Zsófia Csilla Nádai

Tangible Heritage of Kisvárda Castle

MA Thesis in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies

Central European University

Vienna

May 2022

Tangible Heritage of Kisvárda Castle

by

Zsófia Csilla Nádai

(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 Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____
Chair, Examination Committee

_____
Thesis Supervisor

_____
Examiner

_____
Examiner

Vienna
May 2022

Tangible Heritage of Kisvárda Castle

by

Zsófia Csilla Nádai

(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 Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Reader

Vienna
May 2022

Tangible Heritage of Kisvárda Castle

by

Zsófia Csilla Nádai

(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 Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Supervisor

Vienna
May 2022

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

Vienna, 23 May 2022

_____

Signature

Abstract

At the heart of this thesis lie an interpretation of the archaeological investigations of Kisvárda Castle, focusing on the different periods of its palisade fortifications with the help of primary sources. The chronology of the constructions could be refined through comparison of the available archaeological data, laboratory analysis, written sources, and contemporary depictions. This interdisciplinary work clearly shows that it is worth revising results from earlier investigations because all disciplines of historical research have much improved over the past decades. Improvements have been especially marked in available methodologies, the availability of contemporary written sources, and new results from the secondary literature. At the end of the thesis, I interpret the new chronology in the light of life at the castle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, focusing on aspects of construction work.

Apart from dating structures more accurately, the analysis of the context extends to the circumstances of the excavations, both in the mid-twentieth century, and in the last phase which took place under the auspices of the Hungarian Castle and Mansion Program. In this part of the thesis, I review and evaluate the history of restorations at the castle and processes of heritagization of the site.

Acknowledgments

I could not perform my investigations of Kisvárda Castle without the help of many colleges, scholars, and archive assistants. But first and foremost, I would like to thank the support of my supervisors, who followed the writing process with patience and opened my mind to many interesting approaches. To Katalin Szende, whose care was essential during the whole year's work, and to József Laszlovszky for the newer and newer motivating perspectives. Their and Alice Choyke's heroic work correcting my chapters should not remain unsaid. In the same way, I would like to express my gratitude to the whole Medieval Studies Department for having welcomed me after years of corporate work, and to the university for financially supporting my research.

I am also grateful to my previous working cohort, for their help during the fieldwork of Kisvárda Castle and for the experience, I could gain. Every archaeological work is teamwork with many interdependent processes, without smooth collaboration cannot be carried out. I would like to highlight our boss', Zoltán Fullár's contribution, as there was no unsolvable problem for him. I should admit that my interest in the field of monument protection grew during the projects of the Hungarian Castle and Mansion Program, where I could participate in the research work. Here, I would like to underline the openness of András Fülöp and András Koppány, who taught me the practical principles in this field.

My gratitude also goes to the Design Department of National Heritage Protection and Development Non-Profit Ltd. (NÖF). In the research and planning procedure of Kisvárda Castle's palisade, a real conversation could be established with Zsuzsa Gerákné Árvai, with mutual benefits, still going on. I am thankful for Zoltán Wittinger's help, who was also kind enough to provide me with data of the reconstruction of this phase.

And last, but not least László Bodrog, the local representative of the town, who is constantly following the fate of the castle, handed over irreplaceable data to every researcher, many times filling in the gap, which is present in this divided institutional structure of cultural heritage. He saved the timber elements after the cleaning of the lake, which provided the connecting annual rings for the dendrochronological analysis.

Table of contents

Introduction 19

Chapter 1 History of Kisvárda Castle 24

1.1. Historiography 24
1.2. The castle period 26
1.3. The afterlife of the castle 31
1.4. Architectural design and its outcome in the Hungarian National Castle and Mansion Program 45

Chapter 2 Depictions 50

2.1. The "Angelini maps" 51
2.2. The Ledentu veduta 58
2.3. The Nypoort veduta 59
2.4. The seventeenth-century sketch 60

Chapter 3 Archaeological excavations 61

3.1. István Éri's excavations 61
3.2. Preliminary research of the Castle and Mansion program 63
3.2.1. Geophysical survey 66
3.2.2. Trial trench excavation in the inner castle 67
3.2.3. Trial trench excavation of the palisade 68
3.2.4. Dendrochronological analysis 74

Chapter 4 Interpretation and analysis 76

4.1. Interpretation of the finds 76
4.2. Critical analysis of the used data in the reconstruction 81
4.2.1. General problems and interpretations 82
4.2.2. Kisvárda and its reconstructions 88

Conclusion 93

Periodization, theoretical reconstruction of the palisade 94

Bibliography 97

Appendix 103

List of Figures, Tables or Illustrations

Figure 1: Ákos Zsembery's restoration method categories. Zsembery, Ákos. "Középkori építészeti emlékek védelme: módszertani javaslat holt műemlékek bemutatásának kritikai elemzéséhez [Protection of medieval architectural monuments: methodological recommendation for the critical analysis of the display of 'dead' monuments]." Ph.D. Dissertation, Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetem, 2010. (English abstract) 86

2. Figure: Periodization of the palisade structures. (Made by the author, based on the Vienna I map of the Angelini family.) 93

Figures of the Appendix:

Figure 3. Paolo Angelini's map of the Upper Hungarian region. Pencil, paper, aquarell. (ÖNB Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8609. Fol. 6: Mappae geographicae regni Hungariae et terrarum adiacentium; Géza Pálffy, A Haditérképészet Kezdetei a Habsburg Monarchiában (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2011). X. Table) 103

Figure 4. Detail of Paolo Angelini's map. Pencil, paper, aquarell. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8609. Fol. 6. Source: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13955782) 103

Figure 5. Kisvárda Castle in the Vienna Album I. Pencil, paper, aquarell. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8609. Fol. 71. Source: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13955782) 104

Figure 6. Kasovia (Kassa, Košice, Slovakia) in the Vienna Album I. Pencil, paper, aquarell. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8609. Fol. 56v. Source: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13955782) 104

Figure 7. Kisvárda *Castle* in the Vienna Album II. Pencil, paper, aquarell. "Ichnographiae quadraginta et delineationes propugnaculorum Graecii, Labaci et illorum in Hungaria, Croatia et Dalmatia contra Turcas, Vienna 1600-1633." p. 85/103 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8607, fol. 40r; (Source: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3850239&order=1&view=SINGLE) 105

Figure 8. The survey of Kisvárda Castle in Karlsruhe. (MNM 375.K.IV. picture 3; Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Gebundene Karten und Pläne Hfk. [Hausfideikommiss], Bd. XV.) 105

Figure 9. Kisvárda Castle in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, BSB Cod.icon. 141. (1570/1580-1610). (Source: https:// codicon.digitale-sammlungen.de/ Blatt_bsb00019801,00108. html?prozent=1) 106

Figure 10. Kisvárda Castle in the Sockholm Album. (Stockholm, Kungliga Krigsarkivet, Handritade kartverk Nr. 23/59. 1650-1699?; György Domokos, "Törökkori Várrajzok Stockholmban. Beszámoló a Stockholmi Királyi Hadilevéltárban Végzett Kutatásról [Ottoman Era Castle Drawings in Stockholm. Report on the Research Made in the Royal Military Archives]," *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 112, no. 1 (1990): 112–16.) (Source: https://sok.riksarkivet.se/nad?postid=Arkis%20d8609198-29af-4479-b095-db07bc4d65a6) 106

Figure 11. Kisvárda Castle in the Wüttenbergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart. (György Kisari Balla, *Száz várrajz Württembergben [Hundert Festungspläne in Württemberg; A hundred castle depictions in Wüttemberg]*, trans. Piroska Draskóczy (Budapest: Szerzői kiadás, 1998), 139.) 107

Figure 12. Veduta of Johann Ledentu of Kisvárda, from 1639. Ink, paper. Johannes Ledentu, Regni Hungáriáé confinia (nigro sinico) delineata, nempe ichnographiae urbium,

propugnaculorum, arcium etc. in confinibus Hungáriáé et partium adnexarum contra Turcas existentium in septuaginta quinque tabulis. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8622. Fol. 74; Source: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3226228&order=1&view=SINGLE 107

Figure 13. Veduta of Johann Ledentu, of Verebély from 1639. Ink, paper. Johannes Ledentu, Regni Hungáriáé confinia (nigro sinico) delineata, nempe ichnographiae urbium, propugnaculorum, arcium etc. in confinibus Hungáriáé et partium adnexarum contra Turcas existentium in septuaginta quinque tabulis. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8622. Fol. 17; Source: Source: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3226228&order=1&view=SINGLE) 108

Figure 14. Ground plan and cross-section of the palisade of Verebély, by Johann Ledentu, from 1639. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8622. Fol. 18) 108

Figure 15. Anthoni Ernst Burckhard von Birckenstein. Das Geometriebuch des Kronprinzen, Wienn, 1686. No. 85: “Varda” Castle. (Source: https:// mek.oszk.hu/19600/19658/19658.pdf) 109

Figure 16. Veduta of Justus van der Nypoort. 1868. (MNL B1 App. M. 1109/63; Source: http:// hdl.handle.net/20.500.12346/1941495) 109

Figure 17. Ground plan of the castle from the seventeenth century. (Zoltán Simon, *A kisvárdai vár inventáriumai. Adalékok a kisvárdai vár történetéhez és helyrajzához [Inventories of Kisvárda Castle. Additional details to the castle’s history and topography]*, A Rétközi Múzeum Füzetei, 10. (Gyula: Rétközi Múzeum, 2008), 138.) 109

Figure 18. Cadastral survey of Kisvárda, 1900. The castle is on the 8. sheet. (Source: https://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/MOLTerkeptar/17776/?list=eyJxdWVyeSI6ICJLaXN2XHUwMGUxcmRhIn0, Last access 08.05.2022.) 110

Figure 19. Archive photo of the castle and the restaurant attached to the southern walls. The photo was taken from the southern side in the 1870s. (Source: https://www.nyiregyhaza.hu/post/a-kisvardai-var-tortenete-folytatodik-a-helytorteneti-estek-cimu-rendezvenysorozat-2021-04-28 Last access: 10.05.2022.) 110

Figure 20. The archive photo was taken from the east, around 1900. On the right side the dance hall is visible. (Source: https://www.facebook.com/regenesma/photos/5116799915079995/ Last access: 11.05.2022.) 110

Figure 21. János Sedlmayr's survey, southern façade. (Source: http://epa.oszk.hu/01600/01614/00001/pdf/nyjame_01_1958_129-142.pdf) 111

Figure 22. János Sedlmayr's survey, northern façade. (Source: http://epa.oszk.hu/01600/01614/00001/pdf/nyjame_01_1958_129-142.pdf) 111

Figure 23. János Sedlmayr's survey, the inside of the southeast tower. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 2963. sheet.) 112

Figure 24. János Sedlmayr's survey, western (left), eastern (right) façade. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 2960. sheet.) 112

Figure 25. The memorial plaque of 1896, was renewed in 1955. (Source: https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kisv%C3%A1rdai_v%C3%A1r#/media/F%C3%A1jl:V%C3%A1r,_eml%C3%A9kt%C3%A1bla,_2008-04-03_Kisv%C3%A1rda25.jpg Last access: 10. 05. 2022.) 113

Figure 26. Memorial plaque of 1961, László Császár. (Source: http://sesztak.fidesz.hu/hirek/2021/03/16/megujul-a-kisvardai-var#prettyPhoto[pp_gal]/4/ Last access: 10.05.2022.) 113

Figure 27. Survey of the excavations of István Éri between 1954-1961. The approximate location of the demolished stone wall is marked with no. 1. (István Feld, "A kisvárdai vár [The Castle of Kisvárda]," Castrum Bene Hírlevél 2003 (2003): 58.) 113

Figure 28. Aerial photograph of the castle from 1954. No 1. is the territory of the excavated and then destructed walls, no. 2 is where Éri opened his trenches on the northeast bastion. On the right side of the photo the well, excavated in 1955, can be seen, while on the left the tennis court. The castle's surrounding is an agricultural area. (MNM 375.K.4; 1. picture) 113

Figure 29. The northern profile of the Trench 1954/II. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073) 113

Figure 30. The eastern profile of the Trench 1957/I. On the left side the inner fortification's cross-section, on the right the "Angelini" palisade's cross-section can be seen. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073) 114

Figure 31. Opening the Trench 1957/I, on the southwest side of the castle. (Source: https://www.vardaimuzeum.hu/hu/szolgaltatasok/galeria/regeszet-napja-2020-0 Last access: 10.05.2022.) 114

Figure 32. Trench 1957/I, the inner palisade after cutting half the postholes. (Source: https://www.vardaimuzeum.hu/hu/szolgaltatasok/galeria/regeszet-napja-2020-0 Last access: 10.05.2022.) 114

Figure 33. Trench 1957/I, the inner palisade. (Source: https://www.vardaimuzeum.hu/hu/szolgaltatasok/galeria/regeszet-napja-2020-0 Last access: 10.05.2022.) 114

Figure 34. Trench 1957/I, the outer palisade structure. At the bottom of the picture are the remains of the posts, angled in 45 grade. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073, Table 31, Picture 52.) 114

Figure 35. Trench 1957/I, the outer palisade's structure. The timber row is in the middle of the structure. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073, Table 31, Picture 53.) 114

Figure 36. Trench 1957/I, the outer palisade's structure. The two meters long horizontal beam between the middle and outer posts. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073, Table 31, Picture 56.) 115

Figure 37. Trench 1957/I, timbers from the outer palisade's structure. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073, Table 31, Picture 57.) 115

Figure 38. Excavated zone by the side of the rounded towers, Trench 1960/east-west. Southern profile, the ground plan is oriented to the profile. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073) 115

Figure 39. Trench 1960/east-west. The photo was taken of the eastern end of the trench. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25074, Table 35, Picture "b") 115

Figure 40. Trench 1960/east-west. The photo was taken of the western end of the trench. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25074, Table 36. Picture "b") 115

Figure 41. Trench 1960/east-west. The photo was taken of the western end of the trench. Behind the trench the football field and the northwest bastion can be seen. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25074, Table 28, Picture "a") 115

Figure 42. Ground plan of László Császár from 1960. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 63/12461) 116

Figure 43. Plan for the southeast tower inside, by László Császár from 1960. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 29636) 116

Figure 44. Exhibition of the castle in the town's training college, from 1954. (Source: https://www.vardaimuzeum.hu/hu/szolgaltatasok/galeria/regeszet-napja-2020-0 Last access: 10.05.2022.) 117

Figure 45. The directorate of the Castle Museum in 1963. The walls of the southern façade were plastered and whitewashed. (Source: https://www.facebook.com/regenesma/photos/4157052701054726/ Last access: 10.05.2022.) 117
Figure 46. Arial photo of the castle, taken in 01.10.1959. (Source: https://www.fentrol.hu/hu/ Last access: 09.05.2022.) 117
Figure 47. Arial photo of the castle, taken in 17.05.1966. (Source: https://www.fentrol.hu/hu/ Last access: 09.05.2022.) 118
Figure 48. Arial photo of the castle, taken in 23.04.1970. (Source: https://www.fentrol.hu/hu/ Last access: 09.05.2022.) 118
Figure 49. Arial photo of the castle, taken in 14.07.1987. (Source: https://www.fentrol.hu/hu/ Last access: 09.05.2022.) 118
Figure 50. The cross-section of the plan veriations by József Erdős, in 1970 (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 035116) 119
Figure 51. The cross-section of the plan made by Mrs. István Fodor, in 1972. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 10103) 119
Figure 52. Plans made by Kánon Ltd. in 1986. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 38748) 120
Figure 53. The castle's outlook from the south between 1990-2017. (Source: https://mapio.net/pic/p-5750265/ Last access: 10.05.2022.) 120
Figure 54. The castle's outlook from the east between 1990-2017. (Source: https://nof.hu/hu/fejlesztesek/kisvardakisvarda-var/ Last access: 10.05.2022.) 121
Figure 55. The environment northern from the castle. (Source: http://vardasporthotel.hu/oldal/6/sportolasi-lehetosegek Last access: 10.05.2022.) 121
Figure 56. Archaeological excavations' survey, on the Vienna I map of the Angelinis, made by the author. (The survey was made by Mrs. Karsai Erzsébet Hanusi) 122

Figure 57. Ground plan of the excavations on the southern side of the castle. 123
Figure 58. The inner palisade's first period in the trench 5. (The first two captions taken from the south side, the last from the east.) 123
Figure 59. The structure of the inner palisade's second period in trenches 5 and 7. 124
Figure 60. Inner palisade on the northern part. 124
Figure 61. Lead seal from Schweidnitz (now Świdnica) in Polish Silesia. 124
Figure 62. Cross-sections of trench 7, detalis of the castle moat and its overlapping structures. 125
Figure 63. The castle moat in trench 7. 125
Figure 64. The outer palisade on the southern side, in trench 6. 125
Figure 65. Outer palisade ground plan and structure in the northwest part. 126
Figure 66. Outer palisade ground plan and structure in the northeast bastion. 126
Figure 67. Cross-section of trench 1, detalis of the outer palisade structure. 126
Figure 68. The northwest bastions structure in trench 1. 127
Figure 69. The palisade remains by the side of the southeast gate, in trenches 9-10. 127
Figure 70. The southeast gate of the outer palisade. 128
Figure 71. The northwest gate and the wooden remains. 128
Figure 72. The results of dendrochronology and xylotomous analysis. 128
Figure 73. The visual design appeared in the media. (Source: https://www.origo.hu/kultura/20210603-elkezdodott-a-kisvardai-var-fejlesztese.html Last access: 10.05.2022.) 129
Figure 74. The visual design appeared in the media. (Source: http://sesztak.fidesz.hu/hirek/2021/03/16/megujul-a-kisvardai-var#prettyPhoto; Last access 10.05.2022.) 129

Figure 75. Demolition of the basis of the open-air theatre, 2021 April. (Source: https:// www.facebook.com/regenesma/photos/3975753112518020; Last access: 12.05.2022.) 130

Figure 76. Augurating of the new structure, 2021 May. Medieval foundations under precarious conditions. (Source: https://www.origo.hu/kultura/20210603-elkezdodott-a-kisvardai-var-fejlesztese.html, Last access 10.05.2022.) 130

Figure 77. The reshaping of the palisade at the southwest bastion. Photo taken by Zsuzsanna Árvai. 131

Figure 78. The newly built western wing of the inner castle. László Bodrog's Facebook page, 17. 05, 2022. (Source: https:// www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid= 3237607736470257&set=a.2153755774855464&type=3 Last access: 12.05.2022.) 131

List of Abbreviations

Budavári Nonptofit Zrt.	Budavári Ingatlanfejlesztő és Üzemeltető Nonprofit Zrt. *[Buda Castle Estate Development and Organisation Nonprofit Private Limited Company]*
Forster Központ	Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ *[Gyula Forster National Heritage and Asset Management Centre]*
MMA MÉM MDK	Magyar Művészeti Akadémia, Nemzeti Dokumentációs Központ *[Hungarian Academy of Arts, Monument Protection Documentation Center]*
MNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum *[Hungarian National Museum]*
OMF	Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség *[Hungarian National Monuments Protection Inspectorate]*
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek *[Austrian National Library]*
Várkapitányság Nonprofit Zrt.	Várkapitányság Integrált Területfejlesztési Központ Nonprofit Zrt. *[Castle Headquarters Nonprofit Ltd.]*

Introduction

> *"Someone asked me the other day, why is there so much to research on the history of Kisvárda? Cannot it be written in a few months? [...] the task of writing a monograph is precisely to search for facts in detail, to collect data, to process them from a certain point of view and make them more accessible to a more general public historiography. Only if our work can shed light on some of the more obscure details of the history of our country by searching for original, detailed data will it also enrich Hungarian historiography. In whatever small area we clarify the real past, our work will be of value, but it would be meaningless if we were to consider it our task to simply compile known facts."*
>
> *Ferenc Virágh, Kisvárda, 1935.*[1]

It would be difficult to put the essence of historical research more succinctly than Ferenc Virágh has done in the above quote. This is not my intention. Nor has my intention been to write a monograph on Kisvárda Castle. In this thesis, my aim is to follow Virágh's lead and to present the most important primary sources. Furthermore, I summarize the main results of my archaeological research on Kisvárda Castle. The interpretation of these data will be combined with analyses from other sources. This research requires summarization of the research results to date, but I will keep this part brief and only present the data relevant to the main topic of the thesis.

Kisvárda is relatively rich in written sources, from the medieval period to the present day. The reason for this is that the Várdai family archives survived in the archives of the Zichy and

[1] *"A napokban kérdezte valaki, mi van azon a Kisvárda történetén olyan sok kutatnivaló? Hát nem lehet azt megírni egy pár hónap alatt? [...] a monográfiaírás feladata éppen a tények részletekbemenő felkutatása, az adatok gyűjtése, hogy azokat bizonyos részletszempontból feldolgozva az általánosabb szemléletű köztörténetírás részére hozzáféhetőbbekké tegye. Csak az esetben jelent a mi munkánk is bizonyos gyarapodást a magyar történetírásnak, ha eredeti, részletes adatok felkutatásával fényt tud deríteni hazánk történetének egyes homályosabb részleteire. Bármely kis területen fogjuk tisztázni a való múltat, érték lesz a munkánk, de semmi értelme nem volna az egésznek, ha ismert tények összeállítását tekintenők feladatunkul…"* István Éri, "Virágh Ferenc emlékezete [Memorial of Ferenc Virágh]," in *A kisvárdai vár története* (Kisvárda, 1961), 45. Translated by the author.

Esterházy families, the medieval part of which has already been published.[2] The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents, however, have remained as hidden, untapped potential resources for further research. To date, Zoltán Simon has collected and interpreted the castle's inventories from this period. Using this data, he produced a spatial analysis of the inner castle's functional arrangements.[3] Many other topics await further elaboration including data that could be used for the reconstruction of the provisioning of the property and on the regulations concerning everyday life of the castle. There is also an unique source, a letter written in verse from Kisvárda in 1599 by Kata Telegdy, an early renaissance noblewoman, known as the first Hungarian poetess.[4]

My intention is to emphasize that the historical research does not end at a certain arbitrary time or period. In my understanding, the examination of the castle's history and research should be carried out through discussion of life at the castle as a whole. As both archaeological excavation campaigns were connected to reconstruction work, which affected each other. In the chapter discussing the heritagization processes impacting the castle and in the second part of the conclusion I evaluate the modern period construction works from the perspective of how it has limited possibilities for further research.

The expanding Ottoman Empire had been a constant threat in the Balkan and Middle European region from the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Although the rulers of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom started to establish a southern border zone of fortifications

[2] Imre Nagy, Iván Nagy, and Dezső Véghely, eds., *A Zichi És Vásonkeői Gróf Zichy-Salád Idősb Ágának Az Okmánytára. Codex Diplomaticus Domus Senioris Comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő.*, I-XII (Pest-Budapest, 1871).

[3] Zoltán Simon, *A kisvárdai vár inventáriumai. Adalékok a kisvárdai vár történetéhez és helyrajzához [Inventories of Kisvárda Castle. Additional details to the castle's history and topography]*, A Rétközi Múzeum Füzetei, 10. (Gyula: Rétközi Múzeum, 2008).

[4] http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/palimpszeszt/16_szam/16.htm

and allied countries,[5] at the beginning of the 1520s, the Ottomans broke through the southern front and defeated the united forces of the kingdom and its allies at Mohács, in 1526. King Louis II fell in that battle. From that time, two parties became established among Hungarian noblity: one group who supported John Szapolyai, the Transylvanian voivode allied with the Ottomans and a second group aligned with the Habsburg dynasty. In 1529, the Ottomans marched up to Vienna, but it was only after taking in Buda castle in 1541 they could conquer the central part of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. This was the formal beginning of Hungary splitting into three parts, where an always-changing frontline formed till the end of the seventeenth century.[6]

Kisvárda Castle was a noble residence of the Várdai family, built in the fifteenth century. The castle was situated in the northeast corner of the Great Hungarian Plain. After the Ottoman occupation of Szolnok in 1552, its position changed. It became a fort sitting on the north edge of a broad border zone. The broad border zone referred to the plains area and marshlands lying between Szolnok and Kisvárda. No other fort had been previously built in this area, so taxes were collected by both the conquerors and the Hungarian nobility, often by non-peaceful means. Kisvárda's position was even more complicated. However, the construction of the Nagykálló (1570-1574) fort placed the castle on the secondary defensive line.[7] From that time on, Kisvárda become a strategically important place between royal Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania. Because of its location between Košice (Kassa) and Transylvania, it was besieged several times. (*Figure 3, Figure 4*)

[5] Tamás Pálosfalvi, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage: Politics, Society and Economy*, vol. 73 (Brill, 2018).

[6] Géza Pálffy, *Hungary Between Two Empires 1526–1711* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2021).

[7] Gyula Koroknay, "A Vár Építése [Fortification of Kálló]," in *Kállói Kapitányok*, vol. 13, A Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Levéltár Kiadványia 3 (Nyíregyháza, 2006), 9.

From the beginning of the 1560s, the owners of the castle emphatically joined the Habsburg party. With the help of the Chamber of Spiš the modernization fortifications commenced to be carried out in several phases. As the castle belonged to the central administrative system resulted in the emergence of new written sources, which provide a plentitude of information.

In this period, the relatively quickly and easily constructed earth and wood fortifications were popular, not just because they were easy to construct but also because the flexible structures were more resistant to gunfire. At the always changing frontier line, both the opposing forces had to respond to threat quickly, leading to the construction of a good number of earth and wood fortifications, called *palankas* or *palisades.* The technique was used by both parties in the conflict to fortify almost every type of settlement, refuges or castles, or even in connection to the erections of completely new forts. The main reason for the popularity of earth and wood fortifications was that this mode of construction an easy and cheap way to create defensive works which turned out to be much more effective than stone walls against gunfire, because of their flexible nature.

In this work, my main aim is to process and present the results from my archaeological work around the castle's palisade, and to place this data into a wider context. I also offer a historical summary of the role and function of this fortification to serve as a background for the analytical chapters on other sources. In the next main chapter of this thesis, I will analyze the various depictions of the castle from the point of view of the latest research results. Finally, I will summarize and discuss the published and the unpublished archaeological data on the wood and earth structures of this castle. All the data put together helped to clarify the construction's chronology and to provide data on the fortress design programs in the region.

At the end of the thesis, I will present advantages and disadvantages of the Hungarian Castle and Mansion Programs, as this phase of archaeological excavation at the site took place

within the framework of the program. To be able to understand and correctly present the current situation, I will follow up on the site's history after its primary use as a defensive construction, the abandonment and destruction period, and how it transformed into a monument in the castle's history chapter. I am also going to discuss the early monument protection acts, recognition, and reconstruction phases of the castle. Afterward, I will concentrate on the current reconstruction work both in the castle and in the palisade structure, lately so-called "castle garden".

In the interpretation and analysis chapter following these more descriptive chapters, I will combine and evaluate new data. All new background information will be taken into account.

This thesis is also meant to be a resource for further research. I believe my collection of historical maps, archaeological and monument protection archives will prove useful for future work. Much of the thesis material are relevant to more than one chapter. For this reason, I will provide the copies of these sources at the end of the thesis in the Appendix. To be more research friendly, I actualized these copies, not just with their archival access numbers, but if available, with the link to their digitalized form. I was inspired by Ferdinand Opll's work on Vienna.[8]

[8] Ferdinand Opll, Heike Krause, and Christoph Sonnlechner, *Wien als Festungsstadt im 16. Jahrhundert: Zum kartografischen Werk der Mailänder Familie Angielini* (Böhlau, 2017).

Chapter 1
History of Kisvárda Castle

In the following, I will discuss the castle's history over its whole lifetime. The castle's main function changed during the centuries from a noble residence it became a fortification, which after more than a century of decay was reinvented as a monument.

In this chapter, I summarize the latest secondary sources regarding the main events in the history of the castle and I present my own research of the castle's modern history, how it became a monument, which is about to fulfill its purpose: in the framework of the Hungarian National Castle and Mansion Program it will become a museum.

1.1. Historiography

The historical research of the settlement and thus the castle started early in countrywide comparison, the first articles on Kisvárda were published as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century.[9] At the time the history of Szabolcs county was compiled by Rezső Somogyi, a pharmacist, who led amateur excavations summarized in this work the main historical events that affected the castle.[10] Between the two world wars the Municipality of Kisvárda commissioned Ferenc Virágh, journalist and local historian, with the task of collecting the written sources and organizing of a museum. He partially published his results

[9] Gábor Nagy, "A Kis-Várdai Várról és Városról [About the settlement and the castle of Kisvárda]," *Tudományos gyűjtemény* 20, no. 4 (1836): 3–16.

[10] Rezső Somogyi, *Kisvárda Monographiája Rövid Kivonatban a Milleniumra [The Monography of Kisvérda in Brief for the Hungarian Millenium]* (Kisvárda, 1896).

between 1933 and 1935 but could not finish the archival research work because of his untimely death.[11] Later researchers used his findings and published his working papers.[12]

In connection with the research work accompanying the reconstruction of 1960-61, the archaeologist István Éri edited two volumes of studies summarizing all the new discoveries.[13] In the volume published in 1954 László Makay, a previous high school teacher and local historian wrote the first historical overview on the castle.[14] These works were followed by the later directors of the museum,[15] but the settlement's monograph was just partially completed.[16] In the last two decades the works of the town's local historian, István Néző should be highlighted,[17] and Zoltán Simon, archaeologist, analyzed the castle's inventories and also wrote the most up-to-date castle history.[18]

In the following paragraphs, I summarize Simon's research results, mainly dealing with the history of ownership, complemented with the results of the building history assessment.[19]

[11] István Éri, "A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]," in *A kisvárdai vár története (Bóna, István; Dienes, István; Éri, István; Kallicz, Nándor eds.)* (Kisvárda, 1961), 18–19.

[12] Ferenc Virágh, *Adatok Kisvárda történetéhez [Details for the history of Kisvárda castle]*, A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum kiadványai 20 (Nyíregyháza, 1981).

[13] István Éri, ed., *Kisvárda történetéből. Cikkgyűjtemény [From the history of Kisvárda. Study assamblage]* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1954).

[14] László Makay, "Kisvárda története 1703-ig [History of Kisvárda till 1703]," in *Kisvárda történetéből. Cikkgyűjtemény (Éri, István ed.)* (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1954), 13–43.

[15] Zoltán Ács, ed., *Tanulmányok Kisvárda történetéből [Case studies from the history of Kisvárda settlement]*, A kisvárdai Vármúzeum kiadványai 8 (Kisvárda: Kisvárdai Járási Tanács, 1983).

[16] Béla Fehérvári, ed., *Kisvárda '90. Tanulmányok kisvárdáról.* (Kisvárda: Kisvárda Város Önkormányzata, 1991).

[17] István Néző, *Kisvárda a források tükrében: szemelvénygyűjtemény [Kisvárda in ligth of the sources: anthology]*, A kisvárdai Városi Könyvtár kiadványai 3 (Kisvárda: Városi Könyvtár, 1999); István Néző, *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]* (Kisvárda: Kisvárdai Városszépítő Egyesület, 2004); István Néző, "A kisvárdai vár az 1558-1570-es évek harcaiban [The castle of Kisvárda in the campaigns of 1558-1570]," *Várak Kastélyok Templomok* 4, no. 5 (2008): 29–31.

[18] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*.

[19] Norbert Jankovics, "Kisvárda, vár. Építéstörténeti tudományos dokumentáció és értékleltár. [Kisvárda Castle. Building history and historical value assessment.]" (working paper, Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ, Budapest, 2016).

1.2. The castle period

Etymologically the settlement's name can be traced back to the Hungarian word "vár", meaning fortress, which presumes that before the establishment of the medieval settlement there should have been a stronghold nearby. According to István Bóna's research on the mound of today's castle, a bronze-age earth and wood fortification was standing.[20] László Makay's and Péter Németh's research on the properties and the diocesan of the settlement assumes that it may have been the center, so called "ispánsági központ", of Borosvacounty's Felsőszabolcs territory during the period of state foundation. This territory consisted of thirty villages around the castle and some east of the Tisza river's band.[21]

The settlement was first mentioned in written documents in 1271 as a surname *"de Warad"* of comes Aladár. He was the ancestor of the Várdai family of the Gutkeled kindred. From this date, the family residence was most likely in the settlement, which got the prefix "kis" in the fourteenth century. Because of its location of at the junction of two roads going to Uzshorod (Ungvár) and Košice (Kassa), it became a market town, and from 1337 it had a weekly market on Wednesdays, from 1453 also on Fridays. Later gained more privileges and royal grants for holding four annual fairs.[22] In 1423 it was mentioned as "*Warada oppidum*".[23] In 1415, Sigismund of Luxemburg gave permission to the family to build and own a castle or a mansion,

[20] István Bóna, "Szabolcs-Szatmár megye régészeti emlékei 1 [Archeological sites of Szabolcs-Szatmár county 1]," in *Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei 1. (Entz, Géza ed.)*, 1986, 34. During Attila Jakab's excavations of the site bronze-age pottery shreds were found, but no archaeological features could be dated to this period. We should add that western from the castle mound there is a bronze-age settlement (archeaeological site identification number: 36507, Kisvárda Strandfürdő; identifier in the topography is Kisvárda 3).

[21] Makay, "Kisvárda története 1703-ig [History of Kisvárda till 1703]," 14–15; Péter Németh, "Szabolcs-Szatmár megye története 1 [History of Szabolcs-Szatmár county]," in *Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei 1 (Entz, Géza ed.)*, 1986, 116.

[22] Boglárka Weisz, *Markets and Staples in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020), 189.

[23] MOL DL 54277.

fortalicium seu castellum at Kisvárda or at other estates of the family.[24] Indeed this grant gives only the possibility of the establishment, but it cannot be specified exactly either from the written sources or from archaeological data when the castle was built. The first written data referring to the castle northwest of the settlement is from 1451.[25] In this, the family's castellan, *"castellanus castelli de Kyswarda"* appears,[26] but at this time the family residence was inside the settlement.[27] The estate of Kisvárda Castle consisted of the estate center (oppidum), ten villages in county Szabolcs, four villages in county Szatmár, and two villages in county Bereg.[28]

In the fourteenth century the estate of Kisvárda Castle consisted of ten settlements: Kisvárda oppidum, Döge, Veresmart, Fényeslitka, Tuzsér, Pap, Ajak, Pátroha, Rozsály and Kalongya. The family Várdai had other six villages in the estate of Tassa: Bombárd, Kék, Gégény, Demecser, Szamosszeg and Nyírtass. Later the family properties included the manor (uradalom) of Bátmonostor of county Bács.[29]

Other incomes were taken from ferries of the river Tisza, the ferry of Döge was owned by the family from the beginning, in 1387 was the Rozsály-Lányvár ferry entered into their possession. During the sixteenth century the ferries of Tuzsér, Bács-Révaranyos, Jánk were taken as well.[30]

The first building period of the now standing brick building on a small natural mound is connected to István Várdai, Archbishop of Kalocsa (1465-1470). After his death in 1470, both

[24] The charter permits the new fortification to be built from stone or wood, *"fortalitium, castellum lapideum sive ligneum".* Elemér Mályusz, *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár V. (1415–1416)*, Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II. 27 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997). 263. 893.

[25] Koppány Tibor, *A középkori Magyarország kastélyai [Mansions of medieval Hungary]*, Művészettörténeti Füzetek 26 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999), 165.

[26] Virágh, *Adatok Kisvárda történetéhez [Details for the history of Kisvárda castle]*, 40.

[27] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 10.

[28] Koppány, *A középkori Magyarország kastélyai [Mansions of medieval Hungary]*, 165.

[29] Makay, "Kisvárda története 1703-ig [History of Kisvárda till 1703]," 17.

[30] Makay, 18.

the castle and the urban residence were inherited by his nephews.[31] Presumably, by the end of the fifteenth century, it consisted of the southern rectangular towers,[32] a row of halls between them,[33] and the rectangular yard's curtain wall fortified with two circular towers, all made of brick.[34]

The next period of construction can be connected to Ferenc Várdai, Archbishop of Transylvania (1514-1524). The eastern and the northern wings on two sides of the yard were finished by 1528.[35] The palisade in the central part of the castle is supposed to have been built at this time, the written sources report on purchasing material for wooden constructions.[36]

After Ferenc Várdai's death in 1528 his heirs, his brothers' sons divided the property and the castle into three parts.[37] Just after the battle of Mohács (1526) and the occupation of Buda (1541), the Ottoman threat became permanent in the region. Kisvárda was situated in the border zone between royal Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania, and changing owners several times.

The castle was first occupied in 1531, when the guards hired by the family, surrendered the castle to the soldiers sent by King Ferdinand I.[38] Then an army recruited from the Várdai family's allies besieged the castle, set the palisade on fire and occupied it.[39] However, the allies were not faithful either, after the occupation they did not let in the Várdai family, moreover,

[31] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 11–12. See extensively at Virágh, *Adatok Kisvárda történetéhez [Details for the history of Kisvárda castle]*, 41–45.

[32] The towers were standing up to the second floor.

[33] The southern castle was extended to two levels, the ground, and first floors.

[34] Jankovics, "Ép. tört. tud. dok.," 7.

[35] The two circular northern towers are firstly mentioned in this source (Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 13–14.), but the building history assessment dates it to István Várdai's period (Jankovics, "Ép. tört. tud. dok.," 7.).

[36] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 12–13.

[37] The charter lists the castle's rooms.

[38] In 1531 the family hired foot soldiers for guarding the castle, but during one vespers the guards locked them out from the fort.

[39] Miklós Dely, Lőrinc Borbély military officers and Gergely Sárközi scribe occupied the castle with 200 men. Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 14.

they robbed the treasures, supplies, and provisions in the value of 25,000 ducats kept in the stronghold.[40] The Várdai family turned to king John Szapolyai for help, who sent mercenaries and captain János Kiskállói Vitéz in 1537 to protect the castle against overbearing. However, these soldiers also locked the family out of the fort.

