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THE HABAN POTTERY FROM THE BELGRADE FORTRESS: ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS, CHRONOLOGY, DECORATIVE DESIGNS

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Abstract. – Haban pottery, named after its makers, members of the Anabaptist reform movement, flourished in Central-European countries from the end of the 16th until the 19th century. It is tin-glazed earthenware marked by distinctive decorative expression dominated by floral patterns. Archaeological excavations within the area of the Belgrade Fortress have recovered some eighty pieces of Haban pottery from well-defined and precisely dated contexts. The pottery occurred in two separate phases of Austrian rule over Belgrade. The earlier lasted for only two years, 1688–90, while the later began with the Austrian capture of the city in 1717 and lasted for over two decades, until 1739. These finds make it possible to establish the chronology and repertoire of Haban pottery in Belgrade, contributing to our better knowledge of this distinctive category of earthenware.

Key words. – Haban pottery, tin-glazed wares, Central Europe, Belgrade.

Haban pottery holds a very important place in the history of pottery making because it combined the religious, social and artistic dimensions in a quite distinctive manner. These three aspects accompanied its emergence, development and change over a period of three centuries, making it a distinctive phenomenon in the art of Renaissance Europe and in culture at large. It is an art pottery of recognisable designs and colours. On a pottery-making scale, it holds a place between the Italian majolica of the 14th and 15th centuries and the blue ware from Delft which flooded European markets in the 17th century, but it relied on both for models and colour effects – on the Italian production in its initial phase, and on the Delft one in its mature, late-17th-century phase. In spite of the ill fortune of its makers, harshly persecuted and under threat of extermination, or perhaps precisely because of that, Haban

pottery not only absorbed various stylistic impulses, but it also contributed to improving the art of pottery making through, among other things, applying innovative glazing and painting techniques. On the other hand, much of its advanced technology and decorative expression came to be built into local folk pottery, especially in Transylvania and Hungary, thus becoming a hallmark of regional identity.¹

Haban pottery is little known in Serbia, even though one would expect interest, above all among researchers in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, given that it has largely gravitated to the Central-European cultural orbit. Almost all known Haban pieces come from

¹ Krisztinkovich 1970; Csupor 2008.

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Belgrade and most of them are in private collections. However, archaeological investigations in the area of the Belgrade Fortress, especially in recent times, have come up with a considerable quantity of Haban finds discovered in well-defined and precisely dated contexts, which provides a good reason to take a more detailed look at Haban pottery and the circumstances of its emergence at a particular historical moment.

GENERAL OVERVIEW

Haban pottery is basically tin-glazed earthenware, which owes its individuality to the religious affiliation of the community within which it emerged. The term *Haban* probably derives from the German compound *Haushaben* (a commune, the communal way of life of people sharing the same religious or political beliefs), and refers to the communities of Anabaptists or “re-baptised” Christians.² It is also known as Hutterite, after Jacob Hutter, the leader of a Tyrolean Anabaptist branch. Hutter’s brotherhoods were also organised as isolated, inward-looking and self-sufficient communities.³

The layout of Anabaptist settlements – *haushabens* or *bruderhofs* – consistently followed a certain pattern.⁴ It unfailingly included the building with a communal dining room also functioning as a space for communal prayer; a school; rooms for the care of children; rooms for the elderly and the sick; as well as economic buildings – a dairy, a bakery, cellars, a pottery workshop etc.⁵ The dwellings as a rule had workshops on the ground-floor, with living quarters on the upper floor. The Anabaptists were reputedly skilled craftsmen. Their various skills and knowledge are referred to in written sources, and illustrated in a satirical miniature of 1589, which shows the Anabaptists of Münster.⁶ The written sources, chronicles in particular, mention some thirty different crafts in which they excelled. Only two of these, however, may be said to have fully expressed their superior skills and distinctive aesthetic: pottery and knife making.⁷ Presumably, the influential role of potters and the importance of pottery making itself were based on the Scripture, on the words of the Lord to the prophet Jeremiah (Jer. 18:2): “Arise, and go down to the potter’s house, and there I will cause thee to hear my words.” Presumably for the same reason there were many potters among community elders.

Despite the indisputable importance of Haban pottery, many questions concerning its manufacture have remained unanswered. Perhaps the most important of

them is that of its emergence and evolution, both in technological and aesthetic terms. It now seems unquestionable that Haban pottery arose from the tradition of Italian Renaissance “bianchi di Faenza”, to which it is similar in method of manufacture and style of decoration.⁸ In all likelihood, the technique was taken northwards by the members of Anabaptist communities who had fled Italy and joined the Moravian brotherhoods.⁹ Some researchers, such as B. Kriztinkovich, tend to assume that even the Anabaptist movement itself arose in Faenza, a major pottery-making centre at the time,¹⁰ and that its founders were of Italian and German origin. This assumption, however, has not been substantiated.¹¹

It remains unknown as to how exactly the Anabaptists learned the trade, but it has been assumed that it was in Italy that they had mastered its secrets, from preparing the clay to moulding it into a shape, firing and decorating.¹² It seems certain that production first began in Moravia in the late 16th century and was soon, perhaps in the early 1620s, moved to Slovakia, a safer environment i.e. showing a greater degree of religious tolerance.¹³ During that period, as well as later, Anabaptist communities could also be encountered in Transylvania.¹⁴

At first the communities produced pottery for their own everyday use, unglazed and glazed, and occasionally even bearing simple decoration.¹⁵ By 1588, however, the potters had already been banned from making

² Bunta 1970; Katona 1976, 10; Katona 2011, 5–89; Horvath, Kriztinkovich 2005, 4–7; Horvat, Biondić 2007, 21–22; Ridovics 2008, 87.

³ Friedmann 1961, 41–42; Pearse 2006, 184–185; Réti 2007, 11, 17; Ridovics 2008, 87–89; Radványi, Réti 2011, 15–18.

⁴ Kristinkovič 1962, 8–10.

⁵ Katona 1965a, 237–258; Pajer 1997; Pajer 2000, 9–13; Pajer 2001, 7–20, Obr. 1–2; Katona 2001, 63–71.

⁶ Pajer 1997, 15; Horvath, Kriztinkovich 2005, 9, P8.

⁷ Lansfeld 1964, 171–172.

⁸ Friedmann 1961, 149–150; Kristinkovič 1962, 26–30; Kybalová, Novotná 1981, 9; Marsilli 1985, 7–24; Kalešný 1985, 27–36; Horvat, Biondić 2007, 24, 26; Ridovics 2008, 89–90.

⁹ Ridovics 2008, 89.

¹⁰ Hence the term *faience*, in addition to *majolica*, for white painted pottery.

¹¹ Kristinkovič 1962, 7–8; Friedmann 1961, 150; Marsilli 1985, 7–11.

¹² Friedmann 1958, 147; Marsilli 1985, 17–24.

¹³ Friedmann 1958, 148; Kudělková, Zeminová 1961, 15–19; Katona 1976, 10–21; Pajer 2000, 9–27.

¹⁴ Bunta 1970.

