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The Influence of  
Ottoman Turkish Textiles  
and Costume  
in Eastern Europe

Veronika Gervers

  
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The Influence of  
Ottoman Turkish Textiles  
and Costume  
in Eastern Europe  
with particular reference to Hungary





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The late Dr. Veronika Gervers was Associate Curator in the Textile Department of the Royal Ontario Museum.

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To

Jánossy Kornélia, Csontos Gyuláné



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# Preface

This monograph is a considerably enlarged version of an essay presented at the symposium on "Islam and the Balkans" organized in connection with the World of Islam Festival in July 1976 at the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh. The influence of Ottoman embroideries in European Turkey was also discussed in a lecture at the Midwest Slavic Conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in May 1977.

The purpose of the monograph is to discuss the Ottoman influence on textiles and costume in European Turkey. The illustrative material provides a context for the discussion but is not necessarily referred to specifically in the text. The introductory notes to some picture-groups and the extended captions are intended as further historical and ethnographical evidence for the great impact that Turkish textiles had in the area under discussion. Most of the illustrations have been selected from the rich resources of the Royal Ontario Museum. All line drawings are by the author.

Since the significance of Ottoman textiles in European Turkey cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of the history of the period, I have included, in Appendices 1 to 3, a chronology of political history and a reference to the reigns of Turkish and Hungarian rulers from the 14th to early 20th century.

Appendix 4 provides a bibliography of works on the political and socio-economic history of the territory. Although these works were used in tracing the developments of Ottoman trade and in interpreting its historical background, they are not specifically cited in the notes. These notes contain an extensive discussion of the textiles themselves, and full bibliographic references to all publications and manuscripts referred to in them are given in the section "Literature Cited".

The numerous quotations from Hungarian sources from the 16th to the 18th century were translated from the original Hungarian or Latin by the author and are presented here for the first time in English. Appendix 5 provides a summary of the most important published Hungarian source materials from the Ottoman Turkish period. Appendix 6 contains a detailed list of historical and ethnographical material concerning the names of Turkish fabrics used in Hungary and Transylvania, and an edited translation of a late-17th-century inventory of the full stock from the shop of a Greek merchant who traded in textiles in Upper Hungary.

Whenever possible, foreign words and expressions have been explained at their first occurrence. Information about others which are not so described is given in a brief glossary.

Except when otherwise stated within the context of a quotation, modern terms and spellings are generally used for place names; older and more conventionally known names appear in brackets. For historical reasons, and in order to avoid confusion, Hungarian names are kept for most formerly Hungarian places which are now to be found outside the political



boundaries of that country. At the first occurrence of each such place name, the modern and/or German names are added in brackets.

The textile terminology used is based largely on the English version of the textile vocabulary of the Centre International d'Études des Textiles Anciens (ed. Harold B. Burnham, Lyon, 1964). Ottoman Turkish words have been transliterated into modern Turkish.

## Acknowledgements

My interest in the historical components of eastern European textiles and costume has over the past fifteen years brought me into contact with many colleagues in Europe and North America. I should like here to express my indebtedness to all those who in various ways assisted my study of the material. Among them, I am particularly grateful to Mrs. Joan Allgrove, Whitworth Gallery of Art, Manchester; M. Nicolae Beldiceanu, University of Paris; Dr. Ida Bobrowszky, Institute of Art History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest; Mrs. Katharine B. Brett, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Mr. Charles Grant Ellis, Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Mme Monique Roussel de Fontanès, Musée de l'Homme, Paris; Dr. Terézia Horváth, Hungarian Ethnographical Museum, Budapest; Mrs. Pauline Johnstone, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Dr. Edward J. Keall, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Mr. Donald King, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Dr. Károly Kós, Ethnographical Museum of Transylvania, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca); Dr. Mária Kresz, Hungarian Ethnographical Museum, Budapest; Mrs. Jelena Lazić, Ethnographical Museum, Belgrade; Miss Louise W. Mackie, Textile Museum, Washington; the late Mme Corina Nicolescu, University of Bucharest; Miss Jennifer Scarce, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; Mme Elena Secoşan, Bucharest; Mr. John Vollmer, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; and Frau Dr. Eva Zimmermann, Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe.

I am also indebted to the late Gertrud Palotay, whose work on the Ottoman Turkish elements of Hungarian embroideries has served as an inspiration for my research since my undergraduate years.

Very special thanks are due to my father, József Molnár, who first aroused my interest in the subject through his work on Hungarian needlework and through a unique 16th-century Turkish embroidery preserved in the Calvinist church of his native village, Csenger (Szabolcs-Szatmár county, Hungary). He also assisted me greatly by verifying quotations from Hungarian sources and by finding many useful bibliographical references.

I should also like to thank those museums where I have been offered research facilities whether in the galleries or in the storage rooms. Among these the following institutions were particularly helpful: the Benaki Museum, Athens; the Ethnographical Museum, Belgrade; the Museum of Art, the Museum of Romanian Folk Art, and the Village Museum, Bucharest; the Hungarian Ethnographical Museum and the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest; the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; the Museum of Decorative Arts and the National Museum of



Denmark, Copenhagen; the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; the Christian Museum, Esztergom; the Bruckenthal Museum, Hermanstadt (Sibiu/Nagyszeben); the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art and Topkapi Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul; Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe; the Ethnographical Museum of Transylvania, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca); the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester, Manchester; the Brooklyn Museum and the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Musée de l'Homme, Paris; the Ethnographical Museum, Skopje; the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; and the Ethnographical Museum, Zagreb.

It was thanks to the generous support of the Canada Council that I was able to study many of these collections in detail. I am also grateful to the French Archaeological Institute in Istanbul and to the British Institutes of Archaeology in Ankara and Athens for the facilities provided while working in Turkey and Greece.

Toronto, 11 August 1978

V.G.



# Introduction

In cases of adversity Hungarians are wont to say, "A lot more was lost at Mohács." The reference is to the decisive battle of 1526 in which the Hungarian army was defeated by the Turks. The disastrous consequences of the battle were far-reaching: nearly two-thirds of Hungary was overrun by the armies of the Sublime Porte, the last independent king of the country was killed, and three years later, in 1529, the Ottoman army reached the walls of Vienna for the first time. Only for brief periods since has the country been its own master.

The saying, expressive of the Hungarian attitude towards the Turkish occupation, reflects the fear and apprehension that were shared by the entire western world in the face of the victorious Ottoman advance. For centuries the Turks had been extending their empire westwards. In 1352 they gained their first footing on European soil. In 1354 they took Gallipoli (Gelibolu), in 1365 Edirne (Adrianople), and in 1394 and 1396 Nikopol. By 1400 most of the Balkan peninsula was under Ottoman rule. The once great Byzantine Empire was reduced to its capital city, Constantinople, and the area immediately surrounding it. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, nothing could withstand the Ottoman advance throughout the rest of the Balkans and beyond, until it encompassed also Hungary, many important Aegean and Mediterranean islands, and finally the Crimea, the Ukraine, and Podolia. Although the Turks failed in their second attempt to take Vienna in 1683, it took Europe another two and a half centuries to evict them from central and eastern Europe and confine their European domain to the present foothold on the western shores of the Bosphorus.

While this long period of occupation has generally been considered to have arrested the progress of eastern Europe, the cultural historian may regard it in a different and by no means negative light. In this respect, our discussion of the influence of Turkish textiles in European Turkey will attempt to show the degree to which this aspect of Turkish culture was appreciated by the indigenous non-Moslem population of the occupied and tributary lands. Turkish influences, however, cannot always be easily traced. The survival of earlier traditions and the concurrent penetration of the area by western ideas and styles are also part of the general picture.

Before the Ottoman conquest the territory that later became European Turkey was dominated by two major cultural traditions, the Byzantine and the western, and there was an accepted distinction between the lands that fell within the sphere of each. Religion, philosophical attitudes, commerce, and the arts all reflected this distinction, which in some of its aspects survived well into the Ottoman Turkish period. The historical backgrounds of these different traditions were further complicated by many layers of earlier cultural influences. When interpreting late descendants of Ottoman models, particular consideration must be given to the complex oriental styles of the Eurasian steppes. Furthermore, a rich variety of as yet undetermined

influences appears among the fossil-like survivals of indigenous Balkan cultures, especially in such remote and isolated areas as Montenegro (Crna Gora) and parts of Albania, where even the remnants of prehistoric costume can occasionally be traced up to recent times. Certain aspects of textile technology may also be derived from roots that are neither Byzantine nor western European nor oriental.

Ottoman Turkish traditions are themselves diversified. The Turkish penetration of Europe was a process lasting several hundred years, and the major reconquests of the territory took place between the late 17th and early 20th centuries. Despite the fact that the ethnic composition of the people of the Balkans did not change drastically, populations were constantly moving over the conquered lands throughout the period. Inhabitants of the occupied lands migrated towards the north, the south, and the west in order to avoid Turkish overlordship and the added burdens of taxation that went with it. Those movements must be considered in the light of the constantly changing map of the Ottoman Empire, and of the Sublime Porte's ever-changing attitudes towards its non-Moslem subjects.

During the period of the Ottoman conquests, large numbers of Greeks emigrated to foreign lands. In the same period, many Albanians went first to Greece, then to Serbia, Bosnians moved to Dalmatia and Serbia, and Serbians migrated to Dalmatia, Croatia, and Hungary. A new wave of northward migration started at the end of the 17th century when Hungary and adjacent territories to the south were liberated from the Turks. The recolonization of the Great Hungarian Plain and the Voivodina attracted Serbian refugees, Greeks, Macedo-Vlachs, Romanians, Bulgarians, and also some settlers from central and western Europe.

In addition to these major movements from one geographic area to another, there was a more localized but nevertheless significant tendency on the part of the Christians in the early centuries of the Turkish period to move out of the cities. As a result, the rural population increased and at the same time kept its national character, while the major centres became more and more cosmopolitan. The cities were dominated by the nationalities that had economic and political power.

Besides the movements within the Balkans, population shifts included the settlement by the Ottomans of a number of Asiatic peoples throughout the provinces of European Turkey. Turks came in large numbers to Constantinople and its vicinity, to Bessarabia, to the Dobrudja, to Bulgaria, and to certain valleys of Thrace and Macedonia. Türkmen, especially Yörük nomads, settled in Macedonia and southern Serbia. Crimean Tatars and Caucasian Circassians found new homes in the Dobrudja and Bulgaria. Large numbers of Armenians and Jews settled in cities throughout the area.

It is only when seen in their historical context that the complexities of European Turkish culture and society, and consequently of the development of textiles and costume, become evident. The object of this monograph is to examine the historical, social, and cultural background of textiles and costume within the area. Special attention is given to material from the earlier centuries of the Ottoman era and to the interpretation of documentary sources together with existing textiles.

# Trade

## Commercial Developments in European Turkey<sup>1</sup>

From the second half of the 14th century Turkish and oriental goods reached the Balkans in considerable quantities through regular trade channels. Although the stormy period of the first Ottoman conquests led to constant disturbance and insecurity in these lands, a considerable part of the commercially inclined Serbian and Bosnian petty middle class accepted Islam in order to survive. Their major role as merchants was to transfer the precious products of the Orient to Italy and central Europe via the Adriatic and overland routes. To some extent Turks also took part in this trade.<sup>2</sup>

The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 marked the beginning of a period of stability and economic growth within the Ottoman Empire. From then on, the Balkan trade became more settled and more significant. In addition to the Adriatic sea route, the Danube and developing overland routes provided the trade with increased freedom of movement. Istanbul, the traditional meeting place of numerous roads from Asia Minor and the Levant, stood at the gateway of the west. From there the main route led to Edirne, where it divided into several roads of greater or lesser importance. One reached the Danube delta through the Dobrudja and continued into Moldavia and Poland. Another, which also served as an important military highway, went to Plovdiv, and on to Sofia, Nis, Belgrade, and finally Buda. A third led through Salonika and Ochrid to the Adriatic at Durazzo. From 1592 to 1774 the Black Sea was open to Ottoman ships alone, a situation that gave enormous advantages to Turkish trade. Concurrently with the establishment of trade routes, a sudden rise of urbanization promoted commerce and industry.

In the 15th century the main beneficiaries of Balkan trade were Moslems, the inhabitants of the Dalmatian city-ports, Italians, and Jews.<sup>3</sup> From the early 16th century, however, the indigenous Orthodox Christian mercantile class was revived through favourable new policies of the Ottoman state. Turks and Moslems, for whom military and political positions were reserved and who also constituted a sizable proportion of the urban artisans, did not choose to become deeply involved in international trade. In addition, in the 16th and 17th centuries — particularly in the latter — large numbers of Jewish merchants emigrated to the west because of the economic growth and new opportunities in Europe. Thus it is hardly surprising that the Balkan towns became increasingly Greek, Slavic, and Albanian, or that commerce was controlled by Orthodox Christians. At first, Greek merchants were the most influential in Balkan trade. Serbs and Macedo-Vlachs, however, soon became keen competitors, and by the 18th century Serbs had control of the overland foreign trade between the Bosphorus and Hungary. After 1750 the Bulgarians also appeared in international commerce.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, when the weight of world commerce



shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, the Levantine trade, partially controlled by Balkan merchants, lost its significance for western Europe and began to serve more and more the local markets and demands of central and eastern Europe. Turkish and oriental goods as a whole were highly desired throughout the occupied and tributary lands by all social classes of the population, Moslem and non-Moslem alike. Because of the urban developments, many Balkan cities became important manufacturing centres for certain goods. In Greece and Bulgaria village artisans also produced a considerable output. Most products were marketed within European Turkey on a local level but specific goods were taken farther afield.<sup>4</sup>

Hungarian sources of the 16th and 17th centuries mention innumerable "Turkish" merchants on the Great Plain as well as in the northern and western areas of the country.<sup>5</sup> Hungarian merchants in Transylvania and northern Hungary regularly acquired and sold Turkish goods.<sup>6</sup> Guild regulations issued in 1632 by the merchants of Kassa (Kosice), an important trading centre in northern Hungary, stated that members could sell Turkish merchandise since both their compatriots and foreigners sought such products. It was obviously to the city's advantage to permit such sales if the goods were readily available within its walls.<sup>7</sup>

A late 17th-century inventory, taken in the drygoods store of a Greek merchant, Demetrios Panduka, in northern Hungary, indicates that over ninety per cent of his stock was of Turkish manufacture, although he also sold Polish and Hungarian products. This document is especially valuable since it dates from the post-Turkish period of Hungary and comes from a town that was never occupied by Turks. The demand for Turkish textiles in such a place must have been based on the general availability of Turkish goods and on the taste of the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood.<sup>8</sup>

The importance of the Balkan trade is also made clear by innumerable documents from Transylvania, and by Prince Gabriel Bethlen's decree of 1621 concerning the limitation of goods sold by Turkish, Greek, and Jewish merchants.<sup>9</sup> In other tributary provinces, as in Wallachia, Moldavia, the Voivodina, Croatia, and Slavonia, Greek, Macedo-Vlach, and Serbian merchants together with Jews and Armenians controlled most of the commerce.

In the 18th century, at the time of general decline within the Ottoman Empire, the balance between trade and industry was upset by the total absence of industrial protectionism and by the disappearance of quality control. Thus, while the economic situation of European Turkey was also deteriorating, Balkan commerce suddenly flourished more than ever. The industrial boom of Europe demanded more and more raw materials. Austria and Germany especially needed Balkan wool and cotton, which were exported in enormous quantities by local merchants. The trade was also carried into western Europe, where from 1730 onwards Amsterdam became a chief centre of Greek, Armenian, and Jewish merchants from the Balkans and the Levant.

The 18th century opened new markets for the Balkan merchants in central Europe. During the War of Liberation (1683-1699), the Habsburgs regained from the Turks most of the lands that had been lost to the Hungarian crown for more than 150 years. By the early 18th century, the Banat of Temesvár



(Timișoara), Oltenia, the rest of Slavonia, and parts of Serbia and Bosnia were also regained. These lands provided the Balkan merchants with new opportunities for international trade.

Because of the severe economic conditions during the time of the Ottoman occupation, and also as a result of Habsburg policies, there was no native Hungarian middle class to take over commerce in Hungary. The new western settlers could not help the situation either, since they came largely from rural areas. Moreover, the vast central part of Hungary had no town of any significant size before 1800. In the circumstances commerce had to be undertaken by foreigners who were able and willing to adapt to the conditions of this underdeveloped though economically expanding market. The Balkan merchants were best suited for the purpose. They had the necessary experience and connections, and were happy to enter the territories outside the Ottoman Empire. The great merchants, understandably, settled along the major waterways, especially the Danube, and were largely responsible for the distribution of wholesale goods. In the larger towns the Balkan merchants, commonly identified as "Greeks", supplied the army as well as the local populations with textiles and formed the most prosperous group of the bourgeoisie. Every small town and larger village had its "Greek" or Jewish merchant. While not of much importance, perhaps, individually, collectively they formed a broad base for retail trade. In the mid-18th century a similar development became apparent in southern Russia and the Ukraine.

At the beginning of the 19th century, however, the situation changed considerably. While Greek merchants were still able to continue their trade in the Mediterranean, overland commerce declined rapidly and became more and more localized. The quality of craftsmanship further deteriorated. By this time a new national mercantile class had developed in Hungary along the lines of western models, and with this class the Balkan merchants were unable to compete successfully. Even those Orthodox Christians who remained became Habsburg subjects, and instead of continuing their traditional trade in Ottoman merchandise, they too turned their commercial aspirations towards the west.

During its last stages the Ottoman Empire produced fewer and fewer goods that could be sold abroad. In fact, cheap European factory-made goods penetrated Turkey in ever-increasing quantities. Simultaneously with this development, the rise of nationalism in the various Balkan states caused a series of turbulent revolutions and constant warfare against the Ottomans. Consequently the trade routes became insecure, and few merchants wished to risk losing their valuable merchandise to raiders.

### Trade in Textiles

A great part of the trade in European Turkey centred on textiles and was directed towards supplying both the Moslem and non-Moslem inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire with their daily necessities. Most merchants thus had to deal with goods of everyday use, that is to say, with plain linens and cottons, cheap dress materials, garments, and footwear. Although sumptuary laws regulated the clothing of Moslems, Christians, and Jews,

many purely Turkish elements of costume were also purchased by the “non-believers”.<sup>10</sup> Not only baggy trousers but also face-coverings and veils were widely worn by Christian women in many Balkan towns and villages up to the early 20th century. In the 16th and 17th centuries such veils were even part of the fashionable outfits of noble Hungarian ladies.<sup>11</sup>

While it is clear from the foregoing analysis of commercial developments in European Turkey that the trade in textiles should be studied both in its chronological and its geographical progressions, this is not the place to attempt the history of this trade. At present the documentary sources are too fragmentary and too limited to permit secure conclusions. This chapter is concerned with the variety of the once-popular Turkish textiles and with the luxury goods that were frequently acquired directly in the Turkish capital instead of through the channels of regular commerce.

Most trade textile fabrics were made of cotton or wool and were used as dress materials or for furnishing. According to Hungarian sources, *bagazia*, *fosztán*, *kármán*, and *muszul* were the most popular cotton goods for garments, and *bagdát* was used as a heavier lining. Among woollen fabrics, references to a type of broadcloth called *gránát* and figured or plain *kamuka*, *kasmir*, *kürdi*, and *csemelyet* occur most frequently in the documents. Of the silks, the most easily available were the light and simple varieties, such as silk satin called *atlas*, *kanica* (?), *karmasin*, and *muhar*. Plain velvet and a heavy fabric made of a mixture of silk and cotton and known as *majc* were also in use. Various sorts of plain, and usually undyed, linen and cotton fabrics were used for table linens, bedding, shirts, and underwear.<sup>12</sup>

The sale of furs was another important aspect of trade. In the 17th century fox and black sheepskin from Turkey were used for the lining of heavy winter wear in Hungary and Transylvania. Turkish marten was also favoured by the Hungarian aristocracy.<sup>13</sup>

There was an abundance of cotton<sup>14</sup> and silk yarns<sup>15</sup> among the trade goods. Those to be used for embroidery were always carefully distinguished from those used for making knotted buttons and braids.<sup>16</sup> Silk embroidery thread could be obtained undyed (white and yellow) or in many colours, floss, spun, and plied. In addition, silver- and gold-wrapped threads or filé were available.<sup>17</sup> Turkish yarns were often carefully distinguished in the contemporary references from filé manufactured in Hungary. Embroideries were described as worked with “Hungarian” or “Turkish” silver- and gold-wrapped threads.<sup>18</sup> Turkish needles, too, were highly valued.<sup>19</sup>

Embroidery yarns were frequently acquired directly in Istanbul by special envoys for the large aristocratic households and for the princes of Transylvania.<sup>20</sup> In 1625 gold lamé called *skofium* was made to order for Prince Bethlen in the Turkish capital,<sup>21</sup> and great quantities of this precious yarn were also purchased for Prince George Rákóczi I.<sup>22</sup>

From Rákóczi's correspondence with his ambassadors and delegates to the Sublime Porte, we can extract detailed information concerning the quantities of *skofium* required for his court, the nationality of the makers, and current prices.<sup>23</sup> We also learn from these letters about the different qualities of *skofium* and the conditions of their sale. On 14 August 1634, for example, Stephen Réthy<sup>24</sup> wrote to Rákóczi from Istanbul:

Your Excellency, I have sent thirty-three packets of *skofium* gold, and seven packets of white [silver] *skofium*; the price of each packet is 280 aspers (*akçe*). If some of these are not suitable, they may be returned. I arranged [with the maker] that he would make an exchange within five weeks.<sup>25</sup>

The prince was highly dissatisfied with these particular packets of *skofium* and therefore returned everything. Both the silver and gold lamés were found “very ugly and coarse, and some, especially the silver, contained copper”.<sup>26</sup>

Because of the intrinsic value of the precious metals, *skofium* was always quite expensive. A letter dated 1632, written to Rákóczi by Stephen Szalánczi<sup>27</sup> from Istanbul regarding a special order by the prince, clearly demonstrated this point:

We did not dare to have the flowers embroidered for the saddle blanket, as according to the flowers which Your Excellency wishes, it would cost a great deal. The flowers are large, thus a lot of *skofium* would be needed for them. In any case, we selected [the patterns for] the flowers. If Your Excellency so orders, they will be embroidered quickly.<sup>28</sup>

While Armenian merchants carried silver and gold lamés to some of the larger cities of Transylvania in the first quarter of the 18th century,<sup>29</sup> the contemporary Prince Francis Rákóczi II brought Turkish and Armenian lamé craftsmen from Istanbul to his castle at Munkács (Mukachevo) so that they could produce what the court required.<sup>30</sup>

Presumably manufactured in Bursa or brought from Persia and places farther east, the costly figured silks and velvets, interwoven with gold- and silver-wrapped threads as well as with *skofium*, were usually purchased in Istanbul for the personal use of the princes of Transylvania and of the great landowners. Contemporary inventories and accounts are particularly important records of such purchases. In these we find not only detailed descriptions of items bought, but also their prices.<sup>31</sup> Woollen fabrics, too, were acquired in Istanbul, though we know also that Turks frequently requested fine broadcloths from Transylvania.<sup>32</sup>

Besides these luxury fabrics, printed cloths could also be had in Istanbul. Among the goods acquired for Prince Bethlen by John Rimap,<sup>33</sup> we read of lengths of cotton printed with red flowers, trees, snakes, and peacocks.<sup>34</sup> Seventeenth-century inventories also list a great variety of light printed fabrics, used frequently for aprons. In some cases, flowering ornaments are noted against the characteristically white background of such textiles, while elsewhere they are described simply as “woodblock printed”.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately none of these early printed materials has survived, and so we cannot be sure whether they were Indian or Persian imports or the predecessors of Turkish woodblock-printed cottons called *yazma*, which are known through innumerable examples from the 18th and 19th centuries.

Such domestic embroideries as kerchiefs and towels (known as *yağlık*, *makrama*, *peşgir*), table cloths, pillow cases, and embroidered shirts were much in demand.<sup>36</sup> They were the products of cottage industry,<sup>37</sup> as is



evident not only from the fact that they were sold in marketplaces and by travelling salesmen but also from contemporary references. About 1631, when Catherine von Brandenburg requested the return of certain of her possessions from George Rákóczi I, she asked, among other things, for “a length of lawn in which eighteen kerchiefs with gold-embroidered ends have not yet been cut apart from one another”.<sup>38</sup> In the 17th century embroidered fabrics for apparel were also available in Istanbul.<sup>39</sup>

In contrast, embroidered articles worked on heavy ground fabrics such as velvet, silk satin, or broadcloth must have been produced by professional embroiderers. These seem for the most part to have been destined for the hunt or for the battlefield.<sup>40</sup> Saddles covered with velvet or silk were richly adorned with flowering embroidery in metallic filé and lamé, as were saddle blankets and covers, and bow-and-arrow quivers. Round shields called *kalkan* were commonly decorated with artistic ornaments of stylized vegetation.<sup>41</sup>

Special orders could, of course, be filled.<sup>42</sup> In 1626 Prince Bethlen requisitioned embroideries for the carriage of his bride, Catherine von Brandenburg. John Kemény wrote:

In Kassa, the princess was installed in a carriage which had been made for her by the prince and which was covered in red velvet. Richly worked in *skofium* gold at the usual places, it was embroidered in Constantinople.<sup>43</sup>

Tents decorated with applied ornaments, like those in the museums of Budapest (Fig. 27 and 28),<sup>44</sup> Cracow, Vienna, Dresden, Munich, and Karlsruhe,<sup>45</sup> were used not only by Turks but by Hungarians, especially the Transylvanian princes. We learn from contemporary sources that these princes frequently acquired tents in Istanbul. Bethlen requested his envoy, Michael Tholdalagy (ca 1580-1642), to hire tent-makers in the Turkish capital,<sup>46</sup> and George Rákóczi I sent his tent-master to select Turkish tents there.<sup>47</sup> In 1638 Stephen Réthy wrote to Rákóczi:

Those *kalitka* tents . . . were taken for the viziers who followed the sultan later [in the battlefield] . . . Here we have found [another] *kalitka* tent with its courtyard, which was ordered by the *Çavuş Paşa* of the Sultan. Since he remained at home, however, he offered it for sale. This [tent] is made of cotton fabric called *bagazia*, both inside and outside. Its interior is decorated with flowers, and [the tent] can be set up by only two men. This [tent] pleases the tent-master a lot, but even so, he did not dare to buy it without the permission of Your Excellency.<sup>48</sup>

In another letter Réthy informed Rákóczi that the price of this *kalitka* tent was 20,000 aspers, and that the tent-master would describe it to the prince in detail upon his return to Transylvania.<sup>49</sup>

In 1640 Michael Maurer<sup>50</sup> wrote to Rákóczi:

. . . concerning the making of two *nemez* [felt or some kind of broadcloth] tents, for the two of which I agreed to pay 140 thalers to the tent-maker. Having bought the necessary *nemez* and *bagazia*,<sup>50</sup>

however, [the tent-maker] tells me that he cannot make [these tents] for less than 100 thalers each. If Your Excellency so orders, the tent-maker will make [the tents] right away . . . Lord Sebesi<sup>51</sup> also knows him. He is a Hungarian boy called Pihali.<sup>52</sup>

In 1645 an exceptionally beautiful tent that cost 800 thalers was found very expensive.<sup>53</sup> We also have considerable information about the tents used by Francis Rákóczi II in the first quarter of the 18th century, while in exile in Turkey.<sup>54</sup>

In an inventory dated 1725 of the estate of Catherine Bethlen, widow of Michael Apafi II, a richly adorned tent similar to those preserved in different collections and to those ordered by Bethlen and Rákóczi is described in great detail:

[There is] a great Turkish tent. Its princely front and sides are made of red cotton, and are decorated with applied pictures of multi-coloured fabrics, edged with white piping. Its umbrella or cover is made of sky-blue fabric with piping of the same colour. Twenty side walls of cotton belong to these, which form the "court-yard" of the tent. Ten of these require twelve wooden poles, and the other ten require eleven poles. The value [of the tent] is 416 gold florins 40 *krajcárs*.<sup>55</sup>

The same inventory mentions three more Turkish tents apparently also used by Prince Apafi.<sup>56</sup>

Turkish and Persian rugs form an especially important group among the luxury items acquired directly in Istanbul for the princely courts and the aristocracy. According to the testimony of contemporary documents, the most valuable pieces were the silk carpets of Persia. On 26 August 1634 Stephen Réthy informed Rákóczi:

When Lord Martin Pap was [in Istanbul] the other day, he saw silk carpets at a Turkish merchant's. The nicer ones cost 150 thalers each, and even the lesser ones cannot be purchased for less than 100 thalers each. The price of the two divan rugs is 300 thalers, but I have not seen those.<sup>57</sup>

The high cost of these rugs is also clear from Rákóczi's letter of 18 July 1642 to Stephen Rácz:<sup>58</sup>

Those four Persian rugs, which you might have bought for 750 thalers, should not be sent. Soon one of our men will go [to Istanbul], and he will bring them.<sup>59</sup>

Less expensive woollen carpets of Turkish manufacture were often made to order in considerable quantities. On 12 August 1646 Réthy explained to Rákóczi the difficulties which he had with a large order. His letter also gave extensive information about various simpler rugs:

Your Excellency, I went to see the rug merchant Turk twice, but he has no such rugs as that one taken by Michael Száva. He agreed to accept 25 thalers for it, but [Száva] gave only 24. The measurements were left with the Turk. He has promised to have them made, but

does not want to order them until he receives 200 thalers . . . since he has to send his own men to Karamania to have them made. Here the Turks do not buy that type of rugs, and [the merchant] is afraid that they cannot sell them, thus he requires a down payment. He does not want to sell [the rugs] for less than 30 thalers each. I have tried for a long time to get him down to 28 thalers, but as soon as he sees the money, he will agree.<sup>60</sup>

While documents from Hungary and Transylvania give us much valuable information about trade relations with Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire in general, most sources refer only to the purchase of luxury goods. The availability of mass-produced textiles for a more popular market is rarely mentioned. Though inventories of the lesser nobility and of bourgeois households contain a broad range of simple oriental textiles, and sumptuary laws show the popularity of certain costly fabrics among guild members as well as servants, such documents provide very little information about actual trade. As a consequence, the quantitative aspects of Ottoman trade cannot be studied even in those areas from which a considerable amount of written evidence has survived and been published. In the lands south of Hungary, there is an even greater scarcity of information.

The qualitative aspects of trade in Ottoman textiles are much clearer. The documents provide a great deal of data about the relative distribution of such goods among the different social strata of the population and about luxury products and their purchasers. In turn, this type of source material, and especially records of acquisitions in Istanbul, can assist the researcher in determining the nature of trade in the Turkish capital, the possibilities for fulfilling individual orders, and the dependence of the great merchants on craftsmen working in and outside the city. Although other kinds of sources are relatively scarce even from the lands of the Hungarian crown, limitations of goods, customs regulations, shipping documents, business correspondence, notes, and inventories may also broaden our knowledge of business methods, of the specialization of the merchant class, and of their legal ties and opportunities.

