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Felelős kiadó
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TARTALOM – INDEX

RÉVÉSZ László	Fodor István (1943–2021) 5
Josyp KOBAL’	Some remarks on the typology of Bronze Age disc-butted axes in light of a bronze hoard and an axe variant 9
	Néhány észrevétel a bronzkori nyakkorongos csákányok tipológiájáról egy bronzkincs és egy csákányforma alapján 19
Lajos JUHÁSZ	Two Sarmatian coin imitations from a Late Sarmatian grave at Békésszentandrás 21
	Két szarmata éremutánzat egy békésszentandrási szarmata sírból 26
LUKÁCS Balázs	Egy avar kori kard mint információforrás és restaurált tárgy 27
	An Avar Period sword as a conserved object and a source of information 40
Ádám Máté HORVÁTH	Female gender markers in graves of men in the Avar Period of the Middle Tisza region 41
	Női nemhez köthető tárgyak férfisírokban az avar kori Közép-Tisza-vidéken ... 66
GÁLL Erwin – GINDELE Róbert – BLASKÓ Marius	Valkány kora középkori temetőinek előzetes vizsgálata 69
	Preliminary analysis of early medieval funerary sites from Vălcani/Valkány 87
Cristina PARASCHIV-TALMAȚCHI	Characteristic early medieval belt ornaments – findings reflecting possible contacts with Southeast Europe 89
	Kora középkori övveretek – új felfedezések és lehetséges délkelet-európai kapcsolatrendszer 104
TAKÁCS Ágoston	A soproni középkori ferences templom szentélyrekesztője 107
	The rood screen of the medieval Franciscan church in Sopron..... 135
Raško RAMADANSKI	Late medieval and early post-medieval cloth seals of Nuremberg and Wöhrd from the collection of the Town Museum in Bečej 137
	Nürnbergi és wöhrdi kései középkori és kora újkori textilplombák az Óbecsei Városi Múzeum gyűjteményéből 145
	Позносредњовековне и ранонововековне пломбе за тканину Нирнберга и Верда из збирке Градског Музеја Бечеј 145

MOJZSESZ Volodimir

A Muzsaly határában fekvő középkori romtemplom régészeti kutatásának
eredményei (Kárpátalja, Ukrajna) 147

Results of the archaeological investigations of the ruined church
in the outskirts of Muzsaly (Muzhievo, Zakarpatska Oblast, Ukraine) 162

GALLINA Zsolt – GULYÁS Gyöngyi

Az utolsó mecseki üveghuta. Fejezet a kora újkori üvegművesség
történetéből 175

The last glassworks in the Mecsek Mountains. Chapters from
the modern history of glassmaking in Hungary 204

LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY POST-MEDIEVAL CLOTH SEALS OF NUREMBERG AND WÖHRD FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE TOWN MUSEUM IN BEČEJ

Raško RAMADANSKI* 

This paper is concerned with five specimens of late medieval and early post-medieval lead cloth seals issued by Nuremberg and Wöhrd in Bavaria from the collection of the Town Museum in Bečej, Serbia. The extensive research carried out on cloth seals in Hungary over the recent years allows us to establish a broader sense of cloth seal application and distribution in the Carpathian Basin and apply this knowledge to new finds from Serbia.

E tanulmány öt késő középkori és kora újkori ólom textilplombát ismertet, melyeket a bajorországi Nürnbergben és Wöhrdben bocsátottak ki, és jelenleg az óbecsei Városi Múzeumban (Szerbia) őriznek. Hála az elmúlt évek textilplombákra irányuló széles körű magyarországi kutatásainak, lehetőség van arra, hogy szélesebb kontextusban tárjuk fel a textilplombák használatát és elterjedését a Kárpát-medencében, és ezt a tudást alkalmazzuk új szerbiai leletek esetében is.

Предмет овога рада су пет позносредњовековних и ранонововековних оловних пломби за тканину, издатих у Нирнбергу и Верду у Баварској. Реч је о примерцима из збирке Градског музеја Бечеј у Србији. Опсежна истраживања пломби за тканину која су спроведена у Мађарској током последњих година омогућавају нам да боље сагледамо њихову намену и дистрибуцију у Карпатској котлини, као и да применимо ова сазнања на нове налазе из Србије.