¹⁵ Pajer 2001, 117–131.

pottery without the permission of the community elder, which suggests that pottery making, and especially the making of artistically decorated pieces, had not only existed, and as a lucrative trade, but also that such pottery was in domestic use, which was at odds with the austere lifestyle prescribed by Anabaptist religious beliefs.¹⁶ Consistent with their isolated way of life, the art of pottery making (including the recipes for preparing the clay, pigments and glazes, and the technique of firing) was a strictly kept secret. This may be seen from a regulation of the trade, *Haffnerordnungen*, issued in 1612: *Was der Haffner und der köstlich tewern Geschüers halben erkennt worden, Anno 1612 den 11 Decebris* (What has been decided about the potter's trade and the precious costly wares).¹⁷ In addition to ordering that the techniques be kept secret, the regulation expressly forbids the use of luxury pieces within the community, and orders that they be sold. The most important role in the demand for Haban ceramics was played by the Hungarian nobility, who tended to furnish their sumptuous homes with Anabaptist high-quality products. In their role as the main patrons and users of their products, the Hungarian nobility influenced the style of Haban pottery, inspired not only by the Renaissance but also by the oriental art of the Ottoman period.¹⁸

Because of its strange name, exquisite craftsmanship and artistry, and also because of the controversies surrounding its origin and its makers, Haban pottery has been attracting the attention of both scholars and collectors, especially in Central-European countries, most notably the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, where Anabaptists communities lived and where the ceramics was produced.¹⁹ The study of its aesthetic and technological aspects has been given a strong impetus by archaeological fieldwork. The most extensive excavations were conducted in the 1930s and 1940s by Heřman Lansfeld, a potter himself, and later on several more sites in Slovakia and Hungary were explored.²⁰ As a result, a stylistic chronology of Haban ceramics was established, i.e. six phases were recognised as being representative of distinct stages in its decorative evolution, but also as reflecting influences incorporated from neighbouring environments and pottery traditions.²¹

The sequence of styles was inferred from the year dates occurring on a large number of Haban pieces. The four-digit date, written in such a way as to form an integral part of the decorative design, was usually split in two, with two digits on either side of the central ornamental motif. The dates have been commonly

interpreted as marking the year of manufacture or as being of particular significance for the person or persons who commissioned the vessel. And yet, some question this simple and logical explanation, given that “production information”, such as the place of manufacture or the name of the manufacturer (brotherhood/craftsman), occurs quite rarely and, if it does, it is usually “encrypted”.²² A different interpretation has been inspired by the Anabaptists' expectations of the impending end of time, frequently emphasised in their chronicles: hence the suggestion that the dates might mark the passage of the remaining time.²³ Even though a succession of years can be followed on the vessels, this interpretation has not been elaborated enough to be considered acceptable.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH IN SERBIA

Echoes of the research done in Central Europe have reached Serbia, where, however, interest in the archaeology of more recent periods, and thus in ceramics as a period's illustrative aspect, is generally quite weak. So far, Haban ceramics has been touched upon in no more than two texts. The earlier text discussed two 18th-century pieces, a richly decorated pitcher and a ceramic icon of St Thecla, both from the collections of the Ethnographical Museum in Belgrade.²⁴ It offered a detailed description, pointed to some analogies and

¹⁶ Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, 93; Ridovics 2008, 91.

¹⁷ Friedmann 1958, 148; Friedmann 1961, 150–151; Katona 2001, 150–151; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, 289–290; Réti 2007, 12–14; Ridovics 2008, 163.

¹⁸ Réti 2007, 12–13; Ridovics 2008, 91–92.

¹⁹ Kudělková, Zeminová 1961; Krisztinkovich 1970; Bunta 1970; Katona 1974–1975; Katona 1976; Kybalová, Novotná 1981; Ridovics 2002; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005; Réti 2007; Ridovics 2008; Radványi, Réti 2011; Pajer 2011.

²⁰ Lansfeld 1964, 169–173; Kozák 1964; Béla 1977; Himmelová, Procházka 1990, 147–149; Pajer 1990; Pajer 1997; Pajer 1998; Pajer 2000; Pajer 2001. For a detailed overview of the work on Haban pottery and a sort of tribute to those who have made the most important contributions to Haban pottery studies, see Horvat, Krisztinkovics 2005, 14–59, 310–393.

²¹ Kudělková, Zeminová 1961, 20–34; Kristinkovič 1962, 47–49; Katona 1976, 33–36; Kybalová, Novotná 1981, 23–26; Pajer 2001, 146–152.

²² Pajer 2001, 154–155.

²³ Radványi, Réti 2011, 29.

²⁴ Drečun 1968.



Fig. 1 Cellar of the medieval palace after the 1987 excavation (photo: N. Borić)

Сл. 1. Подрум средњовековне палате након истраживања 1987. године (фото: Н. Борић)

summarily outlined the evolution of Haban pottery. The painted pottery of the modern age was not done justice until thirty years later, by M. Bajalović–Hadži-Pešić.²⁵ She analysed the pieces from the collections of the Belgrade City Museum and the Ethnographical Museum in Belgrade, and mentioned some archaeologically recovered vessels from the Belgrade Fortress and the monastery of Mileševa (Serbia). Especially important were her suggestions concerning the provenance of the analysed pieces, which she based on the information provided by the Haban pottery specialists H. Lansfeld and L. Kunc.²⁶ By force of circumstance, however, almost twenty years intervened between her background research and the publication of her text. During and after that interval, archaeological excavations conducted on several locations within the Belgrade Fortress have uncovered an exemplary quantity of Haban pottery. Given that most finds come from clearly defined contexts, it is now possible to establish the chronology and repertoire of the Haban pottery in Belgrade.

HABAN POTTERY ASSEMBLAGES FROM THE BELGRADE FORTRESS

The occurrence of Haban pottery within the Belgrade Fortress may be related to two separate phases, both associated with Austrian rule. The earlier phase was a brief two-year period, 1688–90, while the later one began with the Austrian capture of the city in 1717 and lasted for over two decades, until 1739. Each phase is illustrated by a pottery assemblage from a well-defined excavation context and a few more discoveries containing analogous pottery finds. The assemblages are considerably different in character, which is understandable given the different duration of the two Austrian phases.

²⁵ Bajalović–Hadži-Pešić 2000–2001.

²⁶ Bajalović–Hadži-Pešić 2000–2001, 108.



Fig. 2 Haban potsherds from the cellar of the palace (photo: A. Radoman)

Сл. 2. Уломици хабанске керамике из ћогрума сџаре пџалаџе (фоџо: А. Раџомаи)

Unlike the structural repairs and additions to the Fortress that clearly evidence the first Austrian phase,²⁷ movable finds dateable to this two-year period are extremely scarce and difficult to relate to any occupation context. Nevertheless, excavations on the site of the former 15th-century Serbian metropolitan's palace in the part of the Fortress popularly known as the Lower Town made a significant discovery which sheds a more intimate light on some aspects of daily life. Namely, the cellar of the Ottoman structure built on the ruins of the 15th-century palace in the 17th century showed obvious evidence of use (fig. 1).²⁸ The cellar continued to be used, in an unaltered state, by Austrian troops during the two-year occupation of Belgrade (1688–90), and the layer overlying the Ottoman floor can be related to it. However, the archaeological material being largely mixed up as a result of an extensive fire which had caused the upper floor to collapse, the layer was not amenable to a more precise stratigraphic differentiation.²⁹ Among the many and various finds

from this layer, the only unambiguous evidence of the Austrian military and Central-European cultural presence are glass and ceramic vessels, with Haban pottery standing out in terms of overall appearance and, especially, decorative quality.

The Haban pottery recovered from the cellar is highly fragmented (fig. 2), because the building sustained heavy damage in the Ottoman recapture of the city in 1690, and the cellar was filled up with the debris from the upper floor collapse. Its fragmentation has made the identification and reconstruction of individual pieces quite difficult. Even so, it may be said with a lot of certainty that most shards belonged to pots/jars. A detailed examination allows us to assume a total of about twenty

²⁷ Popović 2006, 183–189.

²⁸ Popović, Bikić 2004, 122–130.

²⁹ Popović, Bikić 2004, sl. 77, 93–95.



*Fig. 3. a) Remains of the Blockhouse atop the south-east wall of the Upper Town during excavation;
b) Subterranean chamber after the 2008 excavation (photo: S. Pop-Lazić)*

*Сл. 3. a) Остаци блокауса на југоисточном бреду Горње града у току истраживања;
b) подземна просторија након истраживања 2008. године (фото: С. Поп-Лазич)*

vessels of a slightly varied medium size. These were two kinds of globular containers, differing in the form of rims, which are either everted or upright with a ledge to receive the lid (fig. 4). The vessels with simple everted rims seem to have been more numerous. The other type, with a ledged rim, might have had a small handle. Given the few recovered lids (fig. 4), it has been assumed that most vessels used to be covered with a piece of leather tied down with string. As a rule, the front side of the vessels shows a rectangular field, a cartouche, bordered with floral designs. Such fields, for inscribing a description of the contents of the vessel, usually occur on apothecary vessels.³⁰ The cellar also yielded fragments of few more vessels, including some with different floral designs (figs. 6, 9a), of which more will be said later.