It should nevertheless be added that trade in these lands was not directed exclusively towards the east. Great quantities of Italian and western European goods were constantly unloaded in the major ports of the Adriatic to be traded through a network of regular commercial routes all over European Turkey and in Istanbul itself. Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, and Poland developed significant commercial connections with one another and with central and western Europe. In Hungary, for example, 17th-century documents mention the importation of broadcloth from England, Holland, Venice, Padua, and Nuremberg, and of linen fabrics from Poland, Holland, Italy, Germany, and Silesia. Figured silks, frequently interwoven with gold and silver yarns, and cut or uncut velvets came from Italy and Spain. Lace and lace-like fabrics for frills, collars, and various trimmings were brought from Germany, Italy, and Brussels. Certain garments originated from various European countries or were made in the fashion current there. Women's dresses are known to have come from Vienna and Spain, skirts from Poland, France, and Germany, and hats and caps from all



these places. For jewellery, Vienna, Venice, and Prague appear to have been the most important centres. Many of the articles were imported directly, while others were acquired in Vienna. Various goods arrived via Venice, though some Venetian products could have also come via Istanbul.<sup>61</sup>

Though we must leave it to the economic historian to determine the extent of the east-west textile trade in European Turkey, we can nevertheless conclude from the sources that trade with the east was important. A great deal of research must be carried out in numerous disciplines if we are to obtain a comprehensive picture of the situation throughout the Balkan countries and in such semi-independent principates as Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. The significance of the Ottoman and oriental textile trades should also be examined in the adjoining states to the north, as in northern and western Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and Poland, since the eastern trade relations of these countries were generally formed with European Turkey rather than with Turkish commercial connections in western Europe.

# Garments

(Fig. 1-26)

Because of the Turkish expansion and occupation of the Balkans and a continuing Turkish presence even in the territories to the north, oriental fashions were as popular from the 14th to the early 20th century among the aristocracy and nobility as among the inhabitants of towns and villages. The Ottoman Turks, however, were not the first to introduce eastern dress to these lands. Throughout the period of the Great Migrations, a constant influx of such nomadic peoples as the Sarmates, Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Petchenegs, Hungarians, Cumanians, and Mongols, introduced many costume elements from the steppes. The traditions thus established were reinforced by the arrival of the Turks.<sup>62</sup>

At the height of Ottoman power in the 16th and 17th centuries, interest in oriental garments was spread throughout the west by a general exotic trend in European fashionable costume. During this period the popularity of Turkish garments was in accord with the tendencies of western modes. Yet if Turkish styles found a fertile ground in the Balkan countries, it was not primarily because of the parallel European developments in fashion or because of an attraction to oriental splendour and luxury. The fact was that, as these territories became more and more isolated from the rest of Europe under the supremacy of the Sublime Porte, it was natural that costume and the minor arts should reflect the political context in which they took shape.

Manuscript illuminations and panel paintings from the 14th through the 16th century frequently depict such figures as the three Magi,<sup>63</sup> the Roman centurion of the Crucifixion, and the persecutors of Christ as Turks wearing turbans and characteristic oriental garments. Historical sources indicate that this type of costume was not simply an iconographic attribute of certain "outsiders", since Turkish fashions were favoured at the same time by the local aristocracy. King Mathias I Corvinus of Hungary, when receiving Caesar Valentini, the ambassador of Ferrara, was dressed in a long Turkish kaftan. His outfit was unusual in the eyes of the Italians present, who were used to short Italian garments. One of them noted that the king gave Turkish kaftans and other garments made of expensive Persian fabrics as gifts for the occasion.<sup>64</sup> Ottoman styles were also popular in the court of Władisław II Jagiello.<sup>65</sup>

Transylvanian inventories from the 16th to the early 18th century mention Turkish kaftans and other coats in profusion among the possessions of the important families. On 17 November 1633 at Munkács Castle, Catherine von Brandenburg, widow of Gabriel Bethlen, received six kaftans from George Rákóczi I; one of them is described as being made of silk interwoven with gold, and another as patterned in small red flowers on a white ground.<sup>66</sup> Of the sixteen Turkish kaftans listed among the treasures of Emericus Thököly in 1683-1686, one had been given him by the vizier of Buda.<sup>67</sup> Catherine Bethlen's inventory of 1729 lists twelve Persian coats made of silk, depicting human figures in gold against a background interwoven with silver filé.<sup>68</sup>

Turkish kaftans, nevertheless, were probably not worn very often. Various contemporary lists indicate that they were frequently cut up and used for other purposes, such as to make coverlets or *paplans* or the lining of male garments. Hangings also were occasionally made of one or two kaftans.<sup>69</sup>

Fur linings and fur garments were frequently ordered from Istanbul.<sup>70</sup> Turkish leather coats with elaborate leather appliqué, which probably formed part of the military outfit, were also worn in Hungary<sup>71</sup> (Fig. 18 and 19). Their influence can be demonstrated through a variety of ethnographic derivatives (Fig. 20-24). A complete Turkish military outfit has survived in the Batthyány castle at Körmend.<sup>72</sup>

It was not only in territories occupied by the Turks, or tributary to them, that Turkish garments were admired.<sup>73</sup> Under the political domination of the Viennese court, the Hungarian nobility of Transdanubia was also attracted to Turkish fashions and the luxury fabrics of the East. Francis Batthyány, who maintained amicable relationships with a number of Turks, received Turkish garments valued at 300 gold florins in 1611.<sup>74</sup> Such luxury items had already found their way to the court of the Austrian emperors. More than a generation earlier, in 1583, Ali Paşa of Buda wrote to Emperor Rudolph I: "We are sending to Your Excellency velvet for two garments; one piece is blue, while the other is red with details in gold".<sup>75</sup> Another Ali Paşa of Buda sent two beautiful kaftans of a material interwoven in gold to the crown prince Mathias (Mathias II) in 1606.<sup>76</sup>

Kaftans played an important role as diplomatic gifts.<sup>77</sup> When an embassy was received at the Sublime Porte, kaftans were generally given as "robes of honour" to the leaders and to important members of the delegations. In a letter addressed to George Rákóczi I in 1638, Stephen Szalánczi described the ceremony of the reception of an embassy by the Sultan and the ritual offering of kaftans:

After having been asked by the *kaymakam* whether the tax was brought in gold from Transylvania, he told me, "The following Tuesday I shall have you appear in front of His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan." As the weather was ugly and windy, there was no divan, and our reception was postponed until 24 January. Then [the Turks] arrived, and a large number of *çavuşes* came on horseback to the House [Embassy] of Transylvania. They accompanied us with great solemnity . . . Though it was the time of their Ramazan or fast, we were offered seats in the divan . . . in front of the *kaymakam* and the viziers . . ., then we were taken to the place where kaftans are given. There eight of us were "kaftaned", not counting the interpreter, and I was taken to the Sultan . . . Only Lord Réthy was left beside me. There I saluted His Honour the Sultan, presented him the letter of Your Excellency and the presents, that is to say, the tax of 10,000 gold florins, one wash basin with a pitcher, ten large covered chalices of silver gilt, made in a courtly fashion, and twenty-eight falcons. Prior to being "kaftaned" in the "kaftan-giving" hall, I gave out the presents to the members of the Sultan's court to the sum of 11,000 aspers.<sup>78</sup>

In 1613 Thomas Borsos<sup>79</sup> described such an occasion in a humorous but most realistic manner:

[The Turks] did not give a kaftan to Stephen Szalánczi, as he had already received two on the way. Since we were all dressed [in kaftans], however, he started to shout rudely at Lord Balassi in the divan, stating that he was also the servant of Gabriel Báthory [1608-1613], and asking why he had not been given one. Then [the Turks] took a kaftan from the back of the *Çavuş* Jusuf, and that was put over Szalánczi. We were quite ashamed because of him. Then we stood there until a kaftan was found for the *Çavuş* Jusuf.<sup>80</sup>

The quality of the garment offered reflected the tone of the reception. In 1618 Thomas Borsos wrote:

We went to say farewell to the Sultan, but were not received in great honour. We were given very poor kaftans and were not offered food. [The Sultan] himself was given a poor kaftan. He, however, expressed his dissatisfaction, and in the end a better [kaftan] was brought for him, but not a great deal better.<sup>81</sup>

In 1678 when Wolfgang Bethlen together with other Transylvanian lords led an embassy to Istanbul, the group was dissatisfied with the unfriendly reception they received at the hands of the grand-vizier, who offered them neither seats nor kaftans.<sup>82</sup>

The offering of kaftans was not exclusive to the court in Istanbul. Representatives of the Sultan carried the custom abroad. When George Rákóczi (II) was elected in 1642, the *paşa*, as the representative of the Sublime Porte, gave kaftans both to the young prince and to his father, George Rákóczi I, after the presentation of the Sultan's letter.<sup>83</sup>

The offering of a kaftan was much more than a simple diplomatic courtesy or a gift. One may surmise that the custom derived from the courts of the early caliphs, where "robes of honour" were presented on special festive occasions both as gifts and as symbolic expressions of patronage, protection, and supremacy. The story of the famous Turkish kaftan of Kecskemét, an important town on the Great Hungarian Plain, expresses almost as folklore the continuity and survival of this tradition. The town minutes of 1668-1669 record that the citizens of Kecskemét received a garment of silk and gold fabric in 1596 from the Sultan in exchange for their generous gifts. The garment was supposed to protect them from any Turkish demands and attacks. Thus, whenever the town was confronted by a Turkish army, the mayor went to meet them wearing the kaftan. Upon seeing him, the Turks would dismount immediately and kiss the garment.<sup>84</sup>

The custom of dressing people in kaftans as a sign of honour was adopted by the Hungarians. Prince Emericus Thököly observed the custom in his own court, particularly when receiving Turks: "I also 'kaftaned' with my own *mente* my interpreter at the Sublime Porte, Ağa Hasan, when he came to my house. In this manner I confirmed his position as my interpreter at the Sublime Porte".<sup>85</sup>

The wearing of oriental garments in European Turkey had a major influence on local costume, and particularly on male attire. Such influences often resulted in the creation of regional styles. Long, kaftan-type coats were widely worn in Transylvania by Hungarians and Saxons alike. Contempo-



rary observers remarked that Prince Gabriel Bethlen looked like a Turkish dignitary.

The oriental character of Hungarian male costume was thought of in the west as a specifically Hungarian fashion. A similar style was also characteristic in Poland, the Ukraine, and parts of European Russia. In Moldavia (Fig. 1), Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Albania, pictorial representations indicate that kaftans were equally favoured by men and women of the aristocracy.<sup>86</sup>

Although the names of at least some of these garments are well known from written sources, it is usually difficult to determine which kind of costume was actually meant by a certain name. In Transylvania *çavuş mente* most likely described an upper garment which was at least reminiscent of the uniform of the *çavuş*. Such a garment is noted in an inventory of 1650 from Kolozsvár as “*çavuş* or coachman’s *mente*”. It was lined with dark green *kamuka* patterned with yellow flowers, with sea-coloured silk tabby along the fronts and back.<sup>87</sup> The inventories of the estate of Prince Bethlen report that this type of garment was made from the most expensive *atlas*, figured silks, and plain or patterned velvet. It might be lined with velvet or fur.<sup>88</sup> Turkish *mentes* were also owned by Hungarians.<sup>89</sup> In an inventory dating from 1650, “a short-sleeved or Turkish *mente*” refers more specifically to the look of this garment.<sup>90</sup> The *boér mente* might be identified with the festive garments of the boyards in Wallachia or Moldavia. The *horvátos mente* (*mente à la Croatian*) seems to indicate a coat of Croatian style rather than of Croatian manufacture,<sup>91</sup> while the Circassian variant could indicate a Caucasian type.<sup>92</sup> A type of *köpönyeg*-mantle, associated with the Sublime Porte, was made either of broadcloth or of camel-hair felt.<sup>93</sup>

The orientalizing variants of costume exhibit already in the 17th century the cosmopolitan nature of fashion in European Turkey. The regional diversity of ethnographical costume, known from relatively recent examples, probably evolved to a great extent from these early developments.

Prince Michael Apafi I’s inventories indicate that Turkish baggy trousers were worn at the Transylvanian court.<sup>94</sup> The fashion was probably short-lived since the garment is not found in any artistic depictions and has no ethnographic counterparts either in Hungary or Transylvania. Documentary evidence shows, however, that at the end of the 18th century such Turkish trousers were still worn by members of the lower classes in the city of Debrecen (Great Hungarian Plain). A certain John Rác (1746-1774) of Hajdúszoboszló, a town near Debrecen, had such trousers made of *aba* broadcloth.<sup>95</sup>

Various types of Turkish hats are described in the sources.<sup>96</sup> The widespread fashion among the Hungarian aristocracy of wearing jewelled *agrafs* most certainly originated in the Ottoman mode.<sup>97</sup> Turkish slippers, boots, and women’s shoes called *pacsmağ* (Turkish *paşmak*) as well as footcloths were also widely worn.<sup>98</sup> Elaborately embroidered Turkish shoes with pointed toes were included among the Sultan’s presents to Michael Apafi I.<sup>99</sup>

Turkish silk sashes were ordered by George Rákóczi I from Istanbul.<sup>100</sup> Balthasar Sebesi informed the prince on 6 August 1641 that he should provide him with the necessary measurements for two ash-coloured sashes

which Rákóczi had ordered. Sebesi also added that “they could not be made prior to the arrival of the tax, . . . as only one woman makes such big and long sashes”.<sup>101</sup>

On 4 April 1643 Rákóczi again asked for sashes from Istanbul through Stephen Réthy:

You may order two silk sashes for us. The length of each should be 13 cubits [*sing*] of Nándorfehérvár [Belgrade], and each should weigh 600 drams. It should be easy for the person who will make them to judge from these provisions how wide they will be. We shall render payment immediately.<sup>102</sup>

Réthy had some difficulties with this order and wrote thereof to Rákóczi on 25 April of the same year:

They cannot make here those two silk sashes of 600 drams each, which Your Excellency ordered to be made. The aged woman who used to know how to make them is very weak and is expecting her death every day. A Jew wrote to Morea [Peloponnese] to have them made there, as they bring [such sashes] of natural white colour from there, which are dyed here [in Istanbul]. Your Excellency did not specify the colour, though I should know this as soon as possible. We cannot determine the length of a cubit of Nándorfehérvár either; one refers to it one way, and another another way. In any case, Your Excellency, I told them to make [the sashes] twice as long as the length of an ordinary sash made and dyed here.<sup>103</sup>

As references to sashes are often connected with the production of silk nets for bird hunting,<sup>104</sup> one may suspect that they were all made either in a netting technique or in *sprang*.

The centre of Rákóczi's Hungarian properties was Sárospatak in the northeastern part of the country. During the excavation of the Roman Catholic church there, several *sprang* sashes of tightly spun silk came to light from four 17th-century crypts. They measure 200 cm to 250 cm in length and 100 cm to 120 cm in width, their ends are finished in tassels<sup>105</sup> (Fig. 25 and 26). These examples may also have come from Istanbul.

Hungarian sources contain some references to embroidered or plain Turkish shirts, blouses, and chemises. In 1598 a Turkish shirt is mentioned among the possessions of a citizen from the northern Hungarian town of Selmecbánya (Baňská Štavnica).<sup>106</sup> In 1633 George Rákóczi I returned a Turkish night-shirt to Catherine von Brandenburg.<sup>107</sup> The inventory of Catherine Bethlen, dating from 1729, lists a gold-embroidered woman's chemise from Turkey.<sup>108</sup> Ladislav Esterházy's red silk shirt of ca 1650 exhibits a definite Turkish fashion with its gold-lace edgings and embroidery of gilt and silver filés depicting oriental flower sprays on the sleeves. This shirt, however, might have been made in Hungary.<sup>109</sup> Related garments with orientalizing embroidered ornaments are also well known from Greece (Fig. 48).

By the late 17th century the popularity of Turkish styles in western and northern Hungary had given way before the influx of western fashions, but

it was only in the 18th century that the oriental mode disappeared in Transylvania. Thereafter, only the traditional Hungarian gala costume preserved some elements of this unique mode. On the other hand, certain features of the kaftan were retained in some ethnographic costumes, for example, the exaggerated sleeve length of the *szür*, or *Stolzenburger mantel*, worn by Saxons in Transylvania.<sup>110</sup>

In the Balkans, where the Turkish occupation lasted much longer and where the possibilities for independence were limited and western influences few, Turkish fashions of the 18th and 19th centuries continued to reign supreme. In Bulgaria Turkish women's kaftans could be used as festive Jewish garments.<sup>111</sup> The mode preferred by the army, by the rich mercantile class of the cities, and by members of local courts in Wallachia, Serbia, Macedonia, Albania, and Greece closely followed the style set by the Ottomans. This tendency can be seen especially in the many variants of long and short jackets, with or without sleeves. These jackets were made of fine English broadcloth or velvet heavily trimmed with couched embroidery in silver and gilt braids, with knotted buttons studded with coral and turquoise<sup>112</sup> (Fig. 3-6). Some of the jackets were worn over such typically Turkish garments as baggy trousers,<sup>113</sup> while in other cases they were put over the long robes of Balkan women,<sup>114</sup> the *fustanella*,<sup>115</sup> and even over fashionable European costume.<sup>116</sup>

Early versions of these elaborately ornate jackets became popular in towns and villages around large urban centres in Epirus, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia. Orthodox Christian merchants, because they represented a privileged and socially revolutionary class during the Ottoman period, were highly respected among their compatriots. Consequently, certain visible aspects of their life-style were often imitated by the less influential merchants and artisans, as also by the inhabitants of rural areas. Of these aspects, costume was particularly important.

Although the costume of the upper classes was copied by people of lower social rank in most places and cultures of Europe, there was a significant interval between the appearance of the fashionable prototypes and their rural adaptations. The result was, quite naturally, a considerable diversity from region to region in decoration and in the materials used. The situation was somewhat different in the Balkans because of their specific social and historical conditions. In and around urban areas the regional styles that developed were much the same for most strata of the population, and occasionally close similarities were maintained over large geographic areas. The styles of jackets and coats, the most representative garments, often became symbols of national identity. In Romania, Albania, and Greece, they remained part of royal garb and gala costume for state receptions until quite recently. The former popularity of the mode is well attested by its numerous simple ethnographic derivatives<sup>117</sup> (Fig. 9 and 10).

The characteristic couched embroidery of metallic braiding that adorned the vast majority of these garments occasionally appeared on costume cut in the western fashion. An example from Epirus is typical (Fig. 8). In Attica the same type of decoration became common on a local variety of sleeveless jacket that formed part of the festive outfit worn by women<sup>118</sup> (Fig. 7).

Although in the more remote rural areas of the Balkans regional costume

was generally widely diversified, men's coats frequently show the influence of the ornate jackets discussed above. These garments, made of home-produced, heavily fulled, coarse woollen cloth, are generally quite simple, but their basic cut, with open hanging sleeves, and their braided decoration derive from the rich garments of the Balkan merchants.

Elsewhere, Ottoman influences are older, and consequently more difficult to trace. In Albania and Yugoslavian Macedonia, a variant of the *guna*, a three-quarter-length jacket with vestigial sleeves joined together at the back, appears to be closely related to mantles worn by Türkmen, Üzbek, and Tadjik women in Central Asia (Fig. 11-13). Some Bulgarian women's robes, and a type of men's coat called *siguni*, worn by Macedo-Vlachs near Skopje, were constructed with central back seams. This characteristic from the eastern regions of Central Asia is practically unknown in southeastern Europe. The existence of these rare types of garments in the Balkans is probably due to Türkmen settlers in the area. Türkmen moved into the Ottoman Empire in large numbers during the 14th and 15th centuries. At the time, many of these newcomers were moved into the Balkans by the Turks. Although they have now disappeared, elements of their material culture, such as these costumes, have come down to us.<sup>119</sup>

In Slavonia, Croatia, Transylvania, and northern Serbia, the applied decoration of skin garments bears strong Ottoman overtones (Fig. 20-24). Close parallels can be drawn between their ornaments and those of 15th- and 16th-century Turkish leather coats (Fig. 18 and 19), though the garments themselves are unrelated.

Balkan jewellery, especially that made of coins, is basically similar to that of the Ottomans. In the 17th century belts made of coins were worn by the Hungarian nobility. Inventories often describe "belts made of old pagan [Turkish] gold or silver coins", some of which contained as many as 100 pieces of money. So great was the demand for this type of belt that goldsmiths had to imitate Turkish coinage when the supply ran short. A gold and silver belt, ordered by Susanne Székely, contained twenty-five pieces "made in the form of pagan coins".<sup>120</sup> Most Turkish-style jewellery, however, comes from the lands farther to the south. Its once-great popularity is evidenced by the many regional variants that have survived.



# Embroidery

(Fig. 32-58)

Turkish needlework of the period from the 16th to the first half of the 19th century stands as a highlight in the history of domestic embroidery. In the balanced though unsymmetrical sprays of exotic flowers composed into stylized ornaments, Persian and some Chinese elements were blended, with an exquisite sense of design, in formations of real Turkish splendour. The well-chosen colours, together with the rigid and dark outlines of the motifs and the variations of fine reversible stitches, added to the beauty of the pieces.<sup>121</sup> It is hardly surprising that Turkish embroideries had a strong influence on those of the occupied and tributary lands.

At the same time, oriental and Turkish needlework was making its mark on the domestic embroideries of the western countries. The period when the Ottoman Turks became prominent in Europe coincided with the spread of the Renaissance, and the secular art style which this movement engendered welcomed the "flowers" of the Orient, which were copied and adopted in all the minor arts. These tendencies, clearly present in the 16th century, were strengthened by an increasing interest in the East in travel and trade, and particularly in the goods of the East India companies. Turkish influence over the occupied territories, nevertheless, remained the most prominent factor. There, Turkish and oriental influences led to the creation of many regional styles in needlework and costume, which subsequently developed distinct national characteristics.

Turkish embroideries were regular trade items throughout the Balkans from at least as early as the 15th century. Finer examples or made-to-order pieces, however, could only be acquired in Istanbul, where they were purchased by the envoys of the princely courts.<sup>122</sup> Other exquisite pieces were offered as gifts by Turks, who traditionally gave embroidered kerchiefs to commemorate important occasions.<sup>123</sup> Embroideries were considered valuable booty and were frequently taken in battle.<sup>124</sup> Transylvanian sources record that some acquired in this way were presented to churches.<sup>125</sup> The secular character of the furnishings in Protestant churches was more favourable to the flowering design of oriental pieces than was the liturgically more conservative Roman Catholic Church. In the 17th century, nevertheless, we read about a towel or kerchief (*peşgir*) which was acquired to cover an altar.<sup>126</sup> Sources from Transylvania and Hungary also refer to embroidered kerchiefs or covers requested from freed Turkish prisoners or captives.<sup>127</sup> Some of these embroideries found their way into church treasuries.

Although inventories of the large households and even of some bourgeois homes contain a considerably greater amount of Turkish needlework than is recorded as being in the possession of churches,<sup>128</sup> the pieces preserved in ecclesiastical treasuries form an especially important selection of source material.<sup>129</sup> While household articles have seldom been preserved, and while embroideries did not survive in any large number in Anatolia,

venerated donations to places of worship were used only for special occasions and were thus preserved for centuries. Their acquisition is frequently noted in dated parish records, and sometimes they bear embroidered dedications with dates.

Extant 16th- and 17th-century Hungarian and Transylvanian documents often indicate not only that Turkish embroideries were highly desired, but that Turkish embroideresses or *bulyas*<sup>130</sup> were employed in the large country estates of the nobility.<sup>131</sup> In a letter written to his wife in 1596, Count George Thurzó confirms that *bulyas* followed their Turkish warriors to the battlefield: "I was able to take a very good embroideress *bulya*, my dear, to please you."<sup>132</sup>

*Bulyas* were bought and sold. In 1641 a whole group of them was sold at the market of Igoly. One, called Sali, went for 81 thalers, while another, by the name of Haczina, was traded for a mere 17 thalers.<sup>133</sup> A letter dated 1600 from Catherine Thelegdy to the wife of Sigismond Rákóczi is most informative in this regard:

I beg you, my beloved younger sister, not to forget about me, but to send me a Turkish woman. Because of my sickly state, I had to send Sir Albert Zokoly to the market at Kálló, and he was not able to bring back anything but a big Turkish girl, who was rather expensive. I myself would never have paid as much for her. Nonetheless she embroiders, but I cannot say that she does so remarkably.<sup>134</sup>

In other cases, the Hungarians tried to acquire Turkish embroideresses in Istanbul, though these requests could not always be easily filled. In 1613 Thomas Borsos wrote about such a matter to Gabriel Bethlen:

Your Excellency, we went to considerable trouble and work to find an embroideress, and in the end were unsuccessful. We would have bought the daughter of *Çavuş* Jusuf, a musician. He, however, said that he would never sell her even for 100,000 aspers to a non-believer [i.e., Christian], since it is forbidden.<sup>135</sup>

In the early 17th century Lady Batthyány corresponded extensively about embroidery patterns with Turkish families living in Hungary.<sup>136</sup> Magdolna Országh, wife of Stephen Bánffy, learned Turkish embroidery from her Turkish maid.<sup>137</sup>

Documentary evidence alone thus emphasizes how extensive Turkish influence was within the boundaries of the Magyar kingdom. Embroideries, embroideresses, and embroidery patterns spread throughout the country to become common, even characteristic, in the large Hungarian estates. Under the circumstances it is often impossible to distinguish between embroideries produced in Istanbul and those produced in Anatolia, or those produced in Hungary by Turks and those produced by Hungarians. Contemporary documents refer frequently enough to Turkish<sup>138</sup> and Persian (*Kazul*) stitches,<sup>139</sup> but these may mean no more than that the embroideries were produced by Hungarians copying such techniques learned directly or indirectly from the *bulyas*.<sup>140</sup> The names of specific embroidered articles are also often of Ottoman Turkish origin.<sup>141</sup>

The same wave of popularity that brought Turkish embroideries to the Hungarian court also brought about the adoption of oriental styles, techniques, and social customs related to embroidered kerchiefs. It has already been noted that the Turks frequently offered embroideries as gifts. From at least the 17th century, the custom was maintained in Transylvania and the counties of eastern Hungary closely associated with the principate. Nicholas Bethlen noted in 1679:

When, following the installation of the new ambassador, the reverend abbot said farewell to the prince, the prince gave him two good horses from his own stable; then [he said farewell] to Minister Teleki who pleased him with a third horse; and at the end, when he dropped in to see my uncle, Wolfgang Bethlen, he received a fourth horse. But what was most surprising for us Transylvanians was the extraordinary honour given to him by the princess. She offered him six very fine embroidered Turkish kerchiefs. No other foreigner had ever received such a tremendous favour. Our ladies occupy themselves with such works.<sup>142</sup>

The last sentence of this passage seems to suggest that these so-called Turkish embroideries were actually produced by Transylvanian ladies.

A letter of Catherine Bethlen, wife of Joseph Teleki, written in 1729, reveals an entire etiquette associated with the offering of embroideries at weddings. She explained to her brother-in-law, Alexander Teleki:

My Lord, I had the twenty-three kerchiefs embroidered according to your request, that is to say five kerchiefs worked in *skofium*, eight in crimson silk, and ten in sea-green silk . . . As far as I know, kerchiefs with *skofium* are required for the best men, the bridesmen, and those who announce the happy tidings of the new marriage. When the master of ceremonies is not a member of the family, he should also be given such a kerchief; but when he is part of the family, such a measure is not necessary. I do not know for sure how many kerchiefs you require worked with silk and silver or gold filé.<sup>143</sup>

This custom is known from other sources<sup>144</sup> and has been followed in villages to the present day. Both in eastern Hungary and Transylvania, long, scarf-like towels, embroidered across the two narrow ends, are prepared by the bride for the wedding. They are worn by the best men, fastened across the breast, and in many cases by the male guests in the wedding procession. In the Kalotaszeg district of Transylvania, decorated towels are also knotted to the horns of the oxen that draw the dowry-laden cart from the bride's parental home to her new abode. After the wedding the scarves are carefully preserved as a remembrance of the occasion. They are generally exhibited above pictures, mirrors, or ceramic plates in the guest rooms of the houses.<sup>145</sup> In shape and design they recall Turkish *peşgirs*, and may well be a legacy of Ottoman culture that penetrated to the Hungarian villages through the embroideries and woven textiles once favoured by the upper classes. Shorter towels or napkins are also used to cover gifts of food for births, weddings, and funeral banquets;<sup>146</sup> these undoubtedly stem from the same

source, and are similarly displayed in the home, and sometimes in churches (Fig. 84 and 85).

Related pieces can be found throughout the Balkans, the Ukraine, and western Russia. In parts of Greece,<sup>147</sup> Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavian Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia, and Wallachia, many 18th- and 19th-century embroidered towels, even though worked by Christians, follow the development of Turkish embroideries so closely that they cannot be readily distinguished from those made in Anatolia.<sup>148</sup> While many such pieces are embroidered, others are adorned with woven patterns exhibiting a wide range of techniques. Such ornamental towels are known through 19th- and 20th-century ethnographic material from western Anatolia<sup>149</sup> and the Greek islands<sup>150</sup> to Croatia, Romania, and Hungary.<sup>151</sup> The similarities in design and technique are striking, and the entire group is worthy of a separate study (Fig. 71-85).

The woven decoration of tablecloths, bed-covers, and costume often reflects related Turkish and orientaling influences. The diagonally placed, highly conventionalized floral sprays, each worked into a square, on brocaded and embroidered headkerchiefs, bonnets, blouses, and skirts are especially characteristic in Bulgaria and some Yugoslavian provinces (Fig. 16 and 17).



# Carpets<sup>152</sup>

(Fig. 29-31, 59-70)

As a result of the Ottoman Turkish expansion and intensive trade centred in Istanbul, Turkish and Persian carpets became popular throughout the Balkans and eastern Europe. The importation of oriental carpets into western and southern Europe was also significant and has been a focus of interest for rug specialists since major exhibitions and studies on the subject began in earnest in the late 19th century.

Through the so-called "Polish" and "Transylvanian" rugs, the importance of those early carpets that had survived in eastern Europe was also recognized.<sup>153</sup> Nevertheless, the rich documentary evidence from these lands has received relatively little attention. With the exception of source material from Kronstadt (Brassó/Braşov),<sup>154</sup> a major Saxon commercial and trading centre in southern Transylvania, the documents were rarely consulted.<sup>155</sup> Their testimony, however, points to a major stream of oriental trade and will be used here as evidence for the existence of oriental carpets in Hungary and Transylvania from the late 15th to the 18th century. The 16th and 17th centuries are the best documented since they correspond to the period when the Ottoman Empire and the Transylvanian principate flourished both politically and economically. Actual examples of oriental carpets and the difficult problem of associating existing pieces with types frequently noted in the written sources will only be mentioned in passing.<sup>156</sup>

The first written references to oriental carpets in Hungary are from 15th-century inventories.<sup>157</sup> From at least the last quarter of that century, Saxons of Transylvania participated actively in the rug trade. Documents dating from 1480 and 1481 in the archives of Kronstadt inform us that merchants of the city carried carpets in considerable numbers to Moldavia.<sup>158</sup> The city records show that between January and November 1503 over 500 carpets were imported.<sup>159</sup> In the Saxon city of Hermannstadt (Nagyszeben/Sibiu), documents mention carpets in the possession of both Saxon and Hungarian families from 1495 onwards.<sup>160</sup> Turkish rugs undoubtedly reached Transylvania directly from Anatolia, for in 1456, just three years after the fall of Constantinople, Mehmet II granted trade concessions to Moldavian merchants.<sup>161</sup>

An indication of the esteem in which oriental rugs were held is to be found in an early 16th-century description by a Frenchman, who noted that when the French bride of Władislaw II (Ulászló) Jagiello of Hungary arrived in Buda, she was offered Turkish rugs by the cities of Transylvania as a sign of special esteem.<sup>162</sup> It remained a general custom for Transylvanian cities throughout the 16th and 17th centuries to present the most prominent citizens with a carpet on the occasion of their wedding.<sup>163</sup> Carpets were frequently donated to churches as the gifts of the well-to-do.

The large towns of the Great Hungarian Plain, which was part of the Ottoman Empire from the first quarter of the 16th to the end of the 17th century, played an active part in the rug trade, although to a considerably

lesser degree than the cities of Transylvania. According to the account books of Cegléd, Kecskemét, Nagykörös, and Szeged, several hundred oriental carpets were sent from here to western and northern Hungary, areas that were under Habsburg rule. Carpets formed part of the regular tax. They were to be included as part of the episcopal tithes, and as tribute to the Ottomans. As a consequence, Kecskemét sent rugs to a nunnery in Pozsony (Pressburg/Bratislava), a custom which persisted in the early 18th century long after the expulsion of the Turks from the Plain.