This episode changed the fealty of the Várdai family in favor of the Habsburgs, thus the castle became a target for the Transylvanian party. During this period the castle was the most western fortification in Habsburg hands. In 1544 George Martinuzzi, Bishop of Oradea (Nagyvárad) occupied the castle, and his captain, György Melith, and his vice-castellan Pál Oláh ruled the property until 1551. In 1558 the Transylvanian forces besieged the castle twice, but could not take it in. [41]

Tables turned, between 1565 and 1568 under the leadership of Lazarus von Schwendl, a large territory of the Szabolcs and Szatmár counties was taken from the Principality, until the fort of Szatmár, and the Upper Hungarian Chief Headquarters was established here. The Aulic Chamber provided the defense for Kisvárda Castle with the leadership of captain Antal Székely of Dálnok, between 1559 and 1563. According to a regulation from 1566, the emperor commanded 50 German horsemen to guard this fortification but was constantly in arrears. During the 1560s the castle was besieged three more times, in an unknown occasion before 1564, and in the campaign of John Sigismund Zápolya, in 1564, and 1566, when he conquered the region besides Kisvárda and Ecsed. [42]

[40] Zoltán Ács, "A kisvárdai vár 16. századi hadi krónikája a korabeli források tükrében [Military history of the castle of Kisvárda in ligth of the sources]," in *Tanulmányok Kisvárda történetéből (Ács, Zoltán ed.)*, A kisvárdai Vármúzeum kiadványai 8 (Kisvárda, 1983), 88.

[41] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 14–19.

[42] Néző, *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]*, 123–26; Géza Pálffy, "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century).," in *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2000), 33–49.

Formally after the Treaty of Edirne of 1568, did fall the kingdom to three parts, and after 1570, the Treaty of Speyer could come a peaceful period. Around 1568-1570, the Chamber of Spiš financed the extension and fortification of the stronghold. The financing because of the empty treasury was reduced to tax reliefs, serfs were ordered to maintain the castles for free, and with military engineering. The Chamber of Spiš in 1567 exempted for 12 years the possessions of Kisvárda from paying tax to the royal chamber. Both in 1569 and 1578 the serf's free works were defined in twelve days, the peasants of the possessions of Kisvárda should work on the castle.[43]

This time the so-called "Angelini survey" of the castle was made.[44] (*Figure 5*, *Figure 7*, *Figure 8*) On the map, three fortification lines can be observed around the brick castle, presumably, at that time the outer bastioned wall was planned or partially surveyed. The latest research of Zoltán Simon connected the constructions from these two sources, claiming that the castle was fortified this time with a six bastioned palisade structure.[45] It is quite contradictory that in 1583 Mihály Várdai complained about the bad condition of the surrounding palisade, which he repaired at his own expense. Éri linked the construction of the Angelini plans around the 1570s to this written source,[46] and the construction of palisade to the period between 1580 and 1585, made by Ottavio Baldigara[47] after the Angelinis' plans.[48] During this period, the southern square-shaped towers were raised with one level and a parapet

[43] Néző, *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]*, 127–28.

[44] About the maps' dating and their author read further in subchapter 2.1.

[45] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 20.

[46] István Éri, *Kisvárda*, Műemlékeink (Budapest: Pannonia, 1965), 22.

[47] Since than the itinerarium of Ottavio Baldigara has been set, and he conducted the building works in Kisvárda in 1580. György Domokos, "Ottavio Baldigara. Egy itáliai várfundáló mester Magyarországon a 16. század második felében [Ottavio Baldigara. An Italian castle fundator maister in Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century]" (Budapest: Balassa Kiadó, 2000), 89.

[48] This data was used in the later publications as well. László Császár architect of the reconstruction 1960-61, in his historical overview and building history used the same dating. László Császár, *A kisvárdai vár építéstörténete és helyreállítása [The building history and the reconstruction of Kisvárda castle]*, Helyreállított műemlékeink 7 (Budapest: Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség, 1964), 5.

was added. On the southern palace wing, two levels were erected.[49] The chronology of this period will be further refined in chapter 4 in the light of the recent excavations.

At the end of the sixteenth century, with the death of Mihály Várdai (1583) the lineage of the Várdai family become extint and the property got more and more fragmented. At the end of the century, it was in the hands of the Nyáry and Melith families, from the seventeenth century also the Eszterházy, and Zichy families shared the estate. Due to the frequent divisions of the property, this period is teeming with written sources, such as inventories (e.g. 1612, 1687). The uprising of Bocskai did not affect the castle, although flare-ups occurred in the town. During the first half of the seventeenth century, life in the castle was peaceful, new buildings were erected inside the palisade. In the 1630s on the west side, a new two-story building and a chapel were built. Johann Ledentu's veduta from 1639[50] depicts the castle with all fortifications and with these new constructions.[51] (*Figure 12*)

From the second half of the seventeenth century, the written sources are full of financial problems and the need for reparation. In 1672, during the Wesselényi uprising, the castle was taken without siege for a year. In 1679, Imre Thököly and in 1703 Ferenc Rákóczi also took the castle, so the possibility of demolishing it was raised several times by the Aulic War Council.[52] Afterward the castle lost its primal function, both as residence and as a fortification.

1.3. The afterlife of the castle

In this chapter, discuss the early monument protection acts, recognition, and reconstruction phases of the castle. To be able to understand and correctly present the current situation, I will follow up on the site's history after its primary use as a defensive construction, the

[49] Jankovics, "Ép. tört. tud. dok.," 7.
[50] The veduta will be analyzed in the chapter 2.2.
[51] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 21–27.
[52] Simon, 28–31.

abandonment, destruction period, and how it became a monument. Afterward, I will concentrate on the current reconstruction work, which is just under construction in the frameworks of Hungary's National Castle and Mansion Program. Thus, I will dedicate a subchapter to the operation of the program.

After the reoccupation of the Ottoman territories, the Habsburg military leaders decided several times on the demolition and demilitarization of the castle. But because of local resistance, this centralized vision was not carried out here in the seventeenth century. However, from the middle of the eighteenth century, the castle lost its military importance, its strategic role, and its prestigious residential function as well. From the last decades of the eighteenth century, the owners used the castle as a convenient source for building material, later the locals systematically demolished the brick walls - including their foundation - starting from the north side.[53]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the life of the castle has taken a turn: the public landownership decree of the year 1828 prohibited the reuse of the castle's brick walls and the agricultural cultivation of the territory, which may be regarded as the first act of monument protection.[54] In this period Flóris Rómer, who is considered the father of Hungarian archaeology, initiated the research of the castle. He took a photograph and surveyed the castle after Dezső Somogyi's call in 1875. Unfortunately, these documents are lost or destroyed.[55] A memorial plaque was set in 1897 on the castle's southeast tower's eastern wall for the celebrations of the Hungarian Millennium.[56]

[53] Éri, "A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]," 25; Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 31–32.

[54] MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive, 427.K.V. (Éri, István. A kisvárdai vár építéstörténete 1957. pp. 20-21. based on Ferencz Virágh's research.)

[55] Jankovics, "Ép. tört. tud. dok.," 8. Only Rómer's brief summary was publisthed 1870. Flóris Rómer, "Két szabolcsmegyei ős-temető és egyéb régészeti leletek," *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 3, no. 11 (1870): 224.

[56] Éri, "A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]," 15–16.; MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive, 427.K.V. (Kiss, Ernő. A kisvárdai vár milleniumi emléktáblája. pp. 1-3.) The plaque's inscription was the following: *"E vár, melynke romjait a honfoglalás ezredik évfordulójának ünneplése*

Despite the regulations, the area of the castle was used constantly. During the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century different public buildings were built. Between 1870 and 1920 north of the brick castle inside the palisade a "Turkish bath" was operating. It was supplied with water from a well underneath, which was found in 1954 and excavated in 1955. On the cadastral map of 1900 (*Figure 18*), it is the western building on the north side of the brick remains of the castle. The other edifice was a dance hall, called "Mulatóház", which was working there till 1912. From the beginning of the twentieth century till 1944 a restaurant was operating in the remains of the castle, which included cellared, one-story buildings attached to its southern side. Its roofs were leaning to the castle walls, and these joints are visible on the archival photos and lithographs. (*Figure 19, Figure 20*) At this time landscaping works were carried out in the territory of the palisade, and a tennis court (40 x 60 m) was built in the eastern part.[57]

In the 1930s at least seven months of amateur excavations were led by István Balla and Ferenc Virágh. They found burials north of the southwest tower, inside of the palisade structure. In 1942 and 1952 other soil moving and dislocations occurred, when burials were found at the southeast bastion of the palisade.[58]

From these data we can see that the protection act of 1827 was not successful in every respect, many records reported destructions: mining and transporting the brick material of the castle and soil of the palisade, or children climbing up to the ruins, and cultivation of the

alkalmából Szabolcs vármegye közönsége ez emlékkel jelölte meg: többízben volt a megye székhelye. A török pusztítások és szabadságharcok idején pedig üldözötteknek oltalmat, a fegyvereseknek otthont nyújtott." In translation: "This castle, the ruins of which were marked by the public of the Szabolcs county with this monument on the occasion of the celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the conquest of the county, was the seat of the county in several tithes. During the Turkish ravages and wars of independence, it provided shelter for the persecuted and a home for the armed." MNM 427.K.V. Kiss p. 3.

[57] The data was collected by István Éri from the local residents before the excavations. MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive 249.K.III, 1-2.

[58] MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive 249.K.III, 1-2. The finds were sent to the county museum of Nyíregyháza, but no documentation was made. In comparison, Éri's excavations between 1954-1961 had lasted five and a half months in total.

territory.[59] At the same time, while reporting repeated destructions, some records emphasized that the castle should be listed as a monument.[60] Finally, in 1951, the castle and its surroundings were inscribed on the list of protected monuments (Múzeumok és Műemlékek Országos Központja), nevertheless, of its fabric was regularly depleted as raw material.[61]

The problem remained unsolved until 1954, when a fence was built around the castle and the palisade.[62] However, although between the two dates 1828 and 1954 more than a hundred years passed, according to the surviving photos and postcards it can be assumed that during this period the brick structure of the castle was not demolished much further.

It is unclear why did the castle come into the spotlight in the middle of the 1950s. It can be because of the general issues of the contemporary monument protection: since the intact medieval castles related to Hungary's past were allocated by the Trianon Peace Treaty to the neighboring countries, the ruins in Hungary could finally gain state protection after regular claims against destructions.

However, my own inclination would be that the reason for renewed attention was the local sports club (Spartacus Sports Club), which occupied the territory and started to build a football pitch on the northern side of the remains in 1954.[63] The Hungarian National Monuments Protection Inspectorate (Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség) recognized the potential in this reciprocity and demanded that the sports club, in return for the contemporary use, surrounded the whole castle and palisade structure with fences.

[59] MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive 249.K.III, p. 2.
[60] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1898/97, 105, 134; 1902/373; 1904/502; 1922/421, 572; 1949/255.
[61] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1953/10.
[62] MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive 249.K.III, p. 2.
[63] Thus legalizing the soil removing.

Thus, from 1954 archaeological research began under the leadership of István Éri, archaeologist of Inspectorate. In this year's April, the institution made a ground plan survey of the terrain reliefs by Kornél Seitl (*Figure 27*).[64]

Between 1954 and 1961 the excavations were led by István Éri and Péter Németh. Here, I summarize the research results that influenced the reconstruction, and explain how the construction works limited the scope of research. More detailed information about the excavation result is presented in the 3.1. subchapter.

In the first year there was only archaeological observation on the area (110 x 80 m) where the football field was planned to be constructed, and where eighteenth-century stone walls were found. Éri opened three trenches on the northeast bastion and eastern cortina wall's position, where the palisade structure was well preserved just underneath the topsoil. With four smaller trenches, he identified the northern wall of the inner castle, 2-2.5 meters deep.[65] Éri returned to the site in October 1954 for monitoring. By that time the stone walls had been demolished and both the northern and northeast bastions mound had been leveled as previously dealt.[66]

This example illustrates the typical case that medieval walls were to be preserved, but walls thought to originate from the eighteenth century not considered worth keeping. However, this dating is questionable, as only foundations of the first period's constructions were built of stone material. This narrower wall seems to be higher than the curtain wall's fundations, which is similar to the stone walls of the southern rectangular towers' basement.[67] In this floodplain area stone was an expensive and rare material, and from the seventeenth century, no such owner is known from the castle's history who could have easily afforded this. Archaeological research

[64] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 4169 portfolio.

[65] MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive, 375.K.IV, 376.K.IV, 427.K.V. (Excavation repost of the year 1954. György Szabó, István Éri. pp. 1-5.)

[66] MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive, 249.K.III. p. 1.

[67] See on the photo: MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive, 375.K.IV. Photo table 6.

in the surrounding of the monument was limited to the level of collecting data with trenches, and subsequently, the construction of modern buildings demolished the remains without any observation whatsoever.

In 1955 István Éri with György Szabó and Alán Kralovánszky continued the excavation of the well found in the football field, but all the material found inside was from the 1930s. (*Figure 28*) Alajos Sódor and István Éri surveyed the structure, but its documentation is lost.[68] The next year's documents contain only billings, and payment records, no excavation work took place.[69]

For the season in 1957, Éri planned the excavation of an area of 30x40 meters in the inner castle. However, the medieval wall remains were found much deeper than expected,[70] therefore, instead of excavating the entire interior of the castle, it was only possible to open two exploratory trenches, some sections to examine the foundations of the south-east tower, and to clear parts of the southern wing of the palace and the south-east tower. The remains suggest that the two southern towers were built at the same time as the surrounding wall in the fifteenth century. In the southern part, traces of the fifteenth-century palisade, castle moat, and sixteenth-century palisade have been found.[71]

Restoration of the southern towers and wing began in 1959, while the excavations of the curtain walls were carried out in 1960. As there were just some remains of foundations at the bottom of the ditch dug for the raw materials of the walls during the eighteenth-nineteenth century, the excavation again was limited to the observation of the removal of younger layers of rubble. In this period the curtain walls and the rounded towers' stone foundations were

[68] MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive, 340.K.IV, 427.K.V. (Excavation repost of the year 1955. György Szabó, István Éri. pp.1-3.)

[69] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1956/2/5, 1957/7/2.

[70] In the depth of 3-4 meters instead of the expected 2 meters. It seems that firstly he had found the cellar walls.

[71] MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive, 427.K.V. (Excavation report of the year 1957. István Éri. pp. 1-13.)

surveyed and excavated in the height of one or two rows and the width of two meters. The remains suggest that the inner castle curtain walls and all the towers date from the fifteenth century. Another trench of east-west orientation was opened in the line of the inner castle's northern curtain walls, in which at the side of the northern towers post holes of the fifteenth-century palisade were found.[72]

Even though the research and the reconstruction were carried out simultaneously in this period too, it is striking how much research could impact the plans and the outcome of the preservation. The outline of the inner castle was refined according to the excavated foundations, and the remains of the palisade previously considered demolished were found.[73] However, it must be pointed out, that in 1957 Éri had more plans for excavation: the inner castle's courtyard, the divided space inside the castle wings, and further trenches of the sixteenth-century palisade.

For the remains above the ground level, according to my current knowledge, no building research in the modern understanding was carried out. In July 1954, the art historian and archaeologist Károly Kozák visited the castle, and to his detailed description, he attached photos.[74] In 1955 the architect János Sedlmayr surveyed the ruins from the inside and outside, on the scale of 1:100.[75] (*Figure 21, Figure 22, Figure 23, Figure 24*) The state of the building can be described according to them and from the photographs taken before the first reconstruction. Unfortunately, no record is available from the architect László Császár's observations, who surely revised the surveys and observed himself the building before the planning and during the conservation works.

[72] MNM Archaeological Documentation's Archive, IX.208/1961.

[73] Zsuzsanna Beck and János Sedlmayer, "Holt műemlékeink helyreállítása és felhasználása [The reconstruction and reuse of dead monuments]," *Műemlékvédelem* 1 (1957): 37–50. Design plan on p. 37, ground plan on p. 49. The reconstruction plans were presented among the castles of Diósgyőr and Nagyvázsony.

[74] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1954/15.

[75] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 2958-2963 and 2966 sheets.

Based on all these data the basic architectural history of the castle can be established. From the medieval castle's original assemblage, known from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century surveys, only a torso remained: the south wing's and south-west tower's south façade and the south-east tower were standing four levels high. From the architectural elements visible on the outer walls of the castle, the vaulted battlements with emplacements on the top of the towers, the loopholes suitable for both arrows and firearms preserved best underneath the third story on the east façade of the eastern tower, a previous battlement height line underneath the third story of the southern castle wing, and two renaissances carved stone window frames on the east tower's northern and eastern walls are the most remarkable features. Only the post hole rows underneath the vaulted battlements could be part of the outside battlement structure, the other rows of holes were made presumably during the nineteenth century. The eastern tower's western façade was plastered and white-washed, facing an interior space until the last use. Plaster and paint layers were visible inside the towers and on the northern façade of the south wing. In the towers two stories, in the wing the ground floor had vaulted ceilings, above them beam ceilings were built. In the eastern tower the windows had sitting places at the thickness of the wall. Two chimneys were visible, in the eastern tower's southwest corner and on the wings' north façade, between the axis of the second and thirds. Kozák also believes that the stone walls found on the northern side are the remains of the gate tower mentioned in the written sources.[76] Kozák dates the hexagonal palisade structure to the sixteenth-seventeenth century, highlighting the loopholes drawn on the surveys.[77]

[76] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1954/15. pp. 2-3.
[77] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1954/15. pp. 4.

The reconstruction was planned by the architect László Császár, between 1957 and 1961 (*Figure 42, Figure 43*),[78] who published it in 1964.[79] For his historical overview and building history summary, he used István Éri's research results.[80] The reconstruction's theoretical background was based on János Sedlmayr's concept previously presented in the first volume of the *Műemlékvédelem* journal.[81] The proposed new function was the establishment of a local museum inside of the standing tower's floors and an open-air theatre in the inner castle, involving almost 700 m^2 territory, by forming the stage on the site of the ruined southern wings, using the remaining walls as a scene, and turning the courtyard into an auditorium.[82] The concept's main aims were well adopted by Császár, with the protection of original remains, their interpretation with small-scale architectural implementations, and their reuse by finding new functions which fit the needs of local communities. The author highlights that large-scale rebuilding was not implemented in correspondence with modern monument protection principles.[83]

In the southwest tower, for creating exhibition spaces, the ceilings were reconstructed according to their traces on the tower's walls. The cellar's cross, ground floors, and first floors vaults were rebuilt from small sized, factory-made brick, and the second floor's beam ceiling was replaced with a reinforced concrete ceiling, supported by reinforced concrete beams in the original allocation. It was the top floor's belvedere terrace - originally emplacement for artillery. On the first floor, two vaulted open fireplaces were reconstructed in the corners. The floors become accessible from a new, outer spiral staircase. The original plasters were

[78] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 4164-4171 portfolios; MÉM MDK Official Records, 1958/14/1, 1959/24/2, 1960/34/3.

[79] Császár, *A kisvárdai vár helyreállítása*.

[80] Császár, 5.

[81] Beck and Sedlmayer, "Holt műemlékeink helyreállítása és felhasználása [The reconstruction and reuse of dead monuments]."

[82] Beck and Sedlmayer, 47–49.

[83] Császár, *A kisvárdai vár helyreállítása*, 6.

preserved, and only on this building part were window- and doorframes substituted with artificial stone frames. The stories were accessible from an outer spiral staircase.[84] By the time of the conservation only one carved stone opening frame fragment remained in its original position, on the eastern tower's northern wall's upmost window.[85] This time the orchestra pit all along the stage was sunk only 40 cm under the surface.[86]

On the torso of the southern wing and the southwest tower classical conservation works occurred, and after the excavation of this area of the southern wing, on the top of the reconstructed barrel vault was the stage built, which was accessible from the staircase built in the southeast tower. A brick wall was erected on the top of the excavated foundation of the rectangular yard's curtain wall and two, northern circular towers. It was not set up to the original height and thickness, as it was not known, its function was to retrain the soil supporting the auditorium. The courtyard was accessible from the original, northern side.[87]

Császár paid attention to the monument's environment, for indicating the palisade structure he suggested the planting of trees.[88]

Besides the research and reconstruction work, more heritage acts have completed the process. The plaque demolished during World War II, was replaced in 1955 (*Figure 25*), and a new memorial plaque was inaugurated in 1961 (*Figure 26*).[89] At the beginning of the project, this did not gain much public interest, but by the time of the inauguration of the monument, the museum, and the outdoor theatre, local residents could value the ruins and were reconnected to this element of their past. The research visibly affected not only the monument protecting

[84] Császár, 7–9.
[85] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 2956 sheet, 4166 portfolio.
[86] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 4165 portfolio.
[87] Császár, *A kisvárdai vár helyreállítása*, 8.
[88] Császár, 8.
[89] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 63/12393 sheet.

work, but it made an impact on public knowledge, local residents started to acknowledge and value the castle as their own heritage. [90]

It is also part of the process that in 1961 a book was published summarizing the results of the research work on the historical aspects of the castle. In this book István Éri described the castle's history, collected for the first time the visual sources, and also the publication served as an exhibition guide, leading the visitors to the different rooms furnished for different periods of Kisvárda's history.[91] In the preface, the author emphasized the importance of the preliminary research: without the study of the historical sources and the archaeological excavation no authentic reconstruction work could be carried out, nor an exhibition could be made. In 1965, the Castle Museum (Vármúzeum) was established to cater for exhibition and the inner castle (the exhibition from the trainer college, *Figure 44*, moved here).[92] With the leadership of László Makay, the institution developed into the today's Museum of Rétköz Region (Rétközi Múzeum).[93]

Thus, three parties claimed their ownership of the castle's territory after the renovation, the Sports Club, the Castle Theatre, and the Castle Museum, but above them, the National Monument Protection Inspectorate (OMF) had the right to supervise any change.[94] As all had different interests in the use, maintenance, and development of the castle, conflicts were unavoidable with the institution.

One of the bases of the long-running dispute was that the sports club did not want to leave the castle's territory. In 1966 a new plan was made for the enlargement of the football pitch

[90] Éri, "A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]," 14–16.

[91] Éri, "A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]."

[92] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1964/83/5. The maintenance of the castle from 1964 belonged to the Művelődésügyi Minisztréium, Művelődésügyi Főosztály (Cultural Department of the Ministry of Education).

[93] Péter Németh, "Makay László 1914-1998," *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum évkönyve* 39–40 (1998): 9.

[94] Declaration of the statement occurred in 1965, presumably because of previous interference. MÉM MDK Official Records 1965/98/3.

and for another sports field, rejected by the OMF.[95] Moreover, in 1972-1975, new facilities were made, bleachers and changing rooms, without building permission.[96] The Budapest University of Technology, Department of Public Building Design made a new sports field plan for the town governance, which was under construction by 1974 when the town presented the plans to OMF.[97] According to the aerial photographs, between 1970 and 1987 the outline of the football field did not change.[98] (*Figure 46, Figure 47, Figure 48, Figure 49*)

László Makay proposed the heightening of the inner castle's walls,[99] and the extension of the museum's exhibition places,[100] and the installment of semi-permanent seats for the theatre.[101] None of his proposals were supported, as it was written in the justification of 1967: the other wings of the inner castle cannot be rebuilt because only foundations are known, no other dimensions, nor the openings and accessing the structure of the originals. The new building would marginalize the original parts. Another functional aspect was that the drainage of the inner parts would not be satisfactory.[102] Only a metal fence could be built on the top of the reconstructed eastern and western walls in 1968.[103]

These remarks show that the reconstruction fulfilled the needs of monument protection, but not the needs of everyday use. From the presented cases the procuration of the OMF is also

[95] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 4173; Official Records, 1966/114/3.

[96] During the monitoring of the new lightning system of the castle realized the OMF the new bleachers on the northwest side of the castle, presumably built-in 1972-1973. The institution filed a penalty request to the authority. MÉM MDK Official Records, 1973/216/4. In 1975 the sports club wanted to enlarge the changing rooms' building, but OMF denied it, as they built the facility without permission between 1973-1975. MÉM MDK Official Records, 1975/248/2.

[97] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1974/232/3. The plans did not survive in the Architecture Plan collection.

[98] https://www.fentrol.hu/hu/

[99] The monument's southern walls were still accessible for climbing and vandalizing. MÉM MDK Official Records, 1963/70/1, 1966/114/3, 1967/132/3, 1968/148/1.

[100] László Makay proposed the needs of the museum: 225 m^2 of exhibition places, 50 m^2 offices, 30 m^2 of restrooms and photo-laboratory. MÉM MDK Official Records,1964/83/5.

[101] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1963/70/1.

[102] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1967/132/3.

[103] MÉM MDK Official Records, 1968/148/1.

visible: the institution requested detailed plans, which required a lot of work from the tenants, but during the review regularly the idea was criticized.

To finally settle the issue, in 1970 two versions of plans were made for the reuse of the inner castle: "A" for theatre and "B" for museum purposes, and presented to OMF where it was signed by József Erdős (*Figure 50*).[104] The circumstances and the author of the plans are unknown, it can be that these plans were the winner of an architectural design competition, or these could have been commissioned by the OMF or the town.

However, from the next documents, it seems that the OMF promoted the theatre purpose because in 1972 Mrs. István Fodor issued a detailed design for further facilities of the open-air theatre (*Figure 51*),[105] which was accepted by the OMF in 1972 and 1973.[106]

This phase did not cover the renovation of the monument, only the theatre's functional elements were modernized. The stage was extended to the west, and underneath the new part, the staff's restrooms and dressing rooms got placed. Before the stage, a deeper orchestra pit was built, and the auditorium's sloop was rebuilt, got a permanent structure, with removable seats and canvas roofing. The facilities for the audience were still located outside the castle.[107]

The site functioned successfully as an open-air theatre for years, so the town's interest was to modernize the facility again. The conservation of the 1960s period was also aging, more and more of the poorly maintained structures were slowly demolishing the original building elements. The next reconstruction campaign took place in 1988, after a long permission process, in the end the OMF supported the town's plans for the improvement of the theatre.[108]

[104] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 035114-035120 sheets.

[105] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 10103.

[106] In 1972 the temporary canvas roofing was accepted. MÉM MDK Official Records, 1972/204/3. In 1973 the plan got construction permission from the authorities. MÉM MDK Official Records, 1973/216/4.

[107] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 10103.

[108] Their first plans were handed in in 1986 to the OMF, and the institution made their remarks on the plans, allowing only the most urgent construction works. MÉM MDK Official Records, 1986/515/2. The plan was finally accepted in 1987, with the conditions of renovating only the most essential elements. MÉM MDK Official Records, 1987/543/2.

The plans, first presented in 1986, were made by Kánon Ltd., Ágnes Benkő, László Fater, Péter Nagy and Péter Wirth (*Figure 52*). At that time a detailed survey was made of the castle and its environment. The round tower's rebuilding was the main plan for sound and light technical rooms, and to have space for restrooms and a buffet. The renovation of the wooden frames of the openings of the southeast tower was also incorporated.[109]

This was modified by OMF to a program that contained the renovation of several parts of the monument in multiple phases. The demands were presented to a planning council in 1988.[110] In the first phase the institution proposed the roofing of the rounded and the southeast tower. In the case of the southeast tower, water insulation problems were permanent, and the museum could get use of the new space under the roof. They recommended a lifted roofing, which would preserve the tower's walls from the rain and allow the vaulted battlements or parapets to be seen. Finally, the yard's curtain walls were heightened. The next phase would be the reconstruction of the southwest tower, in which new walls would be differentiated by the surface finishing, and its inside would remain visible as instead of the northern wall glass covering was planned to be built. The southern wing's remains would be covered with the roofing of the reconstructed wooden battlements. Further plans were the renovation of the auditorium, where the original floor level's reconstruction was recommended.[111]

At the end of the document other important recommendations were emphasized. The previous architects and researchers, for example István Éri or János Sedlmayr should participate in the work giving advice. On the needs for reuse of the castle should be discussed with the community of the settlement. At last but not least, the narrower and broader environment of the castle should be analyzed and taken into account during the phases of

[109] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 38748.
[110] MÉM MDK Lymbus, K 1901. Design Council record.
[111] MÉM MDK Lymbus, K 1901. Design Council record. pp. 1-3.

reconstruction and renovation.[112] Only the first phase was constructed, not exactly in the proposed way, but the outcome became a well-known view of the castle (*Figure 53, Figure 54*), with the three roofs of wooden shingle outer layer.

At the beginning of the 2000s scholars started to prepare for the next stage of reconstruction, joining the European Union. More historic research was taken on,[113] new revitalization plans were made,[114] a new plaque was inaugurated in memorial of Ferenc Rákóczi and Rákóczi's war of independence.[115]

In the last two decades, the environment of the castle has changed radically. Two new sport stadium were built on the northern side, the bath was extended with a hotel just by the western side of the castle. The remains of the previous marshlands had been cleared and two lakes were created on the western and the southern side of the castle.

1.4. Architectural design and its outcome in the Hungarian National Castle and Mansion Program

The renovation of Kisvárda Castle was initiated by the Hungarian National Castle and Mansion Program.[116] The program is a state lead renewal program financed by local, state, and European Union sources. The latter's main aim was not monument protection, it supports touristic attractions, and regional development.

[112] MÉM MDK Lymbus, K 1901. Design Council record. pp. 3-5.

[113] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*. András Fülöp surveyed the 14 carved stone pieces of the castle in 2002. MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 46236. Néző, *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]*.

[114] Erika Erdélyi, "A Kisvárdai vár és környezetének hasznosítási terve [Kisvárda castle's and its environment's utilization plan]," *Örökség: műemlék, régészet, műtárgy* 10, no. 7–8 (2006): 11–12.

[115] Néző, *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]*, 110.

[116] From 2015 the Gyula Forster National Heritage and Asset Management Centre (Forster Központ) maintained it, and its successor institutions:the Buda Castle Estate Development and Organisation Nonprofit Private Limited Company and the later National Heritage-Protection and Development Nonprofit Private Limited Company (NÖF).

The choosing of the sites was driven partially by bottom-up solutions, connected to the initiative of the municipality. However, decision making was mainly based on top-down driven processes, which took into account touristic values as priority much more than professional, monument protection, and feasibility aspects.

The support of the European Union for this site was in the range of 1,4 billion HUF,[117] approximately 3,89 million EUR.[118]

The new plans for the castle's plans were made by Zoltán Wittinger, and the garden's by Zsuzsa G. Árvai. The Korinthos Kft. won the construction tender, and made the visual design appeared in the media. (*Figure 73*, *Figure 74*)

Zoltán Wittinger presented his concept at a conference "*Reconstruction, but how?*" held by the Hungarian Academy of Arts (MMA),[119] and it was later published in a collection of studies.[120] The article[121] starts with the description of the current state of the site, which is followed by a brief building history, and a research historical overview.[122] Unfortunately, the presented data often is inaccurate, lacking any reference or footnote. I found also disturbing the use of a poetic language, besides the misuse or non-consistent use of historic and archaeological terminology, which made the facts distorted. In describing the once-standing castle, the analogies are drawn far too broad. For example, he cites Sárospatak, Rákóczi Castle as an analogy for the outlook of Kisvárda Castle, but he does not describe which part he refers

[117] Zsilák Szilvia, "Tovább folyik a közpénz Kisvárdára: közel 1,5 milliárd forintos uniós pénzből újul meg a vár | atlatszo.hu," February 24, 2021, https://atlatszo.hu/2021/02/24/tovabb-folyik-a-kozpenz-kisvardara-kozel-15-milliard-forintos-unios-penzbol-ujul-meg-a-var/.

[118] I counted with the change 1 EUR is 360 HUF.

[119] The conference "Rekonstrukció, de hogyan?" was held between 6-7 September, 2018, almost exceptionally with the participation of architects, the building history researchers were left out.

[120] Sándor Dévényi and Miklós Sulyok, eds., *Élő műemlék. Rekonstrukció, de hogyan?*, A Magyar Művészeti Akadémia konferenciafüzetei (Budapest: MMA Kiadó, 2019).

[121] Zoltán Wittinger, "A kisvárdai vár leírása [Description of Kisvárda castle]," 01, in *Élő műemlék*, 2019, 317–30.

[122] Wittinger, 317–22.

to. However, it is important to mention in this context that previously István Feld[123] refuted István Éri's datings of the carved stone elements found during the excavations.[124] Feld has emphasized that the renaissance fragments are not particularly characteristic, therefore, they cannot be connected to any certain building period. In the other cases, the research on Sárospatak proved since Éri's article, that nor the loggia with balustrade, nor the three arched window frame are from the second half of the sixteenth century, as previously stated in Éri's article. I have also found very debatable the quoted archaeological data, which I will discuss in more detail in the 4.2. Critical analysis subchapter.

The paragraphs introducing the planning process and the plans are even more problematic. It is generally difficult to understand the main approach, because the clear statements are explained with different concepts, thus the ideas become fuzzy.[125]

The planning process started with the decision about changing the main function: from an open-air theatre, the castle will be turned into a modern museum, hosting only small events. The architect wanted the original remains to become the primary "attraction". The main argument was that previously the standing remains of the ruin served just as a background for the plays. Furthermore, the theatre function of the castle itself became neglected, and the few exhibition venues did not gain any interest.[126] It is true that the permanent exhibition in the castle was outdated, the information panels disappeared, and the additional elements of the last reconstruction were covering much of the original architectural elements of the castle Also it should be noted that the main aim of the funding system was promoting tourism, and this aspect in the decision making process must not be overlooked.

[123] István Feld, "16. századi kastélyok régészeti kutatása Északkelet-Magyarországon: Kandidátusi értekezés [Sixteenth century Mansions in North-Easten Hungary: CSc Dissertation]" (Budapest, 1994).

[124] István Éri, "A kisvárdai vár reneszánsz faragványtöredékei [Renaissance carved stone fragments of Kisvárda Castle]," *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum évkönyve* 1 (1958): 139–43.

[125] Wittinger, "A kisvárdai vár leírása [Description of Kisvárda castle]," 323–29.

[126] Wittinger, 323.

The new public building was erected on the contour of the excavated foundations, with contemporary architectural solutions. The main message for the visitors is the new building, without any doubts that it is a modern complex., At the same time, its appearance from the outside will evoke the look of a castle, and looking at the building from the castle yard it recalls the original space experience. It would provide space for the exhibition on the castle and its surroundings, highlight the authentic historical elements of the ruin as the main attraction. It makes the visitors think about this complex experience, and offers an understanding and connection to the different elements by this experience.[127]

The mass of the new structure will follow the outer contour of of the curtain wall around the courtyard. The new building will be erected in place of the destroyed eastern, northern wings and the rounded corner towers, at their original extension proved by the excavations. The the reconstructed palace wings are twostorey buildings, with a loggia running around the inner courtyard façade. The loggia will connect the new building parts with the southeastern tower, creating a continuous route for the visitors between the exhibition spaces. The new building will have a flat roof, which will function as an accessible belvedere terrace.

The program also incorporated the reconstruction of castle's close environment.The carefully elaborated plans of Zsuzsa Árvai[128] for the "castle garden" were relying on the archaeological excavations. The new data and the actual state of the research was and still is frequently harmonized with the planning and construction process. According to the research presented in chapter 2, the reconstruction is based on the Karlsruhe map of the Angelinis, and the terrain reliefs of the site. With landscape architectural tools the presentation of the outer

[127] Wittinger, 325–26.

[128] Anita Szabadics et al., "Kastély- és kúriakertek, valamint egyéb műemléki zöldfelületek fejlesztése a Nemzeti Kastélyprogramban és Nemzeti Várprogramban [Castle and mansion gardens and other monument environments in the Castle and Mansion Program]," 01, *Műemlékvédelem* 2021, no. 6 (2021): 475.

earthworks is achived. The reshaping of the slopes are under construction, and the outline of the inner palisade and the moat will be shown by well visible features on the walking surface.

Unfortunately, the preliminary research was not followed by an extensive part, due to the lack of time and financial support. On the territory of the new buildings archaeological research was carried on, but for example the court of the inner castle remained unexplored. Furthermore, there was no building archaeological research of the walls of the monument, so the construction work is carried out without proper, independent documentation of the finds.

Chapter 2
Depictions

After the battle of Mohács with the division of the Hungarian kingdom into three parts, as much of the country became military zone, the number and diversity of depictions of the fortifications were rising. In this period a multitude of depictions of fortified castles, towns or military events were created and used as a media product on broadsheets and newsletters, and another part for military purposes. Before introducing them, it is important to address who were the authors, what was their intention with the work, how did they work, and for whom did they produce the depictions. It is important since these circumstances could affect their production, and likewise the authenticity and usefulness of the source for modern researchers. Many of the vedutas and maps were circulating in Europe and copying with or without mistake was general. Thus, finding out the origin of each depiction is a critical step to determine for what type of analysis can the sources be used.

I have found eleven depictions regarding the fortifications of Kisvárda from the early modern period.[129] Eight ground plans are strikingly similar to each other and can be traced back to a common original, in the production of the Angelini family.[130] From the seventeenth century, besides Johann Ledentu's detailed veduta,[131] there are two more depictions, a schematic ground plan of unknown origin[132] and one that was published in Anthoni Ernst Burckhard von Birckenstein's work "Das Geometriebuch des Kronprinzen", the geometry study book of the crown prince.[133]

[129] In this work, I analyze the maps available in print or in a digitalized form, for verification of the archaeological data and dating better the construction periods. For better understanding, and for raising awareness of these maps' existence and use, I attach their copy in the Appendix (*Figures 5-17*), with full digital accessibility.

[130] See in subchapter 2.1. The "Angelini maps".

[131] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8622. Fol. 74.

[132] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 139.

[133] Anton Ernst Burckhard von Birckenstein, *Ertz-herzogliche Handgriffe des Zirckels und Linials, oder Ausserwehlter Anfang zu denen mathematischen Wissenschaften...* ([Budapest]: Balassi : OSZK, 2001).

2.1. The "Angelini maps"

The members of the Angelini family were one of the first military engineers of the forming Habsburg Monarchy, who were specialized in cartography. In the middle of the sixteenth century, there was no institutionalized framework for their activity, they worked for specific assignments as military engineers (Militäringenieur). Their work involved detailed surveying and mapping of strongholds of a region, as well the design of the new fortification system and conducting or monitoring constructions. Although military cartography become a profession in the second half of the seventeenth century, specialization can be detected already in the sixteenth century.[134] For instance, among the names who are in contact with the Angelini family or Kisvárda, Giulio Turco, one of the best-known military engineers of the Transdanubian region, dealt extensively with cartography, while Ottavio Baldigara was rather specialized in construction and engineering work in the territory of Hungary. The Angelini family seems to have specialized in surveying the Upper Hungarian and Croatian regions.

