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Deception: clay-pipe-faking workshops in Körmend in the first half of the nineteenth century

by Zoltán Nagy

Introduction

At the end of June 1984 a clay-pipe site was stumbled upon in the course of trench digging in the courtyard of the house at 55, Rákóczi Street in the western-Hungarian town of Körmend in the county of Vas. The finds unearthed in the trenches made their way to the local Dr.László Batthyány-Strattmann Museum where, using a special archaeological method of his own, the writer of these lines researched an area of some 18 sq. m. in 1988, 1998 and 2000 (Fig. 1). With the aid of a 200cm. wide measurement frame attached to excavation sections and a measuring stick divided into centimetres the spatial coordinates x = width, y = length and z = depth, were attached to the finds for the purpose of identification, making possible later analysis of their relationship with one another. After the excavation of the first two square metres this method was applied only from the appearance of the 'pipe layer', that is between a depth of 95 and 100cm, and 140 and 145cm. With the passing of time (1988, 1998, 2000) altogether 2296 evaluable finds were unearthed, among them 817 (35.6%) pipe fragments, 105 (4.6%) factory tile fragments, 95 (4.1%)

pieces of metal, 105 (4.6%) glass fragments, 106 (4.6%) bones, 186 (8.2%) 'old plates' – bowls with ribbed edges and fragments of plates – 7 (3.8%) ceramic stove tiles, 202 (8.8 %) grey, unglazed and 259 (11.3%) red unglazed, that is altogether 757 (32.8%) earthenware fragments and 38 (1.6%) other finds: mud-flake pieces, pieces of charred wood, eroded pebbles, a piece of basalt, a piece of whetstone, three eighteenth century musket flints, a 'fish-eye pattern' pipe stamp (R55.III/C 150-63-145) and two copper coins (*krajcár*), one minted in 1801 (R55. III/G-H 40-70) and one in 1816 (R55. I/A115-25-135).

Clay-pipe fragments disposed of in the first half of the nineteenth century as industrial waste can be found in two provenances (Körmend town centre, 55, Rákóczi St., Körmend), upon nearly half of which personal stamps can be studied. In the course of filling in the town-centre ditch at the time of making the foundations for the Monaco coffee-house in 1990, stock was taken of another 798 scrapped pipe fragments of similar age.

Quite apart from the clay pipes of these two provenances, a number of shorter articles, studies (Nagy 1990, 1992, 1998, 2000, 2001a, Nagy 2002), exhibitions and a book (Nagy 2001b) summarising the arising questions and results of research into similar unearthed finds in Transdanubia arriving in museums have been born complete with analyses of the related literature, but at that time the earlier fact of pipe faking that had emerged during examination of the unearthed finds was not given step-by-step consideration.



Figure 1: Pipe excavation in 55, Rákóczi St., Körmend in 1998; exposed Section III/A-D 120-140cm.

Master pipe-makers in Körmend

Out of the more than 800 pipe fragments unearthed at the 55, Rákóczi Street site, out of which nearly a half had a maker's stamp, not one bore the name of a known Körmend pipe-maker. It is true that in 1988 and in 1998 (Fig. 2, Nos. 14-15) the stamp of SALOMON FÜRST was discovered, but at the time no particular importance was attached to it. The name stamps of noted Körmend pipe-makers registered in 1828 - Moyzer Pinter, János Svarcz, János Szicsek - were sought in vain.

However, two years later there was an unexpected turn of events. At the time when the foundations of the Monaco coffee-house were being laid among the rubble used to fill in the old town ditch, a number of pipe fragments appeared, among which two flaunted the stamp FÜRST in Körmend (Fig. 2, Nos. 10-11). The stamp HIRSCH In Körmend appeared on one single piece (Fig. 2, No. 16). A new problem arose in solving these names, for neither appears among the 1828 register of Körmend artisans. Upon re-examination of the entire list it was surprising to discover the name *Fürst Salomon* alongside No. 391, who was registered as a self-employed merchant. As only one of the Jewish families of Körmend went by the name of Fürst at this time, it seems reasonable to presume that it was his name that was stamped upon the pipe fragments that were discovered at both of the Körmend sites. The precise nature of Salomon Fürst, trader, is however shaken by data of three years later, according to which, obliged in 1831 to pay two forints tax, he lived by handicraft as the head of a household of nine which included, in addition to his wife and three children, two servants and two serving-maids (VaML *Conscriptiones Judeorum* Ö 285/5/62 1-5. 1831). The register of Jews only reports the name of the head of the household, and that he was an *opifex*, that is, an artisan, which is an occupation liable to taxation. However, there is no way of knowing what trade he pursued but, on the basis of the maker's stamp on the pipe fragments, it can be presumed that it was pipe-making. From this comes a local trading pipe-maker, whose name however could be recognised on just four out of 1,593 pipe fragments painstakingly excavated and collected over a period of ten years.

A manufacturer or trader by the name of *Hirsch* has been sought in vain in the registers of Jews for the years 1809-1831 and the incomplete, surviving registers of births, deaths and marriages. However, at the time of laying the foundations of the Monaco coffee-house a great many fragments bearing the maker's stamp SCHWARTZ in Körmend turned up from the trenches of the town-centre drains. It seems probable that the workshop of Johannes Schwartz 'pipe-maker', who was taxed two forints for his skill, and who is known of from the Jewish register of 1831, must have been situated nearby. In 2001 new trenches were dug behind the cinema car park in the vicinity of the Monaco and between the earlier sites, from which nearly 150 new finds appeared which, aside from numerous *Kis-Azar*, *Podrečsány*, *M. Hönig*, *Anton Parsch*, *Parsch*, *Bodnár*, *Schwartz*, *Cörmend* and *Körmend*

stamps, two pipe fragments were unearthed bearing the long-sought-for *Pintér Moyzer* in the lingual form *MOS BINDER* (Fig. 2, Nos. 17-18). The mirror German translation of the name Pintér in contemporary Latin and Hungarian inventories may point to the language of the area of export or to the mother tongue of the maker. All that is known of a pipe-maker called Moyses Pinter who worked with an apprentice is that in 1828 in Körmend the carpenter József Nixy leased him half of his home, which comprised two rooms, a kitchen and a cellar, for an annual ten forints. Maybe he too was a trader, for on January 2, 1858 in the register of marriages he appears as a *Klein Gründler*, father of the bride.