Carpets were considered the most precious of gifts and were given to the Hungarian dignitaries who were put in charge of the territories under Turkish rule. In 1636 the conciliation of Paul Esterházy, who was proposing to burn the saltpetre works of Nagykörös because the townsmen had made saltpetre for the Turks, was made with carpets. In 1641 Cegléd, Kecskemét, and Nagykörös together presented a rug to the Palatine. In 1648 Nagykörös offered twelve carpets to Francis Wesselényi when he delivered a favourable judgement concerning a dispute in which the town was involved. These carpets had a confirmed value of 1,200 thalers; eight of them were described as Persian. General Adam Forgách, Prince George Rákóczi I, Stephen Koháry, and Paul Wesselényi, commanders of the castles of Nógrád and Ónod, were also given carpets. Rugs were customarily offered by participating towns as gifts when the National Assembly met in Pozsony.<sup>164</sup>

Inventories of the 16th and 17th centuries provide a great deal of information about rugs that were in the possession of the nobility and the upper bourgeoisie. Even the less prominent noble families owned considerable numbers of carpets. An inventory of Paul Tomory, dating from 15 July 1520, lists eleven rugs.<sup>165</sup> In 1579 Gáspár Horvát had six white carpets; in the same year Catherine Horvát inherited four medium-size white rugs in addition to a few red carpets.<sup>166</sup> In 1599 the Csenger estate of George Király included sixteen rugs, of which two red and four white ones were wrapped in a large red rug.<sup>167</sup> In 1607 twenty carpets of different sizes and colours were listed as part of the estate of Stephen Tatay.<sup>168</sup> Every prominent family of the mercantile class had at least one or two carpets in its possession, and some had many more.<sup>169</sup>

In 1603 a by-law was passed in some Transylvanian cities to the effect that when the valuables of an estate were to be divided among the members of a family, they should be displayed on a table covered by a rug. A lighter tablecloth was placed over this rug, and the different items of silverware and jewellery were exhibited in this setting.<sup>170</sup>

Some inventories describe the proportion of carpets used in various rooms of country mansions, palaces, and castles. According to an inventory of 1629 from Szentdemeter, ten of fifteen rugs were used in the reception and dining halls. In the former, five large divan rugs were hung against the wall opposite the windows, while on the other side, between the three windows, two red rugs decorated the wall. One of the two tables in this hall was covered with a new multicoloured carpet on a white ground (*fehér tarka*). The dining room was obviously considered less important, for there the table was covered with a worn multicoloured carpet on a white ground, and a single colourful *keçe* or felt rug hung beside the window as the only wall decoration.<sup>171</sup>

The reception room of the mansion at Királydaróc was less elaborately adorned with carpets when an inventory was made in 1647. One length of a Seckler rug, presumably woven in tapestry weave, was placed around the walls along with a new grey camel-hair carpet decorated with two columns, and a rather worn red rug beside the tiled stove. The table, however, was covered with a new white "jackdaw" (*csókás*) or "bird" carpet.<sup>172</sup>

The more important the family, the greater the quantity of carpets it possessed. In 1612 the treasures of George Thurzó included fourteen large divan rugs, one large red rug, and five white and four red rugs of considerable size, each of which was used to cover two tables. In the same inventory, fourteen red and eight white rugs of smaller dimensions were noted for single tables.<sup>173</sup> In 1656 the inventory of George Berényi's castle at Bodok contained the following: two divan and five Persian rugs; fourteen small new rugs; six new carpets with outmoded patterns; eleven scarlet and four white rugs; and one worn, two large, and three short peasant rugs.<sup>174</sup> In 1662 sixty-three different rugs were listed in Simon Kemény's residence at Aranyosmeggyes.<sup>175</sup> In 1692 sixty-seven rugs were recorded at the Apor House in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Klausenburg).<sup>176</sup>

The princes of Transylvania possessed carpets in even larger numbers. In 1629 the rooms of Gabriel Bethlen were furnished with 150 rugs, both large and small, while 75 Persian and 113 Turkish and other carpets were kept in the "store house for rugs".<sup>177</sup> In 1661, 146 carpets of various sizes were listed among the possessions of the widow of Prince Ákos Barcsay.<sup>178</sup> In 1669 seventy-eight rugs were mentioned in an inventory from the residence of the prince of Transylvania at Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), capital of the principate; the majority of these were of Turkish origin. Thirteen were so-called divan rugs, while others were described as having been brought from Istanbul by John Fogarasi, messenger of Princess Anne Bornemissza to the Sublime Porte.<sup>179</sup> In an inventory of 1674 from Gyulafehérvár, a scarlet rug interwoven with gold is noted among the goods bought for forty silver thalers from Isaac, "the Jew from the Sublime Porte".<sup>180</sup> This might have been a silk carpet from Persia. The Persian rugs purchased for the princess in 1673 cost as much as 600 gold florins,<sup>181</sup> and very likely included silk rugs.

The documents frequently describe the function of oriental carpets in castles and palaces. Paintings also show that in Italy, as in the Netherlands and Germany, rugs were commonly used as a covering for tables as early as the 15th century. In 1529 four rugs from Paul Maghy's estate were designated "for the covering of tables".<sup>182</sup> In 1609 the dowry of Catherine Vékey included "a red rug for a table",<sup>183</sup> while an inventory of the Maróthy and Viczay families from 1610 lists five rugs "to cover tables".<sup>184</sup> In George Thurzó's inventory of 1612 a series of rugs was designated for tables. One of the large rugs covered the round table of the count, and four similar pieces were kept in storage, possibly as alternatives for different occasions. A red rug was specifically described as the covering for two tables in the count's inner chamber, while three similar examples were kept in storage.<sup>185</sup> In 1681 we read about "a used Persian carpet to cover a table" in the estate of Catherine Héderváry.<sup>186</sup> Numerous references derive from Transylvania, where the custom was especially widespread.<sup>187</sup> Rugs were still being used there to cover tables as late as the early 19th century.<sup>188</sup> The records of



Kronstadt relate that carpets were used as table covers in the town hall.<sup>189</sup> The pulpits of the Hungarian and Saxon churches of Kolozsvár were covered with white rugs.<sup>190</sup>

Other rugs were hung against the walls, like tapestry hangings imported from western Europe. Here too, the first references are from the 15th century. Four large rugs to be placed "against the wall" are noted in the inventory of Paul Maghy's estate (1529).<sup>191</sup> In an inventory of Kanizsa castle dated 1552, two rugs are described for use "against the wall".<sup>192</sup> In 1581 George Barbarith, Count of Zólyom, gave to his daughter Catherine, fiancée of Emericus Eleffánty, "a large red rug to be placed against the wall".<sup>193</sup>

Transylvanian sources from the 16th to the 18th century are filled with references to rugs as wall hangings. Various red carpets,<sup>194</sup> so-called divan rugs,<sup>195</sup> prayer rugs,<sup>196</sup> and even saddle blankets are described.<sup>197</sup> *Kilims* and other tapestry- or flat-woven examples appear to have been particularly favoured for this purpose,<sup>198</sup> and occasionally even a felt rug or *keçe*.<sup>199</sup> The walls of the town hall in Kronstadt were hung with oriental carpets, and the city's so-called Black Church was richly adorned with rugs.<sup>200</sup> Carpets were sometimes used also as curtains. In an inventory of the Apor House at Kolozsvár (1692), "a small rug for a window" was listed.<sup>201</sup> Other types of carpets, usually in pairs, were designated for carriages.<sup>202</sup>

Relatively few documents mention carpets as floor coverings. However, the omission undoubtedly reflects a general familiarity with this use, as distinct from their use as covers for tables or walls.<sup>203</sup> The many comments about worn and used rugs on tables and against the wall might well indicate a secondary usage. If the documentary descriptions do not as a rule indicate the exact type of carpets referred to, it seems quite obvious from the references that the same types were used for many different purposes.<sup>204</sup>

The sources, which frequently differentiate between Turkish and Persian carpets, seldom indicate a more precise geographic origin and thus do not provide any clues about the various rug-producing areas of the time. It seems obvious that by the 16th and 17th centuries Istanbul had become the centre of the Anatolian rug trade as well as that of other places in the Ottoman Empire and Persia. It was there that most rugs were acquired for the ruling classes of Hungary and Transylvania. Itinerant merchants dealt for the most part only in the cheaper varieties which lay within the reach of a much larger proportion of the population. Though oriental carpets were highly valued by their new owners and large sums in silver and gold were paid for them, nobody was sufficiently informed about eastern geography to be really interested in their precise origins. Their association with Turkey and Persia was enough to give the products an exotic flavour among Hungarians. It may also be added that many of the Istanbul dealers were probably no more knowledgeable about centres of rug-making than their modern counterparts who describe everything as being Anatolian.

A great deal can be learned from the correspondence of George Rákóczi I about the acquisition of carpets in the Turkish capital. The letters offer a glimpse of the variety of rugs available. They also give some indication of the large number of rug-producing centres in Anatolia and elsewhere, of rug sizes and prices, and also of the taste of the Transylvanian lords, which sometimes differed from that of the Ottomans. It is obvious from these

letters that many rugs were made to order and according to rather detailed instructions.

Silk rugs from Persia are often mentioned.<sup>205</sup> On 19 March 1639 Réthy wrote to Rákóczi:

Your Excellency, I have found very beautiful silk rugs from Persia at one place. The length of each of these is 5 cubits [*sing*], and the width is 3 cubits. Some are 4½ cubits long, and 2 cubits and 2 *fertály*s wide. These cost 50, 60, and 70 thalers each. There is one among them, Your Excellency, that is woven with gold and silver threads. I have never seen such [a rug]. It is 3 cubits and 1 *fertály* long, and 2 cubits and 1 *fertály* wide, and is a marvel to behold. It depicts two pairs of confronting peacocks, or rather pelicans; their faces are worked in gold and silver threads. Above their heads is a large, handsome flower; even the fringes contain some silver thread. Its price is 125 thalers.<sup>206</sup>

Silk carpets must have been rare in Transylvania, particularly those enriched with details in metallic thread. In Prince Gabriel Bethlen's inventory from Gyulafehérvár (1629), only one rug woven with gold is mentioned; another white carpet with flowering ornaments is described as being richly interwoven with silver.<sup>207</sup> The esteem in which these special Persian carpets were held both by Transylvanians and Turks is clear from Thomas Borsos' description of a Persian ambassador's reception at the Sublime Porte in 1619. Among the large quantities of presents brought from Persia to the Ottoman Sultan, the "beautiful and costly silk rugs" received special attention. "Some of these were interwoven with *skofium* gold, while others were simpler."<sup>208</sup>

Woollen carpets were less costly and were frequently ordered in considerable numbers. On 2 January 1646 Szalánczi informed Rákóczi that he had found:

. . . twenty of those scarlet rugs which Her Excellency ordered us to look for. They are very nice new types. Whatever Her Excellency decides about them, they cannot be purchased for less than 15 thalers each.<sup>209</sup>

Michael Maurer wrote in 1640 about the difficulties of having rugs made to order in Turkey:

Had I understood at the start Your Excellency's desire concerning the chessboard and the making of white rugs, I would have ordered them. It will now be difficult to have those rugs finished within a year.<sup>210</sup>

With very few exceptions the documents disregard carpet motifs. The greatest amount of detail about the patterning of carpets is given in the documents that contain the negotiations between Catherine von Brandenburg, widow of Gabriel Bethlen, and George Rákóczi I. An inventory from 1633, listing the goods that were returned to the princess in the castle of Munkács, describes four large divan rugs with considerable care. The first of these carpets is "for the wall, with an outer border containing white flowers,

and a centre field covered with yellow, green, and red flowers"; the second is again "for the wall", but "with a red border and a centre field with large flowers of various colours"; the third is made of silk — "its outer border contains yellow flowers, and the field white flowers with red centres and some other colours"; while the fourth is "for the wall, with a border of red flowers and a centre field covered with flowers in green and various colours". Only the size, basic colour, and occasionally the purpose of the other rugs are noted in the same inventory.<sup>211</sup> A typical inventory of the 1720s from the estate of Catherine Bethlen, widow of Michael Apafi II, says no more than that there were about ten Turkish rugs adorned with various patterns.<sup>212</sup>

The lists from the 17th century are usually more descriptive. White "jackdaw" ("bird") rugs (*fehér csókás*) are noted among the possessions of citizens in Kolozsvár,<sup>213</sup> and in the inventories of Királyfalva (1647)<sup>214</sup> and Drassó (1647).<sup>215</sup> This type of rug was so popular that it was imitated in a less expensive fashion. In the estate of Judith Veér, the wife of Michael Teleki, six hangings painted in the form of white "jackdaw" rugs were listed.<sup>216</sup> Contemporary documents indicate that European tapestries were also copied in this fashion.<sup>217</sup>

Seventeenth-century inventories from Kolozsvár list white rugs "dotted in black" (*fehér babos; fehér feketén csipegetett*).<sup>218</sup> In the chapel of Kövár castle, a carpet with all-over black waves (*feketén meghabozott*) is mentioned in 1694.<sup>219</sup> Other references suggest that some rugs had all-over checkered patterns or cassette-type divisions,<sup>220</sup> while elsewhere white rugs are described simply as having colourful ornamentation.<sup>221</sup>

The "two small scarlet rugs with red columns, to cover single tables", mentioned in a document dated 30 July 1650, may have been prayer carpets.<sup>222</sup> In 1647 a multicoloured Turkish carpet was listed in the manor of Királyfalva;<sup>223</sup> and in 1692 a carpet with columns, probably a prayer rug, was noted among furnishings in Kolozsvár.<sup>224</sup> Included in the possessions of Balthasar and Michael Macskási in 1656 was a "white scarlet" rug decorated with table legs, undoubtedly a reference to the colours of a prayer carpet.<sup>225</sup>

In other cases the rugs are generally referred to according to their dominant colour. White and red appear to have been the most popular ones. White rugs are sometimes described as "multicoloured on a white ground", and red ones as "multicoloured on a red ground". Other carpets were noted as yellow, black, brown, and multicoloured. "Scarlet" rugs, though usually red, were also known in white, orange, blue, yellow, and in many other colours. Green was a favourite colour for a group of flat-woven examples manufactured in Transylvania.<sup>226</sup>

At least some of these carpets must have belonged to types with which we are familiar from surviving examples, but the documentary information is insufficient to allow us to formulate precise attributions.<sup>227</sup> Whether these rugs were of the knotted kind or flat weaves is seldom to be ascertained from the sources.<sup>228</sup> Seventeenth-century funerary pictures from Hungary, however, often depict the deceased lying on Turkish and other oriental carpets, most of which are knotted<sup>229</sup> (Fig. 59-61). Existing evidence is provided by the numerous knotted Turkish rugs preserved in the mainly Protestant churches of Transylvania. Both artistic depictions and existing



material thus suggest that knotted rugs formed the dominant group. Tapestry-woven pieces were described then as now, as *kilims* and seldom as rugs. This distinction between knotted and flat-woven rugs can be attributed to the fact that the former were far more costly than the latter. Knotted rugs were as a consequence more suitable for the luxury trade and for export to distant places than were the cheaper varieties. It may also be significant that it is the expensive silk carpet from Persia that is most frequently mentioned in the Hungarian sources.

Whether the so-called divan rugs were of Persian origin is a moot question. In Bethlen's inventory of Gyulafehérvár (1629), some of them are described as being made of silk,<sup>230</sup> but most were of wool. Though many were large, some were small, and not all of the large carpets are called divan rugs in the documents. They were usually red, but in the palace at Gyulafehérvár there were "smaller white divan rugs",<sup>231</sup> and in 1629 multicoloured examples on a white ground were listed at Szentdemeter.<sup>232</sup> It is only in the Thököly inventory of Árva castle that they are described as "tapetes Persici, vulgo *divan szönyeg*", while scarlet rugs are referred to as "tapetes Turcici, vulgo *skárlát [scarlet] szönyeg*".<sup>233</sup> Both types probably came from Turkey. The divan rugs could even have been manufactured in Istanbul,<sup>234</sup> and the large quantities of divan rugs used in Transylvania may indicate a courtly style rather than the actual products of court workshops.

The rug merchants of Istanbul traded extensively in the products of western Anatolia, but many rugs came from central Anatolia. It would seem from written and artistic sources that even village rugs reached the capital and were shipped from there to the court of Transylvania and to other large Hungarian households. However, it is not clear whether all rugs available in Transylvania and Hungary were indeed of Turkish or oriental manufacture. Among the red and white carpets, the adjectives "common" and "ordinary" (*köz*) are sometimes added in inventory lists. Margit B. Nagy suspects that these were local products.<sup>235</sup> Some documents mention "Jewish" rugs without further specification.<sup>236</sup>

A characteristic group of 17th- and 18th-century knotted carpets, classified under the general heading of "Transylvanian", were once believed to have been manufactured in Transylvania. This type is of smaller dimensions and recalls the prayer rug. It has a pointed arch at one or both of the narrow ends of the centre field and is framed with a triple border. It has been argued that these rugs originated in western Anatolia rather than in Transylvania, but their eclectic style and their technical characteristics, which differ from those of the carpets associated with such recognized regional centres as Uşak and Bergama, and the problem of dating them have made rug specialists uncertain about their place of manufacture. Charles Grant Ellis looks rather to the Balkans for the origins of these and other types well represented in Hungarian collections.<sup>237</sup>

The question remains unresolved, but some important considerations may be drawn from a little-known Turkish rug dating from the 17th century, which is part of the Turkish booty now housed at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe<sup>238</sup> (Fig. 29-31). This piece is neither knotted nor flat-woven, but consists of mosaic work of coloured broadcloth. The technique is the same as that of the so-called Resht covers and some related

Turkish examples from the 18th and 19th centuries. The ornamental design of the Karlsruhe rug is remarkably similar to that of the "Transylvanian" carpets. The basic structure of the ornamentation is the same, and the individual elements of the design are related, although they are somewhat more naturalistic in broadcloth mosaic than in the knotted rugs. The use of such Turkish carpets must once have been quite widespread. A very similar mosaic-work piece is depicted in Johan Zoffany's "Tribune of the Uffizi" (1772-1777/8), now in the English royal collection.<sup>239</sup> The rug, which covers a table in the centre of the picture, is adorned with a divided multiple border and rich ornaments of tulips and carnations against the medium-blue ground of the centre field.

Mosaic work carpets of this type might well have been known in Transylvania as *kelevet*. The early 18th-century inventory of Catherine Bethlen lists "a Turkish cover called *kelevet*, made of English broadcloth with an edging of green silk, and lined with canvas of the same colour. Its value is 136 gold florins". In the same source, three further *kelevets* are mentioned as "floor coverings with flowers, made of Turkish fabrics of various colours".<sup>240</sup> In a Szepesvár (Spišský Hrad) inventory (1671), twenty-two carpets are described as "of half silk [and] of yellow and red *kamuka* [woollen or cotton fabric]". In addition, there were four "half silk and *kamuka* carpets with red flowers", and one "half silk satin carpet with red braiding".<sup>241</sup> These might also belong to the group. In the inventory of the estate of Catherine Héderváry, wife of John Viczay, there is a reference to what may be a similar cover: "a dark green rug worked in the form of flowers from broadcloth, which was used to cover a table" (14 May 1681).<sup>242</sup> Were such *kelevets* adorned like the Karlsruhe piece, they might have inspired the patterning of carpets produced somewhere in the Balkans, and perhaps also in Transylvania.

Besides knotted carpets and *kelevets* some sources mention *keçes* or felt rugs, occasionally made of camel hair.<sup>243</sup> Elsewhere they appear to have been of wool, adorned with ornaments in different colours. Among John Rimay's purchases in Istanbul we read of "a long *keçe* with flowers".<sup>244</sup> Though felt rugs can be ornamented in variations of mosaic work as well as in an inlaid fashion, the flowering design suggests the latter technique, still common in the pattern of Anatolian felt rugs.<sup>245</sup> A list of goods acquired in Istanbul in 1591 describes a "colourful Italian *keçe* rug" or rather "a *keçe* made in the Italian fashion", which may refer to the style of the ornaments.<sup>246</sup> Elsewhere the documents mention the function of these rugs, which were frequently used as wall hangings and bed coverings.<sup>247</sup>

The correspondence of George Rákóczi I provides numerous details about the different sizes and prices of felt rugs and about some centres of felt manufacture in the vicinity of Istanbul. In the postscript to a letter written to the Prince by Balthasar Sebesi (6 August 1641) is this flowing account:

We bought ten colourful *keçes*; . . . they are nice and of good quality, and as for their size, they are a bit longer and wider . . . [than those which you ordered]. The ten *keçes* were measured at the Embassy of Transylvania, and were found to be 496 cubits long all together, the price of which, according to the Limitation . . . , comes

to exactly 402 thalers and 15 aspers. [The Limitation] specifies 65 aspers per cubit. This sort of *keçe* from Zelenek is generally highly valued. . . . Had we bought different *keçes*, as those of Edirne, they would have been four cubits wide. Those are different and definitely of lesser quality. In any case, Your Excellency did not specify the kind of *keçe* to be bought, but said that they should be in various colours. We judged that these are better and nicer [than those made elsewhere], though according to their size, their price is rather high.<sup>248</sup>

Other documents refer to *kilims* or tapestry woven carpets. Red *kilims* appear in 1637 among the inherited goods of John Bethlen at Marosszentkirály. In 1656 the hall of the mansion at Mezöszengyel was hung with three old Turkish *kilims*. In the same year two colourful *kilims* are described at Doboka; one of these was new, while the other was worn. Four good and two used *kilims* belonged to Michael and Balthasar Macskási. Michael Macskási also had *kilims* in his manor at Búzásbocsárd. In 1657 "an old, torn *kilim*, [woven] in white, red, and other colours", decorated the walls of the manor at Szurduk.<sup>249</sup> In 1688 Turkish merchants sold *kilims* at Komárom.<sup>250</sup> The "half of a worn Persian rug", described in an inventory of 1681 as hanging against the wall beside the bed, may well have been a *kilim*, originally sewn together from two narrow widths.<sup>251</sup> The inventory of the mansion at Cégény (1698) values a *kilim* at three florins, indicating how much cheaper these carpets were than their knotted counterparts. Because of their price, they would have been available to a much larger section of the population.<sup>252</sup>

From the scanty descriptions of Anne Bornemissza's inventories, one may suspect that the sour-cherry-coloured rug, given annually by the Greek inhabitants of the city of Fogaras (Făgăraș) to the prince of Transylvania as a special tax, was also a *kilim*.<sup>253</sup> The sour-cherry-coloured rugs given to the prince by the ambassadors of the *vajdas*, presumably of Oltenia, might also have been flat-woven.<sup>254</sup>

Although only a few of the foregoing examples can be identified with any certainty as *kilims* and flat-woven rugs of oriental origin, it is likely that a large proportion came from Turkey. The type was soon imitated by the inhabitants of Transylvania and numerous Balkan regions. So-called Seckler carpets, presumably the predecessors of the well known Seckler-Hungarian *kilims* or *festékes* from eastern Transylvania,<sup>255</sup> were first noted between 1573 and 1576 in an inventory book of Beszterce (Bistrița). The burghers of this city used them by the roll to cover walls.<sup>256</sup> In 1647 the walls of a large room of the mansion at Királyfalva were decorated with a whole roll of "Seckler carpet". In 1656, the walls of the "first room" of the manor at Mezöszengyel were covered with some five yards of "narrow Seckler rug", while upstairs in the same house a "long, colourful Seckler carpet" was listed.<sup>257</sup> The adjective "poor" (*hitvány*) is often added to the description of Seckler carpets as an indication of their more common origin and low cost. In 1696 "Saxon carpets" are included in an inventory of the castle of Bethlen. They might also have been of a tapestry-woven type manufactured by the Saxons of Transylvania.<sup>258</sup>

Other Transylvanian documents refer to hair rugs or wall hangings made of hair, which again could have been tapestry-woven local village products. While they held a secondary position in the cities and the large aristocratic households as cheap "imported" goods, they were by far the most common types found in villages and small country estates. In 1634 several "wall hangings of hair", some of which were green and others "woven in checkered pattern", are noted among the possessions of Francis Macskási. In 1637 "a hair carpet to cover cattle" was listed in a Kolozsvár inventory. According to the sources, hair rugs tended to be green or red and were generally hung on walls.<sup>259</sup> Their use continued throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, and they have survived in some villages into recent times.

From the 18th century, numerous Oltenian *kilims* are known, and some of them are dated. Related material exists in Bulgaria and the Yugoslavian provinces. *Kilims* of various designs are common in 19th-century ethnographic material from Transylvania, southern Hungary, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Bucovina, Bessarabia, Poland, and throughout the entire Balkan Peninsula.<sup>260</sup> They also had a major influence upon the decoration of bags (Fig. 70), and of aprons and skirts (Fig. 14 and 15) from these lands. Their technique, general style, and ornaments are closely related to Turkish and Caucasian *kilims*, and there can be little doubt that this widespread production grew from the influence of Ottoman Turkish textiles. The similarities in the decoration are so great that many groups of Turkish *kilims* may be better studied through the evidence of the material from eastern Europe than from what has survived in Anatolia. No effort has yet been made, however, to take advantage of this valuable source. Most works on the subject discuss Balkan *kilims* from a strictly regional viewpoint, while the numerous publications of oriental carpets generally neglect these modest, though interesting, examples. Indeed, the whole question of oriental flat-woven rugs has not yet received sufficient attention in rug literature.



# Postscript

Though Turkish textiles and minor arts have been recognized as having an important role in the countries which at one time or another were part of European Turkey, they have never been considered as anything more than provincial Ottoman art, and no attention has been paid to their impact on local traditions. This short essay attempts to fill part of that void by concentrating on existing Ottoman textiles from the Balkans and on their influence in the formation of regional styles. A great deal of the evidence used is derived from Hungarian sources. Similar attention could and should be given to the Romanian, Albanian, Slavic, Greek, and Turkish sources in order to determine, within a chronological framework, the historical and economic developments over the entire territory of European Turkey and in the neighbouring principates under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte. A thorough examination of trade patterns and trade goods would also be significant, particularly if wholesale and retail products, and the distribution of each, could be clearly distinguished. The significance of travelling salesmen and peddlers must be considered if this type of commerce, however primitive, is to be appreciated. The regular trade of towns and monthly markets could be compared with the commercial connections of the princely courts, for which goods were frequently made to order, and for which the more important items were acquired directly from Istanbul.

The collaboration of textile and costume specialists, ethnographers, linguists, and economic, social, and art historians will facilitate the interpretation of every aspect of the problem, but to be successful, researchers will have to throw off the confining bonds of national prejudices. It goes without saying that the subject should be examined from the Ottoman Turkish side.<sup>261</sup>

In order to provide the necessary basis for such studies, the content of relevant national and international collections, both historical and ethnographical, as well as written sources, must be made available. Some of the Hungarian publications, mainly those from the last third of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the records of the city states of the Dalmatian coast, and the major efforts of Nicolae Beldiceanu, who has concentrated on Ottoman documents from Anatolia and also on some Romanian material, can be considered as a framework upon which to build.

Interpretive studies are also badly needed, especially on the regional level. Even if the documentary background is not sufficiently known, there is already enough evidence to lead to certain valid conclusions, which in turn may arouse a wider interest in the publication of a variety of sources.

Gertrud Palotay, in her basic work on the Ottoman Turkish elements in Hungarian embroidery, published in 1940, offers an interpretation of an important aspect of the problem. Preliminary efforts have also been made to connect the evidence of actual carpets and of written references to the oriental rug trade. Ida Bobrovszky's investigations into the trade in Turkish

goods in the cities of the Great Hungarian Plain provide an insight into the moral criteria which led the Christians of the occupied lands to market but not to use Ottoman products. The tragic death of Corina Nicolescu in the devastating earthquake in Bucharest in 1977 ended her work on aspects of Ottoman Turkish influences in Romanian court costume from the 16th to 18th century. Her important study on this question, published in 1970, nevertheless remains a landmark in the field.

Further attention may be given to those aspects of Turkish minor arts that may be better explained through the wealth of material from central and eastern Europe than through the scanty evidence surviving in Anatolia. In this regard, textile studies are of prime importance.

## Notes

1. For bibliographic references, see Appendix 4. Stoianovich's work (1960) is especially helpful for the understanding of commerce and trade during the Ottoman Turkish period; parts of this chapter derive from his findings.
2. As early as 1449, merchants from Ottoman territory obtained the right to sell their goods in the market places of southern Hungary (Palotay 1940: 10).
3. Because of the religious tolerance of the Ottomans, Jews, mainly of Sephardic origin, settled in various provinces of the Empire during the 15th and 16th centuries. Besides Istanbul, Salonika, Edirne, Nikopol, Sofia, and Sarajevo had large Jewish populations.
4. The marketing of specific goods remained characteristic throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. About 1800, for example, a certain type of creped shirt, worn by both sexes, was manufactured in Greece as well as in western Asia Minor and some of the coastal islands. According to J.S. Bartholdy who travelled in the Ottoman Empire in 1803–4, the finest examples of these shirts were made at Salonika, Izmir, and Chios, and shirts of a lesser quality came from Istanbul and Bursa (Gervers 1975: 63).
5. Takáts 1900: 173; Takáts 1899: 411–12; Palotay 1940: 16–17. Turkish merchants of the Great Hungarian Plain are especially often mentioned in the sources (Velics and Kammerer 1890: 382, 453f.). A letter by Mary Forgách, dating from 1621, informs us about Turkish merchants selling *patyolat* (see Appendix 6, part b) near Esztergom (Deák 1879: 136).
6. Emericus Nagy in 1587, George Czompó of Ebesfalva in 1677, and Christopher Kis of Szamosújvár (Gherla) in 1675 dealt in various Turkish goods (Kerekes 1902; Szádeczky 1911: 164–65, 242, 618). In 1624 John Paxy, a merchant of Nagyszombat (Trnava), acquired and sold Turkish goods in Komárom (Takáts 1898: 443).
7. Kerekes 1902: 184.
8. Szendrei 1888. See also Appendix 6, part c.
9. G. Bethlen 1871. For the trade of Turkish and Greek merchants in Transylvania, see also Szádeczky 1911: 452, 611, 615, 618. A document notes that in 1649 a silk rug and Turkish braids were acquired from a Greek merchant (Szabó 1976: 543).
10. Broughton 1855: 447–49; Čulič 1963: pl. 13, 22; Scarce 1975: 4; Scarce 1976: 52.
11. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 53–56 (1581), 71–73 (1588), 73–75 (1590), 97–98 (1599), 104–11 (1603), 129–30 (1609), 211–17 (1618), 220–25 (1620), 325–30 (1656); Schulz 1912: 16. These veils were referred to as *orca takaró* and *orcaborító fátyol* in contemporary inventories.
12. In Hungarian sources of the 15th to the 18th century, a great number of fabric names can be associated with Turkish and oriental dress goods. Sometimes the words themselves are of Turkish or oriental origin, frequently adopted in Hungarian from Balkanic languages. Other names are marked with such adjectives as “Turkish” or “Persian” to indicate the eastern origin

of the fabrics. For a general discussion of such materials, see Kakuk 1954; Kós 1964: 161–66; Palotay 1940: 14–15. For specific examples, see Appendix 6, parts a and c. Innumerable expressions designate ordinary linens and cottons (*gyolcs, patyolat, vászon*); see Appendix 6, parts b and c.

13. Schulz 1912: 80.

14. For Turkish thread, usually of cotton (*cérna*), see Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 1010; Szabó 1976: 1161. Other sources refer to white *cérna* spun “at home”, and yarns (*cérnak*) from the city of Kassa (Košice) in Upper Hungary and from Cracow (Schulz 1912: 83–84). The latter were probably of linen. *Cérna* was sold by both length and weight.