Haban pottery attributable to the first period of Austrian occupation was found on two more locations. Even though these two assemblages cannot be precisely dated, the features of the potsherds clearly indicate the late 17th century. They include fragments of a jug showing floral designs and the year 1689 (fig. 9b), discovered on the site of the former Castle in the north-western corner of the Upper Town. They were recovered from one of the levelling layers formed during the Ottoman reconstruction of the Upper Town after the re-conquest of 1690.³¹ A fragment of a plate (fig. 8) was discovered in a rubbish pit near the massive wall of the Powder Magazine in the Lower Town's western Outer Ward.

Based on its contents, notably glassware fragments and a small bronze bowl, the pit may be roughly dated to a period between the mid-17th and early 18th century.

The second Austrian occupation began after a great victory of Prince Eugene of Savoy and the conquest of Belgrade in 1717, and ended in 1739, after another Ottoman siege and the armistice agreement under which Belgrade was ceded to the Ottomans. During this period, the Fortress was thoroughly reshaped into a modern artillery fortification, while Ottoman Belgrade began to be transformed into a baroque-style city.³² The extent of the change can be clearly seen from the predominant presence of various typically Central-European everyday objects registered all over the Fortress area. And yet, an archaeological context stands out by the large quantity of various artefacts, earthenware in particular: a defensive structure sitting atop the Upper Town's south-eastern wall. It was tentatively named the Blockhouse, and thoroughly explored in 2008.³³ Given that the dating of the discovered pottery is based on stratigraphy and on the analysis of the Austrian fortification

³⁰ Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. Nos. 14–15, pp. 116–118.

³¹ Popović 2006, 187–198.

³² Popović 2006, 211–218.

³³ The excavation, carried out in the spring of 2008 under the direction of Dr Marko Popović, was organised by the Institute of Archaeology within the Belgrade Fortress Research Project.



Fig. 4. Apothecary vessels from the cellar of the former palace
(drawings: M. Ristić, photo: A. Radoman)

Сл. 4. Апотекарске посуде из подрума старе палате
(цртежи: М. Ристић, фото: А. Радоман)

works carried out in the part of the Upper Town where the Blockhouse is located, we shall briefly present the results of the analysis. The Blockhouse consists of a rectangular room with five loopholes, and a vaulted subterranean chamber in the thickness of the curtain wall (fig. 3). The plans of the two rooms, connected by a narrow drain, only overlap one another along the length of 1.5 m. The lower chamber has a small rectangular opening, which in fact is an opening in the curtain wall on the level of the ditch floor. The Blockhouse was built between 1718 and 1721, during the reconstruction of the Fortress according to plans drawn up by Colonel Nicola Suly. However, Suly's design was soon abandoned, probably in 1722, and the Blockhouse remained unfinished. New plans for rebuilding the south-eastern curtain wall, drawn up by Colonel Nicolas Doxat de Démoret, were executed between 1723 and 1739. The aboveground portion of the Blockhouse was partly torn down, and the lower chamber was largely filled with contemporary, early-18th-century material. Shortly afterwards, during the construction of the new curtain wall, the aboveground portion of the Blockhouse was also filled with earth. Contrary to the excavator's expectations, based on the extensive 18th-century fortification works in the area around the Blockhouse, most of the fill that had reached the lower chamber was concentrated, in the form of a cone, beneath the drain. It mostly consisted of organic debris mixed with a large quantity of fragmented glass and

earthenware. From what has been said above, it follows that this deposit contained the earthenware used by the Austrian troops in a relatively brief period from 1717 to 1725 at the latest. Accordingly, most of the archaeological material may be dated to a period before 1717, but not much earlier than the beginning of the 18th century.

This pottery assemblage consisted of the shards of about 1,000 vessels, of which twenty-seven Haban pieces could be reconstructed, and fragments of another twenty odd vessels identified. In terms of quantity, diversity and distinctive context, this is certainly one of the most important Haban assemblages recovered in more recent times.

A similar stratigraphic context may also be assumed for some other discoveries made in the area of the Upper Town plateau. These predominantly are pits containing the debris produced by the clearing of the area for the construction of barracks.³⁴ The pits were overlaid by levelling layers dated by a kreuzer of 1762, which places the layer with pits and their fill into the first half of the 18th century. Pit 4, in the area between Clock Gate (*Sahat kapija*) and Ali-Pasha's türbe, yielded a fragment of a jug whose characteristics and recognisably styled year, 1711, unambiguously point to Haban pottery (fig. 12).

³⁴ Bikić, Ivanišević 1996, 270–271.

HABAN POTTERY WORKMANSHIP

Haban pottery owed its high quality to its makers' extraordinary skills applied at every stage of manufacture. If it drew heavily from Italian majolica technology, it also had its own distinctive features. The Anabaptists are believed, therefore, to have combined different experiences gained in different environments in order to achieve supreme quality. Thus, in addition to Italian, they were also familiar with Rhineland pottery, a region whose potters were famous for their stoneware, as well as with recognisable Iznik faience.³⁵ Also, later phases of Haban pottery indicate a connection to the technology and style of blue and white delftware.³⁶

The organisation of Anabaptist communities suggests that labour division was adopted in pottery making as well, with some craftsmen specialised in preparing paints and glazes, and others in decorating.³⁷ They used the usual techniques for manufacturing white glazed pottery, i.e. majolica. The clay batch was prepared according to a recipe, by mixing raw clay, malm or true marl (which is similar to kaolin) and sand in prescribed proportions.³⁸ Jugs, pitchers and bowls were usually wheel-thrown, while some plates and angular prismatic bottles were made using moulds. Once they dried, the vessels were fired at about 900°C. The bisque ware was coated with a tin glaze, and once the glaze dried, it was painted with ornamental designs and fired for a second time at about 1000°C.³⁹ It was only then that the colours acquired the intended shades and the surface its gloss.⁴⁰ The base white glaze was achieved by mixing tin and a small amount of lead oxide which absorbed the pigments and conferred elasticity and gloss upon the glaze. Since the Anabaptists kept their pottery-making technology secret, the recipes for clay mixtures, paints and glazes were known only to a few, while firing was carried out only four times a year, and under the cover of night.⁴¹ Apart from their isolated and self-sufficient way of life, such secrecy must have aroused additional suspicion among their neighbours.

Describing a distinctive clay preparation technique, B. Krisztinkovich mentioned common salt as an ingredient added to improve the elasticity of the clay and the adherence of the glaze to the surface of the vessel.⁴² However, salt could have been added at a later stage, during firing, by being thrown into the fire, whereby a protective glaze-like layer formed on the surface (through reacting with the alumina and silica in the heated clay body).⁴³ Even though this particular technique was usually used for stoneware, it may be assumed that the

Anabaptists modified it to suit their own needs. This may account for the good adherence and quality of the glazes and painted motifs in their products.

In terms of shapes, Haban pottery was not overly varied. Apart from predominant water and wine containers – jugs, pitchers, bottles and tankards, there were also bowls and plates, as well as some other shapes, such as saltcellars or four-legged barrel-shaped vessels.⁴⁴ The Belgrade material largely represents these main Haban shapes. In addition to the most numerous pear-shaped jugs with a more or less globular body, there are also melon-shaped pieces, large deep plates, as well as calotte-shaped bowls with profiled horizontal handles. All of these vessels were wheel-thrown with exemplary skill, as evidenced by the even thickness and symmetry of their walls. Moreover, the jugs display almost identical profiles and sizes, suggesting standardised production.

DIVERSITY OF FLORAL DESIGNS

Haban pottery is characterised by a markedly decorative quality. Basically, it is a floral style whose origin may be traced back to the Italian Renaissance. Some of the designs, however, unmistakably point to Ottoman

³⁵ Katona 1976, 37–40; Ridovics 2008, 95.

³⁶ Katona 2001, 101–102; Horvat, Biondić 2007, 27.

³⁷ Kristinkovič 1962, 26–30; Ridovics 2008, 92–93.