It is difficult to draw conclusions from incomplete information. To this day how many pipes as finished products the Körmend pipe-makers manufactured over an estimated generation cannot be known with certainty. At the two relatively large sites only the decorative style and chosen form of *Johann Schwartz* could be recognised with any certainty. So far nobody has been able to explain how the pipes of further-off regions made by well-known pipe-makers and pipe-making centres (e.g. Anton Parsch, in Theresienfeld, Mihael Hönig, Ignatus Bognar Schemnitz, K.Azar (now Malé Ozorovce, Slovakia), Podrečsány (Podrečany, Slovakia) came to be found under the ground in Körmend as waste of industrial proportions.

However, the large number of clay pipes stamped SWARTZ in Körmend and CÖRMEND, KÖRMEND did make it possible through a verification examination of each stamp to complete a comparative micro-examination. It was a great surprise to find, unambiguously, that the Körmend workshops, without exception, faked in thousands the products of their contemporaries living outside Körmend by using the personal and brand marks made specifically for this purpose and forms in their own possession.

This study will prove this assertion with illustrated examples, demonstrating each and every stage in this process.

Under two masters' names - one Napoleon

Now we concern ourselves with the conclusions that can be drawn through study of the pipe finds, desiring to prove that in Körmend, in the first half of the nineteenth century, a workshop operated that consciously faked every piece that was manufactured here.

Useful experience was gained in mapping out the finds under 55, Rákóczi Street, Körmend on squared paper. Upon evaluating one by one the finds of the sections we drew up the long- and cross-sections of the excavations on the basis of which we came to the conclusion that as far as the 'pipe layer' was concerned a single filling had taken place on the site of the building in Rákóczi Street (Nagy 2001b, Table XVII).

From these sections the unevenness of the original ground, over which the household waste and assorted pipe

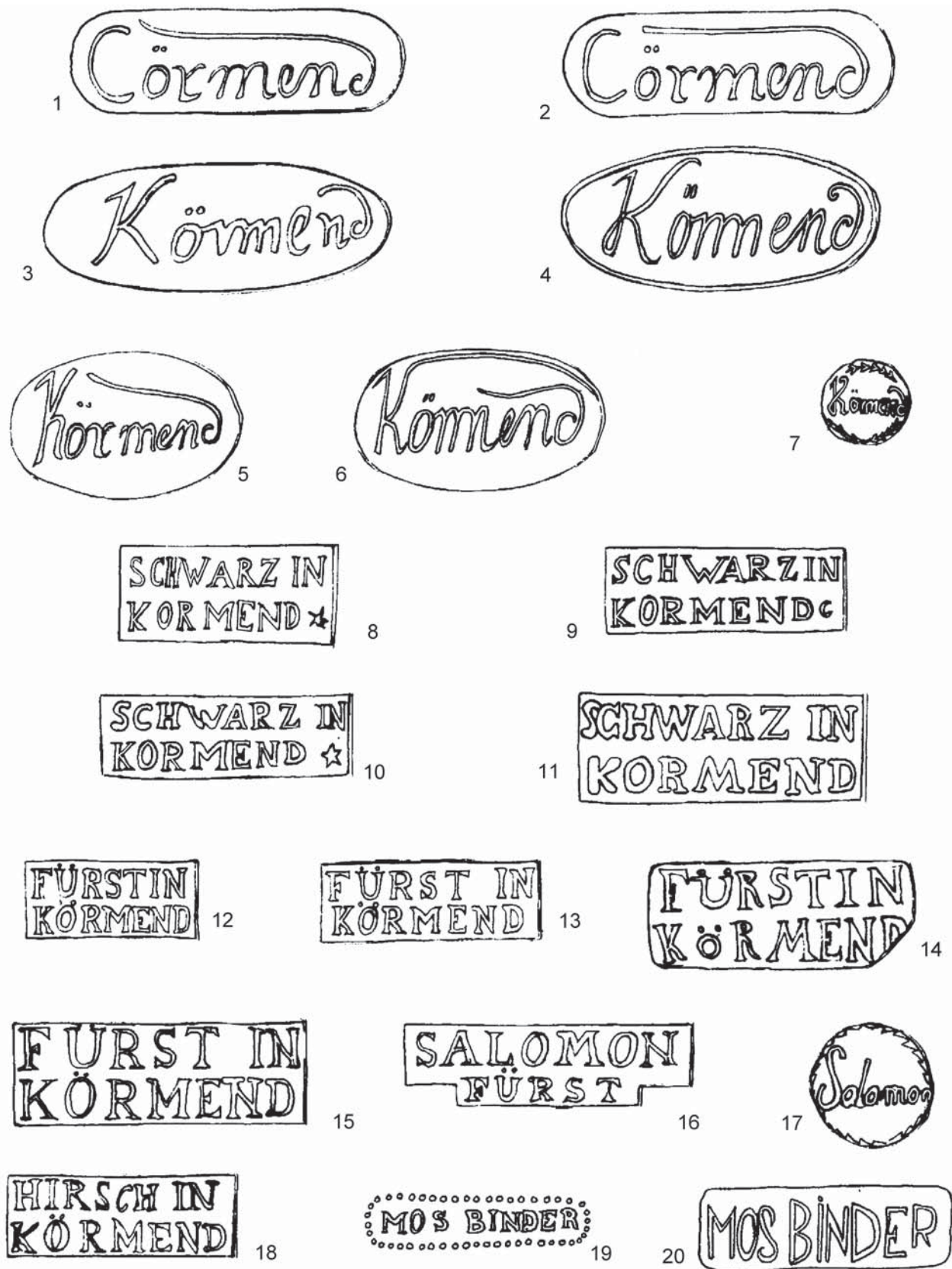


Figure 2: The stamps of local clay pipes made in Körmend and turning up in the course of the excavations.

1-2 Cursive Cörmend stamps [1: KB 84.26.45; 2: KM 88]; 3-7 Cursive Körmend stamps [3: KB 84.26.125; 4: KB 84.26.32; 5: KB 84.26.63; 6: KB 66.436.1; 7: V 258]; 8-11 SCHWARZ IN KORMEND stamps [8: KM 170; 9: KB 84.26.63; 10: KM 208; 11: KB 84.26.32]; 12-15 FÜRST IN KÖRMEND stamps [12: KM 48; 13: KM 50; 14: B.SM 83; 15: KM 49]; 16 SALOMON FÜRST [R 55 III/A 85-72-121]; 17 Cursive Salomon stamp [KM 56]; 18 HIRSCH IN KÖRMEND stamp [KM47]; 19-20 MOS BINDER stamp [19: KB 2001.1.1; 20: KB 2001.1.2].

rubble was spread, appears clearly (Fig. 1). The sudden change in relief can be studied well on the long-section of Section III, which resulted in the 'pipe layer' increasing from the general thickness of twenty centimetres to forty centimetres (RHM Ht.1785-2000).