15. Most of the yarns were sold by weight (*nitra*). Spun and floss silk were often simply called silk, and cost less than plied yarns. While in the 17th century one *nitra* of Turkish silk was worth 4.50 florins, one *nitra* of the plied yarn cost 5.40 florins. In some cases, plied silk for embroidery was sold in small skeins (Schulz 1912: 83–85; see also the inventory of a Greek merchant in Appendix 6, part c).

16. In the 17th century, plied and braided silk as well as fine silk cords were used for specially knotted buttons (Schulz 1912: 85; Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 1010, with references from 1635 and 1669). *Gazir* or *guser* silk, a heavier braided yarn, was favoured for buttons (Szamota and Zolnai, 1906: 296). For the manufacture of such buttons, see Nyáry 1904. Heavier silk yarns served for bird-hunting nets. In 1613, one hundred drams of blue silk for braiding hair was noted by Borsos (1972: 76).

17. See the indexes of Beke and Barabás 1888, Radvánszky 1888, and Szádeczky 1911.

18. In a dowry of 1630, three pillow-cases and two sheets were described as embroidered with Hungarian gold thread; in the dowry of Mary Thököly (1643), nine blouses were worked with Turkish silver and gold; in 1656, Mary Viczay had one short blouse embroidered with Hungarian silver, while another was worked in Turkish gold and silver (Radvánszky 1879 [vol. 2]: 253–56, 277–86, 325–30). Gold and silver filé could also be had from Europe, especially from Vienna and Venice, Italian gold yarns were offered for sale not only in Italy but also in the Austrian capital (Radvánszky 1888: 1–157).

19. Varjú-Ember 1963: 15.

20. For the purchase of silk yarns of many colours, destined specifically for embroidery, and of gold and silver filés, see the correspondence of George Rákóczi I (Beke and Barabás 1888: 95, 110, 116, 205, 218, 240–41, 378, 385, 554). The acquisitions for Gabriel Bethlen (1615–27) were published by Radvánszky 1888: 1–157.

21. Radvánszky 1888: 119. *Skofium* gold and silver were also acquired for the prince in the open market in Istanbul.

22. Beke and Barabás 1888: 105, 109, 112, 205, 241, 378, 385. For the price of *skofium*, see also Radvánszky 1888: 1–157.

23. In 1634 only a Jewish craftsman was known to manufacture *skofium* in Istanbul (Beke and Barabás 1888: 105).

24. Stephen Réthy served as *kapı kethüdası* in 1634 and 1635, 1637 to 1640, October 1642 to January 1644, and 1644 to 1647.

25. Beke and Barabás 1888: 109.

26. Beke and Barabás 1888: 112.

27. Stephen Szalánczi served as *kapı kethüdası* in 1632 and 1633. He was Rákóczi's ambassador to the Sublime Porte from November 1637 to February 1638, and from 1645 to 1648.

28. Beke and Barabás 1888: 45.

29. Catherine Bethlen wrote the following to her brother-in-law, Alexander Teleki, in 1727: “When I was in Szeben [Hermannstadt/Sibiu], I could not buy a cubit of *skofium* gold for less than eight florins and a cubit of *skofium* silver for less than seven florins from the Armenians” (K. Bethlen 1963: 207).

30. Thaly 1878b: 167; Thaly 1879: 347. See also Palotay 1940: 18.

31. Radvánszky 1888: 1–157; Palotay 1940: 15; Gyalui 1893. Velvet was often acquired for Transylvanians in the Galata district of Constantinople, though some of the fabrics may have been of Italian manufacture (Beke and Barabás 1888: 123). Plain velvet, probably of Turkish origin, was also sold in Transylvania by Greek merchants (Szádeczky 1911: 618). For expensive



Persian fabrics, see Borsos 1972: 279. Garments made of rich oriental fabrics have survived in Romanian, Greek, and Hungarian collections.

32. In 1634 an *ağa* asked for seventeen cubits of blue broadcloth of Brassó (Kronstadt/Braşov), fulled twice, for mantles, and for broadcloth to cover coaches in Turkish fashion (Beke and Barabás 1888: 105). The gifts of the Transylvanian princes, however, generally consisted of goldsmiths' works (*ibid.* 1–2, 44f., 465–66, 472, 475). It is rather exceptional that when the Transylvanians received a Russian embassy in 1638 in Istanbul, Persian rugs, gold and silver brocades for royal garments, and silk satin and *skarlatin* for jackets and coats were offered to the various members of the delegation (*ibid.* 387). Obviously all of these goods must have been acquired in the Turkish capital, even if some of them were manufactured in Europe.

33. Rimay 1955: 448–58.

34. Palotay 1940: 17.

35. Schulz 1912: 48–50.

36. Between 1615 and 1627, silk embroidery for sheets, a number of embroidered kerchiefs to be made into cushion covers, pillow-cases worked in *skofium*, ten kerchiefs embroidered in *skofium* and ten others worked in silk, six *peştemals* or bath-towels, a large embroidered table cloth of *bulya* fabric (*öreg bulya vászonra varrott abrosz*) and smaller ones of *patyolat* were acquired among other things for Gabriel Bethlen in Istanbul (Radvánszky 1888: 1–157). For pillow-cases, see also Beke and Barabás 1888: 552–53, 555. In 1619 Borsos acquired embroideries for aprons and sheet ends in the Turkish capital (Borsos 1972: 282).

37. A cottage industry for embroidered articles flourished well into the 19th century. The English traveller Charles White noted that in 1844 "all articles of embroidery are worked by Catholic, Armenian, and Greek women of the Fanar, Pera, and Bosphorus villages, who maintain themselves practically by this employment" (White 1845 [vol. 2]: 102). For the variety of embroidered articles available in the first half of the 19th century, see *ibid.* 101–5.

38. Part of the estate of Prince Gabriel Bethlen and the garments of his widow, Princess Catherine von Brandenburg, which were left in the castle of Munkács (Mukachevo) and returned to the Princess by Prince George Rákóczi I about 1631 (Radvánszky 1888).

39. Borsos 1972: 279.

40. As an exception, coverlets called *paplan* also belonged to the works of professional embroiderers. Many documents provide information about their fabric, lining, and decoration. It is also evident from the sources that such coverlets could be ordered or acquired ready made from Venetian merchants at Galata (Beke and Barabás 1888: 394, 395, 661–62). For the sale in Upper Hungary of fabrics for coverlets, see the inventory of a Greek merchant in Appendix 6, part c. Only the highest circles of the nobility purchased their coverlets in Istanbul. Urban inhabitants made their own *paplans* from Turkish fabrics, available locally.

41. The inventory from the 1720s of the estate of Catherine Bethlen, wife of Michael Apafi II, lists eight Turkish and four Hungarian saddles, each of which is described in great detail: "Turkish saddle decorated in *skofium* and beading, with black silk stripes, lined with yellow silk satin; another Turkish saddle with gold embroidery and *skofium* flowers, beautifully decorated all over, having golden edgings, and lined with yellow silk satin. Its value is 416 florins and 40 *krajcárs.*" Each Turkish saddle in case no. 3 was valued at over 100 florins. Case no. 11 contained one Hungarian, one Romanian, and nine Turkish saddles of similar quality, while other cases were filled with embroidered saddle covers and saddle blankets (*cafrag*), many of which were probably of Turkish origin. Some of them are described as "of the Sublime Porte" (Jakab 1883: 786–802). In an inventory dating from 1645, which lists the possessions of Palatine Paul Esterházy at Fraknó castle, eight embroidered saddle blankets are described as "of the Sublime Porte" (*Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Szemle*, 10, 1903: 172).

For 17th-century bow and arrow quivers (*tirkés* and *puzdra*) in Hungarian collections, see Szendrei 1896: 408, nos. 2859, 2861; 409, no. 2865; 410, no. 2870. From the correspondence of George Rákóczi I, we learn about quivers made to order in Istanbul (Beke and Barabás 1888: 105). See also note 42.

For Turkish and Persian round shields (*kalkan*) in Hungarian collections, see Szendrei 1896: 669; 671, no. 3491 (Esterházy treasury, Fraknó, dia. 62 cm, Turkish, 17th century); 691–92, no. 3543 (Esterházy treasury, Fraknó, dia. 59 cm, probably Persian, 16th–17th century); 573–74, no. 3255 (Körmend, dia. 63 cm, Turkish, 16th century). Numerous contemporary documents mention round shields; see Beke and Barabás 1888: 660–61, 760, 788, 811, 878.

For horse-trappings and saddle covers, see Beke and Barabás 1888: 45, 105, 205, 240–41, 260–61, 760, 788, 811, 878. A letter of Prince Bethlen to George Rákóczi I (8 June 1618) informs us about a new type of horse-trapping from Dijarbekir. In the same letter Bethlen offers to order any kind of goods for Rákóczi from Istanbul (Szilágyi 1879: 97–98). In 16th-century documents, Mongol saddles, quivers, and shields are also described (Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 965–66).

In the collection of the Wawel in Cracow there are a number of Turkish and oriental saddles and saddle blankets or saddle covers, round shields, Persian wall-hangings (*makat*), and Turkish and Persian flags. Many of these pieces were part of the booty taken at the battle of Vienna in 1683. Szablowski 1971: fig. 221, 222, 226, 227, 228–29, 230–31, 232, 233–34, 236–37, 238–39, 241–42, 240; Mańkowski 1954; Zygulski 1960; Abrahamowicz 1968; Pachorński 1934; Zygulski 1968; Fischinger 1962, 1963; Swier-Zaleski 1935.

For Turkish flags, see also Denny 1974; Fehér 1968; Egyed 1959. For the Turkish booty now in the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, see Petrasch 1970: fig. 2, 10–11, 12–14, 15–17, 23, 25, 26–27.

42. Embroidered quivers, for example, were frequently made for Gabriel Bethlen. They were ordered from professional embroiderers who had to be supplied with the ground fabric as well as with precious yarns, cotton for the padding of raised motifs, pearls, and semi-precious stones. The accounts of the prince show that the outlines for the patterning were drawn on the ground fabric by professional craftsmen, who probably had their own workshops and who had to be paid separately (Radvánszky 1888: 1–157).

43. Kemény 1959: 18.

44. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, acc. no. 1927.54 (length ca. 600 cm, width ca. 400 cm). Second half of 17th century. Captured at the battle of Buda in 1686; then in the possession of Louis of Baden who gave it to Francis Rákóczi II. Acquired in Vienna in 1927. Fehér 1961; Fehér 1975a: 6–12, pl. 1, col. pl. 1–2.

Other decorated tents in Hungarian collections include one captured at Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky) in the 17th century, formerly in the collection of Paul Esterházy, Fraknó (length 625 cm, width 400 cm). Prince Esterházy also owned a small circular tent. Two tents belonged to Ödön Batthyány, Körmend castle, near Szombathely (900 × 700 cm; 280 × 220 cm, height of side panels 175 cm). For the latter, see Szendrei 1896: 604–6, no. 3322. Batthyány also owned a circular tent or *oba* (dia. 580 cm). Fehér 1961; Fehér 1975a: 6–12; Bátky 1930.

45. In the collection of the Wawel in Cracow, there are three complete, finely decorated Turkish tents (acc. nos. 1211, 1028, 1210) and the side panels of a Persian garden tent. Mańkowski 1959; Szablowski 1971: fig. 213–18; Gaşiorowski 1959, 1952. Other tents are preserved at the Heeresmuseum, Vienna (590 × 370 cm, dia. 980 cm), see Erben and John 1903: 77, 140–42; at the Bayerische Armee-Museum, Munich (taken at the battle of Nagyhasány, Hungary, in 1678, believed to have belonged to the Grand Vizier Süleiman); and in Dresden (Fehér 1961; Fehér 1975a: 6–12). A panel of a tent with applied ornaments (length 210 cm, width 186 cm) is in the collection of the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (Petrasch 1970: fig. 48).

46. Fehér 1975a: 9.

47. Beke and Barabás 1888: 394, 395–96, 437, 510, 512, 552, 553, 745, 779.

48. Beke and Barabás 1888: 394. About tent-making in Istanbul, see Uzunçarşılı 1945: 453–54. The meaning of the Hungarian word *kalitka* is cage. In this example, *kalitka*-tent might refer to a tent with lattice windows. There is, nevertheless, another possibility for the interpretation of the meaning of our source. *Kalitka* could be a deformed variant of the Turkish word *kalikut*, meaning calico, with reference to the cotton fabric of the tent.

49. Beke and Barabás 1888: 396.

50. Michael Maurer was the leader of a Transylvanian delegation to Istanbul in January 1640. From July to December of that year, he served as Rákóczi's ambassador to the Sublime Porte.

51. Balthasar Sebesi served as *kapı kethüdası* from July 1640 to December 1641.

52. Beke and Barabás 1888: 512.

53. Letter of Stephen Szalánczi to Rákóczi (Beke and Barabás 1888: 779).

54. Karácson 1911: 39 no. XXXII and 92 no. LXXXVIII; Fehér 1975a: 9–10, with reference to Turkish documents in the Archives of the Topkapi Sarayı Müzesi (decree of 1718, ordering the tent superintendent to deliver six tents from the armoury to Francis Rákóczi II; document of 1722).

55. Jakab 1883: 797.

56. Turkish tents are often listed in Hungarian inventories from the 15th to the mid-18th century, though it is not always clear whether the examples were plain or decorated. In 1595 an ornate tent was captured from the Turks by Hungarians at Esztergom (Fehér 1961: 222), and an inventory from 1610 describes an elaborately decorated variant (Radvánszky 1879 [vol. 2]: 141). In a few cases, Persian tents are also noted (Radvánszky 1888: 254).

For tents acquired for princes of Transylvania, see Borsos 1972; Beke and Barabás 1888: 745; Radvánszky 1888: 1–157. In 1645 Rákóczi ordered Stephen Serédi to have forty panels, requiring 150 lengths of cotton fabric, and the necessary cotton ropes made for the “courtyard” (*udvar*) of his tent. In addition, he requested four tents, two of which needed twenty ropes each, and the other two sixteen ropes each.

57. Beke and Barabás 1888: 116.

58. Stephen Rácz served as *kapti kathüdasi* from October 1641 to December 1642.

59. Beke and Barabás 1888: 595.

60. Beke and Barabás 1888: 868. The rugs of Karamania in southern Anatolia, near the Taurus mountains, were well known in 16th- and 17th-century Hungary and were usually referred to as *kármány szőnyeg*.

61. For commercial connections with Europe, see Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 111–14 (1603:Vienna), 143–47 (1612:Vienna), 197–204 (1614:Vienna), 205–11 (1618:Vienna); Radvánszky 1888: 1–157 (1615–27:Cracow, Gdansk, Linz, Prague, Venice, and Vienna).

62. Gervers-Molnár 1973; Gervers 1975, 1978.

63. Among the many representations, the depiction of the three Magi from the Gospels of Tsar John Alexander of Bulgaria is of particular interest (1355–56; British Library, London, Add. Ms. 39627, 9r. and v., 10r.). The illuminations are painted in Byzantine style. The language is Slavonic of Bulgarian character. In the miniature of the Epiphany, the Magi, as they approach the Christ child, appear wearing striped turbans and coats with pendant sleeves. When leaving on horseback, however, their sleeves are tied together at the back. Ottoman Turks are depicted in similar kaftans with tied sleeves on 16th-century woodcuts (see the dust-cover of *Kimondhatatlan nyomoriság*, 1976; the source of this representation is not specified). The *siguni* of Macedonian Vlachs has slightly tapered long sleeves, which are joined together at the back. They apparently derive from a medieval Turkish fashion and recall the coats worn relatively recently by Turkmen women (Gervers-Molnár 1973: 19, n. 132). Some of the *gunas* worn by Macedonian women also have their vestigial sleeves joined at the back (Gervers 1975: 64; fig. 21). In the 18th century *bostancıs* (Turkish palace guards) wore a mantle with vestigial sleeves tied at the back (Tuchelt 1966: pl. 48). This fashion is also commonly known from western Turkestan (Allgrove 1975; Gervers 1978).

64. Csánki 1883: 659. Other sources also note the long garments worn by Hungarians in the last third of the 15th century. Whether sleeved or sleeveless, these long mantles were called *turca* by the Italians, and *suba* by the Hungarians. Long shirts were also common in Hungary (Varjú-Ember 1962).

65. Fögel 1913: 141–44.

66. Radvánszky 1888: 284–89.

67. Thaly 1878.

68. Jakab 1883: 798 (case no. 23). These coats may have been similar to a figured velvet garment in the collection of the Royal Armoury, Stockholm (acc. no. 3414; Persian, Safavid period, first half of 17th century). This coat was a gift from the Tsar of Russia to Queen Christina of Sweden in 1644. Geijer 1951: no. 31, pl. 15; *The Arts of Islam* 1976: 110, no. 84.

69. Radvánszky 1888: 268, 269, 291, 329, 330; Zoltai 1938: 26–27.

70. For references, see Beke and Barabás 1888.

71. Szendrei 1896: 670–73, no. 3492 (castle of Borostyánkő [Bernstein/Paistum], former property of the Almásy family; length 111 and 125 cm, 17th century; now in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, acc. no. 69.80.C; acquired from Princess Mary Esterházy, widow of Count John Almásy, in 1969). Fehér 1975a: 12–14, col. pl. 3–6, fig. 2–10. Also Szendrei 1896: 675–76, no. 3497 (former property of the Departmental Historical Committee of Brassó [Kronstadt/Braşov]; 17th century; length 126 cm).



72. Szendrei 1896: 600–2, no. 3314 (including two kaftans from the early 17th century, a 16th-century round shield, a belt, a turban, and spears).
73. Bobrovsky (1978) noted that while the merchants in such large cities as Szeged, Kecskemét, Nagykörös, and Cegléd took an active part in the trade of Turkish garments and textiles, the Hungarian inhabitants did not appear to have acquired such articles for themselves or for their churches. Turkish luxury goods, on the other hand, especially textiles, were very popular in those parts of the country that were not directly controlled by the Ottomans. Bobrovsky concludes that the Christians of the occupied territories made every effort not to be “Turkicized”, and rejected even the material goods which could have linked them with the “pagan enemy”. This moral stand was strengthened, if not provoked, by the preaching of some well-known Protestant ministers of the period. According to Paul Farkas of Túr, minister of Tolna in 1556–57, “someone putting a Turkish hat on his head cannot be saved from becoming a Turk himself”.
74. Takáts 1928: 532–33.
75. Takáts, Eckhardt, and Szekfü 1915: 278; Fehér 1974; and Fehér 1975a.
76. Takáts 1928: 518.
77. Decsy 1789 (part 2): 186–87 (regarding the custom in general); Karácson 1904 (vol. 2): 128; Székely 1912: 59–72 (kaftans were presented on several occasions to Emericus Thököly and his entourage, and to his representatives); Takáts 1928: 19 (garments given to Nicholas Zrinyi); Szalay 1862: 20 (Stephen Báthory and twenty-five members of his entourage received garments from Sultan Selim); Karácson 1914: 184 (Stephen Bocskay received a Turkish garment from Sultan Ahmet I for his victory of 1605); Bártfai Szabó 1904: 162 (Uluman *bey* sent a garment to George Martinuzzi in 1566). See also Beke and Barabás 1888: 392, 465; Tóth 1900; Zoltai 1938: 26–27; Palotay 1940: 12–14; Mikes 1966: 17–18, 219, 220–22, 222–23 (1718, 1737, 1738). For Benedikt Kuripesis’s description of a Hungarian delegation at the Sublime Porte in 1530, see Tardy 1977: 159.
78. Beke and Barabás 1888: 465.
79. Thomas Borsos (1566–1634) was the leader of three Transylvanian delegations to Istanbul (1613, 1618–20, 1626–27).
80. Borsos 1972: 70–71. *Çavuş Jusuf* was the interpreter of the Transylvanian ambassador to the Sublime Porte (d. 1619).
81. Borsos 1972: 99. For further references to this custom, see Borsos’s descriptions of the reception of other delegations. The members of a German embassy were offered forty-four kaftans. A Persian embassy was received in even greater splendour. The Persian ambassador was given “a very beautiful kaftan, the kind worn by the Sultan himself”, and members of his delegation “also received good kaftans, about sixty of them all together”. Members of a Tartar embassy, however, were offered only nine kaftans.
82. Quoted by Palotay 1940: 13.
83. Szilágyi 1875 (vol. 1): 238–44; Lukinich 1927: 86; Palotay 1940: 13.
84. Hornyik 1861 (vol. 2): 34–35; Palotay 1940: 13.
85. Székely 1912: 59; Palotay 1940: 13.
86. For Hungarian costume, see Bielz 1936; Biró 1944; Cenner-Wilhelm 1975; Egyed 1965; Galavics 1975; Garas 1953; Höllrigl 1938a, 1938b; Krekwitz 1688; Szendrei 1908; Varjú-Ember 1966–67; mss. in the libraries of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, and the Romanian Academy of Sciences, Bucharest. For representations of Hungarians in Turkish miniatures, see Fehér 1975b. For costume worn throughout the Balkans and in eastern Europe, see Bilecki 1968; Dobrowolski 1948; Gjergji 1967; Musicescu 1962; Nicolescu 1970a, 1970b; Taszycka 1968. A wide variety of Turkish costume is shown in Tuchelt 1966.
87. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 302–4.
88. Radvánszky 1888: 254, 290.
89. Radvánszky 1888: 269.
90. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 302–4.
91. Thallóczy 1878: 510–32.
92. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 319–25 (1656).

93. Radvánszky 1888: 254, 335.
94. Thallóczy 1878: 519.
95. Zoltai 1938: 27.
96. Jakab 1883: 794 (case no. 23, inventory of 1729); Beke and Barabás 1888: 380. Cited among the possessions of Gabriel Bethlen was a Janissary hat of red velvet, adorned with *skofium*. Velvet hats to be made in Istanbul were also ordered for the prince (Radvánszky 1888: 385, nos. 1–157).
97. Jewelled agrafs were commonly noted in various inventories, and depicted in contemporary portrait painting. For actual examples, see Szendrei 1896: 737–38 (no. 4408, probably Transylvanian work, 16th century; belonged to Stephen Báthory); Alcsúti 1940: pl. 20–21; Mihalik 1961: 34; Héjj-Détári 1965: figs. 34 (late 17th century), 36–37 (late 17th century); Héjj-Détári 1975: 528, fig. 24; Dévényi-Kelemen 1961.
98. Jakab 1883: 794. In 1613 Thomas Borsos acquired blue slipper-type shoes, worn by both men and women, with foot-cloths, in Istanbul (Borsos 1972: 76). Other sources provide detailed information on foot-cloths, some of which were made of silk and adorned with embroidery (Beke and Barabás 1888: 817–18). For *pacsomag*, see Kakuk 1954; and for actual examples of shoes, Fehér 1975a: fig. 11. In the 16th century, however, green and blue-grey high boots were not worn by the Hungarians of the Turkish-occupied parts of the country. Since green was the colour of the Prophet, the wearing of this type of footwear would have been interpreted as a sign of sympathy for the faith of Islam. Christians in fact were forbidden by the Church to have such boots (Bobrovsky 1978).
99. Thallóczy 1878: 520.
100. Beke and Barabás 1888: 379, 552–53, 614, 620.
101. Beke and Barabás 1888: 553.
102. Beke and Barabás 1888: 614.
103. Beke and Barabás 1888: 620.
104. Beke and Barabás 1888: 379, 510–12, 552, 554–55, 595, 627, 788, 817.
105. The excavations of the Roman Catholic church at Sárospatak were carried out under the direction of the author in 1964–65. For the *sprang* sashes, see Varjú-Ember 1968: 155–60, fig. 92–95. Varjú-Ember also refers to a fragment of a *sprang* sash in the collection of the Bakony Museum, Veszprém, which is said to have come to light at Szentbenedekhegy in 1903. For *sprang*, see Collingwood 1974.
106. Sobó 1910: 47.
107. Radvánszky 1888: 287.
108. Jakab 1883: 796 (case no. 31).
109. Héjj-Détári 1975: 487, 516 (fig. 10). Museum of Decorative Arts, Budapest, Textile Collections, acc. no. 52.2370.
110. Gervers-Moľnár 1973: 43, 124 (fig. 61); Gervers 1978; Treiber-Netoliczka 1968: 25–26, 52, 53, pl. 65, 68, 69.
111. Wilbush 1972.
112. Cf. Start and Durham 1939; *Jugoslawische Volkskunst* 1959: 10–11 (Macedonia), 12 (Bosnia); Braun and Schneider 1975: pls. 107 (Dalmatia), 108 (Yugoslavian Macedonia), 110 (Lebanon; Damascus, Syria). See also notes 113–17 *infra*.
113. Such outfits were particularly characteristic in Albania. Baggy trousers were also frequently worn underneath fashionable 19th-century dress in Greece, together with elaborate long coats, or short, waist-length jackets of oriental origin. Benaki 1948: pl. 35–36 (Epirus), 68 (Hydra).
114. Simpler versions of such jackets were worn over characteristic long Balkan gowns, made of linen or cotton (see note 117). In Attica, however, the double jackets used for festive occasions and as part of bridal attire had velvet edgings and laid and couched embroidery of metallic braids (ROM, acc. no. 910.95.1–2; Benaki 1948: pl. 13–14).
115. Benaki 1948: pl. 1 (outfit worn by general, 1835), 5 (diplomatic costume, 1833–70), 6–8 (costumes of upper-class bourgeoisie, 1835), 9 (Peloponnese, costume of upper-class bourgeoisie, 1835), 22 (costume worn by villagers of Navpaktos).

116. Benaki 1948: pl. 11 (court dress, inspired by village costume of Attica, reign of George I of Greece, 1867–1913). The Art Museum in Bucharest has a good collection of 18th- and 19th-century Romanian court costumes made in the Turkish fashion. A 19th-century Romanian outfit is at the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Related garments from Serbia are depicted on innumerable 19th-century portraits.

117. Gervers 1975: 64, fig. 20–21; Benaki 1948: pl. 12, 15, 16, 22, 24, 25, 30, 33, 40–42, 57, 58; Klickova and Petrusseva 1963; Zojzi 1971; *Jugoslawische Volkskunst* 1959: 9, 14–15, 18–19; Banăţeanu et al. 1958.

118. Similar tendencies are known from elsewhere in the Islamic world. In Morocco, for example, the *grande robe* of Jewish women, cut in the fashion of 17th-century Spanish costume, was adorned with couched embroidery and metallic braiding in an Ottoman style (Müller-Lancet 1976). The general appearance of this type of costume shows close associations with the jacket-type coats of the Balkans. Such coats, however, were not unique in the mode of European Turkey, but were widely worn throughout the Ottoman Empire.

119. Gervers 1975: 64, fig. 21. See also note 63 *supra*.

120. Schulz 1912: 44.

121. Select bibliography: Berker and Durul n.d.; Berry 1932, 1938; Geijer 1951; Gentles 1964; Gönül 1969; Dietrich 1911; Palotay 1940, 1954. For the influence of Turkish embroidery upon Hungarian needlework, see Palotay 1927, 1940, 1941, 1954; Tápay-Szabó 1941; Varjú-Ember 1963, 1972.

122. See note 36.

123. Takáts 1928: 532–33; Mikes 1966: 11 (Edirne, 7 November 1717); Takáts, Eckhardt, and Szekfü 1915: 10 (Murat, *ağa* of the Janissaries in Buda, gave a kerchief to Stephen Dobó in 1560). For the custom in Turkey, see Berry 1932, 1938; Montagu 1965. Charles White, an English traveller, provides detailed information about this custom that survived into the mid-19th century: "Muslin and cotton handkerchiefs (*makrama, yağlık*) . . . are employed less, perhaps, for the purposes to which such articles are applied in Europe, than for that of folding up money, linen, and other things. In the houses of the great men, there is always a *makramacı başı*, whose principal duty is to take care of these and other similar articles. No object, great or small, is conveyed from one person to another; no present is made — even fees to medical men — unless folded in a handkerchief, embroidered cloth, or piece of gauze. The more rich the envelope, the higher the compliment to the receiver." White also notes that "when the Sultan honours individuals by bestowing upon them a gift, the present, whether consisting of fruits, sweet meats, or wearing apparel, is always enclosed in an embroidered cloth, kerchief, or gauze, in the same manner as is practised in the transmission of letters" (White 1845 [vol. 2]: 104–5). On the "guardian of handkerchiefs" or *makramacı* in the households of great persons and the sultan, see White 1845 (vol. 1): 193, 214. For the historical background of the custom in the Islamic world in general, see Rosenthal 1971.

124. Palotay 1940: 19.

125. Palotay 1940: 25–28.

126. Palotay 1940: 26

127. Palotay 1940: 20; Takáts 1915: 270 (1607).

128. Numerous examples are cited by Palotay (1940: 21–23). In the 16th- and 17th-century inventories, published by Radvánszky (1879 [vol. 2]), the following Turkish embroideries are noted: one kerchief in the estate of Matthew Jó, Nagyszombat (1570, no. 29, 22–26); one kerchief among the goods of Gáspár Horváth (1579, no. 33, 27–33); two kerchiefs owned by Francis Chery (1599, no. 53, 92–98); one kerchief embroidered in gold in the estate of Stephen Tatay (1607, no. 65, 119–27); six long kerchiefs (one of these worked in *skofium* gold), eight to be carried as handkerchiefs, and three worked in gold yarn among the goods inherited by the Maróthy and Viczay families (1610, 139–43); seven kerchiefs in the dowry of Helen Christine Woiszka (1647, no. 128, 293–98); two kerchiefs worked in Hungarian gold yarn (presumably made in Hungary by Turkish *bulyas*), three in silk, and an unspecified piece (1651, no. 137, 311–15).

129. Palotay 1936; 1940: 25–28; Posta 1944; Polgár 1916; Felvinczi Takách 1934; Kelemen 1913. A large collection of such embroideries together with a wide selection of archival data from Calvinist churches of eastern Hungary is housed in the museum of the Calvinist College, Sárospatak, Hungary.

