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## THE FIRST AND THE SECOND “BATTLE OF MOHÁCS” (AD 1526, 1687) ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND PERSPECTIVES

*Conflict archaeology is a young subdiscipline of Hungarian archaeological research. The Ministry of Defence Military History Institute and Museum has been conducting research on the battlefields of Mohács and Harsány mountain (AD 1526, 1687) since 2010. The methodology of the research is based on classical conflict archaeological methodology (landscape archaeology, non-destructive archaeological research, military terrain analysis). The area and the historical landscape of the first and the second battle of Mohács show similarities, at the same time the different amount of source material resulted different battlefield or landscape archaeological perspectives.*

*A konfliktusrégészet fiatal régészeti diszciplína a magyar régészeti kutatásban. A HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum 2010 óta folytat kutatásokat a mohácsi és a Harsány-hegyi (1526, 1687) csata helyszínén. A kutatómódszertan a klasszikus konfliktusrégészet módszertanára épül (tájrégészet, non-destruktív régészeti kutatás, hadtudományi terepelemzés). Az első és a második mohácsi csata helyszíne és a történeti táj arculata sok hasonlóságot mutat, az eltérő forrásbázis ugyanakkor eltérő csatatér-régészeti és tájrégészeti perspektívákat eredményez.*

**Key words:** *conflict archaeology, battlefield archaeology, landscape archaeology, the first battle of Mohács (AD 1526), the second battle of Mohács (the battle of Harsány mountain, AD 1687)*

**Kulcsszavak:** *konfliktusrégészet, csatatérrégészet, tájrégészet, első mohácsi csata (1526), második mohácsi csata (Harsány-hegyi csata, 1687)*

### *Introduction*

The first and the second battle of Mohács (Baranya County) have a very expansive historiography, both battles are important events in Hungarian history. The first battle of Mohács symbolizes the end of the Age of the Hungarian Medieval Kingdom. After the battle of 1526 the country sank in anarchy, two kings, Ferdinand I from the Habsburg family and John I from the Szapolyai family rivalled for the throne. In the end the medieval Hungarian state broke up in three parts (the Parts of Hungary under Ottoman Rule, the “Habsburg” Hungarian Kingdom and the Principality of Transylvania) after the Turkish occupation of the capital city, Buda. The Hungarian Reoccupation War began after the failure of the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683: the Christian allied army captured Buda in 1686, defeated the Turkish army in the second battle of

Mohács in 1687 and captured Belgrade in 1688 (B. SZABÓ 2006, 130–136; ROY–TÓTH 2014, 99–110).

The MoD Military History Institute and Museum has been conducting research on the two battlefields since 2010. This included the field walking and geophysical survey of Földvár village (accomplished in partnership with the Janus Pannonius Museum of Pécs), which is an important topographical point of the first battle of Mohács, as the battle ended there. The MoD Military History Institute and Museum has researched the battlefield of the second combat of Mohács (fray of Harsány mountain) as well. The two battles have different source-base: the events of 1526 only have unclear written sources and a few image-based sources, but the fight of 1687 has considerably more reports about real topographical points and events. The different amount of source material resulted in different battlefield or landscape archaeological perspectives.

### The concept of Conflict Archaeology

Archaeology has two classic branches which are related to the Modern Age: industrial archaeology and conflict archaeology. The concept of modern conflict archaeology was conceived in the 1980s and 1990s. The research of the battle of Little Bighorn (1876, Montana, USA) was the first modern battlefield excavation in 1983 by Richard A. Fox and Douglas D. Scott (SCOTT ET AL. 1989, 24–35). Conflict archaeology is made up of battlefield archaeology, “bunker archaeology”, military grave-research and wreck-research (NÉGYESI 2010, 31–32). Conflict archaeology has a spatial interval, since it can be applied to the Prehistoric Age, the Ancient and the Roman Age, the Medieval Ages, the Early Modern Age and finally the Modern Age (CARMAN 2013, iii). Conflict archaeology is a young subdiscipline of Hungarian archaeological research. For example classical battlefield archaeological research in Hungary was carried out only on the area of the historical battlefield of Mohács (1526), Harsány mountain (1687) and Romhány (1710) to the present day. Archaeology (landscape archaeology, non-destructive archaeological research) and historical or rather military science (military terrain analysis) provide the foundation for the methodology of conflict archaeology (SUTHERLAND–HOLST 2005, 20–24; CARMAN 2013, 43, 50–54; PRATT 2009, 6–9). Nowadays the MoD Military History Institute and Museum and the National University of Public Service (Budapest) conduct classical conflict archaeological researches in Hungary (The MoD Military History Institute and Museum has had its Military Archaeological Collection since 2013).