The answer to the most difficult question was whether the pipes had been spread all at once or over a longer period, or whether the presumed evening out of the site had taken place all at once, at a time deliberated upon, or in stages.

In the course of studying the various sections it transpired that at around 80-100 centimetres below the surface a layer of rubble began which contained clay-pipe fragments. From the microanalyses it also became clear that the infill comprised more or less evenly distributed alternating layers of domestic waste interspersed with brick rubble and clay pipes (Nagy 2001b, Tables XVI, XVII, XIX - XXIII).

It was conspicuous that of the several hundreds of pieces found over an excavated area of nearly twenty square metres, hardly more than a handful could be fitted together. After the long process of projecting them on squared paper the fragments that could be glued together group by group were compared. As the excavation method also made possible a spatial demonstration, it was possible to define the distances apart from each other of the connecting pieces both horizontally and vertically.

At 55, Rákóczi St., Körmend the excavation sections were evaluated by groups of objects: 1. pipes, 2. old bowls, 3. removable stove tiles for cleaning, 4. unglazed grey tile fragments, 5. glazed grey tile fragments, 6. glazed tile fragments, 7. factory hard tile fragments, 8. glass fragments, 9. metal, 10. bones, 11. glued finds (RHM Ht. 1771-2000).

In the case of the clay pipes it was possible to mark out 325 items with a maker's mark and 442 without any stamp on a bird's eye view section drawing (RHM Ht.1771-2000). It became visible on the 'section map' that the clay pipes bearing the stamps of ANTON PARTCH, M. HÖNIG, AMSTATTER JOSEPH BARTSZ, BODNAR SCHEMNITZ, S. STEINER and SALOMON FÜRST were spread about everywhere; that is, they did not form an independent group, or put another way it appears that at the time they were buried a number of pipes bearing various makers' marks were destined to be thrown out at the same time.

The positions of the figural pipes showed the same picture. The pipes depicting Napoleon were found to be the most suitable for examining connections within the same group. It was observed that the 12 Napoleon figures, out of 600 objects in Section III, evenly filled the space at a depth between 115 and 140cm; that is, the time of production agreed with the time of the infilling (RHM Ht, 1785-2000).

Even more interesting was the observation characterizing

the group of pipes of an unusual colour. Upon examining the 'flesh-coloured' clay pipes - the pink ones in strong contrast with terra-cotta colour - it transpired, based on the experimentation by the Vas County potters András Zsilinszky and Adrianna Farsang whereby the clay was re-fired at 1100°C, that the clay pipes spread around the twenty square metres originated from one, or at most two clays of identical composition, making it easily possible for them to have been made at one time, and maybe even in the same kiln.

In the case of the unusual terra-cotta and 'flesh-coloured' pieces with different makers' marks depicting Napoleon, the fact of local faking can be taken as indisputable not only because the form and figural motifs are identical, but because despite the clay being mixed with different colouring agents all three pipes have identical, elegant rhombus-patterned brim ornamentation. It would be very difficult to decide who really had made which of the strikingly identical pipes discovered at the same provenance and bearing the makers' marks S. STEINER, (Fig. 3, Nos. 1-2) and JOSEPH BARTSZ (Fig. 3, Nos. 3-4).

However, a number of pieces turned up bearing the Napoleon motif popular at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the excavation section marked III/C, in the layer between 114-141cm, nine terra-cotta pipes were unearthed stamped S. STEINER (Fig. 3, No. 2); nearby in Section III/A, four stamped JOSEPH BARTSZ, and in Section III/E at a depth of 110cm and a little farther off more pipes without the Napoleon figure but stamped JOSEPH BARTSZ (Fig. 3, Nos. 5-6). This last is of interest because it can be taken as certain that there was an inlay depicting Napoleon inserted into the bi-partitioned form as can be seen in the display cabinets of the pipe exhibition at Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia (earlier Selmec, Selmecbánya in Hungary) Municipal Museum (Nagy 2001b, XXXXII. t. 1).

However, there is evidence regarding the concurrence of the infill layer that is more conclusive than the examination of colour, once the spatial positioning of the pipe fragments is investigated. Using data from the excavation notebook for the 'History of the Hungarian Pipe' exhibition, organised by the National Museum between February-April, 2001 with a Hungarian and English catalogue which attracted much interest, it proved possible to prepare an exhibition reconstruction depicting a detail from R55. Section III/C with finds - among them clay pipes - placed on a 5cm glass plate. In the centre, in the deepest, 140-centimetre layer, lay the clay pipe depicting Napoleon (Fig. 3, No. 1), the lower part of which, had been discovered in the highest, 120-centimetre pipe layer. Yet there is no doubt that the pieces once belonging together were fired in the same kiln. The broken pieces were part of a single load destined at the same time for disposal, for the fitting pieces - separated by twenty centimetres of rubble - lay below the surface practically one below the other (RHM Ht.1825-2001 - excavation reconstruction).

When did the clay pipes get below the surface?

A statistical publication prepared in 1823 reads that:

... there are greasy, true Podrecsány pipes made of heavy clay and faience and fired black, and there are imitations which have been blackened with smoke. The pipes of Selmecbánya are partly gilded, those of Debrecen are of red clay, partly Turkish in form, with a low, wide head, the Kis-Azar pipes have a double base and Saxon, or Meisen form (...). The splendid pipes of Podrecsány, Selmec and Kis-azar have been known for a long time. Körmend, Sopron and Pest also manufacture clay pipes (Prikler 2000, citing Note No. 123 of Keeß's 1823 imperial statistics).

This is the starting point, or rather, since the phrase '*known for a long time*' is used by the author, it can be said that people knew of pipe-making in Körmend prior to 1823.

One thing is certain: that the edict of tolerance issued in 1781 by Joseph II made it possible for Jews to pursue crafts and to open factories. In Körmend the 1817 Jewish census eliminates the possibility that this craft was pursued at that time, and so the establishment of the workshop must remain as being the early 1820s.

This supposition is largely borne out by studying the drawings of the pipes found under the ground, for the date 1825 can be found below three identically depicted imperial heads on a black and a terra-cotta pipe respectively stamped Cörmend (Fig. 4, Nos. 1-2) and SCHWARTZ IN KÖRMEND (Fig. 4, Nos. 3-4); in other words, these pieces of industrial waste could not have reached the town's dump earlier than the dates appearing on the pipe fragments.