130. Also used in Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian, and Greek. Benkő 1967 (vol. 1): 387–88; Szabó 1976: 1092.
131. Palotay 1940: 24–25.
132. Takáts 1915: 292.
133. Takáts 1915: 293.
134. Lukcsics 1935: 343.
135. Borsos 1972: 167.
136. Letters from 1609 and 1611, quoted by Takáts 1926: 456 and 1928: 52. See also Palotay 1940: 24.
137. Takáts 1914: 24.
138. In 1595 we read of a “pillow-case embroidered in Turkish stitches, without gold” (dowry of Catherine Károlyi); in 1603, about aprons, face veils, and sheets worked in Turkish stitches with gold, silver, and silk (dowry of Susanne Thurzó); in 1627, about fringed kerchiefs, cushion covers, and bed hangings worked in Turkish stitches; and in 1671, of “a tablecloth embroidered all over in Turkish stitches with pure silk” (dowry of Susanne Divékújfalussy). Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 76–91 (no. 48), 104–11 (no. 59), 249–51 (no. 106), 351–55 (no. 155). See also Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 1010.
139. Mentioned in 1595 are “a pillow-case embroidered in *kazul* (Persian) stitches in pink silk and some gold” and “a light linen kerchief worked in *kazul* stitches across both ends, without gold thread”, and another embroidered “with standing flowers above a border of carnations” (dowry of Catherine Károlyi). Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 76–91 (no. 48). For additional examples, see also Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 465.
140. A stitch frequently referred to as the “stitch of the Sublime Porte” appears to have been characteristic of works executed on heavier fabrics by professional embroiderers. A coverlet adorned with flowers in “stitches of the Sublime Porte” was mentioned in the castle of Munkács (Palotay 1940: 23). Other kinds of stitches appear to have been associated with saddle blankets. In the dowry of Claire Divékújfalussy (1688), three cushion covers of red satin are described as embroidered in *cafrag* (i.e., saddle blanket) stitches with gold and silver flowers (Radvánszky 1879 [vol. 2]: 378).
141. *Mahramán* and *makrama* (from Arabic *mahrāma*; first mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1560); *tesztemény/ tesztenel* (from Persian *dest-mal'*, and Ottoman Turkish *destemal*). Kakuk 1954. For *makrama*, see also notes 123, 149; and for *pestemal*, note 36.
142. M. Bethlen 1864: 267–68.
143. K. Bethlen 1963: 206–7.
144. Apor 1927: 9.
145. Palotay 1937. Several examples of this type of embroidered scarves from the Kalotaszeg district of Transylvania are in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum.
146. An example from the village of Karcsa, Bodroghöz district, north-eastern Hungary, was acquired by the author in 1963.
147. For illustrative material about Turkish influences upon Greek embroideries, see Benaki Museum 1965a, 1965b, 1966; Krarup 1964; Johnstone 1961, 1972; Wace 1935.
148. Bossert 1968: pl. 14; 20; 23: 6, 13, 15; 24: 10; 25.
149. *Dokuma makramalar* (exhibition catalogue) 1972. The Royal Ontario Museum has an extensive collection of such towels from Anatolia (Gervers 1973: 10). For the use of such towels in Istanbul, see Celâl 1946: 2.
150. The Royal Ontario Museum and the Benaki Museum, Athens, possess many examples in their collections.
151. Bossert 1968: pl. 19: 2; 33: 12, 15. There is a large collection of Romanian towels with woven decoration across their narrow ends in the Royal Ontario Museum. The majority of the pieces come from Transylvania. A Croatian and some Romanian examples were acquired by the author. For further Romanian examples, see Banașeanu 1969; Banașeanu et al. 1958; *Catalogul Muzeului de Arta Populara* (exhibition catalogue) 1957. The same techniques and ornamentation were also common for pillow-cases, wall hangings, and other furnishings in Transylvania, and for bed covers in Croatia.



152. A summary of this chapter is published in Scarce 1979.
153. Bode and Kühnel 1955; Csányi 1914; Erdmann 1962a, 1962b; Jajczai 1935, 1942; Kühlbrandt 1898; Schmutzler 1933; Siklóssy 1925; Teutsch 1881; Zigura 1966.
154. Eichhorn 1968, with extensive reference material to original sources and to commercial connections and trade routes with Wallachia and Moldavia. See also Dan and Goldenberg 1967; Iorga 1937; Manolescu 1955; review of Eichhorn by Beattie; Schmutzler 1933. I am indebted to Mr. Charles Grant Ellis for bringing these references to my attention.
155. Although unconnected with carpet studies, a wide selection of archival references from Transylvania has been collected by B. Nagy 1970: 101–13, 270–74.
156. For a good summary of the difficulties and discrepancies of this problem, see Ellis 1975. I am grateful to Mr. Ellis for sharing with me his thoughts on oriental and orientalized carpets from Transylvania and the Balkans.
157. Cf. inventory of the Zichy family, ca. 1450: “Item unus carpotelentus vulgo carpath” (Lukcsics 1931 [vol. 12]: 224–25). The walls of the palace of King Mathias Corvinus Hunyadi of Hungary were adorned with Turkish rugs and Flemish tapestries, and his tables were covered with silk carpets into which the coats-of-arms of the king and queen were woven (Zolnay 1977: 276). Zolnay also mentions that in 1231 the widow of *ispán* Bors appears to have had Greek or oriental rugs.
158. Eichhorn 1968: 73, n.5.
159. Schmutzler 1933.
160. Eichhorn 1968: 73, n.4.
161. Eichhorn 1968: 73 and n.3.
162. Fögel 1913: 144; Palotay 1940: 15.
163. B. Nagy 1970: 107. Eichhorn (1968) notes carpets among wedding gifts of the well-to-do burgher families, some of which were donated to churches. For the continuation of this custom in early 17th-century Hungary, see note 185.
164. Bobrovsky 1978.
165. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 3.
166. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 30, 47.
167. Géresi 1885: 604–5; Molnár 1975: 3.
168. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 124–26.
169. B. Nagy 1970: 108.
170. B. Nagy 1970: 107–8. In 1656 a tablecloth of filé work was described “to be placed over a rug” in George Berényi’s inventory from Bodok castle. In the same source, two cloths were also noted for the covering of Jewish rugs (Radvánszky 1879 [vol. 2]: 319–25, no. 142).
171. B. Nagy 1970: 108, 140–41, according to an *Urbarium* of 1629, Historical Archives of the Romanian Academy, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), ms., no. 2509.
172. B. Nagy 1970: 141, according to the inventory (1647) of the estate of General Stephen Kassai’s children, Királyfalva, Historical Archives of the Romanian Academy, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Archive of the Lázár family from Gyalakuta, fasc. 48, no. 16.
173. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 183–84.
174. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 310, 325.
175. B. Nagy 1970: 108.
176. B. Nagy 1970: 108–9, 110, according to the inventory (1692) of the Apor House at Kolozsvár, Historical Archives of the Romanian Academy, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Korda Archives, no. CCCLX.1.
177. B. Nagy 1970: 108; Baranyai 1962. Some of these carpets were listed in various inventories after Bethlen’s death (Radvánszky 1888: 254, 258–59, 294–95, 337, 357, 386). According to the prince’s account books, many examples were acquired directly in Istanbul. Purchased in that city in 1622 were four large and eight smaller silk rugs, in 1624 ten divan rugs, and in 1625 twenty-five rugs without further specification (Radvánszky 1888: 1–157).
178. B. Nagy 1970: 108; Koncz 1887: 381, 389, 390.
179. Szádeczky 1911: 115, 116.



180. Szádeczky 1911: 156.
181. Szádeczky 1911: 153.
182. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 5.
183. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 134.
184. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 140.
185. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 183–84. In 1620 Count Thurzó gave five rugs to his son, Emericus. In 1618 the dowry of Countess Mary included one large red and two large white rugs in addition to a medium-size white rug. Rugs so large that they were destined for the covering of two tables appear also in other inventories (Radvánszky 1879 [vol. 2]: 192, 244, 27–33).
186. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 365.
187. The research of B. Nagy brought to light a rich selection of references to various carpets used for the covering of tables in Transylvania in the 16th and 17th centuries (B. Nagy 1970: 108, 110, 138–39, 140–41). In 1591 “rugs of nice new types” were listed among goods acquired in Istanbul; these pieces were “a bit larger than those for tables”. In 1629 “worn and new white carpets” and a “multicoloured carpet on white ground” were noted at Szentdemeter. In the same year, carpets “with gold weave” and “with white flowers and interwoven in silver”, a divan rug, and a “red divan rug to cover two tables” are known from Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia). In 1634 Francis Macskási’s mansion at Búzásbocsárd had tables covered with rugs. In 1637 an inventory from Kolozsvár mentions a worn red rug used for the same purpose. In 1647 a white carpet is listed at Drassó, and a variety of types from Királyfalva (new white; patterned with “jackdaws”, i.e., bird carpet; multicoloured). In 1656 a worn rug is known from Bocsárd, and a “multicoloured rug on a red ground” from Doboka. In 1661 a “Seckler” rug was listed at Bethlen, and a red carpet from the estate of Ákos Barcsai’s widow. In 1679 white and black rugs covered tables at Kentelke. In 1690 a worn red rug and a scarlet rug are noted in the castle of Bethlen; in 1692 “a rug with cassettes” (*táblás szőnyeg*) in the Apor House of Kolozsvár; and in 1694 a white example in the castle of Kövár. In later documents the colours or patterning of rugs is rarely specified, even if their function (i.e., their use for covering tables) is mentioned (1696, castle of Bethlen; 1697, mansion of Nicholas Bethlen at Torda; 1724 and 1748, Koronka; 1754, Bánffy House at Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt/Sibiu; 1792, Sülelend). In 1736, however, we learn about a “multicoloured rug with flowering pattern and tassels” from Mikefalva, and in 1755 about a “peasant rug” from Ludas.
188. Turkish rugs were used for the covering of tables at Szilágyperecsén (1806) and Uzdiszentpéter (1810) (B. Nagy 1970: 138–39).
189. Eichhorn 1968: 76.
190. B. Nagy 1970: 109.
191. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 5.
192. Belényesi 1959: 199.
193. I. Nagy 1876: 227.
194. 1629, Szentdemeter (B. Nagy 1970; see note 171).
195. 1629, Szentdemeter; 1681, Vajdahunyad (Hunedoara); 1682, Gyulafehérvár; 1696, Bethlen (B. Nagy 1970; Szádeczky 1911: 473).
196. 1647, Királyfalva (B. Nagy 1970: 105; see note 172).
197. Listed in an inventory of the mansion at Doboka are “saddle-blanket” or *csujtár* rugs for the wall (1659). One of them, a somewhat used piece, was red, and finished in fringes. B. Nagy 1970: 105, from the papers of Emericus Mikó in the Historical Archives of the Romanian Academy, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), *limbus*.
198. For detailed references see the discussion of *kilims*.
199. Noted among the carpets of Stephen Bethlen are “twelve *keçes* or felt rugs for the wall” (B. Nagy 1970: 105). In 1629 a colourful *keçe* was described on the wall of the mansion at Szentdemeter (see note 171).
200. Eichhorn 1968: 76–77.
201. See note 176.
202. Szádeczky 1911: 117 (1668).
203. Koncz 1887: 38; Thallóczy 1878: 517.

204. It is possible that the only single-purpose rugs were those intended for round tables. According to Charles Grant Ellis, however, there is no evidence for the survival of a clearly genuine round rug of this period from either Turkey or Egypt. The example published by Erdmann (1970: 198, fig. 252) was considered dubious and has disappeared. Ellis tends to believe that square or rectangular rugs may have been used on round tables as well (personal communication, 1977). For round and other "table rugs", see also Yetkin 1974: fig. 63–64.

205. Charles Grant Ellis argues that silk rugs could have been made in considerable numbers in 16th- and 17th-century Turkey. Although no trace remains of the Anatolian examples, others of Cairo manufacture are known (personal communication, 1977). Eichhorn (1968: 81–82) devotes a special section to Persian carpets; see also Beattie. All references to Persian carpets are from the 17th century. It is during this period that references to Persian rugs also increase in western European inventories. Commercial connections increased between East and West at that time.

206. Beke and Barabás 1888: 407–8.

207. B. Nagy 1970: 110.

208. Borsos 1972: 279.

209. Beke and Barabás 1888: 788.

210. Beke and Barabás 1888: 512.

211. Radvánszky 1888: 294–95.

212. Jakab 1883: 797.

213. B. Nagy 1970: 109.

214. For full reference, see note 172.

215. B. Nagy 1970: 109, 274 (references of 1635, 1637, 1675).

216. B. Nagy 1970: 272–73, from the papers of the Jósika family, Historical Archives of the Romanian Academy, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), *limbus*.

217. For references, see B. Nagy 1970.

218. B. Nagy 1970: 109.

219. B. Nagy 1970: 109, from the papers of the Jósika family, fasc. 13, no. 7, Historical Archives of the Romanian Academy, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca).

220. *Táblás szőnyeg*, and *kocka módra szőtt kárpit* (B. Nagy 1970: 110).

221. Inventory of Stephen Tatay's estate, 1607; and goods left for the Maróthy and Viczay families, 1610 (Radvánszky 1879 [vol. 2]: 119–27, 139–43).

222. Dowry of Christine Tassy, wife of Péter Szentiványi (Radvánszky 1879 [vol. 2]: 307).

223. For full reference, see note 172.

224. Apor House. For full reference, see note 176.

225. B. Nagy 1970, from the Iktári Bethlen papers, Reg. VI, fasc. CXCV, no. 6, Historical Archives of the Romanian Academy, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). For additional references, see Eichhorn 1968.

226. B. Nagy 1970 contains innumerable references from Transylvania about the various colours of carpets. Red carpets are mentioned in documents dating from 1587–89, 1599, 1615, 1620, 1628, 1629, 1634, 1637, 1647, 1655, 1661, 1662; white carpets from 1587–89, 1599, 1604, 1620, 1629, 1634, 1647, 1662, 1680; a black carpet from 1679; and yellow carpets from 1611, 1615, 1655, 1656. In 1629 a multicoloured carpet on a white ground is mentioned. Other references note multicoloured carpets without further specification (1681, 1744). Eichhorn (1968) gives a detailed classification according to the following colours: white (first mentioned in 1568), yellow (first mentioned in 1572), red (first mentioned in 1585–91), and brown (first mentioned in 1588).

227. See Eichhorn's identifications (1968). For the limitations of such identifications, see Ellis 1975.

228. According to numerous 17th-century inventories, the Hungarian word *szőnyeg*, referring to carpets or rugs, did not always mean knotted, flat-woven, or felt varieties, but could also refer to embroidered rugs or covers. Such examples were usually worked in *skofium* and/or metallic filé on a velvet or silk satin ground, and were among the products of professional embroiderers. They were always destined to cover tables (Radvánszky 1879 [vol. 2]).

While the place of manufacture for most of the embroidered rugs remains unspecified in the documents, an inventory of Gabriel Bethlen's estate (1631) describes an "Indian rug for a table

worked with *skofium* gold over a red velvet ground". Another inventory of the prince lists a so-called divan rug of red velvet which was embroidered in *skofium*. It was probably made in Istanbul (Radvánszky 1888: 259, 337). When the embroidered decoration is not mentioned in the sources, however, it seems quite certain that the word *szőnyeg* can be interpreted meaning carpet or rug in the traditional sense.

229. Pigler 1956: 63, fig. 69 (Count Gáspár Illésházy, 1648); 63, fig. 70 (Countess Illésházy, 1648); 64, fig. 71 (Count Gabriel Illésházy, 1662); 67, fig. 74 (Countess Rákóczi, 1668); 68, fig. 76 (Ladislav Görgey, 1682); 68, fig. 77 (Wolfgang Jánoky, 1698). Charles Grant Ellis does not believe that any of the rugs depicted on these pictures could be regarded as Anatolian or Persian imports (personal communication, 1977).

230. B. Nagy 1970: 110.

231. B. Nagy 1970: 108, 110.

232. B. Nagy 1970: 108.

233. Voit 1943: 150–52; B. Nagy 1970: 109.

234. In 16th- and 17th-century Hungary, the word *diván/ divány* was used in the Turkish sense to mean the Turkish Council of State, or frequently the Sublime Porte associated with the Council of State.

235. In Simon Kemény's palace at Aranyosmeggyes, fourteen ordinary white carpets (*közönséges fehér szőnyeg*) were listed in 1662. In 1634 Francis Macskási owned a "common white" (*közfejér*) carpet in addition to "three common red rugs" (*közveres szőnyeg*) (B. Nagy 1970: 109).

236. Inventory of George Berényi from 1656, Castle of Bodok (Radvánszky 1879 [vol. 2]: 319–25). This source also includes twenty-six new and eleven worn Jewish napkins. Although specifically Jewish goods are rare in contemporary descriptions, an inventory of Mary Viczay (1656) mentions two Jewish tablecloths (*ibid.*).

237. Ellis 1975.

238. Petrasch 1970: no. 49. I am grateful to Frau Dr. Eva Zimmermann of the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe for bringing this important rug to my attention, and for providing me with photographs and permission to publish the piece. See also Gervers 1978b.

239. Millar 1966. For a colour reproduction, see the dust-cover of Berti 1971.

240. Jakab 1883: 794 (case no. 23), 797 (case no. 56).

241. *Urbaria et conscriptiones* 1975: 283.

242. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 367. A coverlet from the first half of the 17th century with similar technical characteristics, made of silk and gilt-and-silver-coloured leather, is part of the Esterházy treasury (Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, acc. no. 52.2801). Within an elaborate triple border, the centre field of this example is adorned with a figural scene depicting the feast of a Persian prince. This piece may indicate that textiles with mosaic and/or appliqué work were well known both in Persia and Turkey during the 17th century (Héjj-Détári 1975: 495–96, fig. 60). Some of the velvet (*bársony*) rugs, frequently mentioned in contemporary documents, might also belong to this group. See Szabó 1976, document of 1637/39; and note 228 supra.

243. Jakab 1883: 797 (case no. 54); Palotay 1940: 15; Beke and Barabás 1888: 811; Takáts 1907: 375. A felt (*keçe*) of camel hair for a bed is noted in an inventory of rugs returned to Catherine von Brandenburg by George Rákóczi I in 1633. Large and medium-size *keçes* of the same fabric were also acquired for Gabriel Bethlen in 1622 in Istanbul (Radvánszky 1888: 294–95, nos. 51f., 68–69).

244. Palotay 1940: 15.

245. For recent felt rugs from Anatolia, see Gervers and Gervers 1974: 14–29.

246. Barabás 1881: 176.

247. See references in notes 199 and 243.

248. Beke and Barabás 1888: 552–53.

249. B. Nagy 1970: 105, 271. See also Lupaş 1940: 375.

250. Palotay 1940: 16.

251. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 365.

252. B. Nagy 1970: 105.

253. Szádeczky 1911: 116 (1668, 1671); 125 (1675); 128 (1677); 16 (1672); 218 (1673). In 1670, however, “a divan carpet” was given to the prince by the Greek inhabitants of Fogaras/Făgăraş (ibid. 13).
254. Szádeczky 1911: 116–17 (1668).
255. Hofer and Fél 1975: fig. 570–72; Szabó 1956: 103; Szentimrei 1958a, 1958b; Sziládi 1931: 81–82.
256. B. Nagy 1970: 106.
257. B. Nagy 1970: 106, 146, with archival references.
258. B. Nagy 1970: 106, from the papers of the Bethlen family at Keresd, Historical Archives of the Romanian Academy, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), *limbus*.
259. B. Nagy 1970: 105–6, 144–46, 271–72, with archival references. Such frequent 17th-century expressions as “peasant rug” or “common carpet” could also have referred to tapestry-woven or other flat-woven types, if not to undecorated examples.
260. Select bibliography of eastern European flat-woven rugs: for BULGARIA: Stankov 1975; Vakarelski 1969: fig. 87–96; Velev 1960; for GREECE: Papadopoulos 1969: fig. 45, 122–26, 132, 139–43; for POLAND and the UKRAINE: Szuman 1929; Zapasko 1973; Zhuk 1966; for ROMANIA: Banaţeanu 1969; Banaţeanu et al. 1958; Foçşa 1970; Petrescu and Stahl 1966; Tzigara-Samurcasca. 1930; *Catalogul Muzeului de Artă Populară* 1957; for TRANSYLVANIA, see note 255; for YUGOSLAVIA: Kulisić 1966: fig. 48, 96, and col. pl.; Sobić 1953; *Traditional carpets of Serbia*, exhibition catalogue n.d.
261. For the economic life of 16th- and 17th-century Istanbul, see Mantran 1962; Mantran n.d. Diplomats and travellers also provide important information about the life of the Istanbul Bazaar (Busbecq 1927; Montagu 1965; Gautier 1854; Szemere 1870; White 1845; references in Tardy 1977).

# Appendix 1

## A chronological outline of the rise and decline of the Ottoman Turkish empire in central and eastern Europe

### 1. The period of expansion: 1345–1676

- 1345 First Ottoman campaign in Europe.
- 1352 First Turkish settlement in Europe (Çimpe on the Gallipoli peninsula), soon followed by the conquest of Thrace (1354–66).
- 1365 Edirne (Adrianople) captured by the Turks.  
Ragusa (Dubrovnik) agreed to pay tribute.
- 1366–72 Turkish conquest of central Bulgaria. The Bulgarian ruler accepted vassal status.
- 1371 Turkish victory over the Serbs at Çirmen.
- 1385 Sofia captured by the Turks.
- 1386 Niš captured by the Turks. Much of Serbia became a vassal state.
- 1389 Major Turkish victory over the Serbs and their Bosnian allies at the first battle of Kosovo.  
First Turkish raids into Hungary.
- 1391 Skopje captured by the Turks.
- 1391–98 First siege of Constantinople.
- 1393 The Turks conquered Silistra and eastern Bulgaria.
- 1395 Wallachia agreed to pay tribute to the Turks.
- 1396 Crusade of European knights defeated at Nikopol.
- 1397–99 Turkish raids into Greece and Albania.
- 1416 First war with Venice. Turkish naval defeat off Gallipoli.
- 1420–21 First Turkish attacks on Transylvania.
- 1422 Second siege of Constantinople.
- 1423–30 War with Venice.
- 1430 Capture of Salonika by the Turks, followed by the Turkish conquest of Epirus and southern Albania.
- 1439 Bosnia agreed to pay tribute to the Turks.
- 1443–44 A crusade against the Turks under Hungarian leadership, after some initial successes, was decisively defeated by the Turks at Varna (1444).
- 1448 Hungarians defeated by the Turks at the second battle of Kosovo.
- 1453 Constantinople captured by the Turks and became the Ottoman capital.
- 1455 Moldavia agreed to pay tribute to the Turks.
- 1456 Hungarian victory over the Turks at Belgrade.
- 1459 Serbia annexed by the Turks. It became a Turkish *paşalık*.
- 1458–61 Turkish successes—  
Capture of Athens and conquest of most of the Peloponnese.  
Capture of most of Genoa's possessions in the Aegean.
- 1463 Conquest of Bosnia.
- 1463–79 War between the Turks and Venice.
- 1464–79 The Turks conquered northern Albania.
- 1468 Turkish raids on Croatia and Dalmatia.
- 1475 The Crimean Tatars became vassals of the Turks.
- 1476 Wallachia became a vassal state of the Turks.



- 1477–78 Turkish raids on the Italian coast.
- 1480–81 Siege of Rhodes.
- 1482 The Turkish conquest of Herzegovina completed.
- 1499 Montenegro (Crna Gora) captured by the Turks.
- 1499–1503 War with Venice. The Turks gained many Venetian maritime stations.
- 1512 Moldavia became a vassal state of the Turks.
- 1521 Belgrade captured by the Turks.
- 1522 Turkish conquest of Rhodes.
- 1526 Turkish victory over the Hungarians at Mohács.
- 1529 First siege of Vienna.
- 1532 Turkish campaign in Hungary.
- 1533 The kings of the two Hungarys agreed to pay tribute to the Turks.
- 1537–40 War with Venice. Unsuccessful Turkish siege of Corfu.
- 1541 Capture of Buda by the Turks, who established a *paşalık*.
- 1543–44 Turkish conquests in Hungary.
- 1551–62 War with Austria. Further Turkish conquests in Hungary.
- 1562 Austria recognized all the Turkish conquests.
- 1565 Unsuccessful Turkish siege of Malta.
- 1570 War with Venice. The Turks conquered Cyprus.
- 1571 Great Turkish naval defeat at Lepanto.
- 1593–1606 War with Austria.
- 1606 The Austrians ceased to pay tribute to the Turks for their part of Hungary.
- 1645–70 War with Venice.
- 1663–64 War with Austria.
- 1670 Peace with Venice. The Turks acquired Crete.
- 1672–76 War with Poland.
- 1676 The Turks acquired Podolia and the Polish Ukraine.  
The Ottoman empire in Europe was now at its greatest extent.

## 2. The period of decline. The first phase: 1676–1792

- 1677–81 First war with Russia.
- 1681 Treaty of Radzin. The Turks gave up the eastern Ukraine.
- 1682–99 War with Austria.
- 1683 Second siege of Vienna.
- 1686 Turkish losses in Hungary, including Buda.  
The Venetians reconquered most of the Peloponnese.
- 1687 Turkish defeat at the second battle of Mohács.
- 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz. Austria received all of Hungary (except the Banat of Temesvár), Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia. Venice received the Peloponnese and most of Dalmatia. Poland regained Podolia.
- 1710–11 War with Russia.
- 1714–18 War with Venice. The Turks reconquered the Peloponnese.
- 1716–18 War with Austria.
- 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz. The Turks lost the Banat of Temesvár, northern Serbia, and Little Wallachia, but retained the Peloponnese.
- 1736–39 War with Austria and Russia.
- 1739 Treaty of Belgrade. The Turks regained northern Serbia and Belgrade.
- 1768–74 War with Russia. The Russians overran Moldavia and Wallachia.
- 1769 The Russians captured Jassy and Bucharest.
- 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. Russia received fortresses in the Crimea and a protectorate over the territories of the Tatar Khan, but returned all her other Turkish conquests. The Austrians occupied Bucovina.



POLAND

BUCOVINA

AUSTRIA

HUNGARY

TRANSYLVANIA

ROMANIA

SLOVENIA

VOJVODINA

BANAT OF TEMESVAR

WALLACHIA

CROATIA

SLAVONIA

Sava R.

Belgrade

OLTENIA

Nikopol

DALMATIA

BOSNIA

SERBIA

BULGARIA

HERZEGOVINA

MONTE-NEGRO

Kosovo

Sofia

Plovdiv

Dubrovnik

Skopje

ITALY

Durazzo

MACEDONIA

Salonika

Corfu

THESSALY

AEGEAN

EPIRUS

GREECE

Lepanto

Constantinople

Alma

SICILY

PELOPONNESE (MOREA)

MALTA

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Vienna

Danube R.

Buda

Mohacs



- 1783 Russia annexed the Crimea.
- 1787–92 War with Russia.
- 1788 Austria entered the war.
- 1789 The Russians invaded Moldavia and Wallachia.  
The Austrians invaded Bosnia and Serbia.
- 1791 The Austrians made peace with the Turks and returned Belgrade.
- 1792 Treaty of Jassy. The Russians obtained a boundary on the Dniester River,  
but returned Moldavia and Bessarabia to the Turks.

### 3. The period of decline. The second phase—the triumph of nationalism: 1804–1923

- 1804–13 Serbian insurrection.
- 1812 The Turks ceded Bessarabia to Russia.
- 1815–17 Second Serbian insurrection gained semi-autonomy.
- 1821–30 Greek war of independence.
- 1829 Treaty of Adrianople. Serbian autonomy guaranteed. Moldavia and  
Wallachia obtained autonomy under Russian protection.
- 1830 The London Conference. Greece achieved complete independence.
- 1848 Insurrection in Wallachia demanding a liberal regime.
- 1856 Congress of Paris. Turkey admitted to European concert.  
Russia returned southern Bessarabia to Moldavia.
- 1858 Establishment of United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, still  
under Turkish suzerainty.
- 1867 The last Turkish troops left Serbia.
- 1875 Insurrection in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 1875–76 Uprising in Bulgaria.
- 1876 Serbia declared war on Turkey but was completely defeated.
- 1877 Russia declared war on Turkey.
- 1878 Treaty of Berlin. Serbia, Romania, and Montenegro were declared  
independent states. Romania ceded southern Bessarabia to Russia but  
gained the Dobrudja. Northern Bulgaria became autonomous, though still  
tributary to the Turks. Eastern Rumelia was put under a Christian  
governor appointed by Turkey. Austria was given a mandate to occupy  
Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- 1881 Greece obtained much of Thessaly and Epirus.
- 1896–97 Insurrection in Crete.
- 1897 War between Greece and Turkey.
- 1908 Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina.  
Bulgaria proclaimed independence.  
Crete proclaimed union with Greece.
- 1912 First Balkan War. Albania declared her independence.
- 1913 Treaty of London. Turkey renounced all claims to Crete.  
Second Balkan War.  
Treaty of Bucharest. Macedonia divided between Serbia and Greece, with  
a small part to Bulgaria. Greece also received the rest of Epirus. Bulgaria  
received western Thrace.  
Treaty of Constantinople. Turkey received Adrianople and the Maritsa  
River boundary. The only part of Europe now left to Turkey was eastern  
Thrace.
- 1918–23 In the aftermath of World War I, both the Ottoman and Austrian empires  
were dissolved.
- 1923 Proclamation of the Turkish Republic. Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) was  
elected president.

# Appendix 2

## Rulers of the House of Osman

|           |                             |           |   |
|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|---|
| 1300–1324 | Osman I                     | 1648–1687 | Mehmed IV                                       |
| 1324–1360 | Orhan                       | 1687–1691 | Suleyman II                                     |
| 1360–1389 | Murad I                     | 1691–1695 | Ahmed II  |
| 1389–1402 | Bayezid I                   | 1695–1703 | Mustafa II                                      |
| 1413–1421 | Mehmed I                    | 1703–1730 | Ahmed III                                       |
| 1421–1444 | Murad II                    | 1730–1754 | Mahmud I  |
| 1444–1446 | Mehmed II                   | 1754–1757 | Osman III                                       |
| 1446–1451 | Murad II                    | 1757–1774 | Mustafa III                                     |
| 1451–1481 | Mehmed II                   | 1774–1789 | Abdülhamid I                                    |
| 1481–1512 | Bayezid II                  | 1789–1807 | Selim III                                       |
| 1512–1520 | Selim I                     | 1807–1808 | Mustafa IV                                      |
| 1520–1566 | Suleyman<br>the Magnificent | 1808–1839 | Mahmud II                                       |
| 1566–1574 | Selim II                    | 1839–1861 | Abdülmeçid I                                    |
| 1574–1595 | Murad III                   | 1861–1876 | Abdülaziz                                       |
| 1595–1603 | Mehmed III                  | 1876–1876 | Murad V   |
| 1603–1617 | Ahmed I                     | 1876–1909 | Abdülhamid II                                   |
| 1617–1618 | Mustafa I                   | 1909–1918 | Mehmed V Reşad                                  |
| 1618–1622 | Osman II                    | 1918–1922 | Mehmed VI Vahdeddin                             |
| 1622–1623 | Mustafa I                   | 1922–1924 | Abdülmeçid II<br>(held title of<br>Caliph only) |
| 1623–1640 | Murad IV                    |           |   |
| 1640–1648 | Ibrahim                     |           |   |



# Appendix 3

## Rulers of Hungary and Transylvania

### Kings of Hungary from the mid-15th century to the battle of Mohács (1526)

|           |                                 |
|-----------|---------------------------------|
| 1452–1457 | Ladislav V of Habsburg          |
| 1458–1490 | Matthias Corvinus Hunyadi       |
| 1490–1516 | Władislaw II (Ulászló) Jagiello |
| 1516–1526 | Louis II Jagiello               |

### Habsburg rulers after the battle of Mohács

|           |                             |
|-----------|-----------------------------|
| 1526–1564 | Ferdinand I                 |
| 1526–1540 | John Zápolyai, counter king |
| 1564–1576 | Maximilian I                |
| 1576–1608 | Rudolph                     |
| 1608–1619 | Mathias II                  |
| 1619–1637 | Ferdinand II                |
| 1637–1657 | Ferdinand III               |
| 1657–1705 | Leopold I                   |
| 1705–1711 | Joseph I                    |
| 1711–1740 | Charles III                 |
| 1740–1780 | Maria Theresa               |
| 1780–1790 | Joseph II                   |

### Princes of Transylvania

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 1526–1540 | John Zápolyai, king of Hungary and last <i>vajda</i> of Transylvania   |
| 1541–1551 | Isabella, widow of John Zápolyai   |
| 1551–1556 | (Under Habsburg rule)  |
| 1556–1559 | Isabella   |
| 1559–1571 | John-Sigismund Zápolyai  |
|           | As a result of the Peace of Szatmár in 1565, Zápolyai was forced to renounce his royal title, and accept that of the Prince of Transylvania. |
| 1576–1581 | Christopher Báthory  |
| 1581–1599 | Sigismund Báthory  |
| 1599      | Andrew Báthory, Cardinal   |
| 1599–1600 | Michael Viteazul   |
| 1601–1602 | Sigismund Báthory  |
| 1602–1603 | (Habsburg occupation under General G. Basta)   |
| 1603      | Moses Székely  |
| 1604      | (Habsburg occupation under General G. Basta)   |
| 1604–1606 | Steven Bocskai   |
| 1606–1608 | Sigismund Rákóczi  |
| 1608–1613 | Gabriel Báthory  |
| 1613–1629 | Gabriel Bethlen  |
| 1629–1630 | Catherine von Brandenburg, widow of G. Bethlen   |
| 1630      | Steven Bethlen   |
| 1630–1648 | George Rákóczi I   |

1648–1657 George Rákóczi II  
1657–1658 Frances Rhédey  
1658–1660 Ákos Barcsay  
1661–1662 John Kemény  
1662–1690 Michael Apafi I  
1690 Emericus Thököly (appointed by the Ottomans)  
1690 Michael Apafi II (elected by the Transylvanians, never took power)  
1692–1704 George Bánffy, Habsburg governor of Transylvania  
1704–1711 Francis Rákóczi II

# Appendix 4

## A select bibliography for the political, social, and economic history of European Turkey

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- STAVRIANOS, S.  
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 1970 *La ville balkanique, XVe–XIXe siècles*. *Studia Balcanica*, vol. 3. Sophia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. See especially the following articles:  
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 T. Stoianovich, "Model and mirror of the premodern Balkan city", 83–110.  
 N. Todorov, "La différentiation de la population urbaine aux XVIIIe siècle d'après des registres ces cadis de Vidin, Sofia, et Ruse", 45–62.
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# Appendix 5

## Turks and Hungarians: Editions of 15th- to 18th-century sources from Hungary and Transylvania

The following list, organized under specific headings, gives a summary of editions of Hungarian source material from the Ottoman Turkish period. The works noted have all been used in this monograph and are not intended as a complete survey of available published sources. Documents relating to political history alone are not considered. For full bibliographic references, see "Literature Cited".