### The first battle of Mohács (AD 1526)

#### Historiography (summary)

The theme of the battle of Mohács has a large historiography. (Some monographs and essays were published on the occasion of the anniversary of the battle in 1926, 1976, 1986 and 2006.) The research of the battle of Mohács of 1526 was started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. István Kápolnai Pauer, Sándor Szurmay, Jenő Gyalókay, Endre Gergely, Barna Halmai were the first historians who supported the literature of the problems of the battle and later a number of researchers expended their results (KÁPOLNAI PAUER 1889, SZURMAY 1901, GYALÓKAY 1926, GERGELY 1926, HALMAY 1926). Endre Gergely was the first person to research the area of the

battlefield with archaeological methods. Endre Gergely’s research was unsuccessful, since he did not find the mass-graves of the battle of 1526 at the Turkish-hill (“Törökdomb”). He found graves from the Roman Age, which were dated on the basis of coins depicting Constantinus Magnus and Valentinus I (GERGELY 1926, 349; BERTÓK–POLGÁR 2011, 920). The first archaeological success was the finding of the first mass-graves of the battle in 1960 by archaeologist László Papp (PAPP 1961, PAPP 1963, PAPP 1966). Later archaeologist Borbála Maráz found three more mass-graves in the area of the Historical Memorial Park of Mohács near the first mass-graves. Borbála Maráz and anthropologist Zsuzsanna K. Zoffmann published their results in 1976 and 1982, respectively (MARÁZ 2006, K. ZOFFMANN 1982). Historian Géza Perjés’ book was an important step in the research. Perjés’ hypothesis is not relevant today, but his work has drawn attention to some of the problems of the reconstruction of the battle and the localization of the battlefield (PERJÉS 1979). We should mention that for example Perjés used Carl von Clausewitz’s *On War (Vom Kriege)* of the 19<sup>th</sup> century at the modelling of the medieval actions in his book. (PERJÉS 1979, 290–293). Béla Kiss published József Szűcs local historian’s localization theory about the battlefield (KISS 1978). József Szűcs’ theory was significant, because he localized the place of the main action of the battle, the medieval village of Földvár at the area of Majs (KISS 1978, 10). Later Lajos Négyesi started archaeological research at the site; he found some weapon-finds and harness (horseshoes, horse bit) with the help of the metal detector survey (NÉGYESI 1994, 76–78). Lastly, historian János B. Szabó investigated the problems of the battle in the light of the “military revolution” in 2004–2005. B. Szabó’s works gave the largest historiography, which summarized the topic and he also drew attention to some forgotten written sources of the battle of 1526 (B. SZABÓ 2004; B. SZABÓ 2005; see also: B. SZABÓ 2006; B. SZABÓ–TÓTH 2009).

#### The battle and the sources

The Turkish army occupied Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade, Serbia) in 1521, thus the (southern) “key of the country” fell and the Hungarian state could not replace the fallen Nándorfehérvár with another castle in the southern defense line. The Turkish invasion began in 1526, Suleiman the Magnificent left Constantinople with his 60 000(–100 000) soldiers on April 23. The Turkish Army occupied Pétervárad (Petrovaradin, Serbia), Erdőd (Erdut,

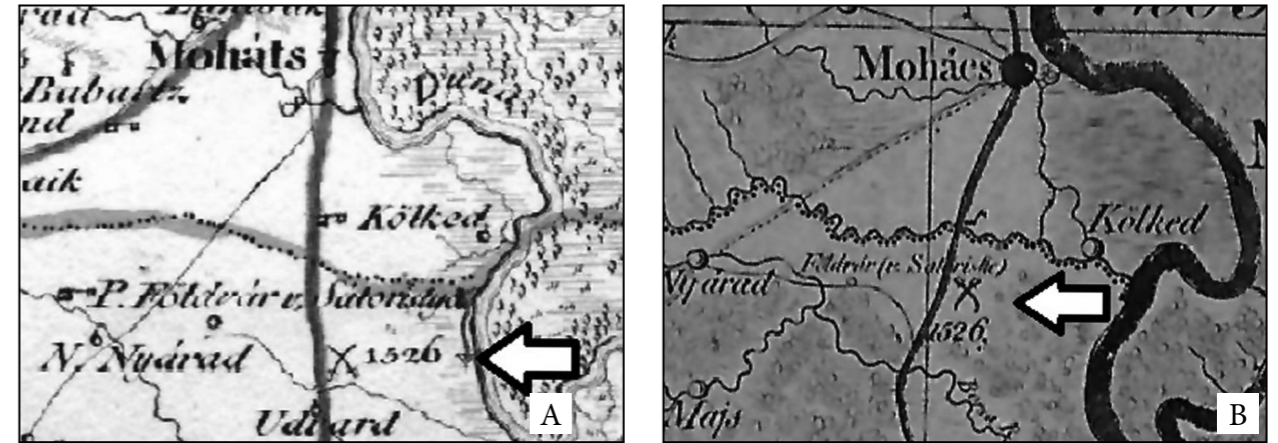


Fig. 1 The area of the battlefield of Mohács on the *Magyar Átlás* (A) and *Mappa Generalis Regni Hungariae* (B) (MoD Military History Institute and Museum, Map-collection)

1. kép A mohácsi csataterülete a Magyar Átlásban (A) és a Mappa Generalis Regni Hungariae-ban (B) (HM Hadtörténelmi Intézet és Múzeum, Térképgyűjtemény)