Keywords: Bečej, Nuremberg, Wöhrd, late medieval period, early post-medieval period, cloth seals

Kulcsszavak: Óbecse, Nürnberg, Wöhrd, késő középkor, kora újkor, textilplombák

Кључне речи: Бечеј, Нирнберг, Верд, позни средњи век, рани нови век, пломбе за тканину

Cloth seals are a largely unknown topic in Serbian archaeology, that also applies, at this point, to most of South-eastern Europe. Earlier, these artefacts were simply considered uncommon but vague examples of material culture at best, and were usually falsely or inaccurately described, or simply left unattributed. However, cloth seals can also be regarded as a secondary historic source and can expand our comprehension of late medieval and early post-medieval commerce and trade. Furthermore, like coins, cloth seals can greatly contribute to the establishment of chronology in layers and other units on archaeological sites. With consideration of the few earlier works on cloth seals from Serbia, this paper can be regarded as a first attempt of a systematic study

and publication of a particular cloth seal collection from this country. Having that in mind, only late medieval and early post-medieval cloth seals of Nuremberg and Wöhrd from the collection of the Town Museum in Bečej are discussed in this paper, largely because these seals are easily discernible, have traceable provenance and could be indicative of the economic standing of the community.

In essence, cloth seals are lead applications, riveted to packages of cloth intended for export or redistribution. The practice of marking exported cloth was an answer to the increased demand for quality and provenance assurance, particularly during taxation, starting with wool in England as early as the 13th century (Elton 2017, 20–21). True cloth seals

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first appeared in Leiden, Holland, with archetypes being used in the Byzantine Empire a few centuries earlier (Elton 2017, 20–21). A specific morphology and typology of cloth seals developed in the course of time, including various shapes and folding patterns, the most conventional being circular discs with single rivets. The seals were applied to packages by grasping and pressing the lead blanks on the cloth with iron moulds, either with clamps or by striking them with a hammer (Egan 1994; Mordovin 2018a). In turn, the blanks themselves were cast in stone moulds, as testified by a recent find from England (Fig. 1).¹ Soon enough, many manufacturers over the continent issued their own cloth seals. However, even though sealing cloth became widespread, many guilds still hesitated over introducing the practice, as was noted by a German guild inspector in the middle of the 17th century (Ogilvie 2014, 180). As highlighted earlier, cloth seals are in many regards valuable finds with multiple practical applications in

our research of past economy and communication as well as the dating of cultural layers in archaeology. For the past decades, scholars have minutely researched and published many cloth seal collections and finds, particularly in the United Kingdom (see Egan 1994, Elton 2017). Of course, this can apply to certain other regions as well, for example, Hungary (see Mordovin 2018a). Furthermore, the application of different physical and chemical analytic methods in the future, such as those based on the superconductivity of lead (Nazarova et al. 2020, 79–86), can possibly increase the accuracy and extend the dating value of cloth seals even further.

As of today, there are not many published cloth seals from Serbia and this maybe applies to the rest of South-eastern Europe as well. One of the earliest references of a cloth seal from Serbia is an English specimen, with a typical Tudor rose, discovered at the excavations of a 17th-century household in Belgrade. As the author suspected, this item was likely in sec-



Fig. 1 A stone mould for making cloth seal blanks (© Portable Antiquities Scheme)
1. kép Nyers textilplombák készítésére szolgáló kő öntőforma (© Portable Antiquities Scheme)

