze on the outside and a dark blue crane in the well. The sherd was also collected at the southwestern part of Szent György tér, from a mixed, grey layer of debris. The crazed glaze is similar to the so called *swatow* ware, but no *swatow* analogies were found for this brown glazed type.[93] Due to the lack of analogies and informative archaeological context, this sherd cannot be dated more precisely than the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[93] For more information on *swatow* see Laura Maggioni, ed., *Chinese Trade Ceramics for South-East Asia from the 1st to the 17th Century: Collection of Ambassador and Mrs Müller* (Geneva: Fondation Baur, 2010).

Figure 41: Brown glazed blue and white bowl with crane bird, sixteenth-seventeenth century

BTM Szent György tér, southwest 99/6,
Civilian cat. 110

The other brown type (Figure 42) can most likely be dated to the Kangxi period (1662-1722), but no analogies can support this dating. The bowl has an unusually large size, with a foot ring diameter of 7.5 cm, it is decorated with a reddish brown glaze on the outside and with underglaze dark blue painting depicting a landscape, with a pagoda in the well, as well as a fragment of a flower on the inner wall. Besides its stylistic features, the archaeological context also indicates that it was made in the Kangxi period, as it was found in a transitory layer between the modern and the Ottoman periods.[94]

[94] BTM RA inventory no. 1883-99, Excavation log p.81 (September 30, 1998, Istálló/7).

Figure 42: Brown glazed blue and white bowl, Kangxi(?)
BTM Teleki Palace K/1722, Civilian cat. 50

Another unique piece is depicted on Figure 43. This cup is covered in a bluish white glaze, with underglaze light blue decoration on the outside, and no decoration on the inside. The outside decoration features a floral motif among horizontal lines, and the flowers' petals are decorated with yellow enamel.[95] The size of the sherd indicates a wine cup, the light blue underglaze painting points to the seventeenth century. It was found in a modern layer of the Csikós udvar [Horseherd Courtyard] site at the southwestern part of Szent György tér.[96]

[95] Enamel, in connection with Chinese porcelain, means overglaze coloured painting, a technique which requires a double firing procedure: the painted, glazed vessel is fired first, then the overglaze paint, i.e. enamel is added, followed by a second, much lower temperature firing. For a more detailed description of the technique see Stacey Pierson, *Chinese Ceramic Technology*, esp. "Overglaze Decoration," 38-45.
[96] Budapest I., Budavári Palota – Nyugati várkert [Buda Royal Palace – Western castle garden] 2007, July 5, 2007, in *Excavation log*, trench 22, layer 4. Here I would like to thank Anikó Tóth, archaeologist at the Budapest History Museum, who kindly handed me over the not yet inventoried documentation of this excavation.

Figure 43: Blue and white cup with overglaze yellow painting, early seventeenth century(?)
BTM BVP [Buda Castle, Palace] K/216, Civilian cat. 120

Figure 44 demonstrates two types with landscapes, which probably originate from the seventeenth century, based on their stylistic features. Their archaeological context is lost, as both of them were registered as stray finds. The rim-fragment on the left was collected at Corvin tér, and it features a landscape with a pavilion below a cloud, painted in dark underglaze blue, covered with white glaze. The wall-fragment on the right was unearthed at Táncsics Mihály utca [Táncsics Mihály Street], and is decorated with a pavilion, a plum tree and a pagoda in the distance, painted with lighter underglaze blue, covered with a white glaze. The well was probably also decorated.

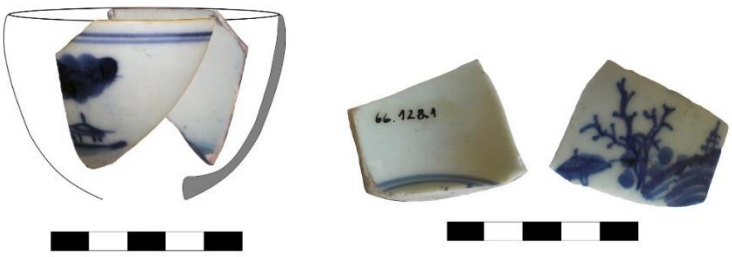


Figure 44: Cups with landscapes, first half of the seventeenth century(?)
BTM Corvin tér K/137, Civilian cat. 18 (left) and
BTM inventory no. 66.128.1, Civilian town cat. 8 (right)

Sherds of large bowls and plates are presented on Figure 45. Direct analogies of these vessels are still to be found, but in general they can probably be dated to the Wanli period (1573-1620). The number of such shapes is interesting, as their ratio against cups and small bowls is higher than those of the royal palace assemblage.

Figure45: Large bowls and plates from the civilian town, Wanli period(?)

A unique exception from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plates and large bowls is shown on Figure 46. This bowl is made of pure white porcelain, covered with white glaze and decorated with underglaze dark blue *lingzhi* motives. Its stylistic features indicate that the vessel was made in the fifteenth century. The piece was unearthed at the southwestern site of Szent György tér, but the archaeological context is unknown.

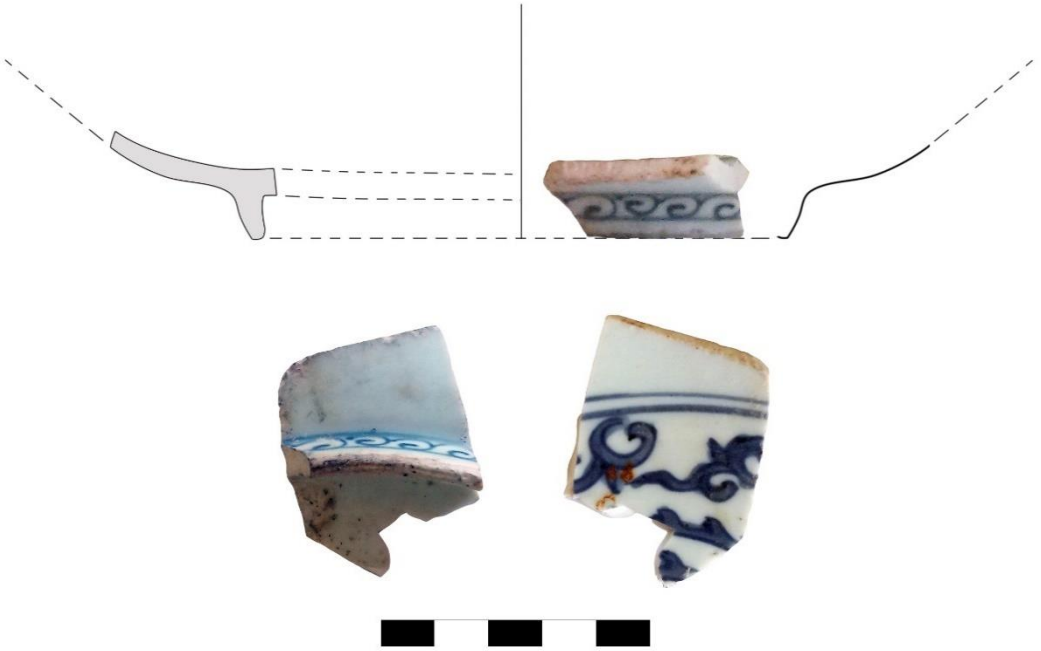


Figure 46: Blue and white bowl with lingzhi motif, fifteenth century(?)
BTM Szent György tér, southwest 98/1-2, Civilian town cat. 108.

Vessels from the eighteenth century

In the assemblage of the civilian town there were altogether 17 pieces that can be dated to the eighteenth century (or maybe later). Those which are definitely from after 1750 are not dealt with in this thesis. Regarding the first half of the eighteenth century, there is one type that can probably be dated to this period. The first one is the so called Chinese *imari* (Figure 47),

on which the secondary literature is rather scarce to date.[97] No. 1 and 2 on Figure 47 are most likely Chinese *imari*, no. 3 and 4 might belong to this type, or the earlier, late sixteenth-early seventeenth-century enamel types.

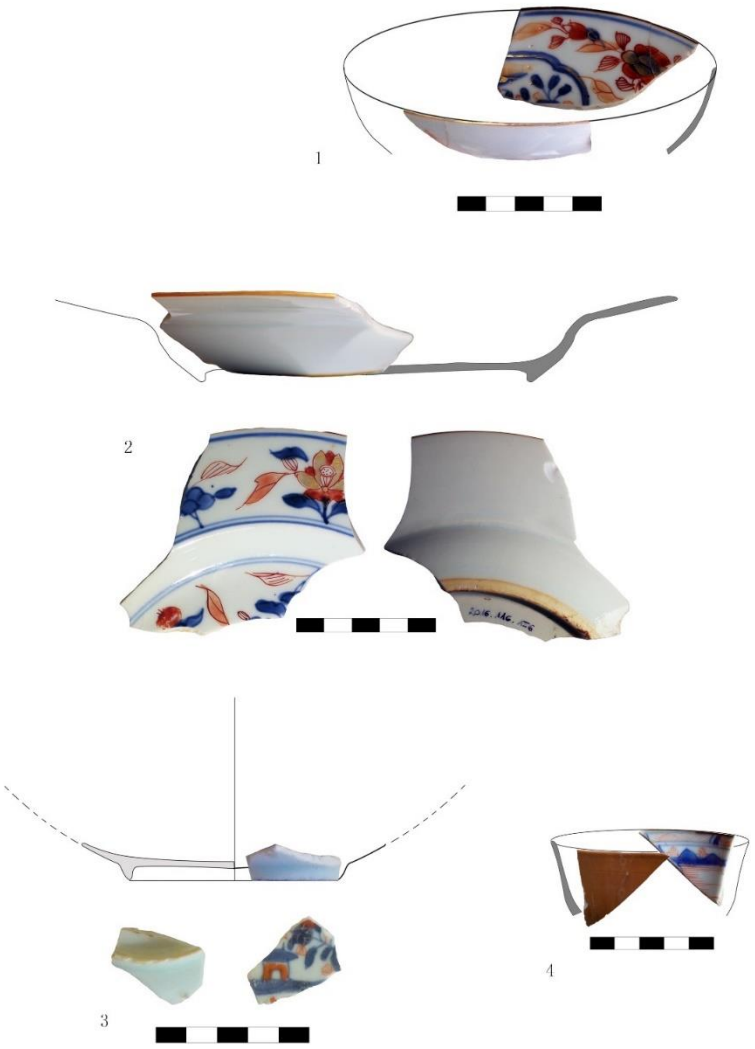


Figure 47: Chinese imari *fragments*

[97] Here I would like to thank Professor Stacey Pierson of SOAS University for her kind suggestion for the identification of this type. For more information about *imari* (mainly Japanese) see Lisa Rotondo-McCord and Peter James Bufton, *Imari: Japanese Porcelain for European Palaces* (New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1997), 60–81.

3.3. Conclusion

In summary, roughly half of the entire Buda assemblage can be dated to the Wanli period (1573-1620). Two types are represented in a significantly high number: the type with abstract peach decoration (Wanli period) and the one with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration (Kangxi period, 1662-1722). The ratio compared to the whole assemblage is similar in the case of the Royal Palace and the civilian town, and these two types are in majority in both areas. Apart from the four main types (lotus, abstract peach, foliated rim, monochrome glaze), the other types are unignorably different in the Royal Palace and the civilian town. The only exception is the type with *anhua* decoration, and it is probably telling that only one example of this type was found in each area. Considering that the dating of the two assemblages more or less correspond to each other, it is difficult to address this difference. The conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of the two assemblages is more of a topographical one. The distribution of the pieces corresponds to our current knowledge regarding how the Ottoman inhabitants took over the town of Buda. Further analysis of the assemblages and their topographical context is discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 – The Ottoman Castle of Eger (1596-1687)

The previous chapter placed the Chinese porcelain fragments found in Buda into a historical and archaeological context, and described the main characteristics of the assemblage to arrive at general conclusions. This chapter deals with the assemblage unearthed in the territory of the Castle of Eger in the same way. The subsequent chapter will then analyse and compare the two sites, drawing conclusions and giving context to the main characteristics of the assemblages.

4.1. Eger in the Ottoman period

The castle of Eger was strategically and administratively important for the Ottomans during their occupation between 1596 and 1687. Interestingly, even though few available and useable Ottoman written sources survive from this period, some contain a list of pashas which firmly suggests that Eger was a *vilayet* centre governed by pashas.[98] Apart from the administrative sources, another important written source is the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi, who visited Eger between 1664 and 1666.[99] According to Evliya, the castle had a large population because it was a nice place to live in. He mentions two parts of the castle: the German castle (outer part) and the Hungarian castle (inner part), which corresponds to the results of the archaeological survey. The Ottomans only modified one section of the walls but rebuilt several buildings within them. One of the most important changes was that the Gothic

[98] Előd Vass, "Adalékok az egri pasák sorrendjéhez" [Additions to the list of pashas of Eger], in *Az Egri Vár Híradója* 19-20 [Newsletter of the Castle of Eger 19-20], ed. János Győző Szabó, Eger: Az Egri Vár Baráti Köre, 1986, 21.
[99] Evliya Çelebi, *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó Magyarországi utazásai 1664-1666* [The travelogue of Evliya Çelebi traveling in Hungary between 1664 and 1666], trans. and ed. Imre Karácson (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1908): 110-20.

palace was turned into the pasha's palace; and at least two *cami*s (mosques) and the garrison's camps are also mentioned in the sources.[100]

The castle during the Ottoman period was separated into two parts: the so called "Hungarian castle", which was the inner castle (northern part), and the "Frank (= German) castle", the outer castle (southern part), both parts with separate commanders.[101] As mentioned above, the episcopal palace was used by the pashas as residence, and according to the written sources, the pasha's *cami* was standing in its vicinity with a *minaret* built of brick. The medieval cathedral was used as a storage building for weaponry.[102] These buildings belonged to the inner castle, while the janissary barracks were situated in the outer castle, where no women and children were allowed. The sources also mention houses for the janissars, a "holy flag" *cami* with the flag held by the prophet Muhammad, and its minaret. [103]

During the Ottoman period, the town was surrounded by a stone wall which had four gates: the Hatvani Gate, the Maklári (or Almári) Gate, the Rác (or St Michael) Gate and the Cifra (or Felnémeti) Gate.[104] Çelebi mentions five gates: Ilidzse, Hatvani, Új, Martalócz and Kalmet.[105] From the town two *cami*s (the Muhammad III Cami close to the Hatvani Gate, and the Kethüda Cami whose minaret is still standing) and two baths (the Valide Sultana *hamam* and one *ılıca*) are known. In addition, Çelebi mentions 600 shops, including cafés, also stating

[100] Mihály Détsy, "Az egri vár története VII. 1596-1687 [History of the Castle of Eger VII. 1596-1687]," *Az Egri Vár Híradója 7* [Newsletter of the Castle of Eger 7], János Győző Szabó ed., Eger: Az Egri Vár Baráti Köre, 1968, 10.
[101] István Sugár, "Az egri török vilájet várai" [Castles of the Ottoman Eger Vilayet], *Az Egri Vár Híradója 24* [Newsletter of the Castle of Eger 24], László Fodor ed., Eger: Az Egri Vár Baráti Köre, 1992, 21.
[102] Ibid., 22.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Gyula Nováki et al., *Heves megye várai az őskortól a kuruc korig: Magyarország várainak topográfiája,* vol. 2 [Castles of Heves County from prehistory to the Kuruc era: Topography of the Castles of Hungary], ed. Sebestyén Sárközy (Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület), 2009, 24.
[105] Çelebi, *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó Magyarországi utazásai*, 116-17.

that the shops are richly decorated and their merchants are wealthy.[106] This indicates that the town and the castle were very lively and rich during the Ottoman period.

