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Clay pipes in Hungary from the seventeenth century: ten years on

by Gábor Tomka

Introduction

Almost ten years ago the writer was asked to present a summary and attempt to describe the typological development of clay tobacco pipes in Hungary from its beginnings until the end of the eighteenth century (Tomka 2000a). He had to depend on a single paper (Kovács 1963), on some data scattered in scientific literature and on his own experiences at that time. Knowledge of early clay pipes in Hungary has improved considerably in the last decade (Fig. 1). The excavations of Attila Gaál in Újpalánk (in Yeni Palanka) near Szekszárd have yielded almost 100 stratified pieces which can be dated without doubt to the seventeenth century (Gaál 2004). From the fortress of Kanizsa, the centre of a small province in southern Transdanubia, 17 pipes were published by Gyöngyi Kovács (Kovács 2004). Among the finds from Ónod Castle, situated at the south-eastern border of Royal Hungary (today North-Eastern Hungary) about 40 pieces can be dated to the seventeenth century (Tomka 2005). Imre Holl presented 31 pipes found during excavations carried out on the Castle Hill of Buda (Holl 2005, 160–166). Szabolcs Kondorosy is the first archaeologist

in Hungary who has specialized in researching and publishing clay pipe-finds. In his first article on this topic he published 92 pieces found in Esztergom Castle dated to the Ottoman period (Kondorosy 2007a). In a second paper he presented 116 pieces from Szeged Castle made in the seventeenth century (Kondorosy 2008). In a third article he published 126 pieces interpreted as evidence for Ottoman rule, found in the outskirts of Buda (Kondorosy 2007b).

The great amount of recently published material has made obsolete some parts of the original typology of ten years ago. Although significant advances have been made in this field in recent years, a final typology is still to come due to the high diversity of forms. So the following attempt should be considered as a provisional and temporary solution.

Pipes with clay stems

A. Pipes of Western European origin

Undecorated pipes with more or less biconical bowls are found mainly in fortresses in the hands of Hungarians (Lenti: Závodi 2003, 194–195; Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia): Holčík 1984, 89–90; Fülek (Filakovo, Slovakia): Kalmár 1959, LXXVIII. tábla; Szepesvár (Spišský Hrad, Slovakia): Vallašek 1983, 239, Obr.7. 15; Szitnya (Sitno, Slovakia): Takač 1979, 252, 3; Szendrő: (Fig. 2, Nos. 1-3)). Single pieces are known from Turkish findspots as well however (Buda: H. Gyürky 1981, 55; Szekszárd: Gaál 2004, 264). The majority of these pieces have a

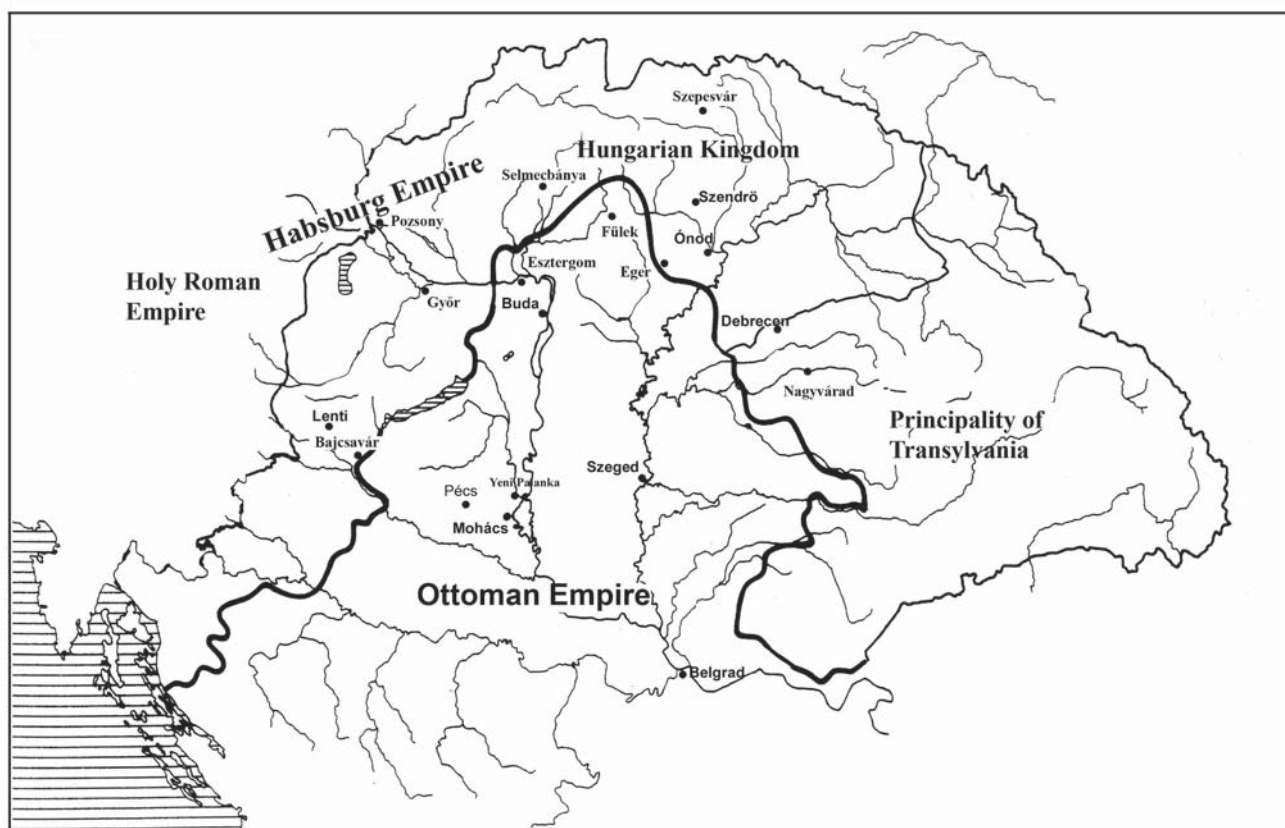


Figure 1: Map of the Carpathian basin around 1590.

greyish white body; pieces of inferior quality are brownish or reddish. They usually have a polished surface. Their form matches contemporary western pipes, but makers' stamps are usually lacking on their heels. At the fortress of Szendrő it can be shown that they were in use in the middle of the seventeenth century, but are missing from find-complexes dating to the end of the century. Pieces of superior quality are thought to be imports while pieces of inferior quality were probably local products.