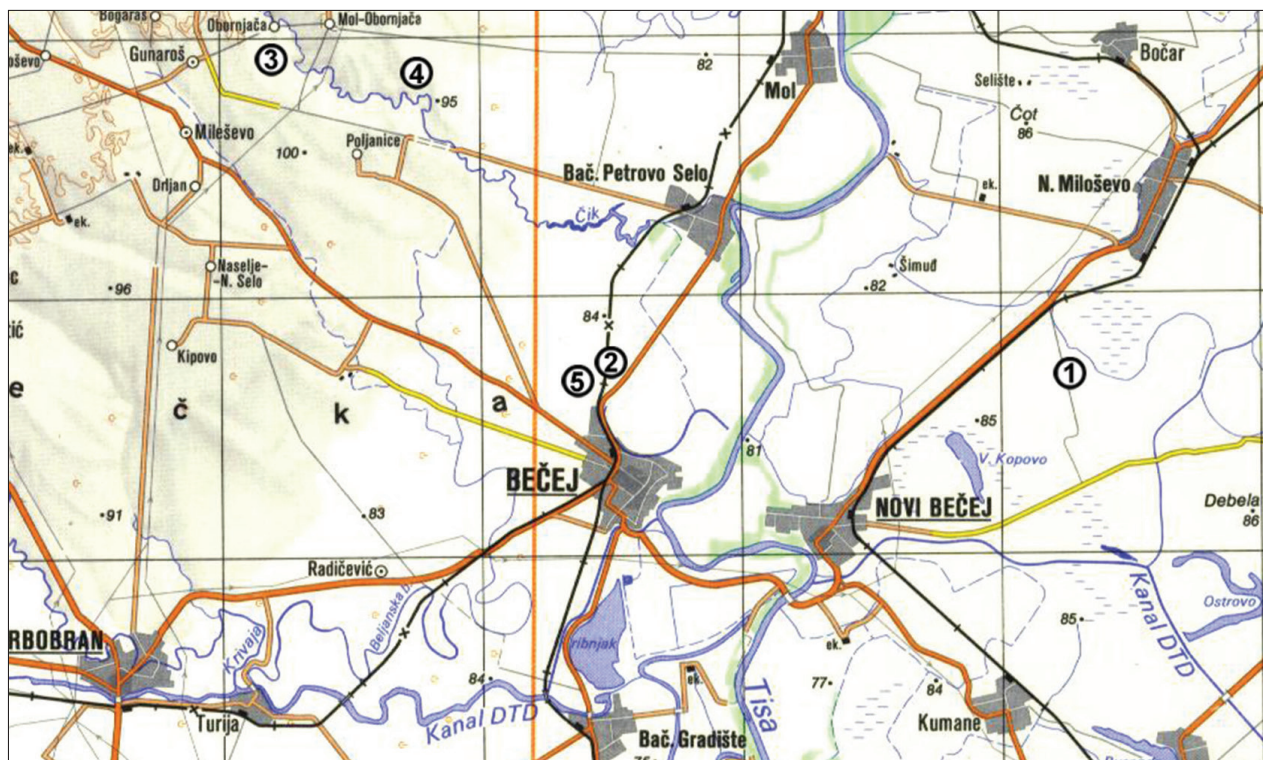


Fig. 2 The area of Bečej with marked sites of individual cloth seal finds (1–4: Nuremberg; 5: Wöhrd). 1: Crna Bara; 2: Perlek; 3: Obornjača; 4: Čik; 5: Perlek
 2. kép Becse/Bečej környezete a textilplomba-lelőhelyekkel (1–4: Nürnberg; 5: Wöhrd). 1: Crna Bara; 2: Perlek; 3: Obornjača; 4: Čik; 5: Perlek

ondary use, because it was perforated (Марјановић-Вујовић 1973, 215, 217, Сл. 26). Four decades would pass before a particular cloth seal from Serbia is published separately for the first time, another English cloth seal from the area of Crna Bara² near Čoka in the Northern Banat region (Ramadanski 2014). Soon,

cloth seal finds became a topic on archaeological conferences as well.³ Consequently, cloth seals in Serbia began to get published as appendices in studies covering wider topics, such as the cases of the finds from the area of Zrenjanin (Бењоцки 2018, 26–27), Bač fortress (Станојев 2019, 230), and sites near Bečej



Fig. 3 Nuremberg cloth seal from Stapar (Mordovin 2018a, 65: 35 kép)
 3. kép Nürnbergi textilplomba Staparból (Mordovin 2018a, 65: 35 kép)



Fig. 4 Wöhrd cloth seal from the fortress of Bač (Museum of Vojvodina)
4. k ep W ohrdi textilplomba a b acsi (Bač) er db ol (Vajdas gi M zeum)

(Рамадански, Шурањи 2020, 46) and Mladenovac (Иванишевић 2020, 290–291). Most of these cloth seals are in fact stray finds as there are not that many cloth seals from documented archaeological contexts in Serbia so far. The extensive research carried out on cloth seals in Hungary over the recent years, greatly due to the devoted research and efforts of archaeologist Maxim Mordovin, allows us to expand the study of cloth seals to the region, establishing a broader sense of cloth seal application and distribution. In turn, this further saturates our overall knowledge of the late medieval and early post-medieval market and trade. Furthermore, the data on Hungarian cloth seals is directly applicable to the finds from Serbia.

