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TOBACCO CLAY PIPES FROM RUPEA CASTLE AND THEIR HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Oana TODA*

This study is aimed at the publication and contextualization of the few tobacco clay pipes discovered in Rupea castle between 2010 and 2012. The small finds, dated from the 17th until the 19th century, are representative for a much controversial daily habit of the Early Modern that met great enthusiasm among the population and censorship from the official authorities. The rapid spread of smoking is not as much visible in the archival sources as in the number of smoking accessories excavated by archaeologists. The small lot from Rupea, even though fragmentary, contains 'Turkish-type' artifacts, possibly some hybrid 'Turkish-Hungarian' ones and late 'Austro-Hungarian' pieces.

Keywords: 17th–19th centuries, smoking, Turkish influence, archaeological excavation, rules and regulations, Transylvanian Saxons

Cuvinte cheie: secolele XVII–XIX, fumat, influență turcească, săpătură arheologică, legi și regulamente, sași din Transilvania

INTRODUCTION

During the past two decades, the publication of a handful of scientific papers marked the onset for the research of tobacco consumption and of its associated material culture in the Principality of Transylvania¹ and the neighboring areas.² Researcher A. M. Gruia highlighted the need for systematical publication of the lots of tobacco clay pipes and related accessories that were archaeologically excavated, and for the reevaluation of some popular misconceptions when it comes to their identification and dating.³ Valuable steps were carried out especially in the case of

Timișoara and Oradea, as several studies revealed the pipe typology for the 17th and 18th centuries based on consistent archaeological groups of such artifacts with well-documented contexts of discovery. For the most part, however, the data availability on the smoking accessories in the Principality is tributary to the personal choice of the archaeologist. Given the highly lacunar state of research in the field of Modern Period archaeology, these finds present a late dating for the majority of archaeologists and do not meet enough scientific interest.⁴ Only few researchers

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¹ RUSU 1998; SZENTE 2009; GRUIA 2012a; GRUIA 2012b; GRUIA 2012c; GRUIA 2013; DEMJÉN 2018.

² EMÓDI 1998; MARTA 2002; KOPECZNY-DINCĂ 2011; GAȘPAR 2016; KONDOROSY 2014; KONDOROSY 2017; TRANDAFIR ET AL. 2017 (the situation in Oradea was mostly discussed for the interval of the Ottoman occupation). In Moldavia and Wallachia, with a couple of exceptions (e.g.: ENE 2013; HÂNCEANU 2013; BILAVSCHI 2017), the subject was discussed incidentally, as part of larger monographic works or archaeological reports. See, for example: ANDRONIC–NEAMȚU 1964, 425, 427–428; ANDRONIC ET AL. 1967, 265–270; NEAMȚU ET AL. 1980, 128, 247.

³ GRUIA 2013, 41–48.

⁴ A notable exception in the case of the quarantine at Prișca mtn. peak (Harghita County): DEMJÉN 2018.

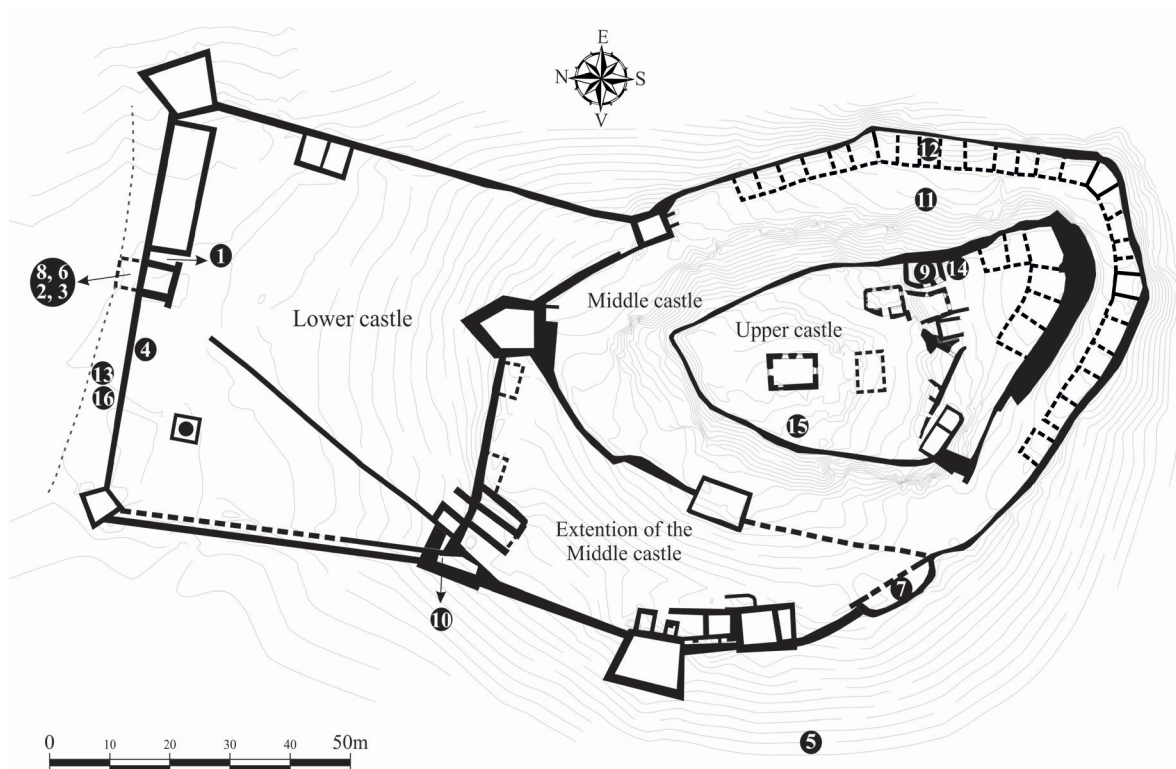


Fig. 1. Ground plan of the Rupea castle and the discovery places of the tobacco clay pipes (nos. correspond to the catalogue entries).

thought it relevant to publish or list these artifacts among their retrieved discoveries as part of site monographs, reports, or exhibition catalogues.⁵

The aim of this paper is to introduce into the scholarly literature and contextualize a small group of tobacco clay pipes recovered during the archaeological excavations conducted between

2010 and 2012 in the castle of Rupea (Braşov County).⁶ The archaeological interventions were determined by the restoration work undertaken at that time on the entire fortified complex and large lots of material from the Modern Period were recovered, some also containing the present category of small finds.

BUILT STRUCTURES FROM THE EARLY MODERN UNTIL THE CASTLE'S DEPOPULATION

The last chapter in the active history of the fortification is relevant to this study, as it determined many changes in the ground plan of the architectural complex and set a context for the bulk of the retrieved archaeological material. The 14th century core of the royal fortification,

came under Saxon administration in the 15th century, and, afterward, underwent several construction phases. By the Early Modern, large parts of the old structures were also repaired or rebuilt and the interior spatial organization, along with the precinct's fortified components,

⁵ E.g.: KLUSCH 1997, 65; RUSU 1998, 60, cat. 152; MARTA 2002, 131–133; MARCU ISTRATE 2009, 62, cat. 326–330; DOBROTĂ–CODREA 2015, 145–149, 162, cat. 49–58. The results of several archaeological investigations, possibly indicating the activity of local workshops in Alba Iulia and Cluj-Napoca, have not been published yet (GRUIA 2012a, 262).

⁶ The excavation work was coordinated by Dr. Adrian A. Rusu, researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Art History in Cluj-Napoca, to whom I would like to extend my gratitude for the permission to publish this material and some of the excavation results.

were well-individualized (Fig. 1).⁷ It was during the 17th and 18th centuries that the last building additions were made and when frequent upkeep work was documented. The entire lower castle precinct, part of the middle one, and most of the inner houses and rooms were built during these two centuries⁸ (Fig. 1).