³⁸ Kudělková, Zeminová 1961, 19–20; Kristinkovič 1962, 42–43; Katona 2001, 93–98; Réti 2007, 24; Hamer 1975, 191–192; Katona 1976, 22–28; Ridovics 2008, 92–94; Radványi, Réti 2011, 2525–26; Pajer 2001, 117. The Anabaptists also produced, for their own use and for sale, potash or “pot ashes” – potassium carbonate, from the ashes of trees, an indispensable non-plastic admixture to the clay increasing the hardness of the ceramic body, see: Kristinkovich 1962, 44; Hamer 1975, 231–232.

³⁹ Marsilli 1985, 14; Réti 2007, 24.

⁴⁰ Hamer 1975, 192; Bajnóczy et al. 2011, 1–16; Trojek et al. 2010, 881. The latest analyses of south-Moravian Haban pottery show the unexpected presence of lead on the surface of all, even unglazed, vessels. This has been accounted for by contamination during firing, i.e. as a result of firing different kinds of vessels together and of preparing glazes and pigments in the same kilns, so that lead and tin remained in the kilns and were re-exposed to burning during the firing of vessels (Trojek et al. 2010, 881–882).

⁴¹ Kristinkovič 1962, 26–30.

⁴² Kristinkovič 1962, 43.

⁴³ Hamer 1975, 257.

⁴⁴ Ridovics 2008, 94–95; Radványi, Réti 2011, 27–28; Pajer 2001, 117–118.



Fig. 5. a) Blue and white pottery from the Blockhouse; b) Jug, detail (drawing: M. Tomić; photo: A. Radoman)

Сл. 5. а) Плаво-бела керамика из блокауса; б) бокал, деџаљ (цртеж: М. Томић; фото: А. Радоман)

Iznik pottery. Whether monochrome, blue and white, or polychrome, the painted designs effectively stand out against the white background.⁴⁵ In some cases, notably in the polychrome pottery group, the designs were thinly outlined in black, and then coloured, either with a brush or with a special device in the form of a ceramic paint container with a sharp-tipped feather on one end.⁴⁶ The predominant colour is dark blue, obtained from cobalt, followed by copper green, antimony yellow and manganese purple, a distinctive shade of red obtained from manganese, the same as black. Two most important ingredients of the glaze, cobalt and tin, were quite scarce and thus pretty expensive; but there were cobalt deposits in Alvinc in Transylvania, while tin could be obtained in Moravia and northern Hungary (today's Slovakia), and most raw materials were available in the neighbourhood of the areas inhabited by Anabaptist communities.⁴⁷ Should one try to rank Haban pottery in terms of its fully defining features, then it would perhaps be the polychrome group, which has certainly received most of the attention of researchers. But, given the chronology of our finds, as well as their quantity and state of preservation, our analysis of their decoration will start from the bichrome, blue and white, group.

The material from the Belgrade Fortress shows a few different blue and white floral designs occurring either independently or in combination with other motifs. Examples of cobalt blue ornaments on a white background occur in both periods, but show different stylisations. The earlier variety occurs on apothecary vessels

– *albarelli* (fig. 4), in two very similar patterns, basically consisting of two confronted leaves with tiny ornaments along the edges and large flowers at the junction. Unlike our finds, where the corners of the rectangular cartouches are rounded, the cartouches usually have sharp corners.⁴⁸ In Italy, similarly decorated vessels for apothecaries and alchemists began to be produced in large batches as early as the 14th/15th century.⁴⁹ As evidenced, among other things, by the visual arts, especially manuscript illumination and painting, they changed little in the following centuries. That the repertoire of Haban shapes included apothecary vessels is not surprising. Namely, the Anabaptists had a good reputation as physicians and apothecaries, and they manufactured containers both for their own medicinal herbs and tinctures, and for sale. According to the available information, it seems that most of the known examples of apothecary vessels, including those found in Belgrade, were made in the last quarter of the 17th century.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Pajer 2001, 132–146; Ridovics 2008, 94–95; Radványi, Réti 2011, 29–30.

⁴⁶ Réti 2007, 24; Horvat, Biondić 2007, 27–28.

⁴⁷ Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, 202–203.

⁴⁸ Kristinkovič 1962, ill. 19; Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. No. 264; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. Nos. 14–15, pp. 116–118; Radványi, Réti 2011, Cat. Nos. 295, 296, 359.

⁴⁹ Rackam 1933, 14; Rackam 1940, Nos. 61, 104, 110, 144, 204, etc.

⁵⁰ Kybalová, Novotná 1981, 56; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, 116–118.



Fig. 6. Melon-shaped blue pitchers from the cellar of the palace
(drawings: M. Ristić; photo: A. Radoman, V. Bikić)

Сл. 6. Пласти крчази у облику диње из подрума палате
(цртежи: М. Ристић; фото: А. Рагоман, В. Бикић)

The vessels from the Blockhouse made a few decades later exhibit quite different motifs. The blue and white pottery of the period is represented by pear-shaped jugs and, to a lesser extent, bowls (figs. 5a, 5b). Unlike a clear tendency towards realism in the earlier production phase, floral motifs on the vessels from the late 17th and early 18th centuries cover a larger surface area and are quite simplified and stylised.⁵¹ They represent a later Haban style especially characteristic of the post-1710 production. The new style is considered to have reflected the changes undergone by the Anabaptist communities, most of all their weakening inner cohesion, their intensified contacts and mixing with local populations, notably through joining guilds, as well as through conversion to Roman Catholicism.⁵² This was particularly noticeable in the products from Moravia and Slovakia. A good example are the specimens from Vel'ké Leváre, Slovakia (former Nagylévárd), and the fortress at Szekszárd, Hungary.⁵³ A considerable number of vessels have been discovered during the excavation of a Franciscan monastery in Osijek, Croatia.⁵⁴ In H. Lansfeld's view, as referred to by M. Bajalović–Hadži–Pešić, the most similar style to our jugs can be found in the west-Slovakian products, most likely from the Košolna workshops.⁵⁵

The opposite colour effect is achieved in the dark blue vessels decorated with white floral motifs. The colour of the background varies from dark blue to light blue and grey blue. The technology of these vessels makes them stand apart within Haban pottery as a whole. Unlike most other vessels, they were coated with a lead glaze. The technique was essentially the same: a mixture of liquefied clay, quartz and cobalt pigment was applied as an underglaze layer on which motifs were painted, and this was coated with a transparent lead glaze (*coperta*) to produce a glossy surface.⁵⁶ It is not

impossible, however, that a technique similar to the one used for delftware was applied, which means that the vessels had two thin layers of glaze, first a tin glaze, and then a lead one producing high gloss.⁵⁷

The pottery assemblage from the cellar yielded fragments of three vessels of the kind, differing from one another in colour and surface finish: two melon-shaped jugs, one dark blue and glossy, the other coated with a matte light blue glaze (fig. 6), as well as a fragment of a smaller, light blue jug or a cup. Melon-shaped jugs were often executed using the technology of blue lead-glazed, and occasionally silver-rimmed, wares.⁵⁸ As in other types of jugs, the ornaments were painted on the front side. In most cases, the floral designs were quite simple, almost abstract. The flower on one of our finds might be a carnation (fig. 6a).

In connection with the blue and white combination, one should also mention so-called marbled ware. This style of decoration was widely adopted by Ottoman potters in the 16th and 17th centuries, when they produced different batches of bowls.⁵⁹ Within Haban pottery,

⁵¹ Katona 1976, cat. no. 152; Kalinová 2005, 5–6; Ridovics 2008, 95, 163.

⁵² Friedmann 1961, 152–153; Kybalová, Novotná 1981, 25–26; Réti 2007, 17.

⁵³ Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. Nos. 54–56; Gaál 2010, 436, t. 13/4–8.

⁵⁴ Horvat, Biondić 2007, kat. br. 66, 73, 74, 77, 78, 83, 104–108.

⁵⁵ Bajalović–Hadži–Pešić 2000–2001, 115–116.

⁵⁶ Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, 201–202.

⁵⁷ Radványi, Réti 2011, 25–26.