Two other items of interest have turned up away from the town centre, from below 55, Rákóczi Road (Fig. 4, Nos.



Figure 3: Lessons to be learnt from the Körmend pipe excavations: identical Napoleon pipes bearing different name stamps.

1 Two joining fragments of a Napoleon pipe [R55.III/C 133-72-140 and R55 III/A96-68-140]; 2 S. STEINER stamp on Napoleon pipe R55 III/C133-72-140; 3 Two joining fragments of a Napoleon pipe [R55 I/27-72-135 and R55 III/A96-68-140]; 4 JOSEPH BARTSZ stamp on Napoleon pipe R55 III/A96-68-140; 5 Pipe with fluted bowl with a Joseph Bartsz stamp on the [R55 III/A62-87-135]; 6 JOSEPH BARTSZ stamp on R55 II/A 62-87-135.



1



3



5



2

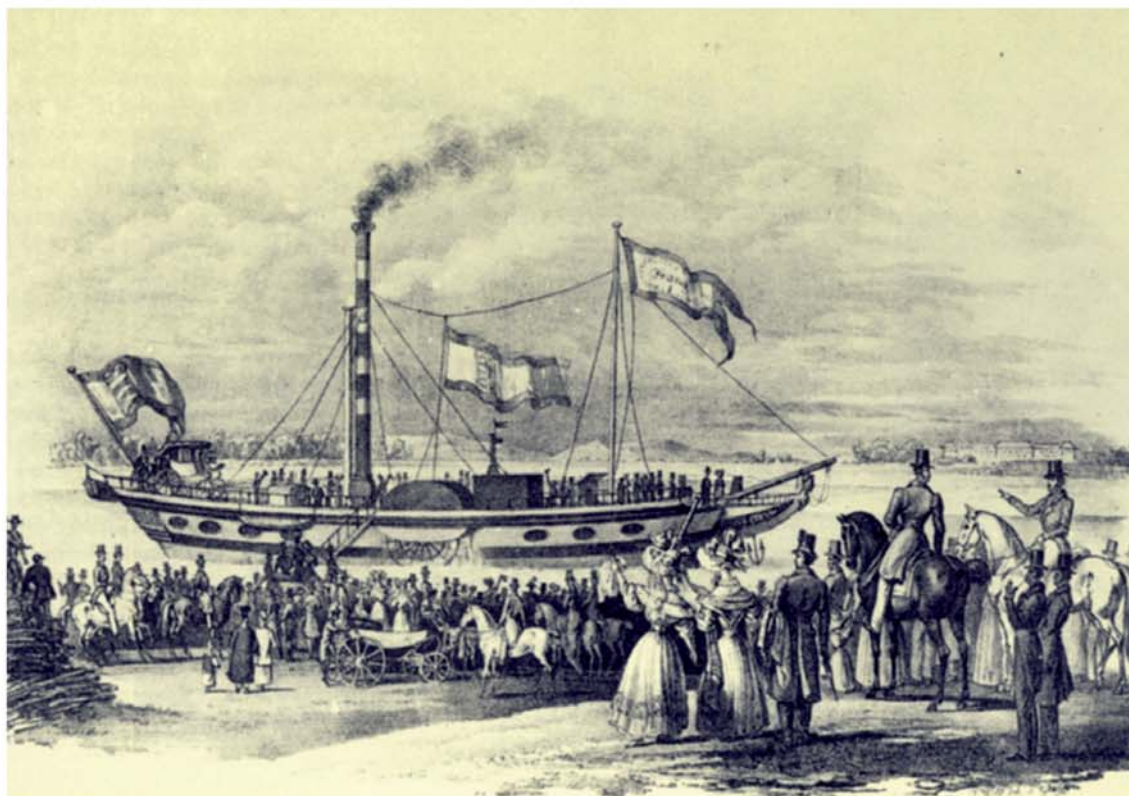


4



6

7



5-6). The black pipe fragments show a steamer with sails in the shape of a galleon, in the carved prow of which, according to witness borne out by the originals, is depicted the Emperor Francis I, King of Hungary. This ship was built by Venetian shipbuilders in Florisdorf, near Vienna. It was christened the Franz I, and made its maiden voyage amid great celebration between Vienna and Pest on 4 September, 1830 (Fig. 4, No. 7). This pipe is proof that the filling in of the site of the house at 55, Rákóczi Street can in no way have begun prior to that date.

In 1990 a black pipe bearing the inscription *König von Ungarn Krönung Spende* (King of Hungary/Coronation gift) and the Podrecs stamp entered the museum collection. A mounted, crowned king on the coronation hill, sword swishing toward the heavens, is depicted on the pipe's bowl. It seems to have been made on the occasion of the coronation in Pozsony (now Bratislava, Slovakia) of Ferdinand V in 1832 (Fig. 5, Nos. 1-4). The base of this pipe was also identified among the black fragments unearthed at the time of building the foundations for the Monaco coffee-house (KM 291), except that here the stamp read M. HÖNIG SCHEMNITZ, meaning a new piece of faking.

The third piece of evidence is constructed upon a distant analogy. An unusual depiction of an animal can be seen on black pipe fragments belonging to each other and stamped SCHWARZ IN KÖRMEND (Fig. 5, Nos. 5-7). A veiled figure leading a harnessed giraffe on a long rope is walking through a desert symbolised by a palm-tree. On another fragment in worse condition there is an indented baroque coat-of-arms monogrammed G.S. and Podrecs (Fig. 5, Nos. 8-9), further indication that in the early 1830s Johann Swartz was undoubtedly faking the famed black pipes of Podrecsány. The pictorial appearance may appear exotic, but as regards parallels Indians, hippopotami and elephants made their appearances in calendars and the popular gutter press. The giraffe on the clay pipe can also be studied as it appears on the face of the cooper's stave plane, made according to the date carved into it in 1832.

The above examples allow the conclusion that the pipe-making workshops were active in the 1820 to 1840s. While they were active they made not only 'ordinary' pieces, but finely-worked figurative items that nurtured

the Habsburgian Hungarian kings (Francis I, Ferdinand V) and Napoleon cults, but they also produced curiosities depicting, apart from pieces from Viennese classicism (imperial heads, mythological figures, gorgon heads), the first Danube galleon-shaped sail-and-steamship or the exotic giraffe. The makers (and retailers) of these listed pieces, according to the makers' marks, were Körmend masters who, in the 1820s to 1840s continuously faked the works of the best-known workshops and their masters, winners of prizes at industrial exhibitions, operating between 100 and 300 kilometres away at the centres of Selmec (now Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia), Theresienfeld, Kis-Azar and Podrecsány.