In Szendrő a few broken pieces decorated on the side of the bowl with a rosette have been found (Fig. 2, No. 6) as well as stems ornamented with *fleur-de-lys* stamps, which prove that different types of claypipes were imported to Upper Hungary from Dutch or German centres (Kügler 1998, 231).

Jonah or Raleigh-pipes are known from Lenti (Závodi 2003, 194–195), Pozsony (Holčík 1984, 89) and Szendrő so far (Fig. 2, Nos. 4-5). Similar pipes are well known in the Netherlands and in Germany (Kügler 1998, 233). Their form recalls the story of Jonah and the whale or (as a not very likely interpretation says) Walter Raleigh and an alligator. They were made of well fired pipe-clay, and were probably all imported. Pieces from Szendrő are datable to around 1650.

A single parallel from Szendrő depicting a shoe (Fig. 2, No. 7) was found in Passau (southern Germany) (Kügler 1998, 231; Mehler 2004, 91), so it was probably imported to Szendrő from afar. Boot-like pipes were not unknown in Hungary either. Parallels to the piece found in Fülek Castle (Kalmár 1959, LXXVIII) were published from south-German territories, too (Mehler 2004, 90–91).

B. Pipes without western parallels

A unique pipe from Szendrő has the special feature of having a clay stem (one can observe even the traces of usage) and a bowl with a pronounced rim (Fig. 2, No. 8). Since the proportions and decoration of the tiny little bowl resemble some wooden-stemmed pipes, it was probably created during the coexistence of western type pipes and pipes with wooden stems. This mixed type could not have spread widely however, since only this very singular piece is known. A glazed piece from Salzburg (Austria) can be cited as a distant analogy (Mehler 2004, 89-90).

The next piece with a clay stem shows extremely primitive features (Fig. 2, No. 9). It was made by hand, decorated unskilfully and fired improperly. It does not seem to be a professional pipe-maker's work. There was obviously no pipe of better quality available. It is quite likely that this piece is evidence of the beginning of pipe smoking.

Recent observations show that a pipe-type with a forward leaning bowl, previously thought to be an early form of clay-stemmed pipe, most likely had a wooden stem. The faceted, funnel-like form of the bowl has no seventeenth century parallels among western European pipes. This type is discussed below among the wooden-stemmed types.

The clay-stemmed pipes (in the Hungarian literature the so called Dutch-type) were in use primarily in the first half or in the second third of the seventeenth century. They were smoked mainly in Royal Hungary, mostly by soldiers and were probably preferred by western (mainly German) mercenaries. The best pieces were imports but more or less successful local copies were produced as well. By the end of the seventeenth century they were displaced by pipes equipped with wooden stems.

Pipes with wooden stems

The majority of clay pipes found in Hungary from the seventeenth century belong to this group. Although some types have become more and more distinguishable in recent years, especially the richly decorated pieces with well articulated bowls are to be considered almost as unique pieces further on. It seems certain that several types coexisted from at least the second third of the seventeenth century onwards. These types or forms could interact, the change of forms could follow the rules of evolution and reduction respectively. The quantity of published material is not yet sufficient for any unquestionable typological evaluation of the extremely diverse forms and decorations to be attempted.

A. Pipes without sharp segmentation of the small bowls (tubular pipes)

The bowls of these pipes are not off-set from the stem-socket. Neither the upper or the lower parts of the bowl are separated. These pipes have small bowls and usually they do not have a wreath or ring on their stem-socket.

There is a form found mainly in Turkish sites which has an unarticulated, sometimes faceted bowl leaning forward, often getting wider towards the rim (Eger: Kovács 1963, III.t. 1, VII.t.1; Esztergom: Kondorosy 2007a, 309–310, 315 (Fig. 3, Nos.1-2)). Although the shape of the bowl differs from contemporary pipes in western Europe (it is more like eighteenth century pieces), its position resembles them. That was the reason for its former (false) classification as a pipe-type with a clay stem. Recently published pieces with intact necks (Varga 2011) demonstrate that they had stem-sockets. The position of the bowl implies that they once had a short wooden stem. The formal resemblance to clay-stemmed pipes could possibly hint at a genetic connection which eventually indicates an early date. Their material is reddish or brownish; some pieces show traces of polishing.

A group of sparsely decorated pipes contains usually unglazed, roughly made pipes (Eger: Kovács 1963, III.t. 8–10; Szekszárd and Buda (?): Gaál 2004, 273, 279; Ónod: Tomka 2005, 611–612; Buda: Holl 2005, 164; Esztergom: Kondorosy 2007a, 313–315) (Fig. 3, Nos. 3-5). Bowl and stem-socket join at around 90°. The colour of the ceramic body can be various: white, yellowish, brownish, pale reddish or even grey. Sometimes they are lightly polished, sometimes rouletted. Their simple design and unarticulated form suggests an early date, but the possibility that they were produced even in the last