The albums, mapping the frontline, depicting exact castles, or distributing new building techniques, were made for everyday use by the rulers and the military leadership, so these were highly important documents of military intelligence.[135]

Due to the fact that three different members of the Angelini family were working on the Ottoman borderlands, planning and surveying military objects, there has been much misunderstanding and debate about the origin and dating of their maps. Lately, Géza Pálffy wrote the historiography of the research on these maps and collected new archival data for separating the authors and their works. The Hungarian research in many cases previously even considered that the names Niccolò and Natale Angelini in the written sources refer to the same

[134] Géza Pálffy, *A haditérképészet kezdetei a Habsburg Monarchiában* (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2011), 27–28.

[135] Pálffy, 60.

person, and Natale's son, Paolo's name was unknown.[136] Unfortunately, because they worked together, apart from the authorship of the signed works, the other maps cannot be identified beyond any doubt,[137] but some biographical data can help to the actual dating of the works.

The research conducted by Géza Pálffy in the Archives of Vienna, overviewing the contracts, letters, and bills of the "Angelini family workshop", revealed that its members were Natale, his younger brother Niccolò, and Natale's son Paolo.[138] Ferdinand Opll added complementary data found in the Styrian Provincial Archives.[139] The Angelinis were in the service of the Viennese Court's Aulic War Council for different lengths of time partly as practitioners in fortress construction, partly as planners and draftsmen. Their work can be followed from the mid-1560s to the second half of the 1570s.

Natale Angelini from Milan was the first member to work for the Habsburgs and establish his family's existence. His presence in the court can be proven between 1557 and 1574, where he is mentioned as "Baumeister", master builder. He visited the Upper Hungarian region in 1565, 1572, and other parts of Hungary seven times. His son, Paolo worked with him and can be found in the sources till 1575.[140]

Niccolò Angelini appears in 1566 in the sources, but Pállfy considers that he took part in his brother's business since 1564. He demonstrably worked for the Aulic War Council between 1567 and 1571, and he got travel permissions to the borders between 1569 and 1571. From 1577 he was in the Aulic War Council's service again, but in this period it is known that he was on the Transdanubian border, in southwestern Hungary with Pietro Ferrabosco and Ottavio Baldigara. By the middle of the 1580s, he disappears from the sources.[141]

[136] Pálffy, 11.
[137] Opll, Krause, and Sonnlechner, *Wien als Festungsstadt im 16. Jahrhundert*, 11.
[138] Pálffy, *Haditérképészet*, 11–13.
[139] Opll, Krause, and Sonnlechner, *Wien als Festungsstadt im 16. Jahrhundert*, 21–38.
[140] Pálffy, *Haditérképészet*, 14–21.
[141] Pálffy, 22–25.

Eight depictions in this group are ground plans finished in different quality connected to the production or to the influence of the Angelini family. In the following, I will refer to the sources according to their storage location. One can divide them into two groups according to their quality. The *first group*, consisting of five maps can be connected directly to the Angelini family members or their workshop. These are in the two Vienna albums (*Figure 5*, *Figure 7*), the two Dresden albums of the Saxon State Archives (Sächsisches Staatsarchiv)[142] and the one preserved in Karlsruhe (*Figure 8*).[143] While the *second type* is surely a production of copying, and as far as they are similar to each other, these could be copied from one ancestor, or one of them was the basis of further copies. One depiction kept in the Bavarian State Library (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) Munich (*Figure 9*), one in Stuttgart (*Figure 11*), and one in Stockholm (*Figure 10*) belong here.[144]

Unfortunately, the maps in the albus kept in the Saxon State Archives of were not available online, but in their catalog, Kisvárda is listed among the folio titles. Their study will be the next step of research, here I just refer to them according to secondary literature. Not taking the primary sources into my hand has also other disadvantages, I could not see the material in real life, attribute or define "hands", or specify paper mills by embossment.[145]

[142] Saxon State Archives 12884 Karten und Risse, Schr. 26, F. 96, Nr. 6. https://www.archiv.sachsen.de/archiv/bestand.jsp?guid=210e95ff-ef5f-4760-b07e-81380637f75c. Saxon State Archives 12884 Karten und Risse, Schr. 26, F. 96, Nr. 11. https://www.archiv.sachsen.de/archiv/bestand.jsp?guid=88a7ab9b-011e-4f5b-bc85-18148a2a7e22

[143] Five can be connected to the production of the Angelini family. Two preserved in Vienna (ÖNB Ms. 8607 Fol. 6r, 8609 Fol. 71); two in Dresden (Sächsisches Staatsarchiv 12884 Karten und Risse, Schr. 26, F. 96, Nr. 6 and Nr. 11.); and one in Karlsruhe (Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Gebundene Karten und Pläne Hfk. [Hausfideikommiss], Bd. XV.).

[144] The other three manuscripts are copies of an original, now in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, BSB Cod. icon. 141.), Stuttgart (György Kisari Balla, *Száz várrajz Württembergben [Hundert Festungspläne in Württemberg; A hundred castle depictions in Wüttemberg]*, trans. Piroska Draskóczy (Budapest: Szerzői kiadás, 1998), 139.) and Stockholm (György Kisari Balla, *Törökkori várrajzok Stockholmban [Ottoman era castle drawings in Stockholm]*, trans. Andrea Rohály (Budapest: Szerzői kiadás, 1996), 119.)

[145] Opll, Krause, and Sonnlechner, *Wien als Festungsstadt im 16. Jahrhundert*, 73–74.

Niccolò Angelini's signature, apart from the official records, appears only on two works, on the Karlsruhe album's Upper Hungarian region's map and on one of the Dresden album's Hungary map,[146] it means that only these sheets can be attributed, but it does not mean that he drew the entire albums.

According to Pállfy's research, the family members worked together for years, visited the sites perhaps several times. He argues that the first set of maps of the Upper Hungarian region was in all likelihood drawn by Natale (and perhaps with the help of Niccolò) after his first visit in 1565. This template should have been used as a basis for later works but did not survive or still has not been found. According to his understanding, the maps were improved, and became more and more accurate during the years. He suggests that in 1574 Paolo Angelini made a revised version incorporating their and others' newer or upgraded works, which compilation is in the Vienna Album I.[147] He argues that the Vienna Album II, both Dresden albums and the one in Karlsruhe were also the copies of Natale's survey of 1565, made after 1572.[148]

In the case of Kisvárda István Éri identified the depiction of the castle in the Karlsruhe album[149] and in the Vienna Album I,[150] supposing that these were Niccolò Angelini's works. Although he believed that Natale and Niccolò are the same persons, his dating of their works in the Hungarian territory was set right between 1564 and 1574, based on Borbély's research. Éri considered that the map of Kisvárda has been made by Niccolò Angelini in the 1560s and 1570s, and the fortification was made between 1580 and 1585 under the lead of Ottavio

[146] Pálffy, *Haditérképészet*, 25.

[147] The editing of the album could be started by Natale Angelini in 1572, but it is not known if he could have finished it before 1574.

[148] Pálffy, *Haditérképészet*, 40–41; Pálffy, 56–63.

[149] Lajos Glaser, *A Karlsruhei Gyűjtemények Magyarvonatkozású Térképanyaga [The Karlsruhe Assamblage's Maps in Hungarian Relaton]* (Budapest, 1933), 37.

[150] Andor Borbély, "Adatok a magyar várak és városok ábrázolásához a 16-17. századból," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 1932, no. 33 (1933): 174–76.

Baldigara.[151] After Géza Pálffy's research I believe, that the Vienna Album I can be dated more exactly. In line with this, the album's depiction of Kisvárda (*Figure 5*) is a compilation by Paolo Angelini's, based on his father's, Natale's 1565 work and was made around 1574.

The quality difference is striking between the maps cited above and the ones in the Stockholm and Stuttgart edition, published by Kisari, and the one in the Munich. Although surely these are based on some of the Angelini's maps, the collections were made for an unknown purpose, with alternations and mistakes. What can make these maps interesting is that the different periods are marked with diverse coloring. György Domokos dates the Stockholm map to the second half of the sixteenth century and highlights that in case of other castles and towns fortifications the different coloring can mean plans, occasionally not constructed.[152]

How to interpret what is seen on the maps? In all of the depictions of Kisvárda the brick castle's rounded and square-shaped towers are marked, and the southern, eastern, and northern wings were standing around the yard. Presumably, some wooden buildings were adjunct to these but were not marked on the maps. The brick castle is standing in the middle of a multiple times fortified mound, and it is not easy to see the difference between marshlands and the banks. On the colored Vienna Album I and II depictions it can be observed, that two artificial moats around the castle are separated from the marshland with earthworks. I consider the purple and blue parts as marshland, and the green, brownish and white surfaces of the Vienna maps as mainlands, but these lines were not unequivocal for the map drawers either. On the known Stockholm, Dresden and Stuttgart maps the marking is reverse. Generally, there are three lines

[151] Éri, "A kisvárdai vár reneszánsz faragványtöredékei [Renaissance carved stone fragments of Kisvárda Castle]," 134–37.

[152] György Domokos, "Törökkori Várrajzok Stockholmban. Beszámoló a Stockholmi Királyi Hadilevéltárban Végzett Kutatásról [Ottoman Era Castle Drawings in Stockholm. Report on the Research Made in the Royal Military Archives]," *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 112, no. 1 (1990): 114–15.

of earthworks depicted, which can be periodized to different eras. In most of the depictions, two land extensions can be seen on the western and on the southern side, from which wooden plank roads lead to the bank of the central earthwork.

The innermost earthwork was made on the mound where the brick castle is standing. The squarish inner palisade is fortified with four smaller bastions or roundels. On the Vienna Album I and II depictions of the castle even the palisade's timbers are marked as a dotted line. The corner fortifications are hard to define with proper terminology because they seem to be an early form of bastions on the western side, maybe rebuilt from roundels. However, on the Vienna Album I drawing one row of posts can be seen, while the curtain walls have double rows of posts. The interior parts of the northern bastions have different color marking: their inner part had either a raised or a lowered surface. I would rather say these were gun terraces. The palisade is surrounded by a wide, elliptical moat, and all the brick castle, the inner palisade, and the moat have an entrance and a bridge on the northern side. On the reversed-coloring maps (Stockholm and Munich) around the inner palisade, the moat is really narrow. The structure was dated to the fifteenth century by István Éri, based on his archaeological excavations.

The second terrain relief has two earthwork lines. There is an oval-shaped, small towered line, which can be more of a fence-like structure because on the Vienna Album I, it is marked with a dotted line as well. In all of the depictions, it is open on the southern side, although the oval terrain relief is there. On the Vienna and Karlsruhe maps, it is highlighted with the coloring, but on the northern side, the bastioned palisade cuts its line several times. The six bastioned fortification line is also marked on this terrain relief, and it seems also unfinished on the southern side. On the maps in Vienna, the oval-shaped towered and the six bastioned lines are overlapping in a way that it cannot be decided which one was standing and which was a plan at the time of the drawing, or if they existed at the same time. A remarkable feature, that is more obvious on the Karlsruhe map is that the northern bastions are left white, but the

southern, southwestern, and western bastions are filled with the lighter color - these could be plans at the time. Their structure is more developed, the faces and flanks (shoulders) of the bastions are bigger and longer, and they contain casemates in order to allow flanked firing. In the Vienna Album II depiction, the eastern bastion's southern face seems to be built from bricks.

Similar features of development can be seen in the drawing of Casovia (Kassa, Košice, in Slovakia), a towered brick wall has been rebuilt with roundels, then improved to palisade bastions, and at the end flanking bastions. Éri dated to the sixteenth century this "Italian Trace" defensive system based on the written sources. (*Figure 6*)

The outermost line of earthwork seems to be connected to the inner, oval-shaped fortification lines. No built structure can be observed on it, only in the Munich depiction is it marked as a moat. (*Figure 9*)

The "Angelini maps" and albums are interesting from one more aspect. Kisvárda belonged to the Upper Hungarian region, which has a signed depiction in the Karlsruhe album, by Niccolò Angelini, and the map's copy is in the Vienna Album I (*Figure 5*), thus made by Paolo Angelini in 1574.[153] As the maps were up-to-date to the current military situation, the Ottoman frontline can be studied on them, and maybe further refinement can be done on their dating. The maps show that Kisvárda was a small or middle-sized castle in the region, between the important fortifications of Sárospatak and Tokaj from the west, and Kálló, Ecsed and Szamosnémeti from the east. While it is also interesting, that although the was no fort southern of Kálló till Debrecen the Habsburgs claimed the territory as their own.

The Upper Hungarian region's map can be studied from the perspective of the natural environment. (*Figure 3, Figure 4*)

[153] Pálffy, *Haditérképészet*, 10.

2.2. The Ledentu veduta

The most useful view, veduta was made in 1639 by the Austrian engineer, Johann Ledentu, or "Le Dentu", how he signed some of his drawings. (*Figure 13, Figure 14*) He was born in 1602 and died in 1654, was working in the service of the court, according to the official records in 1633, 1637, and 1639.[154]

Two albums are preserved in the Austrian National Library, one is a sketchbook of the author's 75 drawings, which probably got to the library after Ledentu's death,[155] the other collection of more elaborate 50 drawings was made for the ruler, Ferdinand III and was taken into inventory immediately.[156] The collections are pen and ink drawings of towns' and castles' fortifications including colored ground plans and views as well, some of the sites have both the ground plan and the view.[157]

The sketchbook only contains the veduta of Kisvárda Castle (*Figure 12*), unfortunately, without a ground plan. It still provides a good overview of the palisade's parts that are not vailable for archeological investigation, the new, seventeenth-century buildings, and maybe the wooden structures which were not depicted by the Angelinis.

The picture was drawn from the west side of the castle, so it contains most information about these buildings. The roof structure of the four brick towers is identifiable, but otherwise, most of the inner castle is obscured by an at least two-story building to the west, presumably built outside of the inner castle. The inner castle's western (or eastern?) and southern wings

[154] Borbély, "Adatok a magyar várak és városok ábrázolásához a 16-17. századból," 182.

[155] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8622. (https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3226228&order=1&view=SINGLE)

[156] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8623. (https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_9015401&order=1&view=SINGLE)

[157] Borbély, "Adatok a magyar várak és városok ábrázolásához a 16-17. századból," 178.

seem to be higher than this building and the towers. Outside of the castle on the south, there are more buildings attached to the south wing, their functions cannot be identified.

To the large western building attached from the north, a high palisade structure stands, most likely the inner palisade's northwest bastion. On the outer palisade, bastion forms with angled walls cannot really be detected. Although there is a difference between the walls, on the north there is a part where the vertical posts sharpened ends hang out from the wattle and daub structure, this part has also loopholes and a small guardhouse, or lookout post, and after the gate, the wall does not have any special features. A western wooden bridge and wooden pathway are leading to the gate. South of the western building the palisade has again loopholes, sharpened timbers, and lookout posts. In my opinion, these can be the bastions.

This idea is built upon the depictions of Verebel (Fol 17-18. Verebély, *Figure 13, Figure 14*, Vráble, Slovakia), which has its fortification illustrated on a ground plan as well as on a birds-eye-view veduta. The viewpoint, the more detailed picture, and the partially declining structure help to get a better understanding of the palisade. The earth-and-wood structure is similar to the bastions on the Kisvárda depiction bastions: vertical retraining posts covered with wattle and daub technique, are supporting the here noticeable raised floor of the bastions. The post's top ends are sharpened, and there are narrow, long loopholes built between the posts, also the small guardhouses are standing at the pointed ends of the bastions.

Two more details should be highlighted. The Verebel ground plan has a section drawing of the palisade on the left margin. The profile and the ground plan shows the moat as a narrow construction, its soil must have been used on the inner side of the palisade.

2.3. The Nypoort veduta

The veduta was published in Anthoni Ernst Burckhard von Birckenstein's work "Das Geometriebuch des Kronprinzen", the geometry study book of the crown prince, in Vienna

1686.[158] The educational geometry book enjoyed great popularity, was reprinted in eight editions. It included depictions of 110 Hungarian towns and forts from the seventeenth century, etched by Justus van den Nypoort. He was a Dutch painter, draftsman, mezzotinter, etcher, and publisher, his signature was identified as late as 1957. [159]

The etchings have a different state of authenticity, some claim that the artist visited Hungary, but this cannot be proven. The etching of Kisvárda Castle is the 85th depiction (*Figure 15, Figure 16*), although seems to rely on previous sources, whether written or pictural, it is not useful for detailed examination. For example, the castle moat and the shape of the castle seem to be credible, but the mountains in the background are illusory.

2.4. The seventeenth-century sketch

Éri and Simon also cite a seventeenth-century ground plan of unknown origin (*Figure 17*).[160] Though this ground plan is not punctual this is the only one from the seventeenth century showing those later buildings which are presumably recognizable on the Ledentu veduta, and mentioned and described in some of the inventories. Thus, some military buildings and the seventeenth-century chapel in the south-west bastion can be observed inside the territory of the outer castle. Also, the middle-palisade construction seems to be demolished, perhaps some parts of the moat were in function, but otherwise, new buildings were standing on them.

[158] Birckenstein, *Ertz-herzogliche Handgriffe des Zirckels und Linials, oder Ausserwehlter Anfang zu denen mathematischen Wissenschaften...* No. 85.

[159] György Rózsa, "A Birckenstein-féle metszetes könyv," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 73.5, no. 1 (1957): 25–26.

[160] Éri, "A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]," 18.

Chapter 3
Archaeological excavations

3.1. István Éri's excavations

Modern archaeological research started in 1954, as a part of a restoration project (1959-1961), excavations were carried out under the leadership of István Éri and Péter Németh (*Figure 27*). This excavation can be interpreted as a planned research excavation only in the year 1957. Earlier the construction of the football field, later the castle's renovation work was going on in parallel with the archaeological fieldwork. About the circumstances and finds of the research, which influenced the reconstruction work, more information is offered in the subchapter 1.3.

At this time the palisade structure was identified in two areas around the brick castle. In 1954, the northeast bastion, and the southern part two palisade lines in 1957. The large surface of the inner palisade was excavated in 1960, on the eastern and western side of the northern rounded towers.

In 1954, before the demolition of the northeastern bastion, Éri examined its structure with three trenches. In trench 1954/II was the best-preserved palisade structure excavated (*Figure 29*). According to his observation, the structure of the palisade was built with alternating layers of compressed wattle and clay (10-40 centimeters of thickness), and these layers were supported by three rows of posts, with horizontal beams between them. Here the structure was eroded partially, so the whole width of the palisade was around 6-8 meters. Éri reconstructed the building of the palisade as follows: The subsoil was sloping to the east in this area, so they created a flat, clay basis. The outer face of this base was reinforced by posts, made of sharpened timbers, found 4 to 5 meters deep under the ground level. These vertical elements were

strengthened with 2 meters long horizontal beams to the middle row of timbers, at the height of the top of the basis. The wall was built up between the central and outer timbers from wattle and clay so that the outer side was steep, but the inner side was more sloping. Here less deeply founded, but more closely spaced, rectangular section decks were established, which were reinforced to each other horizontally with planks laid lengthwise. Éri thought that this formed an parapet walk, so the guards could walk around on the top. Based on the thicker layer of parapet walk on top of the filling, a parapet on the outside of the walkway was made of wattle and daub. The same structure could be observed in the trench 1954/III, although in the first trench no posts, just clay, and wattle remains were found.

South of the brick castle in trench 1957/I, Éri excavated two lines of the palisade structure (*Figure 30, Figure 31*).

The inner palisade's four rows of posts were supporting the soil leaning to the castle's wall (*Figure 32, Figure 33*). The postholes were found 2 meters under the contemporary ground level and formed a 4.5-5 meters wide structure. Starting from the inside, the first and second rows were set 40 centimeters from each other, the second and the third rows were separated by 180 centimeters, and the third and the fourth rows bx 80-90 centimeters. The postholes were about 25-30 centimeters in diameter, set 30 centimeters from each other in a row.

At the southern bank of the palisade, a 2 meters wide and 1.5 meters deep castle moat was created in parallel with the fortification.

The outer line's construction was similar, with small alterations in case of the northeastern bastion. Apart from the three lines of vertical posts, on the outside, a fourth row of smaller timbers (with a diameter of 10 cm) was added, angled at 45 degrees. The vertical posts were set 2-2 meters from each other (*Figure 34, Figure 35*), the middle one was two times denser,[161]

[161] 10-20 cm spaced to each other.

but the beams were of smaller, 30–40-centimeter diameter. Between the three rows, clay and sand levels piled up, and horizontal beams were added to consolidate the layers (*Figure 36*). In the outer supporting row, the post's ends were sharpened (*Figure 37*), but in the inner ones only about every second of them. The post holes with a flat bottom were not as deep as the sharpened ones.

Éri dated the inner palisade and the moat to the fifteenth century and the outer, bastioned palisade to the sixteenth century, by the shape of the structures and the finds. Presumably, his dating was also affected by the dating of the Angelini maps.

In 1960, a 5 meters wide zone was excavated on the northern side of the castle, through both of the rounded towers. Éri, besides noticing that the fifteenth-century palisade's other part was unearthed, did not make any comment on the structures. Outside the western tower the layout of the postholes was chaotic, none of the lines are convincing at the first sight, but on the eastern side nine rows can be identified. A single line is surrounded on both sides by 2-2 pairs of post rows. The palisade was 8 meters wide, and the space between the doubled rows was 1.5 meters, 0.7 meters, 0.7 meters, and 1.5 meters again on the outer side. The post's diameter was similarly about 30 centimeters.

3.2. Preliminary research of the Castle and Mansion program

More than a half-century after the last excavations, the National Castle and Mansion Program was initiated by the Gyula Forster National Heritage and Asset Management Centre (Forster Központ). However, most of the preliminary research was carried out by its successors, the Buda Castle Estate Development and Organisation Nonprofit Private Limited Company and the later National Heritage-Protection and Development Nonprofit Private Limited Company (NÖF). The consecutive process of preliminary research methods, many circumstances hindered the research. At the time of these investigations, the photo, survey, and

plan collections of the OMF and its successor institutions were not available,[162] it was not sure how accurate were the surveys of the excavation horizontally, and the documentation available did not contain any absolute vertical data.

Regarding the monument's walls, it was known, that no building archaeological research was carried out, and it was unknown whether any notes or sketches were made during the previous restoration project. At the same time, it seemed, that the construction managers,[163] made many observations in the construction diary.

The building research started with the building history assessment of Norbert Jankovics,[164] which was made for the application process of the funding program. It was followed by a partial building research by the team of Levente Csomortány in 2018,[165] when in vertical cross-sections, or in "research windows" the plaster layers, the wall structure, and in general the building periods were analyzed. Usually, this method generates more questions, and for answering most of them more extensive research is needed on the site, usually during the construction period.

Regarding the archaeological research, problems also occurred. The documentations of Éri's excavations were accessible in the archives of the Hungarian National Museum, but it was not sure whether the institution had all the documentation. It was not sure how accurate were the surveys of the excavation (size and extension of the excavated area), and the available documentation did not contain any absolute vertical data. Because of the many recent constructions in the inner castle, the relative vertical data were not reliable.

[162] The collections reopened in the last months of 2019.

[163] One name among them (*felelős műszaki vezetők)* was László Ágostházi, who was an entrant of OMF by the time, where he became an emblematic person of Hungarian monument protection practice. He was also a professor at the Budapest University of Technology.

[164] Jankovics, "Ép. tört. tud. dok."

[165] Levente Csomortány et al., "Kutatási dokumentáció, Kisvárda Vár utca 33/c [Research document of Kisvárda, Vár street 33/c building]" (working paper, independent researchers, October 12, 2018). Because of the contract terms its data is non citable.

In the territory of the palisade, many earthworks were also carried out in comparison to the photos of the 1960s. Because the mounds were still visible, it was clear that the remains of the fortifications are under the surface, but their extension and degree of erosion were not known, also their outline needed accurate for the reconstruction.

Another issue was that the scheduling of the demolition works of the old theatre structures. This process has determined the schedule and the extent of the excavations, which were carried out in several phases. In order to start the research, the construction area had to be cleared, so the work started in 2017, with the demolition of the auditorium. Its pillar foundations made of concrete, were lifted out during archaeological observation.

However, this work was not teeming in archaeological data, it become clear, that during the building of the open-air theatre, the curtain walls planned by Császár were dismantled down to the level of the foundations, and then they were rebuilt. Also, the construction work of the auditorium, orchestra pit, and the enlargement of the stage involved a great deal of leveling and the destruction of archaeological layers, features, and walls. However, after clearing the space from the modern structures, directly under them medieval layers appeared.

The first phases of the archaeological research were very much in the service of architectural planning. The collecting and mapping of the data from the available archives were followed by localizing horizontally and vertically the actual archaeological remains and their relation to the modern reconstruction, the previous surveys going back to the sixteenth century.

Regarding the castle's environment the research possibilities were delimited in another way. It was quite straightforward that later the financial possibilities and the time limit will not allow such research, as the features of the program will have to be prioritized.

3.2.1. Geophysical survey

The archaeological research of the "castle garden" after collecting and mapping the data from the available archives was followed by a geophysical survey. The inner castle was not suitable for this research method because of its small area between the modern curtain walls, and the recent construction remains - the concrete foundations of the auditorium - could also disturb the data.

A geophysical survey is a non-destructive research method that first of all is effective for mapping large areas. It offers an accurate understanding of the subsurface for a relatively low cost. Thus, analyzing the geophysical survey data, the more expensive and time-consuming archaeological excavation can be rationalized. Trial trenches can be placed in a more informed way, and the relevant excavation method can be selected. Moreover, these instruments could be used on a functioning football field, where the destructive excavation methods could not. The survey was successful, in locating the remains and the extent of the fortifications. Some anomalies clearly indicated implied walls, as it will be presented below.

Two types of geophysical survey methods were used in the surrounding of the castle. With the measuring of electrical resistivity, cross-sections were created, and profiles of the palisade structure were gained. For generating the 3D geophysical models ground penetrating radar survey method[166] was used, because this measurement type is more efficient, and faster in big areas. [167]

From the 3D model the most relevant depth pictures were exported. On these, the structure of the palisade can be detected as a firm, more concise, outward descending layer, which

[166] The ground-penetrating radar survey included 4876 square meters in total.

[167] The data was processed by Zsombor Klembala, a geophysicist, and interpreted by László Nagy, an archaeologist, both working in the Buda Castle Estate Development and Organisation Nonprofit Private Limited Company. László Nagy, "Kutatási jelentés a Kisvárda – Vár lelőhely területén végzett régészeti geofizikai felmérésről. [Geophisical research report on the survay of Kisvárda - Vár archaeological site.]" (working paper, Budavári Ingatlanfejlesztő és Üzemeltető Nonprofit Zrt., Budapest, 2017).

followed the topographical features of the landscape, and the lines of the Angelini map. The outline of the inner palisade, known also from the Angelini plan and the excavations of István Éri, was also visible. Moreover, traces of three built structures could be identified. One of these is most probably a seventeenth-century chapel in the middle of the southwest bastion. Another rectangular building appears on the western side of the inner castle, inside the palisade's contour, which appears also in seventeenth-century sources. And possibly that northern wall's reflections, which were excavated by Éri on the north side of the castle and dated to the seventeenth century.[168]

3.2.2. Trial trench excavation in the inner castle

In the autumn of 2017, Attila Jakab has carried out a trial trench excavation. The excavation of the inner castle was very limited, from the 750 square meters of the total surface only 130 could be opened (*Figure 56*). The reason was that the 1970s curtain walls could not be dismantled from the project money until the beginning of the actual construction work. Consequently, one problem was the deposition of the excavated soil, the other was that a distance had to be kept from the curtain walls due to the static issues. Thus, all along with the project, the full surface excavation was planned for a later phase.

Trial trench excavation is a preliminary research method that provides archaeological data of the concerned area for the investor before the architect's planning period. It can help to find and to localize archaeological features on the building plot, so the investor can calculate with the time and cost of further excavations. In this case, the archaeological site was known, and trial trench excavation was used to provide data to the architect, Zoltán Wittinger, about the in situ, protected monument parts under the surface for an authentic reconstruction, and for the layout of the foundations of the modern? reconstruction. Although, I do not want to present my

[168] Nagy, 16.

fellow researcher's finds before their publication, I have to emphasize that in two trenches the medieval, stone foundations of the curtain walls were found, and surveyed by Zoltán Fullár and myself. These data were available for the architect from 24.11.2017. The modern brick walls were directly built on the foundations, and according to the excavation photos of 1957 and 1960, the foundations were lying approximately at the same depth.

In the autumn of 2017 Attila Jakab, an archaeologist of the András Jósa Museum, excavated 130 square meters of the inner castle. The main objective of the trial trench excavation was to survey with modern geodesic methods the castle's walls and wall foundations that were found during previous excavations and define their exact horizontal and vertical position. As a result of this, two parts of the foundation of the curtain wall, and the main features of the eastern and the northern palace wing were found. Another aim was to determine the stratigraphic features (e. g. the depth of the bedrock) of the castle wings and the courtyard (where the written sources mentioned a well), in order to define the budget for the further excavations.[169]

3.2.3. Trial trench excavation of the palisade

The second part of the trial trench excavation concentrated on the palisade structures (*Figure 56*).[170] In total, we opened 17 trenches of 382 square meters. One aspect of the research was the answering of the architectural questions about the features and location of the palisade. Another was the detailed archaeological investigation and the dating of the palisades. However, it was also crucial to see to what extent can Angelini's drawing be considered authentic.

[169] Attila Jakab, "Kisvárda belső vár, próbafeltárás ásatási jelentés. [Kisvárda Castle, inner castle trial trench excavation short report.]" (working paper, Jósa András Múzeum, Nyíregyháza, 2017), 2–10.

[170] Zsófia Nádai, "Kisvárda, vár turisztikai célú fejlesztése. Belső vár és Palánkrendszer. (GINOP-7.1.1.-15-2016-00020). Előzetes Régészeti Dokumentáció (ERD). [Kisvárda Castle, inner castle and castle garden preliminary archaeological documentation (PAD).]" (working paper, Várkapitányság Nonprofit Zrt., Budapest, 2019), 10–12.

Although, trial trench excavations are useful to gain data quickly and to see the features generally, but archaeological research is not predictable to all extent, as features can change in every meter. In the opened trenches, the layers were all disturbed to a depth of 1 meter from the present surface, and at the castle yard's surrounding brick walls, the surface was lowered at least 0.8 meters. Archaeological data remained intact in the lower 1.5-2-meter section of the posts – here post-holes appeared to be preserved. From the profiles it was clearly identifiable that once the palisade lost its defensive function, the vertical piles were deliberately removed. (*Figure 67*) It seems that the local people reused the timbers as well, not just the bricks. In some cases, during this process, the timbers were broken in the subsoil, and because of the wet and muddy conditions, the sharpened ends buried in the subsoil were preserved. During the excavation, we took samples from these wooden elements, which were sent for laboratory analysis.[171]

The second phase of trial trench excavation in the autumn of 2018 was led by myself, and carried out by Castle Headquarters Nonprofit Ltd (Várkapitányság Nonprofit Zrt.).[172] During the eight weeks, a total of 17 trenches were opened in the territory of the palisade, except the northern and northeast parts because of the functioning football field. In the south, west, and east of the castle building the fortification system was investigated, taking into account previously presented documentation data and geophysical survey results.

Modern construction and landscaping work largely destroyed the layers down to the depth of 1 meter from the present surface. Even in a much-disturbed area, the lower, 1.5-2 meters'

[171] András Grynaeus, "Vizsgálati eredmény a kisvárdai vár területén 2018-ban feltárt famaradványok elemzéséről. [Laboratory analysis of the wooden remains, excavated at Kisvárda Castle, 2018.]" (working paper, Cincér Bt., Budapest, 2019).

[172] My colleges contributed to the work, here I would like to thank them for their supporting: Dóra Hegyi, Mária Búth, Virág Kristóf, Renáta Szabó, Erzsébet Karsainé Hanusi, Zoltán Vinis, Zoltán Fullár, János Makó, Gábor Linz, László Pokorni. Special thanks to the archaeology students of ELTE, Sára Balázs, Zsófia Mayer and Ágnes Font.

section of the layers survived, which shows the effort and the extent of the construction work. Another destruction period affected also the archaeological data: it was visible in the profile of trench 1. of the northwestern bastion Similarly to the above-mentioned example, not only the brick structures were dug up, removed, and reused in the settlement during the nineteenth century, but so were the timbers of the palisade.

The remains of the inner palisade were found on the southern side, in trench 5 (and its extension), trench 7, and trench 8. (*Figure 57*) The structure of the palisade appeared on the northern side just 40 centimeters under the surface level, thus since Éri's excavation, the surface around the castle had been lowered about 0.8-1.6 meters. What could be observed was similar to what Éri has described, but at some points, the building and demolishing methods and also the dating could be described in a more detailed way.

The fortification here had been built of four rows of posts, in the eastern side the inner row was placed 5.5 meters south of the wall, and the whole structure was 4 meters wide as well. In trench 8, the semi-circular bastion that fortified the southeast corner was also unearthed. Both in the trenches and in the larger surface opened west of trench 5 it was clearly visible, that narrow trenches were dug into the surface, in which the constructors inserted the wooden elements. When filling in the space between the posts clay mixed with whitewash was used. Smaller branches of 10 centimeters in diameter stood between the timbers, presumably these were parts of a wattle and daub filling. (*Figure 59*)

The postholes had mostly 20-25 centimeters of diameter, but some were broader than 40 centimeters. Unfortunately, it turned out that the metrical data of the postholes cannot be used directly for the reconstruction of the palisade, because the timbers were taken out and reused. When demolishing the palisade, the postholes were unintentionally enlarged, which was clear from the traces where the postholes themselves were larger than the trench dug for their placing.

No wooden parts were found, presumably, because the posts did not reach the subsoil. They were not preserved without the subsoil water, or they were removed as a whole.

In trench 5, under the structure described above, remains of another, earlier palisade were unearthed. (*Figure 58*) The nine posts, unfortunately, neither preserved, were placed in trenches dug into the subsoil. (Their postholes are marked with green on the ground plan. (*Figure 57*) The few potsherds found around them were plane, non-characteristic pieces, they cannot be dated more accurately than to the fifteen-sixteenth century.

The castle moat and the rubbish layers formed in it were found in trench 7. (*Figure 62*) In my understanding, the preserved moat was about 5 meters wide at the bottom, between the two palisade structures. At the bottom of the moat, on the sloping subsoil a clay layer, full of small organic residues and wattle was preserved (STR-254, *Figure 63*). The northern side of this layer covered the inner palisade, moreover, south of the outer palisade structure was built on it. The layer could be dated by two coins of Ferdinand I, one of them from the year 1543. Thus, both palisades' relative dating can be linked to an absolute date.[173] Thus the coin for the inner palisade gave *a terminus ante quem*, and for the outer palisade *a terminus post quem* dating. This watertight clay layer could have been formed naturally during the time when just the inner palisade was standing, or it could have been deliberately laid on the muddy surface so that the outer palisade structure could be accessible and could be built. Unfortunately, the layer could not be followed to its whole extent, because the modern road of the park at the end of trench 7 could not be demolished.

Many interesting finds were discovered from layers that formed during the moat's use. A bronze heart-shape-headed ring, a fragment of a stove tile depicting a horse-man, and one with an angel imprint, potsherds from the end of the sixteenth century. The best dating object was a

[173] Although it is known that the minting of a coin does not refer to when it had been lost, for now, this is one of the most accurate finds archaeologists can work with.

lead seal, a trademark from the beginning of the sixteenth century (*Figure 61*). The front of the seal shows a wild boar in the center, with the inscription SCHWEIDNICENSIS. The reverse is fragmentary, but in all likelihood it is inscribed [CI]VI/TAS, indicating that it is a city-level authentication. The cloth stamped with this seal was of higher quality fabric, coming from Schweidnitz (now Świdnica) in Polish Silesia.[174]

The structure of the outer palisade was studied at trench 6. (*Figure 64*) Similarly to Éri's finds both in trench 1954/II and trench 1957/I the palisade was supported by three main rows of posts, and one additional on the outer side, built from smaller elements. The phenomena described by Éri were provable, even if the northernmost row was not accessible in 2018, because of the park road. On the slope firstly the firm basis was established from clay on the two sides of the outer, third row of posts. Then on this basis, was the whole construction built, between the tree post rows with the addition of some smaller vertical branches, yellowish and gray clay, wattle, and soil mixed with whitewash layers were piled up, for stabilization. Between the second and third rows, vertical rows of some horizontal elements were laid, and some horizontal postholes were revealed in the profiles. The supplementary fourth row was shielding the wattle and daub covering from the outside. The posts' ends were sharpened to square-cross-sectioned. Three of the posts we took out and sent to laboratory analysis. One of them, sample 2, (STR-98) had an absolute date of 1601. It was in the northeast corner of the trench, so presumably in the second row of the structure.

Similar fragmented parts of the outer palisade's construction could be observed on the western side, however, not in detail, because of the public utilities in trench 15, and trenches 3-4, the upper 2 meters of the soil was largely disturbed.

[174] Fort he identification of the seal I am grateful to Maxim Mordovin.

The surface of the northwestern bastion rose beyond the western end of the trial trench, so the whole cross-section of the palisade could not be investigated in trench 1 (*Figure 65*). Most probably, the innermost row or rows of posts were outside of the trench. But even in the excavated area, the structure of the excavated palisade differs from the other presented parts, thus, here I will number the rows from the outside. The first, most outside one was here similar to the previously described additional wattle and daub rows. The alternation happened inner, the second row contained double posts, and between the second and the third rows of posts many impressions horizontally laid timbers were identified. Unfortunately, the condition of the wooden elements was poor, so it is unknown if they were joined to each other, but nails were not found around. The 1-meter-long horizontal beams were at right angles to each other, forming small squares to the line of the palisade. (*Figure 68*) Placed on top of each other, they formed cassettes, filled up with the same layers as inside: clay, soil mixed with whitewash, and wattle was piled up. On the top of the structure a thick, yellow clay layer was laid, but it is unknown what was its relation to the vertical elements because the latter was demolished.

It is still unclear, whether the structure of the palisade was different in the bastions, and that is the reason for the different techniques, or they were built in different periods.

For the investigation of the territory of the gates, the available surface for the excavation was not enough, even for the localization of their openings, and structure. The excavated parts belonged either to the curtain walls, or bastions, but it is barely known how palisades gates looked like above and under the surface.

The territory of the northwestern gate was severally leveled in modern times, the remains were two meters under the surface, where the underwater rose up. In trenches 2, 13, 14, and 17 (*Figure 65*) because of the functioning football field and its fences, the space for opening the trenches was limited. Presumably, in trench 17 one row of posts of the curtain wall south of

the gate was found. Here three sharpened trunk samples were collected, all of them cut out in the same year, 1601 (*Figure 71*).