The property transfer, taking place in favor of the Saxons, mainly caused this late evolution. Hence, the new administration had a huge saying in all the ulterior developments of this ensemble, as the fortification also became the administrative center of the Saxon Seat of Rupea. The presence of an active local community, along with the political instability of the entire region during the 17th century, determined and accelerated the spatial and functional

mutations of the castle itself and the function of some of the interior buildings (e.g. the public and private houses and rooms⁹). Nevertheless, the political and military disarray set path for short-time changes in the control of the fortification, driven by military causes (e.g. the army of Prince Gabriel Báthory in 1611, or the Habsburg forces in 1692–1701), that influenced its destiny, the construction work and, consequently, the material traces the archaeologist is faced with. However, most of the debris and demolition layers from the castle can be dated to the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the spaces were gradually abandoned, the castle ceased to play an active defensive role and its smaller and precarious structures were quarried for building material.¹⁰

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS OF THE TOBACCO CLAY PIPES

Inside this net of constructions and late building phases stand the artifacts described in the article. As indicated by Fig. 1, the 16 retrieved tobacco clay pipes¹¹ (Pl. 1) come from various areas of the fortification, starting with the castle's dry moat and drawbridge pit in front of the northern defensive line, and ending with the most recent deposition layers of the upper precinct. The majority of the pieces come from demolition phases that were often prone to secondary disturbances, hence ending up in mixed contexts, some with a late dating if compared to their production and usage period. The most relevant archaeological contexts will be discussed in detail, as these can be more accurately dated based on the small finds and the archival data.

Four of the clay pipes (cat. 6, 8, 2, and 3) were found in a closed context in the lower castle, namely in the fill of the drawbridge pit (turned

into a refuse pit) located right in front of the gate tower. Two more (cat. 13, 16) come from the fill of the castle's dry moat. This was the main entrance area into the fortification by the middle of the 17th century. The drawbridge pit (Fig. 2) was archaeologically sectioned in 2010 and half of it was excavated along with small parts of the castle moat. It was a rectangular enclosure made of stone and mortar that stretched in front of the gate tower, with an inner surface of approximately 9.6 m² (3.2 × 3 m) and a maximum depth of 2.5 m.

Several archival data can account for the construction and use of these defensive structures: the pit, the moat, and the associated drawbridge. The account registers of the Rupea Seat clearly show that the precinct elements of the northern side were built by the middle of the 1600s and the castle's drawbridge was first mentioned in 1663.¹² It was probably put up a

⁷ For the early history of Rupea castle and the main construction phases, see especially: TEUTSCH 1883; MÜLLER 1900, *passim*; recently, FABINI 2002, 588–591; MARCU ISTRATE 2010, 664–665.

⁸ A list of the recorded construction work based on the account registers of the seat and of the magistrate's protocols, in: MÜLLER 1900, 26–30.

⁹ For the construction and late use of the houses in the upper and middle precincts, see: TODA 2019.

¹⁰ A detailed presentation of these episodes in: MÜLLER 1900, 28–30.

¹¹ One such artifact (covered in green glaze) was discovered during the trial excavation from 2005 (PASCU-TOMA 2005, 310), but it was not included in this publication.

¹² MÜLLER 1900, 27.



Fig. 2. Image of the drawbridge pit during excavation.

few decades earlier, together with the tower, as their foundations belong to the same construction phase. In 1731 and 1732, the wooden structure was rebuilt and one can assume that the pit was still in use at that time, given that a bridge was still needed to reach the gate.¹³ Unfortunately, and quite unexplainably, the 1735 *veduta* by Konrad von Weiss does not show any defensive structures in front of the northern entrance of the castle.¹⁴ However, in a late account B. Orbán noted a bridge and a moat that once functioned in front of the northern precinct wall.¹⁵ Judging from his choice of words, one can only assume these were no longer in use by the middle of the 19th century.

The archaeological finds from the pit range from the 17th until the 18th century, predominantly during the latter, and consist of domestic discarded material. Additionally, 19th century material was identified in the castle ditch, which probably filled up at a slower rate than the pit. Most likely, the two components of the northern

defensive structure were filled up with disposed garbage from the castle sometime after the 1730s and before the visit of B. Orbán at the middle of the 19th century. The silver coin issued in 1640 by Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg found in the top layer of the drawbridge pit cannot be used to date the filling and decommissioning of the structure as this clearly predates the archival recordings of a still functional drawbridge. The preponderance of the 18th century tableware is connected to the fact that at least part of the market town's population still lived or took refuge inside the castle and used the small houses located there.¹⁶

Two smoking pipes come from inside the lower castle, catalogue numbers 1 and 4. These were found in what appeared to be surface deposition layers of earth and household material (tableware, stove tiles) in the courtyard of the fourth precinct, in rather irrelevant archaeological contexts. The same remark is valid for pipe number 5 in the catalogue, as it was retrieved from the topsoil on the western slope of the castle, possibly originating from inside the fortification, but ending up in a completely irrelevant context.

The middle castle was the discovery area of four socketed pipes (cat. 7, 11, 12, and 10). Number 10 was recovered from the leveling of the basement of the Ungra tower and was most likely relocated there together with the earth used for the filling, hence in a secondary position. Pipe number 7 was discovered in a demolition layer next to what appears to be a former barbican and the early entrance to the 15th and 16th centuries' castle, in a context that can only generally be dated to the Modern Period. These two contexts were probably the result of late 18th and early 19th century demolition works. The sources record that in 1809,¹⁷ following a period of decay and deliberate quarrying, several elements of the castle, including the ones in question, were intentionally demolished to prevent dangerous collapses and accidents.

¹³ MÜLLER 1900, 29.

¹⁴ MOL Térképtár, G I h 160, no. 6.

¹⁵ ORBÁN 1868, 192.

¹⁶ The last episode when the population of the market town took refuge inside the castle was in 1789 (FABINI 2002, 591).

¹⁷ MÜLLER 1900, 30.

Pipe number 12 was found in a floor leveling of the basement of one of the small houses ranging along the eastern precinct wall. The production and use period of the material trapped in that particular layer can be roughly dated to the late 17th and 18th centuries, and one knows that the respective houses were active in the same interval and demolished sometime during the 19th century.

The last pipe retrieved from the middle castle (cat. 11) most likely originates from the upper precinct as it was found in a waste layer accumulated at the base of the upper basalt cliff, on the southeastern side. From inside the upper castle precinct, from rather unclear demolition layers and topsoil, come the rest of the artifacts in the catalogue (cat. 15, 9, 14). Apart from pipe number 15, which was found in the topsoil along the western precinct wall, the other two ended up in late 18th and early 19th demolition layers



Fig. 3. Image of the houses from the upper precinct.

next to (cat. 9) and on top of some of the private and public houses (cat. 14) which were still in use prior to 1790¹⁸ (Fig. 3).

DESCRIPTION AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE PIPE TYPES

Half the clay pipes discovered in Rupea castle are extremely fragmentary. This motivated a more flexible approach towards the material, instead of a rigorous typology. In the further, the pipes will be presented as part of a general classification consisting of Turkish, (Turkish)-Hungarian and Austro-Hungarian types, with specific comments on the artifacts, depending on their state of preservation.

For the majority of the pipes belonging to the *Turkish type* just the shank and ring are preserved. Three fragments belonged to pipes made of red fabric (Pl. 1/1–3). The contexts are not helpful in dating the three pipe fragments, and the analogies are hard to point out given the fragmentation. Apparently, all of them are dated earlier than the archaeological contexts they were found in. Their quality varies as the piece under the first catalogue number displays red slip and a burnished surface (Fig. 5/1), while the other two (cat. 2 and 3) only have coarse finish. Nothing can be said of pipe number 3

(Pl. 1/3), because only its torus-shaped ring was preserved. The other two however display mold-made decorations of the ring (cat. 2) and cogwheel impressions on the ring and shank (cat. 1). Based on the ring and shank profiles, they seem to belong to variants that were most likely produced inside the Ottoman Empire from the second half of the 17th century, when the red fabric became dominant.¹⁹ The piece with the molded ring decoration (cat. 2, Fig. 5/2) also displays a peculiar shape of the lower part of the shank, in the point where it used to meet the missing keel. This is reminiscent of one of the Turkish-type products with interrupted profiles.²⁰ However, the reduced length of the shank is different from those pieces.

For seven of the smoking pipes kaolin clay was used (Pl. 1/4–10). This fabric composition determined their light coloring, especially when burned in oxidized atmosphere, as this is the case for five of them. Their shapes, however, vary and so do their production periods.