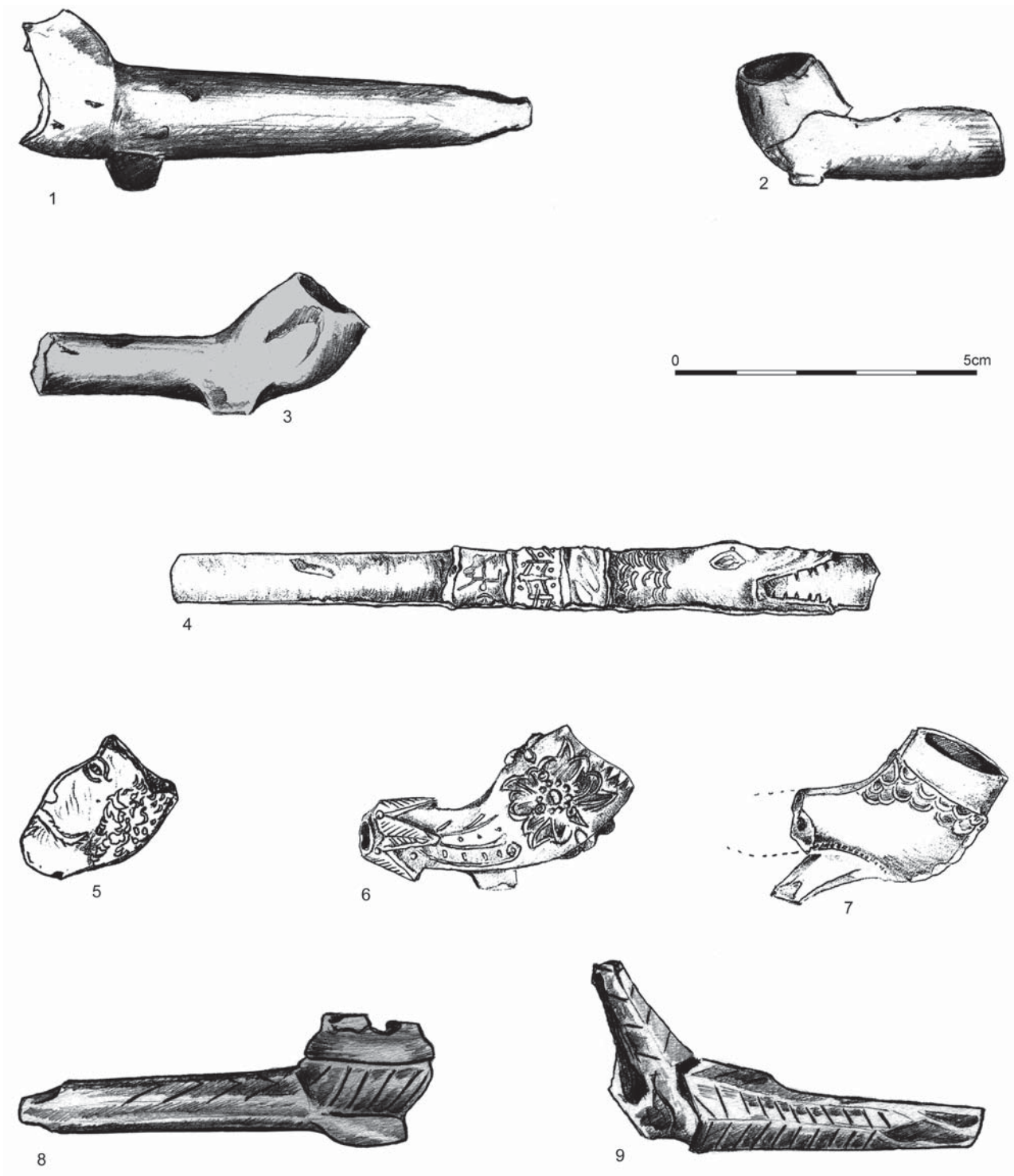


Figure 2: Clay pipes from Szendrő (1-9).

decades of the century for consumers with lower demands cannot be excluded.

There is a well-distinguishable group of pipes which have very tiny bowls and are usually glazed. The upper and the lower part of the bowl are separately decorated, but they do not have any sharp formal distinction. One of the two most widespread types of this group has fluting on a great part of its bowl and stem-socket. The upper part of the end of the stem-socket is usually rounded (Fülek: Kalmár 1959, LXXVIII.t; Eger: Kovács 1963, 260, III.t.

4; Szekszárd: Gaál 2004, 277 (Fig. 3, No. 6); Esztergom: Kondorosy 2007a, 319–320). The other common type has rosettes on both sides of the globular bowl and fluting on its stem-socket. This type can be regarded as a transitional form between pipes with and without articulated bowls (Eger: Kovács 1963, 247, III. t. 6; Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania); Emődi 1998, 31, 73; Szekszárd: Gaál 2004, 277–278; Pécs: (Fig. 3, No. 7); Buda: Holl 2005, 163). The type could have an unglazed forerunner, found in Buda and dated to the 16th century (Bertalan 1997, 345). Their material is usually white or yellowish white. Glazed