As mentioned above, the castle was not significantly modified during the occupation, apart from turning the episcopal palace into the pasha's residence, mainly the fortifications were strengthened, apart from the two bastions constructed by the Ottomans (Southwestern Cannon Hill and Szép Bastion or Southeastern Cannon Hill). Based on the written sources however, there were significant constructions in the town, with seven *cami*s and two baths, of which only two buildings have archaeological remains: the Valide Sultana bath and a *minaret* (which is still standing).[107] The relationship between the town and the castle was strong, which is supported by the way the Ottomans took care of the town wall; as well as the fact that they called it "suburb", indicating that it belonged to the castle.[108] The reason for keeping the town so close must have been strategical: it was important from the point of view of defending the castle, as well as it provided resources, which is well demonstrated by the fact that the Ottomans planted two gunpowder mills in it.[109]

4.2. Archaeological context of the findings

The first excavations of the castle took place in 1862 around the ruins of the cathedral, led by Arnold Ipolyi, then János Balogh continued in 1877 for his own pleasure. The first planned, systematic excavations were carried out between 1925 and 1934, which focused on the dungeons and the cathedral, as the military was still using the territory.[110] After the Second

[106] Ibid., 118.
[107] Győző Gerő, "A török Eger építészeti és régészeti emlékei" [Architectural and Archaological Monuments of Ottoman Eger], *Az Egri Vár Híradója 28* [Newsletter of the Castle of Eger 28], ed. László Fodor (Eger: Az Egri Vár Baráti Köre), 1996. 26.
[108] István Sugár, "Az egri török vilájet várai", 22.
[109] Ibid., 23.
[110] About the history of the early excavations see Andor Lénárt, *Az egri vár feltárásának története 1949-ig* [History of the excavations of the Eger Castle until 1949], eds, Sándor Bodó and Tivadar Petercsák, Studia Agriensis 2. (Eger: Dobó István Vármúzeum), 1982.

World War, the first excavations restarted in 1957 on the occasion that the Museum of Eger, launched in 1952, moved up to the castle hill. The excavations continued until 1988 led by Károly Kozák; and the assemblage discussed in this thesis was collected during these works.[111]

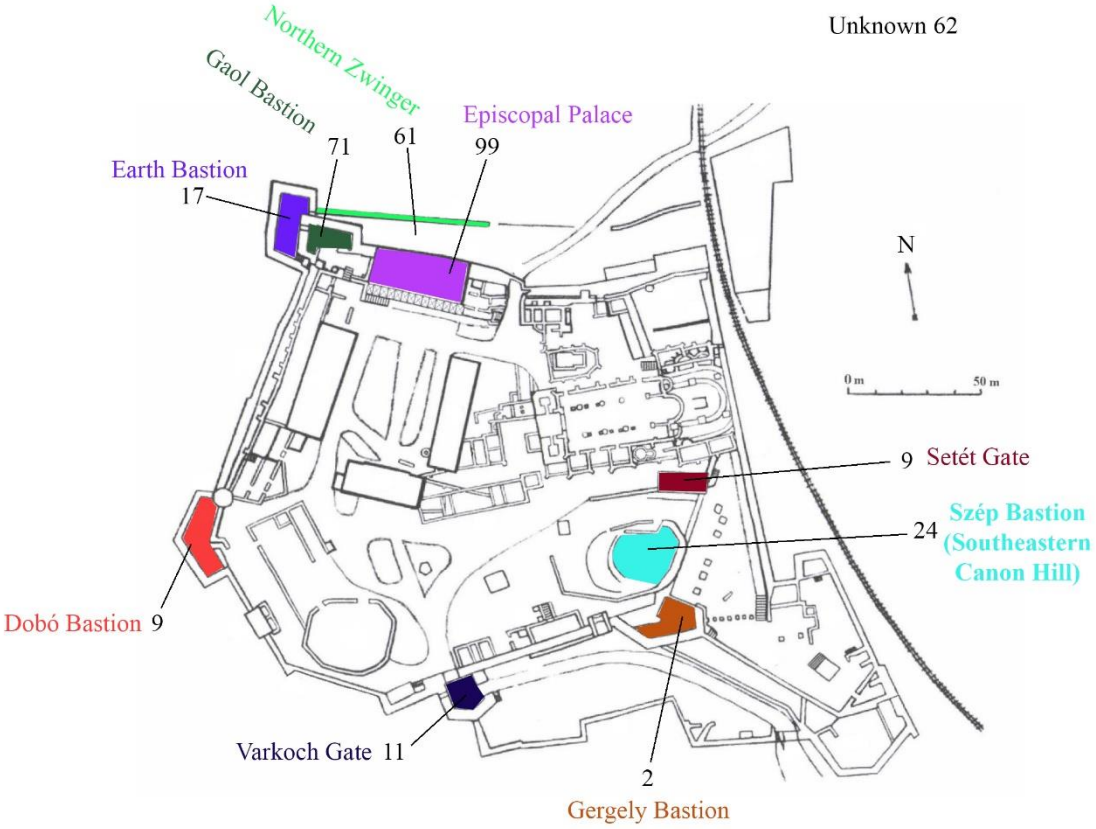
The figure below shows the distribution of the fragments at the different sites. A significant part of the assemblage originates from the Episcopal Palace, which was refurbished as the palace of the pashas during the Ottoman occupation. This indicates that the pashas were the main consumers of Chinese porcelain, faience, and other Middle-Eastern tableware that usually accompany porcelain fragments at Ottoman sites in Hungary. A more detailed analysis of the topographical distribution of the assemblage however will be discussed in the next chapter.

Regarding the archaeological context of the porcelain sherds, my sources include an MA thesis that first dealt with this assemblage,[112] original publications and the excavation log of the archaeological surveys of the castle between 1957 and 1999. The thesis is crucial for the present one as its author, Orsolya Zay inventoried the majority of the pieces, thus she has identified the different sites where the sherds were unearthed. The assemblage is no longer in its original packaging, and it only bears the inventory numbers, therefore all the information regarding their archaeological context is based on Orsolya Zay's identification of the sites. As the excavation reports and logs rarely mention ceramic finds, let alone Chinese porcelain fragments (they usually refer to them as "Ottoman ceramics"), this identification is the major source for reconstructing the original context of the finds.

An overwhelming majority of the assemblage, 275 pieces out of 438 comes from the northern part of the castle, i.e. the Episcopal Palace (later pasha palace) and its surroundings

[111] For reports on these excavations see: *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 1, 2, 4-7, 10, 11, 13, 16, 19, 23, 25. Excavations in the castle were also carried out recently, between
[112] Orsolya Zay, "Az egri vár"

(Earth Bastion and Gaol Bastion). Two other main sites yielding the most Chinese porcelain fragments are the Dobó Bastion (26 pieces) and the Szép Bastion (28 pieces).



Regarding the layer contexts, out of the 178 bags (containing Chinese porcelain and Middle-Eastern faience) 57 contained detailed information regarding its site, exact date and context.[113] This means that the majority of the pieces cannot be connected to specific layers, therefore their context can only be described broadly. In general, most contexts yielding porcelain fragments seem to be confidently dated to the Ottoman period of the castle (1596-1687), and only a few Baroque levelling layers yielded Chinese porcelain. The general description of the archaeological contexts at the main sites yielding porcelain fragments is

[113] Orsolya Zay, "Az egri vár", 61.

briefly summarized below, mainly relying on the works by the works by the excavator Károly Kozák.[114]

4.2.1. The northern part of the castle

The first years of the excavations, starting from 1957, concentrated on the northern part of the castle, including three main sites: the Episcopal Palace, the Earth Bastion and the Gaol Bastion. Based on the excavation reports, this area should be handled as one unit, as the building and functional history of the Episcopal Palace (later pasha palace), the central building of the area, can only be fully reconstructed with the survey of its surroundings.[115] Most of the fragments were found in this area of the castle, mainly in Ottoman-period layers and pits, as well as mixed layers of modern debris and material culture of the Ottoman period.

The archaeological survey of the **Episcopal Palace** suggests, that it was definitely in use during the Ottoman period, as several remains of construction and remodelling were detected within the structure of the building, which were dated to this period.[116] Kozák also mentioned the material culture collected during the excavations, shortly summarizing the Ottoman ceramics and devoting two sentences to the Chinese porcelain and Persian faience, stating that the Eger Castle yielded the most significant assemblage of such vessels in Hungary.[117] Two plates and a cup were published, including some more cups described as porcelain, but those pieces are faience vessels.[118] Apart from the above, not much more can be known about their archaeological context.

[114] See footnote 72.
[115] Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-62) I." [Excavations of the castle of Eger], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 1. (1963): 120.
[116] Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-62) I.", 120-130.
[117] Ibid., 131.
[118] Ibid., 159. Fig.35., and László Fodor and Károly Kozák, "Leletegyüttesek a román kori székesegyház környékéről (Adatok az egri vár XVII-XVIII. századi kerámiájának történetéhez, I.) [Assemblages from the vicinity of the Romanesque cathedral (Additional data to the seventeenth and eighteenth century ceramic history of the castle of Eger, I.)], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 8-9. (1972): 173. Fig.15.

The archaeological survey of the **Gaol Bastion** shows, that after the unsuccessful siege of the Ottomans in 1552, the bastion's inner yard was filled up, and then between 1568 and 1578 the new western wall of the bastion was built, by replacing the medieval gate tower, creating the Italian-structured headed bastion, that is still standing today, known as Earth Bastion.[119] According to the 1958 documentation, a c. one to four meters thick, brown washed-in layer filled with debris was spread over the site, which yielded Chinese porcelain and Persian faience fragments.[120] This layer is located in the collapsed, then filled up dungeons of the bastion.[121] The findings of the layer showed a larger variety of modern, early modern and medieval material culture, including cannon balls, fragments of weapons, pipes and ceramic sherds from all three periods.[122] The site in connection with the Gaol Bastion, that also yielded a significant number of sherds is the **Northern zwinger**, enclosed by the Gaol Bastion from the west, the Episcopal Palace by the south and the Northern Castle wall from the north. This site seems to have been a deliberately enclosed area already in the Middle Ages, also depicted on Ottoman-period and later ground plans.[123] The zwinger was filled up with mixed debris, containing ceramic vessels and fragments from the modern and the Ottoman periods.[124] **The Earth Bastion**, as described above, is also strongly connected to the Gaol Bastion. Its material is only briefly mentioned, not addressing porcelain fragments, but early modern and modern finds, deriving from the upper, mixed debris layers.[125]

The vessels depicted on these figures are in the permanent exhibition of the castle, therefore they are not addressed in the present thesis.

[119] Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-63) II." [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-63) II.], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 2 (1964), 234.

[120] Osolya Zay, *Az egri vár,* 63.

[121] See the published section drawing: Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-63) II.", 252. Fig.26.

[122] Ibid., 226., and Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár,* 63.

[123] Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-65) III." [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-65) III.], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 4 (1966), 108.

[124] Ibid., 109.

[125] Ibid., 104.

4.2.2. The Southern Part of the castle

The two main sites yielding Chinese porcelain fragments are the Dobó Bastion and the Szép Bastion (Southeastern Cannon Hill), which are located in the southern part of the Castle. The Dobó Bastion and its vicinity, including the Varkoch Gate, take up the eastern part of the southern castle area. **The Varkoch Gate**, as the excavations revealed, was particularly significant during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[126] Quite a few porcelain pieces were collected from the site, but it is not clear, exactly from where. The publication mentions finds in connection with the landscaping of the early 1960s,[127] which also appears in the inventory of the sherds. But a more important site was a pit at the inner part of the gate. This pit yielded a significant pipe assemblage,[128] which possibly was accompanied by porcelain and faience fragments, although the publication only mentions seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ceramic fragments in general.[129]

On the territory of the **Szép Bastion**, remains of three houses were unearthed, and the porcelain fragments were found in the vicinity of these houses, but is impossible to identify their layers from the bags of the finds, as only the year of their collection is written on them.[130] The houses were built in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, after the castle lost its military significance (and the Ottomans had left),[131] therefore the connection between the porcelain sherds and the houses is questionable, but not impossible. The excavation log shows that a part of the porcelain finds was collected from possibly a mixed layer, but in some cases other Ottoman-period finds suggest closed layers from between 1596 and 1686.[132] North of the

[126] Mihály Déthsy and Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-66) IV." [Excavation of the Castle of Eger (1957-66) IV.], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 5 (1967), 98.
[127] Ibid., 106.
[128] Ibid., 104.
[129] Ibid., 100.
[130] Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár,* 64.
[131] Károly Kozák, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-68) VI." [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-68) VI.], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 7 (1969), 184.
[132] Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár,* 64.

Szép Bastion the **Setét Gate** was surveyed in order to clarify this area's connection with the bastion. The porcelain sherds collected here most likely derive from the modern and early modern debris layers, but the publication merely mentions Ottoman-period ceramic sherds, and not in connection with the layers.[133] South from the Szép Bastion stands the **Southeastern Headed Bastion** which yielded one Chinese porcelain fragment. A golden coin of Murad III (1574-1595), minted possibly between 1578 and 1579, was also collected from this area, but based on the publication and the documentation, it is not clear whether the porcelain fragment and the coin were in the same context.[134]

A few pieces were collected from the Ottoman pits unearthed in the territory of the medieval cathedral. A detailed description was published regarding the material of the pits, but the pieces identified as porcelain are actually faience, therefore not much more is known about the Chinese porcelain pieces found in these pits.

Regarding the **other sites**, which yielded a small number of porcelain sherds, the largest number of pieces was collected from the area of the Dobó Bastion, during sewerage works in 1981.[135] These excavations were not published, and the documentation and packaging of the sherds do not provide further information either. Some more sites appear in the inventory, which were hardly identifiable, therefore these are not discussed in the present subchapter.[136]

In summary, the archaeological contexts are very similar to those of Buda: an overwhelming majority of the sherds derive from mixed modern and early modern debris or levelling layers, or from clearly Ottoman layers or pits. The only minor difference lies in the Ottoman period regarding the Eger Castle, as it was only occupied in 1596, in contrast with

[133] Károly Kozák, Az egri vár feltárása (1957-67) V." [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-67) V.], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 6 (1969), 128.
[134] Ibid., 118.
[135] Orsolya Zay, *Az egri vár,* 66.
[136] Ibid.