⁵⁸ Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. Nos. 104, 193, 196–198, 236; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. Nos. 67A, 69, 72B; Réti 2007, Cat. Nos. 22, 30.

⁵⁹ Kontogiannis 2011.



Fig. 7. Marbled ware from the Blockhouse
(photo: A. Radoman)

Сл. 7. Мраморизиране посуде из блокхауса
(фото: А. Радоман)

marbled ware occurs in two shades of blue (cobalt and light blue), sometimes in combination with floral motifs.⁶⁰ The assemblage from the Blockhouse contains a few jugs of the type, but only two of these, with a light blue surface, are marbled ware in the strict sense of the term, while the others, with cobalt blue blotches, may be classified as pseudo-marbled ware (fig. 7). The simplified marbling technique and the typical cobalt blue shade, as well as the general appearance of these vessels suggest the late phase of west-Slovakian Haban production.

What makes Haban pottery readily recognisable, and different from other types of pottery, is its polychrome decoration. In most cases, such decoration occurs on the front side of the vessel and shows a floral pattern with vine scrolls and leaves. But, even when the motifs and colours are the same, each vessel gives the impression of being unique, which suggests the technique of hand painting rather than the use of templates, as has been previously presumed.⁶¹ The motifs were outlined in black or manganese purple, and coloured cobalt blue, yellow, manganese purple and green. Polychrome pottery is scarce within the Belgrade Fortress assemblages. So far, fragments of five vessels, one plate and four jugs, have been identified. The fragment of the large wide-rimmed plate is one of the rare such finds unearthed as early as the 1970s in the area of the western Outer Ward (fig. 8). It shows an interesting combination of blue and white decoration on the rim and a polychrome ornament in the central medallion. In spite of a considerable colour loss due to exposure to highly acidic soil, the original colours may be reconstructed quite reliably. The rim is cobalt blue, and the floral design in the

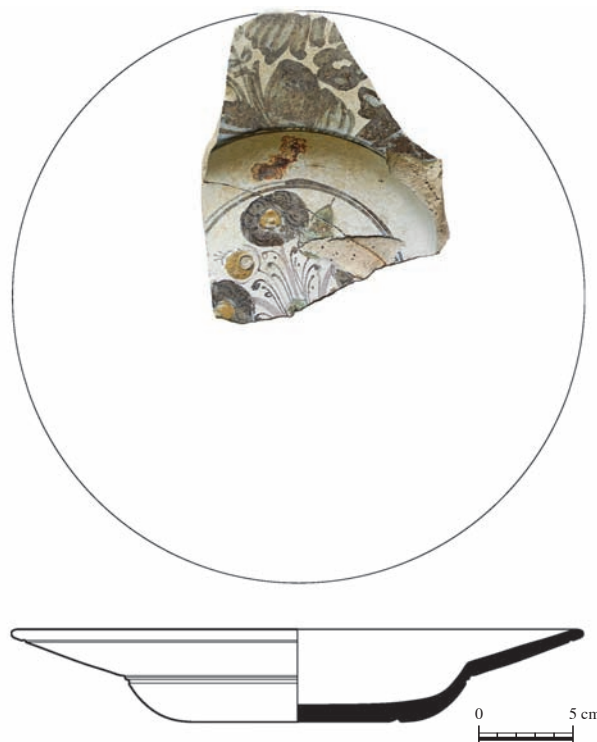


Fig. 8. Fragment of a plate from the western Outer Ward
(drawing: A. Subotić; photo: V. Bikić)

Сл. 8. Део пљанице из Западној поједињава
(цртеж: А. Суботић, фото: В. Бикић)

medallion is blue, yellow and green. Combinations of different “stylistic groups” are not rare in Haban pottery, and they occur more frequently in plates than in any other shape.⁶² In that sense, analogies for the motifs in

⁶⁰ Katona 1976, cat. no. 118, 133; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. Nos. 87, 88, 90–94, 317–321, 425–429; Horvat, Biondić 2007, kat. br. 45–51.

⁶¹ Kristinković 1962, 30.

⁶² Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. Nos. 23, 26, 27, 39, 40, 46; Réti 2007, Cat. Nos. 44, 45, 89, 91, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101; Ridovics 2008, Fig. 17; Pajer 2001, Obr. 15/4.



Fig. 9. Fragments of polychrome jugs:
a) From the cellar of the palace;
b) From the Castle area (photo: V. Bikić)

Сл. 9. Уломци вишебојно сликаних бокала:
а) из ћогрума палатке; б) са црстојора Замка
(фото: В. Бикић)

our plate may be found in both groups, and mostly among late 17th-century examples.⁶³

The jugs from the Belgrade Fortress area are in a better state of preservation. The earlier Austrian phase has yielded two pieces: one from the cellar (fig. 9a), the other from the area of the Castle (fig. 9b). Judging by the incompletely surviving dates (16 in one case, 89 in the other), both belong to the late 17th-century production,⁶⁴ but they differ in decorative motifs and painting technique. The jug from the cellar shows the outlines in manganese purple and a more subdued colour effect. It is similar to some products of the Košolna or Sobotište communities manufactured towards the end of the 17th century. The other jug, with pomegranates, vine scrolls and the presumed 1689 date shows bright colours, notably blue and yellow. The closest analogies for its colour scheme and ornamental elements appear to be offered by the vessels produced in the same area (formerly in northern Hungary and today in Slovakia), but a few decades earlier, i.e. round the middle of the 17th century.⁶⁵ If our analogies are correct, these jugs may be seen as reflecting the complexities and unsteadiness of Haban pottery production within one, or two related, pottery-making centres. In terms of the repertoire and arrangement of decorative motifs and colours, this jug finds an analogy in a jug from the Blockhouse. Unlike all the others, it shows a row of decorative

semicircular fields beneath the horizontal lines beneath the central field (fig. 10a). Such decoration beneath the central ornament, most of all small patterns consisting of inversed pyramids, multiple zigzag lines and semicircular fields, occur more frequently from the end of the 17th century.⁶⁶ The fragment of the other jug, with similar ornamental details, bears number 17 on one side, suggesting an early-18th-century date (fig. 10b).

Even though Haban pottery invariably displays floral designs, in some cases such decoration is secondary, almost unnoticeable. The material from the Belgrade Fortress contains only two such vessels. One is a jug showing a lamb within a blue wreath, and small circles and stylised flowers in the background (fig. 11). This is one of the most luxurious Haban pieces in general. The lamb, of course, is the Lamb of God – *Agnus*

⁶³ Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. No. 18; Réti 2007, Cat. No. 96.

⁶⁴ Kristinkovič 1962, ill. 15; Kozák 1964, Figs. 3, 15; Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. Nos. 210, 430; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. No. 108, Fig. F; Kalinová 2005, Figs. 14, 15; Horvat, Biondić 2007, kat. br. 37, 59.

⁶⁵ Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. Nos. 125, 129, 138.

⁶⁶ Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. No. 472; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. Nos. 11, 13, 22, 49, 50, 54–56, 61, p. 173, Fig. A.



Fig. 10. Polychrome jugs (a and b) from the Blockhouse (photo: A. Radoman)

Fig. 11. Jug with the Agnus Dei motif from the Blockhouse (drawing: M. Tomić; photo: A. Radoman)

Сл. 10. Вишебојно сликани бокали (a и b) из блокхауса (фото: А. Радоман)

Сл. 11. Бокал са представом Божјег јагњета из блокхауса (цртеж: М. Томић; фото: А. Радоман)

Dei – a popular symbol of Jesus Christ: “The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world” (John 1:29). Compared with most Haban vessels, this one shows an unusual colour scheme. The entire representation is thinly outlined in black and then coloured. But, unlike the intensively blue wreath, the lamb and the background motifs are quite discreet and unobtrusively coloured: the lamb is coloured yellow, the floral patterns pale manganese purple, while the circles in the interspaces were left uncoloured. The awkwardly drawn lamb may be accounted for by the artist’s inexperience in depicting the motifs subject to a sort of ban, such as human and animal figures, especially those directly associated with Christ and the Evangelists. Such representations began to occur somewhat more frequently only at the end of the 17th century, and have been accounted for by the abovementioned changes undergone by the Anabaptist communities themselves. Even so, representations of the Lamb of God are relatively rare, as shown by no more than a few published examples.⁶⁷

Similar in terms of subject-matter and decorative arrangement is a blue jug from the Upper Town (fig. 12). It shows a wreath of leaves enclosing birds, probably doves, and freely scattered flowers. On either side of the

wreath are two digits which, combined, produce the year 1711. Unlike the wreath, which is executed with precision and in detail, the birds and flowers are white and quite crudely stylised. In fact, the impression is that the vessel was decorated by two different persons. This manner of painting is quite similar to some examples of the cobalt blue vessels with white decoration manufactured at the beginning of the 18th century.⁶⁸ The wreath of green leaves is a recognisable feature of another and quite distinctive group of Haban pottery, the one bearing guild emblems, of which more will be said below.