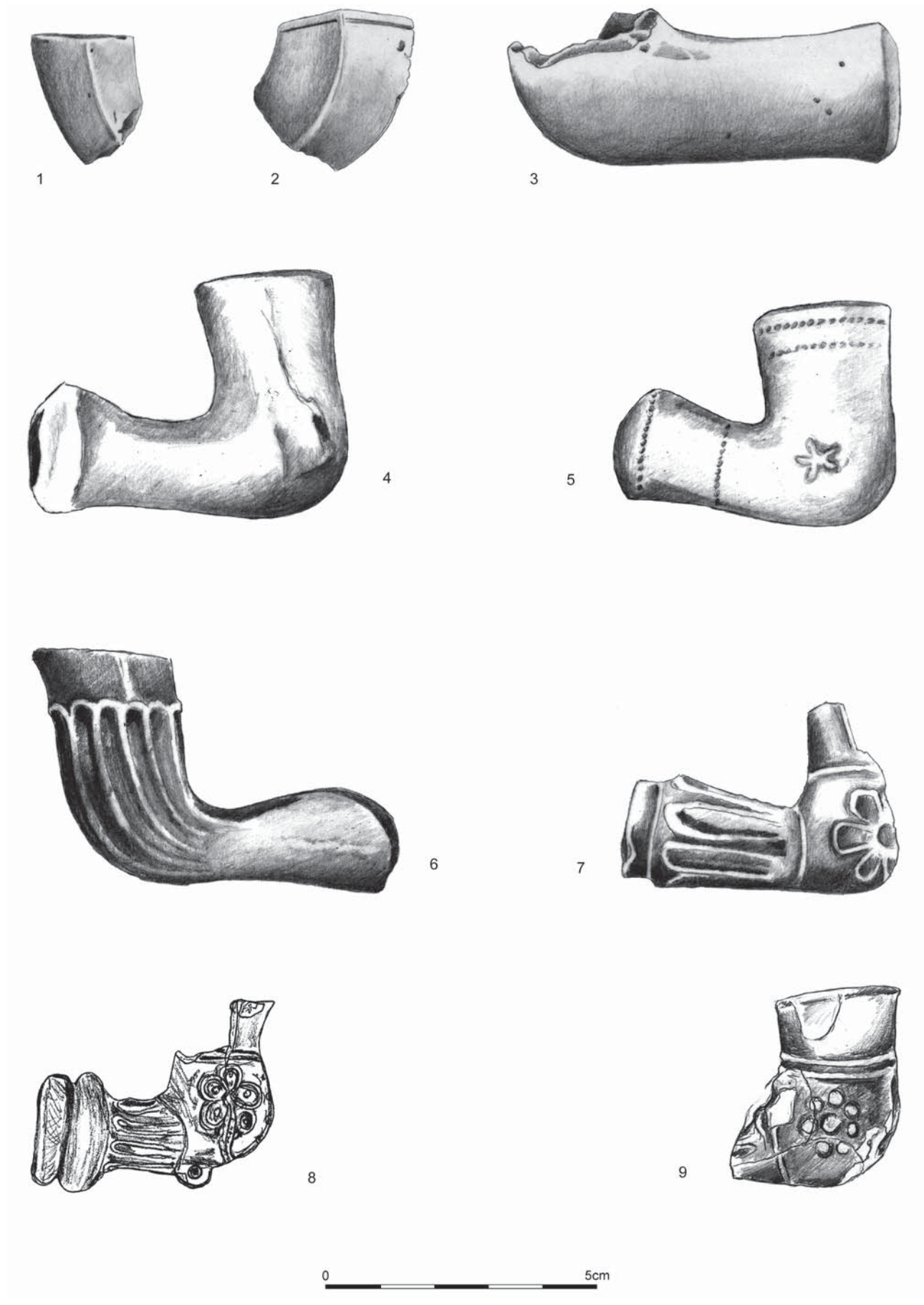


Figure 3: Clay pipes from Esztergom (1-3) (after Kondorosy 2007a, 311, E9, E8, E10), Szekszárd (4-6) after Gaál 2004, III.t. 47, 53, 54), Pécs (7), Szendrő (8-9).

pieces were produced before 1660 (Barcs: Kovács 1998, 170, 13. k. 1), but the use of a piece enriched with a wreath can be proved in Szendrő up to the 1670s (Fig. 3, No. 8). The type with fluted bowls seems to be more uniform; the type with a rosette occurs on the Christian side of the border in many variations too. The bigger, deformed variations are likely to be derivations from the end of the seventeenth century (Tomka 2003, 312 (Fig. 3. No. 9)).

B. Polished pipes with swollen bowls without sharp segmentation

This large group of pipes with characteristic forms (Simontornya: Gaál 2004, 270–271, Nr. 34 (Fig. 4, No. 1); Ónod: Fig. 4, No. 2) can be divided into smaller groups, some of them demonstrably later than the seventeenth century. They were particularly popular in the southern and eastern part of the territory subjected to the Ottomans (Kondorosy 2008, 338–340), but they were used in Hungarian fortifications at the northern edge of the Great Hungarian Plain as well (Tomka 2005, 612–613). Their bodies are almost exclusively reddish and are normally covered with a thin layer of slip which is usually polished. Their stem-sockets are narrow, with polygonal collars and star-shaped wreaths. Their bowls are swollen, the tops often leaning forward. Their fabrics and surface treatment show similarity to the unsegmented pipes with forward-leaning bowls, of which they can be assumed to be the predecessors. Similarities can be observed with the undecorated reddish pipes with hemispherical bowls as well. Because of the swollen bowl and the segmented stem-socket this should be typologically later; its production presumably started in the second half of the seventeenth century, but certainly before 1686.

C. Pipes with Hemispherical, Undecorated Bowls

1. The most common type at seventeenth century sites in Hungary usually has a reddish fabric and is well-polished (Szendrő: Fig. 4, Nos. 3–4; Buda: Fig. 4, No. 5). They usually have no wreath on their stem-sockets, the ends of which broaden slightly. The cross-section of the stem-socket is either circular or polygonal, most often seven sided. The keel is well defined. On some pieces the keel reaches the front of the upper part of the bowl, while on others it flattens into the front of the bowl. The angle between stem-socket and bowl is usually around 90 degrees, but can also be acute. A knob of uncertain purpose was usually formed on one side, exceptionally on both sides, of the bowl. This knob seems to be more frequently on the right side of the bowl. The rim is often cylindrical, but an octagonal prism form is not rare either. The great amount of finds makes the possible subdivision of this group likely (Kondorosy 2007b, 255). The examples stamped with rosettes, found in Újpalánk, may be local variations (Gaál 2004, 262, 265–266). These types were appreciated not only in the whole territory of the Ottoman occupation but also in Christian fortifications along the border (Tomka 2005, 314).

2. The fabric of the second type is more varied (Fig. 4, Nos. 6–7). The fired clay can be brownish, orange or even yellowish white. They are generally unpolished always

having a wreath at the end of the stem-socket. They are characterised by the rouletted decoration and a rosette made of points on their rims. According to the finds from Újpalánk, this type is not present at Turkish sites until 1686. On the other hand they are found in Christian fortifications like Ónod (destroyed in 1688) (Tomka 2005, 608–609) or in Szendrő (blown up in 1707). This type seems to be particularly frequent in Christian fortifications along the Ottoman border. It is highly probable that it originated in the early simple Turkish type, and can be considered as the first Hungarian pipe-type. The use of this type appears to begin in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and continued into the first decades of the eighteenth.

D. Pipes with decorated, hemispherical or globular bowls

This group seems to be the most heterogenous. The examples cited here are not at all exhaustive.

1. Unglazed pipes with richly stamped globular bowls are almost all unique pieces (Esztergom: Kondorosy 2007a, 311, E21; Szeged: Kondorosy 2008, 335–336 Sz9–Sz 14; Buda: Tomka 2000a, 129, 5g/11 (Fig. 5, No. 2), Kondorosy 2007b, 274, B4). They were preferred in the Ottoman army and in towns with inhabitants from the Balkans but some single pieces could have reached the Hungarian border-fortifications too (Lenti: Závodi 2003, 194–195; Szendrő: Fig. 5, No. 3). Their colour is often greyish, yellowish or buff but almost never reddish. Their stamped decoration is often restricted to the upper part of the globular bowl (Eger: Kovács 1963, 259, 1. t. 1, 3; Szekszárd: Gaál 2004, 285; Nagykanizsa: Kovács 2004, 123, 130; Esztergom: Kondorosy 2007a, 311, E20; Szeged: Kondorosy 2008, 358 Sz10 Fig. 5, No. 1). On some pieces horizontal rouletting or grooved lines can be observed (Eger: Kovács 1963, 259, 1. t. 2; Buda: Kondorosy 2007b, 274 B7).