Lessons of microanalysis

In the course of the years spent at the Körmend pipe excavations one-and-a-half thousand pipe fragments were meticulously examined to the last detail. Meanwhile we slowly learnt not to believe what was obvious. If we had to establish the authenticity of a pipe-maker's name and sphere of operation through a clay pipe complete with stamp, we would still be in a difficult position if we were to lift it up from the ground beneath our feet, because one must not believe in mere writing.

The centuries-old *objet d'art* in the hand, even if it is only a broken piece of pipe made out of clay, must be scrutinised most carefully for its own signs of identification: tiny differences in style and deficiencies resulting from human imperfection must be systematically treated, the ever-increasing body of data being compared in order that exceptional phenomena come to light.

Techniques used in decorating the pipes reveal much about their makers. Before they were dried, the pipes, now removed from their moulds, were treated with various stamps, pricking wheels and embellishing tools. The pipe bodies were given small markings to give them the appearance of having been 'handmade'. Cogwheel patterns, hollow and full ribbon decorations, beading, semicircular arches, plaited braids, rope-laying, hollow and full rhombus chains, rosettes, stamped leaf decorations, delicate rhomboid ribbed latticework patterns, fish-eye pattern palmettes, acanthus leaves, hachured triangles, star decorations, fluted lines, a field of punched multiple waves - all of these created a particular local style.

Figure 4 (opposite): The dating of the deposition of the pipes.

1-2 A black earthenware pipe with the date 1825 set below three identically depicted imperial heads and stamped Körmend (1: back view of the pipe with the date 1825 moulded on it; 2: cursive Körmend stamp) [KB 84.26.1]. 3-4 A red earthenware pipe with the moulded date 1825 set below three identically depicted imperial heads and bearing the Schwartz in Körmend stamp (3: back view; 4: SCHWARTZ IN KÖRMEND stamp) [KM152]. 5-6 Black pipe fragments showing a steamer with sails in the shape of a galleon, in the carved prow of which is depicted the Emperor Francis I, King of Hungary [5: R55 84.25.24, 6: R55I/A140]. 7 Etching of the maiden voyage of the paddle steamer Franz 1 on the 4th of September 1830 (after Bíró 1985, 11).



Figure 5: Did the pipes depicting the Hungarian king and the exotic giraffe arrive at the dyke infill later than 1830?

1-4 Black earthenware pipe showing a crowned king on a coronation hill with swords reaching to heaven and bearing the inscription *König von Ungarn - Krönung Spende*, that is 'King of Hungary - Coronation gift'; also bearing the Podrecs stamp (1: right-hand side view; 2: back view, 3: left-hand side view, 4: PODRECS stamp) [KM345]. 5-7 Two joining fragments of a black earthenware pipe showing a veiled figure leading a giraffe through the desert. 5: socket end of pipe [KM97]; 6: broken bowl with decoration [KM 161]; 7: stamp on socket *SCHWARZ IN KÖRMEND* [KM97]. 8-9 Black earthenware pipe fragment with indented baroque coat of arms monogrammed *GS* and Podrecs (8: left-hand side view showing stamp; 9: Podrecs stamp) [KB 2001.2.5].

The traces of tiny tools used in the workshop have characteristics, and their use can only be observed in the products produced *in situ*. It would appear that these tools employed for a specific purpose were not used in the distant workshops, and that the imitators were unable to create perfect replicate patterns. The simple methods of embellishment in many cases betrayed origins in particular workshops, and so can be used effectively to map out fakes and analogies.

These minute observations are important for this research, and sometimes decisive. Again and again products made by human hand have to be scrutinised under the microscope in search of an original sign which the mass-produced pieces cannot hide from for long; after all, 'to err is human'. The occasional error and signs of intention, the indisputable marks of deception must be hunted out.

Five percent of the 105 drying trays studded with nails were from the start intended as waste, 'because properly 100 pieces were a quantity', and so only the pieces that were initially deformed, cracked and broken can be examined, which is why the exact reason why it was/might have been necessary to throw out the visibly damaged pipes for any other reason is not known.

Was it considered a fault if the lily-shaped maker's mark was stamped on either side of a Partsch stamp (Fig. 6, 1), or possibly one over the other, (Nagy 2001b, XXXVI.t 2; Figure 6, 2) or if the ZU THERESIENFELD trademark was stamped twice on the pipe's brim (Fig. 6, No. 3)? Did it count as an error if, as a black pipe fragment bears witness, the usual K.AZAR (Kis-Azar) crested master's mark was stamped on both sides without the name (Fig. 6, Nos. 4-5)? Or perhaps it is a chance mistake when the stamp ZU THERESIENFELD, is discovered on the stem of the marbled, insignificant fragment with the maker's name SVARTZ In Körmend which is incompatible with the sphere of operation of the workshop (Fig. 6, Nos. 6-8) or next to the same SCHWARTZ in Körmend stamp a lily in a small oval frame, (Fig. 6, Nos. 9-10) even if it is known that this symbol - at least among those unearthed in Körmend - is attached to the pipes of ANTON PARTSCH?

It is not clear why the maker's names K.AZAR and ANTON PARTSCH and lily hallmark and the ZU

THERESIENFELD stamp existed among the master craftsmen of Körmend, when these producing companies lie a significant distance away from the small one- or two-man workshops of Körmend's Jewish pipe-makers. The mere fact that the Körmend masters had five or six different sets of letters to create their own name stamps deserves contemplation (Fig. 2). Numerous variations of carved names can in any case be observed which do not tally with the letter forms and masters' marks on the pipe fragments preserved elsewhere. On the other hand, this difference can only be noticed if the stamps are examined one by one and drawn at identical size (M=4:1).

It also appears strange that while on the one side of a small black pipe fragment made following the Kis-Azar pattern the Baroque coat of arms - depicting a lion holding a drawn sword in its claw - with the monogram G.S. can be found, on the other the Latinised form of the settlement *Cörmend*, familiar from eighteenth-century documents, has been stamped (Fig. 6, Nos. 11-13). This 'chance error' is undoubtedly such a one that reveals the intention to fake.