In trenches 9, and 10 opened for the localization of the southeastern gate another row of posts was found, with the trench it had been dug in. (*Figure 69*) At the intersection of the two trenches, the postholes profile could be investigated, apparently, the posts had sharpened ends. The line on the southern side has doubled row of posts, and it seems like one row turns east at the middle of the trench. (*Figure 70*) It can be either that the bending part is the southern wall of the eastern bastion or the northern part of the southeastern bastion. If we consider the Angelini map reliable, it still crosses the gate's opening. Another solution could be that this row belongs to the rounded palisade, strengthened with towers, but this is the most hypothetic version, as far as marks that fence to this area. Unfortunately, no dateable find was unearthed in this area.

3.2.4. Dendrochronological analysis

The eleven samples were examined by András Grynaeus, who performed xylotomous analysis, which identifies the tree species, and for dendrochronological investigation, for the age of the chopping down. (*Figure 72*)

The result shows that the examined details of the palisade on the western and southern sides were made simultaneously, within a short period of time, at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The building most probably happened in a hurry, using young, native oak woods with low labor input: the crust was not removed, only the ends were sharpened. The native oak types could be grouped into two types. Two-thirds of the analyzed samples belonged to type 1, which were from a higher, dryer region, from the upper area of the Carpathian Mountains, floated down on the river Tisza. The other part of the samples, type 2, was locally grown oak trees.

One sample had a direct dendrochronological date, it was collected previously from the lake situated west of the castle.[175] According to the contemporary surveys a timber road or bridge was leading to the western gate, maybe the analyzed timber can relate to this feature because it was cut down in 1618. The other wood samples were about two decades younger than this and were cut down in 1601.

As it has been noted, this preliminary research should have been the first step of the preparation of the project, but unfortunately in some cases was not followed by full research

[175] The trunks were collected by László Bodrog, local representative.

Chapter 4
Interpretation and analysis

4.1. Interpretation of the finds

According to the Angelini plans and the topographical elements still visible today, the brick castle had three fortification lines. My aim was to identify these lines in the written sources and archaeological data, so their periodization could be more accurate. In this part, I use the Angelini map versions abbreviation, described in the subchapter 2.1.

The palisade was mentioned in the written sources first in 1531 when King Ferdinand's soldiers burned it down. None of the excavation campaigns found burnt structures, thus the next speculations are all very hypothetic. On one hand, the source perhaps refers to the inner palisade's first period. It was largely demolished during the building of the inner palisade's second period; thus, the burnt elements could be removed as well. Otherwise, it can also indicate the rounded, and towered fence which appears on the depictions, but that had not been found during the excavations still. If the source refers to this fence, then it should have two periods, as far as it was depicted on the Angelini maps.

Unfortunately, apart from the Angelini maps, no data would without any doubt refer to the *rounded palisade, fortified with small rectangular towers*. In this case, I can just rely on the form, although, regarding palisade structures, it seems like the function was far more superior to form, which means that very simple forms could be built in later periods as well. In this instance, when a much more improved, bastioned palisade surely was built and their lines are overlapping, I can assume, that this fence line is prior to the bastioned construction. It would mean that the fence was built before the middle of the sixteenth century and was still standing during the Angelini family's first survey in 1565. The construction's detailed depiction, the

Vienna map I, which even marks the posts on the map also supports the theory. (Figure 2.) The situation is the same with the oval-shaped moat around the fence, its form suggests, that it is contemporary to the fence, but it can occur that the already existing terrain reliefs, early Árpádian-age or bronze-age structures were reused.

On the Vienna map I, *the inner palisade* is also detailed, on its roundels or bastions one, on the curtain walls two rows of the posts can be seen, thus the timbers could have been hanging out from the earthwork. During the excavations the inner palisade's two periods could be distinguished, even the first period cannot be older than the fifteenth century, and it was rebuilt in the second period before the middle of the sixteenth century, which was standing and surveyed during the Angelinis' first tour (1565) and was depicted several times afterward. According to István Éri's excavation, the northern part of the inner palisade was more reinforced, and more rows of posts were excavated, which is in correspondence with the fact, that the inner castle's northern gate requires a stronger defense. Comparing all the ground plans and the Ledentu veduta, it seems that the western corner fortifications, both on the north and the south had early bastion forms, and on the east corners roundels were built, which can be a result of an improved rebuilding. The inner palisade's second period, according to the Angelini maps and Ledentu veduta, was higher than the six-bastioned earthworks.

The castle moat before the building of the outer palisade could have been a partly natural partly artificial, wide, muddy area. It was slowly filling up with rubbish after the outer palisade has been built, during the use of the outer castle. Unfortunately, all the archaeological observations took place on the southern side, where the outer palisade had been built close to the inner structure, and the moat was narrow and filled up with rubbish soon. Thus, it cannot be stated for certain if there was a period of a narrow, artificial moat around the whole inner palisade like depicted on the Dresden album. Although with the analysis of the Ledentu albums by looking at the veduta and ground plan of Verebély (Figures 10a-b) a better picture can be

gained of such a construction. It seems that it was a usual fortification method, that a palisade, a moat, and a fence were constructed in sequence, defending each other, and the earthwork's soil had been amassed from the moat.

For the building period of the outer, six bastioned structure, there is more data available. Due to the Angelini family's mapping work, the castle was surveyed first around the year 1565 when they were traveling in the Upper Hungarian border zone, but unfortunately, it is not clear which parts of the drawing were plans and which were surveyed. The written sources recorded that around 1568-1570 the Chamber of Spiš financed the enlargement of the stronghold.[176] This should be in connection with a larger investment, such as the construction of the palisade. It is also known, that Ottavio Baldigara was in the fortress and conducted the building works in 1580.[177] The archaeological finds date the building after the middle of the sixteenth century.

Along these lines, the development of the stronghold started with the Angelinis' visit in and survey 1565. The plans had to be completed quickly, within months. But the construction may have been delayed, or carried out in smaller phases because the castle was besieged three times in the meantime. The building material was requested only in 1568-70, which means that at least partially the outer palisade could have been at least partially built at that time, and a new period was subsequently built under the leadership of Ottavio Baldigara in 1580. This would mean that the structure was built within 10 years, which is a long time in comparison to the size of the castle.

Unfortunately, I have not found data until know, about who could have built the castle. But the written sources of Kálló are elaborated by Gyula Koroknay, where the neighbouring petty nobles, merchants, peasants, and the mercenary of the Szatmár fort were all working on the

[176] Simon, *Kisvárda inventáriumok*, 20.

[177] Domokos, "Ottavio Baldigara. Egy itáliai várfundáló mester Magyarországon a 16. század második felében [Ottavio Baldigara. An Italian castle fundator maister in Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century]," 89.

palisade and castle moat after Miklós Báthory selected the location.[178] The fort here was built in real hurry, because the captain of Szatmár, Kristóf Teuffenbach was informed that the Ottomans ordered peasants from the neighboring villages to deliver wood and raw material in the winter of 1569-70. To forestall the Ottoman army, they had to start the work with building the palisade, but the whole structure's completion must have taken years.[179] Ottavio Baldigara was leading the construction works at Kálló, in October 1573.[180] Unfortunately, only seventeenth-century surveys are known about this fort, thus there is no data about the first form of the bastions.

At Kisvárda, dendrochronological samples could be collected only from two trenches. According to the results, the analyzed trees were cut down in the same year, and built-in both in the southern and western curtain walls. All of the examined Angelini maps classified in the first group mark the southwestern area with different colors, and also their structure is more developed. The bastion's faces and flanks (shoulders) are bigger and longer, and they are containing casemates to allow flanked firing. The outer structure had to be reinforced there because the attack came from the direction of the settlement.

This dendrochronological data of 1601 show that the building had not been finished in the 1580s on the south side, or because of a threat, a quick renovation occurred. Whether the structure was built, reinforced, developed, or renovated at the turn of the sixteenth century, it cannot be said without doubt. The sample analysis showed that the raw material was cut down at a young age and was not processed well, the bark was not even removed from the trunks. Wasting the resources in this way can mean that part of for the fortification was built either in a hurry or by non-qualified labor force.

[178] He said, "Let him be a dog who will not build a fort in this place!" Koroknay, "Kálló Építése," 10.
[179] Koroknay, 9–10.
[180] Domokos, "Ottavio Baldigara. Egy itáliai várfundáló mester Magyarországon a 16. század második felében [Ottavio Baldigara. An Italian castle fundator maister in Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century]," 89.

The threat why the construction had to be built in a short time could be the campaigns of the Long Turkish War (1591/1593-1606). From 1591 the conflict between the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman Empire dragged on in several battles and sieges. Although these fronts mostly avoided Kisvárda, for example the Tatar troops devastated the Upper Hungarian region, and the settlement was burnt in 1595.[181] In 1601 Giorgio Basta's campaign led against Sigismund Bátory also must have marched along by the area, but there was no conflict here.[182]

The other explanation for the phenomena can be the lack of financial background and qualified workers.

After the death of Mihály Várdai (1583) his heirs were litigating over the properties of Kisvárda, several relatives wanted to gain the part of his daughter, Kata Várdai. To prevent guardianship, she married Pál Telegdy, who died soon. In 1597 István Báthori writes about the castle's poor condition, where the widow lived alone, at the time there were no servants or guards to defend the castle, moreover the captain was away too. Kata Várdai married to Pál Nyáry in 1600, who become the king's counsel in the next year.[183]

From the written sources it is clear, that the peasants of the Kisvárda estate were ordered to provide free labor for the maintenance of the castles.[184] From another source from 1587, it is even known that these peasants were gypsies, who supplied the castle with iron tools.[185] Again, in the case of Kálló, a source reports about the yearly renovation required. *"The fort of Kálló, being built of wood only, his Majesty graciously provide for it, and order a contribution (tax) to be made for it, whereby, when he has begun to build it, it may be built of brick, since*

[181] Néző, *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]*, 129.
[182] Pálffy, *Hungary Between Two Empires 1526–1711*, 113–16.
[183] Néző, *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]*, 34.
[184] János Kereki asks for the serfs of the castle estate presumably to work for him, but the current owner of the castle, Miklós Zokoly replies that they are working on the castle's nails, chains and other iron tools. Néző, 127–28.
[185] Néző, 34.a

bastions and palisades built of wood last but a short time, and soon rot, both as timbers and hedges."[186]

This means that from 1583 the renovation works of the castle were minimal, local peasants and gypsies were working on the castle in the form of corvee. In 1600 the appearance of a new owner who soon got into a powerful position could mean that bigger renovations could finally be undertaken. In my opinion both circumstances were contributing to the renovation or building of the south bastions.

4.2. Critical analysis of the used data in the reconstruction

Keeping in mind the other aspect of this thesis, the interpretation of the research of Kisvárda Castle during of the last periods of its lifespan, in this chapter I place the present reconstruction project into the framework of monument protection practices and heritage management activities of castles in Hungary. Afterward, I will analyze the previously presented reconstruction periods. I also have to clarify some aspects of Hungarian monument protection practices, because during the last eighty years some architectural terms gained frequency used for specific areas of monument protection.

Thus, a historiographic survey of some of the terms and practices is an essential element of this investigation, and the survey of the Hungarian practices in this respect is also important, as some elements of this terminology contradict or disregard the international uses of the same terms. At the same time, it is important to note that this survey focuses on issues directly relevant for the archaeological investigations and the monument protection projects of the Kisvárda Castle. The castle itself was used as an example for theoretical and methodological discussions from an early period of modern reconstruction of historical monuments, thus, an overview of the related general concepts is also important. These concepts are discussed here

[186] Koroknay, "Kálló Építése," 108.

in order to understand historical, as well as very recent processes connected to this historical monument. Conclusion based on this analysis will be presented in the context of opportunities and limitations of archaeological investigations of this fortification.

4.2.1. General problems and interpretations

Medieval monuments, mostly ruins or architectural elements incorporated in later buildings in a very fragmented way, are both in the interest sphere of archaeological research and monument protection, whereas these two disciplines have to rely on each other in every single case. All the excavated ruins need preservation, and before all kinds of ruin preservations, research should be conducted. The results of these investigations should also be taken into account, in case of any consolidation, conservation, or reconstruction projects.

The particular reason behind the attention of specialists and the general public turning to the ruins after the world wars can be explained by modern historical processes in the region. Hungary lost very significant parts of its territories, they became parts of other countries by the Trianon Peace Treaty, and these areas are now in the territory of Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Ukraine and Slovakia. Many of these regions were rich in medieval monuments and they were preserved in large numbers compared to the central part of the medieval kingdom, which has suffured significant damage during the Ottoman wars. Thus, many of them survived in their mainly original, medieval form, but today they can be found in other countries. Thus, the issue of ruins, reconstruction of excavated remains of medieval buildings, and the problem of authenticity have emerged in a relatively early period in Hungarian monument protection concepts. The modern principles of how to care about these sites were set up and practiced from the end of the 1950s, even before the Venice Charter. A newly established monument protection institution, the National Monument Protection Inspectorate (OMF), was responsible for general theoretical and practical framework, where

professionals of all relevant disciplines, including architects, art historians, landscape architects, monument protection specialists, geosurveyers, restaurateurs, and archaeologists had particular research, planning and project management units and could work together.

This was the time when the term "dead monuments" was invented in the monument protection hub, and is still commonly used by architects, although it was found in many ways problematic. The term appeared first in János Sedlmayr's article.[187] Sedlmayer was one of the leading architects of the period, who was responsible for the research architectural design and reconstruction of some outstanding historical monuments, many of them from the Middle Ages. He has also been dealing with theoretical questions of monument protection, and later also acknowledged that the first part of the term is not appropriate, it should only be used for describing the contemporary state of medieval sites, not as their essence.[188] Apart from that the "dead" adjective bears a negative overtone, it emphasizes the need for reconstruction and revitalization. But the main problem is that in today's context, it is used more for the legitimization of reconstructions.

This was also the time when the main directions of systematic research and modern display approaches were established: preservation, display, and utilization were and still are the key aspects for the survival of monuments. However, in the case of medieval monuments these principles have to be specialized in terms of the possibilities, methods, and legitimacy, as the first scholarly article by Zsuzsanna Beck and János Sedlmayr emphasized.[189] It is debatable, that the authors argued for the more frequent use of reconstructions as a display method, as

[187] Beck and Sedlmayer, "Holt műemlékeink helyreállítása és felhasználása [The reconstruction and reuse of dead monuments]."

[188] In the article the authors underline that the adjective "dead" referred to the current state of monuments, not to their essence. Zsuzsanna Beck and János Sedlmayer, "'Holt' műemlékek felhasználásáról ma (Töprengés negyvenöt év múltán...) [Reuse of 'dead' monuments, thoughts after fortyfive years...]," *Műemlékvédelem* 44, no. 1 (2000): 6–12.

[189] Beck and Sedlmayer, "Holt műemlékeink helyreállítása és felhasználása [The reconstruction and reuse of dead monuments]," 37.

restoration with any architectural addition can cause the loss of the sight of the ruin. In their understanding, this is because the interpretation can be better understood by the visitors via reconstruction which creates an attachment to the past. Of course, keeping in mind, that the layout and form of the reconstruction should resemble the original structures must not be lost. The inevitability of a complex research of the sites cannot be disputed: the scrutiny of archival sources, building historical analysis, and excavation.[190] Only after receiving the research results can the process of planning start because it affects the way of reconstruction - whether partial or complete. In the reconstruction, new additions should be differentiated from the original ruins, here the use of distinct materials was suggested.[191]

After this brief methodological summary, reconstruction possibilities were presented in the above-mentioned article for Diósgyőr castle, the Bükkszentlélek Pauline church and cloister, Nagyvázsony Castle, and Kisvárda Castle, although at this stage the borders of preservation and display terminologies were blurry.[192] Among the cases, Kisvárda Castle was the only one where the authors did not propose complete reconstruction plans due to the absence of sufficient architectural and archaeological data. However, this was the only site where the moderate partial reconstruction was carried out until the beginning of the 2000s. In 2000, after forty-five years of practice in the field of monument protection, the authors reconsidered their reconstruction proposals and analyzed the actual outcomes of protection work, and were satisfied with some solutions. For example, with the partial reconstruction of Diósgyőr, carried out in the 1960s and 1970s.[193] The partial reconstruction and reuse of Kisvárda Castle as an

[190] The unearthed ruins should be conserved as soon as possible, even before the reconstruction works strat.

[191] Beck and Sedlmayer, "Holt műemlékeink helyreállítása és felhasználása [The reconstruction and reuse of dead monuments]," 37–38.

[192] The terms rebuilding, complete reconstruction are not used consequently, in the case of Bükkszentlélek, the building above the cloister was called protection building.

[193] Beck and Sedlmayer, "'Holt' műemlékek felhasználásáról ma (Töprengés negyvenöt év múltán...) [Reuse of 'dead' monuments, thoughts after fortyfive years...]," 6.

outdoor theatre was based on Sedlmayr's idea, who according to the article did not accept the actual outcome as his own.[194]

Although the principles presented by Beck and Sedlmayr remained valid until today, and a similar process is still common in Hungary, the terms of treating ruined monuments were generated in practice, and the theoretical background was set up after the actual reconstruction was finished. The relevant terminology for these monument protection processes was first established by Miklós Horler,[195] who was another key figure of this period.His concept was revised by several scholars, and architects: by András Román, László Császár, Gyula Hajnóczy, László Ágostházi and Tamás Mezős. The analysis of their works led to a restoration terminology system which was proposed by the architect Ákos Zsembery. Zsembery in his dissertation[196] dealt with the medieval architectural monuments - for which he used the term "dead monuments" again, - and their displays in the territory of today's Hungary. He compared the terms for monument display of heritage practices in different countries and languages. His proposal for a unified definition apparatus was also based on the analysis finished projects and standing historical monuments in Hungary.

[194] Beck and Sedlmayer, 11–12.

[195] Miklós Horler, "Romok Műemlékvédelmének Módszerei," *Műemlékvédelem* 8, no. 1 (1964): 1–24.

[196] Ákos Zsembery, "Középkori építészeti emlékek védelme: módszertani javaslat holt műemlékek bemutatásának kritikai elemzéséhez [Protection of medieval architectural monuments: methodological recommendation for the critical analysis of the display of 'dead' monuments]" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Budapest, Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetem, 2010).

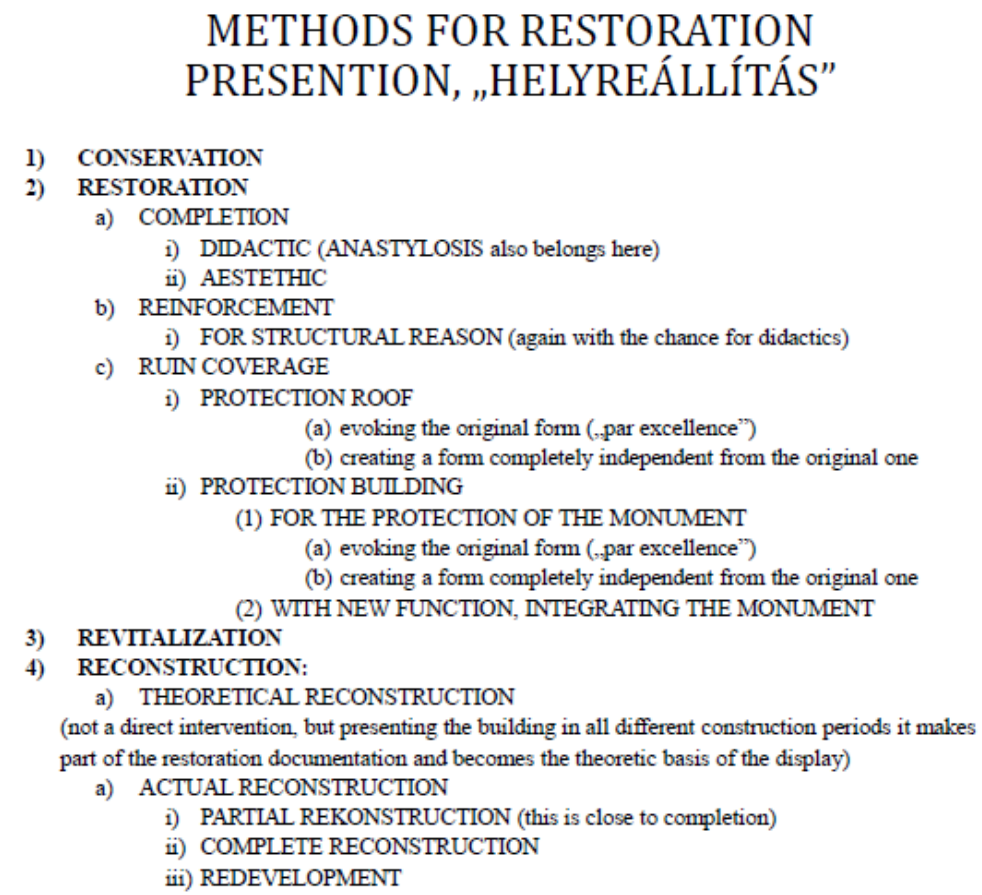

Figure 1: Ákos Zsembery's restoration method categories. (Zsembery, Ákos. "Középkori építészeti emlékek védelme: módszertani javaslat holt műemlékek bemutatásának kritikai elemzéséhez [Protection of medieval architectural monuments: methodological recommendation for the critical analysis of the display of 'dead' monuments]." Ph.D. Dissertation, Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetem, 2010. (English abstract))

Zsembery's display categorization was based on a number of architectural additions and their relation to the actual ruin. (Figure 1.) Although since his dissertation many reconstructions were carried out, this is the latest scholarly work containing terminology and analysis. The categories from 1 to 4 are describing restoration methods, in the light of more and more architectural additions: conservation (1) is done without any new architectural elements, while reconstruction (4) just uses original elements as analogies, but it features partial or complete new architectural elements.

Conservation and restoration are often mingled, and they are very close to each other in meaning, but regional differences can be traced. In this typology, conservation is the orthodox method, which always keeps everything to the smallest crump of original material without any architectural adding. Restoration is the conservation of the original building with further elements added for the sake of better understanding. Restoration can be thus completion, structural reinforcement, or a new, protective structure.

Revitalization in the sense of the term "dead monument" can be understood the most. The category of revitalization is used in cases where the architectural interference is low, or even no additional elements occur. Its aim is to find a new purpose for the heritage and protect and display it through reuse.

Reconstruction covers most of the renovation types which apply more architectural adding than preserving would need. Theoretical reconstruction is an essential basis for any reconstructions, which implement all the previous scholarly research, and evaluates the different reconstruction possibilities. Actual reconstruction is the product of the decision-making process, the built form of a theoretical reconstruction. Partial reconstruction, is connected to a certain number of hypotheses. Hypothetical reconstruction elements can reach a point where no further decision can be made. or complete reconstruction, if there is no such point or the decision-maker cannot feel it.

I agree with this categorization typology concerning monument protection practices in present-day Hungary. Therefore, I will use his concept. At the same time, it should be noted that these categories and the relevant practices are almost exceptionally top-down driven approaches and they are mainly focused on the architectural methods. However, they formed the general framework for monument protection projects during the last decades. Thus, I will use these main- and subcategories (*Figure 1*) for the different phases of the monument of Kisvárda Castle.

4.2.2. Kisvárda and its reconstructions

The first reconstruction campaign was planned by the architect László Császár, between 1957 and 1961 (*Figure 42, Figure 43*),[197] who published it in 1964.[198] For his historical overview and building history summary, he used István Éri's research results.[199]

In my interpretation, this project fits Zsembery's restoration category. Reinforcement and architectural didactic elements can be observed on all the remains of the southwestern tower, the southern wing, and the structures of the southeastern tower. Unfortunately, the documentation available for the previous state of the tower (inner facades) is not detailed enough to make a critical analysis. Thus, it is questionable how convincing were the remains for such a reconstruction. The rebuilding of the vaults, as they do not contain original material, can be seen as anastylosis. They follow all measurement parameters. At the same time, I see the fireplaces as the most questionable reconstructions. The rectangular yard's curtain walls, fortified with two circular towers, were built on the line determined by the excavated foundations. Thus, these can be considered partial reconstructions, as their position was authentic, but the actual height and thickness of the walls were unknown. The new, higher level of the courtyard created by soil filling is questionable.[200] Firstly, because the soil came from nearby, and this area itself is an archaeological site and is surrounded by other sites. Secondly, the weight of the material transported to the place can affect the unexcavated archaeological features and built structures. Some planned reconstructions could never be realized, for

[197] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 4164-4171 portfolios; MÉM MDK Official Records, 1958/14/1, 1959/24/2, 1960/34/3.

[198] Császár, *A kisvárdai vár helyreállítása*.

[199] Császár, 5.

[200] The soil filling was disapproved later by Sedlmayr. Beck and Sedlmayer, "'Holt' műemlékek felhasználásáról ma (Töprengés negyvenöt év múltán...) [Reuse of 'dead' monuments, thoughts after fortyfive years...]," 11.

example, the small bridge in front of the northern gate, because the football field occupied the site.

However, the letters of László Makay, the director of the later castle museum, to the OMF show that the reconstruction fulfilled the needs of monument protection, but not the needs of everyday use. From the presented cases in chapter 1.3. the procuration of the OMF is also visible: the institution requested detailed plans, which required a lot of work from the tenants. However, during the review process these ideas were regularly criticized. It was also a huge problem, that three institutions (museum, theatre, sports club) claimed their ownership for the territory of the castle, and all had different interests in the use, maintenance, and development. Thus, conflicts were unavoidable.

The first renovation plans in favor of the theatre were made by Mrs. István Fodor in 1972.[201] (*Figure 51*)

The construction did not affect the built structures (above ground level), but neither before nor during the construction was any archaeological excavation or observation carried out. The earthwork for the construction covered almost half of the inner castle. The most striking element of this project was the orchestra pit and the new dressing room before the western tower, which disturbed an area of about 3x15 square meters, 3 meters deep. In the area of the auditorium, an area of about 200 square meters was deepened in a sloping way, at the lowest point to minus 1.2 meters under the original surface. The foundation of the seats was a big concrete block, poured directly into the pits.

The theatre was again modernized in 1986, for which the plans were made by Kánon Ltd.[202] (*Figure 52*) For this renovation period, I would use the monument protection term (with

[201] MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 10103.

[202] Architects: Ágnes Benkő, László Fater, Péter Nagy and Péter Wirth. MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 38748.

protective roof), but most of the work in the framework of this project was in the service of the theatre function. The beams of a temporary roof were laid on the vaulted battlement, without providing space between the original and new, protecting structures. The wooden roofs had no historical value, although these could be easily removed. Although István Éri was asked for professional advice, no archeological excavations or observations took place before or during the construction. Thus, no archaeological data is known from the construction of the restrooms under the circular towers, although it is possible, that this part was fully excavated previously by István Éri.

As it has been briefly presented, the first main reconstruction of the castle has created a complex monument with several functions. It was a restored ruin, a small museum and also a theatre. This last function became the most important aspect of the castle, several renovation campaigns contributed to the better functioning of this cultural institution.

The era of the Castle Theatre ends now, as in the frameworks of the Hungarian National Castle and Mansion Program a new restoration campaign is going on. The plan of the castle was made by Zoltán Wittinger, and for the garden by Zsuzsa G. Árvai, architects of the National Heritage-Protection and Development Nonprofit Private Limited Company (NÖF).

The concept of this new project can also be evaluated as the leading architect summarized his ideas. Zoltán Wittinger in his article emphasized the importance of research and how the planning process relied on the conversations between architects and researchers. However, as I have previously noted the context of the building history research, this process did not affect the planning, and the information provided by archeological research was barely mentioned. From the available data several theoretical and digital reconstructions were made, including partial and total hypotheses for reconstruction. However, the result was not convincing for authentic rebuilding. The architect rejected altogether the possibility of reconstruction in a historical manner, rebuilding in the style of the fifteenth and seventeenth century. He has also

rejected the reconstruction of the original volume and extension of the building. Thus, the new public building will resemble the "original form".[203]

In the architect's explanation, the parts of the building with historical elements of the built heritage

parts will be conserved, In the case of the castle wings, reconstruction is not a convincing choice, he calls the new structure the evocation of the castle as modern urban planning replaced the buildings bombed during World War II.[204]

The theoretical background is set clearly and right, but unfortunately, the outcome is not connected to these principles. In my opinion, the description fulfills the criteria of reconstruction, only the negative overtone of the term prevents its use. The modern concrete building in the shape and in the location of the previous castle can be misinterpreted by the visitors.

As a conclusion it is worth to reflect on some issues briefly discussed in this part of the thesis. My main problem is not with the new construction itself. What I wanted to highlight in my thesis work is that even a small historical monument requires much more research than expected. The planning should rely on this research, thus, a continuous conversation with all relevant partners should be conducted during the planning period. To be able to answer any questions the research of the site is essential, and it should be done more extensively in several phases or in a campaign of a complex research. Here, I would make my remarks more detailed on the archaeologically related data appearing in Zoltán Wittinger's article, because I found them very equivocal.[205] As there was no full archaeological research, nor even in the inner

[203] Wittinger, "A kisvárdai vár leírása [Description of Kisvárda castle]," 322–24.

[204] Wittinger, 324–25.

[205] Wittinger, "A kisvárdai vár leírása [Description of Kisvárda castle]." During my work, I used the plans for the preliminary archaeological documentation and as part of my thesis work, Zoltán Wittinger kindly presented the construction plans. He highlighted that the computer-aided architectural design which appeared on Miklós Seszták's page is not accurate nor regarding the building or the palisade reconstruction.

castle, in my opinion, it is an ambiguous statement that the ground plan of the castle is more or less clear.[206]

Moreover, elements of the cultural heritage are endangered during the construction work. Unfortunately, the rigid system of the projects cannot provide the reciprocity between research, planning and construction. The changes in the plans cannot proceed by research, and the construction work cannot be followed by research. In many cases, the participants of the research team are changing, if there can be more phases of research. This will all result in a significant loss of data, relevant information and can contribute to misleading reconstructions or heritage interpretations.

[206] "A belső vár legnagyobb részének hozzávetőleges alaprajza, a falazatok téglaanyaga ismert." Wittinger, 321.

Conclusion

2. Figure: Periodization of the palisade structures. (Made by the author, based on the Vienna I map of the Angelini family.)

The new chronology attributed to the palisade construction is undoubtedly the main result of this thesis. Previously, in connection with the research of István Éri,[207] the inner palisade structure was dated to the fifteenth century. The Angelini plans were connected to Niccolò Angelini and were dated around the 1570s, while their construction by Ottavio Baldigara was only dated between 1580 and 1580. This information was used in the later publications without critical reconsideration.[208]

The analysis of the written and visual sources, combined with the results of the archaeological excavations, has produced more accurate periods comprising multiple surveys, planning and construction. I have to stress that this work could not have been carried out without the more exact dating provided by the primary sources and, thus, without the secondary literature by Géza Pálffy and Ferdinand Opll, whose writings clarified the background of the Angelini family and of the plans.

Periodization, theoretical reconstruction of the palisade

Given the complex data available to me at present the following periodization of the palisade can be established:

1. The first written source about the castle comes from 1451 although the settlement's name preserved the memory of an earlier fortification. The location of the older castle is not known although the extent of places that would be suitable on the marshland around the settlement is limited. The two earthworks surrounding the castle in an oval shape may mark the remains of this earlier defensive structure. Previous research supposed two possibilities: a bronze-age fortification or the seat/stronghold of a *comes* from the eleventh century. Unfortunately, none of the archaeological research that has been carried out

[207] István Éri, *Kisvárda*, Műemlékeink (Budapest: Pannonia, 1965), 22.

[208] István Néző noticed differences between the bastions on the Karlsruhe map, but he was unable to connect it to other historical events. Néző, *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]*, 26–28.

revealed any feature or find shedding light on the origin of these the previous structures, so the question remained unresolved.

2. The archaeological evidence indicates that the first phase of the inner palisade construction cannot be older than the fifteenth century. The material evidence was found on the southern curtain wall, so the data gained is far less than would be sufficient for proper reconstruction. The palisade could have had roundels on all four corners and a sloping castle moat together with the earlier outer earthworks.

   Presumably this structure burnt down in 1531.

3. The layout marking the second phase of the inner palisade most resembles the Verebély fortification veduta. The inner palisade should be reconstructed, perhaps with early bastion forms on the west, and higher walls protected by a narrow moat. This construction phase was dated to before 1541 on the basis of a coin of Ferdinand II found there. An outer fence with small towers may have been constructed as well, adapted to the topography of the early earthworks.

   When Natale and perhaps Niccolò Angelini surveyed the castle in 1565, these structures were still standing. They were able to design the "old Italian trace bastion system" around the castle. Their survey work did not survive.

4. As the building material was requested between 1568 and 1570, I suggest that the northern bastions were constructed at this time, the pentagonal-shaped bastions.

   In 1574, Paolo Angelini made an image of the fortifications and designed a new plan for the southern part.

5. Ten years later, around 1580, the flanking bastions in the south were built under the directorship of Ottavio Baldigara.

6. In 1601, after Pál Nyári acquired ownership over the estates of Kisvárda, he started renovation work on the poorly made palisade structure

During the analysis and interpretation of the finds, information was gleaned about the methods of the construction. It may have been common practice that when there was a military threat the whole neighborhood took part in the stronghold construction, just as was the case with Kálló. [209] Peasants worked, however, on the yearly maintenance of the palisade. [210]

Nevertheless, the data presented here marks just the tip of the iceberg. The data coming from the archaeological excavations can be processed further. Detailed information about the timbers is suitable for extending the topic to environmental history, following in the footsteps of Gyöngyi Kovács in Szolnok[211] and András Vadas who researched Vas, Veszprém and Zala counties.[212] The Angelini maps can be compared to the First Military Survey of the Habsburgs in the Upper Hungarian region.

Finally, I would like to return to the words of Ferenc Virágh. *"In whatever small area we clarify the real past, our work will be of value."* I hope my thesis also contributed to what is known about Kisvárda Castle. Moreover, this thesis is meant to raise awareness about the kind of research that has its starting points can begin from a few timbers collected when the bottom of a pond was being cleaned.

Still, the whole research work (and more) should have been finished long before the start of the project. It is bitter to see that not much has changed since the 1950s and 1960s. Instead, the demands of construction lead the research, although in principal, analysis should work in the opposite way.

[209] Koroknay, "Kálló Építése," 108.

[210] Néző, *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]*, 34.

[211] Pál Sümegi and Gyöngyi Kovács, "Palisade Castles, Trees, and Forests. Archaeological and Environment History Data on the Timber Used for Turkish-Era Palisade Castles," in *Várak Nyomában. Tanulmányok a 60 Éves Feld István Tiszteletére. Eds. Terei, Gy - Kovács, Gy. et Al.* (Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület, Civertan Grafikai Stúdió, 2011), 113–20.

[212] András Vadas and Péter Szabó, "Not Seeing the Forest for the Trees? Ottoman-Hungarian Wars and Forest Resources," *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2018): 477–509.

Bibliography

Access number of the cited archival sources:

Hungarian National Museum, Archaeological Documentation's Archive (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Adattára):

Accession number:	**Title:**
MNM 249.K.III.	Éri, István: Report of the monitoring of the football field's construction. 15. 10. 1954.
MNM 340.K.IV.	Éri, István: Excavation report of the year 1955.
MNM 375.K.IV	Éri, István: Excavation report, diary, photos and survey of the year 1954.
MNM 376.K.IV.	Éri, István: Original drawings of the trenches of 1954.
MNM 427.K.V.	Éri, István: Excavation report, diary and photos of the years 1954-1957.
MNM IX.208/1961.	Éri, István: Excavation report, diary, photos and survey of the year 1960)

Hungarian Academy of Arts, Monument Protection Documentation Center (Magyar Művészeti Akadémia, Nemzeti Dokumentációs Központ, MMA MDK):

Official Records:

For the castle: 1898/97, 105, 134; 1902/373; 1904/502; 1922/421, 572; 1949/255; 1953/10; 1954/15, 1955/12; OMF I. sorozat 1956/2/5; 1957/7/2; 1958/14/1; 1959/24/2; 1960/34/3; 1963/70/1; 1964/83/5; 1965/98/3; 1966/114/3, 1967/132/3; 1968/148/1; 1970/176/6; 1972/204/3; 1973/216/4, 1975/248/2; 1984/453/1; 1986/515/2; 1987/543/2; 1988/574/2; 1990/642/1

For the environment of the castle: 1960/34/3; 1961/46/3, 1966/114/3; 1974/232/3, 1978/303/2; 1987/543/2

Lymbus: K 1901.

Architecture Plan Collection:

Portfolios: 4165; 4166; 4167; 4169; 4170; 4171; 8618; 10103; 4172; 4173; 38748.

Manuals: 2956, 2958; 2959; 2960; 2961; 2962; 2963; 63/12393; 035114; 035115; 035116; 035117; 035118; 035119; 035120;

Photo Collection:

8883, 46358-9, 52732-69, 63152, 55, 56, 57, 60

Secondary literature and working papers

Ács, Zoltán. "A kisvárdai vár 16. századi hadi krónikája a korabeli források tükrében [Military history of the castle of Kisvárda in ligth of the sources]." In *Tanulmányok Kisvárda történetéből (Ács, Zoltán ed.)*, 86–96. A kisvárdai Vármúzeum kiadványai 8. Kisvárda, 1983.

———, ed. *Tanulmányok Kisvárda történetéből [Case studies from the history of Kisvárda settlement]*. A kisvárdai Vármúzeum kiadványai 8. Kisvárda: Kisvárdai Járási Tanács, 1983.

Beck, Zsuzsanna, and János Sedlmayer. "Holt műemlékeink helyreállítása és felhasználása [The reconstruction and reuse of dead monuments]." *Műemlékvédelem* 1 (1957): 37–50.

———. "'Holt' műemlékek felhasználásáról ma (Töprengés negyvenöt év múltán...) [Reuse of 'dead' monuments, thoughts after fortyfive years...]." *Műemlékvédelem* 44, no. 1 (2000): 6–12.

Birckenstein, Anton Ernst Burckhard von. *Ertz-herzogliche Handgriffe des Zirckels und Linials, oder Ausserwehlter Anfang zu denen mathematischen Wissenschaften...* [Budapest]: Balassi : OSZK, 2001.