**Hungarian documents connected directly to the Sublime Porte, and/or the Ottoman Empire:** Barabás 1881, Beke and Barabás 1888, Borsos 1972, Karácson 1911, 1914, Szalay 1862.

**Turkish documents from occupied Hungary:** Takáts, Eckhardt, and Szekfü 1915, Velics and Kammerer 1886, 1890.

**Cartularies:** Géresi 1885, Hornyik 1861, Karácson 1911, 1914, Lukinich 1872–1931.

**Annuals, account books, diaries, inventories, dowries:** Baranyai 1962, Bártfai Szabó 1904, Belényesi 1959, Gyalui 1893, Jakab 1883, Kerekes 1902, Koncz 1887, Molnár 1975, Nagy 1870, Radvánszky 1888, 1896 and 1879, Szádeczky 1911, P. Szathmáry 1881, Thaly (*Késmárki Thököly Imre naplói*) 1878, Tóth 1900, *Urbaria et conscriptiones* 1975.

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**Official and private correspondence:** Deák 1879, Lukinich 1935, Szilágyi 1879.

**Literary texts and autobiographies:** Apor 1927, K. Bethlen 1963, M. Bethlen 1864, W. Bethlen 1782–1793, Kemény 1959, Mikes 1862, 1966, Rimay 1955.

# Appendix 6

## Turkish and oriental fabrics used in Hungary and Transylvania from the 15th through the 18th century

### a. Dress materials: wool, camel-hair, cotton, and silk

*Atlas* or silk satin. This type of fabric was manufactured in western Europe in considerable quantities (in the 17th century Florentine *atlas* was acquired in Vienna, and *atlas* of unspecified origin in Prague by Hungarians). However, some variants came from Turkey and Persia. (Beke and Barabás 1888; Borsos 1972: 70, 279)

*Bagazia* (Persian *bagazia*, ordinary or *köz bagazia*, *iszlar bagazia*). A cotton fabric of varying quality used for dresses, the lining of costumes, furnishing, bedding, and the side panels of decorated tents. It was usually acquired in Istanbul but could also be had from Vienna. It is possible that “Turkish *vászon* for tents” referred to *bagazia* (Szarvas and Simonyi 1893 (vol. 3): 1030). *Bagazia patyolat* was probably the finest variety of the fabric. — The Ottoman Turkish word *bogası* entered the Hungarian language through Serbo-Croatian. It is first mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1544. (Benkő 1967 (vol. 1): 215; Szabó 1976 (vol. 1): 534–44; Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 42; Szarvas and Simonyi 1890 (vol. 1): 155–56)

*Bagdát* (*bagdád*). A cotton (?) fabric, used for the lining of textile covers for coaches. — From Ottoman Turkish (originally meaning “from Baghdad”). First mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1625. (Kakuk 1954)

*Csemelet* (*csemelyet*, *chiemellet*, *tsemeyet*, *tsiömoliet*). A fabric of camel-hair or a mixture of camel-hair and silk, often described as Turkish. In the 17th century, it was generally used for skirts and mantles worn by women. At the turn of the 15th century, however, it was frequently used for royal garments for everyday use at the court of Władislaw II Jagiello (Fögel 1913). — First mentioned in Hungarian sources in the late 15th century. (Borsos 1972: 48; Schulz 1912; 76; Szabó 1976 (vol. 1): 1092, under *bulya-vászon*)

*Embroidered fabrics* from Turkey and Persia. (Borsos 1972: 279)

*Fosztán* (*foszlány*). A cotton (?) fabric. In the 17th century, *fosztán* also designated a type of garment worn underneath the *dolmány*. — A wandering word which came to the Hungarian language from Italian, Ottoman Turkish, and/or Serbo-Croatian. First mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1519. (Benkő 1967 (vol. 1): 960–61; Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 260–61)

*Gránát* or *gránát posztó*. A broadcloth used for various male and female garments. This type of cloth, referred to as Turkish *gránát*, was frequently acquired for the Transylvanian princes in Istanbul. *Gránát* also came from western Europe and was often purchased in Venice. Venetian *gránát* could be acquired in Vienna too. — The origin of the word is unclear (meaning “from Granada”?), but the Hungarian word is definitely borrowed from a foreign language. First mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1552. (Benkő 1967 (vol. 1): 1095; Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 308; Szarvas and Simonyi 1890 (vol. 1): 1123)

*Kamuka*. Probably a fine woollen fabric which is often specified as Turkish (Beke and Barabás 1888: 594). Schulz (1912: 75), however, interprets it as a heavy silk fabric, and in a 17th-century inventory a roll of hemp *kamuka* for tablecloths is listed (Radvánszky 1888: 285). "Turkish *kamuka* with flowers" and "*kamuka* adorned with multicoloured flowers" or "woven with fish-scale pattern" appear to refer to figured woollen fabrics. *Kamuka* of a single colour and Persian *kamuka* were also common. The fabric was used for tablecloths, various garments, petticoats, the lining of costly garments, and furnishings (wall- and bed-hangings). While it was often acquired in Istanbul, it was also for sale in Vienna, Venice, and Cracow. Contemporary sources mention *Rác* (Serbian), English, and Venetian *kamukas*. (Borsos 1972: 70, 279; Radvánszky 1896 (vol. 1): 172)

*Kanica*. A silk and/or woollen fabric, sometimes used for horse-trappings. The term occasionally designated a sash worn by women (Benkö 1970 (vol. 2): 346). — The word came to the Hungarian language from Serbo-Croatian. First mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1542. (Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 445)

*Kármány* (*karman*). A light linen or cotton fabric, but occasionally the term referred to leather. *Karman patyolat* and *karman gyolcs* are also known. — From Ottoman Turkish, originally meaning "from/of Karamania". First mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1543. (Benkö 1970 (vol. 2); Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 457)

*Karmasin*. A silk fabric, perhaps in satin weave (1523: "*athlacz*, i.e., satin, *karmasin* rubei coloris"; 1544: "*ex serico karmasyn*"). It is frequently referred to as *karmasin* of Turkey and was often acquired in Istanbul. — From Arabic *kirmizi*. The word came to the Hungarian language via Italian, German, or medieval Latin. First mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1458. *Karmasin* could also refer to silk yarns, and was the term commonly used to designate a crimson colour whose name has the same etymological origins. (Beke and Barabás 1888: 818; Benkö 1970 (vol. 2): 384; Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 457)

*Kasmir*. A fine woollen fabric of oriental origin (meaning "from Kashmir").

*Kürdi*. Either a kind of woollen cloth or a coat made of such a fabric or in oriental fashion. — From Ottoman Turkish for "of the Kurd". The term is also known in Romanian and Serbo-Croatian. First mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1661. (Kakuk 1954)

*Majc* (*majcz*). A heavy figured silk fabric, usually woven with some cotton in the warp or the weft. Details of its patterning might be executed in gold and silver lamé. *Majc* was often used for belts (Schulz 1912: 46–47). — First mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1636. (Beke and Barabás 1888: 240–42)

*Muhar* (*mohâr*, *muhara*, *mothayer*). A light silk (?) fabric. It was used for various garments, which some sources indicate were for use by domestics. It is often mentioned as Turkish *muhar* or Turkish *mothayer* in 17th-century sources. (Schulz 1912: 76)

*Muszuj* (*muszuly*, *muszul*). A lightweight cotton fabric used for female garments. In the 19th and 20th centuries the term has been used to describe a back-apron type of skirt worn especially in the Kalotaszeg district of Transylvania. — From Ottoman Turkish (originally meaning "from Mosul"). Also known in Serbo-Croatian, Albanian, and Romanian. The Hungarian word is only known from Transylvania. It

was adopted into Polish from Hungarian. First mentioned in Hungarian sources in 1691. (Benkő 1970 (vol. 2): 983; Kakuk 1954; Kós 1964; Szabó 1976 (vol. 1): 543, under *bagazia*)

*Tafota*. A silk tabby, manufactured in various colours and frequently acquired in Istanbul (Beke and Barabás 1888: 818). *Tafota* also came from western Europe. In Vienna, a variety of *tafota* of unspecified origin (sometimes referred to as “ordinary”) and Spanish, Venetian, and Neapolitan *tafotas* were purchased. The fabric was of course available from Venice, and Venetian *tafota* was occasionally sold in Transylvania. It was generally used to line costly garments and coverlets. Sometimes, however, entire garments were made of it. (Szamota and Zolnai 1906: 950–51)

*Velvet*. Plain velvet (*sima bársony*) of Turkish manufacture is often noted in documents (Beke and Barabás 1888: 105, 123), and it is likely that figured velvets too came from Turkey. Persian velvets could also be acquired in Istanbul (Borsos 1972: 279) and Venice (Radvánszky 1888: 69f.). Many varieties of velvet, however, came from western Europe. In Vienna Florentine, Genoese, and Milanese velvets were purchased, and most velvets available in Venice were probably of local manufacture (velvets with flowers, velvet interwoven with gold and adorned with floral ornaments, plain velvet in various colours).

For further references to the various fabrics, see the indexes of Beke and Barabás 1888; Radvánszky 1879, 1896, and 1888 (vols. 1–3); Szádeczky 1911.

#### b. Linens and cottons

The names of plain fabrics, usually woven in tabby weave, do not refer to their fibre or country of origin, but indicate rather the fineness of the yarn used and of the weave. *Patyolat* appears to be the finest and lightest of these materials, though the degrees of its quality are frequently distinguished in the written sources. *Gyolcs* seems to designate a fabric of medium fineness and weight, while *vászón* indicates a coarser and more ordinary fabric.

In the documents, *patyolat* is described as *jántsár* or *jancsár* (Janissary) *patyolat* of different qualities (good, better, best, ordinary), *zále patyolat*, Turkish *patyolat*, cotton *patyolat*, and *patyolat* woven in narrow widths. Polish and Moravian *patyolats* are occasionally also noted (Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2); Szarvas and Simonyi 1892 (vol. 2): 1253–54). In most cases, however, adjectives do not help to identify the place where such fabrics were manufactured.

*Patyolat* is often mentioned without any further specification among goods acquired for George Rákóczi I of Transylvania in Istanbul. In 1639 lengths of *patyolat* were brought from India to the Turkish capital (Beke and Barabás 1888: 407). Persian *patyolat* was also of high repute. It was regularly included among the royal gifts presented by Persian delegations to the Sultan of the Ottomans. In 1619 Thomas Borsos (1972: 279) noted that in addition to hundreds of rolls of white *patyolat*, especially the *patyolat* of Kandahar, several hundred rolls of costly colourful *patyolat*, interwoven (?) in both silver and gold, and patterned colourful *patyolat* (perhaps printed) for coverlets, were given to the Turkish sultan by Jadigiar Ali Sultan, ambassador of Persia to the Sublime Porte. Borsos (1972: 282) himself acquired one length of *patyolat* for his wife in Istanbul in that year.

*Gyolcs* is known from the Orient as well as from western and central Europe. Among the eastern varieties, Turkish *gyolcs*, *zergő gyolcs* (“crisp”, i.e., starched), *gyolcs* from India, and cotton, linen, and *kármán* (from Karamania) *gyolcs* appear to be the most commonly used types. Such expressions as *patkós gyolcs* (with horse-shoes)



and *pálcás gyolcs* (with short lines/bands) may refer to such patterned materials as, for example, the ground fabric of 18th- and 19th-century Turkish towels. The latter are frequently decorated with small brocaded ornaments, or bands of heavier wefts. "Double" (*kétszeres/kettős*) *gyolcs* was also known. Among European imports, *gyolcs* from Holland, Germany, Flanders, France, Poland, Silesia, and numerous Upper Hungarian cities (Löcse/Levoca, Bártfa/Bardejov) were well known. For references, see Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2); Schulz 1912; Szarvas and Simonyi 1890 (vol. 1): 1172–73.

*Vászon* has a great many varieties, some of which can be associated with Ottoman Turkish fabrics. These include Turkish *vászon*, Turkish *vászon* of nettle, *bulya vászon*, Janissary *vászon*, good quality Janissary *vászon* of cotton, and *bagazia vászon*. Jewish *vászon* may also refer to a special product of the Ottoman Empire. For references, see Palotay 1940: 14–15; Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2); Szabó 1976 (vol. 1): 1092–93; Szarvas and Simonyi 1893 (vol. 3): 1030.

It is known that cotton *vászon* was acquired and dyed in Istanbul for George Rákóczi I (Beke and Barabás 1888: 393–95).

*Vászon* was also woven locally. Numerous documents mention Transylvanian, Upper Hungarian (especially from the Szepesség Region), Hungarian, *házi* ("of the home", i.e., woven at home), and *paraszt* (peasant) varieties. These are occasionally described as being made of linen or hemp and unbleached *vászon* of either of these fabrics. Some of the so-called Turkish *vászons* did not necessarily come from Anatolia but could have been manufactured in Turkish-occupied Hungary or some other part of European Turkey. German, Viennese, and Italian *vászons* were also available (Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2); Schulz 1912). Italian *vászon* must have been the finest variety of this particular fabric. *Canvas*, on the other hand, was likely a coarse cloth in tabby weave, usually coming from Vienna (1612, list of goods purchased for the wedding of Countess Barbara Thurzó. Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2): 143–47).

Another plain linen (?) fabric, used for blouses and shirts, was called *csinadof* (*chydnadof*, *chinadof*, *csinatof*). According to the descriptions in the sources, most such blouses were elaborately embroidered in gold and silver filé, and silk. This seems to indicate that the material was similar to *patyolat* or the finest *gyolcs*. *Csinadof* was usually acquired from Vienna, but Turkish *csinadof* is also known from 1644 (Radvánszky 1879 (vol. 2)).

At the end of the 17th century, the price of one roll of *patyolat* varied from 5 to 25 florins. In the same period, both Turkish *gyolcs* and *vászon* cost 2 florins per roll. For additional references to fabrics and prices, see the inventory of a Greek merchant in section (c) of this appendix.

Contemporary sources indicate that all these fabrics were used for more or less similar purposes. The fineness or coarseness of the material depended rather on the status of the wearer, or on the occasion when it was worn. Women's blouses were made from Turkish *patyolat* as well as from *bulya vászon* (Schulz 1912: 23).

Silk *bulya vászon* was probably called *vászon* because it was used for blouses and shirts. Aprons were made of "Polish *patyolat*, embroidered according to free-drawn design", "Turkish *patyolat* with whitework", "*paraszt* [peasant] *patyolat*", *bulya vászon*, or *paraszt bulya vászon*, or of loosely woven fine fabrics called *fátyol*, which generally had printed ornaments.

While *gyolcs* was considerably cheaper than *patyolat*, some documents indicate that it could also bear rich embroidery in gold or gilt filé. The heavier, dyed or unbleached *vászons* were often used for the linings of simple garments worn by domestics (Schulz 1912).



c. A late 17th-century inventory of the stock of Demetrios Panduka's dry-good store in Upper Hungary.

After Szendrei 1888, 538–39.

### 1. Plain linen and cotton fabrics

#### *Patyolat*

from Baharia, 34 rolls (10 florins per roll)

from Baharia, with ends (selvages ?) decorated in silver, 8 rolls (25 florins per roll)

from Karamania, 2 rolls (6 florins per roll)

Janissary *patyolat*, 8 rolls (25 florins per roll)

ordinary Janissary *patyolat*, woven in narrow widths, 5 rolls (9 florins per roll)

cotton *patyolat*, 14 1/2 rolls and 2 cubits (6.50 florins per roll; 30 denarii per cubit)

*bagazia patyolat*, 19 cubits (60 denarii per cubit)

woven in narrow width, 1 roll (5 florins per roll)

with ends (selvages ?) decorated in white, 2 rolls (16 florins per roll)

with ends (selvages ?) decorated in ordinary white yarn, 1 roll (10 florins per roll)

with ends (selvages ?) decorated in silver:

1 roll, 2 cubits (15 florins per roll, 30 denarii per cubit)

5 rolls (12 florins per roll)

1 roll (10 florins per roll)

33 cubits (60 denarii per cubit)

#### *Gyolcs*

Turkish, 330 rolls (2 florins per roll)

from Bártfa (Bardejov), 50 cubits (10 denarii per cubit)

double (?), 90 cubits (10 denarii per cubit)

#### *Vászón*

Turkish, 20 rolls (2 florins per roll)

heavy, 50 cubits (6 denarii per cubit)

### 2. Other fabrics

*bagazia*, 1 roll and 7 cubits (6.80 florins)

*iszlar bagazia*, 14 rolls (2 florins per roll)

white *iszlar*, 2 rolls (1.80 florins per roll)

*aba* broadcloth, 1 roll 6 cubits (5 florins)

fabric for *foszlány (fosztán)*, 1/2 roll (6 florins per roll)

fabric for coverlet (*paplan*), 1 roll (2.50 florins per roll)

fabric for apron (*futa*), 4 1/2 rolls (1.50 florins per roll)

### 3. Articles of costume

high Turkish boots, 2 pairs (2.50 florins per pair)

high boots of *kordovány* leather, 3 pairs (1.80 florins per pair)

black silk kerchiefs, 4 1/2 rolls (3.60 florins per roll)

skin-coloured kerchiefs, 1 roll (4 florins per roll)

kerchiefs, 8 rolls (6 florins per roll)

7 blue belts (1 florin per belt)

3 black linings (3 florins per lining)

Various *foszlánys* (a garment made of cotton fabric of the same name):

18 blue *foszlánys* (1.20 florins per piece)

17 *foszlánys* without specification (1.50 florins per piece)

20 *foszlánys* without specification (0.90 florin per piece)

48 small *foszlánys* (0.90 florin per piece)

10 small *foszlánys* (1 florin per piece)

1 large *foszlány* (3.60 florins per piece)

7 large, red *foszlánys* (3.60 florins per piece)

5 large white *foszlánys* (3 florins per piece)

13 ordinary *foszlánys* (0.90 florin per piece)

#### 4. Yarns

silk, 30 *nitras* (4.50 florins per *nitra*)

plied silk, 1 *nitra* (5.40 florins per *nitra*)

cotton from Kassa (Kosice), 23 rolls (1 florin per roll)

blue cotton for embroidery and weaving, 208 *nitras* (0.90 florin per *nitra*)

#### 5. Miscellaneous goods

2 tablecloths from Cracow (1.50 florins per piece)

# Glossary

For the names of various fabrics, see Appendix 6. Some Hungarian and Turkish words occurring only once are explained in the text.

## Abbreviations:

|    |           |     |                 |
|----|-----------|-----|-----------------|
| A  | Arabic    | L   | Latin           |
| G  | German    | R   | Romanian        |
| Gr | Greek     | S   | Slavic          |
| H  | Hungarian | S-C | Serbo-Croatian  |
| I  | Italian   | T   | Ottoman Turkish |

ağa (T) Title of military and civil officials

akçe, akça (T) Turkish coinage (in H sources: *asper*, *ospora*)

bey (T) Title, inferior to the *paşa* and superior to the *ağa*

boyard (from R) Romanian noble man, member of the land-owner aristocracy

bulya, bula (H; from T via S-C) Moslem woman

çavuş (T) Uniformed attendant of an ambassador; a Turkish official messenger

çavuş paşa (T) Leader of the uniformed attendants of an ambassador

divan (T) Council of State in the Ottoman Empire

dolmány (H; from T) Tight-fitting, three-quarter length coat, worn underneath the *mente*; a characteristic Hungarian male costume in the 16th and 17th centuries

dram (Gr) Weight measurement, ca. 3.5 g

fertály (H from G *viertel*, *viertel*) Longitudinal measurement, fraction of a *sing*

fustanella, fustinella, fustanelle (I lingua franca; diminutive of the name by which the garment is known in the Balkans) A short, gathered, skirt-like garment, made of white cotton or linen, worn in Greece and Albania

gyolcs (H) Medium fine linen or cotton tabby; used for bedding, underclothes, and shirts

janissary (from T *yeniçeri*) A member of an elite corps of Turkish infantrymen conscripted from Christian youths and war captives, who were forcibly converted to Islam. Janissaries formed the sultan's bodyguard.

kapı kethüdası, kapı kahtyası (T) Official representative of a provincial governor who transacted his business with the Sublime Porte in Istanbul

kaymakam (T) The deputy of the Grand Vizier and governor of Istanbul

keçe (T) Felt, made of sheep's wool or camel hair

kilim (T) Tapestry-woven rug

krajčár (H; from G *Kreuzer*) Coinage, used in Hungary, Austria, and Germany; fraction of various larger denominations (see *thaler*)

makrama (T) Towel or kerchief with embroidered or woven decoration

mente (H) A long or three-quarter length coat worn over the shoulders with non-functional pendant sleeves; a characteristic Hungarian male costume in the 16th and 17th centuries

nitra Weight measurement

paşa (T) Formerly the highest title conferred on Turkish military and civil officials

paşalık (T) Territory ruled by a *paşa*

patyolat (H) Very fine linen or cotton tabby; used for bedding, underclothes, and shirts

- peşgir, peşkir (T) Rectangular napkin or towel with embroidered or woven ornaments across each narrow end
- peştemal, peştamal (T) Large bath towel
- Ramazān (T; from A) The ninth month of the Moslem year, observed as a 30-day fast between dawn and sunset
- sing (H) Longitudinal measurement, meaning cubit
- skofium (H; from L [*s*]cophia, [*s*]cophium) Flat metallic strips or lamé, used for embroidery and for the decoration of figured silks
- szür (H) Men's mantle of heavy, fulled woollen twill, worn over the shoulders with pendant sleeves. It served as everyday and festive garment for villagers, serfs, and herdsmen up to the early 20th century in Hungary.
- thaler (G) Silver coinage used in Hungary, Austria, and Germany
- vajda, vajvoda, voivode (S) A local ruler or military official in various parts of southeastern Europe
- vászón (H) Linen, hemp, or cotton tabby of relatively coarse weave; used for bedding, undergarments, shirts, and linings
- yağlık (T) Napkin, towel, or kerchief with embroidered decoration
- yazma (T) Woodblock-printed cotton (mainly kerchiefs, towels, bedspreads). In the 18th and 19th centuries, some varieties were resist-printed and painted.

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Additional archival references from Transylvania are included in the notes.

# The Figures





# Costume

Figures 1–26



Fig. 1. Funerary portrait of Prince Ieremia Movila (1596–1606). Embroidered in silver and gilt filé and silk on velvet ground. Romania: Monastery of Sucevița, Moldavia. 1606. The fur-lined, long-sleeved kaftan worn by the prince recalls the festive garments of the Ottoman court. The original fabric of the mantle was probably a figured silk woven in Bursa.



Fig. 2. Woman's costume. Bulgaria. Ca. 1925.

Royal Ontario Museum, 960.114. Gift of Miss Stella Vasiloff.

The elbow-length coat of this costume, made of heavy fulled woollen twill and adorned with braided edgings, is characteristic of Bulgarian women's wear in many ethnographic regions of the country. This type of garment evolved from kaftan-type coats worn by Turkish women. The deep rounded neckline was typical of women's coats all over the Ottoman Empire. The necklace of coins also reflects Turkish influence.



Fig. 3. Woman's festive jacket with open sleeves. Red velvet decorated with laid and couched work of silver and gilt braiding and figured bands of metallic filé. Albania. Mid-19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 910.95.3.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, three-quarter length coats with full skirts and non-functional open sleeves were worn by both men and women throughout the Ottoman Empire. The finest examples were made of velvet or English broadcloth and were richly adorned in the fashion represented by this piece. Such costumes were worn by the nobility, important officials, and the well-to-do bourgeoisie.



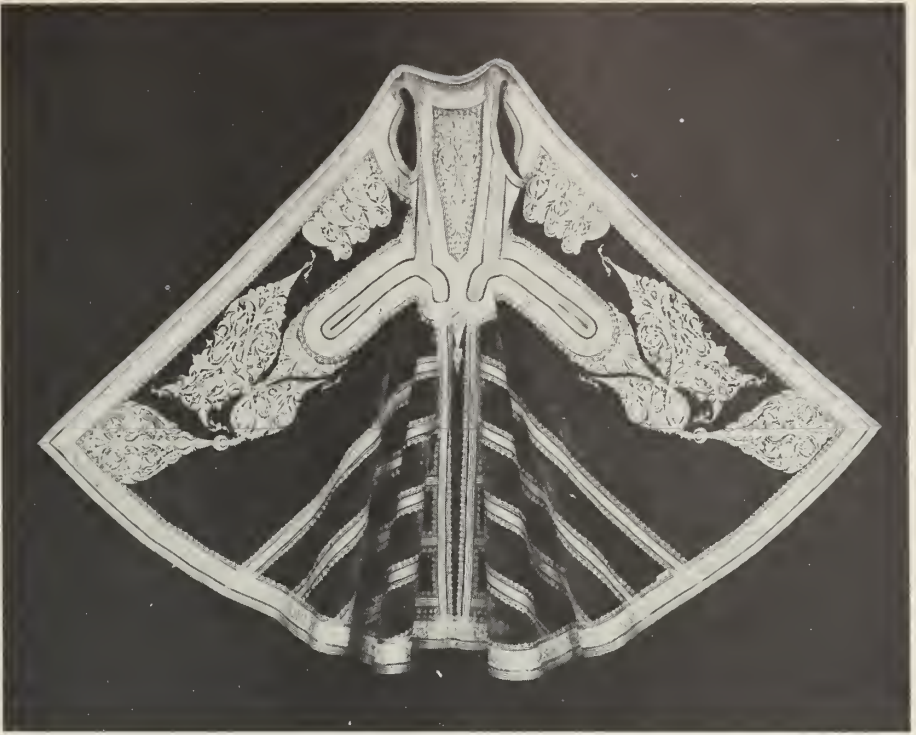


Fig. 4. Woman's sleeveless festive jacket. Red velvet decorated with laid and couched work of silver and gilt braiding and figured bands of metallic filé. Albania. Mid-19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 910.95.4.  
The sleeves of garments such as that shown in Fig. 3 were only decorative. Many similar jackets were made without sleeves.



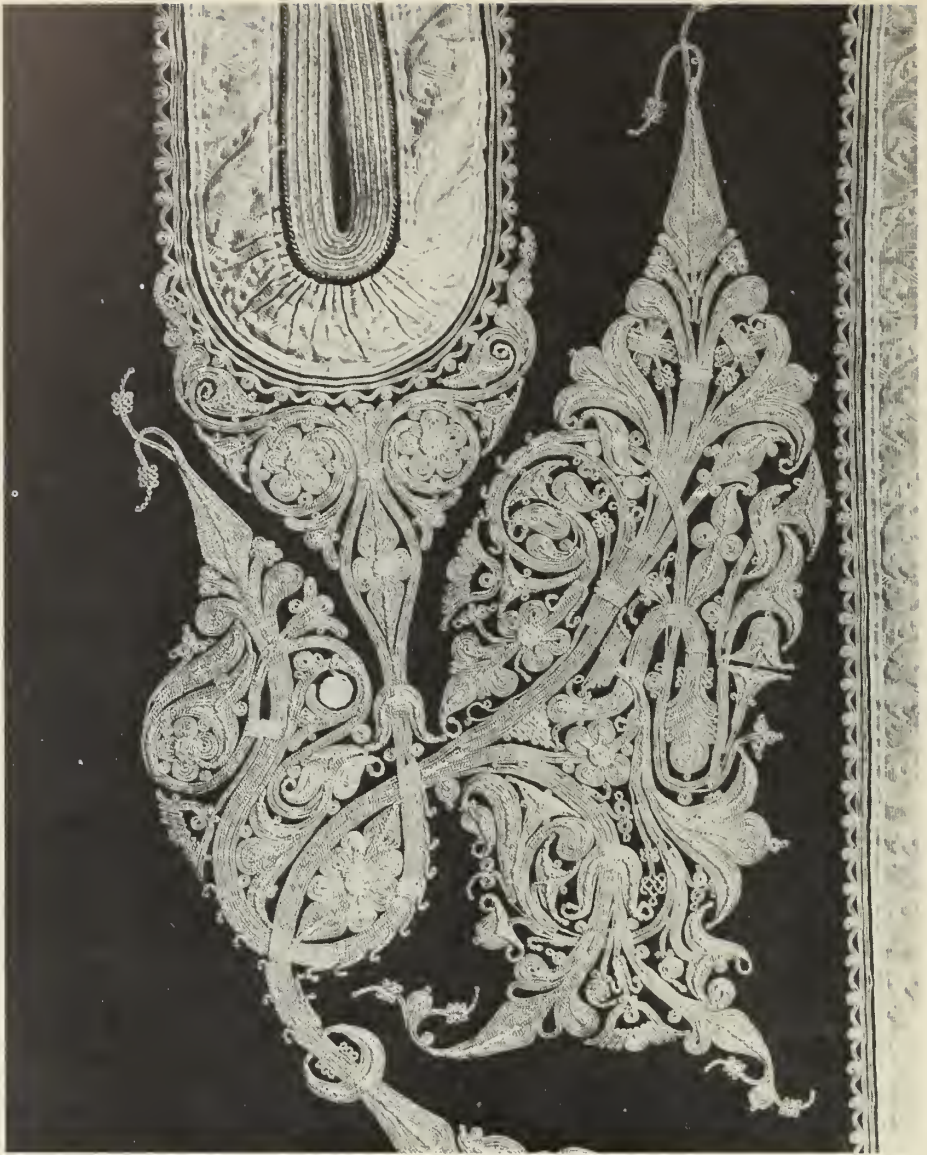


Fig. 5. Detail of Figure 4.

This type of embroidery, based on stylized vegetation, was characteristic of the work of professional embroiderers in the Balkans and throughout the Ottoman Empire.