This particular example is also proof that all of the black pipes found here with a similar crest and the K.AZAR stamp were not made in the Slovak-Hungarian village in Zemplén County (Schwartner 1798), but here in the Körmend pipe-making workshop together with the other, otherwise authentic-looking forty pieces. This can only have happened if at the time of enacting the master was holding a Cörmend stamp in one hand and a K. Azar stamp in the other...

The next 'slip' can also be found upon a black fragment, this time originating in a decorative motif. On the base of the pipe, in a medal-like frame with a beaded rim, can be seen the head of an aigretted warrior with an enormous moustache, wearing a turban-like fur cap. On the side of the pipe, in an oval frame, is the stamp BODNÁR SCHEMNITZ (Fig. 7, No. 1). Under Item 661 of the Selmezbánya datasheet for the 1828 census there appears the name of the pipe-maker *Ignatus Bodnár*, who works regularly and properly employs four boys - that is, he is a real person, even though no examples could be found of any examples of a mark attached to his name in the No. 3 display cabinet of the Selmezbánya town

Figure 6 (overleaf): Errors and false claims caught in flagrante on excavated Körmend pipes.

1 Lily stamp either side of a PARTSCH stamp [KM320]; 2 Lily mark stamped over that of JOSEPH BARTSZ [R55 III/E 257-80118]; 3 ZU THERESIENFELD stamped twice on socket rim [KM565]; 4-5 Black pipe fragment with the crested maker's mark of Kis-Azar on both sides [KB 2000.1.24]; 6-8 Marbled socket fragment with a SVARTZ IN KÖRMEND stamp on the side and ZU THERESIENFELD on the rim [KB 2001.2.1]; 9-10 Red earthenware pipe with both a Schwartz and a lily stamp (9: View of left side of the pipe showing the stamps in position; 10: Detail of SCHWARTZ IN KÖRMEND and lily stamps) [KM248]; 11-13 Black pipe fragments with a Kis-Azar type of crested mark on one side and a Cörmend stamp on the other side of the socket (11: Right side view of the socket and part of the base of a fluted bowl; 12: Kis-Azar type of stamp with a Baroque style coat of arms depicting a lion holding a drawn sword in its claw, with the monogram G.S. either side; 13: Cursive Cörmend stamp) [KB 2001.1.48].



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Figure 7: The master's mark of Körmend pipe-maker Johannes Schwartz under that of Bodnár of Selmec and Fürst of Körmend.

1-4 Socket and base of bowl of a black pipe fragment (1: the stamp of BODNÁR SCHEMNITZ ; 2: underneath of socket; 3: turbaned figure on the base of the pipe; 4: side view) [KM391]. 5-6 Fluted bowl in red earthenware with the BODNÁR SCHEMNITZ stamp on the side [KM407]. 7-8 Black earthenware fragment with a Fürst stamp on one side and a Körmend hallmark on the other (7: FÜRST IN KÖRMEND stamp; 8: turbaned figure – the Körmend hallmark) [KM50]. 9-11 Fürst black pipe fragment with Hönig stamp and maker's hallmark (9: HÖNIG SCHWARTZ stamp; 10 & 11: woman's head maker's mark) [R55 III/35-111-110].

museum, where the unearthed, unfinished products are exhibited. Two others pursued the same craft: Florianus Tandler and Mathias Rauch. At Körmend, 48 fragments with hallmarked names entered the possession of the local museum. On the base of the above-mentioned clay-pipe's broken fireplace can be seen a wide annulus made up of fine rhomboid lines (Fig. 7, Nos. 2-3). After examining several hundreds of pipes it transpired that the aigretted figure was in fact the hallmark of JOHANNES SCHWARTZ (Fig. 8, Nos. 1-3; KM 234), but that it could at the most be found on those pipe fragments stamped Cörmend attached to his name (Fig. 8, Nos. 4-5), meaning that it is more than likely to be a fake, along with the other pieces made locally and bearing the BODNAR stamp. In other words the stamp came out of the drawer of the Körmend workshop in order that the well-known trademark BODNÁR IN SCHELMETZ could be stamped onto the still-damp wall of the clay pipe (Fig. 7, Nos. 5-6). If this is the case, then in citing the embellishing technique of the Schwartz workshop it is also true that the terra-cotta once-fired waxed pipe fragment with BODNAR SCHEMNITZ stamped in an oval frame with identical letters into the still-soft clay (Fig. 7, 5-6) can also be considered a local product, that is, a fake, due to the use of the fine rhomboid wide annulus decoration on the fireplace and the two-pronged braided cord decoration employed in the SCHWARTZ workshop.

It is however difficult to judge how to regard the aigretted head stamped into the converse side of the piece with the stamp FÜRST IN KÖRMEND (Fig. 7, Nos. 7-8) of the operating Körmend workshop, for why should the local inhabitant have been faked? The Fürst 'collection', comprising altogether two examples, provides no clear answer; maybe some explanation can be provided by the financial activities of Fürst, entered in the 1828 census as a merchant

It is known from Herald Prikkel's 2000 book *Castellum, Paris und Pfeiferei* that the name of Franz Brunnel, founder of the Traursdorf factory, also appeared stamped on clay pipes, although he did not make pipes but financed the operations of the factory. Only mould-makers from this factory who might have also made name stamps are known. The 'tin moulders' here were Weigand (1838-1842) and Franz Langsch (1842-1852).

Fürst must have been quite wealthy, for his household of nine had two servants and two servant maids. He may have financially supported the pipe-maker SCHWARTZ, and with his capital he featured as a business associate in the workshop of Johannes Schwartz. This may explain why his name and master's mark appear on the pipe and on a black pipe fragment pressed into a replica mould with the stamp HÖNIG SCHWARTZ, the maker's mark of a woman's head (?). The figure is more discernible on the pipe stamped BODNAR SCHEMNITZ (Fig. 7, Nos. 9-11). This may also mean that Salomon Fürst was faking both the famed Hönig of Selmechánya and Bodnár at the same time.

An aigretted head can be observed on the back of the ANTON PARTSCH pipe with ZU TERESIENFELD stamped upon the socket rim, which is taken to be the result of a moment's inadvertent carelessness (Fig. 8, Nos. 7-10).