Croatia), Eszék (Osijek, Croatia) and Újlak (Ilok, Croatia) in July and August. After the siege of the afore-mentioned towns, the Turkish army marched towards Mohács (DIARY OF SULTAN SULEIMAN 1976, 158–165; B. SZABÓ–TÓTH 2009, 49–58). The Hungarian generalship did not want to lose a large territory of the kingdom, so they were forced to fight the Turkish army in the southern part of the country. At the same time some Hungarian lords could not arrive at the camp of the king and some lords were late from the battle, because the royal commandment had arrived late. Thus, King Louis II had to fight without the armies of Ban (governor of Croatia) Kristóf Frangepán, János Szapolyai (the Voivode of Transylvania) and some Christian auxiliary armies at Mohács (TAŞKIRAN 1997, 215–216; KUBINYI 2007, 170, 185–191; B. SZABÓ 2005, 584–585).

The first battle of Mohács has only a few authentic picture sources. Contemporary Christian handbills accentuated the brutality of the Turkish army and were rather propagandistic (PUKÁNSZKY 1926, 278–291). Archaeologist Nándor Parádi researched two authentic Turkish works which provided some realistic information (for example about the structure of the Turkish army) on the battle. These works are miniatures from the work of Celalzade Mustafa (“*Tabakat ul-memalik ve derecat ul-mesalik*”, “Levels of the dominions and grades of the professions”) and the second book of the codex of “*Hunemame*” (“Book of the heroic deeds”). The two pictures are different in composition from each other. The picture from Celalzade Mustafa’s work shows two connate power armies, while Musavir Osman’s picture from the “*Hunemame*” shows the

victory of the Turkish army from the same period (PARÁDI 1968, 175–180). The first topographical source of the battle is the so-called “*Lazarus secretarius*’ map”. The original map did not subsist, the earliest remaining variant of the *Lazarus*-map is the “*Tabula Hungariae ...*” printed in Ingolstadt in 1528. The *Tabula Hungariae* marks the battlefield with a small battle-illustration near the market-town of Mohács (IRMÉDI-MOLNÁR 1958, 177–179; PLIHÁL 2013, 8, 54–55). Later János Lipszky’s *Mappa Generalis Regni Hungariae* (1806) and Demeter Görög and József Márton’s *Magyar Átlás* (1802–1811) marks the battlefield near the Földvár-farm or Sátoristye (Fig. 1). The Second Military Survey marks the battlefield at area of Földvár / Sátoristye also (LIPSZKY 1808, B IX a 0518\_08; GÖRÖG–MÁRTON 1802–1811, 24; SECOND MILITARY SURVEY, XXX-65, XXXI-65 /MoD Military History Institute and Museum, Map-collection/).

There are few written sources about the battle, István Brodarics’ work (BRODERICUS 1985), Baron Burgio’s letters (MONUMENTA VATICANA II/1. 1884, 370–434), Marino Sanuto’s diary (SANUTO 1895, XLIII. *Copia di una lettera scritta per il locotenente del conte Cristoforo Frangipani, data a Temogia, adí 22 Octubrio 1526, ricevuta a dí 20 Novembrio 1526, 274–282; SANUTO 1895, XLIII. Desposito unius exploratoris reversi ex Ungaria. 225–229*), the letter of the “Czech anonymous” (GÖMÖRY 1889, 503–506) are important Christian sources of the battle. The battle also has Turkish written sources, the diary of sultan Suleiman, Celalzade Mustafa, Kemal Pasha, Lutfi Pasha and Ferdi (courtly official) mention the battle of Mohács. The most important Turkish written sources of the battle are

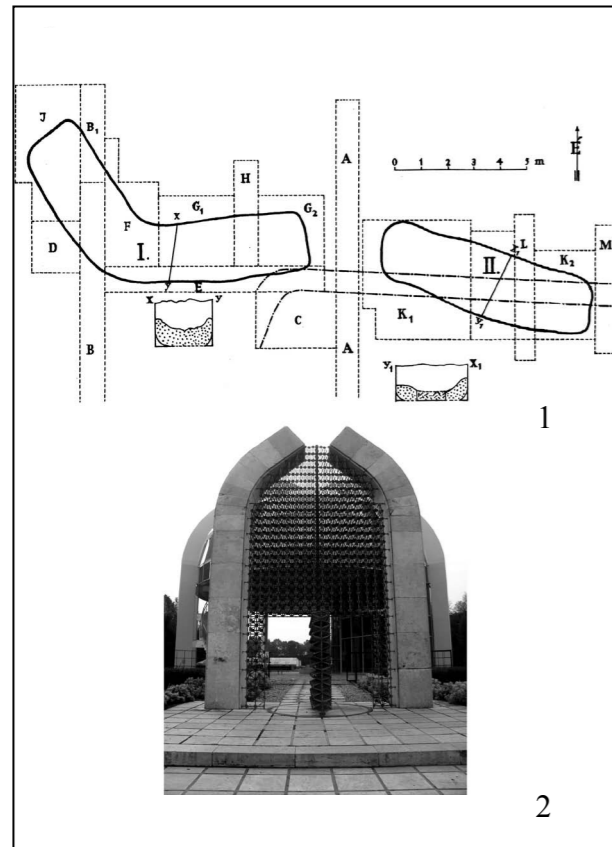


Fig. 2 : The I-II. mass-grave of Sátorhely; the Historical Memorial Site of Mohács (after PAPP 1976, 257)  
2. kép Az I-II. sátorhelyi tömegsír és a Mohácsi Történelmi Emlékhely (PAPP 1976, 257. után)