The area of Bečej can correspond to the contemporary municipality in Serbia that also includes Bačko Petrovo Selo and Bačko Gradište as well as several smaller villages. The natural boundaries of this area roughly correspond with the Tisa River in the east, the creek of Čik in the north and a modern canal, also called Crna Bara before the regulation, in the south. Bečej (lat. *Beche*; Hun. *Becse*) is mentioned as early as the 11th century, whereas the fortress is only mentioned first in 1342 and proceeded to develop during the following centuries under Hungarian, Crusader, Serbian and Ottoman lords (Szekeres 1983, 19–20). Similiar circumstances apply to late medieval Perlek (Lat. *Perlek*), an important settlement north-west of Bečej (Szekeres 1983, 43–44). Known medieval and post-medieval settlements, located in the Lower Čik valley, were Vizešturo (Hun. *Vizesturo*) and Markovci⁴ as well

as Obornjača, Sijanica (Lat. *Sianica*; Hun. *Zianicza*), Čikeđhaz (Lat. *Chykeghaz*; Hun. *Csikegyház*), Čiktev (Lat. *Chyktew*; Hun. *Csiktő* [?]), Čičanica (Lat. *Chychanicha/Chihanicha/Zyha-nysha*), and others (Рамадански, Шурањи 2020, 27–31, 35–40). However, the historic area of Bečej can easily include a region on both sides of the Tisa. The original site was located on an islet in the river, whereas, due to waterway regulation in the 20th century, the remains of the medieval and early post-medieval fortress rest today in the riverbed in the Banat region, near the modern settlement of Novi Bečej and the important site of Arača (Hun. *Aracs*), a medieval monastery and settlement that extended to another creek that, incidentally, was also called Crna Bara. An outline of relevant contemporary landmarks and the sites where cloth seals of Nuremberg and Wöhrd were documented can be observed on the map of Bečej and the previously described area (Fig. 2).⁵ Important medieval roads in the immediate vicinity of our sites were the well-known Szeged Road (Srb. *Segedinski put*) in the Bačka region that connected Petrovaradin and Szeged (Рамадански, Шурањи 2020, 24–25) and the road described by Bertrand de la Broquiere in 1433 that linked the Western Banat with Bačka via Bečej (Чемеpe 2013, 224). The most important route was obviously the Tisa River although its tributaries such as Čik in Bačka and Crna Bara in Banat could also have played significant roles in traffic and the transport of building material and merchandise.

The large cloth seals of Nuremberg display several variations of emblems or coats of arms that in



Fig. 5 Cat. 1, Nuremberg, late 15th century
5. kép Kat. 1, Nürnberg, 15. század vége



Fig. 6 Cat. 2, Nuremberg, late 15th century
6. kép Kat. 2, Nürnberg, 15. század vége

earlier examples prominently feature the standing figure of St. Lawrence and, in younger variants, marshalled coats of arms with eagles and bends. Two of the seals are fully preserved, with both the riveted and the hollow sides intact, whereas the latter two can be considered semi-preserved because only the riveted halves persisted. Furthermore, the semi-preserved seal of Wöhrd shares a similar format with the earlier examples of Nuremberg but is readily discernible by a large letter W and an arrangement of three *fleur de lys*. Two specimens from this collection⁶ have pronounced grid-like negatives on the inner side of the discs. These seem to be the imprints

of what was once a woven cloth, in one case conveniently revealing a weaving pattern – such finds may be a topic of another research in the future. A comprehensive overview of the physical characteristics of these finds, including descriptions and spatial data, is made available in the catalogue section of this paper.

To our knowledge, seals of Nuremberg have not yet been published in Serbian literature. However, there is one find, originally from a site in modern-day Serbia, which was relatively recently published in Hungary. A well-preserved specimen with the figure of St. Lawrence was documented in Stapar (Fig. 3),



Fig. 7 Cat. 3, Nuremberg, second third of the 16th century
7. kép Kat. 3, Nürnberg, 16. század második harmada



Fig. 8 Cat. 4, Nuremberg, last third of the 16th century
8. kép Kat. 4, Nürnberg, 16. század utolsó harmada

a settlement near Sombor in the Western Bačka region (Mordovin 2018a, 65, 35). This is a valuable find that, due to its relative proximity to the Danube, can provide some insight into the overall circulation of Nuremberg cloth in the area during the late medieval period. On the other hand, there is also a documented cloth seal of Wöhrd in Serbia, discovered in a pit deposit at Bač fortress (Fig. 4), in a context dated by ceramics to the 15th–16th centuries (Stanojević 2019, 228, 230, 18). The riveted disc is preserved and features the typical letter W; it is 26 mm in diameter and 5 mm thick (Stanojević 2019, 230, 18). The additional significance of this specimen lies in that it