Buda, which was taken over in 1541. The fifty-five years of difference in dating is not very relevant, regarding both the value of these vessels (they could be in use for decades), and the general dating of both assemblages, which is the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

4.3. General Description of the Eger Assemblage

The main characteristic of this assemblage is that it consists mainly of blue-and-white porcelain, with a few exceptions of white porcelain. In general, cups predominate the assemblage, but two large bowls and fragments of a few plates are also present.

The assemblage discussed in the present thesis consists of 418 fragments, including 186 cups, 230 small bowls, 12 sherds of two large bowls, 11 sherds of plates and 4 fragments of an octagonal cup. Just like in Buda, roughly half of the assemblage consists of the abstract peach or peach type and the type with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration, which dates the assemblage mainly to the Wanli period (1573-1620). The detailed description of the finds is structured the same way as in the previous chapter, by following the chronology of the Chinese emperors, where applicable. Therefore, it will start with those types that are also found in the Buda assemblage, then move onto those that can only be found in Eger, following the chronology of the Chinese emperors, according to the suggested dating.

4.3.1. Types also present in the Buda assemblage

Table 1 show the types that are also present in the Buda assemblage. The two major types, as mentioned above, are the ones with abstract peach and the ones with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration. The abstract peach type (Table 1, 1) is represented by 169 fragments, the lotus and *lingzhi* by 104 sherds. The other types include the peach or peach blossom, 22 pcs (Table 1, 2); the foliated rim type, 13 sherds, belonging to maximum four vessels (Table 1, 3); the seventeenth-century landscape types, 8 pcs (Table 1, 4); the Shunzhi period (1644-1661)

geometric type represented by one vessel, 3 pcs (Table 1, 5); the brown glazed (17 pcs) and celadon glazed (17 pcs); the type with underglaze red decoration, 8 pcs (Table 1, 6); and examples of the Chinese *imari*, 2 pcs (Table 1, 7).

Table 1: Pieces present in Buda and in Eger

One outstanding analogy between Buda and Eger is the variant of the lotus type shown on Figure 48 (left) [2012.78.1-4.]. The outer wall of the cup is decorated with *lingzhi* and elaborated lotus blossom. All other features are similar to those of the more 'abstract' version of the type. In Buda one cup of the same decoration was found at the Dísz tér site (Figure 49, right), along with a cup of the "abstract" variant. The pieces were collected from layers

confidently dated to the Ottoman period.[137] Based on their style, it is possible that this type is also connected to the Wanli period (1573-1620). The type is represented by eight sherds in Eger, four of which belong to the vessel depicted below.

Figure 48: rare lotus type of Eger (left) and Buda (right)
Eger cat. 1; Inventory no. V2012.78.1-2 and 4.

Another outstanding type also present in Buda and Eger is that of the **white vessels** (25 pcs), which are just as difficult to assess as the ones in Buda, due to lack of analogies. Although they do appear in Buda as well, unfortunately, they are less frequently discussed in secondary literature. One interesting piece, however, has geometric engraved decoration on its outer wall, a type with no precedent in these assemblages (Figure 49). The concept of this decoration is reminiscent of the *anhua* decoration, but this particular piece is different. Whereas the Eger piece is decorated with obvious and bold engraving, real *anhua* decoration can usually only be seen when turned to bright light, making it elegantly delicate and truly hidden. The piece is not listed in the inventory database, therefore its site of collection is unknown.

[137] BTM RA inventory no. 1911-2000. July 16, 1999, in *Excavation log*, 7.

Figure 49: White vessel sherd
Eger cat. 2; Inventory no. V2012.85.47.

An example of the real *anhua* decoration can be seen on the wall sherd of a larger bowl (Figure 50). The sherd is a rather small part of the entire vessel, therefore it might have been decorated with underglaze painting, none of which can be seen on the piece. The *anhua* decoration is located on the inside, featuring possibly *ruyi* 如意 (meaning "as you wish") symbols.[138] The vessel is covered in greenish glaze, and based on the thickness of the wall, it might have been a larger bowl. The sherd was collected from an unidentified site (Hosszúház, "J" szelvény), thus its archaeological context is unknown.

[138] Ruyi symbol: a symbol of luck, which originates in the ancient *ruyi* scepter of ancient officials. Györgyi Fajcsák ed., *Keleti művészétei lexikon* [Enyclopaedia of Oriental Art], Budapest: Corvina, 2007, 273. see also Stacey Pierson, *Designs as Sign: Decoration and Chinese Ceramics*, London: Percival David Foundation, 2001.

Figure 50: White bowl sherd with anhua *decoration*
Eger cat. 3; V2012.91.16.

Another interesting type is the one demonstrated on Figure 38. The pair of small bowls also appears in the Civilian town of Buda, both from the Teleki Palace. The two vessels in Eger bear the same mark, referring to Emperor Xuande (1426-35), in the same writing style. This type can probably be dated to the seventeenth century, based on the context of the Buda pieces. One of the Eger sherds was found in the Szép Bastion (2010.50.2.), the other one in the Northern zwinger, next to the Episcopal Palace (2012.155.1.). These contexts do not refute the seventeenth century dating, but neither do they provide a more precise one.

4.3.2. Types not present in Buda

Cups with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration are the most common in the 'abstract' variant both in Eger and in Buda. But in Eger more variants of the same motif appear. One of them is the type with the **lotus and *lingzhi* outline, which is not filled in** (Figure 51). The two examples show two slightly different stylistic execution of the same type of motif. Both cups bear a mark, the readable one on the left probably being *Da Qing dingwei nian zhi* 大清丁未年制, which means "made in the dingwei year of the Great Qing Dynasty", which, regarding the history of the castle is either 1607 or 1667; or *Da Qing dinghai nian zhi* 大清丁亥年制, "made in the *dinghai* year of the Great Qing Dynasty", referring to 1647, if only the Qing

dynasty years of the Ottoman occupation in Eger (1644-1686) were taken into account.[139] The sherds of the vessel are inventoried as stray finds, therefore more precise dating is not possible. The other sherd was collected from the Earth Bastion, the context of which was layers of mixed modern and early modern debris. In light of the pieces with marks discussed below, I suggest that the vessel with the readable mark can be connected to the Kangxi period (1662-1722), and therefore the mark probably refers to the *dingwei* year, i.e. 1667.

Figure 51: Lotus type, which is "not filled in"
Eger cat. 6.; Inventory no. V2012.168.1-4. (left)
and Eger cat. 7; Inventory no. 2010.42.1.

Four other cups with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration bear marks (Table 2), one with a half date mark, only showing *Da Qing ding[…] [nian]zhi* 大清丁[…][年]制, ergo it is half of the named year that is missing, making it impossible to identify the year (Table 2, top left). Regarding the Qing dynasty years of the Ottoman occupation in Eger (1644-1687), every seventh year of every decade was a *ding* year, namely 1647 (*dinghai* 丁亥), 1657 (*dingyou* 丁酉), 1667 (*dingwei* 丁未), 1677 (*dingsi* 丁巳) and 1687 (*dingmao* 丁卯). The two cups on Table 2 (top right and bottom left) bear the reign mark of emperor Chenghua (1465-1487), in two different styles, on two stylistically similar cups. The contradiction might be dissipated

[139] The year names such as "dingwei" and "dinghai" refer to specific years in a sixty-year long lunar cycle, corresponding to the ancient Chinese lunar calendar. Gerald Davison, *Marks on Chinese Ceramics*, second ed. (Somerset: Gerald Davison Ltd., 2013): 34-35.

somewhat by the last cup on Table 2 (bottom right), which bears the reign mark of Kangxi (1667-1622), indicating that this type with all its variants discussed in this section might be dated to his reign period, and were produced in the second half of the seventeenth century. Regarding their archaeological context, one piece was collected in the Norhtern zwinger [2010.82.7.] from a layer of mixed debris; one from an unidentified site (Hosszú ház, "J" szelvény; 2012.91.25.); one is not listed in the inventory database I had access to [97.20.37.]; and one originates from a site outside of the castle area (Dobó ucta 28-30; 2012.150.1).

Table 2: Lotus type with marks
Eger cat. 8; Inventory no. V2012.82.7. (top left)
Eger cat. 9; Inventory no. V2012.91.25. (top right)
Eger cat. 10; Inventory no. 97.20.37 (bottom left)
Eger cat. 11; Inventory no. V2012.150.1. (bottom right)

Three other lotus and lingzhi types are to be mentioned in connection with the lotus decorated pieces (Table 3). These are based on rim sherds, unfortunately not matching any bottom ones. The first one is a stylistically average lotus type, with an outleaning rim, which makes it outstanding among the straight rim majority, only represented by three non-matching sherds, probably belonging to the same vessel (Table 3, left). The other two sherds on Table 3 (middle and right) have a similar rim decoration, but their walls are painted with different flower motives. Another common feature of the two fragments however, apart from the rim decoration, is the barely visible remains of gilding over the the glaze. Gold as an enamel was first used at the end of the seveneenth century,[140] but experiments with non-fired gilding probably happened before that. Based on the fact that the gilding is almost completely gone from the surface of the vessels, it was probably not enamel, but overglaze, non-fired gilding. Two of the sherds were found in the Episcopal Palace [2012.156.2. and 2012.132.4.], and the third one [2010.33.2.] in the Earth Bastion, therefore their archaeological context does not contribute to their more precise dating.

Table 3.: Lotus types with unusual rim decoration
Eger cat. 12; Inventory no. V2012.156.2. (left)
Eger cat. 13.; Inventory no. V2012.132.4. (middle)
Eger cat. 14; Inventory no. 2010.33.2. (right)

[140] Stacey Pierson, *Earth, Fire and Water: Chinese Ceramic Technology*, (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1996), 43.

The five cups shown on Table 4 are without analogy in the catalogues I had access to. No. 1 a unique cup sherd in the assemblage. It has a thin wall, light blue underglaze decoration on the foot ring, and a fragment of a metal vessel in the well. The sherd was collected in the Gaol Bastion, possibly from the layer that was washed into the collapsed dungeons of the bastion and yielded a mixed medieval, early modern and modern material.

Another similarly misterious and unique sherd is no. 2 on Table 4. This piece is also thin-walled, its profile is unusual, and the foot ring is only 2.5 cm, which is unprecedented in the assemblages of both Buda and Eger. The cup is covered in an intensive bluish glaze, and the rim is decorated with a single *lingzhi* fungus(?), which is painted in an abstract style. The piece is inventoried as a stray find, therefore its archaeological context is unknown.

No. 3 on Table 4 is a more robust cup with a similarly bluish glaze, two horizontal lines on the foot ring, with a fragment of some decoration on the outer wall, no decoration in the well and the mark *fu* 福 on the bottom, meaning good fortune, written in an abstract style. As this mark was in use throughout the Yuan and Ming periods (1279-1644), it does not contribute to a more precise dating.[141] There is a noticeable amount of sand stuck in the foot ring, from the firing process. Porcelain vessels were usually placed on a disc on a bed of sand or grit, which were stacked up in saggars.[142] The sherd was also found in the Gaol Bastion, therefore no well-datable archaeological contexts is at hand to narrow the dating.

Another cup with sand stuck to its bottom is no. 4 on Table 4. This vessel is decorated with a motif that is similar to the lotus and *lingzhi* type, but is painted in an abstract style. The mark on the bottom, *Da Qing nian zhi* 大青年制 refers to the Qing dynasty, with no more

[141] Gerald Davison, *Marks*, no. 160.
[142] Stacey Pierson, *Chinese Ceramic Technology*, 52.

precise indication of its date of production. The sherd was collected from the Northern zwinger site, from a mixed layer of early modern and modern debris.

The last piece on Table 4 (no. 5) is a larger cup with a bluish white glaze and dark blue decoration under the glaze. The foot ring is decorated with two horizontal lines, and fragments of a possibly landscape motif can be seen on the outer walls. The well is decorated with a *lingzhi* fungus among stylized plants, in a double circle. The bottom bears a mark in a double square frame, probably reading *fu gui jia qi* 富贵佳器, meaning "beautiful vessel for the rich and honourable", and was in use from the Jiajing to the Chongzhen period (1522-1644).[143] Both sherds of the cup were found in the Episcopal Palace, one of them in the western room of the second floor [2012.160.1.], which was modified during the Ottoman period, and the site yielded Ottoman-period material. This suggests that the piece is no later than the seventeenth century, and based on its stylistic features, it is probably also not earlier.

[143] Gerald Davison, *Marks*, no.1727.

Table 4: Cups with no analogies
(1) Eger cat. 15; Inventory no. 97.20.18.
(2) Eger cat. 16; Inventory no. V2012.93.15.
(3) Eger cat. 17; Inventory no. 97.20.85.
(4) Eger cat. 18; Inventory no. V2012.79.2.
(5) Eger cat. 19; Inventory no. V2012.76.1. and V2012.160.2.

Table 5 demonstrates the case of two interestig pairs of cups. One of them are no. 1 and no. 2. The interesting feature of these cups is that no. 2 seems to be a more abstract version of no. 1. The latter is a thin-walled cup with delicate, underglaze dark blue decoration and a bluish white glaze. The outer wall is decorated with flower and plant motifs, the inside of the rim is decorated with a geometric motif. Fragments of a flower motif can be seen in the well. No. 2 however, features the a similar flower and plant motif on the outside, the inside is non-decorated, the porcelain material is greyish white, and the glaze is more light blue than bluish white. The profile and shape of the two cups are very similar. No. 1 was collected from the vicinity of the Episcopal Palace, and no. 2. from the Setét Gate, neither of them from well-datable archaeological contexts. The case of no. 3 and no. 4 in Table 5 is very similar: no. 3 is a delicately painted cup, made of pure white porcelain, painted with underglaze blue motifs of *ruyi* and *lingzhi*, covered with bluish white glaze, and no decoration on the inside. No. 4 is painted with the exact same decoration, but its material is slightly greyish, the glaze is more greyish than bluish white. No. 3 was collected from the Episcopal Palace, no. 4 is not listed in the inventory database.

Table 5: Interesting pairs of cups
Eger cat. 20; Inventory no. V2012.64.1. (top left)
Eger cat. 21; Inventory no. V2012.97.2. (top right)
Eger cat. 22; Inventory no. V2012.131.11. (bottom left)
Eger cat. 23; Inventory no. V2012.85.53. and 2012.140.6. (bottom right)

Table 6 also features vessels with no analogies found. No. 1 is a plain white rim and wall sherd of a small bowl, with an outward leaning rim, decorated with double horizontal lines on both sides. The piece was collected from the Szép Bastion, and can probably be dated to the seventeenth century. No. 2 is slightly more richly decorated on the outern wall, with what is possibly a stylized plant or flower motif. It is not listed in the inventory database, thus its site of collection is unknown. No. 3 is also a plain white cup, with a single insect painted on the outside. It was found in the Earth Bastion, therefore a precise dating based on archaeological context is not possible, but it might be datable to the seventeenth century. No. 4 is a sherd of a small bowl collected from the area of the Dobó Bastion and the Varkoch Gate. The specific context is not known, but it was probably collected from the pit, not the landscaping of the 1960s, as the latter is usually indicated in the inventory entry. The vessel is decorated with dark blue undeglaze painting, featuring a plant motif, in a band directly under the rim. It is possible that the piece was made in the seventeenth century, the colour of the paint however is characteristic of the Wanli period (1573-1620), therefore it migh be dating back to the first half of the seventeenth century. The last piece on Table 6, no. 5, shows sherds of a vessel with an ornamental decoration in a band under the rim. The vessel is thin-walled, the bright blue painting is covered with a bluish white glaze. There is no sign of decoration on the inside, but the well could have been decorated. The sherds were collected partly from the Gaol Bastion (2010.15.5. and 2010.18.8), and partly from an unidentified site (Képtár É-i oldal, 1983. 10. hó). Based on its stylistic features, the piece might be dated to the first half of the seventeenth century.