GUILD PITCHERS

In addition to art pottery, the Anabaptists made custom vessels to order. Such are the vessels with family coat-of-arms made for Austrian and Hungarian well-born families as well as the vessels bearing the

⁶⁷ Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. No. 339; Réti 2007, Cat. No. 60; Radványi, Réti 2011, Cat. Nos. 348, 472.

⁶⁸ Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. Nos. 445, 462, 481; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. No. 78.



*Fig. 12. Blue jug with doves from the Upper Town
(photo: A. Radoman)*

*Сл. 12. Плави бокал са толубицама из Горњеј града
(фото: А. Рагоман)*



symbols of particular trades commissioned by particular guilds.⁶⁹ Vessels with guild emblems were owned not only by guilds, but also by other associations established to protect the interests of tradesmen and apprentices.⁷⁰ They were both utilitarian, being used as wine containers on various events occasioned by craftsmen, and had demonstrative value, as a symbol of shared professional interests and mutual care for the members and their families. Besides the associations of master craftsmen, there were other occupational associations, such as those of harvesters, land labourers and farmers, as clearly indicated by such vessels.⁷¹

The latest excavations within the Belgrade Fortress unearthed fragments of four jugs bearing guild symbols. All four came from the underground chamber of the Blockhouse. As a rule, such vessels have representations inside a wreath of green leaves topped by a ribbon tied into a bow. The material of which the tools are made was depicted very realistically and in appropriate colours: blue for metal parts, and yellow for wooden.

Blacksmith's tools have been recognised in two of our jugs: the rasp, the tongs, the ladle and the anvil (fig. 13). In addition to these tools, most vessels of blacksmiths' guilds also show a hammer and/or some of their products, usually nails and horseshoes.⁷²

The original appearance of the jug bearing symbols of the coopers' guild could be reconstructed almost fully (fig. 14). The wreath, rendered quite meticulously, encloses the most important cooper's tools: the wooden compasses, the drawknife, the long metal blade for shaping the staves, the wooden chisel, the wooden mallet, and the end product: a barrel. The year 1736 is split in two to flank the wreath: the upper portion of number 7 is discernible on the left side, and 36 on the right. Also frequently depicted are characteristic tools such as the wooden mould made of thin wood with an engraved scale to measure the curvature of the stave (the size of the container depended on it), the plane, various cutting and boring tools, and the hammer.⁷³ Much like the

⁶⁹ Katona 1965b; Radványi, Réti 2011, 31–32.

⁷⁰ Csupor 2010, 44–45.

⁷¹ Csupor 2010, 67, Nos. 81158, 15801, 17553, 18171, 70283, 80996, 81158, 111963, 70.37.191, 2007.39.138.

⁷² Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. Nos. 167, 275, 444; Horvath, Kriztinkovics 2005, Cat. No. 52; Horvat, Biondić 2007, kat. br. 88; Csupor 2010, 57–58, Nos. 61.162, 98456, 23151; Radványi, Réti 2011, Cat. No. 500.

⁷³ Milošev 1955, 236–243; Radilovički 1993, 229–234.



Fig. 13. Fragments of the jugs with symbols of the blacksmiths' guild (photo: A. Radoman)

Сл. 13. Делови бокала са ознакама цеха ковача (фото: А. Радоман)

vessels of blacksmiths' guilds, those of coopers were quite frequent until the mid-19th century.⁷⁴

The surviving portion of the fourth jug is small, but symbols of the tailor's trade are recognisable: the scissors, the iron and a thread (fig. 15b). Such representations usually show two irons, one on either side of a pair of open scissors, a wooden meter and balls of thread with needles stuck in it.⁷⁵ The blunt edges of the scissors may be curved, as in our case, or straight, as in a jug from the Belgrade City Museum (fig. 15a).⁷⁶ The latter is particularly interesting because of a pentagram subsequently scratched into the soft surface of the bottom as a mark of ownership.

There is a reference to yet another vessel with guild symbols, excavated on an unknown location in the Castle area in the 1970s. It is the fragment of a jug showing two crossed cleavers and a portion of nostrils, probably a cow's.⁷⁷ Judging by its brief description, the jug was obviously made for a guild of butchers. Most of the known examples show a disproportionately large animal head compared with the tools, usually cleavers and knives.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, there is neither a drawing nor a photograph of this fragment, and we have been unable to trace it in the Belgrade City Museum's pottery collection.

Speaking of guild emblems, one should not fail to draw attention to an exquisite piece of late Haban pot-

tery kept in the Museum of Applied Arts in Belgrade: a large ornate pitcher whose front side bears a wreath of green leaves enclosing tools as well as the initials I and Z and the year 1769 (fig. 16).⁷⁹ At first the tools were assumed to be those of the lumberjack.⁸⁰ At closer inspection, however, there appear to be several different tools and accessories: a wooden box and, on it, two long-handled wooden buckets with a wooden shovel between them, and a wooden tool resembling a saw across the handles. If our assumption is correct, most of these objects may be associated with orchard tending. On the other hand, the long-handled wooden buckets may also suggest containers until recently used for

⁷⁴ Kristinkovič 1962, ill. 48; Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. Nos. 167, 503; Kalinová 2005, 12, obr. 14; Csupor 2010, 55–56, Nos. 49489, 59842, 85625, 127309, 17223; Radványi, Réti 2011, Cat. Nos. 264, 265, 497.

⁷⁵ Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. Nos. 440, 441, 488; Réti 2007, 125, 139; Ridovics 2008, Fig. 10; Csupor 2010, 60–61, Nos. 5269, 17442, 17501, 17541, 101155, 106226, 119436, 127309.

⁷⁶ Bajalović–Hadži-Pešić 2000–2001, sl. 5.

⁷⁷ Bajalović–Hadži-Pešić 2000–2001, 113.

⁷⁸ Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. No. 530; Csupor 2010, 59, No. 17540; Radványi, Réti 2011, Cat. No. 473.

⁷⁹ Drecun 1968, 105–107, Figs. 1–7.

⁸⁰ Drecun 1968, 105.