Bóna, István. "Szabolcs-Szatmár megye régészeti emlékei 1 [Archeological sites of Szabolcs-Szatmár county 1]." In *Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei 1. (Entz, Géza ed.)*, 15–91, 1986.

Borbély, Andor. "Adatok a magyar várak és városok ábrázolásához a 16-17. századból." *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 1932, no. 33 (1933): 171–86.

Császár, László. *A kisvárdai vár építéstörténete és helyreállítása [The building history and the reconstruction of Kisvárda castle]*. Helyreállított műemlékeink 7. Budapest: Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség, 1964.

Csomortány, Levente, Viktor Rozmann, Judit Gömöry, Gergely Domonkos Nagy, Balázs Szőke, Borbála Bagi, and Ágnes Polyák. "Kutatási dokumentáció, Kisvárda Vár utca 33/c [Research document of Kisvárda, Vár street 33/c building]." working paper, independent researchers, October 12, 2018.

Dévényi, Sándor, and Miklós Sulyok, eds. *Élő műemlék. Rekonstrukció, de hogyan?* A Magyar Művészeti Akadémia konferenciafüzetei. Budapest: MMA Kiadó, 2019.

Domokos, György. "Ottavio Baldigara. Egy itáliai várfundáló mester Magyarországon a 16. század második felében [Ottavio Baldigara. An Italian castle fundator maister in Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century]." Budapest: Balassa Kiadó, 2000.

———. "Törökkori Várrajzok Stockholmban. Beszámoló a Stockholmi Királyi Hadilevéltárban Végzett Kutatásról [Ottoman Era Castle Drawings in Stockholm. Report on the Research Made in the Royal Military Archives]." *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 112, no. 1 (1990): 112–16.

Erdélyi, Erika. "A Kisvárdai vár és környezetének hasznosítási terve [Kisvárda castle's and its environment's utilization plan]." *Örökség: műemlék, régészet, műtárgy* 10, no. 7–8 (2006): 11–12.

Éri, István. "A kisvárdai vár reneszánsz faragványtöredékei [Renaissance carved stone fragments of Kisvárda Castle]." *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum évkönyve* 1 (1958): 139–43.

———. "A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]." In *A kisvárdai vár története (Bóna, István; Dienes, István; Éri, István; Kallicz, Nándor eds.)*, 17–48. Kisvárda, 1961.

———. *Kisvárda*. Műemlékeink. Budapest: Pannonia, 1965.

———, ed. *Kisvárda történetéből. Cikkgyűjtemény [From the history of Kisvárda. Study assamblage]*. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1954.

———. "Virágh Ferenc emlékezete [Memorial of Ferenc Virágh]." In *A kisvárdai vár története*, 44–46. Kisvárda, 1961.

Fehérvári, Béla, ed. *Kisvárda '90. Tanulmányok kisvárdáról.* Kisvárda: Kisvárda Város Önkormányzata, 1991.

Feld, István. "16. századi kastélyok régészeti kutatása Északkelet-Magyarországon: Kandidátusi értekezés [Sixteenth century Mansions in North-Easten Hungary: CSc Dissertation]." Budapest, 1994.

Glaser, Lajos. *A Karlsruhei Gyűjtemények Magyarvonatkozású Térképanyaga [The Karlsruhe Assamblage's Maps in Hungarian Relaton]*. Budapest, 1933.

Grynaeus, András. “Vizsgálati eredmény a kisvárdai vár területén 2018-ban feltárt famaradványok elemzéséről. [Laboratory analysis of the wooden remains, excavated at Kisvárda Castle, 2018.].” working paper, Cincér Bt., Budapest, 2019.

György Rózsa. “A Birckenstein-féle metszetes könyv.” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 73.5, no. 1 (1957): 26–46.

Horler, Miklós. “Romok Műemlékvédelmének Módszerei.” *Műemlékvédelem* 8, no. 1 (1964): 1–24.

Jakab, Attila. “Kisvárda belső vár, próbafeltárás ásatási jelentés. [Kisvárda Castle, inner castle trial trench excavation short report.].” working paper, Jósa András Múzeum, Nyíregyháza, 2017.

Jankovics, Norbert. “Kisvárda, vár. Építéstörténeti tudományos dokumentáció és értékleltár. [Kisvárda Castle. Building history and historical value assessment.].” working paper, Forster Gyula Nemzeti Örökségvédelmi és Vagyongazdálkodási Központ, Budapest, 2016.

Kisari Balla, György. *Száz várrajz Württembergben [Hundert Festungspläne in Württemberg; A hundred castle depictions in Wüttemberg]*. Translated by Piroska Draskóczy. Budapest: Szerzői kiadás, 1998.

———. *Törökkori várrajzok Stockholmban [Ottoman era castle drawings in Stockholm]*. Translated by Andrea Rohály. Budapest: Szerzői kiadás, 1996.

Koppány Tibor. *A középkori Magyarország kastélyai [Mansions of medieval Hungary]*. Művészettörténeti Füzetek 26. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999.

Koroknay, Gyula. “A Vár Építése [Fortification of Kálló].” In *Kállói Kapitányok*, Vol. 13. A Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Levéltár Kiadványia 3. Nyíregyháza, 2006.

Makay, László. “Kisvárda története 1703-ig [History of Kisvárda till 1703].” In *Kisvárda történetéből. Cikkgyűjtemény (Éri, István ed.)*, 13–43. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1954.

Mályusz, Elemér. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár V. (1415–1416)*. Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II. 27. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997.

Nádai, Zsófia. “Kisvárda, vár turisztikai célú fejlesztése. Belső vár és Palánkrendszer. (GINOP-7.1.1.-15-2016-00020). Előzetes Régészeti Dokumentáció (ERD). [Kisvárda Castle, inner castle and castle garden preliminary archaeological documentation (PAD).].” working paper, Várkapitányság Nonprofit Zrt., Budapest, 2019.

Nagy, Gábor. “A Kis-Várdai Várról és Városról [About the settlement and the castle of Kisvárda].” *Tudományos gyűjtemény* 20, no. 4 (1836): 3–16.

Nagy, Imre, Iván Nagy, and Dezső Véghely, eds. *A Zichi És Vásonkeői Gróf Zichy-Salád Idősb Ágának Az Okmánytára. Codex Diplomaticus Domus Senioris Comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő.* I-XII. Pest-Budapest, 1871.

Nagy, László. “Kutatási jelentés a Kisvárda – Vár lelőhely területén végzett régészeti geofizikai felmérésről. [Geophisical research report on the survay of Kisvárda - Vár archaeological site.].” working paper, Budavári Ingatlanfejlesztő és Üzemeltető Nonprofit Zrt., Budapest, 2017.

Németh, Péter. “Makay László 1914-1998.” *A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum évkönyve* 39–40 (1998): 9–10.

———. “Szabolcs-Szatmár megye története 1 [History of Szabolcs-Szatmár county].” In *Szabolcs-Szatmár megye műemlékei 1 (Entz, Géza ed.)*, 115–30, 1986.

Néző, István. “A kisvárdai vár az 1558-1570-es évek harcaiban [The castle of Kisvárda in the campaigns of 1558-1570].” *Várak Kastélyok Templomok* 4, no. 5 (2008): 29–31.

———. *A kisvárdai vár története [The history of Kisvárda castle]*. Kisvárda: Kisvárdai Városszépítő Egyesület, 2004.

———. *Kisvárda a források tükrében: szemelvénygyűjtemény [Kisvárda in ligth of the sources: anthology]*. A kisvárdai Városi Könyvtár kiadványai 3. Kisvárda: Városi Könyvtár, 1999.

Opll, Ferdinand, Heike Krause, and Christoph Sonnlechner. *Wien als Festungsstadt im 16. Jahrhundert: Zum kartografischen Werk der Mailänder Familie Angielini*. Böhlau, 2017.

Pálffy, Géza. *A haditérképészet kezdetei a Habsburg Monarchiában*. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2011.

———. *Hungary Between Two Empires 1526–1711*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2021.

———. “The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century).” In *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines*, edited by Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, 3–69. Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2000.

Pálosfalvi, Tamás. *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage: Politics, Society and Economy*. Vol. 73. Brill, 2018.

Rómer, Flóris. “Két szabolcsmegyei ős-temető és egyéb régészeti leletek.” *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 3, no. 11 (1870): 218-268.

Simon, Zoltán. *A kisvárdai vár inventáriumai. Adalékok a kisvárdai vár történetéhez és helyrajzához [Inventories of Kisvárda Castle. Additional details to the castle’s history and topography]*. A Rétközi Múzeum Füzetei, 10. Gyula: Rétközi Múzeum, 2008.

Somogyi, Rezső. *Kisvárda Monographiája Rövid Kivonatban a Milleniumra [The Monography of Kisvérda in Brief for the Hungarian Millenium]*. Kisvárda, 1896.

Sümegi, Pál, and Gyöngyi Kovács. “Palisade Castles, Trees, and Forests. Archaeological and Environment History Data on the Timber Used for Turkish-Era Palisade Castles.” In

Várak Nyomában. Tanulmányok a 60 Éves Feld István Tiszteletére. Eds. Terei, Gy - Kovács, Gy. et Al., 113–20. Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület, Civertan Grafikai Stúdió, 2011.

Szabadics, Anita, Zita Németh, Mária Klagyivik, Zsuzsa Gerákné Árvai, and Ágnes Bechtold. "Kastély- és kúriakertek, valamint egyéb műemléki zöldfelületek fejlesztése a Nemzeti Kastélyprogramban és Nemzeti Várprogramban [Castle and mansion gardens and other monument environments in the Castle and Mansion Program]." 01. *Műemlékvédelem* 2021, no. 6 (2021): 447–82.

Vadas, András, and Péter Szabó. "Not Seeing the Forest for the Trees? Ottoman-Hungarian Wars and Forest Resources." *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2018): 477–509.

Virágh, Ferenc. *Adatok Kisvárda történetéhez [Details for the history of Kisvárda castle]*. A Nyíregyházi Jósa András Múzeum kiadványai 20. Nyíregyháza, 1981.

Weisz, Boglárka. *Markets and Staples in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom*. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020.

Wittinger, Zoltán. "A kisvárdai vár leírása [Description of Kisvárda castle]." 01. In *Élő műemlék*, 317–30, 2019.

Zsembery, Ákos. "Középkori építészeti emlékek védelme: módszertani javaslat holt műemlékek bemutatásának kritikai elemzéséhez [Protection of medieval architectural monuments: methodological recommendation for the critical analysis of the display of 'dead' monuments]." Ph.D. Dissertation, Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetem, 2010.

Appendix

Figure 3. Paolo Angelini's map of the Upper Hungarian region. Pencil, paper, aquarell. (ÖNB Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8609. Fol. 6: Mappae geographicae regni Hungariae et terrarum adiacentium; Géza Pálffy, *A Haditérképészet Kezdetei a Habsburg Monarchiában* (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2011). X. Table)

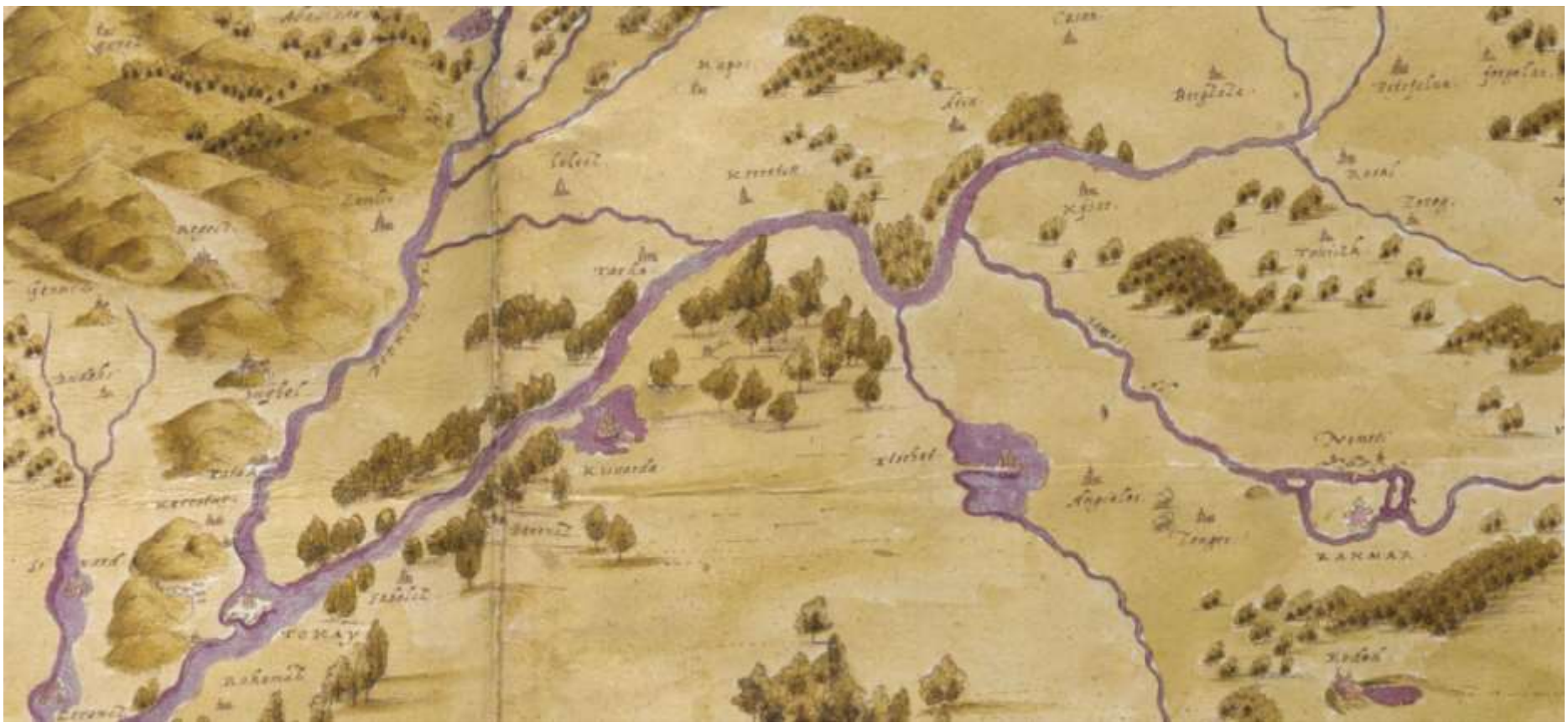

Figure 4. Detail of Paolo Angelini's map. Pencil, paper, aquarell. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8609. Fol. 6. Source: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13955782)

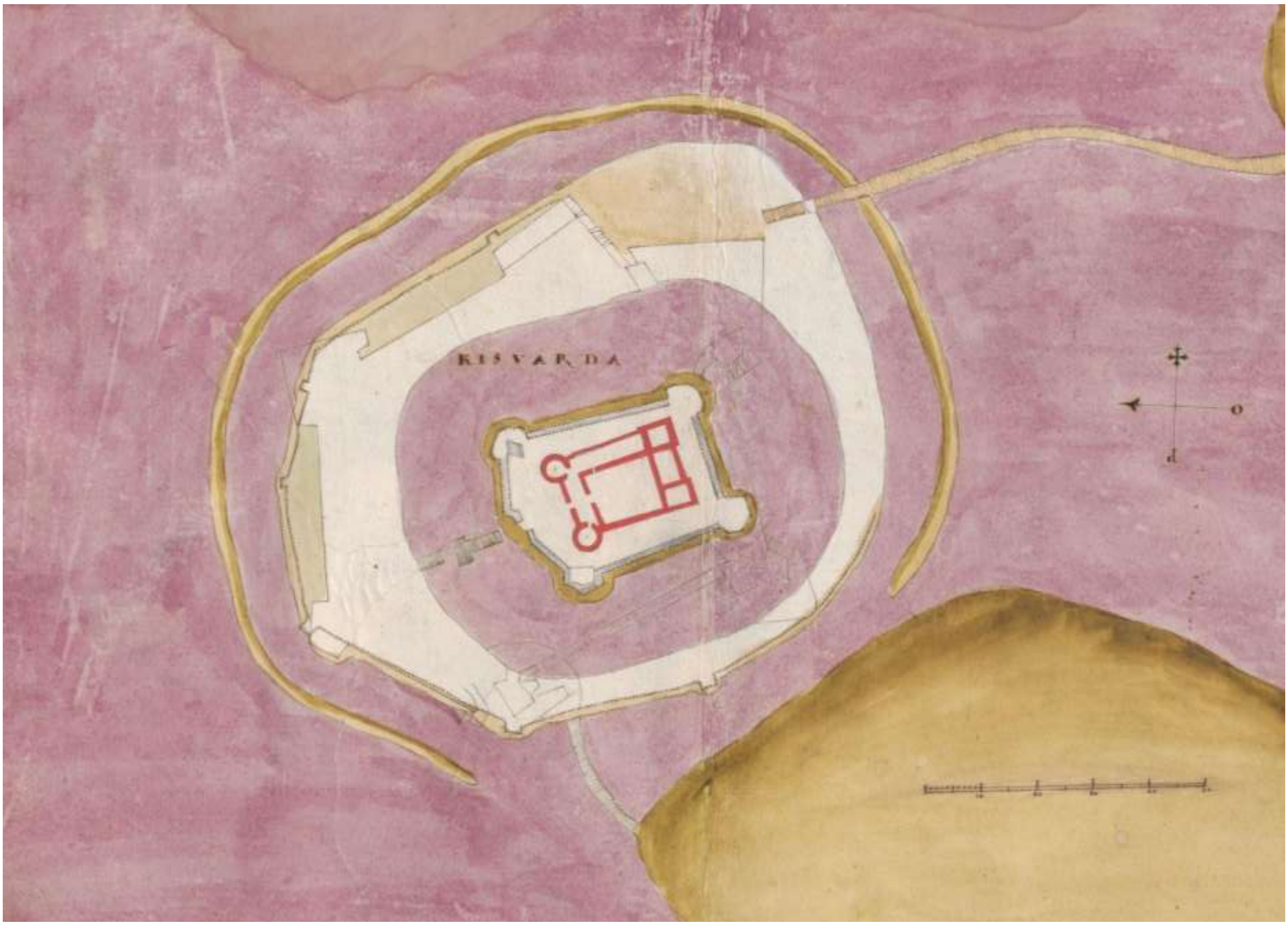

Figure 5. Kisvárda Castle in the Vienna Album I. Pencil, paper, aquarell. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8609. Fol. 71. Source: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13955782)

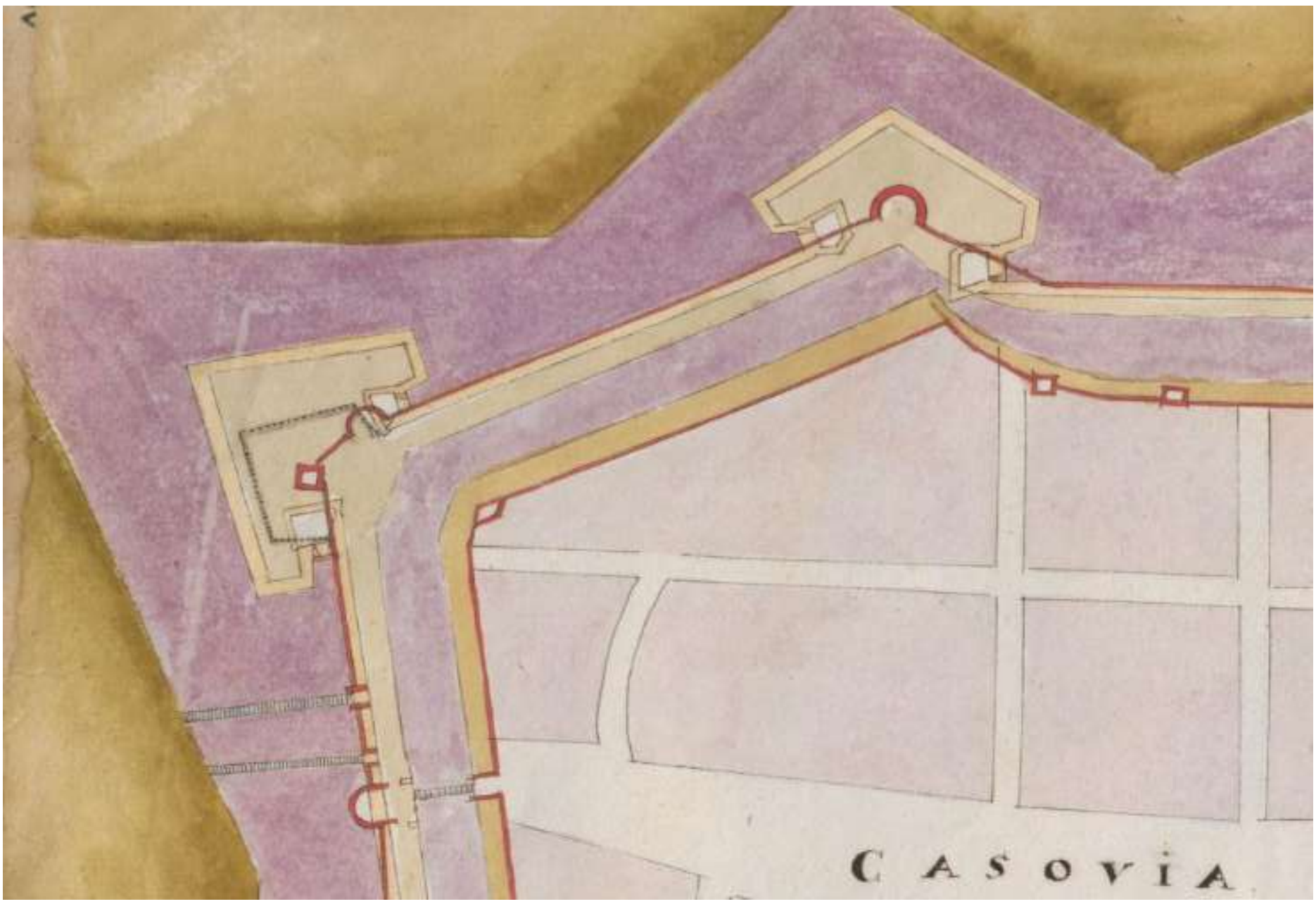

Figure 6. Kasovia (Kassa, Košice, Slovakia) in the Vienna Album I. Pencil, paper, aquarell. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8609. Fol. 56v. Source: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC13955782)

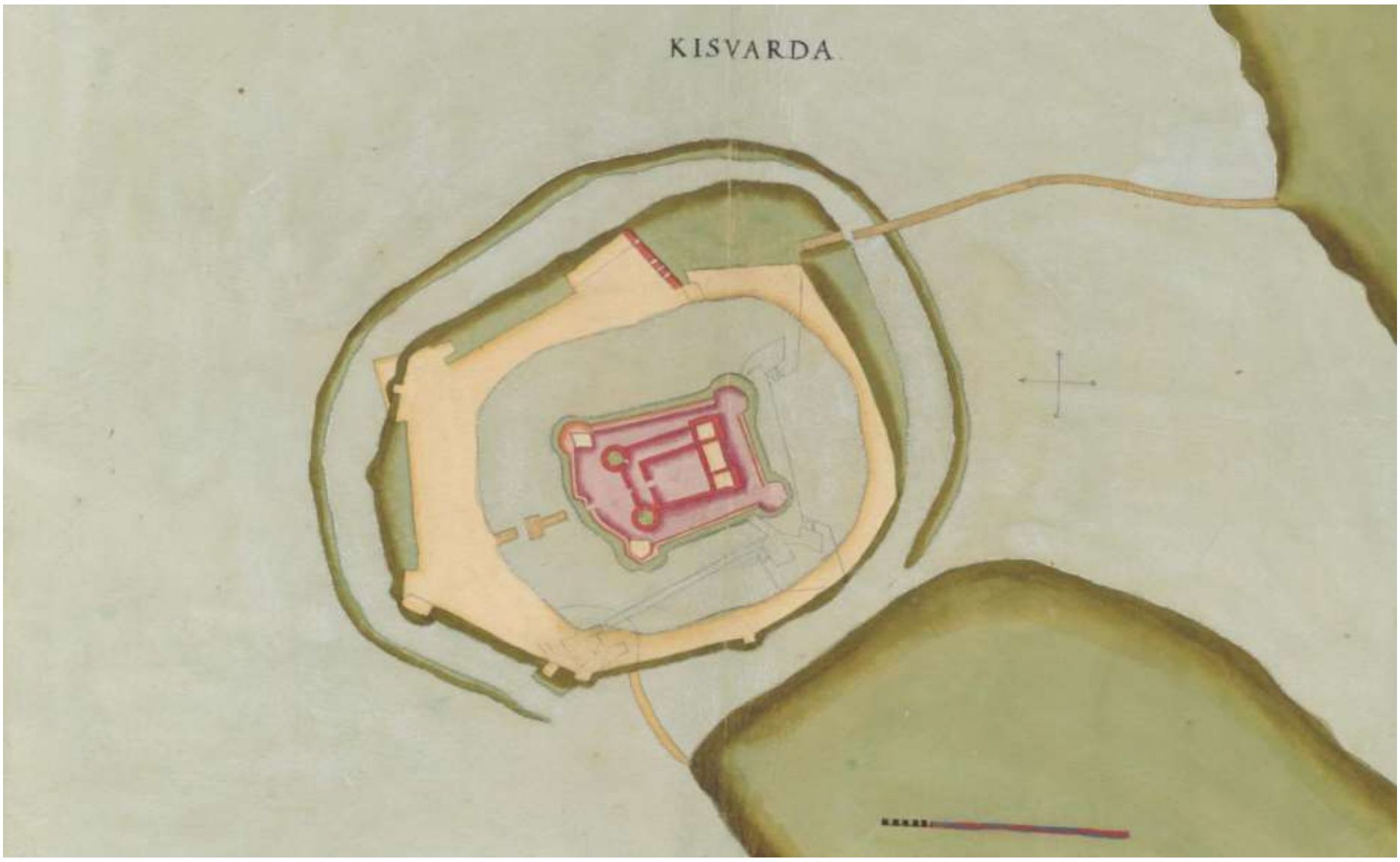

Figure 7. Kisvárda Castle in the Vienna Album II. Pencil, paper, aquarell. “Ichnographiae quadraginta et delineationes propugnaculorum Graecii, Labaci et illorum in Hungaria, Croatia et Dalmatia contra Turcas, Vienna 1600-1633.” p. 85/103 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8607, fol. 40r; (Source: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3850239&order=1&view=SINGLE)

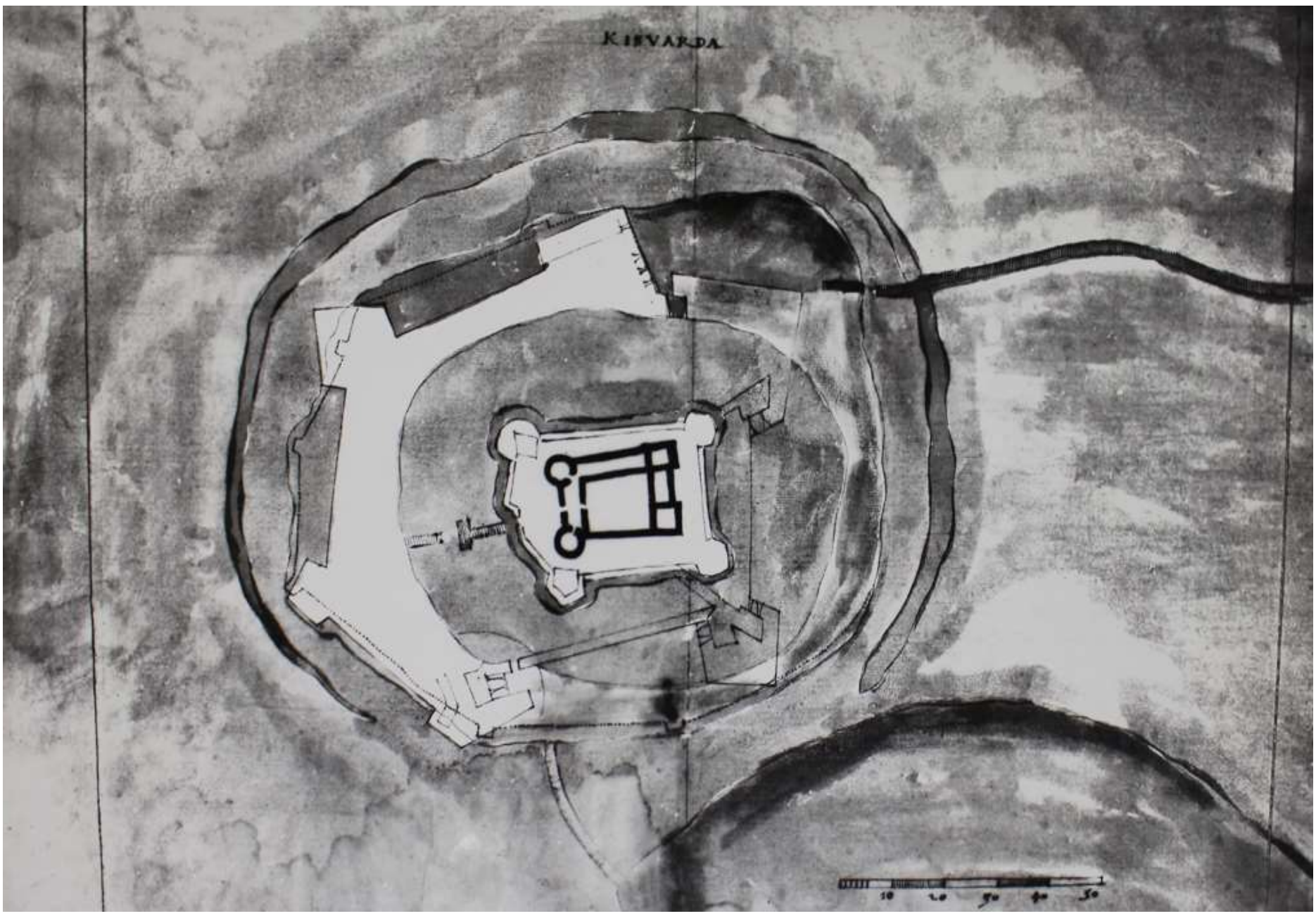

Figure 8. The survey of Kisvárda Castle in Karlsruhe. (MNM 375.K.IV. picture 3; Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Gebundene Karten und Pläne Hfk. [Hausfideikommiss], Bd. XV.)

Figure 9. Kisvárda Castle in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, BSB Cod.icon. 141. (1570/1580-1610). (Source: https:// codicon.digitale-sammlungen.de/ Blatt_bsb00019801,00108. html?prozent=1)

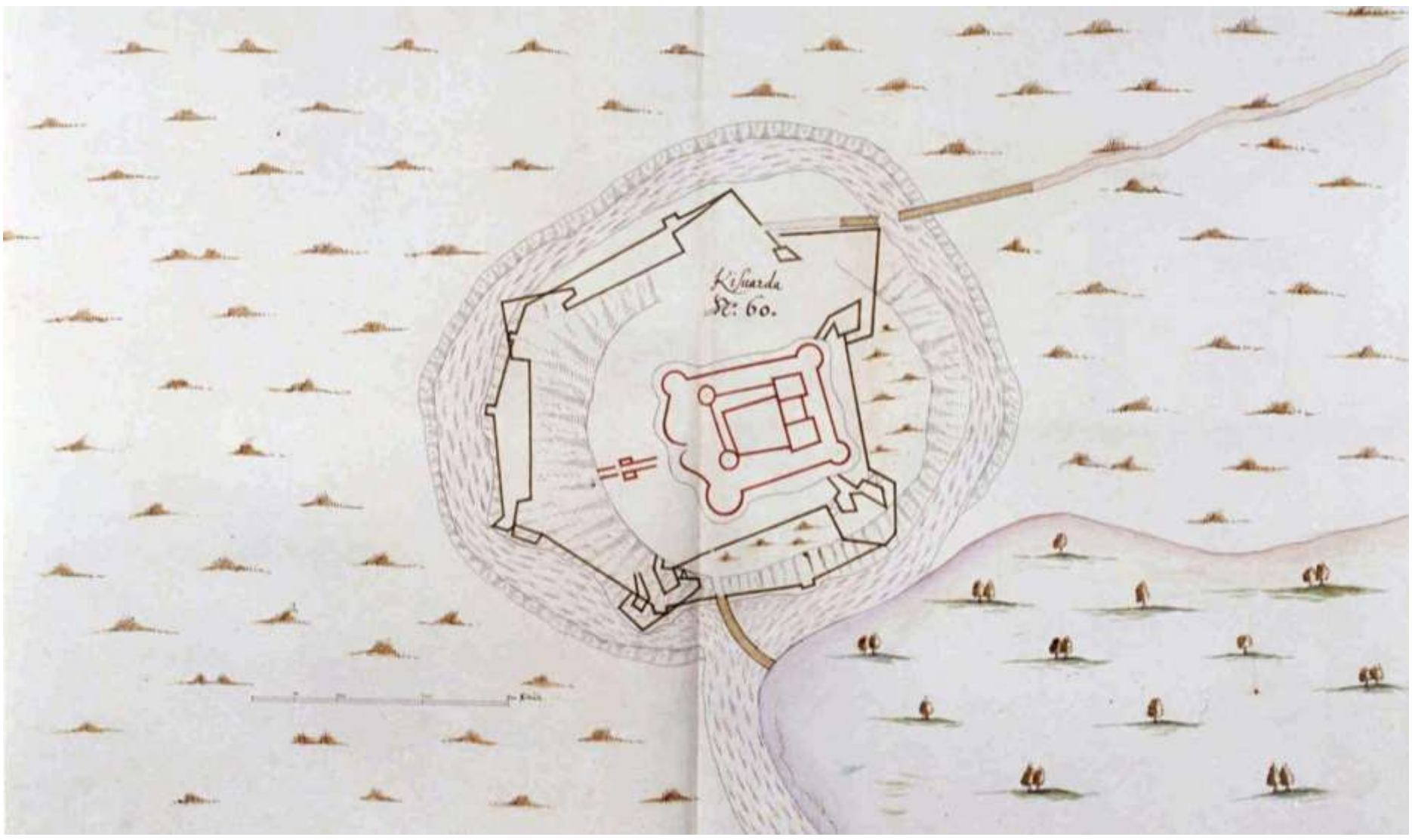

Figure 10. Kisvárda Castle in the Sockholm Album. (Stockholm, Kungliga Krigsarkivet, Handritade kartverk Nr. 23/59. 1650-1699?; György Domokos, "Törökkori Várrajzok Stockholmban. Beszámoló a Stockholmi Királyi Hadilevéltárban Végzett Kutatásról [Ottoman Era Castle Drawings in Stockholm. Report on the Research Made in the Royal Military Archives]," *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 112, no. 1 (1990): 112–16.) (Source: https://sok.riksarkivet.se/nad?postid=Arkis%20d8609198-29af-4479-b095-db07bc4d65a6)

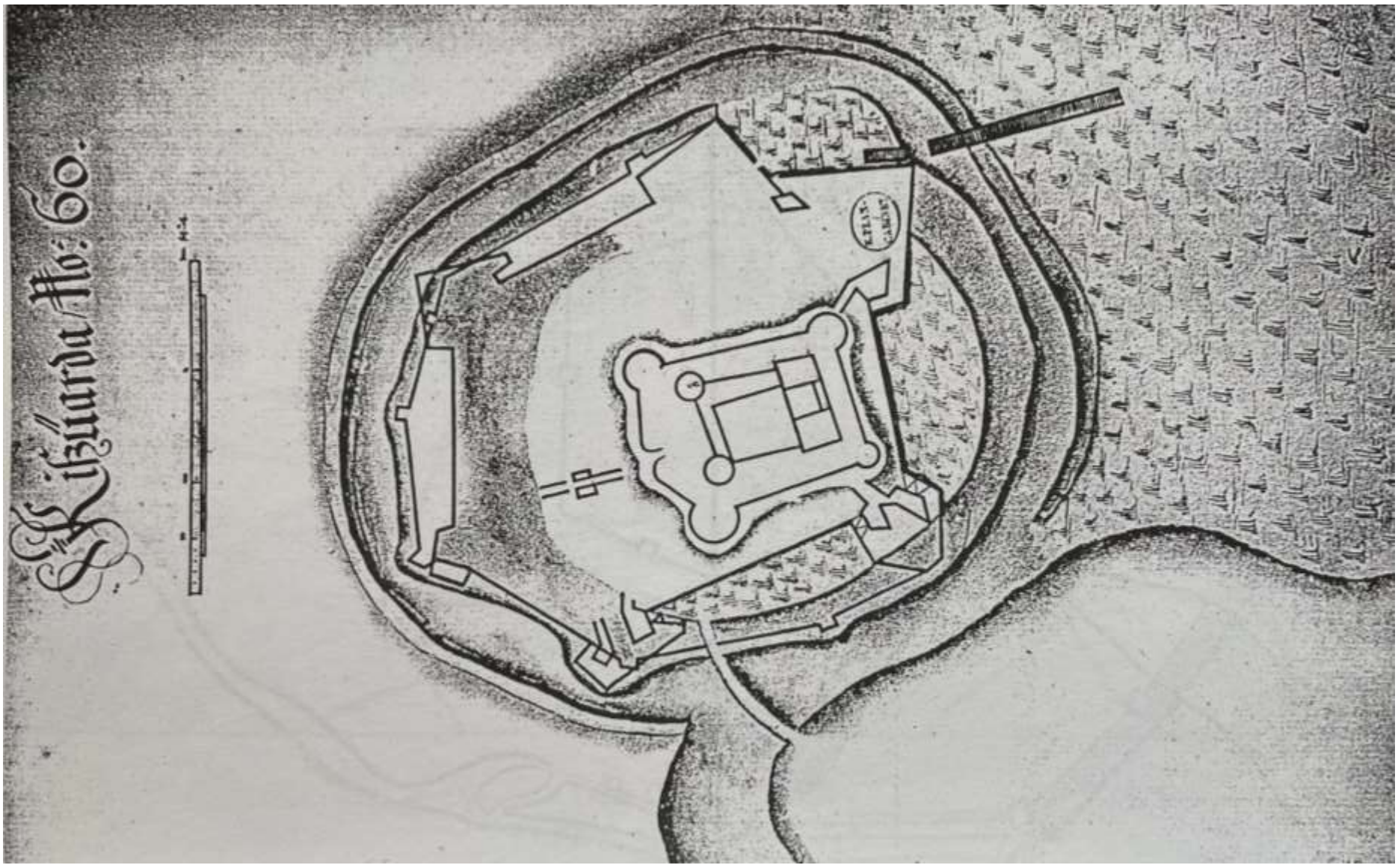

Figure 11. Kisvárda Castle in the Wüttenbergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart. (György Kisari Balla, *Száz várrajz Württembergben [Hundert Festungspläne in Württemberg; A hundred castle depictions in Wüttemberg]*, trans. Piroska Draskóczy (Budapest: Szerzői kiadás, 1998), 139.)