Table 6: Blue and white cups with no analogy
(1) Eger cat. 24; Inventory no. V2010.57.1.
(2) Eger cat. 25; Inventory no. 2012.70.1.
(3) Eger cat. 25; Inventory no. 60.37.9.
(4) Eger cat. 26; Inventory no. V2012.92.18.

One outstanding and unique piece of the assemblage is shown on Figure 52. Tha sherds belong to an octagonal cup and were unearthed in the area of the Episcopal Palace. This shape is without analogy in Buda or other published porcelain assemblages in Hungary. Based on distant analogies of the Wanli shipwreck it can be dated to the early seventeenth century.

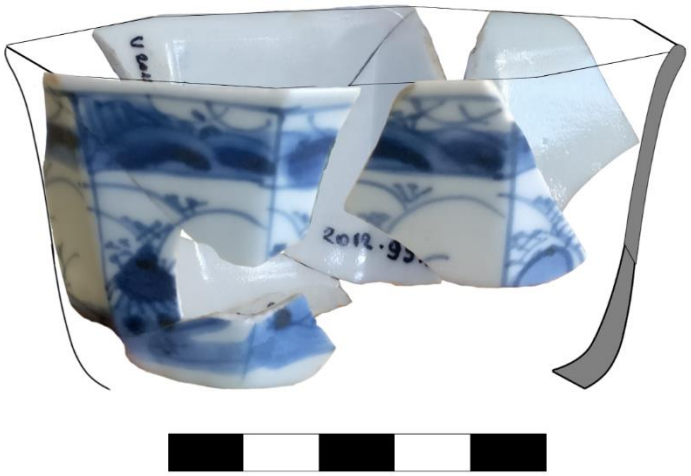


Figure 52: Octagonal cup, Wanli period(?), early seventeenth century
Eger cat. 29;
Inventory no. V2012.99.2., V2012.140.3., V2012.162.5. and V2012.162.6.

Although some brown bowls confidently dated to the Kangxi period also appear in Eger, as shown at the beginning of this subchapter, two vessels are different from those with direct analogies. No. 1 on Table 7 (left) is a rim sherd of a large bowl, decorated with underglaze blue painting on the insde, featuring a flower blossom and geometric design in a band under the rim; and covered with brown glaze on the outside. As the piece is not listed in the inventory database, its site of collection is unknown, based on the inventory number however, it was probably collected during the first season of the excavation in 1957, which concentrated on the northern part of the castle i.e. the Episcopal Palace and its vicinity. The sherds of vessel no. 2 in Table 6 (right) also belongs to a large bowl. On the inside it is decorated with underglaze light blue painting, covered with a bluish white glaze; and the outside is covered with an unusally light brown glaze. One of the sherds was unearthed in the Northern zwinger (2012.85.14), and the other one was collected in the Episcopal Palace (2012.131.9.). Based on their style, the two vessels can probably be dated to the Kangxi period (1662-1722), but it is uncertain, whether to the seventeenth or the eighteenth century.

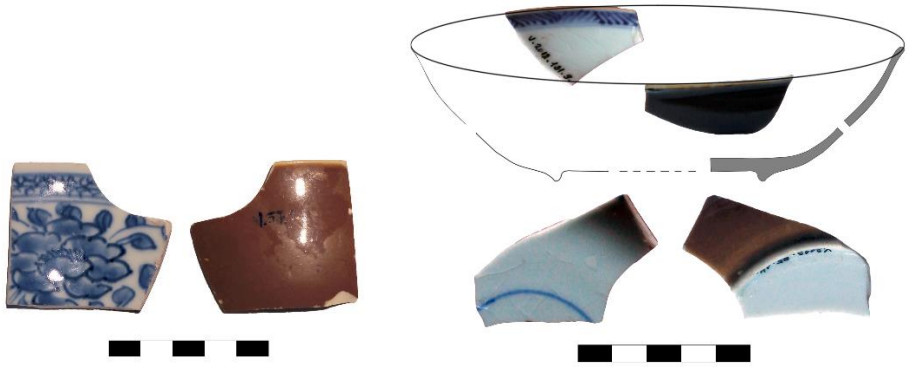


Table 7: Unique brown pieces
Eger cat. 30; Inventory no. V.57.1. (left)
Eger cat. 31; Inventory no. V2012.85.14. and V2012.131.9. (right)

A possibly celadon cup is shown in Figure 53. Its material is grey and not as pure as porcelain, and it is covered with celadon green glaze on both sides. The outside is decorated with underglaze blue painting: a double horizontal line around the rim, and several of the same

Chinese character on the wall, probably reading *qing* 青 (blue, green, black)[144] or *chun* 春 (spring, vigour, life, wine).[145] If the mark reads *qing*, it was probably made in the Walni period (1573-1620), as this mark is dated to this period; but if it reads *chun*, it is more likely that the vessel can be dated to the seventeenth century. One of the sherds was found in the Earth Bastion (2010.34.3.), the other one in the Northern zwinger (2012.80.1.), which does not narrow the dating, but indicates instead that the Ottoman period debris of the Episcopal palace was most likely spread out in the vicinity, covering the northern part of the castle area.

Figure 53: Celadon cup
Eger cat. 32; Inventory no. 2010.34.3. and V2012.80.1.

Larger bowls

This form is represented by two very similar vessels in Figure 54 and 55. Analogies are still to be identified, but based on stylistic evaluation they can be dated to the sixteenth century rather than the seventeenth. Figure 53 shows the fragment consisting of eight sherds, four of which is inventoried [55.9.1.; 60.37.13-14, and 55.9.1.]. The sherds were found in the Earth

[144] Gerald Davison, *Marks*, no.137.
[145] Ibid., no.119.

and Gaol Bastions, and in the Northern zwinger. Based on its style, it might be dated to the Wanli period (1573-1620), but direct analogies were not found. It is similar to the other large bowl, demonstrated on Figure 54. This bowl shows some differences with the previous one, but the same motives, bluish white colour and bright blue underglaze painting can be seen on both of them. The sherds of the bowl were collected in the Earth Bastion (2010.1.8. and 2010.18.2.), in the vicinity of the northern gate (2012.66.4.), and in the Episcopal Palace (2012.120.1.). This context does not help with the dating, but also shows that the material from the Episcopal Palace, i.e. the pasha palace during the Ottoman period, was spread around the vicinity of the palace.

Figure 54: Large bowl
Eger cat. 33.

Figure 55: Large bowl
Eger cat. 34.

Plates

Table 8 demonstrates the types of plates unearthed in the territory of the Castle of Eger. No. 1 to 4 are sherds of plate rims and one wall. No.1 shows similarities to *kraak* plates dating to the Wanli period (1573-1620), as the decoration is seemingly divided into panels, except for its outside, which is more richly decorated than that of the *kraak* type plates.[146] The sherd was collected from the Gaol Bastion, therefore it was probably buried in the ground between 1596 and 1687. No.2 on Table 8 is also likely to belong to the *kraak* type, but the sherd is too small for a confident identification. The sherd was found during the sewerage works in the vicinity of the Dobó Bastion, therefore the archaeological context is not known in more details. No. 3 also shows stylistic features of the Wanli period (1573-1620), but a direct analogy would be needed for a confident dating. The sherd was unearthed in the Gaol Bastion, therefore the context does not help with narrowing the supposed dating.

[146] For examples of kraak plates see Sten Sjöstrand, *The Wanli Shipwreck*, 170-245.

The smaller plate depicted on figure no. 4 of Table 8 is distantly connected to the previous plate rim, as their outer rim features the same decorative motif. The inner side of the rim is decorated with *ruyi* and *linghzi* motifs, and a lotus blossom with the fragment of a landscape in the medallion. The outer wall is decorated with *linghzi* motives. One of the sherds was collected from the Northern zwinger (2012.81.1.), and the other one from the Episcopal Palace (2012.131.17.), therefore their Wanli period dating (1573-1620) is neither refuted, nor supported.

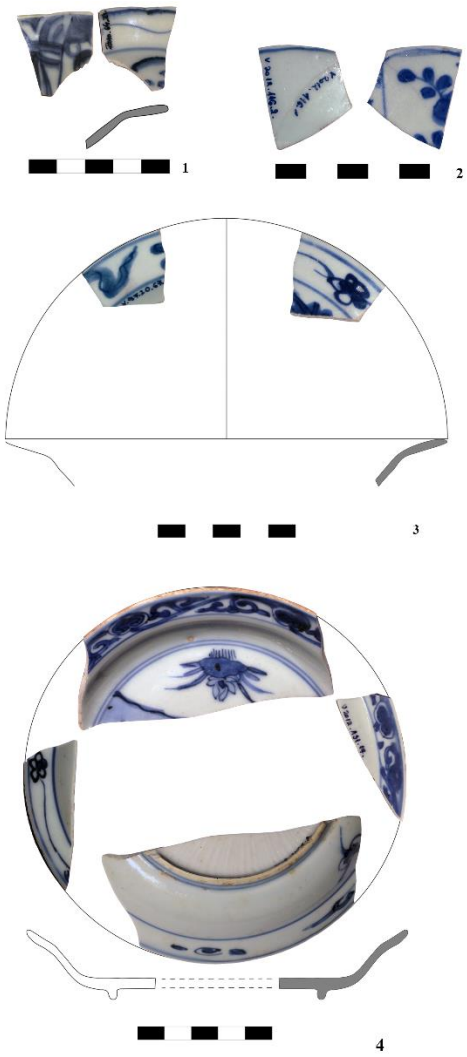


Table 8: Plates
(1) Eger cat. 35; Inventory no. 2010.64.21.
(2) Eger cat. 36.; Inventory no. 2010.116.1-2.
(3) Eger cat. 37.; Inventory no. V97.20.67.
(4) Eger cat. 38; Inventory no. V2012.81.1. and 2012.131.17.

4.4. Conclusion

In general, the Eger assemblage shows similarities and differences with the assemblages of the Buda Royal Palace and the civilian town. Similarities include the most common types that can confidently be dated to the Wanli period (1573-1620), and partly to the Kangxi period (1662-1722). Several other types however were unearthed in Eger, which do not appear in the Buda assemblages. Unfortunately, the identification of these types is yet to be resolved, but they indicate that the majority of these vessels were made in the seventeenth century, possibly in private kilns of Jingdezhen, such as the Wanli types discussed in the previous chapter. A few outstanding pieces however suggest imperial kilns or more sophisticated imitations of imperial ware. The dearth of information regarding the archaeological data of the pieces makes the identification difficult, as the private kilns are still being researched in China by the excavations. Therefore, analogies for types that did not make it to the impressive collections of Chinese porcelain around the world, are still to be published.

A general impression about the Eger assemblage is that the major consumers of these products were the pashas, and after the re-occupation of the castle from the Ottomans in 1687, the debris, including broken or whole vessels of Chinese porcelain, was spread around the territory of the castle. A concentration can be observed in the northern part of the area, i.e. the vicinity of the pasha palace (Episcopal Palace). This indicates that the debris found in this area might belong to the pasha palace, but sherds in further locations, such as the southern parts of the castle could also have been used in the palace. It is also possible, that those pieces found in the northern areas were used in, for example, the houses of the Szép Bastion (if they were built at the end of the seventeenth century). Taking waste management patterns in considerations, it is difficult to connect certain sherds to certain locations of use, but the assemblage tends to

show some tendencies regarding the concentration of sherds. A more detailed discussion of the topographical distribution of the sherds is to follow in Chapter 5.

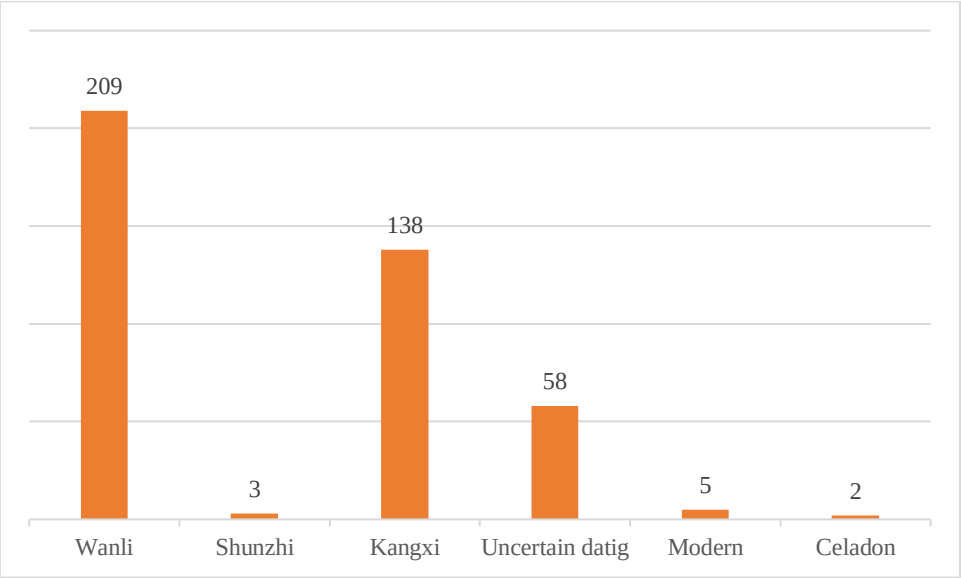


Figure 56: Chronological distribution of the Eger assemblage

Chapter 5 – Analysis and Comparative Evaluation of the Chinese Porcelain Assemblages of Buda and the Castle of Eger

The stylistic evaluation and archaeological context analysis resulted in the general identification of the assemblage, dating it partly to the Wanli (1573-1620) and partly to the Kangxi (1662-1722) periods. Two tendencies of differences can be observed, the first one between the medieval Royal Palace and the civilian town of Buda; the second one between the Castle of Eger and the Buda assemblage. These two tendencies are different in character; therefore, they are discussed separately. This discussion of the comparison of the assemblages focuses on the Ottoman-period, therefore the eighteenth century and modern pieces are not discussed.