Celalzade's work and the diary of sultan Suleiman (the diary of sultan was compiled on the basis of Celalzade or Celalzade's work) (NÉGYESI 1994, 62–63). Scholars regard Chancellor István Brodarics' work as the most important Christian written source of the battle of Mohács, since he took part in the events of the battle. He published his work in Latin about the battle of Mohács in Krakow in 1527 (KASZA 2007). Brodarics provided the most detailed description of the battlefield:

1) the battle took place on a plain area,  
2) an elevation was in front of the Hungarian army,  
3) a small village with a church was situated at the foot of the elevation in (“... *collis imo descensu pagus modicus cum templo, Földvár ei pago est nomen...*”) (BRODERICUS 1985, 51).

The Hungarian army (circa 25 000 soldiers) marched from the king's camp near Mohács in the morning and took up battle formation on 29 of July (KUBINYI 2007, 191). Unfortunately Brodarics did

not describe the exact formation of the Hungarian army, he mentioned the right and the left flank, the artillery and the “*stataria*” with the king in his work (BRODERICUS 1985, 49–51). Other written sources allude to other line-reconstructions. The Venetian Antonio Boemo wrote about three different Hungarian lines (light cavalry, infantry, heavy cavalry) in his report. (SANUTO 1895, XLIII. *Deposito unius exploratoris reversi ex Ungaria*. 225). Celalzade Mustafa's Turkish work states that the cavalry lined up with the riflemen (CELALZADE 1976, 231; B. SZABÓ 2005, 595–596). We may presume that the Hungarian army had wide and mixed battle-lines. The wide and mixed battle-lines had some advantages. The wide lines can prevent the possibility of encirclement and the mixed lines support the tactics of active defense: the function of both the infantry and light cavalry was defense and the task of the heavy cavalry was counterattack (BRODERICUS 1985, 49; B. SZABÓ 2005, 590–597; B. SZABÓ 2011, 49–51). The Hungarian army had to stop the enemy and it had only one chance: to thrash the separated Turkish legions. The parts of the Turkish army did not arrive at the same time, so the Hungarian army was not forced to fight the united Turkish army during the first part of the battle. The army of Rumelia was the first to arrive at the battlefield (NÉGYESI 1994, 66–67; B. SZABÓ 2005, 601–602). At first the Horse guards of the King with the command of Gáspár Ráskay precluded the Turkish pincer attack, and the Hungarian right flank with the command of Ferenc Batthyány attacked the army of Rumelia. The soldiers of the legion of Rumelia were put to rout by the cavalry of Batthyány, after which the “*stataria*” with King Louis II also attacked the enemy. However, the janissary's line-firing and the Turkish artillery stopped the attack of the cavalry of Batthyány. Batthyány's horsemen had to escape and also the Hungarian main forces with the heavy

Mass-grave	Extension	The number of the buried soldiers
I.	34(?) m <sup>2</sup>	183-244
II.	21 m <sup>2</sup>	120-160
III.	15 m <sup>2</sup>	96-128
IV.	8,7 m <sup>2</sup>	60-80
V.	32 m <sup>2</sup>	246-328

Table 1 The mass-graves of Sátorhely (after K. ZOFFMANN 1982, 14)  
1. táblázat A sátorhelyi tömegsírok (K. ZOFFMANN 1982, 14)

cavalry and the infantry arrived before the line of the janissary and the Turkish artillery at Földvár village. Eventually the Hungarian army could not break through the line of the janissary and the Turkish artillery. The Hungarian army's getaway was disorganized, since Supreme Commander Pál Tomori could not reorganize the lines (NÉGYESI 1994, 71–73; TAŞKIRAN 1997, 216–217; B. SZABÓ 2005, 602–609). 16 knight-bannerettes, 12 magnates and 7 prelates died in the battle as well as the young King Louis II, who drowned in Csele creek, which was flooding at the time. Later the king's body was buried in the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár (BRODERICUS 1985, 55–59). After the battle Turkish troops buried the fallen Christian soldiers, on the basis of the diary of sultan Suleiman 24 000 fallen Christian soldiers were buried at the battlefield (DIARY OF SULTAN SULEIMAN 1976, 166).