¹⁸ TODA 2019.

¹⁹ GAČIĆ 2011, 25.

²⁰ RIDOVICS 2009, 67, fig. 8.

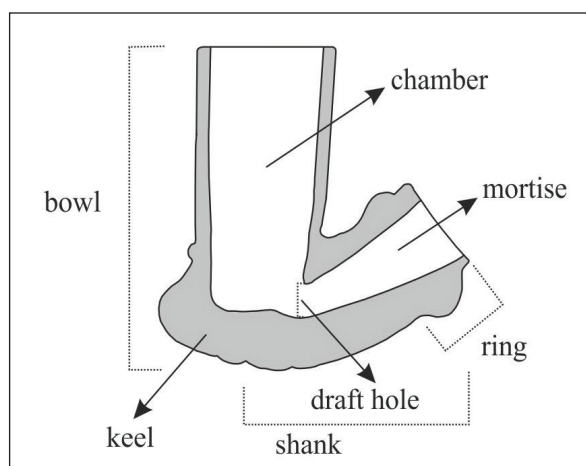


Fig. 4. Elements of a pipe head.

The undecorated pipes, dated to the 17th century (though, not entirely absent from the subsequent one), represent one of the Ottoman types. The fourth pipe find from Rupea (Pl. 1/4), could belong to this category. Even though badly preserved, it seems to be an undecorated pipe with smooth profile. Its bowl shape was either a smooth cylindrical bowl or one with a backbone line in the upper part. For a clearer image of the whole piece in its second variant, one can point to the analogies from Timișoara,²¹ Varna (BG), Szeged,²² Eger (HU),²³ or Hârșova.²⁴ Some other fragments come from Cluj-Napoca²⁵ and Oradea,²⁶ and two analogies were excavated in Orașul de Floci, where they were dated early, during the 16th and 17th centuries.²⁷

The decorated backbone example (cat. 6, Pl. 1/6) is one of the best-preserved pieces discovered in this Saxon fortification. The stamped decoration of the bowl, representing concentric

circles with dots on the edge, has parallels in Szigetvár and Babócsa (HU), on 17th century pipes with tulip-shaped bowls.²⁸ One of these also combines the stamped motif with a linear cogwheel decoration (Fig. 5/6) on the ring. The latter was already popular during the 17th century and remained so during the following one. The backbone element of the bowl shape from Rupea can be traced back to the same period.²⁹ This piece shows significant differences from the classical undecorated backbone pipes described by A. Ridovics, as its shank is shorter, the angle between this element and the bowl is smaller, and it presents an individualized torus-shaped ring. Thus, a regional (probably later) evolution has to be considered.

Another one of the early pieces (cat. 5, Pl. 1/5) in Rupea is poorly preserved, as only the ring and part of its shank are still available for analysis. It was most likely part of a grey fabric Turkish pipe for which these cogwheel decorations (Fig. 5/5) were specific and is similar to the small pipes with semispherical keel (or, generally, interrupted profiles). The fat shape of the shank end and its stepped ring termination, along with the decoration, have a good analogy in Buda, on a piece dated during the 18th century.³⁰ But, more distant analogies of the ring (with decorated ring torus) from Jeni Palank³¹ and the Serbian territory,³² Timișoara,³³ and Oradea,³⁴ some in kaolin clay, other in red clay, are dated during the previous century.

The two white kaolin clay pipes with well-burnished surfaces (cat. 7 and 8) also have 18th century analogies in Cluj-Napoca.³⁵ Out of the two, the more fragmented one (Pl. 1/8) could

²¹ KOPECZNY-DINCĂ 2011, 174–175, cat. 70, 71.

²² RIDOVICS 2009, 66, fig. 4.

²³ KONDOROSY 2007a, 315, cat. E46.

²⁴ BILAVSCHI 2017, 230, 232, pl. III/3 and IV/8.

²⁵ GRUIA 2013, 43, fig. 7.

²⁶ MARTA 2002, pl. LXXXVII.

²⁷ ENE 2013, 200, cat. 1, 2, 9.

²⁸ KOVÁCS-RÓZSÁS 2014, 248 and 250, fig. 6/6 and 7/5.

²⁹ See above cat. 4 with analogies.

³⁰ HAIDER ET AL. 2000, 130, cat. 5g/2.

³¹ GAÁL 2004, 287 and 288, cat. 85 and 89.

³² GAČIĆ 2011, 75, cat. 1.

³³ KOPECZNY-DINCĂ 2011, cat 55.

³⁴ KONDOROSY 2014, 2. tab/V36, V37.

³⁵ GRUIA 2013, 43–44, fig. 8.

be a piece with either a bulgy or a semispherical bowl; it also shares similarities with shanks belonging to Baroque kaolin pipes.³⁶ Both variants could have presented flutes on the keel. The second one (Pl. 1/7) has a simple shape with a short shank and a zigzagged decoration on the lip of its cylindrical bowl (Fig. 5/7). Unfortunately, it cannot be connected to any of the consecrated pipe variants.³⁷

The preserved shank and ring (cat. 9, Pl. 1/9) made from a kaolin based fabric of a light beige color seem to come from a *Hungarian type* pipe form with Turkish influence. Its evolution, as described by G. Tomka, determined the disappearance of the separation between the upper and lower part of the head towards the middle of the 18th century.³⁸ The shank end of the piece from Rupea has a turban-like decoration (Fig. 5/9) and a stepped termination. Examples which seem to belong to this category were found in Șimleul Silvaniei, though this lot was not published in detail.³⁹

Not much can be said about the undecorated pipe bowl made of kaolin clay (cat. 10, Pl. 1/10), except that its shape and coarse finishing indicate that it could be the product of a local unspecialized workshop. No analogy could be found in the surrounding territories and its smaller-sized burning chamber dates it to the 17th or 18th centuries, rather than the 19th one, when its context was dated.

The *glazed* pipes are the fewest among the discoveries in Rupea. One is a green-glazed artifact of a Turkish type (cat. 11, Pl. 1/11), though, glazing is not very common for the Ottoman products.⁴⁰ It has a semispherical and fluted base of the bowl, while the upper part remains cylindrical. It displays plenty of cogwheel decoration

and incisions (Fig. 5/11). Pieces with this shape and decoration were especially popular during the 17th century.⁴¹ Judging by its short shank and clean smooth cut of the missing ring, one can presume that this piece was in use after a partial fragmentation, by cutting and filing the broken end.

With its peculiar shape, pipe number 12 from Rupea (Pl. 1/12) was most likely equipped with extensions used for hanging on a thread or chain. Its bowl still preserves a protuberance that was part of a missing element (a loop for tying a rope?) and, on the opposite side, it is connected to the upper part of the shank. The molded decoration covering the entire surface, dominated by herringbone and striped ornaments (Fig. 5/12), resembles the typical ornamentation of the early Hungarian pipes.⁴² Unfortunately, no formal analogy was identified so far,⁴³ despite the fact that several pipes with hanging loops or orifices can be noted.⁴⁴

The most recent of the pipe heads from Rupea are of *Austrian and Hungarian* origin, were produced in these areas, and can be dated based on the analogies at hand (cat. 13–16). These last four pieces from the catalogue are from the 19th century. All of them have high cylindrical or polygonal bowls. This was a direct consequence of the generalization of the smoking habit and of the tobacco crops in East-Central Europe, with a direct impact on the price of tobacco. Its affordability had a visible effect on the dimensions of the burning chamber.⁴⁵

The pipe heads decorated with molded ‘claws’ on the keel and black fabric (cat. 13 and 14, Pl. 1/13–14) are thought to be products of the most important pipe production center of the period: Banská Štiavnica, in present day Slovakia.⁴⁶ Banská Štiavnica products with slightly different

³⁶ GAČIĆ 2011, 85, cat. 41.

³⁷ The zigzagged motif is presented on the ring of a 17th century Ottoman pipe from Szigetvár (HU) of a completely different shape (KOVÁCS–RÓZSÁS 2014, fig. 6/6).

³⁸ TOMKA 2000, 32, tab. 2/fig 6.