was discovered through archaeological excavations and has a documented context. As pointed out earlier, cloth seals from a documented context are scarce. Additionally, cloth seals of Nuremberg were documented in many collections in modern-day Hungary (Mordovin 2014, 212, 27, 213, 28, 30, 31, 214, 32) and some of these finds correspond to certain areas such as Baranya County (Mordovin 2014, 213, 29), including Szeremle (Pányi et al. 2021, 61–62, 65, 78–79), as well as Orosháza, Paks and Szolnok (Mordovin 2017, 87; Mordovin 2018a, 295, Kat. 073), a mound near Csorvás (Mordovin 2017, 87; Mordovin 2018a, 296, Kat. 075), the castles of Diósgyőr



Fig. 9 Cat. 5, Wöhrd, first half of the 16th century
9. kép Kat. 5, Wöhrd, 16. század első fele

near Miskolc (Mordovin 2018a, 296, Kat. 076) and Bajcsa (Mordovin 2017, 87), Tápióság (Mordovin 2021, 264, 41) and Pápa (Mordovin 2013, 278; Mordovin et al. 2016, 70; Mordovin 2017, 87; Mordovin 2018a, 295, Kat. 074). Some specimens, such as the seals from the medieval church sites of Csomorkány and Ópusztaszer, were recovered in archaeological excavations (Mordovin 2017, 87–88). Furthermore, seals of Wöhrd were documented, for example, in Ágasegyháza (Mordovin 2018a, 313, Kat. 110) and Somogy County (Mordovin 2018a, 314, Kat. 112).

The distribution of seals attributed to workshops in Nuremberg and Wöhrd, or rather the textiles they labeled, was widespread in Central and Eastern Europe. Namely, identical seals are documented as far as Gdansk (ger. Danzig) in modern-day Poland (Mordovin 2018a, 148, 88. kép). Nuremberg and the adjacent Wöhrd are considered to have been the main suppliers of high-quality textile in the better part of Central Europe (Mordovin 2018b, 286). On the other hand, it is supposed that not only the cloth that was produced in Nuremberg was labelled by seals with this particular centre's markings, but also textiles of other provenance (Mordovin 2017, 89). In that regard, Nuremberg with its adjacent suburban community (i.e. Wöhrd et al.) was also regarded a major trading hub for the redistribution of quality cloth. Consequently, these textiles were more expensive than other regional cloth products. At this point, it is safe to conclude that the inhabitants of the medieval settlements and posts in the vicinity of medieval Bečej, partly because of the proximity of frequent and important land and river corridors, tapped into

the main trading routes and accessed, afforded and applied high-quality cloth from regional centres in Bavaria and their supposed capillary suppliers.

CATALOGUE

Cat. 1. Nuremberg, late 15th century (*Fig. 5*)
Obverse: The standing figure of St. Lawrence wielding the gospels and a griddle, encircled with dentils.
Reverse: NUR/NBER[G], encircled with dentils.
47.16 g; 35.4 mm; 2 h; inv. no. N906.
Spatial data: The left bank of the Crna Bara, Novi Bečej Municipality.
Reference: Mordovin 2018a, 294, Kat. 072.

Cat. 2. Nuremberg, late 15th century (*Fig. 6*)
27.57 g; 35.8 mm; 11 h; inv. no. N907.
Obverse: The standing figure of St. Lawrence wielding the gospels and a griddle, encircled with two rows of dentils.
Reverse: [N]UR/NB[ERG].
Spatial data: West of the eponymous mound in the area of Perlek, Bečej Municipality.
Reference: Mordovin 2018a, 294, Kat. 072.

Cat. 3. Nuremberg, second third of the 16th century (*Fig. 7*)
22.19 g; 33.5 mm; 6 h; inv. no. N914.
Obverse: A dimidiated Spanish (Iberian) eschutcheon with a demi-eagle in front and divided diagonally five times by bends in the back, encircled with dentils.
Reverse: Indiscernible contents, with what appear to be bends.
Spatial data: The area of Obornjača, north-west of Bečej, Ada Municipality.
Reference: Mordovin 2018a, 296, Kat. 075.

Cat. 4. Nuremberg, last third of the 16th century (*Fig. 8*)
28.42 g; 34.7 mm; 6 h; inv. no. N908.

Obverse: A dimidiated escutcheon with a scroll-eared top and lobed base, with a demi-eagle in front and divided diagonally five times by bends in the back, encircled with dentils.