Fig. 14 Jug with symbols of the coopers' guild (photo: A. Radoman)

Сл. 14. Бокал са ознаком цеха бачвара (фото: А. Радоман)

extracting water in Vojvodina. Moreover, the tool with a toothed edge is not likely to be a saw, considering that its yellow colour clearly suggests that it is wooden and not metal. Our attempt to compare the depicted tools with similar examples has not produced any result, given that they are not altogether identical and that the researchers have left them without identification. Also, some of the tools occur in association with other symbols, which broadens the range of their possible use, but is not helpful in indentifying their exact purpose. For example, the object tentatively described as a wooden shovel also occurs among agricultural tools, and perhaps served as a threshing tool, while the object resembling a wooden saw is also shown without teeth.⁸¹ The general appearance of the jug, however, most closely resembles a number of vessels produced around the middle of the 18th century. Apart from formal features, the entire group is characterised by dense floral patterns and a wreath enclosing not only guild symbols but also genre scenes involving human figures.⁸²

CONCLUSIONS

Owing to its characteristics, especially its decoration, Haban pottery illustrates Renaissance art and Central-European culture in a very distinctive way. It also reveals the broadness of the Anabaptist “school of pottery”, with its various shapes and decorative effects. The characteristics of Haban pottery, especially techno-

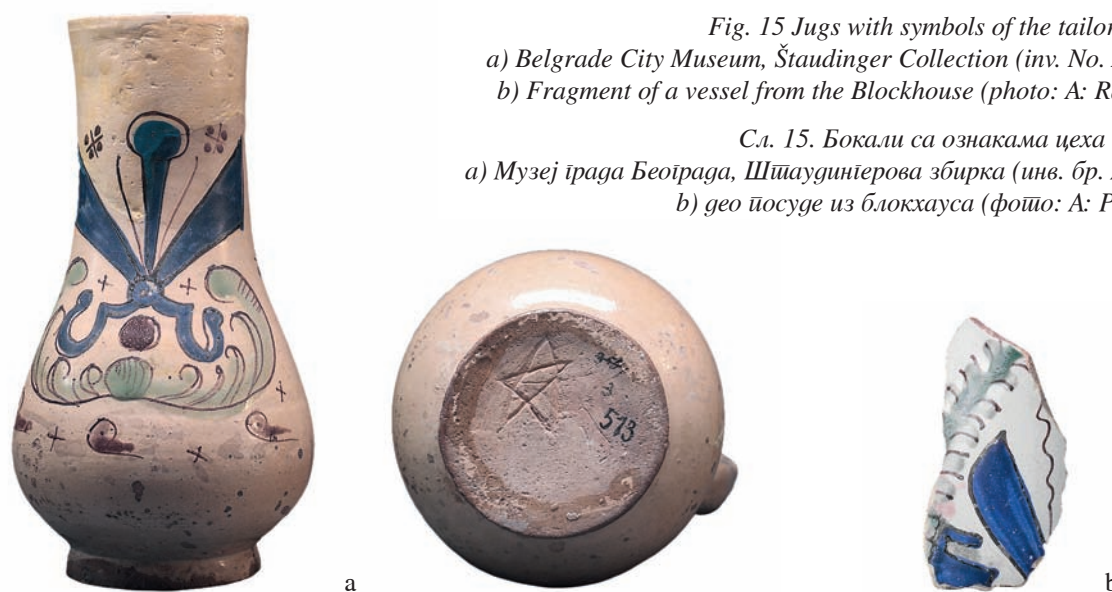
logical and decorative, are largely known. Also, its chronology has been established, in which the presence of dates on a good number of vessels played a helpful role. Some aspects of the phenomenon, however, remain insufficiently clarified, especially the organisation of production and the subsequent life of the products. Archaeology may provide direction and help find the answers to these and similar questions. In that sense, the material from the Belgrade Fortress may be considered as exemplary, given its clear context, a reliable statistical sample and diversity. Being found within a fortress, the material was obviously acquired by purchase.

It is known that the Anabaptists sold their pottery products, and used some of the income to purchase the necessary raw materials, such as cobalt, antimony, copper, iron, wood, etc. Until about the middle of the 17th century, in what then was northern Hungary and now is Slovakia, they produced pottery for the lord whose land they inhabited, who, in return, supplied them with what they needed.⁸³ The situation was somewhat more relaxed in Transylvania, where they were allowed to take

⁸¹ Csupor 2010, 67, Nos. 15801, 18171, 111963, 70283, 80996, 81158.

⁸² Takács 1977, kep. 5–7, 10–12; Kybalová, Novotná 1981, Cat. Nos. 442, 484; Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, Cat. Nos. 59–61; Radványi, Réti 2011, Cat. Nos. 357, 509, 532.

⁸³ Horvath, Krisztinkovich 2005, 7–10.



*Fig. 15 Jugs with symbols of the tailors' guild:
a) Belgrade City Museum, Štaudinger Collection (inv. No. AT 513);
b) Fragment of a vessel from the Blockhouse (photo: A. Radoman)*

*Сл. 15. Бокали са ознакама цеха кројача:
a) Музеј града Београда, Штаудингерово збирка (инв. бр. АТ 513);
b) део посуде из блокхауса (фото: А. Радоман)*

their products to marketplaces, though not until after they had fulfilled their obligations towards their feudal patron.⁸⁴ For example, a marketplace regulation of 1627, *Gyuláfehértári Limitáció*, specified the products they were allowed to sell and their prices.⁸⁵ Estimates of the Haban pottery output have never been made, but judging by the type of production and the surviving amount of pieces produced between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 19th century, it must have been quite small. Some indications can be found in H. Lansfeld, who was the first to study the Moravian and Slovakian Anabaptist *bruderhofs*.⁸⁶ According to his excavation records for 23 sites, the amount of Haban potsherds varied from community to community: in most cases the number of potsherds ranged from 55 to 440; on three sites, there were between 1500 and 3000 fragments; and the largest number of fragments was recorded at Sobotište (21,200), Košolna (15,250) and Ostrožská Nová Ves (7,500),⁸⁷ the strongest Anabaptist pottery-making centres. Additional clarification is provided by more recent excavations. Namely, J. Pajer cites a total of about 1000 vessels for the Strachotin *bruderhof*, including the failed pieces found on a dump, with faience accounting for about five percent of the annual output in the late 16th century, and fifteen percent after 1610.⁸⁸

The situation considerably changed in the late 17th century. A larger output and a change in the style of decoration, resulting from the change undergone by the Anabaptist communities themselves, especially after the conversion of their members to Roman Catholicism

and their closer association with other pottery makers organised into guilds. The Haban assemblages from the Belgrade Fortress largely reflect the organisation of production as it was in this later period. In addition to custom made vessels, the period is marked by batches of very similar vessels. Judging by the amount of fragments, there predominate pear-shaped jugs, blue and white with highly stylised floral designs and pseudo-marbled ornaments. This kind of production was especially prominent at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. Also, vessels decorated with polychrome floral motifs remained part of the standard Haban repertoire, highly appreciated among the Austrian and Hungarian upper classes along with vessels bearing family coat-of-arms. The same period saw the production of custom made vessels bearing guild emblems, as well as pieces with clear references to biblical themes and Jesus Christ.

The presence of Haban pottery within the Belgrade Fortress, however, is much more significant as a revealing illustration of the period of Austrian occupation. The results of archaeological excavations presented above show that a makeshift pharmacy was set up

⁸⁴ Horvath, Krisztinkovich 2005, 10.

⁸⁵ Réti 2007, 12.

⁸⁶ Lansfeld 1964, 169–171.

⁸⁷ Lansfeld 1964, 169–172.

⁸⁸ Pajer 2001, 153–155.



Fig. 16. Pitcher with a representation of tools, Museum of Applied Arts, Belgrade (inv. No. 5147) (photo: B. Jovanović)

Сл. 16. Крича са представљама оруђа и алатија, Музеј примењене уметности (инв. бр. 5147) (фото: Б. Јовановић)

immediately after the fortress was seized. It contained Haban ceramic vessels as well as glass bottles stored in a secluded and dark (but not dry) cellar. The fact that such containers were brought to Belgrade suggests that they had been specifically commissioned for the military. Besides, the high-quality material from the Blockhouse reveals which types of vessels were in everyday use by the garrison troops. Of approximately 1000 ceramic vessels identified within this assemblage (predominantly consisting of kitchen pots and three-legged casseroles), Haban pottery accounts for about five percent, which is one half of the total amount of tableware (the other half consists of deep polychrome bowls produced in Austrian and Hungarian workshops and, to a much lesser extent, monochrome glazed jugs). Even though Haban tableware is just one among various types of tableware, it predominates among the jugs and therefore may be considered as having been much sought for and not overly expensive. On the other hand, the jugs with guild symbols undoubtedly confirm the presence of various tradesmen providing services to the troops, in this case blacksmiths, coopers, tailors and butchers. Given the arrangement of the buildings in the Upper Town, it would not be a mistake to interpret the Blockhouse pottery assemblage as consisting of items that were in daily use in the nearby barracks. They might

have ended up in the subterranean chamber of the Blockhouse during the removal of barracks and the clearing of the area which was carried out not later than 1725, the year the Austrians fully completed works on this portion of the Upper Town fortifications.⁸⁹

The material from the Belgrade Fortress is a telling example of the use of Haban pottery as “military ceramics”. Similar military contexts have been discovered on several other sites, such as Szekszárd and Osijek.⁹⁰ In view of the pacifist beliefs of the Anabaptists, such use of Haban pottery seems a paradox (even if we think of them as professional potters). But, it may also favour the assumption that later Haban pottery was not produced by orthodox Anabaptists but by potters’ guilds, whose membership included Anabaptist converts to Roman Catholicism, who continued the Anabaptist pottery traditions.⁹¹

From what has been said about the Haban pottery assemblages from the Belgrade Fortress, and taking into account similar contexts in Hungary (Szekszárd)

⁸⁹ Popović 2006, 224–225.