#### Archaeological research

Historian Barna Halmay mentioned in his historical work of 1926 a mass-grave(?) at the buildings of the “*Neuer Stall*” (“*New Stable*”) which was found and destroyed in the 1890s. The grave's ground-space was 16 m<sup>2</sup> and the depth was 2–3 m and the daymen found weapons also on the basis of Halmay's work. The human remains were reburied at the cemetery of Sátorhely near Majs (HALMAY 1926, 62). László Papp found the two first mass-graves at Sátorhely in 1960 (Fig. 2, 1). Coin-finds helped to date the mass-graves, the archaeologist found 15 silver coins which were dated between 1506 and 1525 (PAPP 1961, 237–249). Later Archaeologist Borbála Maráz found three other mass-graves near the first mass-graves at the Memorial Park (Fig. 2, 2; table 1) of Mohács in 1975 and 1976 (MARÁZ 2006, 255–256; K. ZOFFMANN 1982, 14). The buried soldiers of the III–V. mass-graves were between 14 and 60 years old and they were buried after the battle. It is believed that the Christian executed soldiers were buried in these mass-graves (K. ZOFFMANN 1982, 18; MARÁZ 2006, 255–259).

The main intention of the research of the battlefield was the localization of the mass-graves of the battle. However, Endre Gergely had already written in 1926 that the research of the mass-graves can lead the localization of the battlefield astray, because the fallen soldiers were not always buried at the area of the battlefield (GERGELY 1926, 349; see also: SUTHERLAND–HOLST 2005, 28–29). The main problem of the localization of the battle is the identification of the medieval village of Földvár which was an important topographical point of the

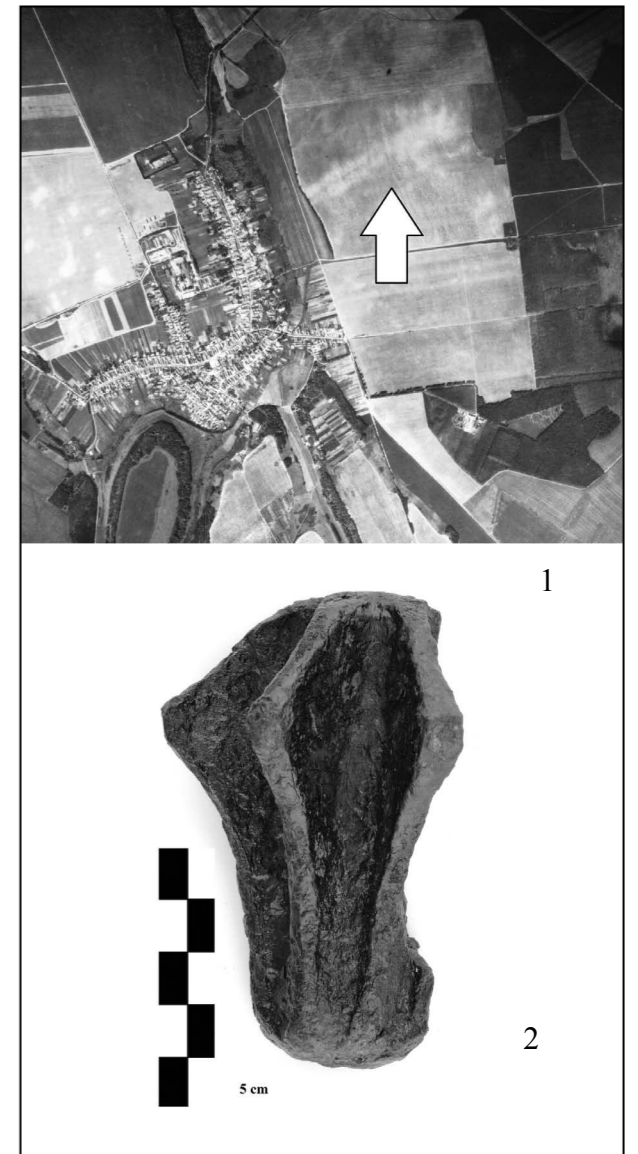


Fig. 3 The site of Földvár village. 1: an archive air photo with the main road of Földvár (MoD Military History Institute and Museum, Map-collection) and a fragment of mace from the site (after BERTÓK–POLGÁR 2011, 924)  
3. kép Földvár falu lelőhelye: archív légi felvétel Földvár főutcájával (HM Hadtörténelmi Intézet és Múzeum, Térképgyűjtemény) és egy buzogánytörredék a lelőhelyről (BERTÓK–POLGÁR 2011, 924)

battle (Fig. 3, 1). Two medieval charters from 1338 and 1413 provide information on the localization of Földvár village. On the basis of the charters we can determine some establishments:  
1) “*terra Moysa*” and “*terra Felduar*” were neighbouring lands;



1



2

Fig. 4, 1: The parish church of Saint Charles of Borromeo;  
2: The Orthodox church of Saint Paraskevi at Majs  
(2014)

4. kép 1 : A majsai Borromei Szent Károly plébániatemplom;  
2: A Szent Paraszkéva ortodox templom  
(2014)

2) the road between Majs and Földvár was in the valley of the Borza watercourse (“*vallem Barza*”);  
3) a large property belonged to Földvár village which reached the line of the Danube river (GYÖRFFY 1987, 302–303; ZICHY I. 1871, 507; ZICHY VI. 1894, 159).

The place of the village of Földvár in medieval times has three localization theories:

1) the localization of the medieval village at the area

of Földvár-farm at Sátorhely (Kápolnai Pauer);  
2) the village was located in the area between the villages of Majs to the south-east and Dályok to the west (Gyalókay, Halmay);

3) the identification in the area of Majs (Szűcs, Kiss).