³⁹ GRUIA 2013, 112, fig. 4.

⁴⁰ KOPECZNY–DINCĂ 2011, 173.

⁴¹ KOVÁCS–RÓZSÁS 2014, fig. 3/7 and 6/1; GAŠPAR 2016, cat. 12.

⁴² KONDOROSY 2007b, 273, fig. 1.

⁴³ And future research on the Transylvanian finds could establish its local production, be it the case.

⁴⁴ KONDOROSY 2007b, cat. B196 and B182, fig. 7; GAČIĆ 2011, cat. 43; KOVÁCS–RÓZSÁS 2014, 251, fig. 7/1.

⁴⁵ ROBINSON 1985, 161; TOMKA 2000, 32.

⁴⁶ GRUIA 2012a, 265.

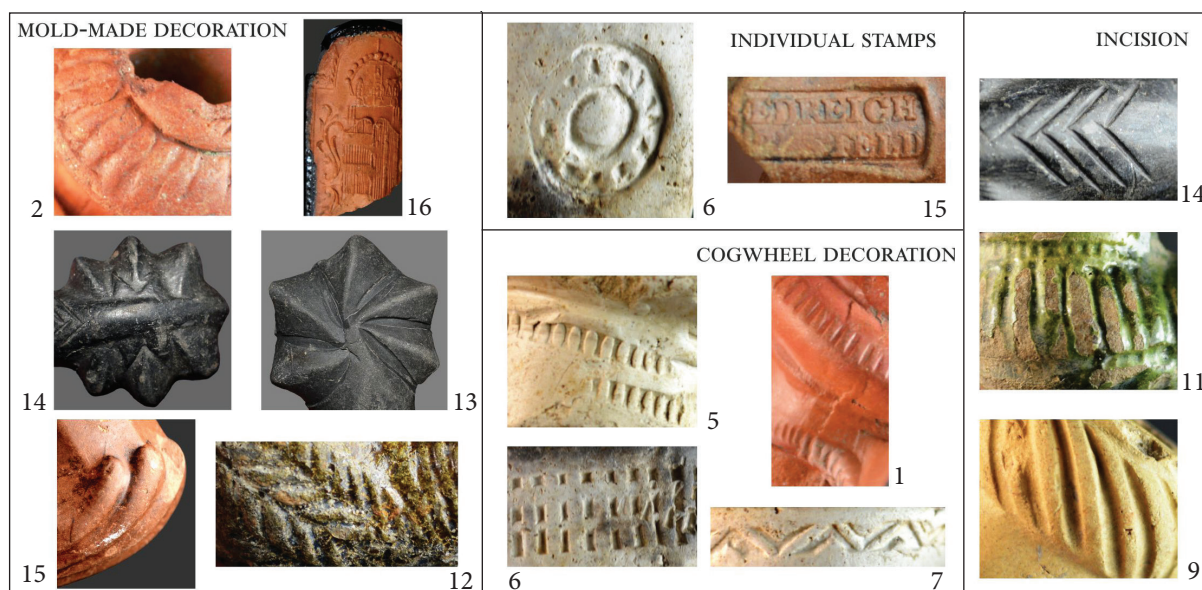


Fig. 5. Decorative motifs and production stamp present on the clay tobacco pipes (nos. correspond to the catalogue entries).

bowl and keel shapes, but with unknown context of discovery are found in Transylvanian collections, in Reghin⁴⁷ and Alba Iulia,⁴⁸ and were dated to the first half of the 19th century. The former collection of Endre Orosz from Cluj-Napoca also contains one such fragment with unknown origin.⁴⁹ At least two other examples have been excavated in Alba Iulia, near the Roman-Catholic Cathedral, but were dated too early.⁵⁰ This also might be the case for one of the published clay pipes from the Oradea fortress.⁵¹

A better dated lot containing at least 11 pieces of this type was discovered in Târgu Mureș in a fill layer inside one of the vaulted ceilings of the house formerly belonging to Márton Csiki (built around 1811).⁵² This group is similar to pipe

number 14, but the artifacts have smaller bowls, are better polished, and some have a metallic overcoat. They can be dated to the beginning of the 19th century based on the context of discovery.⁵³ Their early 19th century dating is also confirmed by analogue finds from the quarantine in Pricske,⁵⁴ where the well-established site chronology enabled the dating of the pipes at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries.

Number 15 in the catalogue is a pipe with tall octagonal bowl, an oyster shell-shaped keel, and reddish-brown fabric (Pl. 1/15). This is one of the most popular shapes of the 19th century.⁵⁵ The production center of the pipe can be clearly identified through the two-row fragmentary production stamp (Fig. 5/15),⁵⁶ located on the

⁴⁷ GRUIA 2012a, 265, fig. 5.

⁴⁸ GRUIA 2012a, 270, fig. 17/b.

⁴⁹ BERECKI ET AL. 2017, 108, cat. 296 (now part of the Mureș County Museum, Archaeological Collection).

⁵⁰ MARCU ISTRATE 2009, 69, cat. 330.

⁵¹ MARTA 2002, 187, pl. LXXXVII/16.

⁵² Mureș County Museum, History Collection, inv. no. 9917/2. An outline of the building's construction phases in: ORBÁN-CȘÖRSZ RUMEN 2016, 277–278.

⁵³ The group also includes many pipes of a different shape but with the same technical traits of the fabric and dimensions. These bear the production stamp of Mathias Rauch, one of the active masters from Banská Štiavnica in the first half of the 19th century (BIELICH-ČURNÝ 2009, 347). Thus, they back up the dating of the archaeological context.

⁵⁴ DEMJÉN 2018, 225, cat. 22, 54, 57, 72, 87, 99.

⁵⁵ It became popular on a continental level due to the artisanship of the masters from Banská Štiavnica (LOVÁSOVÁ 2000, 40–41).

⁵⁶ A characteristic of the vast majority of pipes both in the Habsburg Monarchy and in the Ottoman Empire, which has its origins in the 18th century (ROBINSON 1985, 161).

side of its shank that reads [FRI]EDREICH/[THERESIEN]FELD. The pipe maker, Anton Friedreich, was active in Theresienfeld bei Wien (AU) during the 19th century.⁵⁷ This production center is located in the area where two other very important ones (Wiener Neustadt and Pernitz, AU) emerged. The leading masters in Banská Štiavnica, that also influenced the most important Transdanubian workshops, were native to this region.⁵⁸

The last entry of the catalogue (Pl. 1/16) probably resembled the previous one, except

for the molded decoration of the keel. What is more important though is the molded crest of Hungary (Fig. 5/16), which should date our piece after 1867, therefore during the time of the Dual Monarchy. The pipe was coated in dark-brown glaze, except for the Hungarian crest, kept in the original red fabric, to make it more visible. Such pieces, bearing crests, were quite popular and good analogies are found throughout East-Central Europe,⁵⁹ with some examples produced in the well-known workshops from Banská Štiavnica.⁶⁰

SMOKING IN TRANSYLVANIA: HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE FINDS IN RUPEA AND THE SAXON TERRITORY

The clay tobacco pipes found their way into Rupea castle because, in the 17th century, smoking became a wide-spread habit with an alarming *diffusion* speed all across Europe. It was in Western Europe that smoking was first introduced to the continent after being brought from the Americas.⁶¹ For Transylvania, along with parts of East-Central Europe and the Balkans, the origin of the phenomenon can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire⁶² and not directly to Western Europe, as it was the case for the majority of the Early Modern states in the central part of the continent.⁶³

Smoking reached the Transylvanian Principality through soldiers and mercenaries. It was mostly the Ottoman army that brought the habit and the associated artifacts, and disseminated them towards the lower social classes. It appears

that the upper military and political class was familiar with tobacco consumption from the beginning of the 17th century.⁶⁴ It was not until the second half of the 1600s that it became widespread. The phenomenon accelerated during the reigns of George Rákóczi II and John Kemény, when troop deployments across the territory were a common occurrence.⁶⁵ The popularity of tobacco consumption grew at such an alarming rate that rules and regulations were issued in an attempt of banning it as early as 1662, by order of Prince Michael Apafy I, himself a heavy smoker until then.⁶⁶

Over the last four decades of the 17th century, several resolutions of the Transylvanian Diet were established to *counter and prohibit* the tobacco consumption, trade, and cultivation. In many Hungarian areas,⁶⁷ it appears these

⁵⁷ BIELICH-ČURNÝ 2009, 353.