5.1. Chronology

5.1.1. Buda – Royal Palace and civilian town

The main difference in the two assemblages appears to be chronological, i.e. the majority of the assemblage in the royal palace can be dated to the second half of the sixteenth, and the first half of the seventeenth century; while the civilian town's assemblage seems to indicate the second half of the seventeenth century, a significant part of the assemblage however is not dated with complete confidence. This chronological difference might reflect the historical events: after the occupation, the royal palace was occupied by the military garrison, and the earliest pieces were also found in this territory. The Pasha Palace in the north-eastern corner of the present day Szent György tér was only constructed on the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which indicates that the area might only have become important for

the civilian population at this time. This interpretation corresponds to the later dating of the majority of the pieces that were collected in this part of the town.

Regarding the Víziváros, two small parts were represented: the present day Corvin tér, which is identified as the centre of the Ottoman-period Toygun pasha *mahalle*; and an Ottoman-settlement fragment area of Gyorskocsi, Medve and Fazekas utca. The majority of the pieces collected at Corvin tér indicate the second half of the sixteenth century, when the area operated as a *mahalle* centre, but a few Kangxi period (166-1722) pieces were also collected. The Ottoman settlement fragment in the northern part of Víziváros yielded mostly Kangxi-period sherds, with a small number of pieces dating to the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. This chronology also corresponds to the development of Ottoman Buda, which flourished mainly during the seventeenth century. However, the material analysed from this area in the present thesis is disproportionately small compared to that of the Szent György tér or the Royal Palace, therefore it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding the chronological distribution of the types.

5.1.2. Eger and Buda

The chronology of the types is unsurprisingly similar in the case of the two Ottoman fortresses. In general, the two assemblages are datable to the Wanli (1573-1620) and Kangxi (1662-1722) periods, which corresponds to the global tendencies of trade in Chinese porcelain, which is strongly connected to the change in the ruling dynasty of China from Ming to Qing in 1644. Thus, the period between c. 1620 and 1680 is called the 'Transition Period' in porcelain research, as the dynasty change brought several changes in production, trade and even taste.[147] After the fall of the Ming Dynasty, numerous Jingdezhen kilns were either damaged or

[147] Wen-Chin Hsu, "Social and Economic Factors in the Chinese Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen during the Late Ming and Early Qing Period, ca. 1620-1683", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1988): 135.

destroyed, and trade with the West (and probably with Southeast Asia as well) was disrupted for decades.[148] This was a consequence of the general crisis in the Chinese economic system caused by the fall of the Ming Dynasty, which was only stabilized by the reign of Kangxi (1662-1722), when porcelain production and trade went back to normal.[149] This disruption is reflected in the chronology of the two assemblages, bearing only a few representatives of the mid-seventeenth century (see the Shunzhi geometric type).[150]

The reflection of the economic and trading disruption of the Transition Period in the porcelain supply of Hungary suggests, that the objects might have been part of the trading system between the centre of the Ottoman Empire and Hungary. Unfortunately, there are very limited written sources regarding what was traded in the Ottoman towns of Hungary, and Chinese porcelain has not been discovered in toll registers so far. This means that it is not known whether porcelain was present on the regular markets, or it was brought to the pasha's court for example, by private order from Istanbul. The presence of the 'abstract' type in the Wanli period (1573-1620) and the lotus type in the Kangxi period (1662-1722) as bulk objects indicates that less valuable pieces were probably present on the market, and more valuable pieces were mainly in the possession of high ranking officials, who came in possession with the vessels via "private trade".

Concerning the trading routes, the identification of the three Wanli types is the only case which provides a basis for interpretation. As there are no sufficient written sources regarding the ways in which Hungary traded with the centre of the empire, one can only rely on the objects connected to this period. The analogies of the Wanli types were found in the cargo of the Wanli shipwreck, and all three types were connected to the Guanyinge private kiln

[148] Wen-Chin Hsu, "Social and Economic Farctors in the Chinse Porcelain Industry", 140-141.
[149] Ibid., 136.
[150] This notion however might be refuted with the precise dating of the types that were not identified in the present thesis.

in Jingdezhen, excavations of which took place in 2005 and brought to light the direct analogies of these types. The Wanli shipwreck had another important feature: it sank before it reached the Southeast-Asian shores, therefore the products intended for that market were also on board when the ship went down. These circumstances indicate several aspects of the trade of the Ottoman Empire with. In order to reconstruct the possible trading routes, the theory of object biography, more precisely, object life cycle was used to interpret the origin of the Wanli types. The theory is used according to the definition of Karin Dannehl, who differentiated object biographies from object life cycles; stating that the first one should focus on the object itself, while the second one should consider the context of the object.[151] By focusing on the context of these types, they can be described as products of a private kiln, probably intended for the Southeast-Asian market, which also ended up in the north-western corner of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. Hungary. The types were retrieved from a trading ship, indicating that these objects probably travelled from China to the centre of the Ottoman Empire via marine routes, and then reached Hungary via land trading routes; finally reaching their destination in most likely the hands of garrison soldiers, and/or their ranking officers, as well as officials of the town, *vilayet* or province.

5.2. Topography

5.2.1. Buda

The topographical distribution of the Buda assemblage is demonstrated on Figure 57, which shows the most common types and their number of sherds from the Royal Palace, as well as the outstanding pieces of each civilian town site that are dealt with in the thesis. As it was discussed in detail, most of the assemblage was collected from levelling layers of debris

[151] Karin Dannehl, "Object biographies. From production to consumption, in Karen Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture. A student's guide to approaching alternative sources.* (Routledge: London and New York, 2009): 124.

and waste, connected to the Baroque-period reconstruction of the town and the Royal Palace. Certain patterns however cannot be ignored, which do not only correspond to the chronological development of Buda, but also the topographical reconstruction of the town. This reconstruction was primarily made by historians, after evaluating the available written sources, but remains mostly hypothetical, as the sources do not provide sufficient information for the precise reconstruction of the *mahalle*s and the composition of their inhabitants. The archaeological surveys in the town however only supported the hypothesis of the historians, which also seems to be traceable in the Chinese porcelain finds collected on the territory of Ottoman Buda.

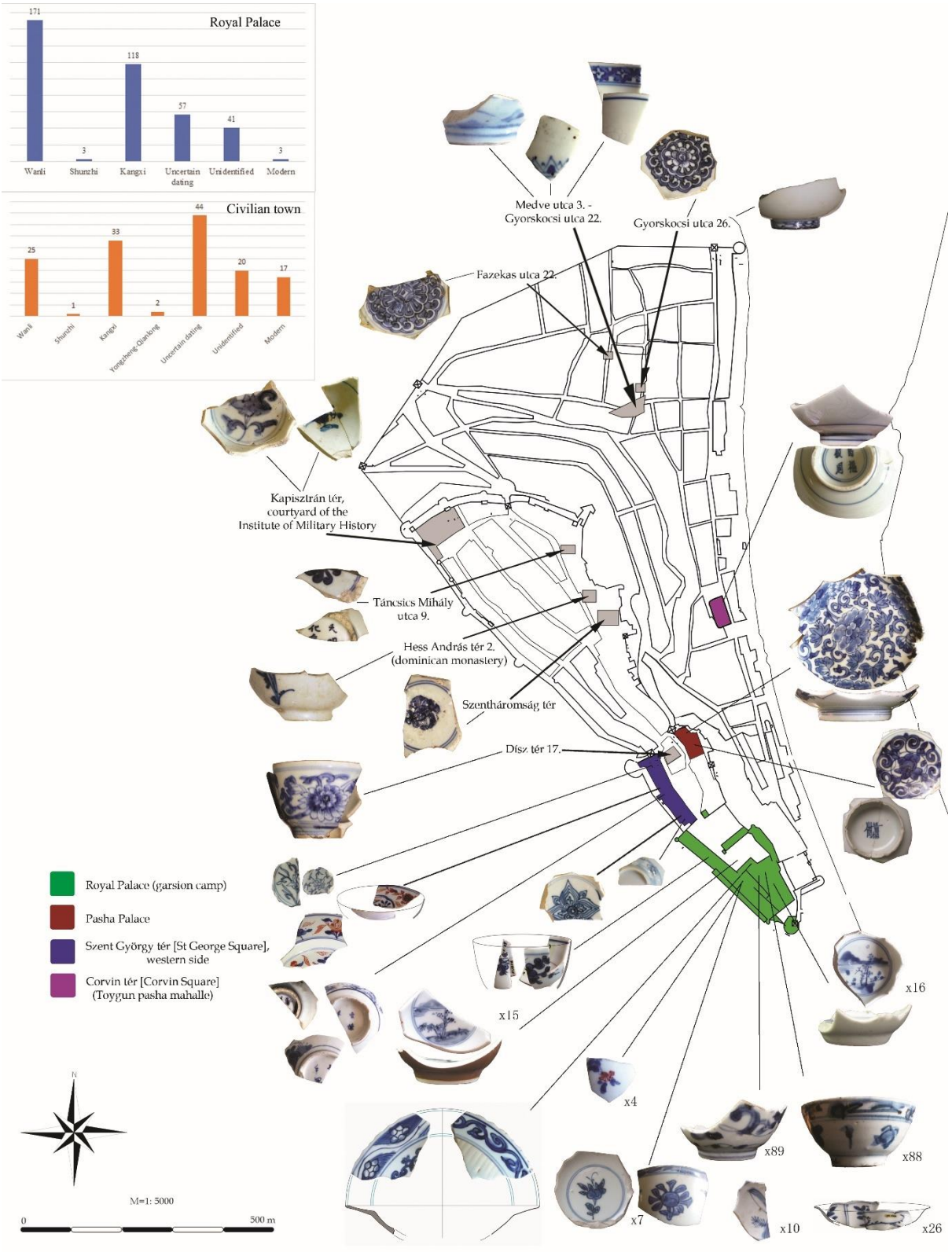


Figure 57: Topographical distribution of the Buda assemblage

The difference between the Royal Palace and the civilian town has already been assessed as a chronological one, but it is important to note, that regardless of chronology, the

ratio between the bulk (abstract peach and lotus types) and the more refined products is significantly different in the palace and in the town. The number of objects is difficult to estimate, but statistically it is safe to state that more fragments of the same type of ceramics indicates more vessels (keeping in mind the exception of the unusually thin walled types, such as the foliated rim type). On the basis of this assessment, it is interesting to consider that the number of the Wanli abstract peach and the Kangxi lotus type sherds is almost exactly the same, and these two types occur in an overwhelming majority in the Royal Palace, considering the entire Buda assemblage. This suggests that the pieces might be connected to the garrison inhabiting the palace. Based on the written sources however, the Ottoman military stationed in the Hungarian fortresses was mostly of Balkan Slavic origin, and most likely they did not use the same material culture as the Ottomans.[152] Therefore, I suggest that the pieces that can be connected to the military, because they were found in the territory of the garrison's inhabitance, were used by the high ranking officers living with or in the vicinity of the garrison.

The distribution of the types in the civilian town corresponds to the known social tendencies in topography. Two parts of the town should be emphasized: the present day Szent György tér, and Corvin tér. As indicated in the discussion of the development of Buda in the Ottoman period (see Chapter 3), both of these areas can be considered as some sort of administrative centres, as the pasha's palace was located consecutively in both areas. This central location is reflected in the Chinese porcelain material of the sites excavated, which is more supported by the two sherds from the Pasha Palace in Szent György tér, that was accidentally included in the Royal Palace assemblage. These two vessels, a large and a small bowl, show a more refined quality in comparison with the bulk products that are found in the

[152] For latest publication of the defters of the soldiers payments see Klára Hegyi, *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága vol. 1-3.* [Fortresses and their military in the Ottoman Period], (Budapest: MTA Történettuodmányi Intézete, 2007), with special emphasis on vol. 2, "Buda vára" 423-480., and vol. 3 "Eger", 1503-1509.

territory of the military camp. The large number and higher quality of the pieces collected from the western side of Szent György tér suggest two different interpretations: the pieces were either brought to this part of the square from the Pasha Palace's waste and debris during the Baroque reconstructions; or these vessels belonged to high ranking members of the society who lived in a frequented part of town, indicating wealth and a taste for luxury pottery. The latter hypothesis is supported by the fact that this part of town was already of central function at the end of the Middle Ages, and the construction of the Pasha Palace complex at the beginning of the seventeenth century must have reinstated this function. On Corvin tér the *cami* of Toygun pasha was surveyed, with the area being identified as the Toygun pasha *mahalle* (see subchapter 3.1.), which leads to the assumption that a *mahalle* centre can be found in this area, which operated until the pasha's seat was moved up the hill in 1598. The presence of Ottoman inhabitants is reflected in the Chinese porcelain finds, which included the outstanding *anhua* decorated piece.

5.2.2. Eger

The topographical situation of Eger is somewhat different from that of Buda, as the pasha's residence was within the fortress. As it was described in Chapter 4, the Eger Castle was divided into two parts, the inner, northern part was inhabited by the pashas, while the janissary was settled in the outer, southern part of the castle. An overwhelming majority of the assemblage was collected from the territory of the inner castle, clearly indicating that Chinese porcelain was primarily used by the pasha and his court. Unfortunately, the information regarding the archaeological context of the assemblage is not sufficient to draw many conclusions from the typological distribution. Therefore, it is only the statistical distribution of the number of pieces that can be the basis of interpretation. It is necessary to emphasize, that

the number of sherds collected from the territory of the inner castle is *c*. 2.5 times more than that of the outer castle.

The principles of spatial analysis helps assessing this phenomenon. It is known that levelling took place after the re-occupation in 1687, therefore the debris, including the porcelain sherds, was spread out on the area of the castle. Furthermore, in the mid-twentieth century the military was using the premises until 1957, when the current Dobó István Museum moved up the hill, which was accompanied with landscaping works. These works influenced the archaeological context of a significant part of the assemblage, resulting in the sherds being found in mixed debris layers of modern and Ottoman period material, sometimes even mixed with medieval objects. This raises the question whether the original place of use should be searched in the direct vicinity of collection, or a much larger territory needs to be considered. In this case, a part of the pieces found in the northern part of the castle might have been used in the southern part, and vice versa. This notion also applies in regard of the well definable Ottoman layers and cesspits. Further aspects of spatial analysis cannot be applied in this case (such as in Buda), as the buildings used by the Ottomans are either destroyed with no assessable archaeological data, or reconstructed in the period directly after the Ottomans left, so the material left behind was cleared out of the building and could not be buried in their original place of use. In spite of the above uncertainties, based, on the results of the consideration of the topographical distribution of porcelain in Buda, I suggest that the use of Chinese porcelain can primarily be connected to the pasha and the Ottoman officials surrounding him; and less to the soldiers mainly consisting of Slavic origin or any other social group present in either of these sites.