There is conclusive force in the fact that the names SWARTZ, CÖRMEND, and ANTON PARTSCH can be observed on various pipes pressed into the same mould (Fig. 3, No. 6). Anton Partsch († 1859) was director of the pipe factory at No. 32, Theresienfeld, not far from Wiener Neustadt; even during his lifetime his maker's name and mark (a lily) were successfully converted into a tool of Körmend pipe-faking. Partsch had enjoyed some success when he exhibited 49 pipes at the 1835 Vienna Exhibition. At this time he and his 30 employees made 500,000 pipes every year, most of his exports going to Hungary. From 1842 Joseph Partsch also worked here; a misspelling of his name may cause him to be identified with JOSEPH BARTSZ of Körmend.

Two terra-cotta, heavy clay pipes dug up in the courtyard of 55, Rákóczi St. are worth paying attention to; with their shell-shaped bases and thick, 'eight-fingered' octagonal fireplaces they are of completely identical form. On one can be found the stamp BODNAR SCHEMNITZ (R55 III/B.33-183-111) and on the other M.HÖNIG SCHEMNITZ (R55. 84.25.32). Who made which?

Selmechánya's Mihály Hönig was a most notable pipe-maker who, according to certain scholars, worked from the first third of the nineteenth century in the workshop of his father Anton Hönig, later led by his widow in the Felső

Figure 8 (opposite): The master's mark of Körmend pipe-maker Johannes Schwartz under that of ANTON PARTSCH.

1-3 Pipe made by Johannes Schwartz with his hallmark of a turbaned figure (1: left side view of the pipe with the stamp on the side of the socket; 2: the JOHANNES SCHWARTZ stamp; 3: Turbaned figure stamp on the underneath of the bowl)[KB 68.513.3]. 4-5 Schwartz pipe with broken base, stamped Cörmend on the socket (4: Left side view of the pipe with stamp on the socket; 5: Cursive Cörmend stamp) [KM88]. 6 Example of the turbaned figure stamp on a similar Cörmend pipe [Ua. KM 87]. 7-10 Anton Partsch pipe with aigretted figure stamp (7: Side view of the pipe with the stamp on the left side of the socket; 8: ANTON PARTSCH stamp; 9: Aigretted figure stamp on lattice background; 10: ZU TERESIENFELD stamp on the socket rim) [KM316].



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Rózsa street. According to legend, in 1852 he received an order from America of such size that his workshop, mainly equipped with simple hand tools and able to turn out at most 60-70 pipes a day, was unable to satisfy it and so he had to refuse it. Altogether 70 pipe fragments have been unearthed at the two Körmend provenances; based upon the above all of them can be regarded as fakes. This assumption is supported by the find of five pipes which are the spitting images of one another save for the stamp on their sides, each of which is different. One black pipe made through the reduction process is almost intact and can be reconstructed: its special feature is a gnarled, ribbed base with four crested ridges and a fireplace with an outward-curving mouth. Among its companions, another black piece, two terra-cotta and one marbled variation are known. Of the last four, the bowls were broken off during preparation or firing. Apart from the tiny, delicate handiwork, all five agree perfectly in size and are the works of a single mould. The formation of the ridged ornamental line of the pricking-wheel near the base differs in that one is plaited, another has a cog-wheel pattern, while with the third a stripe composed of a double line filled in with rhombuses runs all the way along the two sides of the pipe's base. Taking the clay pipes in turn, on the first the impression can be seen of SCHWARTZ IN KÖRMEND (Fig. 9, Nos. 1-2), on the second that of K.AZAR (Fig. 9, Nos. 3-4), on the third *Podrecs* (Fig. 9, Nos. 5-6), on the fourth *Salamon* (Fürsdt Salamon) (Fig. 9, Nos. 7-8) while on the fifth is visible, stamped one over the other, that of M. HÖNIG (Fig. 9, Nos. 9-10).

Little is known about the pipe-making centre of Kis-Azar (Malé Ozorovce, Slovakia). On one side of the pieces unearthed in 2001 can be seen the impression K.AZAR, and on the other, in an oval field beneath KISAZAR, a bird with outstretched wings (KB 2001.1.60). The filled rhombus decoration drawn along an arc below the head of the pipe was a speciality of the Schwarz workshop. There is another on a similarly stamped piece (KB 2001.2.3). It is characteristic that the same double empty chain of rhombuses below the fireplace of the pipe fragment with the K.AZAR stamp appears in the same place on the one marked PODRECS (KB 2001.1.55) and the K. AZAR pipe (KB 2001.1.59), which decorative motif is typical of Körmend, and was almost certainly made using the tools from the Schwarz workshop. The double braid ornamentation running in a half-arc below the pipe bowl is another stylistic motif of the Schwartz workshop.

These pipe fragments turned up either from the earth dug up at the time of laying the foundations for the Monaco coffee shop in 1990 or ten metres away in Bástya Street when pipes were being laid in 2001, and so it must be

accepted that they all originate from the same Körmend workshop. When the fragments arriving at the museum were being sorted they were placed in a pile together with a number of their companions, in order to contemplate what person or persons might have made them, and when. It can be imagined that five identical moulds were being used at the same time, though this is only possible in theory. Instead, the writer prefers to assume that the pipe clay of three faulty products was worked while still damp with identical tools of the trade (pricking-wheel, rotary wheel). The stamps SCHWARTZ (Fig. 9, No. 2), Salamon (Fig. 9, No 8) and K.AZAR (Fig. 9, No. 4) were presumably made at one time and with one tool. The other two arrived at the drying board from the same mould, but perhaps at a different time and with the use of other tools. In this case it is still valid that the stamp was pressed into the pipe clay and the decoration work done while it was still damp having been turned out of the mould; that is, it was not hired work on half-finished products that was taking place in Körmend. It has already been seen on an earlier example that the Schwartz and Fürst products bore identical marks, and so maybe now too it can be presumed that the relationship between the two pipe-makers was that of partners and not of production. That apart, for the most part the forged work of Johannes Schwartz can be accounted for.

What has it been possible to glean from sources about this remarkable man? In the tax register for the market town of Körmend in the 1828 national census he appears under No. 385 as a displaced Jewish villain (40 years old), a 'pipe-maker who incessantly at his work, mostly keeping lads, though at present having none'. He lived in one household with two adult brothers, his wife and a daughter. In the 1831 Jewish census two lads and a girl servant appear alongside the family of three, evidence of the family's status and material condition. The register of deaths shows that János Schwartz was born in 1788 in Neutra (Nyitra, now Nitra, Slovakia), but died in Körmend of 'the infirmity of age' on June 30, 1878, aged 85.