Reverse: Indiscernible contents, encircled with rows of serrated and worn dentils.

Spatial data: The right bank of the Čik, Bečej Municipality.

Reference: Mordovin 2018a, 296, Kat. 076.

Cat. 5. Wöhrd, first half of the 16th century (*Fig. 9*)
27.27 g; 34.1 mm; 10 h; inv. no. N909.

Obverse: Letter “W” with three fleurs-de-lis, encircled with worn dentils.

Reverse: Indiscernible contents.

Spatial data: West of the eponymous mound in the area of Perlek, Bečej Municipality.

Reference: Mordovin 2018a, 314, Kat. 111.

Notes

- 1 Courtesy of the British Museum’s Portable Antiquities Scheme. © Portable Antiquities Scheme, reproduced under Creative Commons License CC by 4.0; finds.org.uk; PAS Unique ID No. LON-571CE3.
- 2 At this point it is important to note that there are several distinct toponyms and hydronyms called Crna Bara in the region. Those relevant for this study include the contemporary village in Northern Banat, an old waterway near Bečej and a creek near Arača.
- 3 Рамадански Рашко, *Пломбе за тканину Нирнберга и Верда из збирке Градског музеја Бечеј*, Средњовековна секција Српског археолошког друштва, Јагодина, 29-30. новембар, 2019; Raško Ramadanski, *Finds of Late Medieval and Post-medieval cloth seals in Serbia*, Post-medieval People and Things: Exploring Networks of Agency, EAA Congress 2020, 26th August, 2020.
- 4 Both Vizešturo (hun. *Vizesturo*) and Markovci correspond to the 19th-century toponym Vizeštal (hun. *Vizestál*).
- 5 After: Preglednotopografska karta 1:300,000 Beograd, Vojnogeografski institut, 1988.
- 6 Inv. No. N907 and N914.

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NÜRNBERGI ÉS WÖHRDI KÉSEI KÖZÉPKORI ÉS KORA ÚJKORI TEXTILPLOMBÁK AZ ÓBECSEI VÁROSI MÚZEUM GYŰJTEMÉNYÉBŐL

Összefoglalás

A munka öt késő középkori és kora újkori, a bajorországi Nürnberg és Wöhrd városában kiadott ólom textilplombával foglalkozik, amelyek a szerbiai óbecsei városi múzeum gyűjteményében találhatóak. A tanulmány a Tisza menti történelmi Óbecse széleskörűen értelmezett környezetéből származó textilplombák (összesen öt darab) katalógusát is tartalmazza. Tekintettel arra, hogy ez az első kísérlet egy szerbiai textilplomba-gyűjtemény egy részének közzétételére, erre a sajátos származási helyre esett a választás,

ugyanis a nürnbergi és wöhrdi ruhapecsétek különösen jól felismerhetőek és elegendő egykorú összehasonlítható anyag áll rendelkezésünkre a régióból, főleg a mai Magyarországból. Az elmúlt évek jelentős magyar textilplomba-kutatásainak nyomában lehetőség nyílik arra, hogy általános következtetéseket vonjunk le a textilplombák Kárpát-medencei használatára és elterjedésére, és ezt a tudást alkalmazzuk új szerbiai leletekre is.

ПОЗНОСРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ И РАНОНОВОВЕКОВНЕ ПЛОМБЕ ЗА ТКАНИНУ НИРНБЕРГА И ВЕРДА ИЗ ЗБИРКЕ ГРАДСКОГ МУЗЕЈА БЕЧЕЈ

Резиме

Предмет овога рада су пет позносредњовековних и раноноровековних оловних плумби за тканину, издатих у Нирнбергу и Верду у Баварској.

Реч је о примерцима из збирке Градског музеја Бечеј у Србији. У приложеном каталогу налазе се и подаци који се односе на налазишта плумби,

која у свим случајевима припадају околини Бечеја, историјског града на обали реке Тисе. Узимајући у обзир да је ово први повод тематског објављивања једне збирке пломби за тканину из Србије, изабрани су управо примерци из Нирнберга и Верда услед своје препознатљивости као и постојања довољно упоредивог материјала

у региону, посебно са простора данашње Мађарске. Опсежна истраживања пломби за тканину која су спроведена у Мађарској током последњих година омогућавају нам да боље сагледамо њихову намену и дистрибуцију у Карпатској котлини, као и да применимо ова сазнања на нове налазе из Србије.