⁹⁰ Gaál 2010; Horvat, Biondić 2007.

⁹¹ Horvath, Krisztinkovics 2005, 288–289.

and Croatia (Osijek), it is clear that the phenomenon of Haban pottery opens up areas of study that go beyond its technological and decorative aspects. The results of archaeological investigations or, in this case, the deposits with Haban finds from two periods of Austrian occupation, provide a solid basis for broader considerations concerning the provision of supplies for the army and, more generally, about the organisation of life in the occupied fortresses. These issues will be further discussed in the future, given that a detailed excavation report for the Blockhouse is yet to be published.

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Translated by Marina Adamović-Kulenović

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Резиме:

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ХАБАНСКА КЕРАМИКА СА БЕОГРАДСКЕ ТВРЂАВЕ: КОНТЕКСТ, ХРОНОЛОГИЈА И ДИЗАЈН

Кључне речи. – хабанска керамика, посуђе са калајном глазуром, централна Европа, Београд.

У историји грнчарског заната хабанска керамика заузима веома значајно место, јер на сасвим посебан начин обједињује аспекте религије, друштва и уметности. Она је названа по заједницама њених творца – припадника реформистичког покрета анабаптиста. Развијала се у земљама централне Европе од краја 16. па све до 19. века. То је уметничка керамика са калајном глазуром, препознатљивог дизајна и колорита. У току археолошких истраживања на Београдској тврђави, посебно у новије време, откривена је значајна количина налаза који потичу из добро дефинисаних и прецизно датованих целина. То је повод да се хабанска керамика детаљно анализира и да се, уз то, размотре околности њене појаве у одређеном историјском тренутку.

Хабанска керамика се јавља у две етапе, које заправо одређују периоде аустријске владавине у Београду. Прва етапа, на крају 17. века, трајала је свега две године, 1688–1690, док је друга наступила након аустријског освајања града 1717. године и трајала је пуне две деценије (до 1739. године). Време прве аустријске етапе на Београдској тврђави илуструје материјал из подрума митрополијске резиденције у Доњем граду, који је у неизмењеном виду користила и аустријска војска две године након запоседања тврђаве 1688. године. Овде је нађено приближно 20 апотекарских посуда, као и још неколико бокала са флоралном декорацијом (сл. 4, 6, 9а). Осим у подруму зграде у Доњем граду, налази хабанске керамике из времена прве аустријске окупације регистровани су на још два места. Најпре, то су делови једног бокала с флоралним украсом и 1689. годином (сл. 9б) који су нађени на простору некадашњег Замка у северозападном углу Горњег града. Из истог раздобља је и један уломак тавњара (сл. 8) који је нађен у Западном подграђу, у отпадној јами у близини обимног зида Великог барутног магацина.

Друго раздобље аустријске власти у Београду започиње великом победом принца Еугена Савојског и освајањем Београда 1717. године, а завршава се новом турском опсадом и уговором о примирју по којем је град предат Турцима 1739. године. У овој другој аустријској етапи извршена је темељна реконструкција тврђаве по принципима модерне артиљеријске фортификације. Обим промене јасно илустрије доминантно присуство разноврсних предмета свакодневице из средњоевропског културног круга на свим просторима тврђаве. Ипак, по великој количини различитих предмета, а пре свега керамичких посуда, једна целина се посебно издваја. Реч је о блокхаусу – фортификационој грађевини са одбрамбеном улогом на Југоисточном бедуму Горњег града, која је детаљно истражена 2008. године. У подземној просторији блокхауса нађено је око 1000 посуда, а од тога око 50 хабанских (сл. 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15б). Осим флоралне декорације, по којој је хабанска керамика посебно препоз-

натљива, има посуда са хришћанским мотивима (сл. 11), као и посуда са ознакама цехова ковача, бачвара, кројача и месара (сл. 13–15). У сагласју с градитељским активностима, овај слој се датује између 1717. и 1725. године. Сличан контекст се може претпоставити и за још неке целине на платоу Горњег града. Тако се у једној од јама (јама 4), на простору између Сахат-капије и Али-пашиног турбета, нашао и део плавог бокала са голубицама и годином 1711, на писаном у препознатљивом маниру (сл. 12).

Због својих карактеристика, нарочито особене декорације, хабанска керамика на сасвим посебан начин илуструје уметност ренесансе и средњоевропски културни круг. Такође, она открива ширину анабаптистичке „школе керамике“ која подразумева израду различитих посуда, како у обликовном тако и у декоративном смислу. Особине врсте су у великој мери познате, посебно технолошки аспект и декоративни предлошци. Такође, успостављена је хронологија и издвојене су етапе производње, при чему олакшавајућу околност представља исписивање датума на солидној количини примерака. Међутим, поједини сегменти овог феномена су остали недовољно расветљени, посебно они који се односе на организацију производње и даљи живот овог материјала у одређеним околностима свакодневице. На та и слична питања смернице, али и одговоре, могу дати управо археолошки налази. У том смислу, материјал са Београдске тврђаве се може посматрати као узоран, будући да га одликује јасан контекст, поуздан статистички узорак и разноврсност. С обзиром на то да је нађен на простору тврђаве, сасвим је јасно да овде може бити реч о материјалу који је набављен куповином.

Појава хабанске керамике на Београдској тврђави има далеко већи значај, будући да речито илуструје раздобља аустријске власти. Према предоченим резултатима археолошких истраживања, већ у тренутку запоседања тврђаве је организована приручна апотека, са хабанским керамичким посудама и стакленим боцама, у једном скровитом, тамном подруму. То што је ова амбалажа донета у Београд наводи на помисао да би могла бити у питању посебна набавка за потребе војске. С друге стране, веома квалитетан и илустративан материјал из блокхауса сведочи о врстама посуђа које је тврђавска посада свакодневно користила. У овој целини идентификовано је приближно 1000 посуда, од чега је хабанских око 5%, што је половина укупне количине трпезне керамике (другу половину чине дубоке, вишебојно сликане зделе из мађарских и аустријских радионица и, знатно мање, једнобојно глазирани бокали, док највећу количину налаза чине кухињски лонци и шерпе на три ножице). Иако је то тек једна од врста трпезне керамике, међу бокалима они преовлађују, те их можемо сматрати веома траженим, а по цени прилично

приступачним. С друге стране, бокали са цеховским ознакама недвосмислено потврђују присуство различитих занатлија, у овом случају ковача, бачвара, кројача и месара, који су опслуживали војску. С обзиром на распоред грађевина у Горњем граду, нећемо погрешити ако ову керамичку целину протумачимо као инвентар из оближњих касарни. Он је у подземну просторију блокхауса могао доспети приликом рашчишћавања касарни и околног простора, које је спроведено најкасније до 1725. године, када су радови на овом делу горњоградске фортификације били у целини окончани.

Из свега што је речено о налазима са Београдске тврђаве, јасно је да феномен хабанске керамике значајно превазилази њен технолошки и декоративни карактер. Резултати археолошких истраживања, у овом случају контексти са керамиком из аустријског доба, представљају солидну подлогу за шира разматрања у вези са снабдевањем војних трупа и уопште организовањем живота у запоседнутим тврђавама. О томе ће у скоријој будућности бити још речи, будући да детаљно објављивање резултата истраживања блокхауса тек предстоји.