2. The bowl was most frequently divided by vertical impressions. This could be done by incising the bowl. These pipes are usually unglazed and are found in seventeenth century contexts exclusively at Ottoman sites (Szekszárd, Gaál 2004, 285 Nr.78 (Fig. 5, No. 4); Buda: Kondorosy 2007b, 274 B11 (Fig. 5, No. 5)).

A more efficient method was to form a gadrooned or petalled bowl in the mould. In the case of globular bowls gadrooning can cover the whole surface. In ovoid bowls it is usually restricted either to the lower, or to the upper part of the bowl. Rouletting was often used to accentuate the vertical divisions (Eger: Kovács 1963, 259, 1. t. 5; Szendrő: Fig. 5. No. 6; Szeged: Kondorosy 2008, 357 Sz2 (Fig. 5, No. 7); Szekszárd: Gaál 2004, 280 Nr. 58, 75 (Fig. 5, Nos. 8–9); Buda: Kondorosy 2007b, 274 B20; Holl 2005, 164). Another glazed type bears a moulded fishbone-like decoration on the vertical segments (Eger: Kovács 1963, 259 1. t. 10; Szekszárd: Gaál 2004, 281 Nr. 61) Ónod: Tomka 2005, 610 (Fig. 5, No. 10); Esztergom: Kondorosy 2007a, 311 E19). The segments of the bowls with compressed proportions were often formed softly like petals. This type is glazed quite often, too (Pécs: Fehér 1959, XII. t. 4; Ónod: Tomka 2005, 619; Kondorosy 2007b, 274 B17 (Fig. 5, No. 11)). A simple type with exclusively

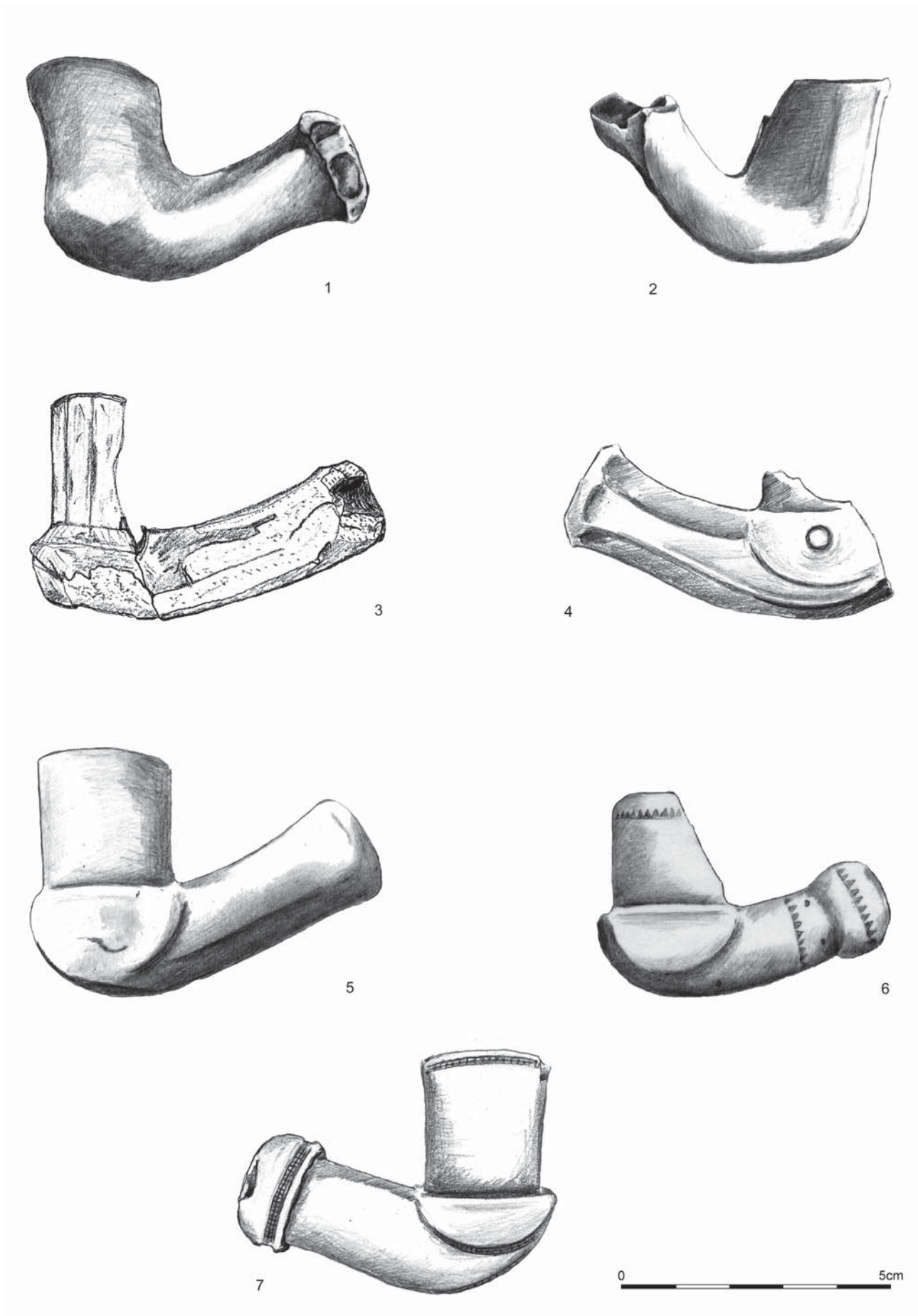


Figure 4: Clay pipes from Simontornya (1) after (Gaál 2004, III.t. 34), Ónod (2, 7), Szendrő (3-4), Buda (5) (after Kondorosy 2007b, 275, B26), Szeged (6) (after Kondorosy 2008, Sz36).