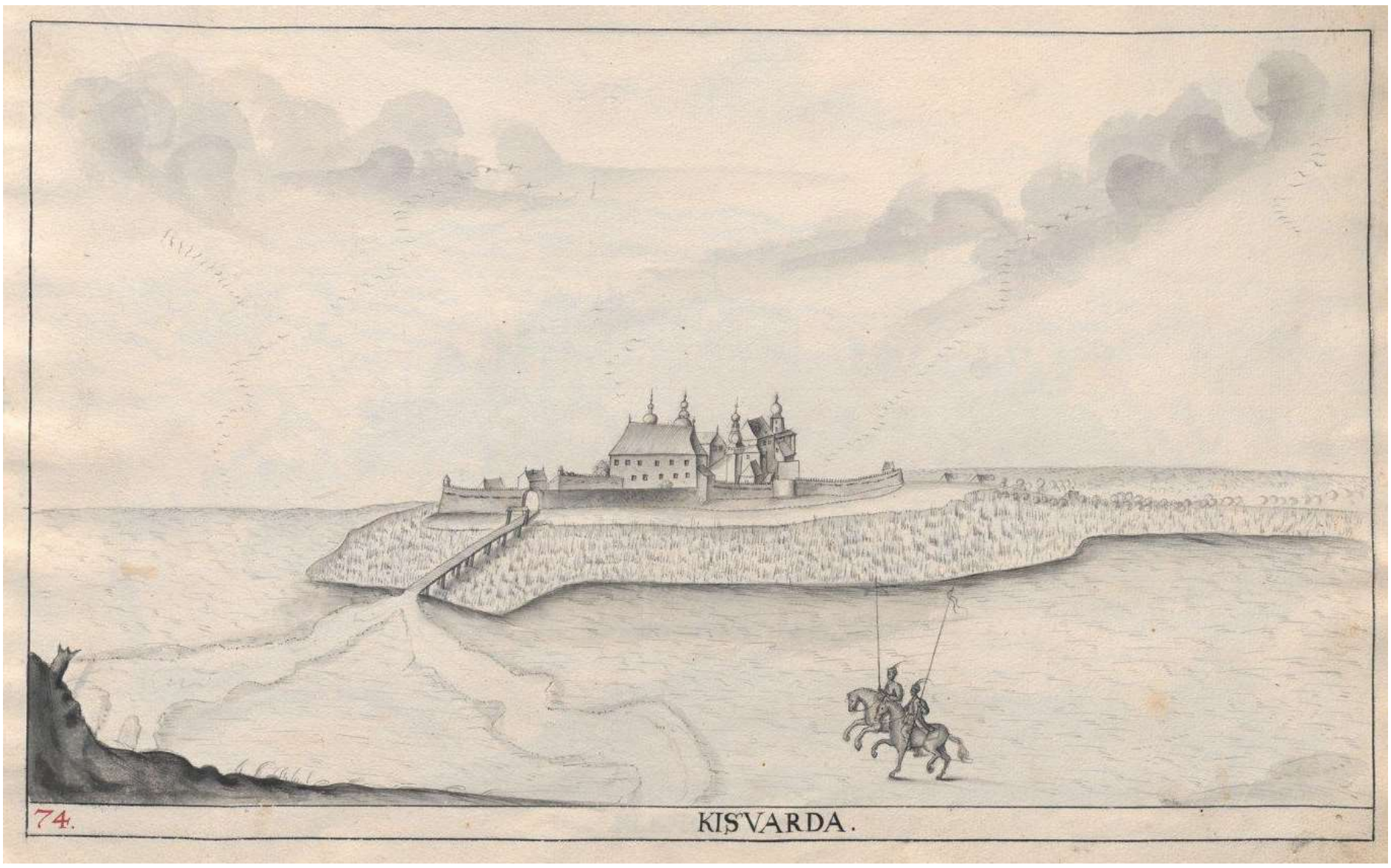

Figure 12. Veduta of Johann Ledentu of Kisvárda, from 1639. Ink, paper. Johannes Ledentu, Regni Hungáriáé confinia (nigro sinico) delineata, nempe ichnographiae urbium, propugnaculorum, arcium etc. in confinibus Hungáriáé et partium adnexarum contra Turcas existentium in septuaginta quinque tabulis. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8622. Fol. 74; Source: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3226228&order=1&view=SINGLE

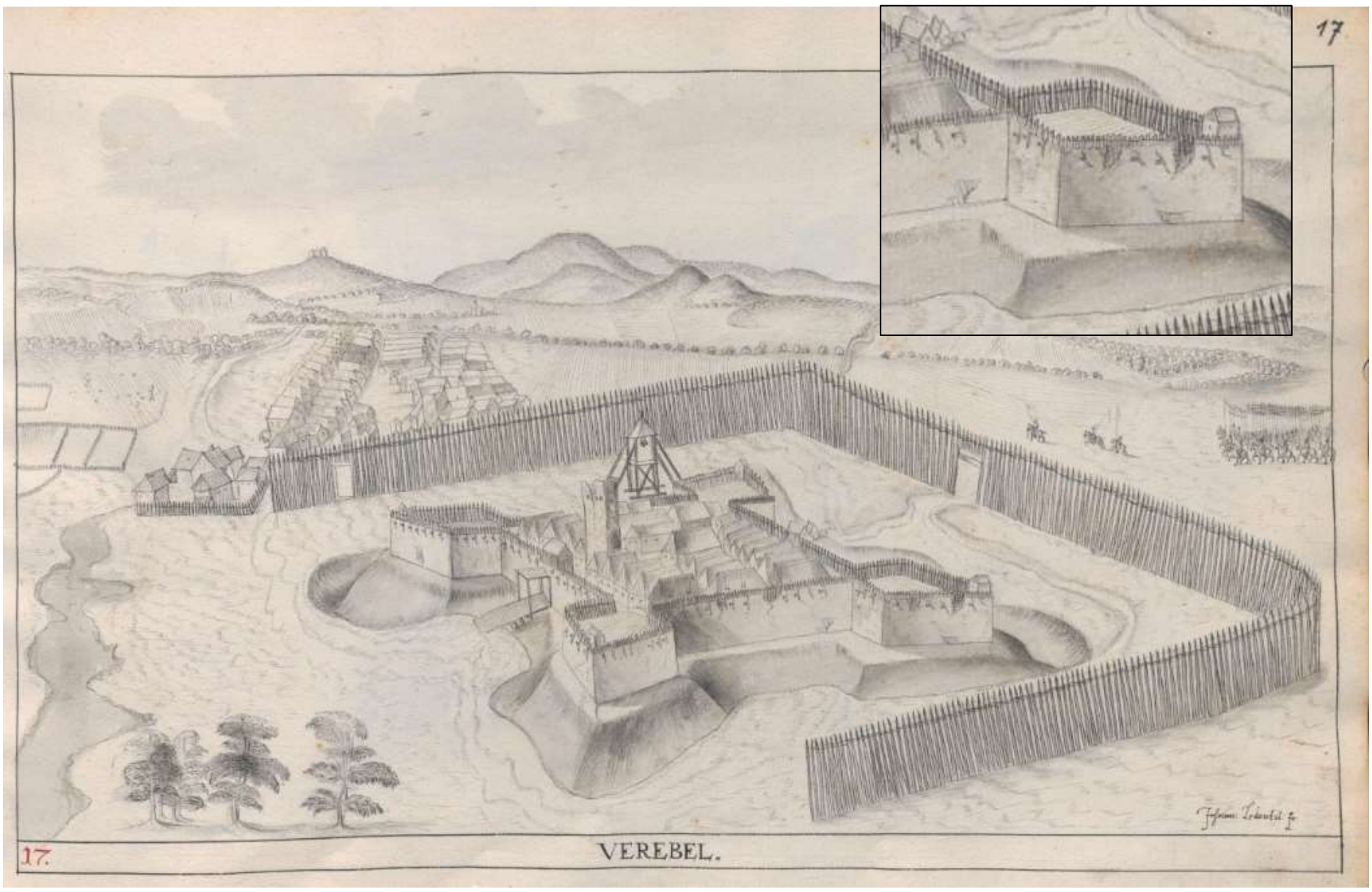

Figure 13. Veduta of Johann Ledentu, of Verebély from 1639. Ink, paper. Johannes Ledentu, Regni Hungáriáé confinia (nigro sinico) delineata, nempe ichnographiae urbium, propugnaculorum, arcium etc. in confinibus Hungáriáé et partium adnexarum contra Turcas existentium in septuaginta quinque tabulis. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8622. Fol. 17; Source: Source: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_3226228&order=1&view=SINGLE)

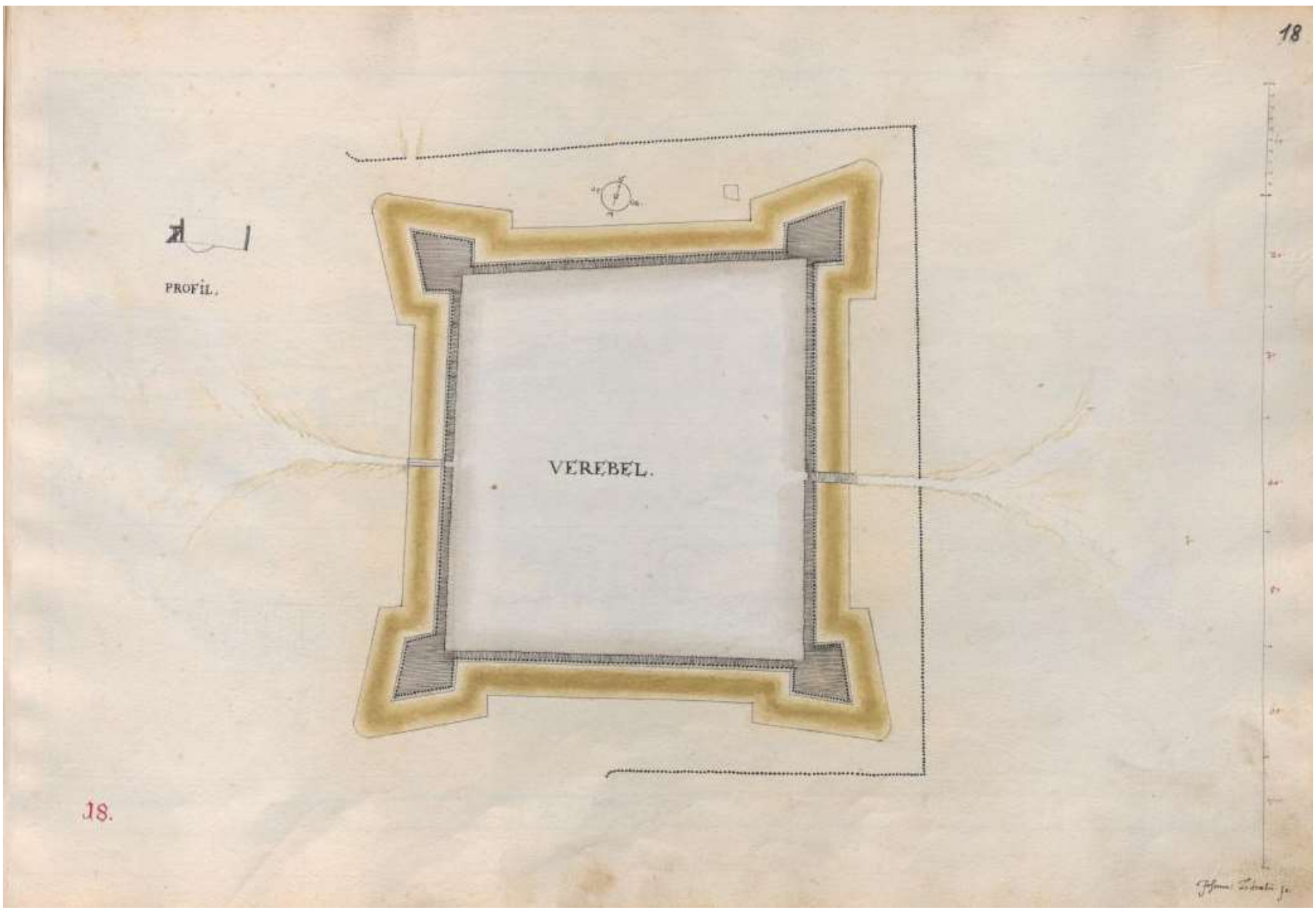

Figure 14. Ground plan and cross-section of the palisade of Verebély, by Johann Ledentu, from 1639. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien, Handschriftensammlung Cod. 8622. Fol. 18)

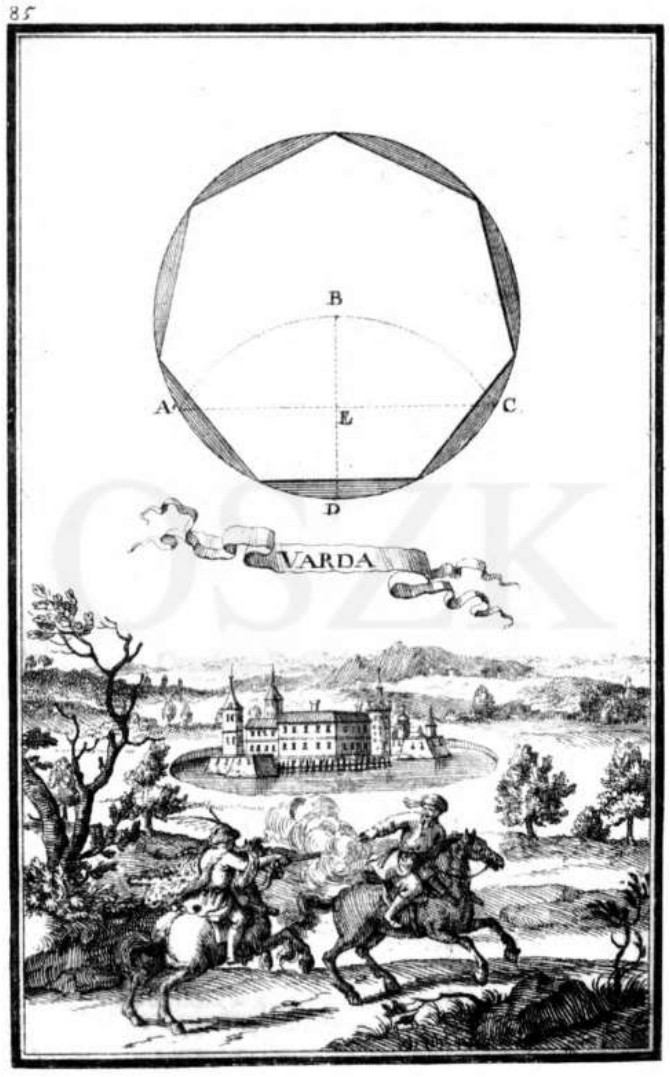

Figure 15. Anthoni Ernst Burckhard von Birckenstein. Das Geometriebuch des Kronprinzen, Wienn, 1686. No. 85: "Varda" Castle. (Source: https:// mek.oszk.hu/19600/19658/ 19658.pdf)

Figure 16. Veduta of Justus van der Nypoort. 1868. (MNL B1 App. M. 1109/63; Source: http:// hdl.handle.net/20.500.12346/1941495)

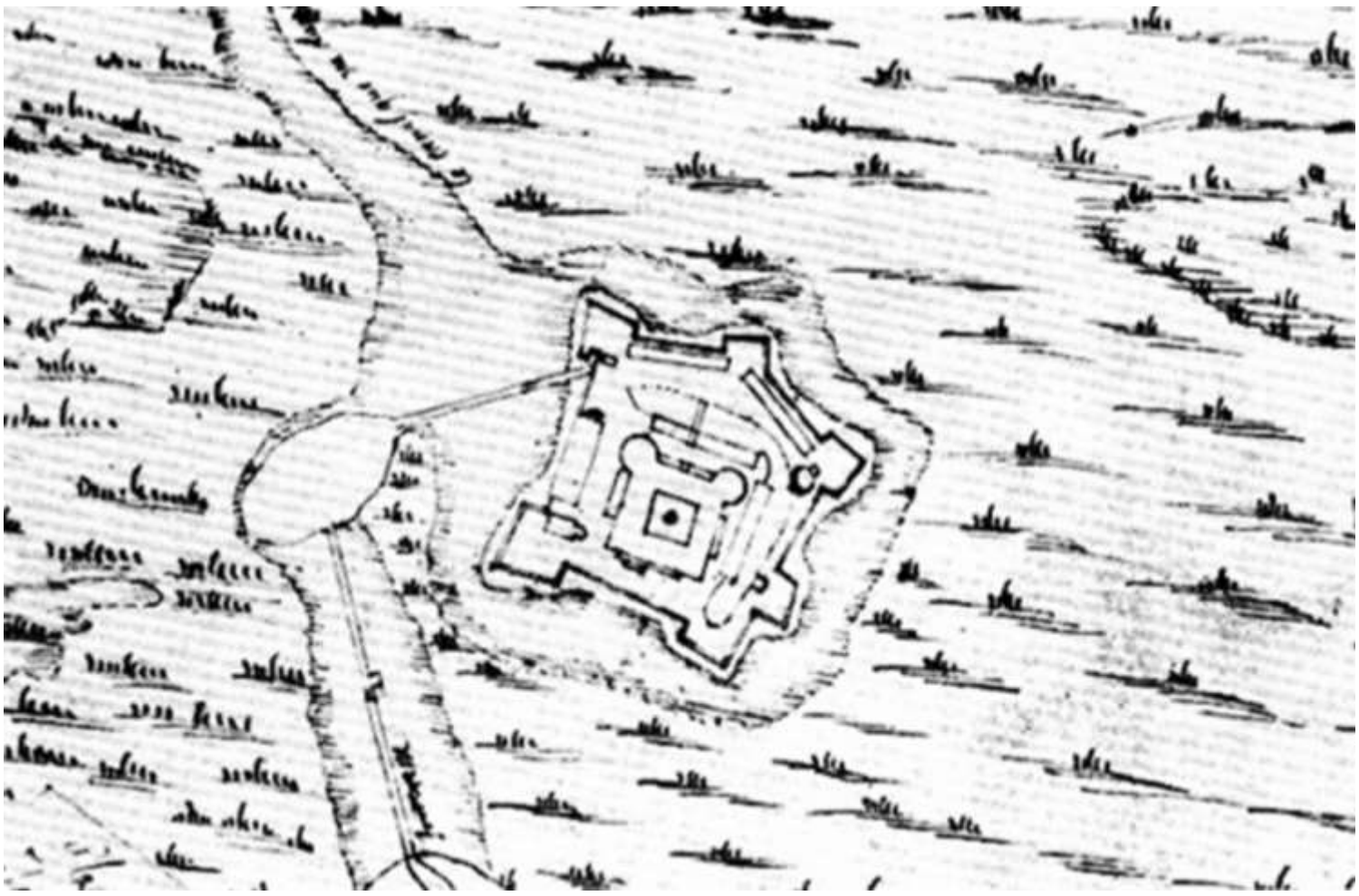

Figure 17. Ground plan of the castle from the seventeenth century. (Zoltán Simon, *A kisvárdai vár inventáriumai. Adalékok a kisvárdai vár történetéhez és helyrajzához [Inventories of Kisvárda Castle. Additional details to the castle's history and topography]*, A Rétközi Múzeum Füzetei, 10. (Gyula: Rétközi Múzeum, 2008), 138.)

Figure 18. Cadastral survey of Kisvárda, 1900. The castle is on the 8. sheet. (Source: https:// maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/MOLTerkeptar/17776/?list=eyJxdWVyeSI6ICJLaXN2XHUwMGUxcmRhIn0, Last access 08.05.2022.)

Figure 19. Archive photo of the castle and the restaurant attached to the southern walls. The photo was taken from the southern side in the 1870s. (Source: https:// www.nyiregyhaza.hu/post/a-kisvardai-var-tortenete-folytatodik-a-helytorteneti-estek-cimu-rendezvenysorozat-2021-04-28 Last access: 10.05.2022.)

Figure 20. The archive photo was taken from the east, around 1900. On the right side the dance hall is visible. (Source: https://www.facebook.com/regenesma/photos/5116799915079995/ Last access: 11.05.2022.)

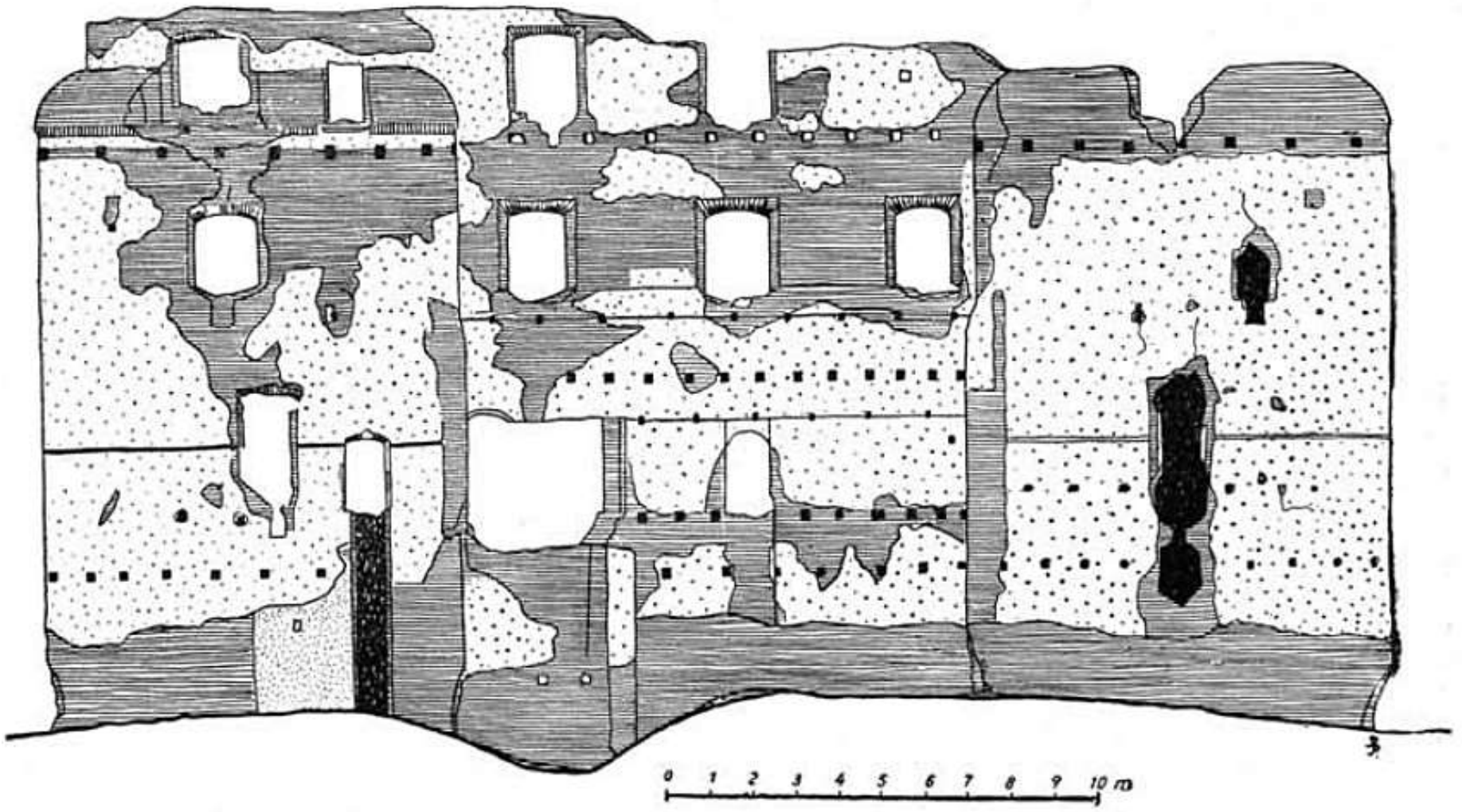

Figure 21. János Sedlmayr's survey, southern façade. (Source: http://epa.oszk.hu/01600/01614/00001/pdf/nyjame_01_1958_129-142.pdf)

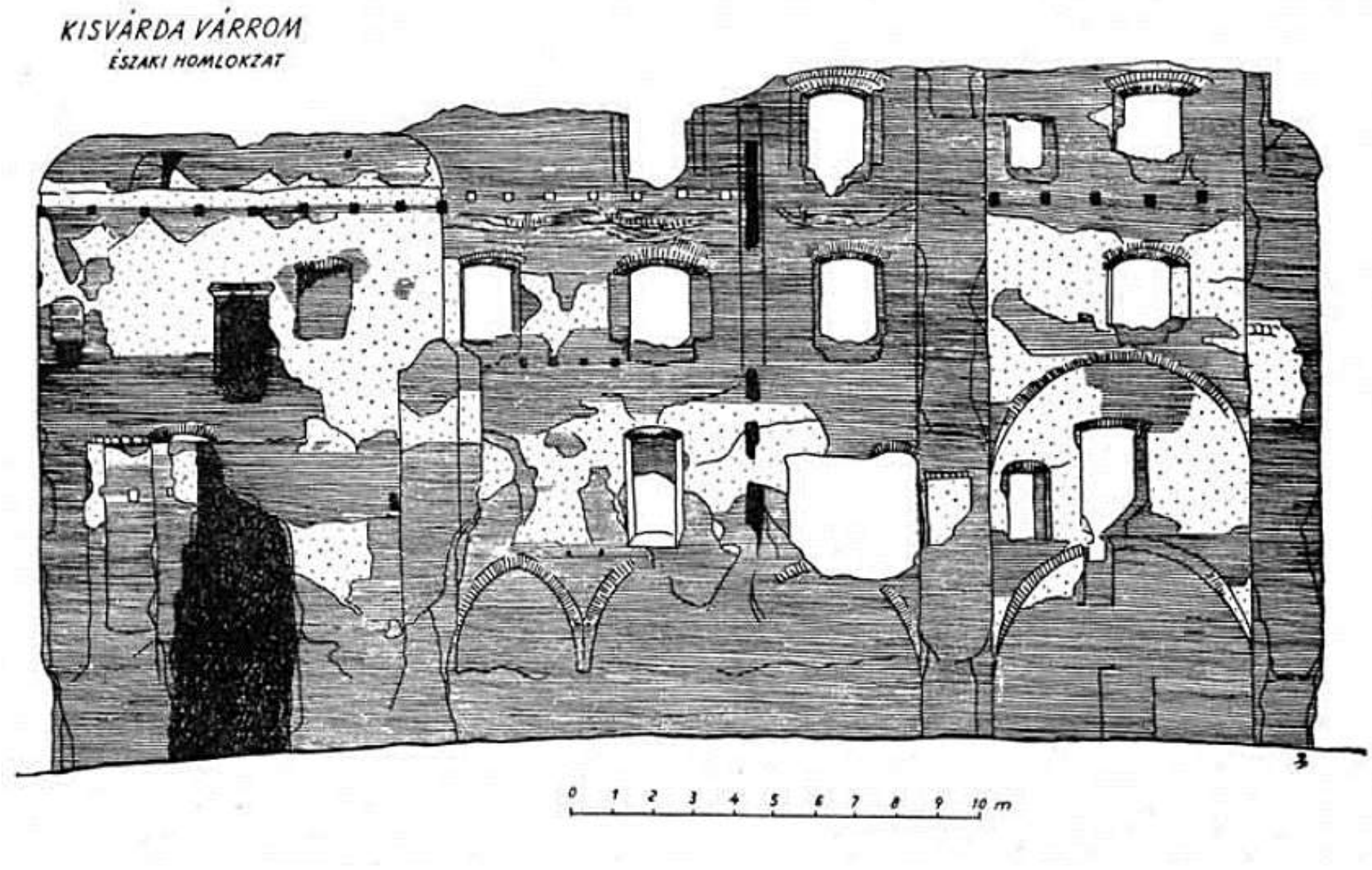

Figure 22. János Sedlmayr's survey, northern façade. (Source: http://epa.oszk.hu/01600/01614/00001/pdf/nyjame_01_1958_129-142.pdf)

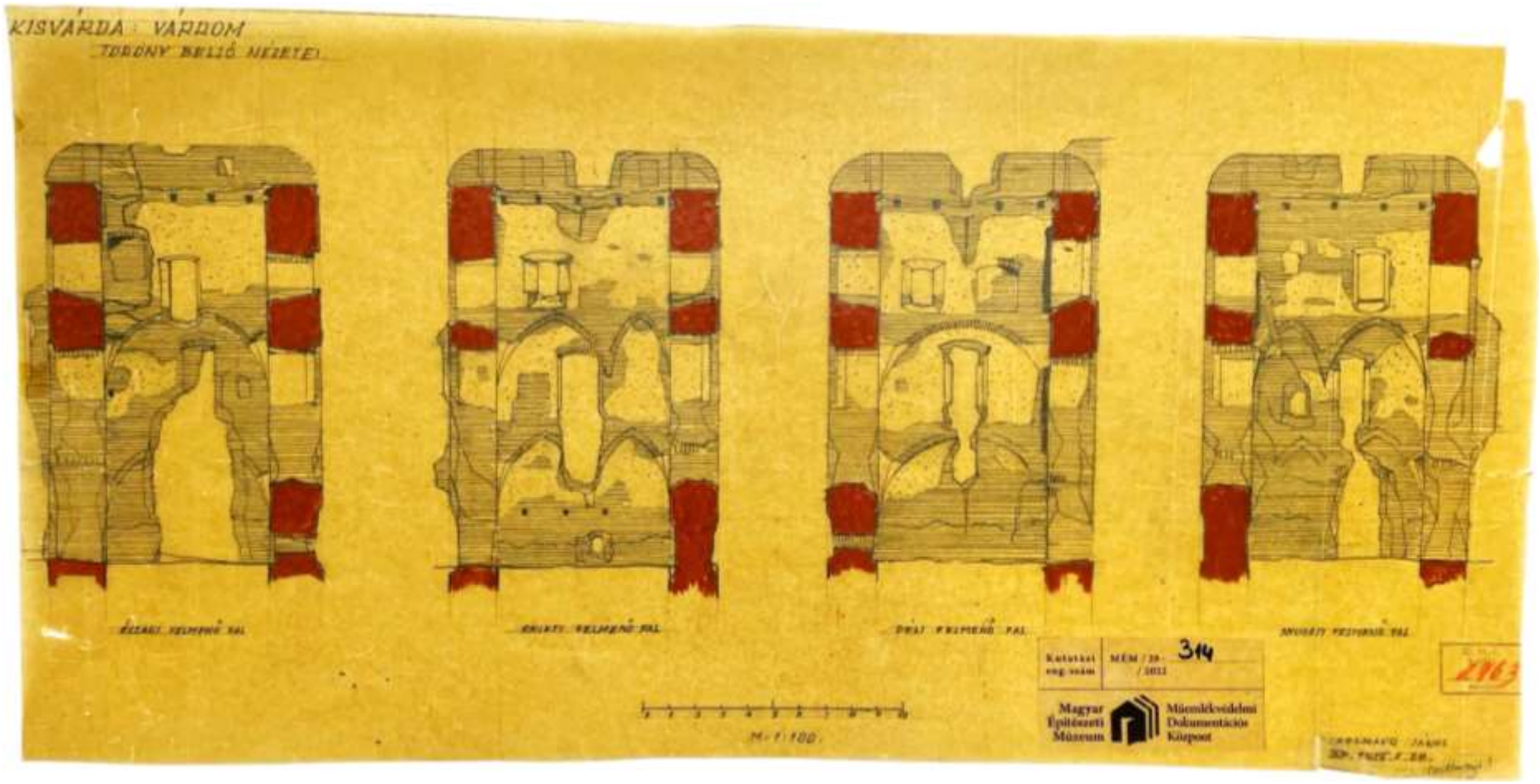

Figure 23. János Sedlmayr's survey, the inside of the southeast tower. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 2963. sheet.)

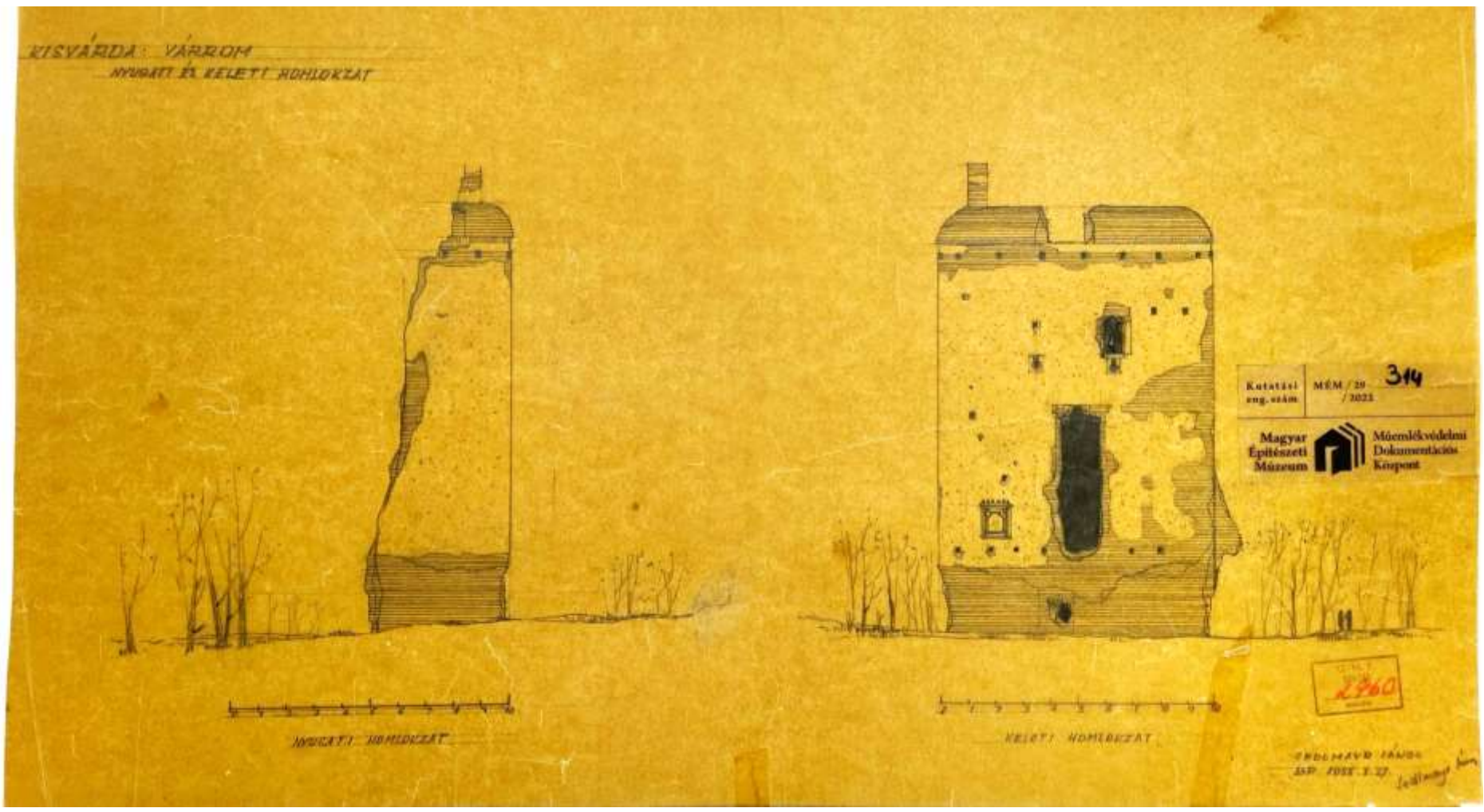

Figure 24. János Sedlmayr's survey, western (left), eastern (right) façade. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 2960. sheet.)

Figure 25. The memorial plaque of 1896, was renewed in 1955. (Source: https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kisv%C3%A1rdai_v%C3%A1r#/media/F%C3%A1jl:V%C3%A1r,_eml%C3%A9kt%C3%A1bla,_2008-04-03_Kisv%C3%A1rda25.jpg Last access: 10. 05. 2022.)

Figure 26. Memorial plaque of 1961, László Császár. (Source: http://sesztak.fidesz.hu/hirek/2021/03/16/megujul-a-kisvardai-var#prettyPhoto[pp_gal]/4/ Last access: 10.05.2022.)

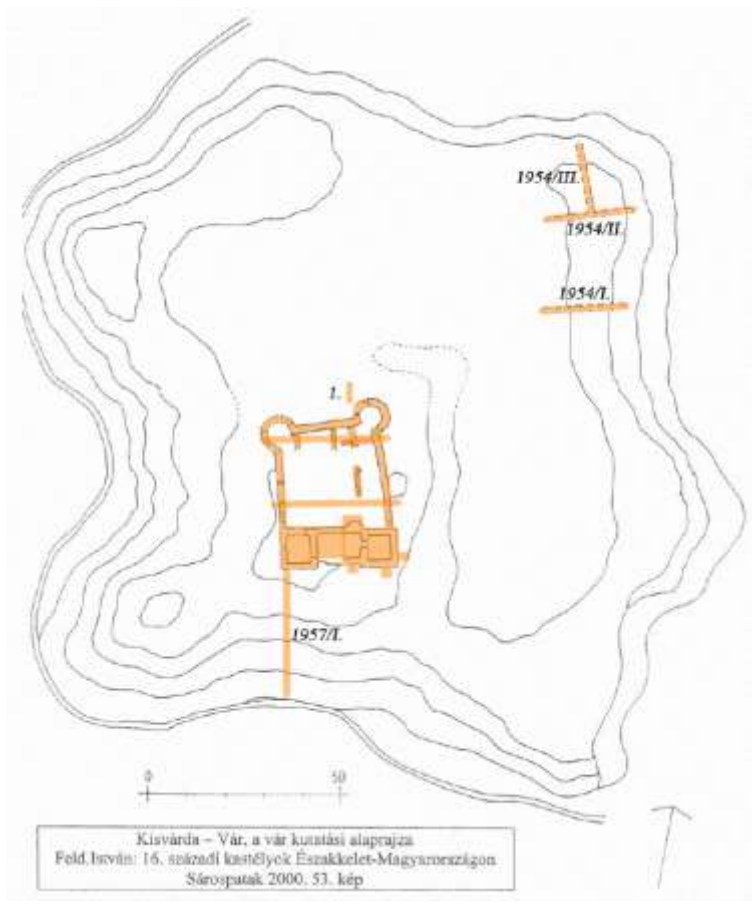

Figure 27. Survey of the excavations of István Éri between 1954-1961. The approximate location of the demolished stone wall is marked with no. 1. (István Feld, "A kisvárdai vár [The Castle of Kisvárda]," Castrum Bene Hírlevél 2003 (2003): 58.)