At first local historian Jenő Szűcs identified Földvár in the area of Majs (KISS 1978, 10). Lajos Négyesi was the first who researched with metal detector at the area of the medieval village (NÉGYESI 1994, 75). The Janus Pannonius Museum and the MoD Military History Institute and Museum have researched with geophysical surveys and metal detector surveys at the site of the village since 2010. The geophysical survey could identify some destroyed house-places (BERTÓK–POLGÁR 2011, 924–925; BERTÓK 2014, 161–164, 168). Some arrow-heads and a mace (Fig. 3, 2) were found with the help of the metal detector survey (Prehistoric and Roman finds were also concentrated at the area of the medieval site) (BERTÓK–POLGÁR 2011, 924, 927). The archaeologists found eleven coins from the Roman Age, the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age between 2012 and 2014. Two copper and four silver coins (coins of king Béla III, Béla IV, Sigismund and Wladislaus I) were medieval and three silver coins were identified as Habsburg kings’ coins from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

An important aim was the identification of the parish church of Földvár village which is mentioned by Chancellor István Brodarics. The St. Charles of Borromeo (baroque) church was built in 1752 on the top of the church-hill of Majs (Fig. 4, 1), but the local historian tradition knows of an older church in the place of the St. Charles church built in the 18<sup>th</sup> century: Canon Imre Bohus wrote about an “ancient church” (the ruins of the church of Földvár?) in 1721 (BAUHOFFER 2000, 13–14, 20). (The localization of the early Majs village is problematical; the Latin written sources mention two villages with name of Majs /“*Kys Moysa*”, “*Noghmoysa*”/ at the region. The First Military Survey of 1763–1787 has already showed “*Mais*” or “*Mayes*” at the area of the modern Majs /GYÖRFFY 1987, 338; ZICHY I. 1871, 507; FIRST MILITARY SURVEY, XII-34/). The archaeological research of the cemetery of the parish church of Saint Charles was started in 2013 and the area of the cemetery the archaeologists excavated some graves of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately the building operations of the baroque church and the agricultural activity destroyed some graves on the top of the hill (BAUHOFFER 2000, 21). The geophysical survey identified the zone of the destroyed graves near the church. The excavated graves were dated by silver

coins to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and some bronze hairpins were found by the archaeologist which can be identified as part of Serbian female attire (WICKER 2002, 226, 228–230; GAÁL 2002, 213, 215; see also: BAGI 2014, 22–29). Supposedly the settler Serb population used the cemetery of the medieval church, the Saint Paraskevi Orthodox church of Majs was built in the 17–18<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 4, 2).

#### *The second battle of Mohács or the battle of Harsány mountain (Baranya County, AD 1687)*

The military historical research of the second battle of Mohács began at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The battle has more specific localization possibilities than the first battle of Mohács. The battlefield has not been researched with archaeological methods before. The MoD Military History Institute and Museum started archaeological researches between Nagyarsány and Villány near the Harsány mountain in 2012.

#### *The historiography (summary)*

The names of the battle which are found in military historical literature suggested more versions for localization: the written sources and the military historical works localize the area of the victory of the Christian Army at Siklós, Villány and Nagyarsány as well (HUSZÁR 1975, 28–30; VERESS 1989, 51; APPONYI 2004, 693). Béla Németh published the first particular localization theory in order to identify the battlefield in 1897. He has already claimed the battlefield to be in the area of Nagyarsány, Villány, Beremend and the area of the moors of Karasica creek (NÉMETH 1897, 485–486). Lajos Nagy incorrectly localized the battlefield near Kistótfalu village in his works from 1987 and 1989 (NAGY 1987, 32–35; NAGY 1989, 46). Csaba D. Veress identified the area of the battlefield between the Harsány mountain and Pölöske on the basis of the contemporary engravings (VERESS 1987, 700–701; VERESS 1989, 52–53). The battle of Harsány mountain is a well-documented battle of the Hungarian Reoccupation War, the letters and diaries of the commanders of the Christian army are well known and some engravings give an account of the victory of the Christian army. In 1987, László Szita edited a source-collection with the translated parts of the diary of Charles of Lorraine, the Bavarian Elector Maximilian II. Emanuel, Baron Tobias von Hasslingen and the priest Gaetano Bonomo, furthermore the letters of the Swedish Charles Gustav and Villars marquis (BUDÁTÓL BELGRÁDIG 1987, 75–144, 145–174, 175–223, 225–238, 317–