⁵⁸ NAGY 2000, 50.

⁵⁹ Serbia: GAČIĆ 2011, 125, cat. 173 (but dated to the first half of the 19th century!); Bohemia: VYŠOHLID 2009, 22, fig. 5; Körmend, Hungary: NAGY 2001, CVII. Tábl./1–2; Târgu Mureș: Márton Csiki house, unpublished.

⁶⁰ HAIDER 2000, 144, cat. 8/16, pl. XXVII.

⁶¹ For a general picture of the process, see: OSSKÓ 2000, 14–18.

⁶² On the introduction and spread across the Ottoman Empire, see: ROBINSON 1985, 149–153; OSSKÓ 2000, 18–19.

⁶³ GRUIA 2013, 21–30.

⁶⁴ Early and doubtful sources account for Transylvanians being acquainted to smoking in the second half of the 16th century, prior to the widely accepted date of its introduction to the Ottoman Empire, 1590–1600 (GRUIA 2012c, 227). However, some data is plausible, such as the mention related to Prince Gabriel Bethlen receiving pipes and snuff in 1615 (HAIDER 2000, 20).

⁶⁵ HAIDER 2000, 20.

⁶⁶ GRUIA 2012c, 228.

⁶⁷ TOMKA 2000, 26.

attempts were included in town statutes and local regulations; but this never halted the phenomenon. The first Diet measure was issued in 1670 and forbade the selling of tobacco. It was renewed over the subsequent three decades and more limitations were added related to the import, selling, consumption, and cultivation of the plant. At times the official dispositions also dealt with the law enforcers and social categories that had taken up the habit and fines were set accordingly to social status and rank.⁶⁸

There were also regional and local tendencies to enforce the central regulations and a statute of Cluj County from 1676 clearly stated that, despite the large number of articles aimed at the eradication of smoking, nobody was being punished. In the following, the local statute established that the county officials should exact punishment without mercy and that all tobacco on the market be burned.⁶⁹

The reasons for this attitude towards tobacco were multiple, starting with the negative effect on health,⁷⁰ ones finances, morality (especially in clergymen), and public safety. The latter implied the risk of wildfire, as pipe smoking was mounting this possibility, and well-organized communities (the Saxon communes and neighborhoods) were considering this as well.⁷¹ Starting with the 18th century, when the practice was legal, several documentary entries clearly show that the local regulations of the Saxons set some limitations for smoking.

No such provisos were as of yet identified in the regulations of the Rupea Seat and of its communes, despite the presence of some very specific rules for preventing wildfires and immoral conduct.⁷² Nevertheless, some examples from other Saxon regions can be brought forth

to illustrate the attitude of the German population when faced with the need to elaborate and enforce rules of proper and safe conduct. For instance, in 1704 it was decided that no smoking was allowed in the streets of Sibiu in order to prevent fire.⁷³ Furthermore, in 1721 the practice was banned in the peasant courtyards as well,⁷⁴ possibly for the same reason, though nothing was said of the higher classes of the Saxon society. One article in the 1794 statute of the neighborhoods from the Mediaș Seat banned anyone from smoking outside the 'room' and in the fields, or the courtyards. It also set a fine of 99 denars for such a transgression.⁷⁵ Something similar was recorded in 1801 by the statute of the neighborhoods from Brașov. Every neighbor (owner, tenant, worker, or servant) was fined 3 florins if he/she was caught during windy weather holding an open flame (lamp) or a lit tobacco pipe in the stable, barn, or even in the courtyard.⁷⁶ The prohibition of smoking in the streets of Brașov was so drastic that action against the ones who violated this rule was allowed. This was the explanation behind the episode when the night watch patrolling Șchei yanked the lit pipe right from Prince Nicolas Șuțu's hand.⁷⁷ The effects of the negligence of smokers was sometimes the root of tragic events such as the wildfire recorded in October 1825 in Râșnov, burning down 235 households together with their dependencies and that year's crops.⁷⁸

When it comes to *consumption*, the exact process and speed at which the habit gained so much notoriety (yet still reached the Transylvanian population in urban centers, market towns, and villages regardless of social status)⁷⁹ mostly remains a matter to be discussed, along with a larger and more detailed analysis of the

⁶⁸ For a listing and an analysis of these articles, see: GRUIA 2012c, 228–230; rediscussed in: GRUIA 2013, 34–37.

⁶⁹ PRODAN 1987, 233.

⁷⁰ The reason behind the first recorded interdiction, dated in 1662. For details, see: GRUIA 2012c, 228.

⁷¹ FRÎNCU 2018, 73.

⁷² Such as the neighborhood regulation from 1630 (FABINI 2002, 589).

⁷³ SIGERUS 1930, 20.

⁷⁴ BEȘLIU MUNTEANU 2006, 85.

⁷⁵ FRÎNCU 2018, 221.

⁷⁶ FRÎNCU 2018, 214.

⁷⁷ OIȘTEANU 2010, 89.

⁷⁸ QKRON 1903, 64.

⁷⁹ For an overview of the social categories that practiced smoking, see: GRUIA 2013, 62–68.

archaeological evidence for tobacco consumption, production, and trading. However, the archival documents can form a general image of the time lapse during which it became popular and of how shipments of tobacco and smoking accessories still entered the principality. The most visible impact was among the high nobility and in the princely courts, as this social stratum is well represented by the archival sources. Consequently, one has probably the most data on individual tobacco consumption from the memoirs, relates, and letters of the higher nobles and princes.⁸⁰

Mentions of the consumption and selling of tobacco in Transylvania first appear at the middle of the 17th century and the earliest one is connected to the difficulties of the Ottoman army to purchase tobacco upon reaching Sebeș in 1657. The price of the merchandize escalated due to the war, which caused famine and poverty. Despite this, tobacco was still listed by Evliya Celebi, together with bread, as a major supply of the army.⁸¹ The military environment, especially the Turkish one, was instrumental in spreading the habit towards a larger segment of the population. In fact, Celebi, who was accompanying the army, also reached the Seat of Rupea and set camp next to the castle for a few days. During that episode, no violence was recorded. There were several days of peaceful interactions between the army and the locals, which even led to Turkish troops visiting the fortification. As the military were in permanent need of supplies, the Seat and market town tended to their necessities. The two parties even traded certain products but nothing is said about tobacco.⁸² Still, the troops were most definitely practicing smoking and could have introduced the habit to the population of Rupea, assuming this did not happen at

an earlier date. However, no direct connection can be made to the 17th century pipes found at the site of the fortification.

Moreover, these were not the only soldiers that smoked. One knows of Kuruc soldiers returning from Transylvania to Hungary in 1671, after taking up the habit in the principality. The Diets also list soldiers among the users of tobacco, along with nobles, peasants, women and clergymen.⁸³ Another episode was recorded in the archives of the Bistrița municipality, at the beginning of the 18th century. In 1705, during the War of Independence against the Habsburgs, the town of Bistrița had to supply the Kuruc army with food, various products, and, of course, tobacco for Prince Francis Rákóczi II.⁸⁴

The records on the trade and production of tobacco and its associated accessories lack almost entirely, due to the prohibitions. No wonder the plant is hardly ever mentioned by the archives and no traces of it can be found in the estate inventories of the 17th century. Historian D. Prodan concluded that mentioning it was most likely avoided and that some crops must have existed, as proved indirectly by the Diet resolutions.⁸⁵

During the 18th century, the situation changed. In 1753, a vague entry in a short chronicle of Transylvania by J. Teutsch mentions the leasing of the tobacco in the region of Brașov to three (private?) individuals.⁸⁶ It is not clear whether they were leasing the trade and distribution or the cultivation of the plant in that area.⁸⁷ The local authorities were directly involved in the tobacco business and, in 1760, the magistrates from the Land of Bârsa held a meeting in order to discuss the local taxes and the lease of tobacco as a special and distinct business matter.⁸⁸ The taboo of the 17th century gradually became an

⁸⁰ GRUIA 2013, ch. 2.