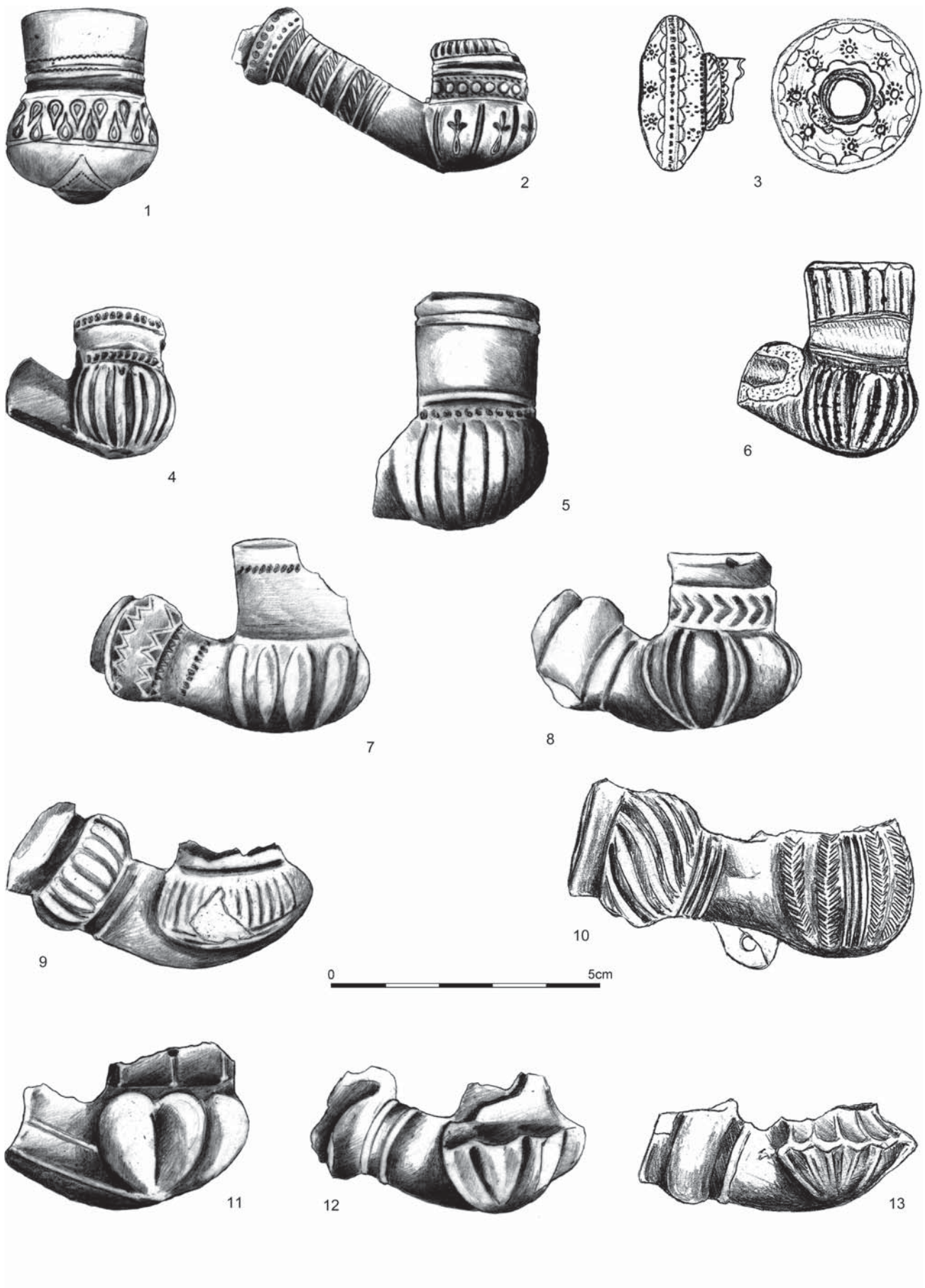


Figure 5: Clay pipes from Szeged (1), Buda (2), Szendrő (3, 6), Szekszárd (4, 8-9, 12) (after Gaál 2004, IV.t. 78, III.t. 58, III.t. 75, III.t. 64), Buda (5, 11) (after Kondorosy 2007b, 274 B11, 274 B17), Szeged (7) (after Kondorosy 2008, 357 Sz2), Ónod (10, 13).

moulded decoration which has a hemispherical lower bowl and which is segmented vertically sharply is found at almost all sites. This small-sized type is almost always glazed (Pécs: Fehér 1959, XII. t. 19, 24; Eger: Kovács 1963, 243 1. t. 11; Détshy-Kozák 1967, 105; Szekszárd: Gaál 2004, 281 Nr. 64 (Fig. 5, 12); Nagykanizsa: Kovács 2004, 122, 129; Ónod: Tomka 2005, 618 (Fig. 5, No. 13)).

A further small-sized glazed type should be mentioned here which has vertical divisions or ribs only on the upper part of the bowl (Ónod: Tomka 2005, 619; Szendrő: Fig. 6, Nos. 1-2). Examples of this type can be cited from fortifications in Borsod Country (Northeast Hungary). Therefore this form seems to be an early Christian innovation, judging its age from the size.

The glazed examples were usually made in white clay. This material is quite suitable for glazing because the colours of the glaze appear clear and shiny on the light surface.

E. Pipes with disc-shaped bowls

A distinctive group of pipes have flat, disc-shaped bowls. In a formal typology the disc-shaped bowl can be regarded as a secondary development which could take its origin from hemispherical bowls. On the other hand there is evidence for smoking pipes with disc-shaped bowls from as early as 1660 (Emódi 1998, 31, 73). Therefore either the forms of the globular and disc-shaped bowls diverged fairly rapidly or the angular, carving-like forms are the result of an independent, parallel evolution.

A proportion of the pipes with disc-shaped bowls have smooth keels comparable with those of pipes with hemispherical bowls. These pieces are usually richly stamped (Ónod: Tomka 2005, 614 (Fig. 6, No. 3); Szeged: Kondorosy 2008 359 Sz41 (Fig. 6, No. 4); Buda: Holl 2005, 162; Kondorosy 2007b, 257).

Another type of pipe with a disc-shaped bowl is characterised by a keel with a broken profile. Although unglazed pieces are more frequent glazed pieces are also known. They usually have a stem-socket with a polygonal cross-section and a richly decorated wreath. This type seems to be used mainly by the occupants of such sites as Pécs: (Fig. 6, No. 5), Szeged (Kondorosy 2008, 359 Sz38 (Fig. 6, No. 6)) and Szekszárd (Gaál 2004, 278 Nr. 52 (Fig. 6, No. 7)).