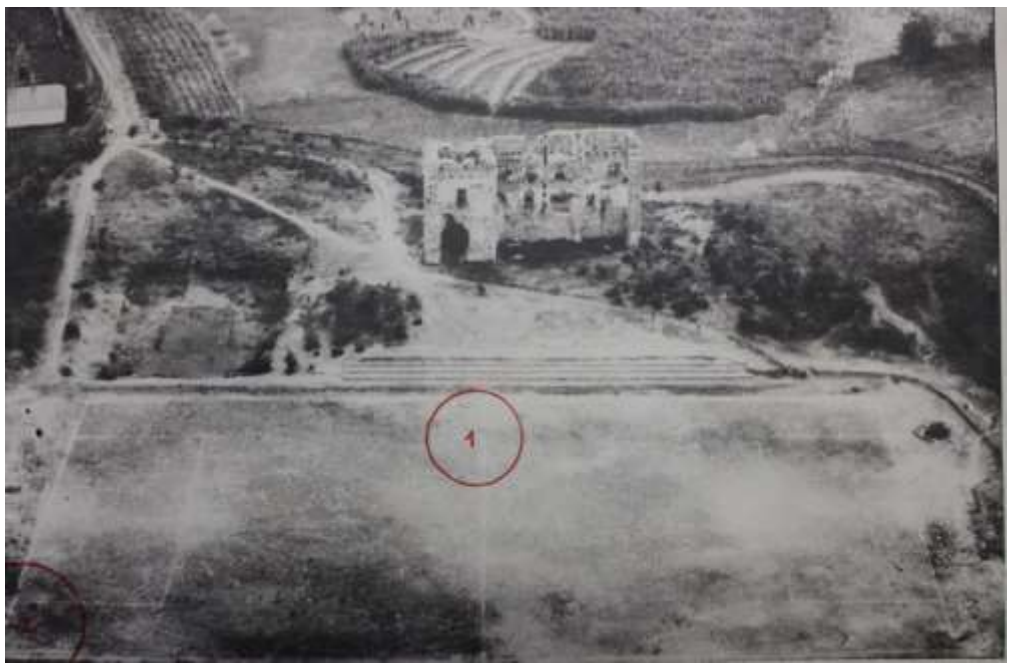

Figure 28. Aerial photograph of the castle from 1954. No 1. is the territory of the excavated and then destructed walls, no. 2 is where Éri opened his trenches on the northeast bastion. On the right side of the photo the well, excavated in 1955, can be seen, while on the left the tennis court. The castle's surrounding is an agricultural area. (MNM 375.K.4; 1. picture)

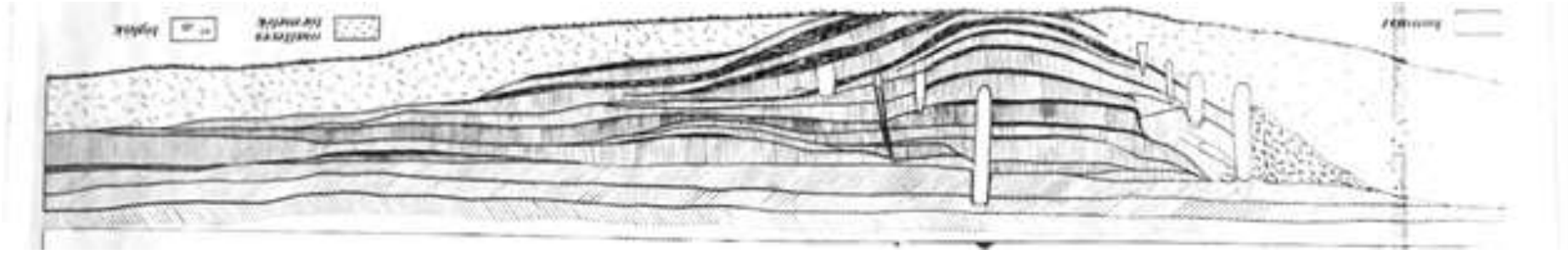

Figure 29. The northern profile of the Trench 1954/II. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073)

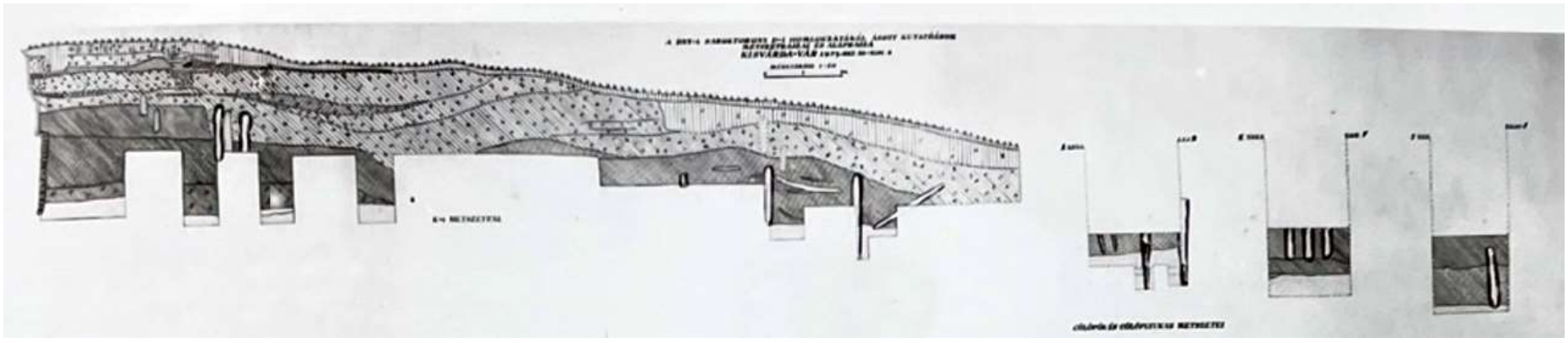

Figure 30. The eastern profile of the Trench 1957/I. On the left side the inner fortification's cross-section, on the right the "Angelini" palisade's cross-section can be seen. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073)

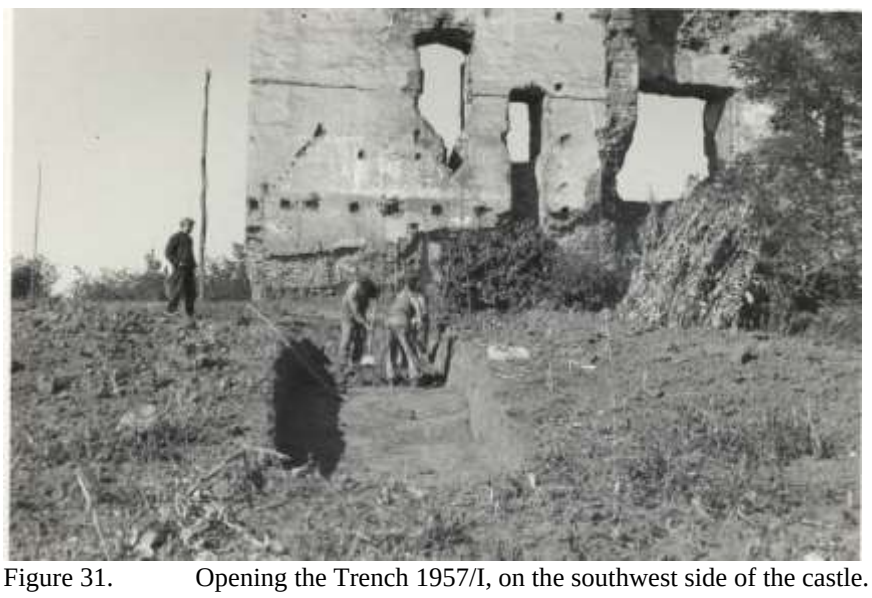

Figure 31. Opening the Trench 1957/I, on the southwest side of the castle. (Source: https://www.vardaimuzeum.hu/hu/szolgaltatasok/galeria/regeszet-napja-2020-0 Last access: 10.05.2022.)

Figure 32. Trench 1957/I, the inner palisade after cutting half the postholes. (Source: https://www.vardaimuzeum.hu/hu/szolgaltatasok/galeria/regeszet-napja-2020-0 Last access: 10.05.2022.)

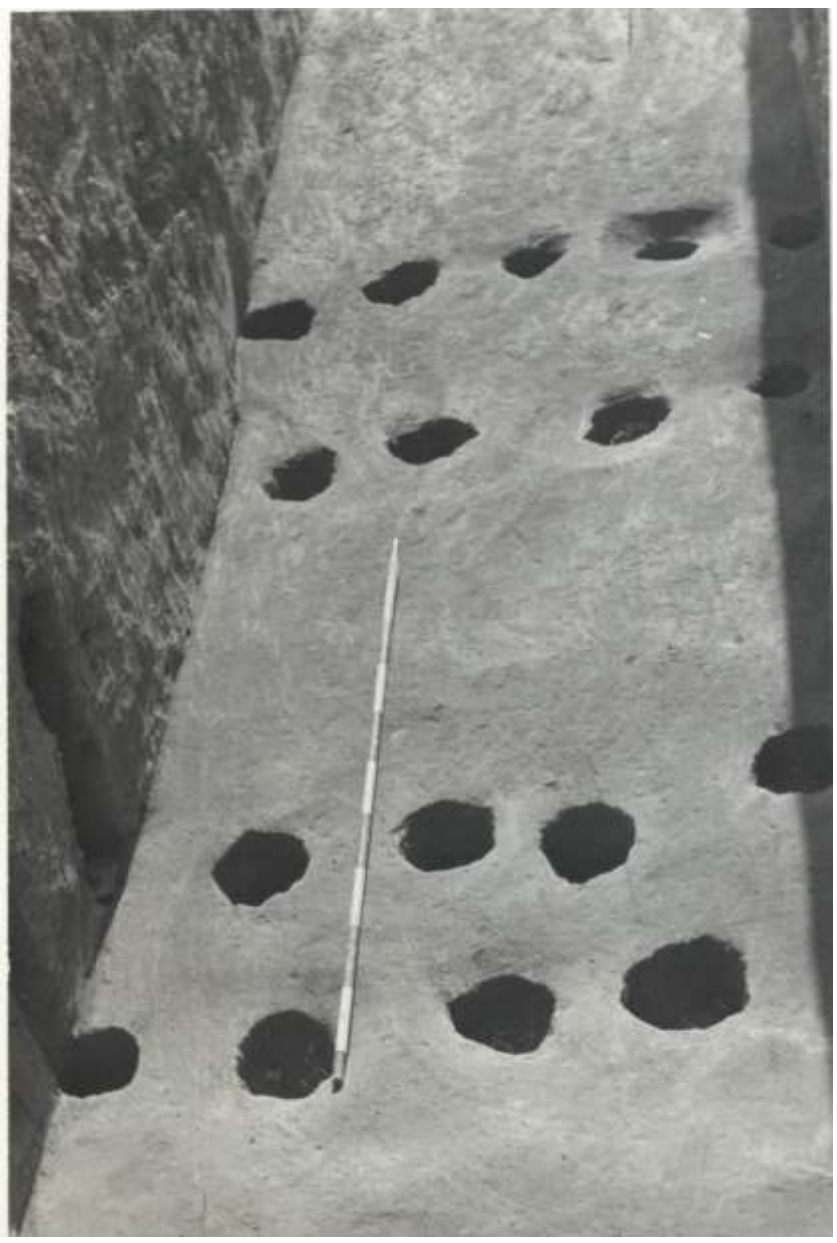

Figure 33. Trench 1957/I, the inner palisade. (Source: https://www.vardaimuzeum.hu/hu/szolgaltatasok/galeria/regeszet-napja-2020-0 Last access: 10.05.2022.)

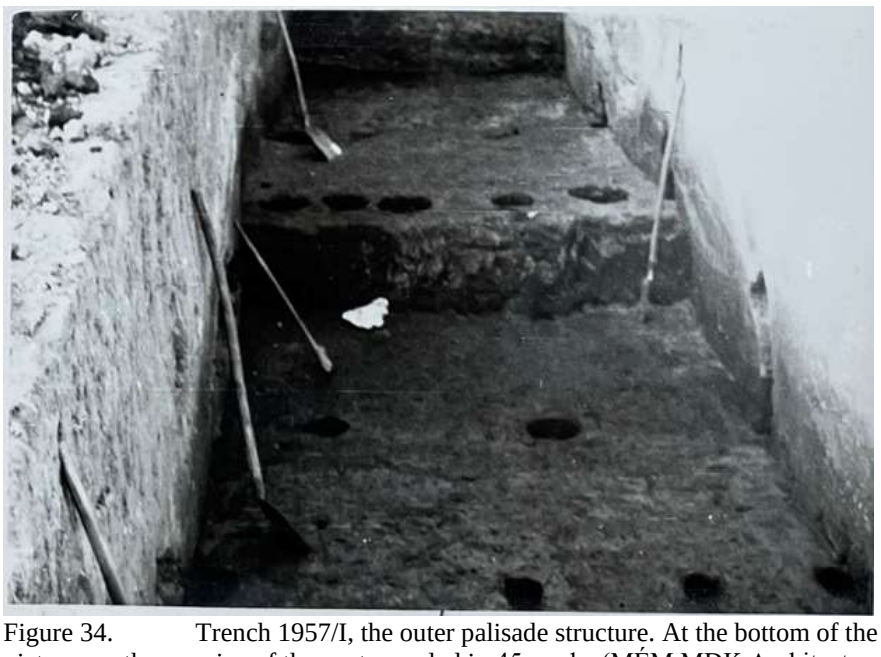

Figure 34. Trench 1957/I, the outer palisade structure. At the bottom of the picture are the remains of the posts, angled in 45 grade. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073, Table 31, Picture 52.)

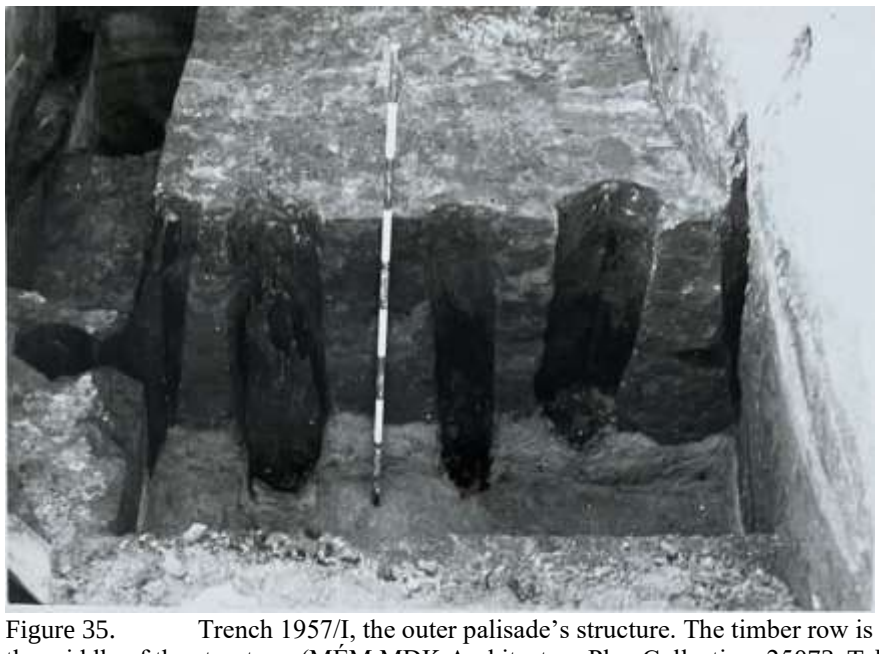

Figure 35. Trench 1957/I, the outer palisade's structure. The timber row is in the middle of the structure. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073, Table 31, Picture 53.)

Figure 36. Trench 1957/I, the outer palisade's structure. The two meters long horizontal beam between the middle and outer posts. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073, Table 31, Picture 56.)

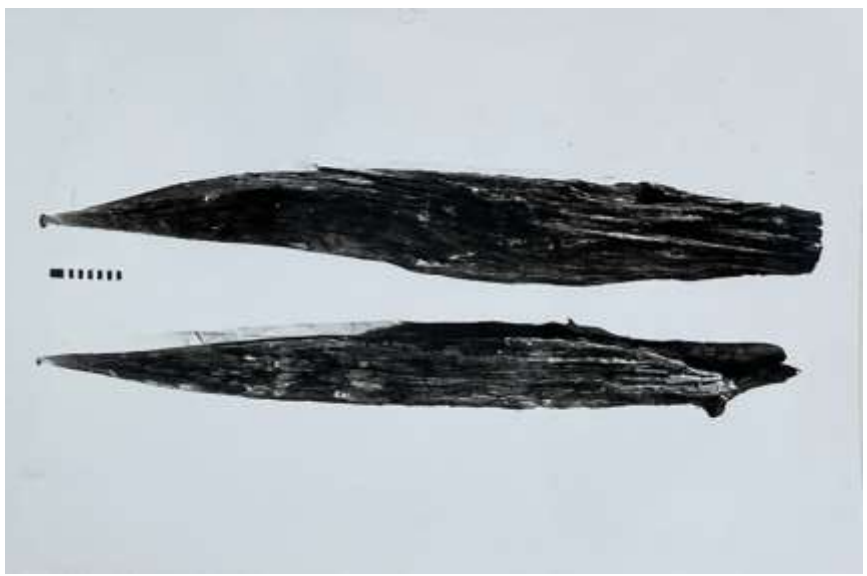

Figure 37. Trench 1957/I, timbers from the outer palisade's structure. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073, Table 31, Picture 57.)

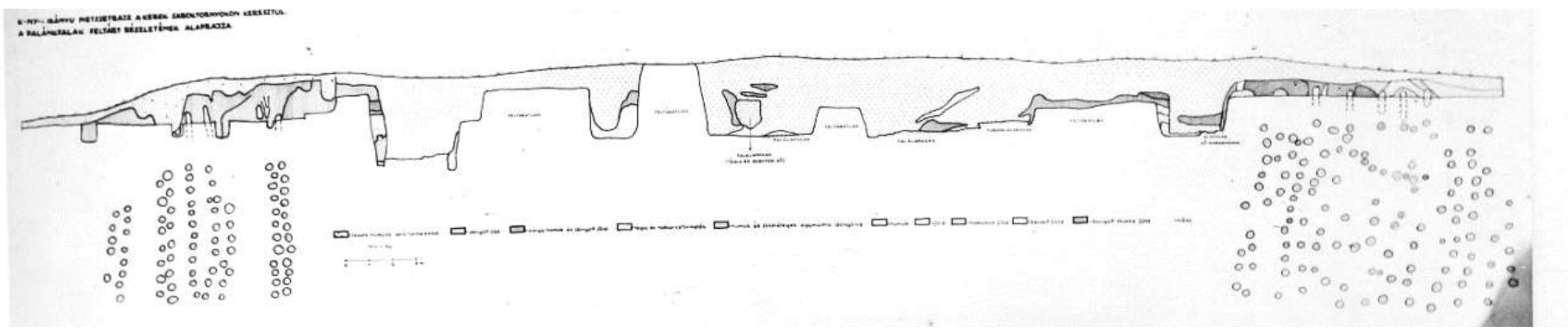

Figure 38. Excavated zone by the side of the rounded towers, Trench 1960/east-west. Southern profile, the ground plan is oriented to the profile. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25073)

Figure 39. Trench 1960/east-west. The photo was taken of the eastern end of the trench. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25074, Table 35, Picture "b")

Figure 40. Trench 1960/east-west. The photo was taken of the western end of the trench. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25074, Table 36. Picture "b")

Figure 41. Trench 1960/east-west. The photo was taken of the western end of the trench. Behind the trench the football field and the northwest bastion can be seen. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 25074, Table 28, Picture "a")

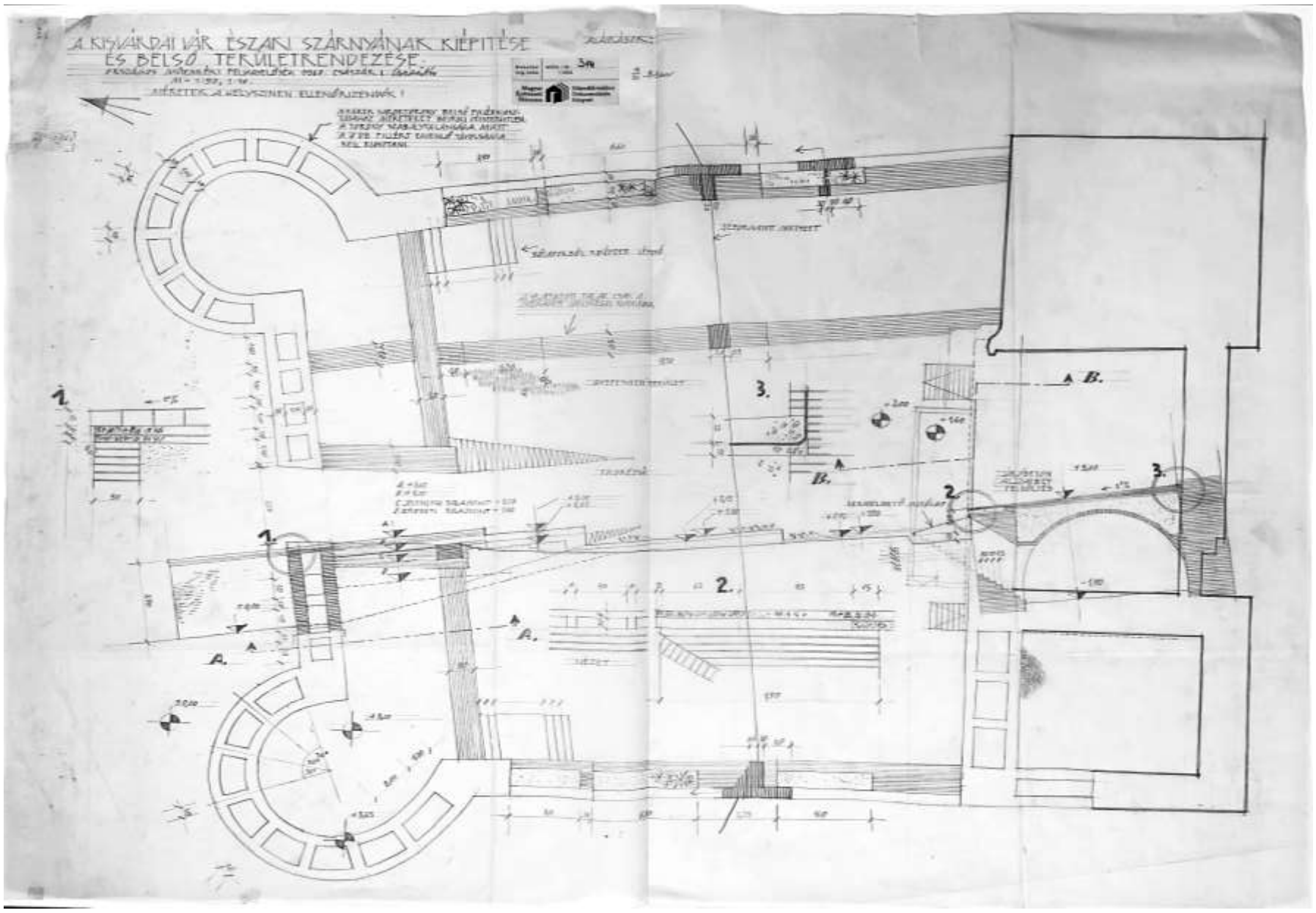

Figure 42. Ground plan of László Császár from 1960. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 63/12461)

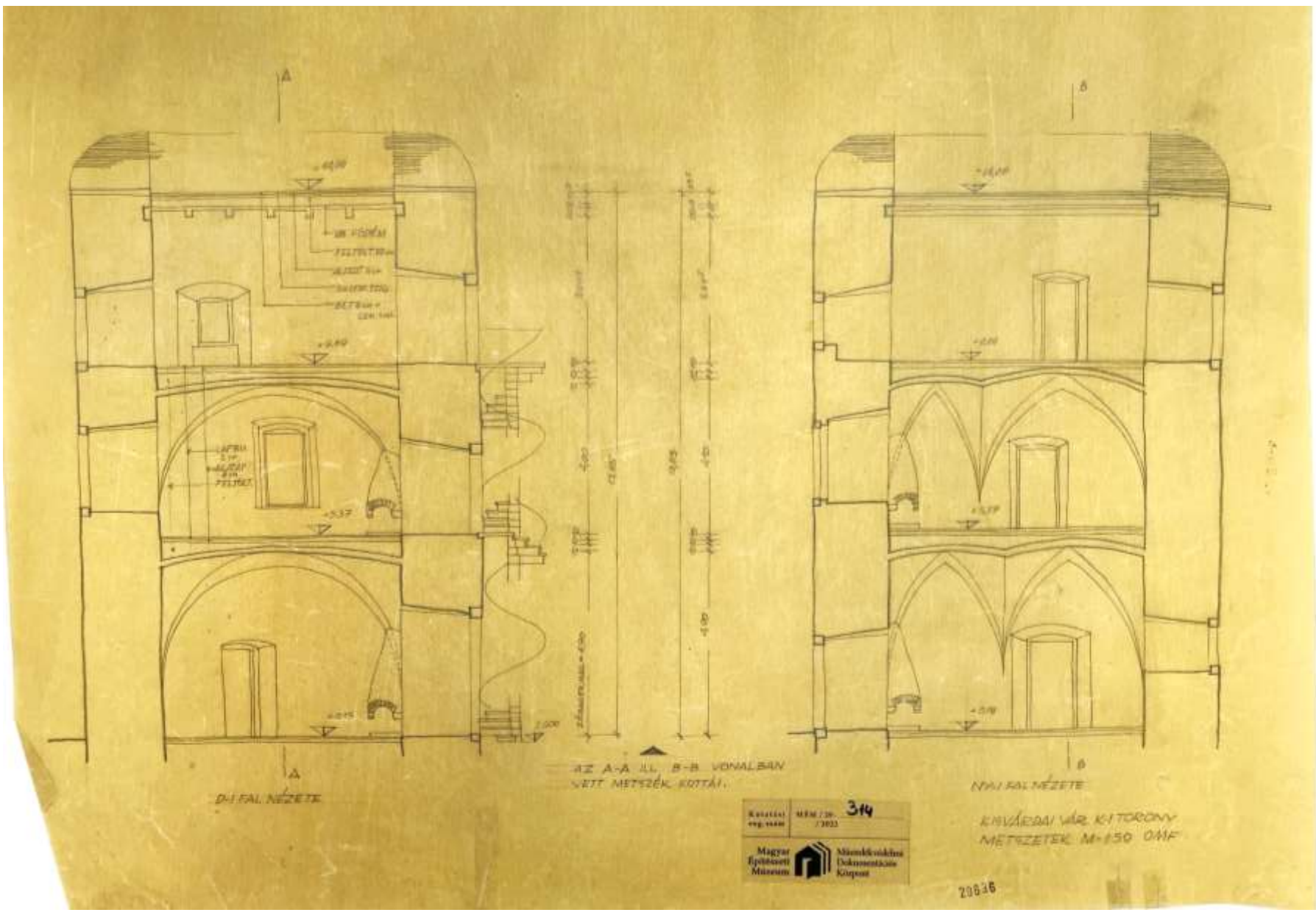

Figure 43. Plan for the southeast tower inside, by László Császár from 1960. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 29636)

Figure 44. Exhibition of the castle in the town's training college, from 1954. (Source: https://www.vardaimuzeum.hu/hu/szolgaltatasok/galeria/regeszet-napja-2020-0 Last access: 10.05.2022.)

Figure 45. The directorate of the Castle Museum in 1963. The walls of the southern façade were plastered and whitewashed. (Source: https://www.facebook.com/regenesma/photos/4157052701054726/ Last access: 10.05.2022.)

Figure 46. Arial photo of the castle, taken in 01.10.1959. (Source: https://www.fentrol.hu/hu/ Last access: 09.05.2022.)

Figure 47. Arial photo of the castle, taken in 17.05.1966. (Source: https://www.fentrol.hu/hu/ Last access: 09.05.2022.)

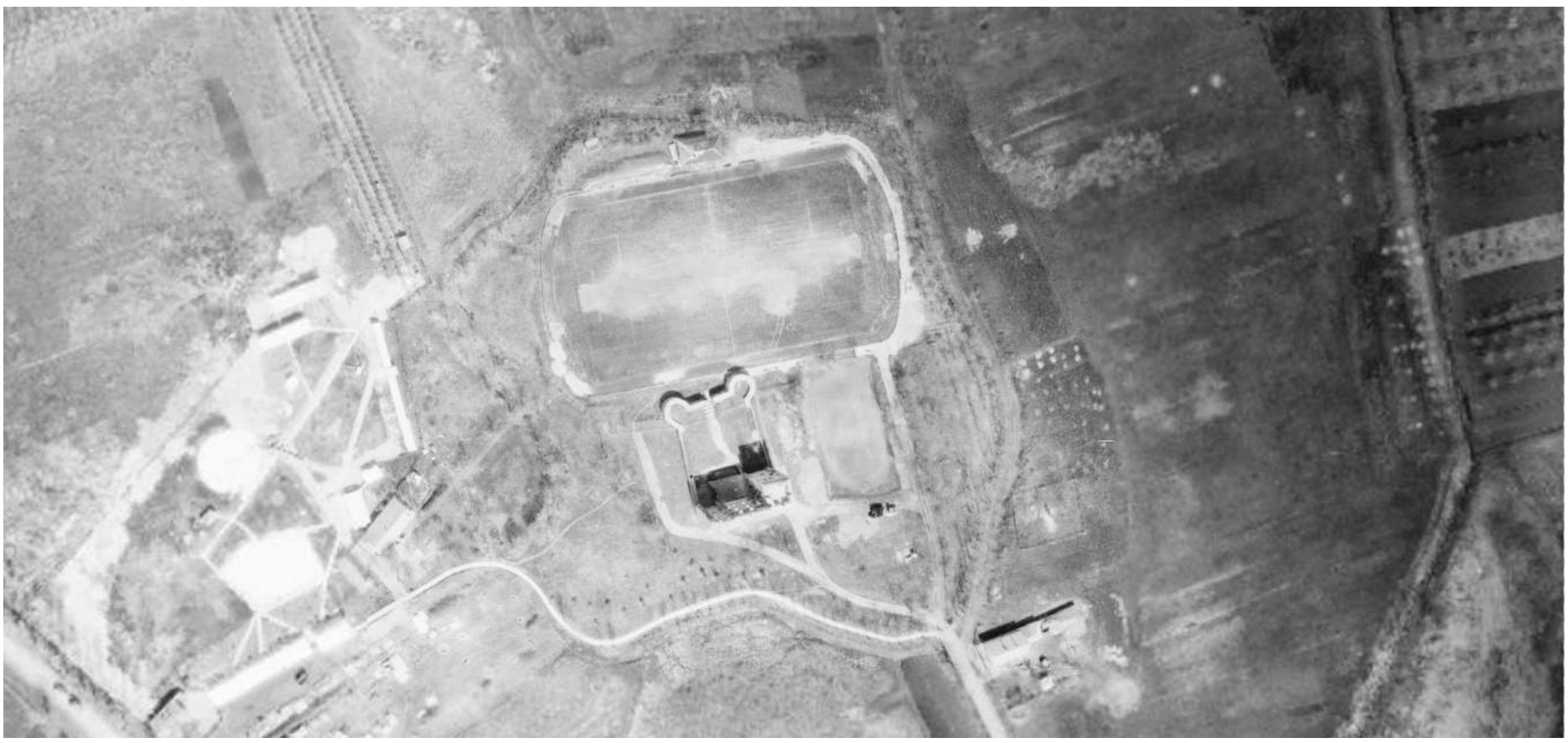

Figure 48. Arial photo of the castle, taken in 23.04.1970. (Source: https://www.fentrol.hu/hu/ Last access: 09.05.2022.)

Figure 49. Arial photo of the castle, taken in 14.07.1987. (Source: https://www.fentrol.hu/hu/ Last access: 09.05.2022.)

Figure 50. The cross-section of the plan veriations by József Erdős, in 1970 (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 035116)

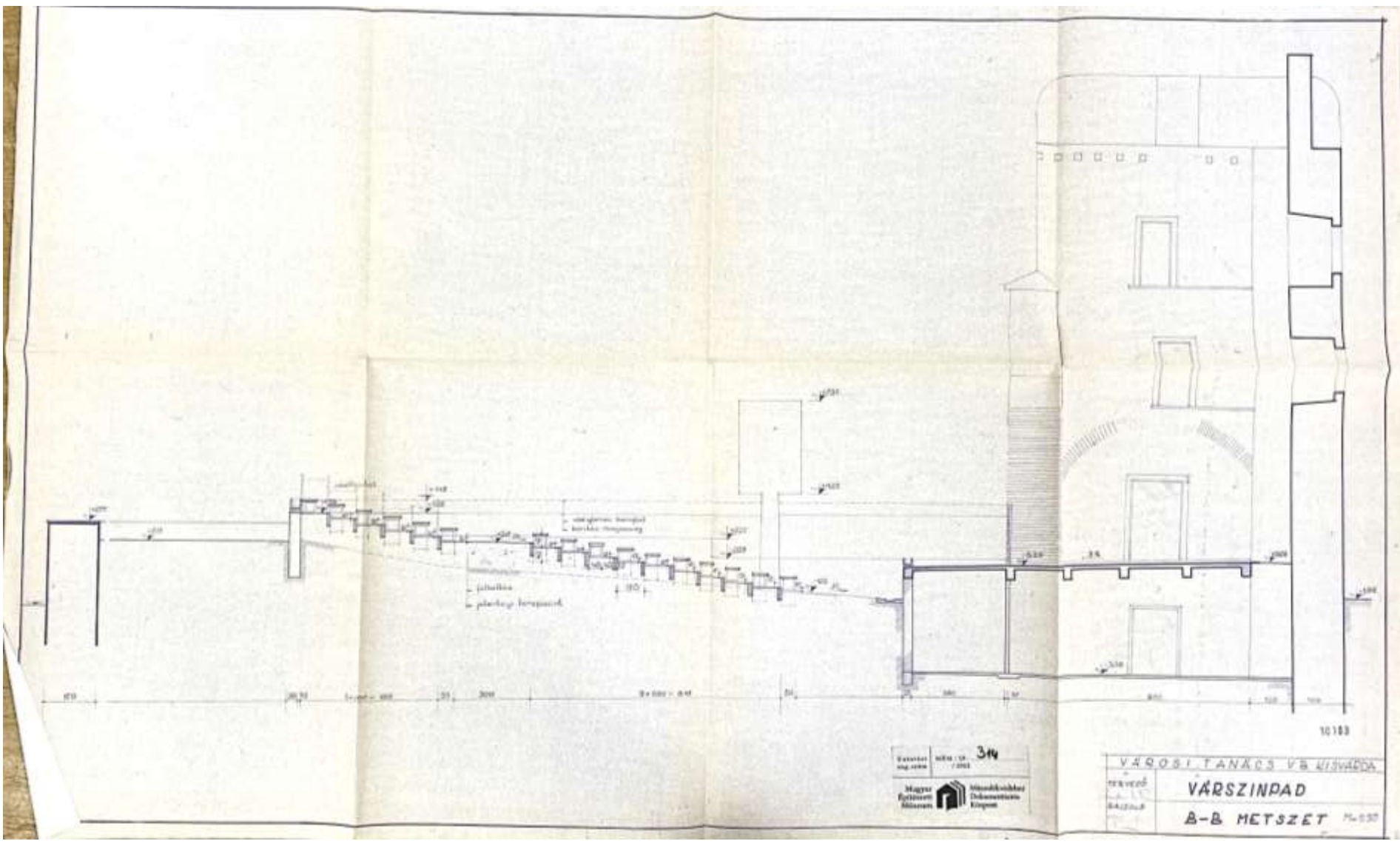

Figure 51. The cross-section of the plan made by Mrs. István Fodor, in 1972. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 10103)

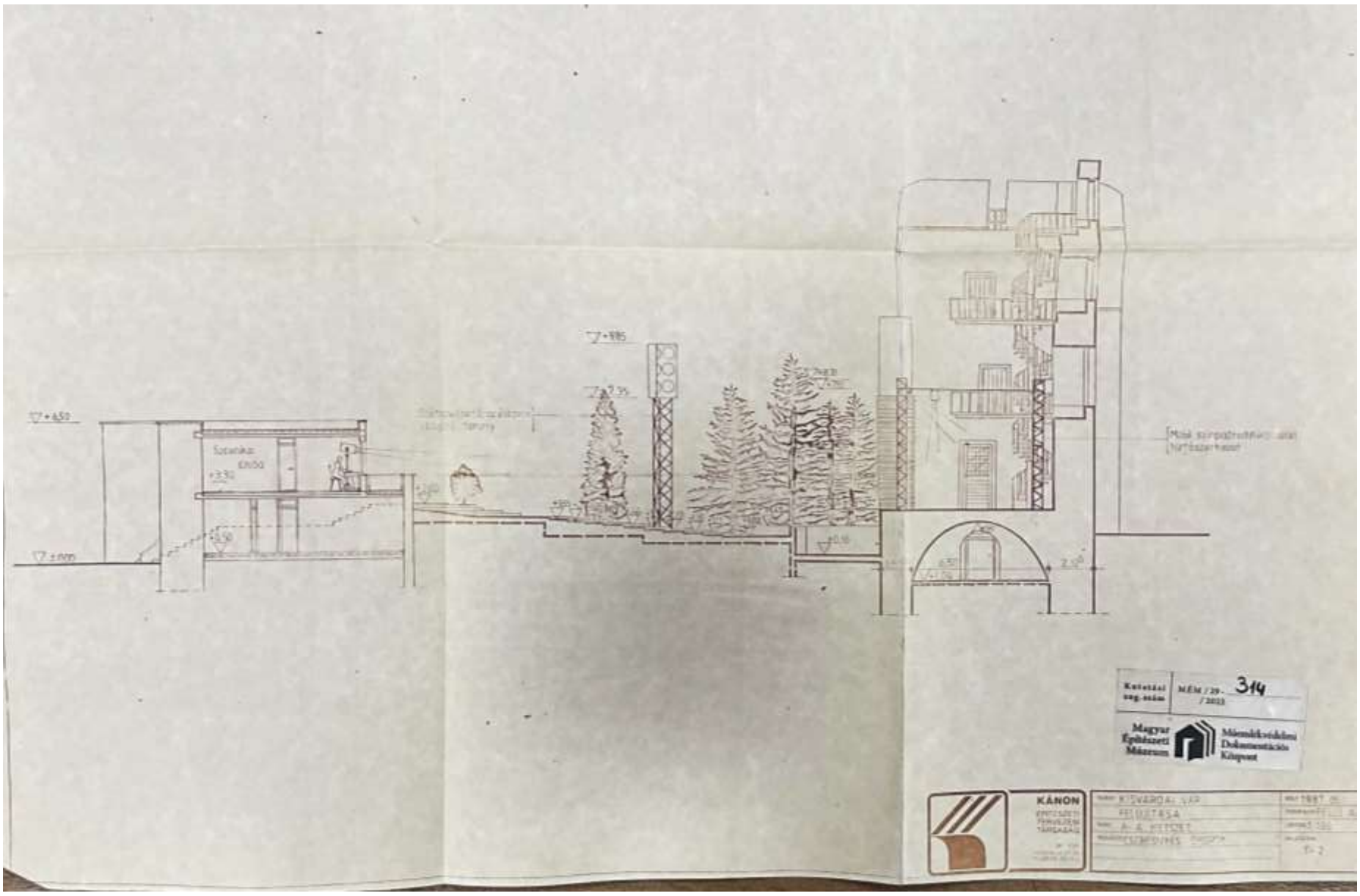

Figure 52. Plans made by Kánon Ltd. in 1986. (MÉM MDK Architecture Plan Collection, 38748)

Figure 53. The castle's outlook from the south between 1990-2017. (Source: https://mapio.net/pic/p-5750265/ Last access: 10.05.2022.)