For the sake of proof more can be provided from this illuminating list. Such, from the aspect of pipe colour, are two pairs of pipe fragments. All of the 'five-fingered' pieces with the simple, cylindrical fireplaces on a shell-shaped foot were made in the same mould, but two different clay compounds were used in the course of production. On one of the sandy-coloured clay pipes can be seen the stamp SCHWARTZ IN KÖRMEND (Fig. 10, Nos. 1-2), and on the other that of *Körmend* (Fig. 10, Nos. 3-4), while one of the terra-cotta pieces is stamped *Partsch* (with the lily master's mark) (Fig. 10, Nos. 5-6) and the other ANTON PARTSCH (with the lily master's

Figure 9 (opposite): Examples of pipes from the same mould, with ribbed base and four crested ridges, stamped with the makers' names Schwartz, K. Azar, Podrecs, Salamon and M. Hönig.

1-2 Pipe stamped SCHWARTZ in Körmend [KM202]. 3-4 Pipe stamped K.AZAR [KM58]. 5-6 Pipe stamped Podrecs [KB 2001.1.54]. 7-8 Pipe stamped Salamon [KM56]. 9-10 Pipe stamped M. HÖNIG [KM59].



mark) with (...) THERESIENFELD on the rim (Fig. 10, Nos. 7-9). It is conceivable that the use of two different clays was dictated by an expansion in choice of ware, but it is also possible that the pieces were simply made at different times. The shade of colour of the clay pipes also agrees, and so in this case it can truly be assumed that the workshop of János Schwartz manufactured the complete series of Körmend stamps.

The Holy Crown of Hungary was a promising theme for pipe-makers as for others. Körmend and elsewhere mass-produced pieces of varying sizes. The various sizes at which they were to be produced *in situ* were determined by the identical ornamentation of the oval frame on the body of the pipe. The three clay pipes shown here are good examples of products identically set up but produced in different sizes. The largest bears the ANTON PARTSCH (Fig. 11, Nos. 1-2) stamp, the two smaller ones, black and marbled, those of SWARTZ IN KÖRMEND (Fig. 11 Nos. 3-5) and PODRECS (Fig. 11, Nos. 6-8). The oval frame around the crest, comprising a double line filled with rhombuses, is proof of their having been produced in one workshop.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the Körmend workshops offered a wide selection of clay pipes for their associates in the pipe peddling trade. Here, retailing at that time did not occur by choosing out of catalogues, because - in contrast with the Vasvár and Bonyhád pipe-making workshops - no number punches appear on the pipes on the Körmend pipes page. The assumption can be made from the material from the diggings that the more ornamental and the plainer clay pipes which were dug up from the land of the Monaco coffee shop were produced from 169 separate moulds, from among which the Jewish master pipe-maker Johannes Schwartz alone must have sold 41 types, stamped with his own name. A smaller area was excavated at the Rákóczi Street site, and perhaps thanks to that the selection was reduced to 58 separate moulds of which 24 items are stamped with the trademark *Joseph Bartsz* and 11 pipe moulds have no mark, in other words the total local Körmend selection comprised 227 different clay pipes.

Overview: the double naming of Pápa; how M. Hönig became the *honi ipar* (home industry) in Pápa

There is nothing new under the sun. The first Pápa pipe-making manufactory was founded somewhere around 1848. According to this research, despite the proximity of Körmend its operations did not affect the established

product structure here, for the names of Pápa pipe-makers do not appear on Körmend pipes. In 1851 Elek Fényes's geographic dictionary mentions a 'smaller kind' of pipe factory in connection with the names of *József Toch* and *Heinrich Schlesinger*. Their names are found stamped into examples of unearthened fragments that had found their way to the Pápa museum. A double 'linkage' appears on these pipes; that is, they manufactured pipes under their own names both in Pápa and in Selmechánya. Proof of this are the stamps *Jos. Toch Papa*, *Jos Toch Semniz*, and *Slezinger, Slezinger Schemnitz*, but the same 'doubling' can be observed in the case of the makers' stamps *Breuer Schemnitz-Brauer Papa*.

Not only was it characteristic of the nineteenth and twentieth century products of the factory at Pápa that by utilising the bought-up collection of Selmechánya patterns it poured out ever more beautiful pipes, but also that they distributed the famous M. Hönig pipe with its *Glück Auf!* motto depicting a miner and his tools, now with the inscription *Honi ipar Boscovitz*: that is, to put it delicately, they 'overlaid' an established product earlier placed on the market by someone else. The date 1842 appears on headed notepaper of Sámuel Boscovitz as the date of the company's establishment, but this cannot be true as regards his person unless it refers to the date of a smaller pipe-making company which existed earlier and was bought up by him. The name Sámuel Boskovitz does not appear among the craftsmen in the 1848 census of Pápa's Jewish inhabitants. It is also true that at a very low price he bought up the Zólyom workshop of Vendel Takáts, who had gone bankrupt in the 1910s, in which there may have been earlier pipe-making forms and tools, among them most probably a mould and stamp from the estate of the master craftsman, Hönig. In this, for a while at least, Pápa kept alive the traditions of Selmechánya through reusing the earlier pipe moulds. Possibly a century earlier the same process had been acted out in Körmend in the search for new markets.

Abbreviations

DBSLM = Dr. László Batthyány-Strattmann László Museum (Körmend)

KB = Körmend town centre provenance

KM = Körmend (town centre) Monaco coffee house provenance

R55 = 55, Rákóczi St., Körmend provenance

RHM Ht. = (Rába Museum of Local History, local history archives)

VaML = Vas Megyei Levéltár Archive of Vas County

Figure 10 (opposite): The names SCHWARTZ – CÖRMEND – PARTSCH – ANTON PARTSCH impressed into pipes made in two different clays but in identical moulds.

1-2 Sandy coloured clay pipe stamped SCHWARTZ IN KÖRMEND [KM340]. 3-4 Sandy coloured clay pipe stamped Körmend [KM90]. 5-6 Terra-cotta coloured clay pipe stamped Partsch with the lily master's mark [KM93]. 7-9 Terra-cotta coloured clay pipe stamped ANTON PARTSCH (with the lily master's mark) with THERESIENFELD on the socket rim [KM317].



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Figure 11: Three clay pipes bearing the Hungarian crown. The names SCHWARTZ – PODRECS – ANTON PARTSCH stamped onto identical forms but different sizes.

1-2 Red clay pipe (larger size) bearing the stamp ANTON PARTSCH [KM64]. 3-5 Black clay pipe (smaller size) bearing the stamp SWARTZ in Körmend [KB 84.26.13]. 6-8 Marbled clay pipe (smaller size) bearing the stamp PODRECS [KM348].

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