F. Flat bottomed pipes

Flat-bottomed pipes are quite rare. Stamped decoration is almost always present on them. Their rims are often angular (Pécs: Tomka 2000a, 124-125 (Fig. 7, No. 8); Eger: Tomka 2000a, 125; Buda: Kondorosy 2007b, 257, 277 B114 (Fig. 6, No. 9)). Pipes with bowls terminating in a flat bottom or a flat calotte of a sphere and equipped with a conical chimney have been published in greater numbers from Buda (Holl 2005, 162, 164 and Szeged (Kondorosy 2008, III.t. Sz40-41). These types seem to be preferred by the subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

G. Special forms

Some forms have no parallels yet. Among the items published from Buda a piece with a shell-like bowl probably representing a carnation should be mentioned (Kondorosy 2007b, 258, 277 B116). Another piece at the same site imitates a shoe pointing in the direction towards which the smoker is looking (Kondorosy 2007b, 257, 277 B115) (Fig. 6, No. 10). A pipe depicting a man's head looking in the same direction (unlike the Jonah-pipes) was reported from Fülek Castle (today Filakovo) (Kalmár 1959, 37). Another piece showing a Turk's head came to light in Buda, was in use presumably in the middle of the seventeenth century (Holl 2005, 163). This type which became popular later can only be of Christian origin considering the muslim prohibition of depicting humans.

Dating

Although more and more pipes have been published which were excavated by modern archaeological methods, there is still the problem that the majority have no archaeological context. There is no scientific method available to date pipes with the desired accuracy of 20 to 30 years. There is a single broken piece bearing an incised date (Tomka 2005, 612, 615). There are only a handful of early hallmarks, whose interpretation and date remain uncertain.

Due to the military defeats of the Ottoman Empire fortresses were abandoned *en masse* at the end of the seventeenth and at the very beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Pipes found during excavations carried out on these sites are apparently datable to the seventeenth century. These finds can contribute to the identification of early smoking implements in the Ottoman Empire and in eastern Europe even without proper archaeological context. During modern excavations stratigraphic evaluation is essential even in the case of early modern finds. So hopefully a lot of well-dated pieces will be published soon.

The fortress of Bajcsavár was only in use for some 20 years till the end of the 16th century (Kovács 2001, 195). Barcs was abandoned in 1664 (Kovács 1998, 155). Újpalánk was destroyed in 1686 (Gaál 2004, 260). Ónod was not rebuilt after the fire in 1688 (Tomka 2000b, 206), and Szendrő was blown up in 1707 (Tomka 2002, 118). When estimating the age of the pipes found at these sites possible secondary use of the ruined fortresses has to be considered. For example, at Drégely Castle the pipes alone revealed that the castle which was ruined in 1552 was partially in use again in the seventeenth century (Majcher 2005, 121). At Ónod Castle archaeological research has shown that the ruin was revitalised in the first half of the 19th century. A number of pipes came to light from this period (Tomka 2005, 607-608).

The other method of dating pipes is typo-chronology. Types are dated by their attributes and are then ordered presuming a constant change on the analogy of biological evolution.