5.2. Composition of the assemblages

Regarding the composition of the two assemblages, in general, the main types (Wanli abstract peach and Kangxi lotus and brown and celadon glazed types) are the same, appearing in the same proportion in Buda and in Eger. Besides the similar types, there are types in both assemblages that do not appear in the other one. This latter characteristic of the two materials raises several questions, mainly regarding the reason behind this difference. The role of the two fortresses was similar, they were both strategically crucial, they both functioned as *vilayet* centres, and they were both inhabited by a pasha and a large number of soldiers. The types that are not found in both sites can mostly be dated to the seventeenth century, thus a chronological difference does not solve the issue. The answer might lie in the origin of the types, the identification of which is yet to be resolved with the growing number of private kilns excavated in China.

Another aspect of the composition of the assemblages is the value of the pieces. One is compelled to make statements such as one or another type is "higher quality" or "more valuable", which might have a reasonable basis, but also needs to be done with caution. There are no sources for the value of a Chinese porcelain cup in the Ottoman context, therefore assumptions regarding the social value of these pieces are difficult to make. The "bulk" types (Wanli abstract peach and Kangxi lotus) seem positively different from the imperial style, but this does not necessarily mean that they are less valuable. It is probably more the function than the looks of the vessels that might indicate their value. In the Hungarian scholarship, it is widely believed that the Chinese porcelain and Persian faience cups were used for drinking coffee and tea by the Ottomans, which defines these objects as everyday coffee cups. Their true value is impossible to estimate unless it is known that the sherds belonged to how many people. Another factor that indicates the appreciation for these objects is the large number of repaired sherds,

with small drilled holes, indicating that they were repaired with metal staples. The number of repaired vessels is significantly higher in the Eger assemblage than that of Buda; and the most repaired objects belong to the lotus type, and after that, to the abstract peach type. This can be interpreted in two ways: either these types were in the possession of less wealthy people, as they cost less, but still much enough for their owner to repair them; or they were not so cheap at all.

In summary, there are similarities and differences in the Chinese porcelain assemblages of the two sites. The main similarity is the overall chronological distribution of the assemblages, together with the two types represented by the most pieces, the abstract peach and the lotus type. The differences mainly lie in the composition of the materials, but this composition does not necessarily indicate a difference in quality or value; but more likely a difference in the origin, i.e. the production site of the objects. Regarding the topographical distribution of the materials, a pattern could be observed, which suggests that Chinese porcelain can be regarded as a type of object used by a specific social group, namely higher ranking members of the Ottoman society, such as pashas and other officials.

Conclusion

The topic of the present thesis was the analysis and comparison of the archaeologically collected Chinese porcelain assemblages of Ottoman-period Buda (1541-1686) and the Castle of Eger (1596-1687). On the basis of the analysis, the thesis aimed at suggesting possible solutions for questions such as to what extent can a type of luxury ceramic be used to detect social groups in towns, who were the users of these objects and what is the reason behind the difference in the two assemblages. With the use of archaeological and art historical evaluation, a significant part of the assemblages was identified and confidently dated, placing the materials in the Wanli (1573-1620) and Kangxi (1662-1722) periods. The types connected to the Wanli period were also identified as products of the Guanyinge private kiln in Jingdezhen, based on analogies in the Wanli shipwreck's cargo. This information lead to a possible resolution of in what way Chinese porcelain arrived in Hungary, suggesting that the Ottoman Empire consumed similar porcelain types to those preferred by the Southeast Asian market, using marine trading routes to the centre of the Empire, and then distributing the goods via land routes to, for example, Hungary.

The aspect of the Southeast-Asian marine trade and its more thorough investigation revealed a cultural heritage issue, regarding the policies of the Southeast-Asian countries towards the protection of their underwater heritage – including the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century wrecks of trading ships. The brief evaluation of the present heritage management situation of the issue concluded that as of the current state of the heritage policies, the cargos of the these ships is rather difficult to research academically. The main reason of this obstacle being the insufficient management of the sites, causing ill-documented excavations, that rarely result in the publication of the cargo. This makes the material of these archaeologically invaluable sites inaccessible to the researcher, thus closing the door on an unexplored, yet

crucial aspect of the trade and distribution of Chinese porcelain, mostly produced in the private kilns.

The examination of the topographical distribution of the finds resulted in the hypothesis that these objects were mostly used by Ottoman officials, and less by soldiers of other social groups. This topographical approach raises the question whether an outstanding type of objects can be used to detect certain social groups or to reconstruct social identities. This notion in the context of occupied towns in Ottoman Hungary can be inserted into the global debate regarding "Ottoman towns", which aims at deciding whether the concept of an "Ottoman city" is acceptable, and if so, based on what features can it be defined. An experimental examination of the notion was carried out in this thesis, in the case of the present day Szent György tér and Corvin tér in Buda. Corvin tér was inarguably the centre of the so called Toygun pasha *mahalle* during the sixteenth century, which also yielded the remarkable piece with the *anhua* decoration. The rest of the ten fragments unearthed here include pieces decorated with peach and landscape, indicating the second half of the sixteenth century—or probably early seventeenth century in the case of the sherd with landscape decoration. This corresponds to the fact that the pashas moved up to the Castle Hill only in 1598, and their early residence was located somewhere in the vicinity of today's Corvin tér. The area however might have been in continuous use during the Ottoman period; indicated by the porcelain type with lotus and *lingzhi*, which points to the second half of the seventeenth century. The situation is quite similar in the case of Szent György tér, the evaluation of which, however, cannot be complete without its comparison to the assemblage collected in the Pasha Palace.[153]

[153] It is important to emphasize, that these areas within the modern-day Castle District are the better excavated parts. Győző Gerő conducted planned research at Corvin tér in the 1960s, when he located Toygun pasha's *cami* and *hamam*. The renovation of Szent György tér in the early 2000s provided an opportunity for large scale excavations at the western side of the square between 1998 and 2001. Therefore, the outstanding porcelain assemblages and the fact that they correspond to topographical facts known from other sources, might be the coincidence of more thorough archaeological surveys. This might be supported by findings from the Royal Palace, which was also studied during the large-scale rescue excavations after the Second World War.

The identification of the abstract peach type as a product of a private kiln in Jingdezhen is a vital piece of information regarding its everyday function. Being products of a private kiln, it is possible that the value and prestige of these objects was less than those of the imperial kilns. Although, it is still probable that in Ottoman Buda any type of Chinese porcelain held a high social value and represented some level of wealth and higher social status. A solution might be the identification of the origin and absolute value of the pieces, for which there is no sufficient data available at this point. The exact identification requires material tests and analogies from Chinese kilns, the archaeological survey of which is still a developing discipline in its home country, as the 2005 excavation of the Guanyinge private kiln in Jingdezhen demonstrates. Furthermore, there is no information regarding the price of these vessels in the Ottoman context, as they are usually not mentioned by name in the toll registers.

In connection with identifying one kiln where three types of porcelains arrived in Hungary, it is necessary to consider the composition of the assemblages from the point of view of function and consumers. The analysis of the topographical distribution of the types raises the question to whom these objects might be connected. It was already mentioned before, that the military mostly consisted of soldiers with Slavic origin and less affiliation with the Ottoman culture; but Ottoman towns also consisted of several other social groups, such as Jews, Orthodox Christians, Gypsies and Hungarian Christians. Therefore, it is unavoidable to assess who else might have used Chinese porcelain cups apart from the Ottomans. This question is difficult to answer, but one aspect of porcelain research might bring us closer to the solution. This aspect is the collections, which are the basis of all Chinese porcelain studies. By "collections" I primarily mean those assemblages that were originally gifts or private possessions of mainly rulers, such as the Topkapı Saray collection in Istanbul or the Percival

David Collection in London, which contain pieces from before the eighteenth century. One exception is the collection of Augustus II the Strong (1694-1733), whose famous collection was broken up after the bombing of Dresden in the Second World War, and during the Soviet regime of East Germany. But no Hungarian ruler collected Chinese porcelain, and the strongly negative association of the pieces is demonstrated by the fact that after the re-occupation of both Buda and Eger, the Chinese porcelain vessels ended up in cess pits and levelling layers without known exceptions.[154] This indicates, that it was probably exclusively the Ottomans who used such objects during the Ottoman period. The importance of private collections is also supported by a Danish case study.[155] Rikke Søndergaard Kristensen excavated seventeenth and eighteenth century cesspits in Copenhagen and discovered, that the Chinese porcelain sherds collected from the ground cannot be compared to the porcelain vessels of the high quality collections. The social context of the pieces is different, but Kristensen's interpretation shows similarities with what can be concluded in connection with the Hungarian assemblages: the unearthed sherds are not direct analogies of the pieces in the private collections, therefore they are probably connected to a lower layer of society. In the context of Copenhagen, this meant the wealthy merchants versus the high aristocracy. In the Hungarian context, it might still be connected to Ottoman officials and pashas. This notion is supported by the fact that it is not known what is missing from the unearthed assemblages, as the Ottomans could have taken their most precious belongings with them, and only leaving behind the less valuable objects, such as relatively cheap ceramic cups or bowls, either made of porcelain or of faience (the difference between the two might not have been obvious in the case of some faience types).

[154] It is important to note that after the freedom fights against the Habsburg influence ceased by the mid-eighteenth century, the Hungarian aristocracy most probably also developed a taste for porcelain, but this is subject to further study. Based on the modern sherds collected from the Buda and Eger sights, which included Meissen porcelain as well, seemingly Asian and European porcelain was collected at the same time.

[155] Rikke Søndergaard Kristensen, "Made in China: Import, Distribution and Consumption of Chinese Porcelain in Copenhagen c. 1600-1760", *Post-Medieval Archaeology 48/1* (2004): 151-181.

The question of the value of these objects have come up several times in the discussions of different aspects of interpretation, with the most definite attempt to assess the issue in Subchapter 5.2. The evaluation of the composition of the assemblages and the high number of repaired objects, which were in majority "bulk" products, concluding that most probably any type of Chinese porcelain held a high value and appreciation, indicating that the users did not necessarily know the difference between the products of imperial or private kilns, or between Chinese porcelain and Persian Faience, for that matter.[156] This issue opens up yet again new aspects of further research. As the example of Buda and Eger demonstrated, the Ottoman inhabitants of the occupied fortresses could be traced via Chinese porcelain. Supplementing this research with Persian Faience, the examination of Oriental luxury ceramics in Ottoman occupied towns in Hungary can be moved to the level of social-topographical research. As mentioned at several points of the thesis, the social topography of the Ottoman towns and fortresses of Hungary is barely known, therefore providing more information regarding the users and value of these objects might be crucial in detecting social groups within settlements. This research would also contribute to the international debate of the "Ottoman urban concept", dealing with the definition of the features constituting an Ottoman town.

[156] John Carswell, "Ṣīn in Syria", *Iran* 17 (1979): 22.

Bibliography

Ágoston, Gábor and Sudár, Balázs, *Gül Baba és a magyarországi bektasi dervisek* [Gül Baba and the Bektaşi dervishes in Hungary], Budapest: Terebess Kiadó, 2002.

Apparudai, Arjun, "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value", in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspetive,* Arjun Appadurai ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 3-63.

Ayers, John and Krahl, Regina, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue,* pt. 2., *Yuan and Ming Dynasty Porcelains,* London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986.

———. *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue,* pt. 3, *Qing Dynasty Porcelains,* London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986.

B. Nyékhelyi, Dorottya, *Középkori kútlelet a budavári Szent György téren* [Medieval Well Find from the Saint George Square in the Buda Castle], Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia 12, Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2003.

Brown, Roxanna M., "History of Shipwreck Excavation in Southeast Asia," in *The Belitung Wreck: Sunken Treasures from Tang China,* ed. Jayne Ward, and Zoi Kotitsa (New Zealand: Seabed Explorations Ltd., 2004): 40-55.

Carswell, John, "Ṣīn in Syria", *Iran* 17 (1979): 15-24.

Çelebi, Evliya, *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó Magyarországi utazásai 1664-1666* [The travelogue of Evliya Çelebi traveling in Hungary between 1664 and 1666], trans. and ed. Imre Karácson, Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1908.

Dannehl, Karin, "Object biographies. From production to consumption, in Karen Harvey, ed., *History and Material Culture. A student's guide to approaching alternative sources.* (Routledge: London and New York, 2009): 123-138.

Davison, Gerald, *Marks on Chinese Ceramics,* second ed., Somerset: Gerald Davison Ltd., 2013.

Déthsy, Mihály and Kozák, Károly, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-66) IV." [Excavation of the Castle of Eger (1957-66) IV.], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 5 (1967): 87-116.

Déthsy, Mihály, "Az egri vár története VII. 1596-1687 [History of the Castle of Eger VII. 1596-1687]," *Az Egri Vár Híradója 7* [Newsletter of the Castle of Eger 7], ed. János Győző Szabó (Eger: Az Egri Vár Baráti Köre, 1968): 179-208.

Éder, Katalin, "Török kori fajanszok a Víziváros területéről" [Faience Finds From the Ottoman-period Víziváros], *Budapest Régisgei* 41 (2007), 239-247.

———. "Újabb törökkori díszkerámiák Budapest-Víziváros területéről" [New Ottoman-period Ceramics from Víziváros], *Budapest Régiségei* 45 (2012) 159-167.

Fajcsák, Györgyi ed., *Keleti műveszétei lexikon* [Enyclopaedia of Oriental Art], Budapest: Corvina, 2007.

Fekete, Lajos, *Budapest története,* vol. 3, *Budapest a török korban* [The history of Budapest, vol. 3, Budapest during the Turkish Era], Budapest: 1944.

Fodor, László and Kozák, Károly, "Leletegyüttesek a román kori székesegyház környékéről (Adatok az egri vár XVII-XVIII. századi kerámiájának történetéhez, I.) [Assemblages from the vicinity of the Romanesque cathedral (Additional data to the seventeenth and eighteenth century ceramic history of the castle of Eger, I.)], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 8-9. (1972): 147-200.

Gaál, Attila, "Kínai porcelánok és utánzataik, valamint üvegkarperecek a Jeni-palánki török palánkvárból" [Chinese Porcelains and Their Imitations, along with Glass Bracelets from the Ottoman palisad of Jeni-palánk], *Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum Évkönyve* 27 (2005): 205-258.

Gerevich, László, *A budai vár feltárása* [The excavation of the Buda Castle], Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966.

Gerő, Győző, "A budai pasák vári palotája" [The palace of the Buda pashas in the Castle], *Budapest* 6/9 (1968): 42.

———. "Hol állott a budai Kücsük dzsámi?" [Where was the Küçük cami of Buda?], *Budapest Régiségei* 19 (1959): 215-18.

———. "A buda-vízivárosi Tojgun pasa dzsámi és a Tojgun pasa mahalle" [The Toygun pasha mosque and the Toygun pasha mahalle in Buda-Víziváros (Watertown)], *Budapest Régiségei* 37 (2003): 197-208.

———. "A török Eger építészeti és régészeti emlékei" [Architectural and Archaological Monuments of Ottoman Eger], *Az Egri Vár Híradója 28* [Newsletter of the Castle of Eger 28], ed. László Fodor (Eger: Az Egri Vár Baráti Köre, 1996): 24-31.