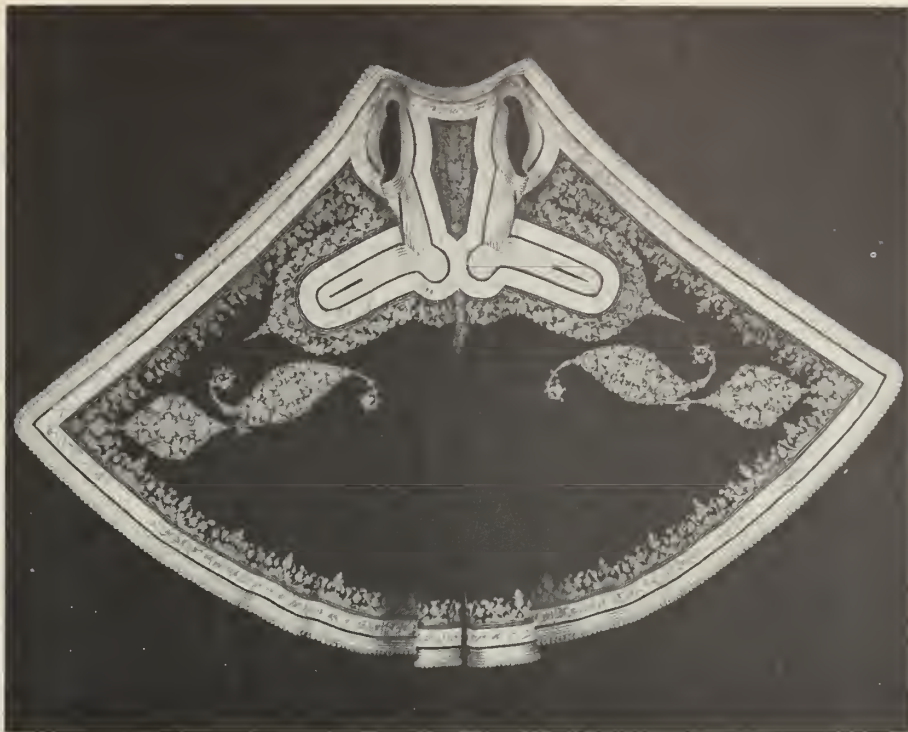


Fig. 6. Woman's sleeveless festive jacket. Medium-blue English broadcloth decorated with laid and couched work of silver and gilt braiding and figured bands of metallic filé. Albania, Greece, or Yugoslavia. Mid-19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 973.128.7. Bequest of Dr. Hetty Goldman.



Fig. 7. Woman's festive costume with two sleeveless jackets. While the under-jacket is made of coarse fullered white woollen twill, the over-jacket of fine English broadcloth is decorated with laid and couched work of gilt metallic braiding. Each of the jackets is edged with dark red velvet. Greece: Attica. Mid-19th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 910.95.1.

In Attica the over-jackets of this type of costume were adorned by professional craftsmen in "Turkish" style. However, minor details such as the inclusion of small birds indicate Greek rather than Turkish taste.



Fig. 8. Woman's festive costume. Greek. Albania: northern Epirus. Mid-19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 965.30.1 (gift of Mrs. H.S. Megaw), and 969.3.1-2. The black broadcloth coat of this costume was cut according to western fashion. The decoration of the garment in laid and couched embroidery of gilt silver braiding is the product of professional craftsmen working in a "Turkish" style.





Fig. 9. Woman's sleeveless jacket. Heavy full'd woollen twill decorated with laid and couched work in woollen braiding. Greece: Macedonia or Thrace. 20th century.

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Ellard, Toronto.

The ornamentation of this jacket shows a simplified version of the rich metallic filé braiding characteristic of festive outfits among the upper classes throughout the Balkans. While this garment must have belonged to the outfit of a village woman and its ground fabric might have been woven at home, the braiding was done by a professional craftsman.





Fig. 10. Woman's sleeveless jacket of heavy fulled woollen twill decorated with applied broadcloth ornaments. Yugoslavia: Serbia, near Požarevac. Early 20th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 972.502.4.

The cut of this jacket with a narrow centre back panel and full skirt is a regional and coarse variant of festive jackets such as those represented by Figures 3 to 7. The decoration, however, may have been influenced by leather appliqué.



Fig. 11. Woman's jacket of white full-length woolen twill decorated with laid and couched work of woolen braiding. Front. Yugoslavia: Debar region, Macedonia. Late 19th century. New York, private collection.

This type of jacket is common in numerous districts of Yugoslavian Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Albania. The cut of this garment, together with the narrow and tapered decorative sleeves, is reminiscent of coats from western Turkestan. This style may have reached the Balkans during Ottoman times as a result of new settlements of easterners and of the constant movements of the Turkish army. In Macedonia other elements of costume also indicate similar influences.



Fig. 12. Back of Figure 11.



Fig. 13. Detail of Figure 11.



Fig. 14. Woman's costume. Romania: Craiova region, Oltenia, Wallachia. Late 19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 941.22.50,a-d. Gift of Miss Amice Calverley. A common feature of women's costume throughout the Balkan countries, skirt-like front and back aprons may reflect an ancient nomadic style coming from the Eurasian steppes during the early centuries of the Middle Ages. The tapestry-woven ornaments of these double aprons, however, stem from the decorative patterns and technique of flat-woven rugs, and may be associated with the *kilim* tradition of Ottoman times. In Oltenia, the front apron is usually long and narrow, while the back apron is short and full.



Fig. 15. Woman's costume. Bulgarian. Romania: village of Puntea de Greci, near Pitești, Wallachia. Late 19th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 941.22.42,b-e and 44. Gifts of Miss Amice Calverley.

Among Bulgarians and Macedonians both the back and front aprons are frequently sewn together horizontally from two narrow widths. These aprons are either adorned in tapestry weave or with small brocaded ornaments. The latter may derive from Turkish *cicims* (brocaded weaves).





Fig. 16. Woman's costume. Yugoslavia: Posavina area, Croatia. Late 19th to early 20th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 959.83 (gift of Mrs. Edgar J. Stone), and 972.415.16 (gift of Miss Jean Alexander).

The highly stylized and diagonally composed floral sprays of the linen kerchief, executed in brocading with silk and cotton, evolved from Turkish ornaments. Such motifs, composed into squares and rectangles, were common in western Anatolia and in many regions of European Turkey. This costume, on the other hand, reflects the traditions of medieval and Renaissance Europe.



Fig. 17. Woman's costume. Cotton tabby with brocaded ornaments in red and some black cotton. Yugoslavia: Posavina area, Croatia. 1960s.  
Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.181.  
The repeating floral sprays of this costume show close affinities with the ornaments of the kerchief on Figure 16.



Fig. 18 and 19. Details of man's leather coat. Turkish. Ca. 1500. According to tradition, worn in the battle of Mohács (Hungary) in August 1526; then the property of the Counts Almásy, Castle of Borostyánkő (Bernstein/Paistum).

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 69.80.C. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.

This coat is one of the few examples of early Ottoman leather garments. The well-composed and elaborate cutwork, deriving from Turkish nomadic traditions, is of the very finest craftsmanship.









Fig. 20. Woman's sheepskin jacket decorated with cut-out leather appliqué and embroidery in coloured silk. Transylvanian Saxonian. Romania: Beszterce (Bistrița) region, Transylvania. Early 20th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 971.340.24.

The influence of Turkish leather garments such as that represented in Figures 18 and 19 can be demonstrated through a variety of sheepskin jackets and coats from numerous ethnographic regions of Transylvania. The ornaments of this example appear to be especially close to Ottoman models. The mode may once have been widespread among the upper classes of Saxonians as well as Hungarians. The well-to-do Saxon bourgeoisie maintained the tradition until relatively recent times.





Fig. 21. Woman's sheepskin jacket decorated with cut-out leather appliqué and inset mirror embroidery. Front. Yugoslavia: village of Dakovo, Slovenia. Ca. 1900. Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.180.

This type of decoration may have evolved from the ornaments of Turkish leather garments. In turn, the leatherwork has influenced the applied broadcloth motifs of fulled woollen jackets and mantles. The dotted appliqué of coats from the Turopolje region, near Zagreb (Croatia), points to a close relationship with this kind of leatherwork.



Fig. 22. Back of Figure 21.



Fig. 23. Woman's sheepskin jacket decorated with cut-out leather appliqué and inset mirror work. Front. Hungarian. Romania: Kolozs (Cluj) county, Transylvania. Last quarter of 19th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 972.248.6.

The cut-out leather ornaments of this jacket relate to Turkish predecessors. The extensive use of mirror work can again best be explained in an oriental, though not necessarily Ottoman Turkish, context.



Fig. 24. Back of Figure 23.





Fig. 25. Fragment of a *sprang* sash made of tightly spun, originally red silk. Turkish (?). Found in one of the crypts of the Roman Catholic church at Sárospatak, Hungary. Mid-17th century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, no accession number. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.

The *sprang* sashes discovered at Sárospatak may well have been made somewhere in the Ottoman Empire and acquired in Istanbul. George Rákóczi I, Prince of Transylvania and Lord of the Castle of Sárospatak, had ordered *sprang* sashes several times from the Turkish capital.



Fig. 26. *Sprang* sash made of tightly spun, originally red silk. Turkish (?). Found in one of the crypts of the Roman Catholic church at Sárospatak, Hungary. Mid-17th century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, no accession number. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.



# Mosaic work and applied ornaments

Figures 27–31

In addition to professional embroideries executed on heavy ground fabrics such as velvet and broadcloth, specialized craftsmen produced a great variety of articles fashioned in mosaic work or decorated with applied ornaments. Lighter carpets and covers were often composed from intricate cut-outs of coloured broadcloth pieced together as mosaics. Cotton appliqué of elaborate floral motifs was especially favoured for the panels of festive tents. The origins of these techniques may go back to nomadic leather and felt work. However, in the court style of Turkey at the height of Ottoman power, the nomadic traditions became refined and ornate.

While mosaic work and a taste for various applied ornaments have survived into our times in western and central Asia, these techniques were never imitated in any parts of European Turkey. Tents and carpets executed in this manner were ordered directly from Istanbul.





Fig. 27. Tent, exterior. Turkish. 17th century. Captured in the battle of Buda, Hungary, in 1686.

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 54.1927. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.

Hungarian and Transylvanian inventories of the 17th and 18th centuries indicate that tents similar to this example were frequently ordered directly from Istanbul by the princes of Transylvania and by some of the Hungarian lords. The applied decoration on the cotton panels of these tents recalls an earlier tradition of leather and felt ornamentation.



Fig 28. Interior of Figure 27.

Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.

The round table on the right is covered with a circular leather mat bearing applied leather decoration. The carpets represent a variety of the so-called "Transylvanian" rugs from the 17th and 18th centuries.



Fig. 29. Prayer carpet of broadcloth mosaic trimmed with embroidery. Card-woven silk fringes at each narrow end. Part of a Turkish booty. 17th century.

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, D.197. Courtesy of the Badisches Landesmuseum.

Carpets of broadcloth mosaic or *kelevets* were widely used in Transylvania during the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries. Their design appears to be connected with the applied ornaments of tents and may also relate to the patterning of the so-called "Transylvanian" rugs.





Fig. 30 and 31. Details of Figure 29.





# Domestic embroidery

Figures 32–58

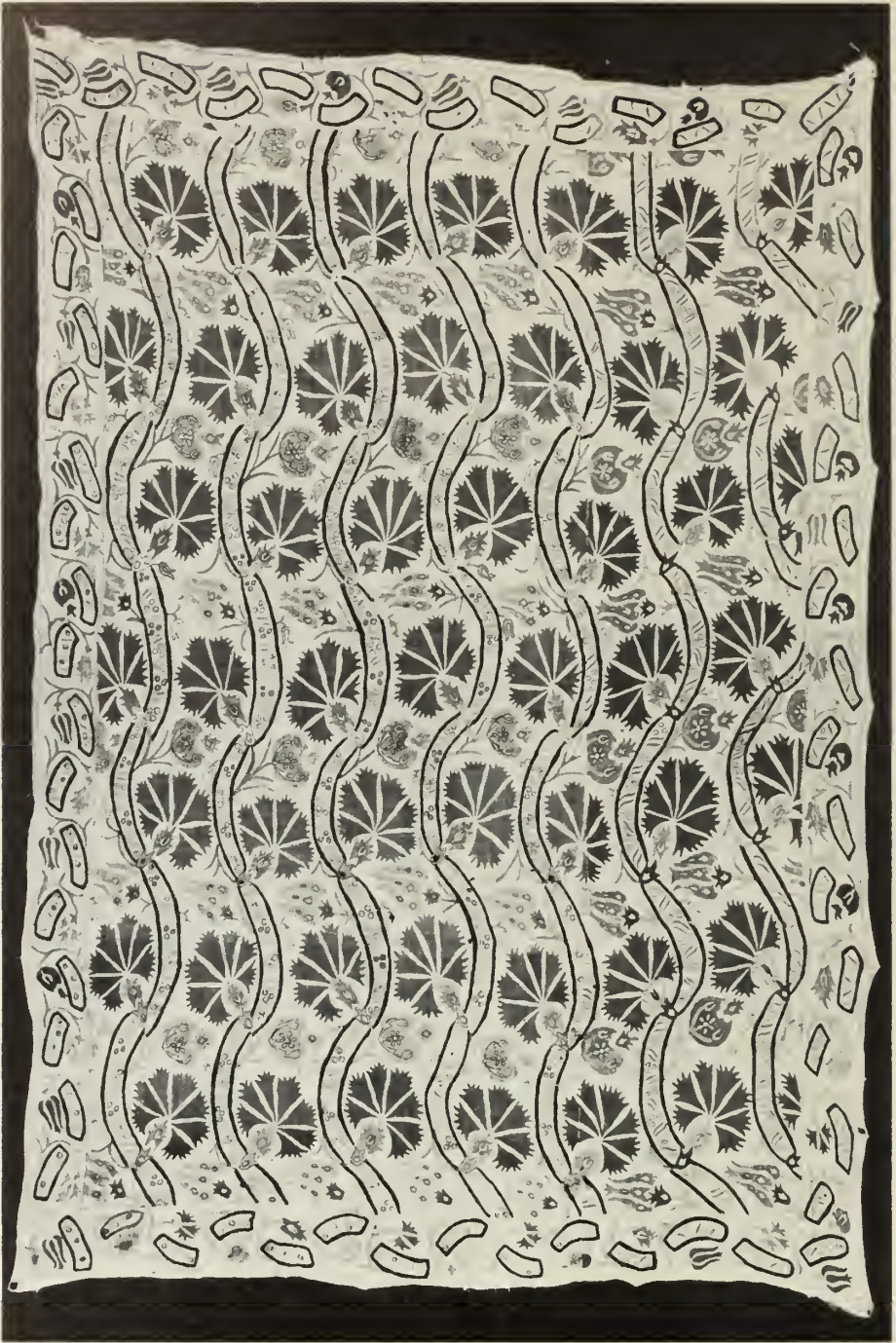


Fig. 32. Embroidered cover. Linen tabby worked in coloured silk. Turkish. 17th century  
Royal Ontario Museum, 912×14.29.

The large embroidered covers of the 16th and 17th centuries are usually adorned with overall floral ornaments. The basic construction of the design, as well as the use of such oriental flowers as carnations, tulips, and pomegranates, indicates that these embroideries were conceived as imitations of figured silks.



Fig. 33. Detail of Figure 32.





Fig. 34. Embroidered cover, detail. Linen tabby worked in coloured silk. Turkish. Late 16th to 17th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 941.22.236. Gift of Miss Amice Calverley.

This piece is a rare example of fine and elaborate counted stitch embroidery from a period in which most large embroidered covers were worked entirely according to free-drawn patterns.



Fig. 35. Embroidered sheet end. Hungary. Mid-17th century.  
Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 1955.423. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.

The stylization of the flowers and the fine counted stitching within the freely drawn lines of the pattern recall Turkish needlework. If this piece was indeed embroidered in Hungary, it followed the Ottoman style very closely and might even have been executed by a Turkish embroideress.



Fig. 36. Embroidered sheet end. Hungary. Second half of 17th century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 1955.422. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.

While the design and more especially the individual flower heads and the border ornaments are composed *à la turque*, this piece is an excellent example of mixed Turkish and Italian influences upon Hungarian embroidery.



Fig. 37. Embroidered altar cover, detail. Hungary. Mid-17th century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 1915.122.1. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.

Asymmetrical flower sprays, composed from such floral motifs as carnations and pomegranates, were often emphasized in Turkey and Persia by a large curving leaf with serrated edges. Through Ottoman Turkish embroideries, these motifs became common in 17th-century Hungary and Transylvania.





Fig. 38. Embroidered altar cover, detail. Hungary. Mid-17th century.  
Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 1955.387. Courtesy of the Hungarian National  
Museum.  
This example depicts another orientalizing variant of the motifs represented by Figure 37.



Fig. 39. Embroidered towel. Cotton tabby with brocaded ornaments in heavier wefts of white cotton worked in coloured silk and silver filé. Reversible. Turkey. Late 18th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.91. Floral sprays with large serrated leaves remained common in Turkey through the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries.



Fig. 40. Embroidered cover, detail. Cream silk tabby worked in coloured silk with chain stitches. Turkey. Late 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 972.415.71. Gift of Miss Jean Alexander.

Chain stitching, done with tambour needle, has been common in Turkey since at least the 18th century. This technique, characteristic of Chinese, Indian, and Persian needlework, may have become popular in the Ottoman Empire as a result of eastern influences. Some chain stitching is also found in the Balkan countries. The reversible stitches of Turkish embroideries, however, appear to have made a much greater impact upon the regional embroideries of southeastern Europe.





Fig. 41. Striped silk decorated with chain-stitch embroidery in coloured silk and metallic filé. Detail of a woman's kaftan-type coat. Turkey: vicinity of Istanbul; acquired in Üsküdar. Late 18th to early 19th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 954.60.

Before the mid-19th century various fabrics were embroidered by the metre for garments. This example shows a variant with chain stitching, worked with a tambour needle. The wavy lines of the repeating floral meanders are composed along serrated leaves and are separated from each other by stripes woven in silver filé.





Fig. 42. Embroidered towel. Cotton tabby with fine bands formed by pairs of heavier cotton wefts; worked in coloured silk, white cotton, and silver and gilt filé. Reversible. Turkey. Late 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.78.

The serrated leaves of floral sprays do not always form a major part in the composition, but often serve as simple leaf ornaments among large flower heads.



Fig. 43. Embroidered towel, detail. Linen tabby worked in coloured silk. Reversible. Turkey. First half of 18th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 971.340.47.

Most Turkish embroideries of the domestic type are decorated with well-balanced, asymmetrical floral ornaments. In the first half of the 18th century, this type of towel was worked in counted thread stitches within somewhat geometricized outlines.





Fig. 44. Embroidered towel, detail. Cotton tabby worked in coloured silk, gilt metallic lamé, and silver filé. Reversible. Turkey. Late 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 948.251.1. Gift of Miss Amice Calverley.

Probably because of European Baroque influences, the flower sprays of some Turkish embroideries tended toward naturalism at the end of the 18th century. The details of these examples are worked in delicate shades. Metallic thread is used for highlights and for general impact, rather than for the embroidery of entire motifs. The asymmetrical nature of the motifs, however, predominates.



Fig. 45. End of an embroidered sash. Linen tabby worked in coloured silk and silver and gilt filé. Reversible. Turkey. Late 18th to early 19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 910×110.38. Gift of Lillian Massey Treble. Large asymmetrical flower motifs often adorned the narrow ends of sashes.





Fig. 46. Embroidery patterns of Julia Rédei. Hungarian. Romania: Transylvania. Early 18th century. After Palotay (1941).

These Transylvanian patterns show that the asymmetrical flower sprays of Turkish needlework had innumerable variants among Hungarian embroideries. The oriental style first influenced the art of the nobility and the upper class. By the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, such motifs became common among the peasant embroideries of many regions.



Fig. 47. Ornaments of 17th-century Hungarian embroideries from Blenkmező (1), Gömörzskáros (2), Szelecske (3), and Szászszombor (4). Floral motifs similar to those of Julia Rédei's patterns were common throughout Hungary and Transylvania.



Fig. 48. Woman's chemise, detail of embroidered sleeve. Greece: Island of Skyros. 18th century.

Benaki Museum, Athens. Courtesy of the Benaki Museum.

The embroidered ornaments of some Greek garments recall asymmetrical Turkish flower sprays. The use of metallic filé in a variant of patterned satin stitching is also characteristic of Turkish work.



Fig. 49. Embroidered towel. Linen tabby worked in coloured silk. Reversible. Turkey. First half of 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 973.336.1.

Symmetrical flower ornaments are relatively rare in Turkish embroideries. They frequently have a spiral-like curve at the end of their stem, which gives them an unsymmetrical appearance.





Fig. 50. Embroidered towel, detail. Cotton tabby worked in coloured silk and silver and gilt filé. Reversible. Turkey. Late 18th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 972.501.

Pulled thread work and elaborate drawn work were popular in 18th-century Turkish embroidery, but here are used only for minor details. These techniques could have reached the Ottoman Empire from Europe, especially from Italy. In the Balkans, however, this type of embroidery became popular as a result of Turkish influence.



Fig. 51. Embroidered towel end. Linen tabby with brocaded ornaments in white cotton, worked in coloured silk and gilt filé. Reversible. Turkey. Late 18th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.89.

In Turkey asymmetrical flower sprays were commonly composed around an almost circular stem of repeating floral motifs. Here the stem is formed by a sprig of hyacinth, which repeats below a large flower head.





Fig. 52. Detail of an embroidered towel. Linen tabby with bands of brocaded ornaments formed by heavier cotton wefts. Worked in coloured silk, white cotton, silver filé, and metallic lamé. Turkey. First half of the 19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 910×110.18. Gift of Lillian Massey Treble. This motif is composed of various flowers. The unity of the design is based on the repeating floral sprigs of the main stem, which forms a semi-circle.

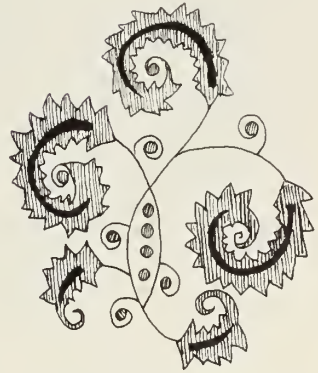
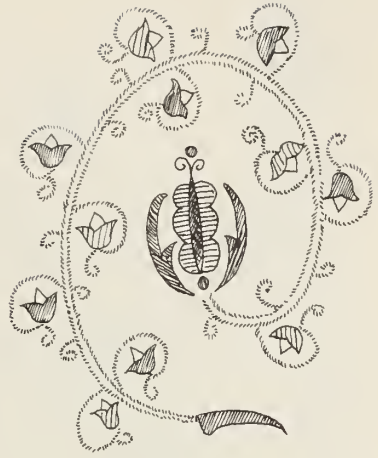


Fig. 53. Ornaments of 17th-century Hungarian embroideries from Ördögösfüzes (1), Melegföldvár (2,4), and Gömörkörös (3).

Owing to the influence of Turkish needlework, curving floral motifs became characteristic in Hungary during the 17th century. Late descendants of this type of decoration are to be found in 19th-century peasant embroidery in Transylvania.





Fig. 54. Embroidered pillow end. Hungary. Mid-17th century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 1955.465. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum. The curving stems of these sprays are composed from the repeat of a single conventionalized flower head. The centre of each motif is filled with an independent pomegranate.

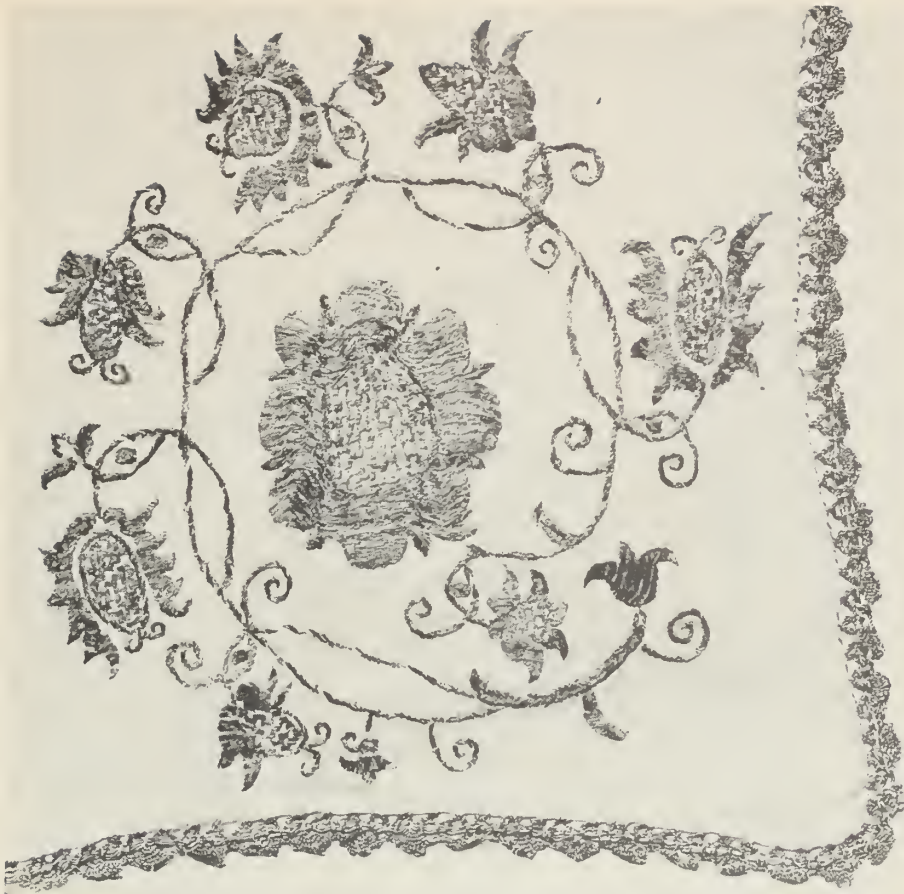


Fig. 55. Cover for the "Lord's Table" in a Calvinist church. Hungary. Mid-17th century. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 1955.378. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.

Each corner of this cover is adorned with a floral motif similar to those of Figures 51 to 54. While the Turkish origin of the pattern is unquestionable, close parallels did not survive among Ottoman Turkish embroideries.



Fig. 56. Embroidered cover for the "Lord's Table" in a Calvinist church. Worked by Suzanne Nagy. Hungary: city of Miskolc, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county. 17th century. Not only individual motifs but also their spacing seems to derive from Turkish embroideries. The emphasized centre ornament of this piece recalls the decoration of turban covers.





Fig. 57. Embroidered cushion cover. Linen tabby worked with two shades of red silk floss in patterned darning. Greece: Island of Naxos. 17th or 18th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 974.59.9. Former collection of Mrs. F.H. Cook (Wace 1935, vol. 1: 55 [no. 36]; vol. 2: pl. 46).

The allover star pattern of this piece, a characteristic of Naxos embroidery, recalls the construction of Persian needlework. This style might have developed in the Cyclades as a result of oriental influences during Ottoman times but need not necessarily be connected directly to the impact of Persian embroideries. Related ornaments are also known from Bulgaria.





Fig. 58. Detail of Figure 57.

# Funerary portraits

## Figures 59–61

In the 16th and 17th centuries, funerary pictures were made in order to provide authentic portraits for funeral monuments. The deceased is usually depicted on his or her death-bed covered with an oriental carpet. Without such representations we would have only written documents to indicate the extent of the Turkish rug trade into eastern Europe. In addition to carpets, the funerary portraits show handkerchiefs and cushions adorned with orientalizing embroidered flower sprays and many examples of jewelled agrafs and arms of oriental style. The garments worn by men are also strongly influenced by the Ottoman mode.



Fig. 59. Funerary picture of Count Gaspar Illésházy. Oil on canvas. Hungary. 1648. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, *Történeti Képcsarnok*: 30. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.





Fig. 60. Funerary picture of Countess Illésházy. Oil on canvas. Hungary. 1648. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, Történeti Képcsarnok: 33. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.



Fig. 61. Funerary picture of Count Gabriel Illésházy. Oil on canvas. Hungary. 1662. Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, Történeti Képcsarnok: 35. Courtesy of the Hungarian National Museum.

# Flat-woven rugs

Figures 62–70



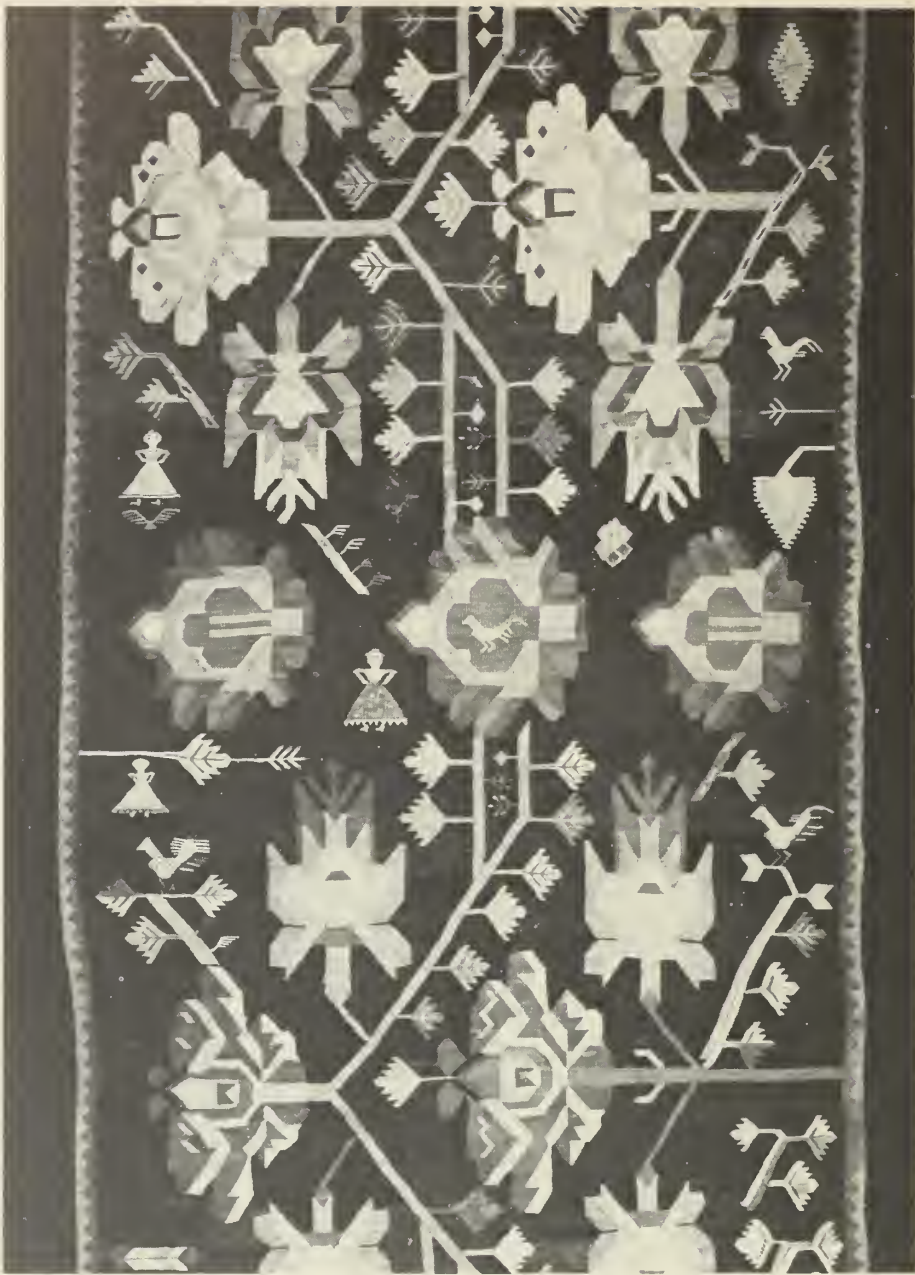
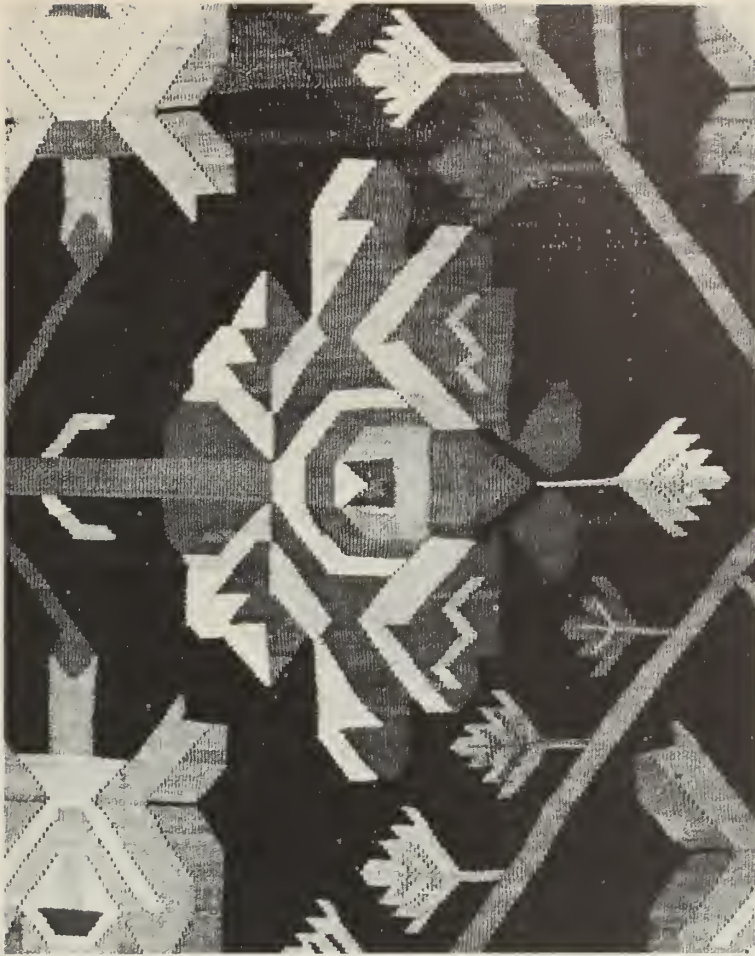


Fig. 62. Tapestry-woven rug. Goat-hair warp, coloured woollen weft. Romania: Wallachia. Ca. 1900.