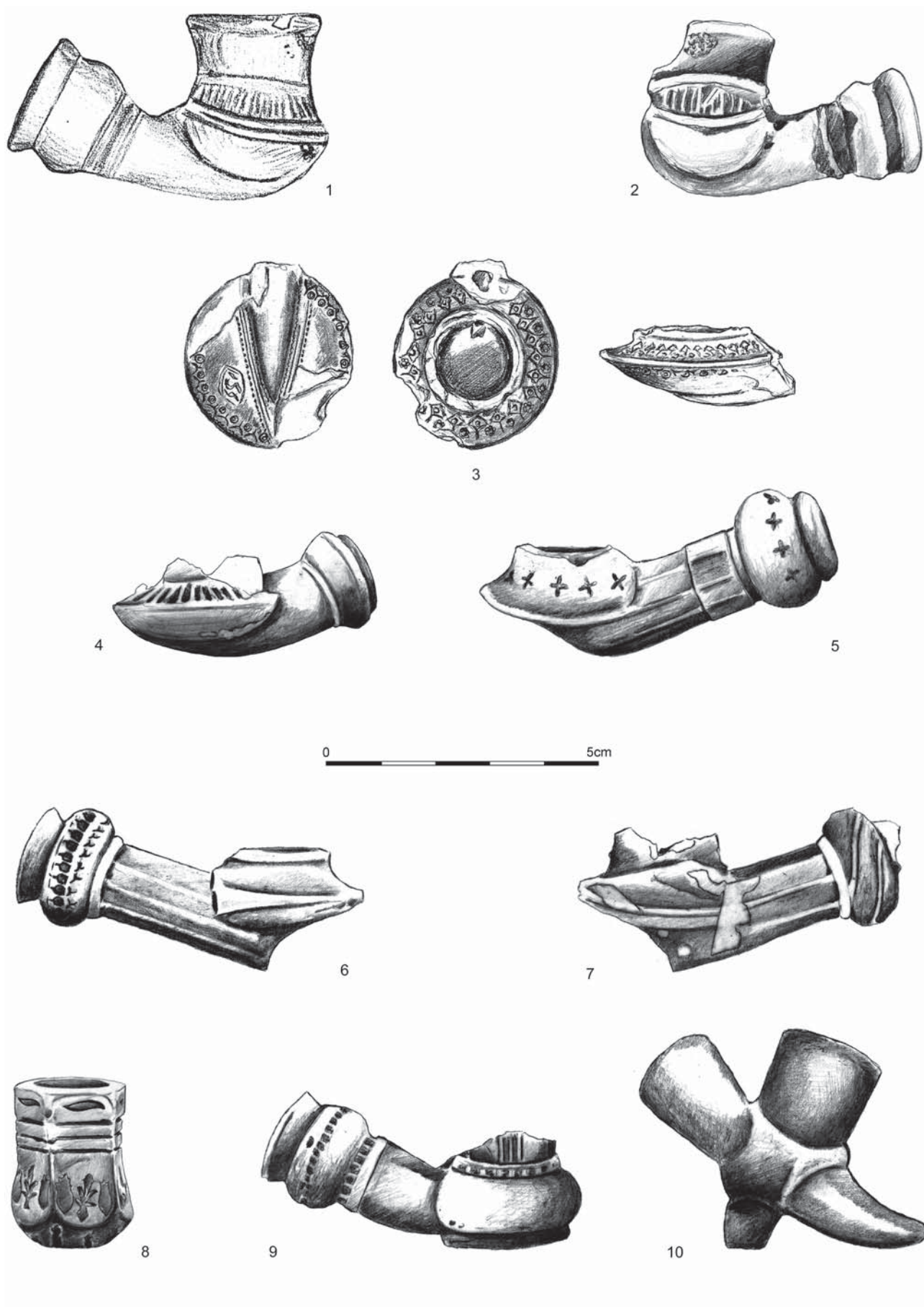


Figure 6: Clay pipes from Szendrő (1-2), Ónod (3), Szeged (4, 6) (after Kondorosy 2008, 359 Sz41, Sz38), Pécs (5, 8), Szekszárd (7) (after Gaál 2004, III.t. 52), Buda (9-10) (after Kondorosy 2007b, 277 B114, B115).

According to a combination of both methods, the earliest piece from an authentic context is probably the one found in Bajcsavár (Kovács 2001, 213 Fig. 11, No. 3). Although it was found in a fortress built against the Ottomans, it had a wooden stem. The fortress was abandoned at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, so this piece can be dated to the same period. So tiny, unarticulated pipes seem to be the oldest. These forms resemble western types, so they probably had a common origin. As time passed by the pipes became more articulated and segmented and their size grew slowly. However pipes with rosettes belonging to this early group were in use as late as the 1670s (like in Szendrő). The undecorated pipes with unsegmented heads could be in use for a similar long time due to their simplicity. Pipes with clay stems were popular in the first half or in the second third of the seventeenth century, according to the excavated groups from Szendrő. The spread of undecorated pipes with hemispheric bowls can be contemporary with the general spread of smoking (it means the second third of the seventeenth century). Pieces with angular rims and/or angular stem-sockets may be earlier, but the co-existence of angular and rounded forms cannot be denied. This type has a long-term usage as well. Its variation with washed contours (what is thought to be later Kondorosy 2007b, 255–256) was smoked in Újpalánk before 1686 (Gaál 2004, 268 Nr. 23). Another piece, stamped with a Christian hallmark, was probably lost in Esztergom after the year 1683 (Kondorosy 2007a, 312–313). The similar piece from Ónod Castle was probably made before the destruction of the castle in 1688, and surely before the second decade of the eighteenth century. The early Hungarian pipes with hemispherical bowls were used in Ónod as early as the 1680s. If these pieces had only been lost when the ruin was levelled in the early years of the eighteenth century, parallel finds from Szendrő Castle are definitely older than 1707. That pipes with swollen heads and red polish were in use as early as the 1680s is proved by finds in Újpalánk and Ónod. Their absence in Szendrő shows that they did not spread over the border-zone until the end of the seventeenth century. More precise dating of a majority of the seventeenth century pipes is still impossible.

Areal occurrence

The amount of published material makes it possible to attempt to establish regional or local groups. Such as for example: a stamped variation of hemispherical bowled pipes in Újpalánk (Gaál 2004, 262), the frequent occurrence of reddish unsegmented bulgy headed pipes in Szeged (Kondorosy 2008, 338, 340) or the glazed type which has an indented upper part of its bowl at sites in Borsod County. Types which were almost exclusively used by the Ottomans (including the Balkanic/ southern Slavic population of course) can be distinguished: such as the type with disc-shaped bowl and broken profiled keel. On the contrary, clay-stemmed pipes, or the early Hungarian hemispherical bowl types were smoked almost exclusively on territories ruled by the Christians. In the absence of excavated workshops the definition of production centres is not yet possible. Rare hallmarks, unique stamps and

pipes from the same mould can eventually bring us closer to find the traces of workshops. Makers' seals and stamps prove that the same workshop produced various types simultaneously, for example Christian workshops supplying the area from western Transdanubia to the north-eastern part of recent Hungary (Lenti: Závodi 2003, 194; Esztergom: Kondorosy 2007a, 312; Ónod: Tomka 2005, 608–610). Some pipes were found in Buda bearing the hallmark H A O or V H O. Szabolcs Kondorosy supposes a Christian workshop producing pipes under Ottoman rule in Buda (Kondorosy 2007b, 264). In spite of the finds which can be associated with the recapture of Buda and accompanied one of the pieces with the above mentioned hallmark the writer believes that this workshop came into operation immediately after 1686. During the Ottoman occupation it seems unlikely that Latin letters would be used as hallmarks. Even, when part of the inhabitants of Buda were Christian, the predominant orthodoxy would have been overwhelming. The letter O could refer to the German name of the city, 'Ofen'.

Way of life

The mapping of archaeological finds can be useful for confirming social differences. It is remarkable that in the seventeenth century pipes are much rarer at rural sites than in fortresses. It can be concluded that the army was the transmitter and main practitioner of the new habit. Tobacco was not cultivated in Hungary until the end of the seventeenth century. Therefore the drug was imported and was expensive. Pipes coming to light from the most important commercial and administrative centres respectively from the vicinity of the headquarters of the fortresses tend to be not only more elaborate but also bigger in size. Mapping pipe-finds could possibly reveal places used frequently by smokers. It is certainly not surprising that many more fragments of pipes can be found in the area of the gates of fortresses than in the vicinity of gunpowder-magazines.

Inter-ethnic relations

The occurrence of western imported pipes in castles in Hungarian hands can be explained by the presence of western mercenaries. The Hungarian male costume as well as weaponry became similar to the Ottomans' habits in the 16th century. Also early clay-stemmed pipes were overshadowed by pipes with wooden stems coming from the Balkan Peninsula. So the view that it was the Ottomans who took over smoking from the Hungarians at the Hungarian frontier region (Faroqhi 2000, 217) can be certainly denied. The habit of smoking tobacco probably reached Hungary from the west and from the south approximately at the same time. From what can be established through written sources and by the earliest archaeological finds Turkish influence may have been the stronger. Christian soldiers took over the new habit from the Turks, they sometimes even used Turkish pipes. So Hungarian pipes can be derived from Ottoman pipes, but, from the end of the seventeenth century the Hungarian pipe-working craft went its own way.

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