———. "Budapest I., Színház utca 5–7., volt Pasa–palota (ásatási jelentés.) [Budapest Ist district, Színház Street 5-7., old Pasha Palace (excavation report)]," *Régészeti Füzetek,* 1961-1968.

———. "The Residence of the Pasha's in Hungary and the recently discovered Pashasaray from Buda," in François Déroche ed., *Art Turc – Türkisch Art. 10th International Congress of Türkisch Art – 10 Congrès international d'art turc. Actes–Proceedings. Art Turc – Türkisch Art. 10th International Congress of Türkisch Art – 10 Congrès international d'art turc. Actes–Proceedings. Genève, 1995* (Genève, 1999), 353–360.

Gerritsen, Anne, "Ceramics for local and global markets: Jingdezhen's agora of technologies" in ed. Dagmar Schäfer, *Cultures of Knowledge. Technologies in Chinese History.* (Boston&Leiden: Brill, 2012): 161-184.

Giber, Mihály, "Adatok az egri püspökvár középkori építéstörténetéhez II" [Additional Data to the Medieval History of Construction of the Episcopal Castle of Eger], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 45 (2009): 5-54.

H. Gyürky, Katalin, "A domonkosok középkori kolostorának feltárása Budán" [Excavations at the Monastery of the Dominicans in Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 24/1 (1976), 371-380.

———. "Előzetes jelentés a budai domonkos kolostor ásatásáról" [Preliminary Report of the Excavation of the Dominican Monastery of Buda], *Archaologiai Értesítő* 96 (1969), 99-104.

Hancz, Erika, "A szegedi vár kerámia anyaga a török korban" [Ceramic Material of the Castle of Szeged in the Ottoman Period], *Castrum* 2006/4, 301-46.

Hegyi, Klára, *A török hódoltság várai és várkatonasága vol. 1-3.* [Fortresses and their Military in the Ottoman Period], Budapest: MTA Történettuodmányi Intézete, 2007.

Holl, Imre, *Fundkomplexe des 15.-17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Burgpalast von Buda* [Assemblage of findings from the 15-17th centuries from the Buda Royal Palace], *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica 17.* (Budapest, 2005)

———. "Külföldi kerámia Magyarországon III" [Foreign Ceramics in Hungary III], *Budapest Régiségei 40*. (2006) 253-294.

Hsu, Wen-Chin, "Social and Economic Factors in the Chinese Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen during the Late Ming and Early Qing Period, ca. 1620-1683", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1988): 135-159.

Kolláth, Ágnes, "Régiók határán: kora újkori edényművesség és kereskedelem Budán" [On the Egde of Borders: Early Modern Pottery Production and Economy in Buda], in Erika Simonyi and Gábor Tomka eds., *„A cserép igazat mond, ha helyette nem mi akarunk beszélni." Regionalitás a középkori és kora újkori kerámiában. A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban 2013. január 9-11. között rendezett konferencia előadásai* [Regionality in Medieval and Early Modern Ceramics: Proceedings of the Conference Held in the National Museum of Hugnary, January 9-11, 2013], Opuscula Hungarica IX., Erika Simony ed. *(*Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2016): 359-368.

Komori, Tünde, "A budavári királyi palota porcelán leletanyagának kutatása új szempontok alapján" [New aspects of the Chinese porcelain findings of the Buda Royal Palace], *Budapest Régiségei* 47 (2014): 313-338.

———. "A magyarországi kínai porcelánleletek régészeti feldolgozásának lehetséges útjai" [Methodological Aspects of the Research of Chinese Porcelain Unearthed in Hungary], in Csilla Szőllősy and Krisztián Pokrovenszki eds., *Fiatal Középkoros Régészek VI. Konferenciájának Tanulmánykötete. A Szent István Király Múzeum Közleményei 51.* [Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists. Annual of the Szent István Király Museum 51.], (Székesfehérvár: Szent István Király Múzeum, 2015): 143-157.

———. "Prestige Object or Coffee Cup? Problems of Identifying and Dating Chinese Porcelain Unearthed in Buda," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 23 (2017): in print.

———. *Porcelánleletek a budai vár területéről. A Budapesti Történeti Múzeumban őrzött porcelántöredékek egy részének új szempontjai* [Porcelain Finds From the Territory of the Buda Castle: New Aspects of a Part of the Porcelain Sherds of the Budapest History Museum], BA Thesis in archaeology, Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2014.

————. Kínai porcelánleletek a török kori Budáról [Chinese Porcelain Finds from Ottoman-period Buda], MA Thesis in Archaeology, Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2017.

Kovács, Eszter, "A budai ferences kolostor a török korban" [The Franciscan Monastery of Buda in the Ottoman Period], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 31 (2003): 241-263.

Kovács, Gyöngyi, "Hódoltságkori leletegyüttes Baja belvárosából" [An Ottoman period assamblage from Baja] *Communicationes Archaologicae Hungariae* (2006): 275-295.

———. *Török kerámia Szolnokon* [Turkish Ceramics in Szolnok]. Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár 30-31. (Szolnok, 1984).

Kozák, Károly, "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-1962) I." [Excavation of the Eger Castle (1957-1962) I.], *Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve 1* (1963) 119-171.

———. "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-62) I." [Excavations of the castle of Eger], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 1. (1963): 119-172.

———. "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-63) II." [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-63) II.], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 2 (1964): 221-272.

———. "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-65) III." [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-65) III.], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 4 (1966): 97-152.

———. "Az egri vár feltárása (1957-68) VI." [Excavations of the Castle of Eger (1957-68) VI.], *Agria – Az Egri Múzeum Évkönyve – Annales Musei Agriensis* 7 (1969): 179-208.

Kristensen, Rikke Søndergaard, "Made in China: Import, Distribution and Consumption of Chinese Porcelain in Copenhagen c. 1600-1760", *Post-Medieval Archaeology 48/1* (2004): 151-181.

Lénárt, Andor *Az egri vár feltárásának története 1949-ig* [History of the excavations of the Eger Castle until 1949], eds, Sándor Bodó and Tivadar Petercsák, Studia Agriensis 2. (Eger: Dobó István Vármúzeum, 1982).

Lisa Rotondo-McCord and Peter James Bufton, *Imari: Japanese Porcelain for European Palaces,* New Orleans: New Orleans Museum of Art, 1997.

Maggioni, Laura ed., *Chinese Trade Ceramics for South-East Asia from the 1st to the 17th Century: Collection of Ambassador and Mrs Müller*, Geneva: Fondation Baur, 2010.

Magyar, Károly, "A budavári Szent György tér és környékének kiépülése: Történeti vázlat 1526-tól napjainkig" [Development of the St George Square and its Vicinity in the Buda Castle: Historical outline from 1526 to the present], Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából: Budapest várostörténeti monográfiái 31 (2003), 43-127.

Norman, Jerry, *Chinese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Nováki, Gyula et al., *Heves megye várai az őskortól a kuruc korig: Magyarország várainak topográfiája,* vol. 2 [Castles of Heves County from prehistory to the Kuruc era: Topography of the Castles of Hungary], ed. Sebestyén Sárközy, Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület, 2009.

Papp, Adrienn "Rövid összefoglaló a budai pasák palotájáról" [Succinct report on the Pasha's Palace in Buda], *Budapest Régiségei* 46 (2013), 167-185.

Pierson, Stacey, *Chinese Ceramics: A Design History*, London: V&A Publishing, 2009.

———. *Designs as Sign: Decoration and Chinese Ceramics,* London: Percival David Foundation, 2001.

———. *Earth, Fire and Water: Chinese Ceramic Technology. A Handbook for Non-Specialists,* School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1996.

Sjöstrand, Sten, *The Wanli Shipwreck and its Ceramic Cargo*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Muzium, 2007.

Sugár, István, "Az egri török vilájet várai" [Castles of the Ottoman Eger Vilayet], *Az Egri Vár Híradója 24* [Newsletter of the Castle of Eger 24], ed. László Fodor (Eger: Az Egri Vár Baráti Köre, 1992): 17-64.

Tie, Yuan, 铁源 ed., *江西藏全集—清代（上）。*The complete collection of porcelain of Jiangxi Province, vol. 1, Porcelain of the Qing Dynasty, Beijing 北京: Morning Glory Publications 朝华出版社, 2005.

——. *江西藏全集—明代（下）。*The complete collection of porcelain of Jiangxi Province, vol. 2, Porcelain of the Ming Dynasty, Beijing 北京: Morning Glory Publications 朝华出版社, 2007.

Tomka, Gábor, "Findzsák, pipák, szürke korsók. Borsodi végvárak kerámialeleteinek török kapcsolatai" [Cups, Pipes, Grey Jars: Ottoman Connections of the Ceramic Finds of Fortresses in Borsod County], in Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács eds., *A hódoltság régészeti kutatása* [Archaeological Research of the Ottoman Period], (Budapest: Nemzeti Múzeum, 2002), 298-308.

Tóth, Anikó, "Török kori leletegyüttes a budavári Királyi Palota előterében" [Ottoman-period Ceramic Assemblage in the Foreground of the Medieval Royal Palace of Buda], in Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács eds., *A hódoltság régészeti kutatása* [Archaeological Research of the Ottoman Period] Budapest: Nemzeti Múzeum): 2002, 261-268.

Valenstein, Suzanne G., *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.

Vass, Előd "Adalékok az egri pasák sorrendjéhez" [Additions to the list of pashas of Eger], in *Az Egri Vár Híradója* 19-20 [Newsletter of the Castle of Eger 19-20], ed. János Győző Szabó (Eger: Az Egri Vár Baráti Köre, 1986):.

Végh, ———. *Buda*, pt 1, *To 1686*, Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns 4 (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2015, 27).

Végh, András "A Szent György utca 4-10. számú telkek régészeti kutatása: Előzetes jelentés" [Archaeological excavation of 4-10 St. George Street: Preliminary Report], in

Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából, Budapest Várostörténeti Monográfiái 31 (2003), 167-90.

Zay, Orsolya, *Az egri vár oszmán-török kori porcelán- és fajansztöredékei* [Porcelain and faience fragments from the Ottoman-period of the Castle of Eger], MA Thesis (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 2013)

Zhang, Bai *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China. Fujian* (Beijing: Science Press, 2008).

Zhang, Bai *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China: Guangdong, Guangxi, Hainan, Sichuan, Chongqing, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan* (Beijing: Science Press, 2008), 232.

Zhang, Bai *Complete Collection of Ceramic Art Unearthed in China: Jiangsu, Shanghai* (Beijing: Science Press, 2008).

Appendix: Catalogue of the pieces presented in the thesis

The catalogue consists of three parts: the Royal Palace of Buda, the civilian town of Buda and Eger. Only those pieces are listed here, which have been mentioned by inventory or ID number (created by the author of the thesis to identify the non-invetoried pieces). In the case of the Buda pieces I have used the catalogue entries created for previous works, thus the "No." of these entries have not been modified. The pieces are referenced in the captions with a catalogue part (Palace cat., Civilian cat., Eger cat.) and the corresponding number of entry within that part, followed by the inventory or ID number.

Royal Palace of Buda

No.	Site	Inventory no./ID	Description	Sizes	Date
181	Palace stray	63.385.	Blue and white mall bowl with abstract peach decoration, with a drilled hole indicating repair with staples. Plain on the inside, restored from 10 sherds.	height: 4,6 cm; rim diameter 9,2 cm; foot ring diameter 4,3 cm	Wanli period
102	Cellar, 497-930/0,5 m upper layer	51.873.	Blue and white small bowl rim fragment with foliated rim and plant decoration.	width: 5,2 cm; height: 2,5 cm; rim diameter 12 cm	Wanli period
40	Gy.J.P., , 3.R. 516-886/11.7-12 m.	51.20.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment, with a bird sitting on a rock in the well. Repaired from 3 sherds, one lost.	height: 1,1 cm; width: 5,7 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,2 cm	Wanli period
216	Northern Forecourt, Zolnay	97.115.1.	Blue and white cup fragment with underglaze red decoration. Restored.	rim diameter: 9,2 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,5 cm; height 4,5 cm;	Wanli period

28	Great Rondella, 457-805/6.70-7.50 4th layer, waste and Baroque filling	51.1366.	Blue and white cup wall fragment with underglaze red decoration.	width 3,9 cm; height 1,7 cm	Wanli period
92	North of the Great Hall	51.579.	Blue and white small bowl fragments with geometric decoration. 3 sherds, two matching.	rim: width: 2,7 cm; height: 2,7 cm; diameter: 10 cm;; wall: width 2,2 cm; height: 3,9 cm	Shunzhi period
314	Stray	l.sz.n.10_02	Blue and white cup fragment with celadon glaze on the outside, and landscape decoration on the inside. 2 sherds.	height: 4,1 cm; rim diameter: 7,2 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,3 cm	Kangxi period
169	Palace stray	66.229.9.	Blue and white cup fragment with brown glaze on the outside, and fruit basket decoration on the inside. Restored from 3 sherds.	height 4 cm; rim diameter: 7 cm; foot rin diameter: 3,2 cm	Kangxi period
27	Northern Gate Tower, Pit no.XXXI. 3.6-4 m. 1st layer.; 1951.05.30.	51.136.	Cup wall fragment with red glaze on the outside, no visible decoration on the inside (probably underglaze blue).	width: 4 cm; height: 3,1 cm	Kangxi period
235	Hunyadi János utca	Hunyadi J. u.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with lotus and lingzhi decoration. 2 sherds.	width: 6,2 cm; height: 3,6 cm; vastagság: food ring diameter: 3,7 cm	Kangxi period
132	Parapet Walk 3rd layer, 1950.08.17. Holl	52.469	Large bowl wall sherd with overglaze red and green decoration above a greenish-bluish glaze.	height: 5,7 cm; width: 6,6 cm;	Late sixteenth - early seventeenth century
17	Northern Gate Tower, Pit no. XXXI 4.5-5 m. 1st layer; 1951.05.02.	51.121.	Blue and white cup fragments with plum tree decoration on the outside, the inside is plain. 5 sherds.	height: 4,8 rim diameter: 9 cm;;	First half of the seventeenth century?
158	Palace stray	61.28.1.	Blue and white wine cup fragment with Dharma wheel decoration on the	rim diameter: 5 cm; height: 3,7 cm; foot	Seventeenth century

			outside, plain on the inside. Restored from 2 sherds.	ring diameter: 2 cm	
157	Palace stray	61.26.1.	Plain white cup fragment. Restored.	talp átmérő: 3 cm; perem átmérő: 7,7 cm; magasság: 3,6 cm	Sixteenth-seventeenth century
343	Stray	l.sz.n.127.	Blue and white small bowl fragment with *anhua* decoration on the outside, and geometric decoration below the rim on the inside.	width 4,8 cm; height 2,4 cm; rim diameter: 10 cm	Second half of the sixteenth century?