⁸¹ CĂLĂTORI STRĂINI 1976, 619.

⁸² The complete account of Evliya Celebi in: CĂLĂTORI STRĂINI 1976, 598–605.

⁸³ GRUIA 2013, 65–66.

⁸⁴ DAHINTEN 1988, 95.

⁸⁵ PRODAN 1987, 232–233.

⁸⁶ QKRON 1903, 442.

⁸⁷ It is impossible to say whether the 30 tobacco bundles mentioned in the 1721 inventory of the residence of George Bánffy in Urmeniș were locally grown or imported (B. NAGY 1973, 288).

⁸⁸ QKRON 1903, 482.

opportunity for gain. During the next century, the Habsburg authorities were quick to instate a tobacco monopoly with huge effects on taxation and distribution. The measure only entered Hungary⁸⁹ and Transylvania last, in 1851.⁹⁰

The illegal and, most likely, insufficient local production from Transylvania was supplemented through external trade. The import and transit of tobacco leafs made it to the customs registers and the first mention is dated in 1672.⁹¹ By 1683, Transylvanian authorities had already tried to stop the imports, but transit was still allowed. The tobacco shipments, even though barely notable compared to other types of merchandise, were introduced to Transylvania and transited towards Poland, Hungary, and the Habsburg Empire,⁹² with merchant companies being granted permission to enter the principality.⁹³ As one can notice from the Turnu Roşu custom registers, it was continuously brought into the country between 1682 and 1686⁹⁴ (the registers record it with some fluctuations until 1692) and some of the shipments were intended for internal commerce.⁹⁵ It also appears that the Transylvanian market absorbed those products that could not be sold on the Polish market.⁹⁶ According to the analysis of L. Demény, at least some of the tobacco originated in France,⁹⁷ while in the 18th century the Transylvanian market probably also imported the lower quality tobacco produced in Wallachia, Moldavia,⁹⁸ and Oltenia.⁹⁹

Pipes and pipe components were transited through Wallachia and Transylvania towards Poland in the last quarter of the 17th century and the customs registers record them as such: *Pipaszár* ('pipe stem'). However, the quantities were so small that these products could easily pass unnoticed when analyzing these archival sources.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, this aspect can be better researched by taking into account the archaeological material.

The imported products of the late 18th and 19th centuries are quite easy to spot even in the small lot presented in this article, as the main production centers of the Habsburg, later on the Austro-Hungarian Empire, are well-known and the types and variants well-documented. Hence, one can state that the pipes with catalogue numbers 13 to 16 most likely reached Rupea through long distance trade. The 17th and 18th century pieces, however, are more problematic. Leaving aside their fragmentation, no connection can be made as of yet between these artifacts and production centres located in Transylvania, because of the highly lacunar state of research.¹⁰¹ Besides some unpublished evidence for pipe workshop activity¹⁰² and a certain one from Oradea,¹⁰³ only vague data on the functioning of pipe production places were recorded for: Bobâlna – Călan¹⁰⁴ and 'the black *Borga* pipes of Borgó [a. n. Bârgău area?] brought from Transylvania' into Hungary.¹⁰⁵

⁸⁹ MAXWELL 2006, 7–9.

⁹⁰ MÜLLER 1911, 397.

⁹¹ GRUIA 2013, 37.

⁹² MURGESCU 2012a, 144; PAKUCS 2012, 92.

⁹³ GRUIA 2013, 37.

⁹⁴ DEMÉNY 1969, 474; during those years 1150 r. fl. worth of tobacco was transited towards Poland.

⁹⁵ GRUIA 2013, 38.

⁹⁶ MURGESCU 2012b, p. 203.

⁹⁷ DEMÉNY 1969, 478.

⁹⁸ CĂLĂTORI STRĂINI 1997, 398, 476.

⁹⁹ Where tobacco crops became the object of regulated taxation during the Habsburg rule. See: CĂLĂTORI STRĂINI 1997, 111 (1726), 184 (1731).

¹⁰⁰ DEMÉNY 1969, 476.

¹⁰¹ GRUIA 2013, 40.

¹⁰² See footnote 5.

¹⁰³ EMÖDI 1998.

¹⁰⁴ Apparently a production site existed in Hunedoara County in Bobâlna and then moved to Călan, where it remained active only between 1805 and 1818 (TOMKA 2000, 47).

¹⁰⁵ TOMKA 2000, 47 (citing J. MÖLLER).

BRIEF CONCLUSIONS

The tobacco clay pipes from Rupea castle prove that the smoking habit reached selected groups and, possibly, entire communities from the administrative seat as early as the 17th century. These artifacts fit the historical context of the principality and their dating is consistent with the archival sources and other researched lots. Furthermore, there is a high possibility that the introduction of tobacco smoking to Rupea occurred under the direct influence of the Ottoman military.

Only six pipes from the site still preserve

undeniable traces of use but they prove that the habit was practiced in Rupea and that the smoking accessories did not reach this location merely as transitory trade products. However, some of the pieces were the object of long distance trade, while other could be local or regional products. Nonetheless, the incidence of such smoking paraphernalia in contexts dominated by tableware and everyday life artifacts puts their presence into perspective and smoking can be regarded as a daily habit of the civilians and military troops using the castle.

CATALOGUE OF FINDS

*Catalogue structure and abbreviations*¹⁰⁶

Description: a. shape, components and state of preservation; b. material: fabric, firing, treatments; c. color/overcoat; d. decoration: elements, technique, location on the artifact; e. production stamp.

Dimensions.

Year of discovery and archaeological context.

B = bowl; C = chamber; DH = draft hole; S = shank; M = mortise; R = ring/shank end; d = diameter; h = height; l = length; w = width; t = thickness (Fig. 4).

1. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves the shank and the torus-shaped ring; b. good quality clay, fabric shows very fine sand, oxidized firing, a smoothed surface and faint molding lines; c. brick red fabric and slip; d. radial cogwheel decoration on the shank and ring as well as a smaller torus in front of the latter;

DHd: 0.25 cm; Rd_{int}: 0.75 cm; Rd_{ext}: 2 cm; Ml: 2.2 cm;

2012; in the northern part of the lower castle, between the so-called 'military warehouse' and the gate tower; a modern period waste deposition layer.

2. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves the shank and ring; b. fine fabric shows

fine sand, oxidized firing, traces of the molding line; c. reddish-brown fabric; d. mold-made radial ornaments on the ring as well as a small torus on the shank;

Sl: 2.5 cm; Rd_{int}: 1 cm; Rd_{ext}: 2.2 cm;

2010; exterior of the lower castle, gate tower, S1, fill of the drawbridge pit.

3. a. Shank end of a tobacco clay pipe shaped as a torus; b. good quality clay, fine fabric, fine sand, oxidized firing; c. light reddish-brown;

Rd_{int}: 1.2 cm; Rd_{ext}: 2.1 cm;

2010; exterior of the lower castle, gate tower, S1, fill of the drawbridge pit.

4. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe only preserving the shank and ring with trapezoidal cross-section; the draft hole intersects the mortise tunnel halfway; b. kaolin clay, fabric shows fine sand, reduction firing, smoothed surface with an instrument and faint traces of molding lines; c. gray fabric at the interior and grayish-beige at the surface; shows gray secondary burn traces;

DHd: 0.25 cm; Rd_{int}: 0.85 cm; Rd_{ext}: 2 cm; Ml: 3.9 cm;

2012; at the interior of the lower castle; west of the gate tower; modern period deposition layer.

5. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves part of the shank and the torus-like

¹⁰⁶ In several cases the elements corresponding to letters d. and e. were absent, hence the missing references in the catalogue.

ring; b. kaolin clay, fabric shows very fine sand, reduction firing, a polished surface and molding lines; c. gray fabric; d. cogwheel ornaments on the shank and ring as well as a smaller torus in front of the latter;

Rd_{int}: 0.9 cm; Rd_{ext}: 2.15 cm;

2012; retrieved from an irrelevant archaeological context, at the exterior of the castle, on the western slope, in the topsoil; the material probably rolled down the slope from inside the castle.