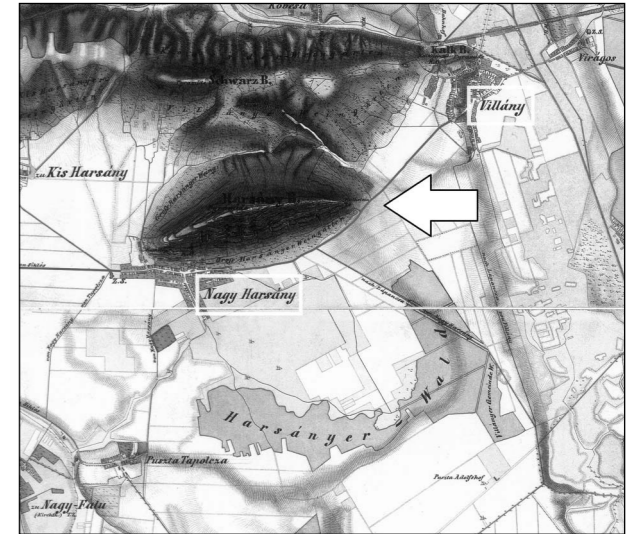


Fig. 5 The Siklós–Mohács-road at the Harsány mountain on the Second Military Survey (SECOND MILITARY SURVEY, XXX-65/66; MoD Military History Institute and Museum, Map-collection)

5. kép A Siklós–Mohács-út és a Harsány-hegy a Második katonai felmérésen (MÁSODIK KATONAI FELMÉRÉS XXX-65/66; HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, Térképgyűjtemény)

329, 335–384). Unfortunately, European research is aware of only a few Ottoman-Turkish written sources. János Hóvári presented two Turkish sources about the battle of 1687 in his publication (HÓVÁRI 1989).

#### *The sources of the battle*

Historian Csaba D. Veress collected and researched the authentic engravings of the battle. He found and researched four engravings in the Hungarian National Museum which were made after the battle by an officer of the engraving corps. Two engravings show the camp of the Bavarian army at the Harsány mountain and two engravings show the battle of Harsány mountain. Csaba D. Veress concluded that these four engravings show the real landscape with ruins – for example the ruins of the parish church of Villány village, the ruins of the Franciscan monastery of Pölöske and the parish church of Nagyarsány village – and real scenes from the battle (“*L’Accampamento del di Agosto*”, accession number: T-3949, T-3950; accession number: T-5998, T-3954, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Art Gallery; VERESS 1987, 693–703; VERESS 1989, 51–60). The parish church of Villány was rebuilt in late-baroque style, however the parish church of Nagyarsány had

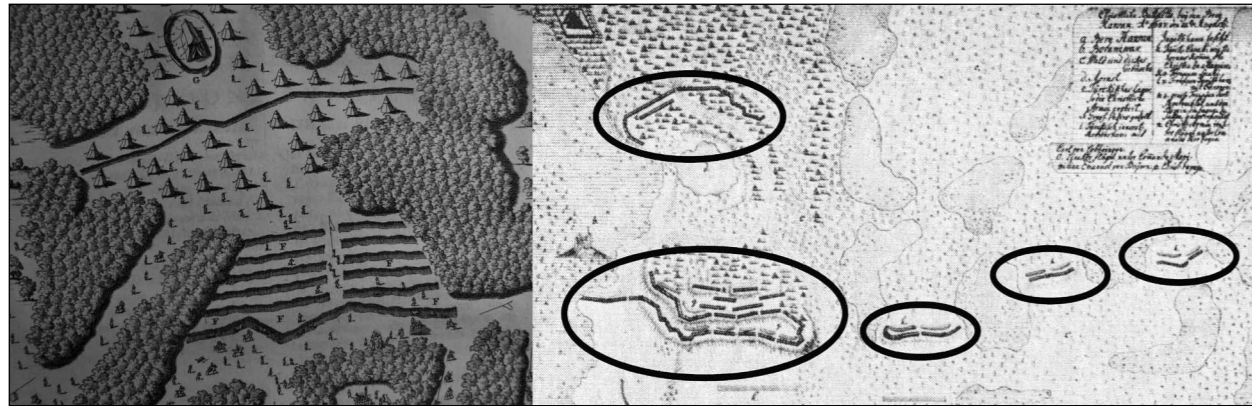


Fig 6 F. L. Marsigli's sketch (left side) and an engraving of Military Archive of Stockholm (right side) about the earth-works of Turkish camp at Pölöcske (after MARSIGLI 1732, *Explication de la planche XXVIII*. 89 /MoD Military History Institute and Museum, Book-collection/; SZITA 1989, 325.)

6. kép F. L. Marsigli vázlatrajza (balra) és a Stockholmi Hadtörténeti Levéltár metszete (jobbra) a török tábor földműveiről Pölöcskénél (MARSIGLI 1732, *Explication de la planche XXVIII*. 89 /HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, Könyvgyűjtemény/; SZITA 1989, 325.)