Civilian town of Buda

No.	Site	Inventory no./ID	Description	Sizes	Date
35	Teleki Palace (1998)	K/935	White (wine?)cup bottom fragment, with a drilled hole on the outer wall indicating repair with metal staple. Illegible mark on the bottom.	Height: 1,7 cm; Width: 3,6 cm; foot ring diameter: 2 cm	Jiajing?
17	Bp. I. Corvin tér (1997)	K/137	Blue and white cup fragment with anhua lotus decoration on the outer wall, underglaze landscape motif in the well, and *wanfu youtong* 萬福攸同 mark on the bottom.	height: 2,8 cm; width: 6,6 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,5 cm	Sixteenth century?
146	Gyorskocsi utca 26. (2002)	K/62	White cup or lid fragment, only decoration on the foot ring.	height: 3 cm; width 7,6 cm; foot ring diameter:: 3,2 cm	Sixteenth century?
32	Teleki Palota (1998)	K/536	Blue and white small bowl bottom fragment with plant motif on the outside and a single symbol fragment in the well. Xuande reign mark on the bottom.	height: 2,5 cm; width: 6,4 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,5 cm	Seventeenth century

34	Teleki Palota (1998)	K/1291	Blue and white small bowl bottom fragment with plant motif on the inside . Xuande reign mark on the bottom.	height: 2,1 cm; width: 4,6 cm; foot ring diameter: 4 cm	Seventeenth century
138	Fazekas utca 22. (1995)	96.95.32.	Blue and white small bowl bottom fragment with rosette in the well. Plain on the outside.	height: 1,4 cm; width: 5,3 cm; foot ring diameter: 4 cm	Late sixteenth century?
150	Gyorskocsi utca 26. (2002)	K/60	Blue and white small bowl bottom fragment with rosette in the well. Plain on the outside.	height: 1,9 cm; width: 5,6 cm; foot ring diameter: 4 cm	Late sixteenth century?
112	Szent György tér - southwest (1997)	97/8 1997.09.02.	Blue and white small bowl bottom fragment with camellia in the well and lingzhi motif on the outside with birght cobalt blue.	height: 1,5 cm; width: 3,9 cm; foot ring diameter: 5 cm	Wanli?
110	Szent György tér - DNy (1999)	99/6 1999.12.01.	Blue and white bowl bottom fragment with brown glaze on the outside, and crane in the well with dark blue paint. The craze is artificially crazed.	Height: 1,6 cm; width: : 4,6 cm; foot ring diameter: 7 cm	Sixteenth-seventeenth century
50	Teleki Palota (1998)	K/1722	Blue and white large bowl bottom fragment with brown glaze on the outside, landscape in the well and fragment of a flower motif on the inner wall. 2 sherds.	height: 3,8 cm; width: 8,1 cm; foot ring diameter: 7,5 cm	Kangxi?
120	BVP-Nyugati várkert (2007)	K/216	Blue and white wine cup fragment with overglaze yellow enamel on the outside, plain on the inside. Covered with a bluish white glaze.	height: 1,4 cm; width: : 3,5 cm; foot ring diameter: 3 cm	Early seventeenth century?
18	Bp. I. Corvin tér (1997)	K/137	Blue and white cup rim fragment with landscape motif on the outside, featuring fragments of a pavilion and a cloud.	height: 4,4 cm; width: 4,2 cm; rim diameter: 8 cm	Seventeenth century

8	Bp. I. Táncsics Mihály utca 9. (1962)	66.128.1.	Blue and white cup wall fragment with landscape motif on the outside, featuring a plum tree and a pagoda.	height: 3,2 cm; width: 4,1 cm	Seventeenth century
108	Szent György tér - DNy (1999)	98/1-2. átbontás 1999.12.03.	Blue and white large bowl bottom fragment with *linghzi* motif.	height:: 2,1 cm; width: 3,7 cm; footring diameter: 17 cm	Fifteenth century?

Eger

No.	Site	Inventory no./ID	Description	Sizes	Date
1	Gothic chapel, NW-NE	2012.78.1-4.	Blue and white cup fragment with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration on the outer wall and in the well. The decoration is elaborated, the lotus blossom is refined. 4 sherds.	height: 4,5 cm; rim diameter: 6,9 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,3 cm	Kangxi
2	unknown	2012.85.47.	Plain white cup wall sherd with deeply carved, underglaze geometric decoration on the outside.	height: 2,5 cm; width: 4 cm	?
3	Long house, "J" trench	2012.91.16.	Plain white large bowl wall sherd with underglaze *anhua* decoration featuring *ruyi*. The glaze is greenish-white.	height: 3,2 cm; width: 5,8 cm	Late sixteenth century?
4	Szép Bastion	2010.50.2.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with plant motif on the outer wall, plain on the inside, and *Xuande* reign mark on the bottom.	height: 3,6 cm; width: 5,1 cm	Seventeenth century
5	Episcopal Palace	2012.155.1.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with two horizontal lines around the foot ring, plain on the inside, and	height: 2 cm; width: 5,4 cm; foot ring diameter: 4 cm	Seventeenth century

			Xuande reign mark on the bottom.		
6	Stray	2012.168.1-2 and 4.	Blue and white cup fragment with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration on the outer wall and in the well. The motives are not filled in. Half date mark on the bottom, reading *Da Qin dingwei nian zhi* 大清丁未年制 (1667) or *Da Qing dinghai nian zhi* 大清丁亥年制 (1647). 3 sherds.	height: 5 cm; rim diameter: 9 cm; foot ring diameter: 4 cm	1647 or 1667
7	Earth Bastion	2010.42.1.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment decorated with lotus and *lingzhi* motives on the outside and in the well. The motives are not filled in. Illegible mark on the bottom.	height: 1,9 cm; width: 4,8 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,5 cm	Kangxi, second half of the sixteenth century
8	Northern zwinger	2012.82.7.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration on the outer wall and in the well. Half date mark on the bottom reffering to one of the *ding* years in of probably the Kangxi period (1647, 1657, 1667, 1677, 1687).	height: 1,4 cm; width: 4,9 cm; foot ring diameter: 4 cm	Kangxi, second half of the sixteenth century
9	Long house, "J" trench	2012.91.25.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration on the outer wall and in the well. Chenghua reign mark on the bottom.	height: 1,9 cm; width: 5,7 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,5 cm	Kangxi
10	unknown	97.20.37.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration on the outer wall and in the well.	height: 1,7 cm; width: 4,3 cm; foot ring	Kangxi

			Chenghua reign mark on the bottom.	diameter: 4 cm	
11	Dobó utca 28-30.	2012.150.1.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with lotus and *lingzhi* decoration on the outer wall and in the well. Kangxi reign mark on the bottom.	height: 2,9; width: 6,9; foot ring diameter: 4 cm	Kangxi
12	Episcopal Palace	2012.156.2.	Blue and white cup rim sherd with lotus blossom on the outside, and outleaning rim.	height: 3 cm; width: 4,2 cm; rim diameter: 9 cm	Kangxi
13	Episcopal Palace	2012.132.4.	Blue and white cup rim sherd with lotus blossom on the outside, and geomteric motif around the rim, featuring traces of gilding.	height: 4,2 cm; width: 5,6 cm; rim diameter: 8 cm	Kangxi
14	Earth Bastion	2010.33.2.	Blue and white cup rim sherd with stylized lotus blossom? on the outside, and geomteric motif around the rim, featuring traces of gilding.	height: 3,3 cm; width: 5,8 cm; rim diameter: 8 cm	Kangxi
15	Gaol Bastion	97.20.18.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with decorated rim and ancient metal vessel on a stall in the well.	height: 1,5 cm; width 3,4 cm; foot ring diameter: 4 cm	?
16	Stray	2012.93.15.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with an abstract *lingzhi*(?) in the well, and traces of *anhua* decoration on the outer wall. The glaze is bluish white. The foot ring is uncommonly small, and there is a drilled hole on the wall, indicating repair with metal taples.	height: 1,4 cm; width: 5 cm; foot ring diamter: 2,3 cm	Wanli?

17	Gaol Bastion	97.20.85.	Blue and white cup bottom fragment with plain inside, traces of decoration on the outside and *fu* 福 mark on the bottom. The glaze is bluish white, the profile is robust and thick. Sand is stuck in the foot ring and traces of the firing process is detectable in the well as well.	height: 1,8 cm; width: 5,6 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,8 cm	Wanli?
18	Northern zwinger	2012.79.2.	Blue and white cup fragment with abstract lotus design on the outside and in the well, painted with dark blue. Mark in the bottom, reading *Da Qing nian zhi* 大青年制 [made during the Great Qing Dynasty]. The glaze is bluish white, and a lot of sand is stuck in the bottom.	height: 3,5 cm; width: 4,3 cm; foot ring diameter: 4 cm	Kangxi?
19	Episcopal Palace - western room of the 2nd floor	2012.76.1. and 2012.160.2.	Blue and white cup fragment with lingzhi fungus in the well, and fragments of a landscape scene on the outside. Mark on the bottom reading *fu gui jia qi* 富贵佳器 [beautiful vessel for the rich and honourable]. 2 sherds.	height: 2,9 cm; width: 6,7 cm; foot ring diameter: 3,3 cm	First half of the seventeenth century
20	Episcopal Palace	2012.164.1.	Blue and white cup rim fragment with elaborated and refined plum and lotus motives on the outer wall and in the well, and geomteric design in a band on the rim on the inside. Painted with dark blue. The top of the rim is brown glazed. 3 sherds.	height: 4,4 cm; width: 6,7 cm; rim diameter: 9 cm	Late Wanli?

21	Setét Gate	2012.97.2.	Blue and white cup rim fragment with lotus blossom(?) on the outer wall. Plain on the inside. The glaze is greyish and appears to be full of dust grains. 4 sherds.	height: 4 cm; width: 5,3 cm; rim diameter: 10 cm	?
22	Episcopal Palace	2012.131.11.	Blue and white cup rim sherd with ruyi and lingzhi motive around the belly, and geometric decoration in a band around the rim, the inside is plain. 2 sherds.	height: 3,7 cm; width: 3,5 cm; rim diameter: 10 cm	Seventeenth century
23	unknown (matching sherd from Episcopal Palace)	2012.85.63.	Blue and white cup rim sherd with *ruyi* and *lingzhi* motive around the belly, and geometric decoration in a band around the rim, the inside is plain. The glaze is grey and appears to be full of dust grains. (Matches with 2012.140.6.)	height: 5 cm; width: 5,7 cm	Seventeenth century
24	Szép Bastion	2010.57.1.	White small bowl rim sherd with outleaning rim and two horizontal lines under it on both sides. Three drilled holes on the outside indicating repair with metal staples.	height: 4,1 cm; width: 5 cm; rim diameter: 9 cm	Seventeenth century?
25	unknown	2010.70.1.	Blue and white cup rim sherd with stylized plant motif(?) on the outside. Covered with bluish white glaze.	height: 3,5 cm; width: 4,3 cm; rim diameter: 8 cm	Seventeenth century
26	Earth Bastion	60.37.9.	White cup rim fragment with an underglaze blue insect on the outside.	height: 3,4 cm; width: 4,1 cm; rim diameter: 8 cm	Seventeenth century
27	Dobó Bastion and Varkoch Gate	2012.92.18.	Blue and white cup rim fragment with plant motife under the rim in a band on the outside and traces of	height: 4,4 cm; width: 5,2 cm; rim diameter: 10 cm	Seventeenth century

			gilding. (Matching: 2012.92.16.)		
28	Gaol Bastion and Picture Gallery, N, 1983.10.	2010.15.5; 2010.18.8. and 2012.94.1.	Three wall sherds of the same thin-walled, blue and white cup with motif in a band around the rim on the outside.	rim sherd: height: 2,5 cm; width: 2,3 cm;; wall sherd1: height 2,1 cm; width 2,3 cm;; wall sherd2: height: 1,9 cm; width: 2,8 cm	Seventeenth century
29	Epispocal Palace (3) and Picture Gallery (1)	2012.99.2.; 2012.140.3.; 2012.162.5. and 2012.162. 6.	Four sherds of a possibly hexagonal or octogonal blue and white cup, with plant motives ad fragments of landscapes divided into panels on the outside. The inside is plain. The rim is slightly outleaning.	rim1: 2,2x4,6 cm; rim2: 3,1x3,1 cm; wall1: 3,9x2,6 cm; wall2: 1,8x3,4 cm	Seventeenth century
30	Northern part of the castle	V.57.1	Blue and white bowl rim sherd, decorated with brown glaze on the outside and lotus blossom on the inside, with a geometric band under the rim.	height: 4 cm; width: 4,8 cm	Kangxi
31	Episcopal Palace and Northern zwinger	2012.85.14. and 2012.131.9.	A bottom and a rim fragment of a blue and white bowl, covered in light brown glaze and decoratied with a geometrical band under the rim on the inside.	bottom: height: 1,4 cm; width: 5,3 cm; rim diameter: 6 cm;; rim: height: 2,7 cm; width: 4,3 cm; rim diameter: 12 cm	Kangxi

32	Northern zwinger (matching from Earth Bastion)	2012.80.1.	Celadon cup rim and wall sherd, made of greyish material covered with celadon glaze. Underglaze blue painting on the outside: two horizontal lines under the rim; two characters either reading *qing* 青 or *chun* 春. (Matching: 2010.34.3.)	height: 3,9 cm; width: 3,5 cm; rim diameter: 10 cm	Wanli?
33	Earth and Gaol Bastions and Northern zwinger	55.9.1. and 60.37.13-14.	Blue and white larger bowl fragment, with non-figurative design on the outer walls and in the well; and *lingzhi* motif in a band around the rim on both sides. 8 sherds.	height: 9,5 cm; width: 14 cm; rim diameter: 16 cm; foot ring diameter: 7,5 cm	Wanli
34	Earth Bastion (matching: northern gate and Episcopal Palace)	2010.1.8.	Blue and white larger bowl fragment, with non-figurative design on the outer walls and in the well. (3 matching sherds: 2010.18.2.; 2012.66.4. and 2012.120.1.)	height: 3,7 cm; width: 10 cm; foot ring diameter: 8 cm	Wanli
35	Gaol Bastion	2010.64.21.	Blue and white plate rim sherd featuring non-figurative motives divided into panels; and with foliated rim.	height: 1,6 cm; width: 2,9 cm	Late Wanli
36	Dobó Bastion	2012.116.1-2.	Blue and white plate rim sherd featuring peach or plant motives divided into panels. Bluish white glaze. 2 sherds.	height: 3,2 cm; width: 3,6 cm	Late Wanli
37	Gaol Bastion	97.20.67.	Blue and white plate rim sherd featuring plant motives on both sides, painted with dark blue.	height: 1,2 cm; width: 3,6 cm; rim diameter: 17 cm	Wanli
38	Norther zwinger and Episcopal Palace	2012.81.1. and 2012.131.17.	Blue and white small plate with lotus and fragment of a landscape in the medallion, *ruyi*, *lingzhi* and flower motives in	height: 2,1 cm; width: 9,5 cm; rim diamter: 15 cm; foot ring	Wanli

			a band around the rim and the outer wall. Bluish white glaze. 3 sherds.	diameter: 9 cm	