Figure 54. The castle's outlook from the east between 1990-2017. (Source: https://nof.hu/hu/fejlesztesek/kisvardakisvarda-var/ Last access: 10.05.2022.)

Figure 55. The environment northern from the castle. (Source: http://vardasporthotel.hu/oldal/6/sportolasi-lehetosegek Last access: 10.05.2022.)

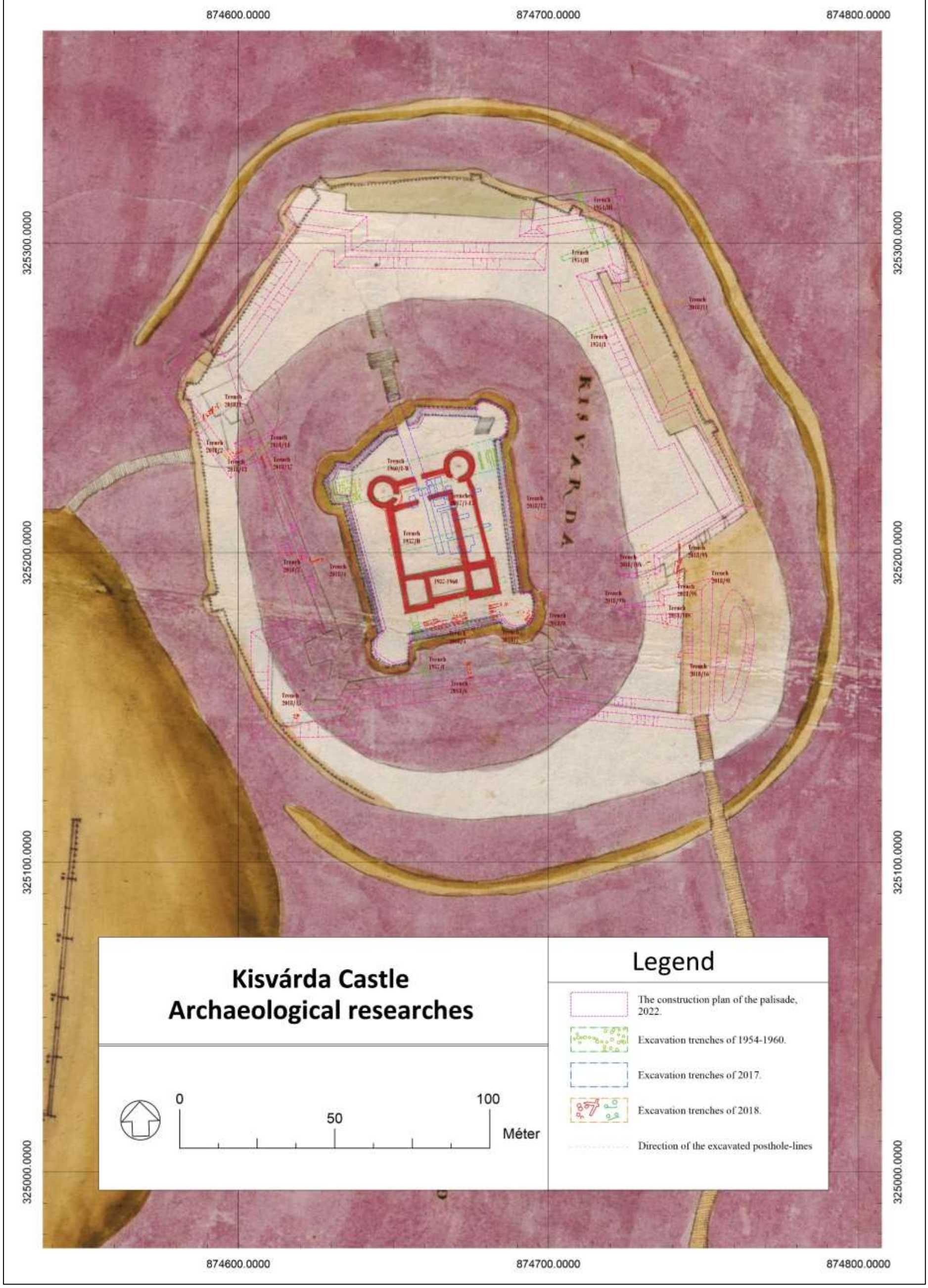

Figure 56. Archaeological excavations' survey, on the Vienna I map of the Angelinis, made by the author. (The survey was made by Mrs. Karsai Erzsébet Hanusi)

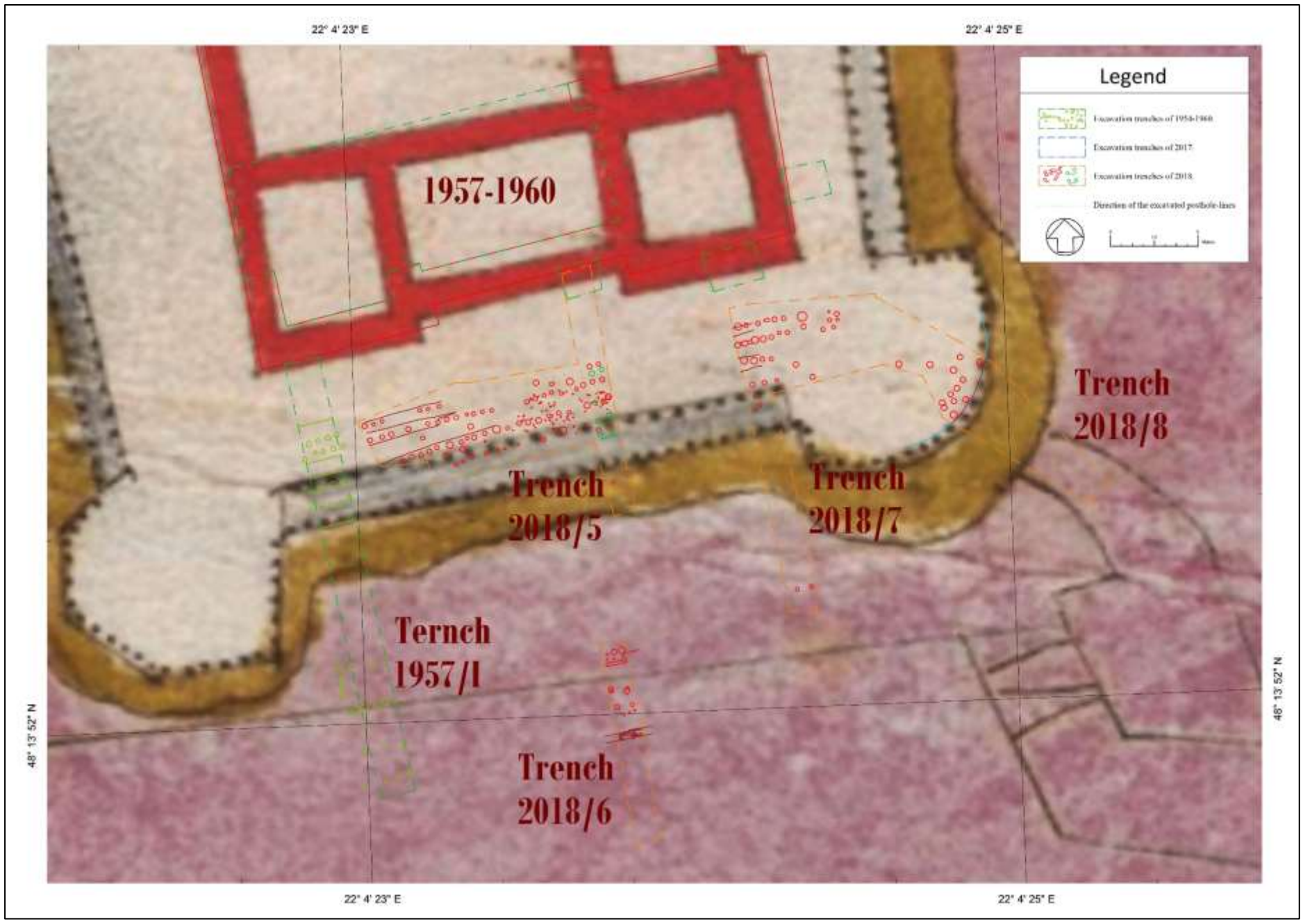

Figure 57. Ground plan of the excavations on the southern side of the castle.

Figure 58. The inner palisade's first period in the trench 5. (The first two captions taken from the south side, the last from the east.)

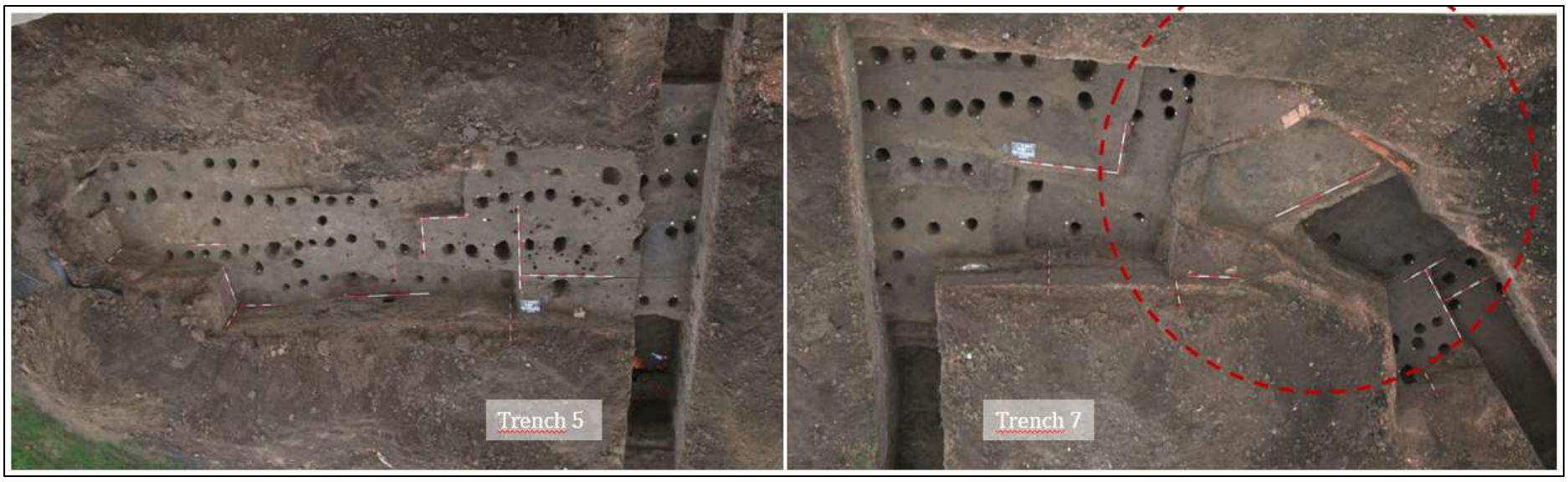

Figure 59. The structure of the inner palisade's second period in trenches 5 and 7.

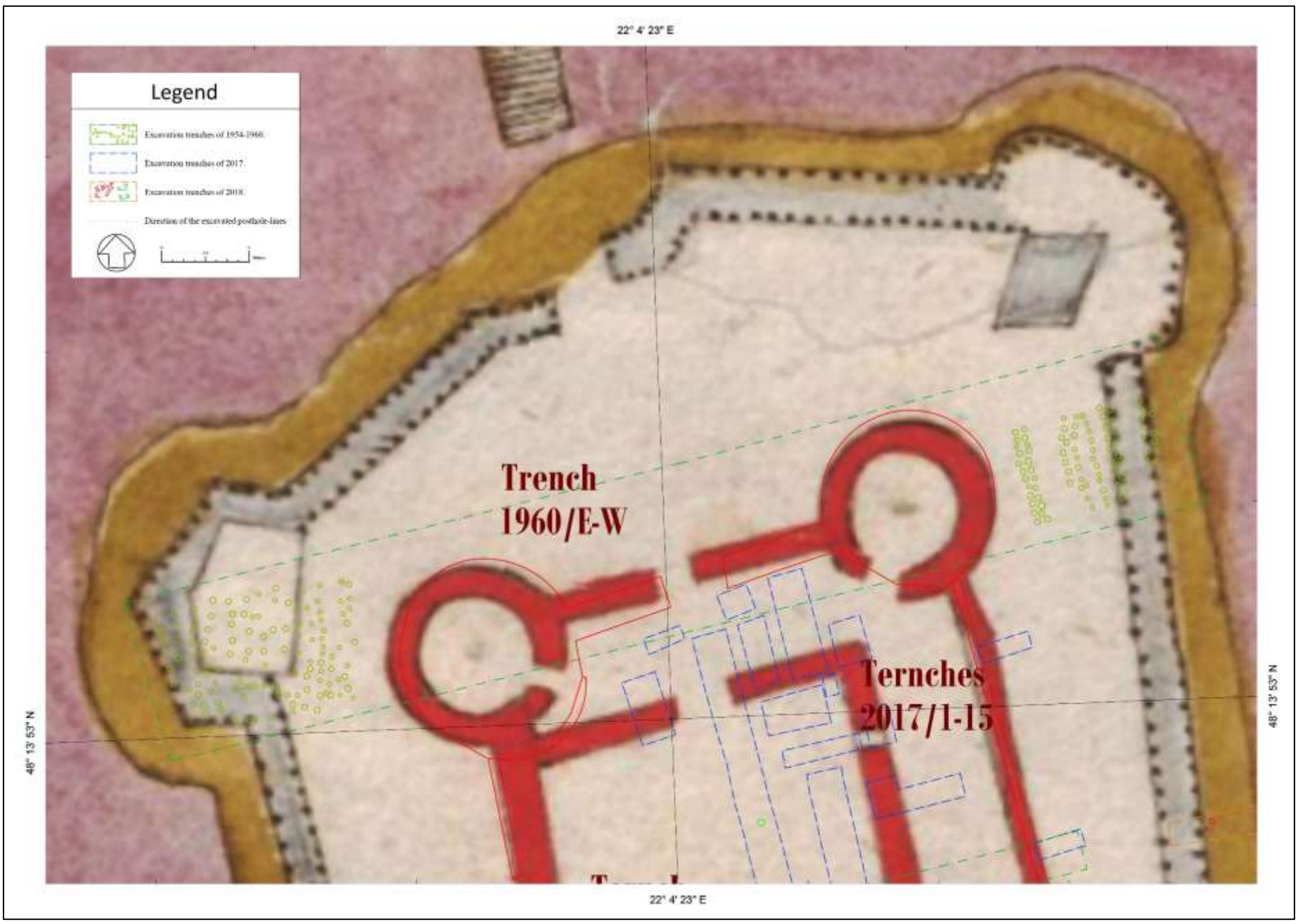

Figure 60. Inner palisade on the northern part.

Figure 61. Lead seal from Schweidnitz (now Świdnica) in Polish Silesia.

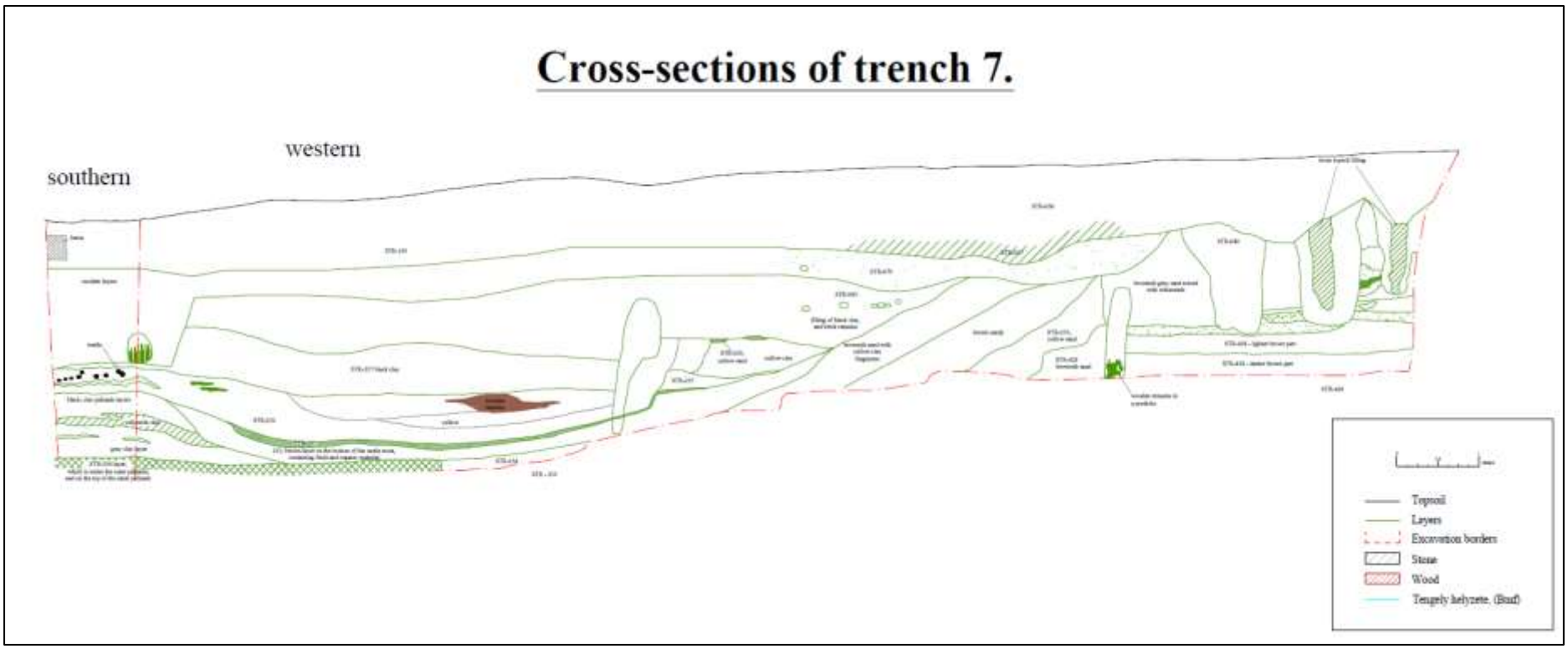

Figure 62. Cross-sections of trench 7, detalis of the castle moat and its overlapping structures.

Figure 63. The castle moat in trench 7.

Figure 64. The outer palisade on the southern side, in trench 6.

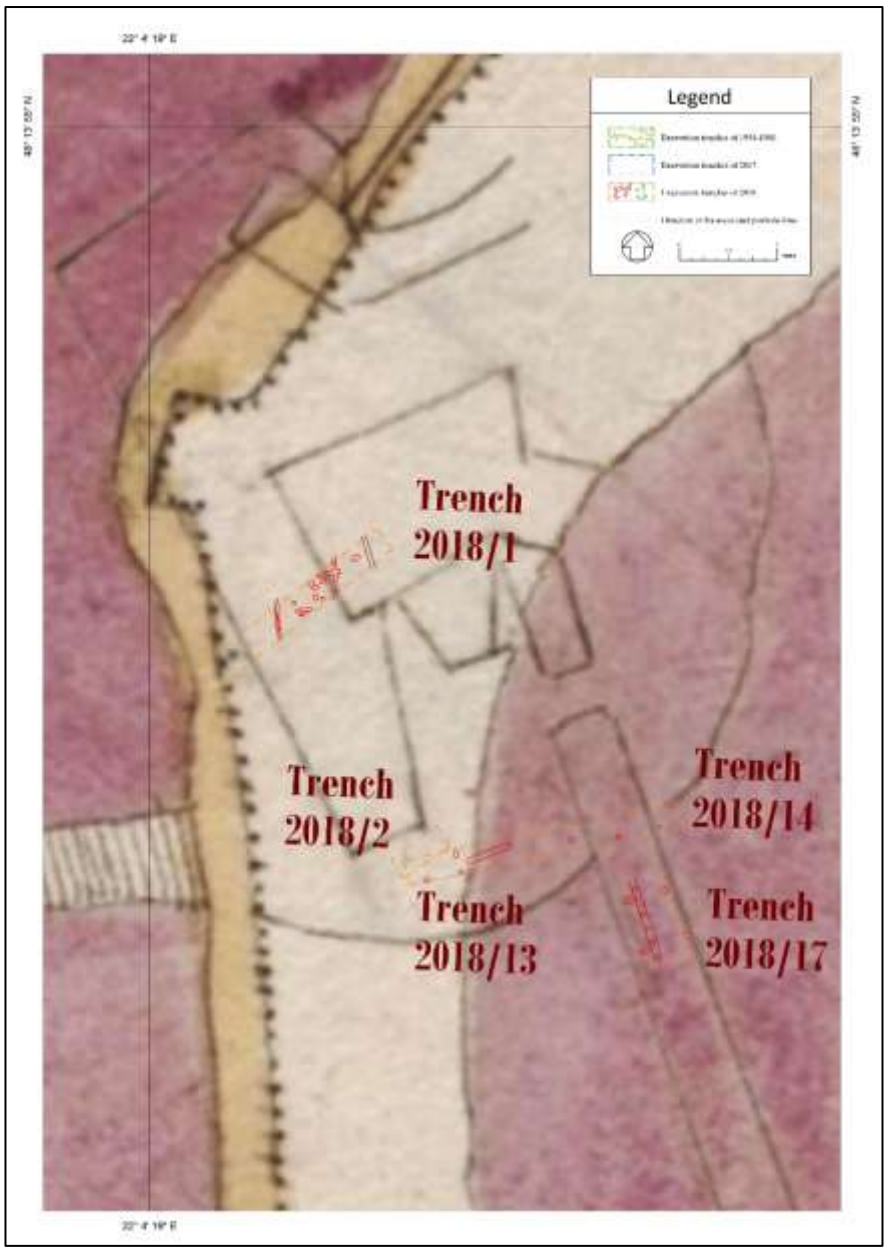

Figure 65. Outer palisade ground plan and structure in the northwest part.

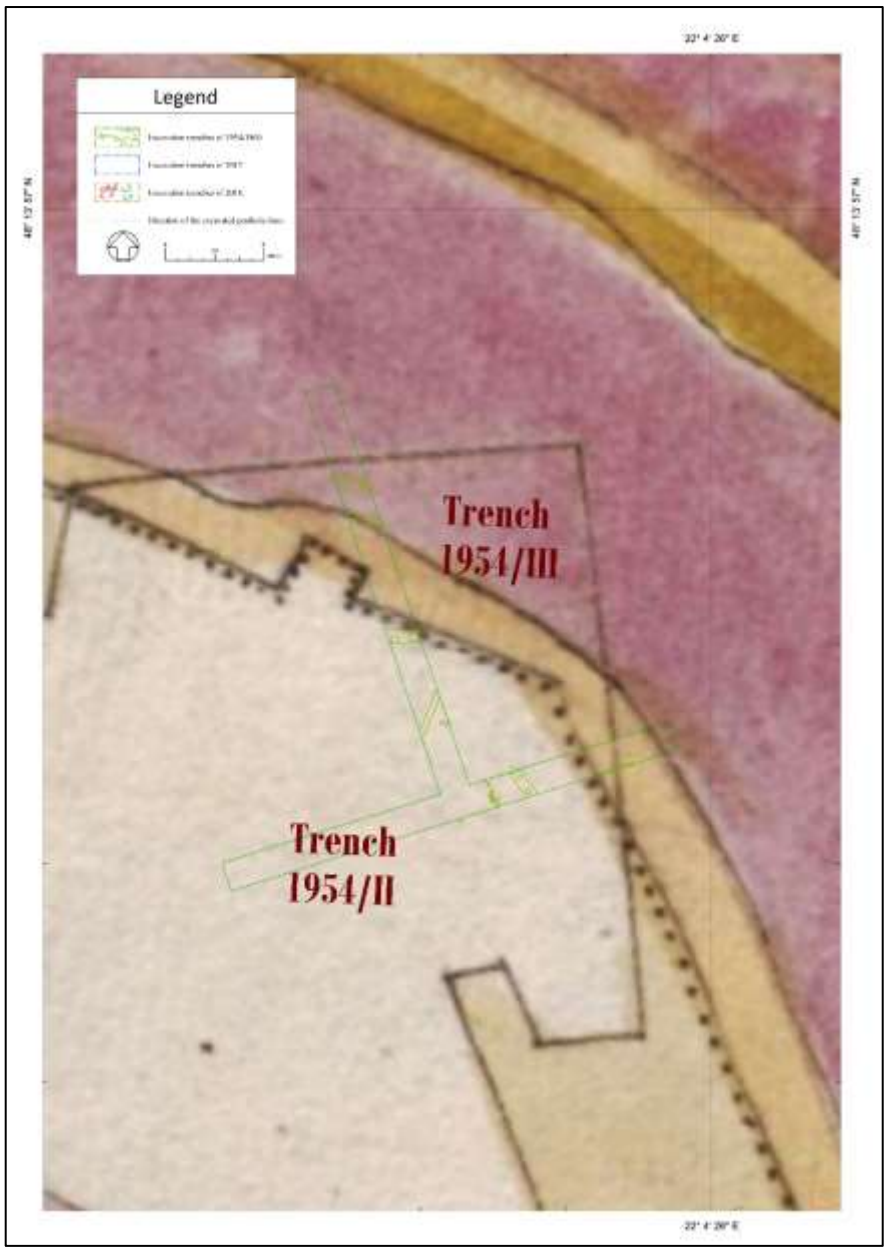

Figure 66. Outer palisade ground plan and structure in the northeast bastion.

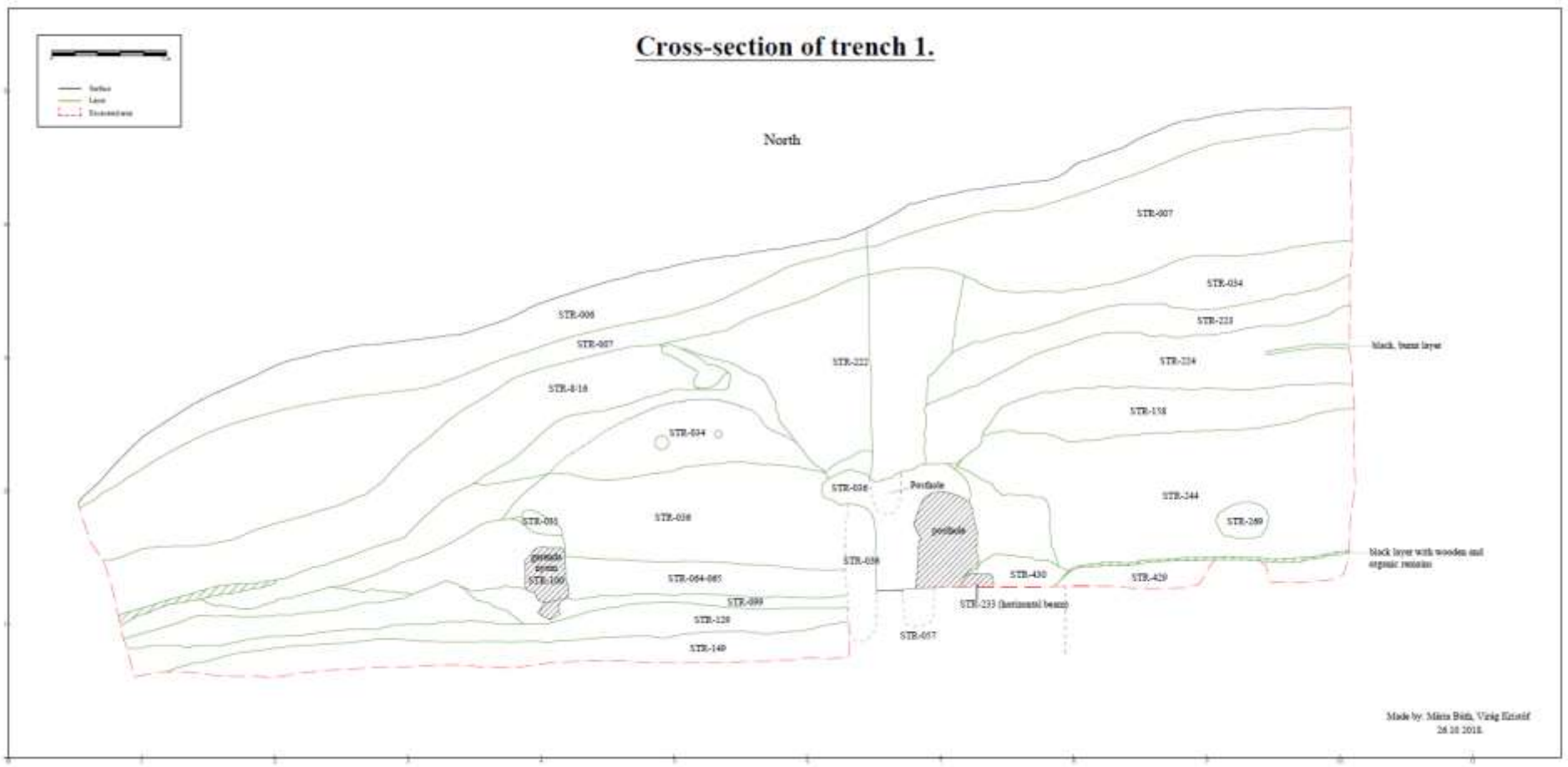

Figure 67. Cross-section of trench 1, detalis of the outer palisade structure.

Figure 68. The northwest bastions structure in trench 1.

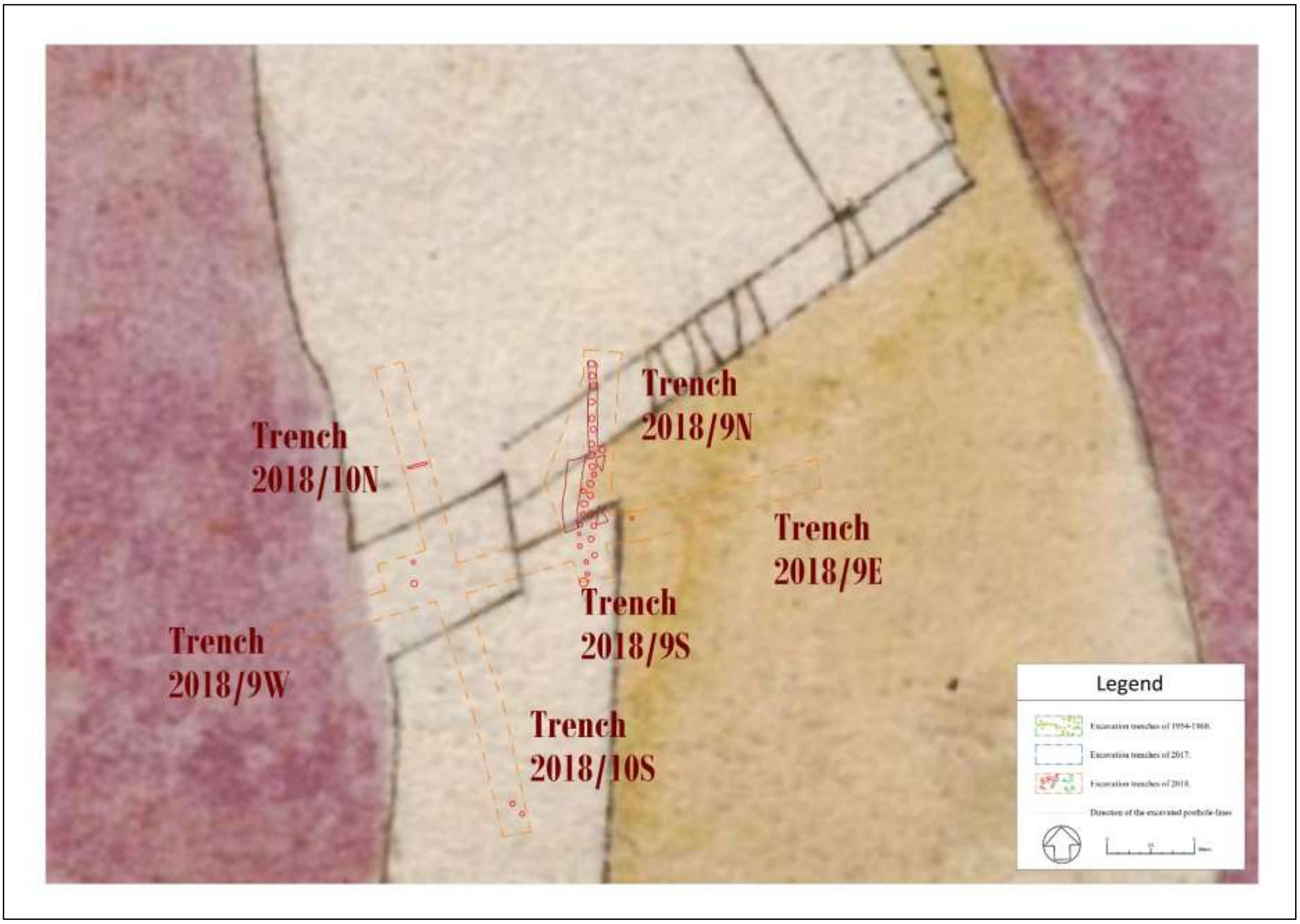

Figure 69. The palisade remains by the side of the southeast gate, in trenches 9-10.

Figure 70. The southeast gate of the outer palisade.

Figure 71. The northwest gate and the wooden remains.

KISVÁRDA Castle - Analysis of wooden samples								
	Archaeological data			*Laboratory results*				
Sample number	Find no.	Trench no.	Strati-graphi-cal no.	Xylotomy	Shaping, tool marks	Sapwood	Number of rings (with sapwood)	dendrochronology (when was the tree cut down)
1.	715	lake	236	Native oak tree - Type 2.	round cross-section, minimal shaping, pointed/sharpen end	-	58	most relevan sample
2.	**737**	**6**	**98**	**Native oak tree - Type 1.**	**round cross-section, minimal shaping, pointed/sharpen end**	**contains, 4 rings**	**38**	**1601**
3.	**762**	**17**	**399**	**Native oak tree - Type 1.**	**round cross-section, minimal shaping, pointed/sharpen end**	-	**37**	**1601**
4.	**761**	**17**	**398**	**Native oak tree - Type 1.**	**square cross-sectioned beam**	-	**43**	**1601**
5.	805	1	233-234,	Native oak tree - Type 1.	rotten surface - shaping can not be identified	-	11	too small sample
6.	**747**	**17**	**397**	**Native oak tree - Type 1.**	**round cross-section, minimal shaping, pointed/sharpen end**	-	**38**	**1601**
7.	**714**	**lake**	**362**	**Native oak tree - Type 1.**	**round cross-section, minimal shaping, pointed/sharpen end**	**contains, 8 rings**	**50**	**1618**
8.	719	6	241	Native oak tree - Type 2.	square cross-sectioned beam	-	31	non comparable sample
9.	717	6	240	Native oak tree - Type 2.	rotten surface - shaping can not be identified	-	30	non comparable sample
10.	710	6	248	Native oak tree - Type 1.	rotten surface - shaping can not be identified	-	17	too small sample
11.	738	7	254	Poplar/aspen (populus sp.)	-	-	-	-
	738	7	254	Native oak tree	-	-	-	-

Figure 72. The results of dendrochronology and xylotomous analysis.

Figure 73. The visual design appeared in the media. (Source: https://www.origo.hu/kultura/20210603-elkezdodott-a-kisvardai-var-fejlesztese.html Last access: 10.05.2022.)

Figure 74. The visual design appeared in the media. (Source: http://sesztak.fidesz.hu/hirek/2021/03/16/megujul-a-kisvardai-var#prettyPhoto; Last access 10.05.2022.)

Figure 75. Demolition of the basis of the open-air theatre, 2021 April. (Source: https://www.facebook.com/regenesma/photos/3975753112518020; Last access: 12.05.2022.)

Figure 76. Augurating of the new structure, 2021 May. Medieval foundations under precarious conditions. (Source: https://www.origo.hu/kultura/20210603-elkezdodott-a-kisvardai-var-fejlesztese.html, Last access 10.05.2022.)

Figure 77. The reshaping of the palisade at the southwest bastion. Photo taken by Zsuzsanna Árvai.

Figure 78. The newly built western wing of the inner castle. László Bodrog's Facebook page, 17. 05, 2022. (Source: https:// www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=3237607736470257&set=a.2153755774855464&type=3 Last access: 12.05.2022.)