6. a. Tobacco clay pipe, missing half the chamber wall, with a 'backbone' line on the front of the bowl, a flat-bottomed and cylindrical chamber, flat shank and a torus-shaped ring at the sank end; b. kaolin clay, fine fabric shows fine sand, oxidized firing, faint traces of a molding line, smoothed surface; intense secondary burn traces inside the chamber and bowl as well as on the keel, shank, and on the lip of the bowl; c. grayish-white fabric and gray burn coloring; d. four stamped ornaments on the bowl representing concentric circles with dotted edge and cogwheel decoration on the shank end and bowl lip; Ch: 2.7 cm; Bd: 2.3 cm; Cd: 2 cm; Rd_{int}: 0.8 cm; Rd_{ext}: 1.9 cm; DHd: 0.3 cm; Ml: 2.5 cm; 2010; exterior of the lower castle, gate tower, S1, fill of the drawbridge pit.

7. a. Fragmentary tobacco clay pipe, with cylindrical bowl, rounded chamber bottom and a torus-shaped ring; missing half the bowl and part of the sank; b. kaolin clay, fine fabric shows fine sand, oxidized firing, visible molding line, smoothed surface; secondary burn inside the chamber; c. white fabric; brownish-gray burn coloring inside the chamber; d. a cogwheel decoration below the bowl rim with zigzag motif; Ch: 2.5 cm; Bd: ~2.7 cm, Cd: 2 cm; DHd: 0.2 cm; Rd_{int}: 1.1 cm; Rd_{ext}: 2.1 cm; Ml: 2.8 cm; 2012; middle castle, at the early entrance to the second precinct, C28, demolition layer.

8. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves the shank and the torus-shaped ring; a small fragment of a bulgy bowl is barely noticeable; b. kaolin clay, fabric shows fine sand, oxidized firing, visible molding lines; c. white with brownish traces of smoke coloring in the mortise;

Rd_{int}: 0.95 cm; Rd_{ext}: 2.1 cm; Ml: 2.5 cm;

2010; exterior of the lower castle, gate tower, S1, fill of the drawbridge pit.

9. a. Fragment of a tobacco clay pipe that only preserves the shank and the turban-like ring; b. fine clay containing kaolin, fabric shows very fine sand, oxidized firing, a smoothed surface and faint molding lines; c. dark beige fabric; d. incised wreath on the ring;

DHd: 0.15 cm; Rd_{int}: 1 cm; Rd_{ext}: 2.4 cm; Ml: 3.6 cm;

2012; upper castle; in the vicinity of house 3, from a demolition layer.

10. a. Fragmentary tobacco clay pipe with a short and cylindrical bowl, a flat-bottomed chamber; it is missing the shank almost entirely; b. kaolin clay, rather fine fabric that shows fine sand in abundance, oxidized firing, surface smoothed with an instrument, but overall lower quality mold; c. grayish-white with yellowish coloring inside the chamber; Ch: 2.6 cm, Bd: 2.5 cm, Cd: 1.6 cm; DHd: 0.2 cm; 2011; extension of the middle castle, Ungra tower, C12, leveling of the interior of the ground floor or of the basement.

11. a. Tobacco clay pipe with a short cylindrical chamber, a bulgy bowl at the keel, a slightly oblique chamber bottom, and a short shank; the piece is missing half the bowl and possibly the shank end; c. fine clay, fabric shows fine sand, reduction firing, and faint traces of molding lines; secondary burn due to usage is present; d. black in the middle and dark reddish-brown at the surface; entirely overcoated with green glaze; black burned traces at the interior of the chamber and mortise; e. incised decoration on the lower part of the bowl consisting of vertical flutes and cogwheel decoration on the bowl and shank, consisting of a succession of small squares; the bottom shows V-shaped flutes and cogwheel decoration on its long axis;

Ch: 2.3 cm; Bd_{max}: 2.6 cm; Cd: 1.5 cm; DHd: 0.65 cm; Rd_{int}: 1 cm; Rd_{ext}: 1.8 cm; Ml: 1.7 cm;

2012; middle castle, eastern part, in a deposition layer at the base of the cliff of the upper castle; demolition layer, probably originating from the upper precincts.

12. a. Tobacco clay pipe, missing the shank end, with a slightly conical bowl, a flat-bottomed

chamber, flat shank; the bowl still preserves a protuberance that was part of a missing element (a loop for tying a rope?) and on the opposite side it is connected to the upper part of the shank; b. good quality clay, fine fabric, fine sand, mainly reduction firing, with visible molding lines; c. dark grey fabric in the middle with brown surface and spotted brownish glaze; dark gray coloring inside the chamber due to use; d. molded decoration covering the entire surface, dominated by herringbone and striped ornaments;

Ch: 2.7 cm; Bd_{max} : ~2.6 cm; Cd_{max} : 1.8 cm; DHd: 0.6 cm; Ml: >2.2 cm;

2011; eastern side of the middle castle, C7, leveling or clay floor of an early modern building.

13. a. Tobacco clay pipe with a cylindrical bowl that displays a claw-shaped semispherical keel, a flat-bottomed chamber, and a torus-shaped ring; missing the upper part of the bowl; b. fine fabric shows fine sand, reduction firing, smoothed surface with an instrument and very few molding lines; c. dark gray fabric and black surface; d. mold-made flaring 'claws' on the keel, separated from its upper part by a torus;

Ch: 3.5 cm; Bd_{max} : 2.8 cm; Cd: 1.9 cm; DHd: 0.55 cm; Rd_{int} : 1.2 cm; Rd_{ext} : 1.7 cm; Ml: 2.5 cm;

2010; exterior of the lower castle, northern precinct wall, fill of the castle moat.

14. a. Tobacco clay pipe with a cylindrical bowl that displays a claw-shaped keel, a flat-bottomed chamber, and a torus-shaped ring; missing the upper half of the bowl and of the shank; b. good quality clay, fabric shows fine sand, reduction firing, polished surface with an instrument and almost no traces of molding lines; c. dark brown fabric and black surface;

d. seven mold-made flaring 'claws' on the keel, separated from its upper part by a torus, a small torus in front of the shank end, and V-shaped incisions of the bottom of the shank;

Ch: >2.5 cm; Bd_{max} : 3.2 cm; Cd: 1.9 cm; DHd: 0.3 cm; Rd_{int} : 0.7 cm; Rd_{ext} : ~2 cm; Ml: 2.9 cm;

2012; upper castle; south of house 3, on top of completely demolished buildings, late 18th to early 19th century demolition layer.

15. a. Tobacco clay pipe displaying a tall octagonal bowl and a cylindrical shank, both of which are missing parts; the chamber is flat-bottomed; b. good quality clay, fabric shows very fine sand, oxidized firing and a smoothed surface; secondary burn inside the chamber due to usage is present; c. reddish-brown fabric and slightly darker, polished surface with dark brown and black coloring due to use; d. the keel has a mold-made shell shape; e. on the shank the largest part of a rectangular cartridge is preserved; the inscription reads [FRI]EDREICH/[THERE-SIEN]FELD;

Ch: 6.5 cm; Bd_{max} : 2.5 cm; Cd: 2 cm; DHd: 0.2 cm;

2012; upper castle, western side, close to the precinct wall, topsoil.

16. a. Small fragment of a tobacco clay pipe with tall hexagonal bowl, probably a flat-bottomed chamber and bulgy shank; b. good quality clay, fine fabric, oxidized firing; c. reddish fabric and dark-brown glaze; d. mold-made decoration on the side of the chamber; e. heraldic cartridge (depicting an organ topped by a crown and flanked by vegetal motifs);

$h_{preserved}$ = 3.9 cm; $t_{of\ wall}$ = 0.4 cm.

2010; at the exterior of the lower castle, in front of the northern wall, from the upper layers of the fill of the former castle moat.