Royal Ontario Museum, 941.22.220. Gift of Miss Amice Calverley.

The large geometricized flower heads and their distribution over this rug are reminiscent of Caucasian *kilims* adorned with repeating palmettes. Here, however, the construction of the design is clearer and more organic than that of its Caucasian counterparts. Possibly related Caucasian examples of the 19th and early 20th centuries, which are so well known from public and private collections, show a highly stylized interpretation of what was once a more naturalistic design. The inclusion of small human figures and birds is typical of Balkan rugs, especially those from Wallachia and Bulgaria.



Figs. 63 and 64. Details of Figure 62.





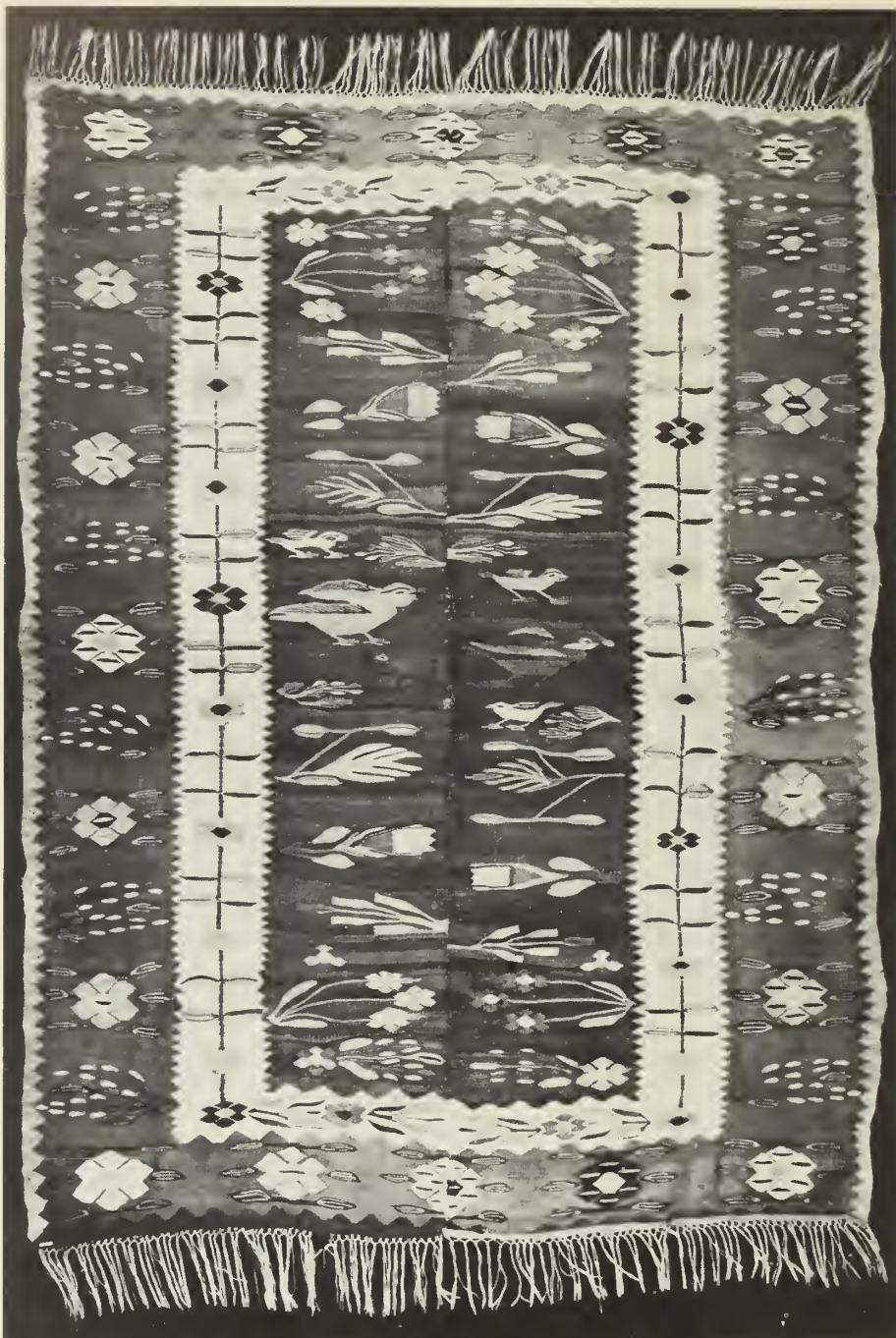


Fig. 65. Tapestry-woven rug. Woollen warp, coloured woollen weft. Romania: Oltenia. Late 19th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 941.22.217. Gift of Miss Amice Calverley.

The general layout of the design and the technique of the weaving are typical of Oltenian *kilims*, though close parallels are also known from Poland and the Ukraine.

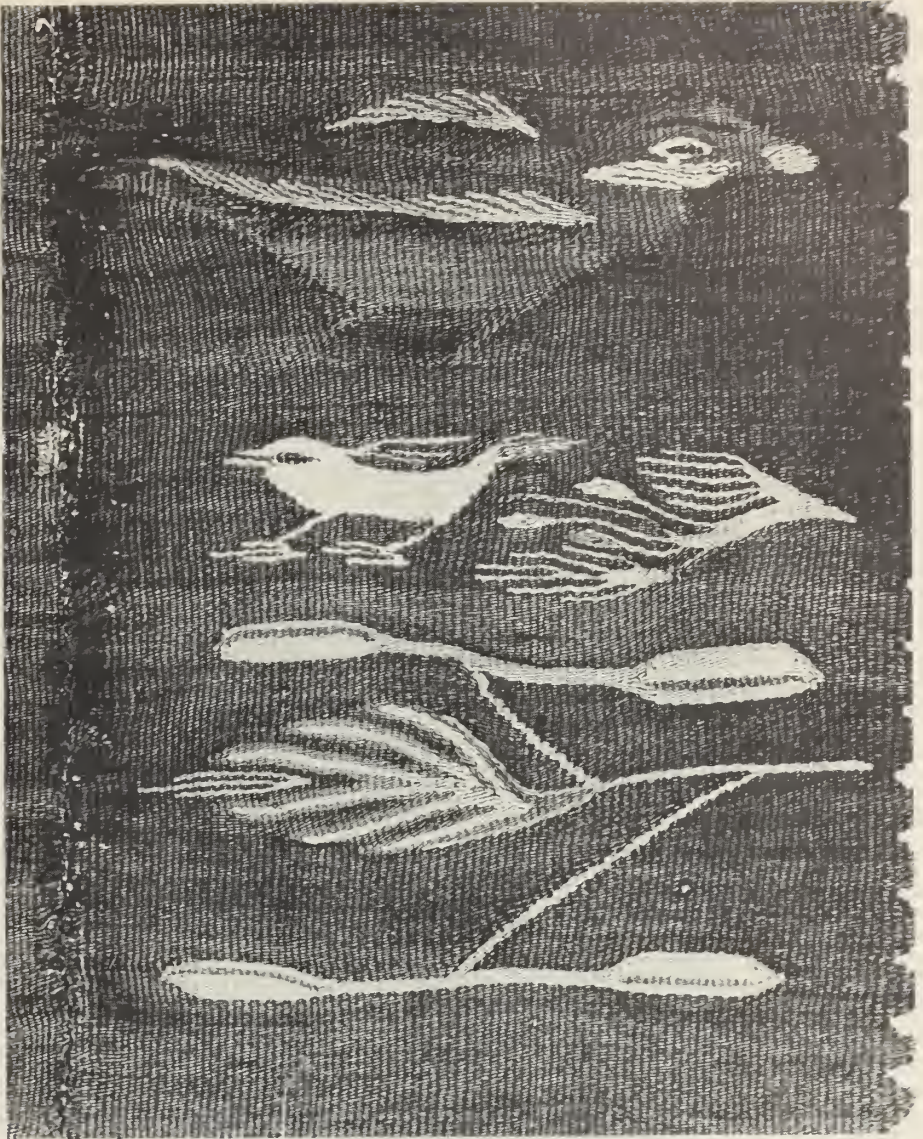


Fig. 66. Detail of Figure 65.





Fig. 67. Tapestry-woven rug. Hemp warp, coloured woollen weft. Ukrainian. U.S.S.R.: Bucovina, Moldavian S.R. Early 20th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 941.22.229. Gift of Miss Amice Calverley. Rugs with tapestry-woven and weft-patterned bands are well known from many areas of western Asia, but are less frequent in eastern Europe.



Fig. 68. Tapestry-woven rug. Hemp warp, coloured woollen weft. Romanian. U.S.S.R.: Bessarabia, Moldavian S.R. Late 19th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 941.22.225. Gift of Miss Amice Calverley.

Long and narrow *kilims* were widely used for wall decoration in Moldavian and Bessarabian peasant houses. The background of these pieces is generally dark brown, against which floral and sometimes geometric ornaments are placed in a repeating order.

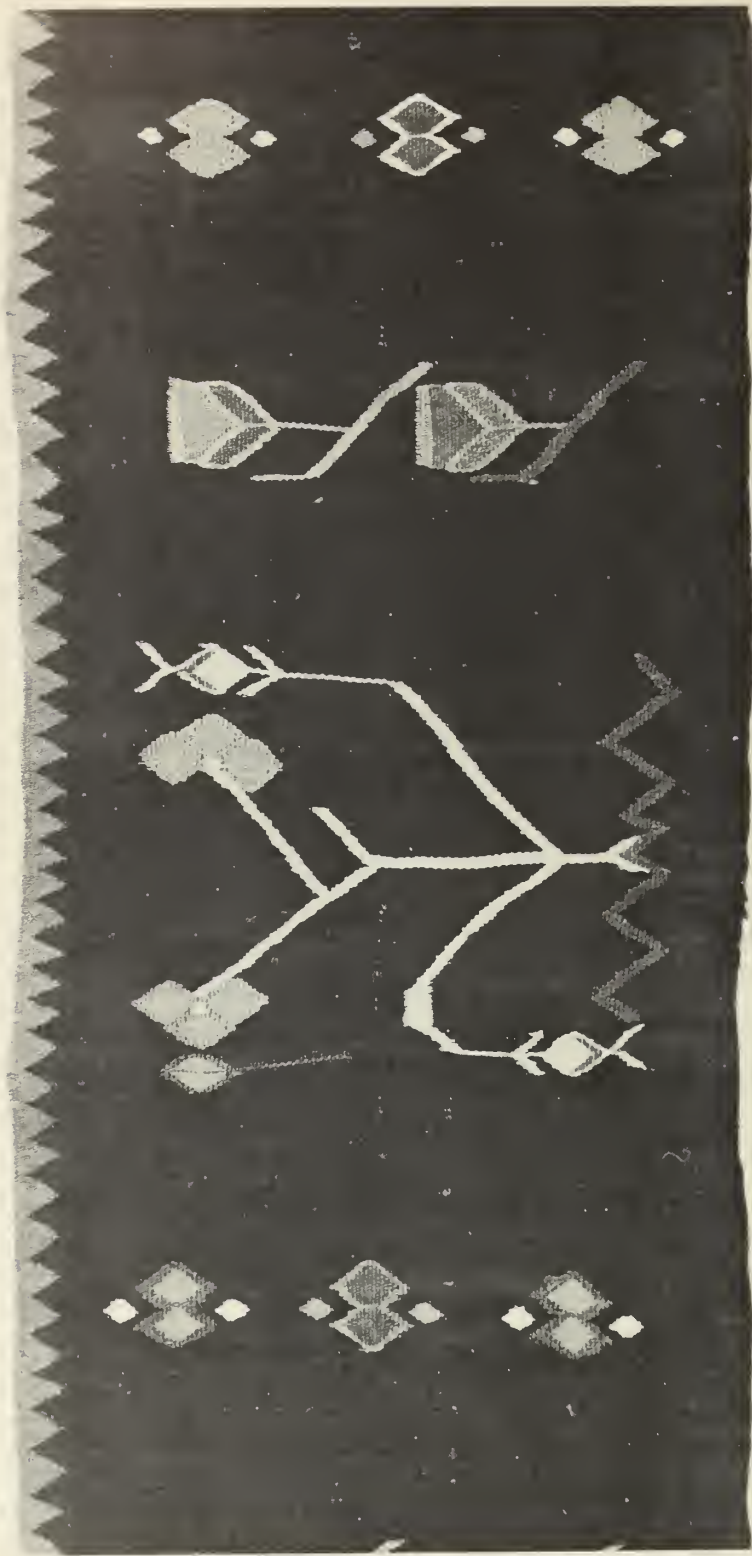


Fig. 69. Tapestry-woven rug. Goat-hair warp, coloured woollen weft. Romanian. U.S.S.R.: Bessarabia, Moldavian S.R. Late 19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 941.22.227,a. Gift of Miss Amice Calverley. Although the unsymmetrical floral sprays and sprigs may well indicate oriental influences, Bessarabian wall hangings have no close parallels among the kilims of Anatolia; rather, they form an unique regional group.



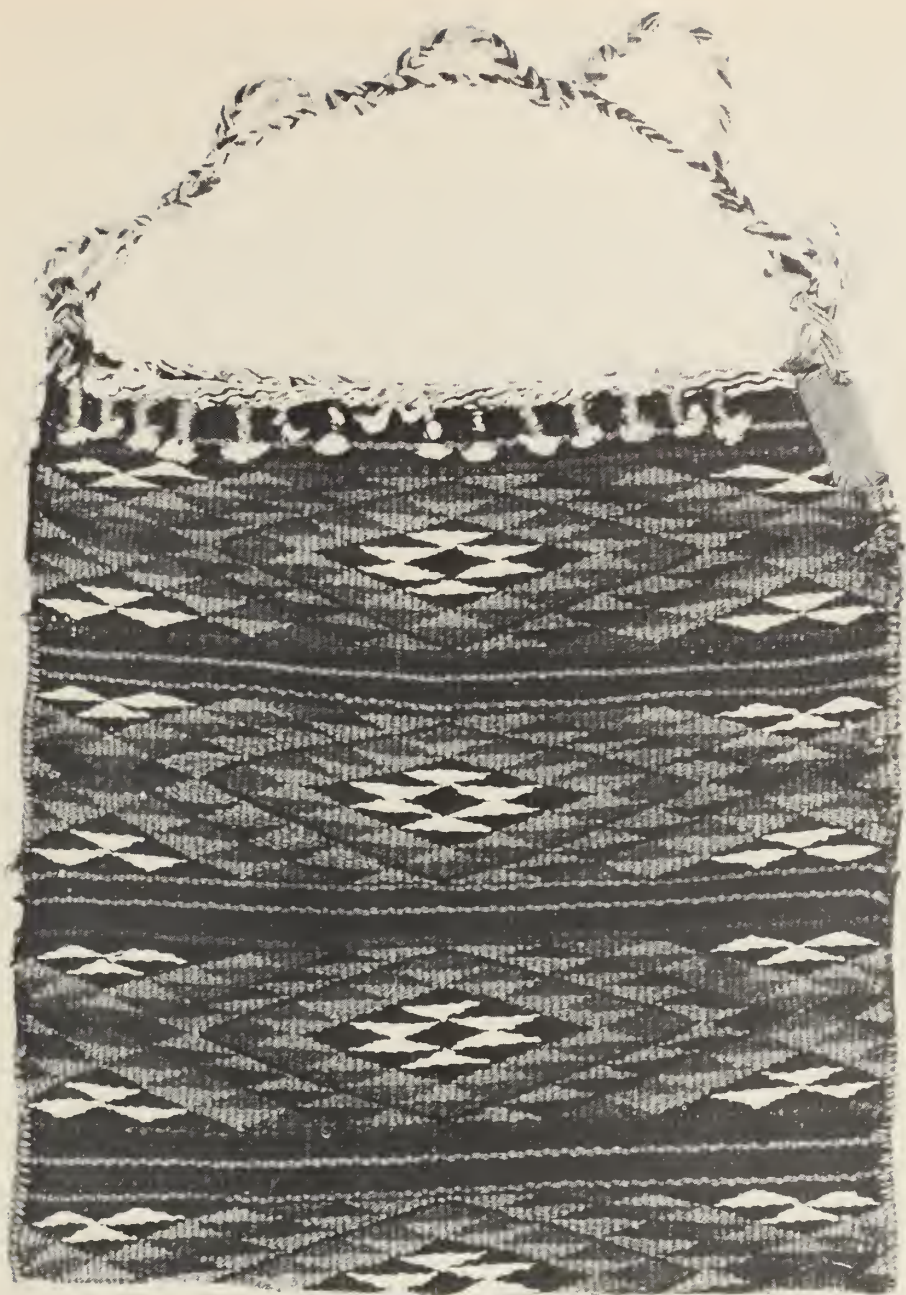


Fig. 70. Tapestry-woven shoulder bag. Woollen warp, coloured woollen weft. Greece: Peloponnesus. Early 20th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 947.20.17. Gift of Mrs. Homer A. Thompson.

Just as in Turkey and other parts of western Asia, the *kilim* tradition of eastern Europe is associated with many smaller items in addition to rugs. This Greek bag exhibits a variant of geometricized ornaments organized into several bands.





# Towels with woven ornaments

## Figures 71–85

Tapestry-woven geometric bands, so characteristic of Turkish *kilims*, are also well known in western Anatolia and the neighbouring coastal islands as end decorations for towels. The fabric of most of these towels is linen, and less frequently cotton, but their motifs are always executed in coloured cotton. While red, blue, and white are the predominant colours, some examples have details in yellow, orange, black, and green. The tapestry-woven bands may occasionally be accompanied by small brocaded ornaments. In other cases, the entire decoration is worked in brocading.

Among the brocaded examples, two major groups may be distinguished. One usually exhibits symmetrical potted flowers executed in fine cotton yarn across each narrow end of a lightweight cotton towel. The other group has much deeper ornamental panels worked in thick cotton yarn and composed from the vertical repeat of a series of narrow composite motifs against a heavier linen or cotton tabby ground. The latter group has coarser variants embroidered in counted cross-stitches with blue and red cotton, while other examples with fine reversible embroidery are worked in coloured silk on counted thread.

These Turkish towels made a major impact throughout European Turkey, and the adjacent territories tributary to the Sultan. Related pieces were produced in Greece and the Greek islands, the Yugoslavian and Romanian provinces, Transylvania, and Hungary. Without knowing their actual provenance, it is often difficult to pinpoint the place of manufacture of some of these pieces. In Transylvania, on the other hand, a series of local groups evolved from the Ottoman tradition, and these can be easily distinguished and associated with specific regions.



Fig. 71. Ornamental towels (*makramas*). Linen and cotton tabby with tapestry-woven decoration in red, blue, and white cotton. Turkey: western Anatolia or coastal islands. Late 19th to early 20th century.  
Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.143, 144, 124.



Fig. 72. Ornamental towels (*makramas*). Linen and cotton tabby with tapestry-woven decoration in red, blue, and white cotton. Turkey: western Anatolia or coastal islands. Late 19th to early 20th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.110, 142, 121.





Fig. 73. Ornamental towels (*makramas*). Linen and cotton tabby with tapestry-woven decoration in red, blue, and white cotton. Turkey: western Anatolia or coastal islands. Late 19th to early 20th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.147, 122, 120.



Fig. 74. Ornamental towel. Cotton tabby with tapestry-woven decoration and some brocaded ornaments in red, blue, and white cotton. Twisted warp fringes adorned with sequins. Turkey: western Anatolia or coastal islands; acquired in Bursa. Late 19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.106.



Fig. 75. Ornamental towels (*makramas*). Cotton tabby with brocaded ornaments in red, black, purple, and white cotton. Turkey: western Anatolia or coastal islands. Early 20th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 972.494 and 972.410.97.





Fig. 76. Ornamental towels. Cotton tabby with brocaded ornaments of heavy red, blue, and white cotton. Turkey: western Anatolia or coastal islands. Early 20th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.102 and 103,b.

Textiles with heavy brocaded ornaments were characteristic in many Greek islands, especially Crete. Similar pieces were also used for the lower parts of the baggy legs of women's trousers.



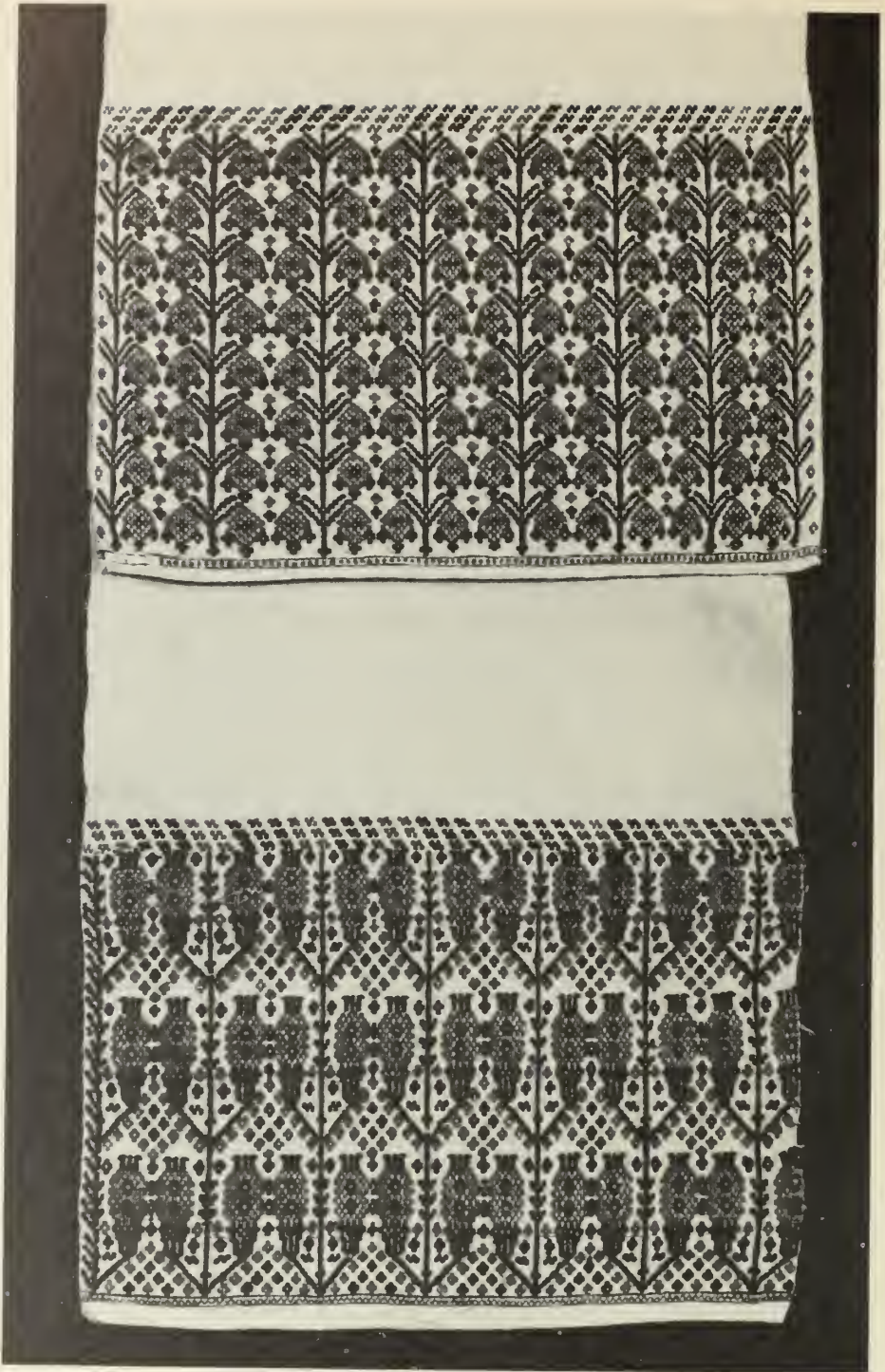


Fig. 77. Ornamental towels. Cotton tabby with brocaded ornaments of heavy red, blue, and white cotton. Turkey: western Anatolia or coastal islands. Early 20th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 972.410.100 and 101.



Fig. 78. Ornamental towel. Cotton tabby with brocaded ornaments against bands of weft-faced tabby. Romania: village of Prodanești, county of Zsibó/Jibou, valley of River Szamos, Transylvania. Late 19th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 969.144.10.

Towels with ornaments executed in various weaving techniques are well known in Transylvania among the Romanian population, as well as in Hungarian villages.



Fig. 79. Ornamental towel. Cotton tabby with brocaded ornaments against bands of weft-faced tabby. Romania: village of Rastolnița, county of Dês/Dej, valley of River Szamos, Transylvania. Late 19th century.  
Royal Ontario Museum, 969.144.12.





Fig. 80. Ornamental towel. Cotton tabby with tapestry-woven and brocaded decoration. Romania: village of Rastolnița, county of Dês/Dej, valley of River Szamos, Transylvania. Late 19th century.

Royal Ontario Museum, 969.144.15.



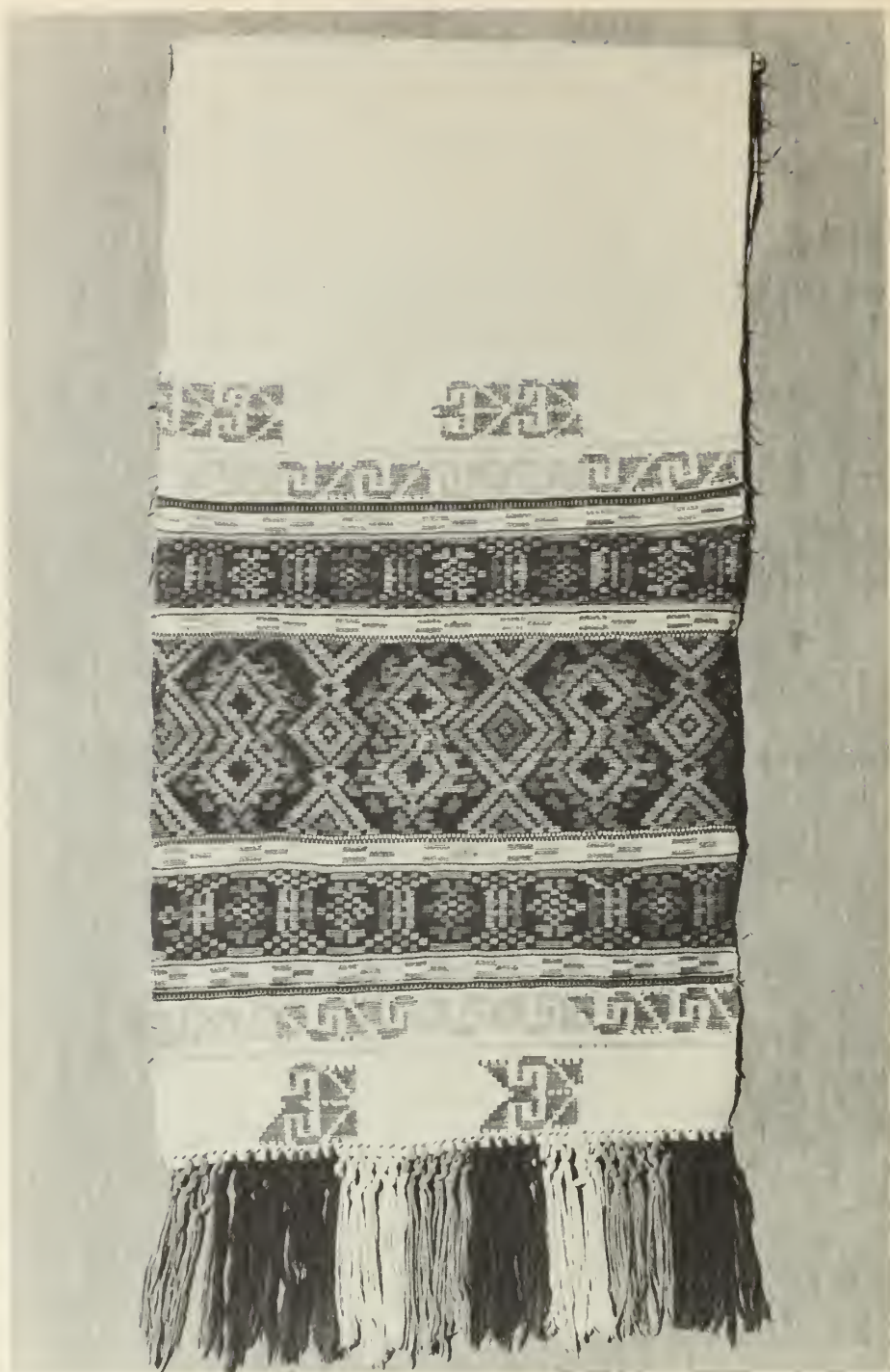


Fig. 81. Ornamental towel. Cotton tabby with tapestry-woven decoration and brocaded details. Romania: village of Buru, county of Torda/Turda, valley of River Aranyos, Transylvania. Late 19th century.  
Royal Ontario Museum, 969.144.7.



Fig. 82. Ornamental towel. Cotton tabby with tapestry-woven and brocaded decoration. Romania: village of Buru, county of Torda/Turda, valley of River Aranyos, Transylvania. Late 19th century. Royal Ontario Museum, 969.144.8.



Fig. 83. Ornamental towel. Cotton tabby with bands of weft-faced tabby and looped weave (weft). Hungarian. Romania: town of Szék, Kolozs/Cluj county, Transylvania. Late 19th century.  
Royal Ontario Museum, 971.340.78.





Fig 84 Interior of the church of Voronet. Romania: northern Moldavia (Bucovina).  
The iconostasis is adorned with ornamental towels.  
Photo: Miss Amice Calverley, 1930s.





Fig. 85. Interior of a peasant house from Viștea. Romania: Brassó/Brașov district, Transylvania. First half of 20th century. Bucharest, Museum of Folk Art, permanent display from 1960s.



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