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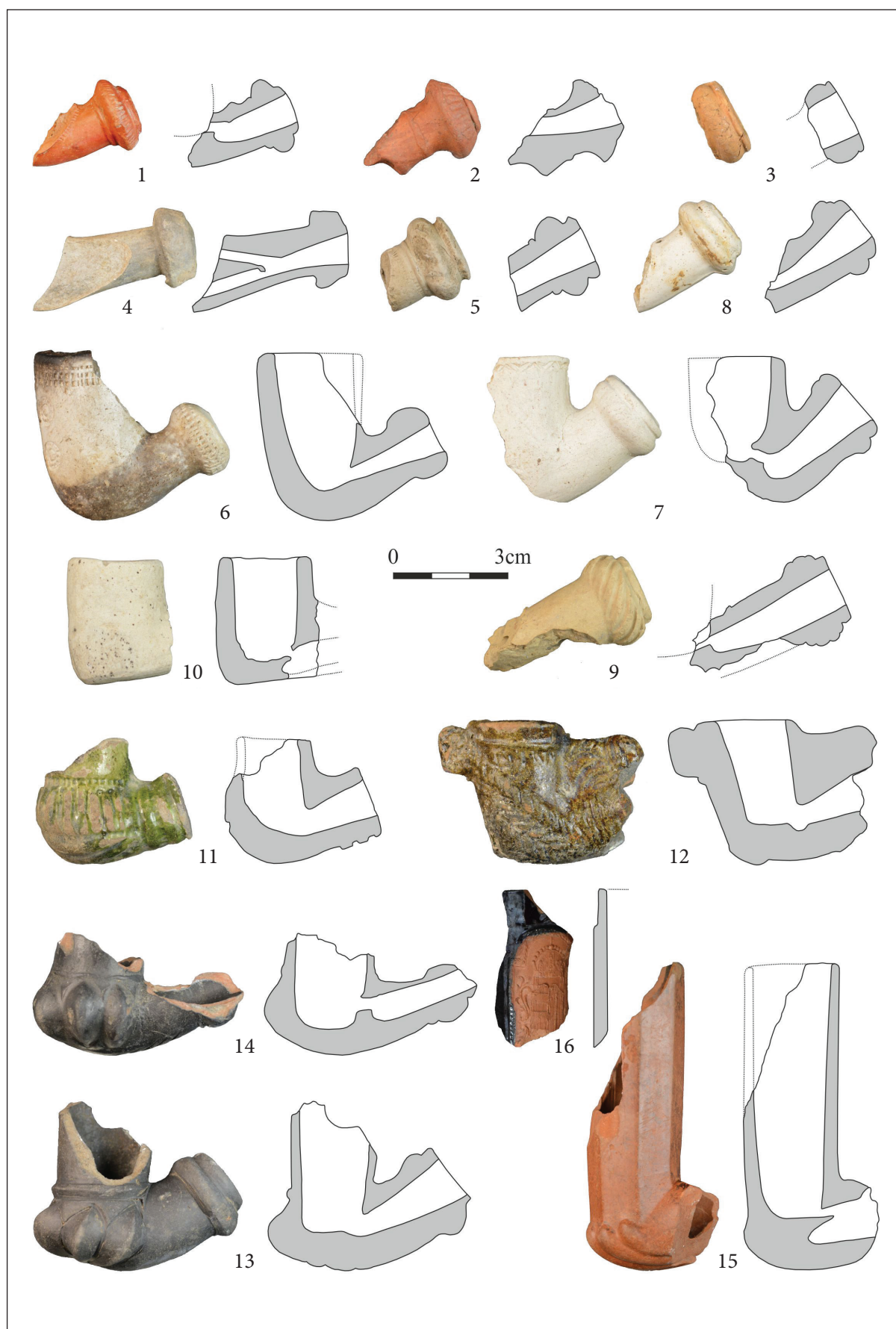
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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	Archäologischer Anzeiger. Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Institut, Berlin
<i>Acta</i>	Acta (Siculica), Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
<i>ActaAC</i>	Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Academia Scientiarum Polona Collegium Cracoviense, Kraków
<i>ActaMN</i>	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
<i>ActaMP</i>	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
<i>ActaTS</i>	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
<i>AnnalesUA, SH</i>	Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, Alba Iulia
<i>Angustia</i>	Angustia, Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe
<i>Antaeus</i>	Antaeus. Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
<i>Apulum</i>	Apulum, Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
<i>ArchÉrt</i>	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
<i>ArchKorr</i>	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum, Mainz
<i>ArhMold</i>	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
<i>ASZ</i>	Agrártörténeti Szemle
<i>AttiSocFriuli</i>	Atti della Società per la preistoria e protostoria della Regione Friuli – Venezia Giulia
<i>AVSL (NF)</i>	Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, (Neue Folge), Hermannstadt
<i>BAI</i>	Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iassiensis, Iași
<i>BAM</i>	Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae, Iași
<i>Banatica</i>	Banatica, Muzeul de istorie al județului Caraș-Severin, Reșița
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports, International Series / British Series, Oxford
<i>BCMI</i>	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice
<i>BMA</i>	Biblioteca Muzei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
<i>BMM</i>	Bibliotheca Muzei Marisiensis, Archaeologia, Târgu Mureș / Cluj Napoca
<i>BMN</i>	Bibliotheca Muzei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
<i>BMP</i>	Bibliotheca Muzei Porolissensis, Zalău
<i>BudRég</i>	Budapest Régiségei, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Budapest
<i>CA</i>	Cercetări Arheologice, București
<i>CCA</i>	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București
<i>CMM</i>	Catalogi Musei Marisiensis, archaeologia, Târgu Mureș
<i>ComArchHung</i>	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest
<i>Cumidava</i>	Cumidava, Anuarul Muzeelor Brașovene
<i>CsSzME</i>	Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Csíkszereda
<i>Dacia (N. S.)</i>	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924–1948), București; Nouvelle série (N. S.), Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București

<i>DissPann</i>	Dissertationes Pannonicae, ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de Petro Pázmány nominatae Budapestinensis provenientes, Budapest
<i>DolgKolozsvár (Ú.S.)</i>	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (új sorozat, 2006–), Kolozsvár
<i>Drobeta</i>	Drobeta, Muzeul Regiunii Porților de Fier
<i>EJA</i>	European Journal of Archaeology
<i>EMúz</i>	Erdélyi Múzeum, Kolozsvár
<i>EphemNap</i>	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
<i>ESzNMJ</i>	Emlékkönyv a Székely Nemzeti Múzeum 50 éves jubileumára
<i>FK</i>	Földtani Közlöny, Budapest
<i>Hesperia</i>	Hesperia, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
<i>Hydrobiologia</i>	Hydrobiologia. The International Journal of Aquatic Sciences
<i>JAMÉ</i>	A Nyíregyházi Jós András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
<i>JQS</i>	Journal of Quaternary Science
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>Lymbus</i>	Lymbus. Magyarságtudományi Forrásközlemények, Budapest
<i>Marisia</i>	Marisia (V–), Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
<i>MCA</i>	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
<i>MIMK</i>	Molnár István Múzeum Kiadványai, Cristuru Secuiesc/Székelykeresztúr
<i>MNy</i>	Magyar Nyelv, Budapest
<i>Művészet</i>	Művészet, Országos Magyar Képzőművészeti Társulat, Budapest
<i>NK</i>	Numizmatikai Közlöny, Budapest
<i>NyIK</i>	Nyelv- és irodalomtudományi közlemények
<i>NumZ</i>	Numismatische Zeitschrift, Wien
<i>RevBis</i>	Revista Bistriței, Complexul Județean Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud
<i>RevIst</i>	Revista Istorică, București
<i>Sargetia</i>	Sargeția, Buletinul Muzeului județului Hunedoara, Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
<i>SCIV(A)</i>	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
<i>StComSM</i>	Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare
<i>StudiaAA</i>	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
<i>Studia UBB</i>	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Historia, Cluj-Napoca
<i>Studia UBB, TCV</i>	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Theologia Catholica Varadinensis
<i>Studii</i>	Studii. Revistă de Istorie, București
<i>Suceava</i>	Suceava, Anuarul Complexului Muzeal Bucovina
<i>Századok</i>	Századok, A Magyar Történelmi Társulat folyóirata
<i>Terra Sebus</i>	Terra Sebus, Acta Musei Sabasiensis, Sebeș
<i>VAH</i>	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
<i>WMMÉ</i>	Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
<i>Ziridava (StudArch)</i>	Ziridava (Studia Archaeologica 2010–), Arad