preserved its medieval style. Unfortunately the ruins of the Franciscan monastery of Pölöcske were reused at the building of the Lutheran church and farm building of Magyarbóly in the 1960s (POLGÁR 2014, 121). The Italian Ferdinando Luigi Marsigli's line drawing from his *Stato militare dell' Impero Ottomano, incremento e decremento del medesimo* is an interesting source of the battle. Marsigli also fought in the battle (on the morning of the battle he was ordered to destroy the castle of Siklós, eventually he could not destroy the castle because he had to return to the Christian army at the battlefield.) Marsigli's work is schematic, but the battlefield is visualized south of the Harsány mountain and he depicted the field work system of the Turkish camp (MARSIGLI 1732. *Espiegazione della tavola XXXV*. 125, *Espiegazione della tavola XXVIII*. 89; POLGÁR 2014, 114–115). Romeyn de Hooghe's work (*Abbildung des unvergleichlichen Sieges, den seine Durchl. der Hertzog von Lotharingen, und seine Chur-Fürstl. Durchl. von Beyeren, den 12. Aug. n. st. 1687. von denen Ungläubigen erhalten*), Amsterdam, 1687; National Széchényi Library, accession number: App. M. 967) has a map showing the way of the Christian army of 1687. Romeyn de Hooghe's work was based on information of Carl Joseph Juvigni and he marked the area of the battle (*Plaats der Bataille*) and the Harsány mountain (*Archanie Mons*) (POLGÁR 2014, 116–117). The geographical representation of the battlefield and its surroundings is similar to the landscape relations of an engraving which was made in the Roman printing house of Gio.

Giacomo de Rossi in 1687 (*Delineatione generale dell'armata imperiale sotto il commando der ser. sig. duca di Lorena generalissimo come fu accampata adi 25 giugno 1687 in ordinanza militare de battaglioni e squadroni*), Rome, 1687; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Le département des Cartes et plans, accession number: GE DD-2987 /3263/). The engraving shows the Christian siege of Eszék of 1687, but the Harsány mountain (*Arsca Monti*), the Harsány village (*Harsca*) and some important topographical points of the end of the campaign (for example Fort Louis [*Fort Louys*]) are well observed. The Hungarian National Museum Historical Art Gallery has a variant of the Roman engraving (accession number: T.7071) which was made by Johann Martin Lerch and Mathias Greischer at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

There are some written sources on the battle. The French diary of the supreme commander of the Christian army, Charles of Lorraine can be found in Vienna, in the *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Habsburgische Lotharingische Familienarchive, Lotharingische Hausarchive* (50–51<sup>st</sup> carton). The *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv* provides two diary-variations. The diary-variations cover the battle with different titles, the title of the battle-description of the 50<sup>th</sup> carton is *"Du camp entre harshan et mohats, le 16 d'aoust [sic!] 1687"* and the text is made up of 7 pages (DIARY OF CHARLES OF LORRAINE 1683–1689, *Du camp entre harshan et mohats, le 16 d'aoust [sic!] 1687*, 970–976). Another important written source-group is Claude-Louis-Hector de Villars marquis' letters and

memoirs. Villars marquis was a colonel (*"mestre de camp de cavalerie"*) in the Bavarian army during the campaign of Hungary (SARMANT 2005, 643). 21 Villars-letters are known by the research which was written during the campaign of 1687. The Villars-memoirs were first published in 1736 in Hague by Pierre Gosse (VOGÜÉ 1884. i–ii). The French historian, Melchior de Vogüé collected and published the Villars-letters of 1687 in the edition of the Villars-memoirs of 1884. Villars wrote about the battle in three letters (his letters were written to the French state-minister, Charles Colbert) (VILLARS 1884, 353–376; POLGÁR 2014, 113–114; see also to the life of Villars marquis: EL HAGE 2012).

We can reconstruct the exact events of the battle with the help of the written sources. The war-council of Vienna wanted to occupy the forts of Eszék which was an important Turkish logistic point in the Hungarian theater of war. The siege of the Christian army (60 000 soldiers) remained without success because the Turkish had entrenched Eszék. Charles of Lorraine decided to fight at the open field. The Turkish army (60 000 soldiers) misunderstood the manoeuver of the Christian army, Suleiman, the commander of the Turkish army thought that the Christian army began to flee. The Christian army marched to the castle of Siklós, the right flank was commanded by Charles of Lorraine, the left flank was commanded by the Bavarian elector, Maximilian II. Emanuel. The battle began near the Harsány mountain (Fig. 5, LAKATOS 1937, 201–207). When the right flank had arrived on the open land, the Turkish cavalry (*Spahis*) attacked Maximilian II. Emanuel's flank. The Christian right flank could not help the Bavarian army at the first phase of the battle because of the unfavorable battlefield (*"... il [Charles of Lorraine] estoit fâché que son aïse ne fust pas à portée de pouvoir attaquer l'ennemy ..."*) (VILLARS 1884, *Villars au marquis de Croissy. Au camp de Baraniavar, le 15 août 1687*, 370). The Bavarian army was able to hold the Turkish cavalry back. In the afternoon the Christian army attacked the Turkish camp. The Turkish infantry (*Janissarys*) could not strike the Christian attack back, the fortress of the camp was not finished and the Spahis escaped as well. On the basis of the diary of Charles of Lorraine ten thousand Turkish soldiers (mostly Janissarys) fell in the forests and the in the camp (*"... on compta ce jour ... dans la camp que dans des bois plus de dix mil mortes sur la place presque toutes Janissaires ..."*) (DIARY OF CHARLES OF LORRAINE 1683–1689, *"Du camp entre harshan et mohats, le 16 d'aoust [sic!] 1687"*, 975; LAKATOS 1937, 207).

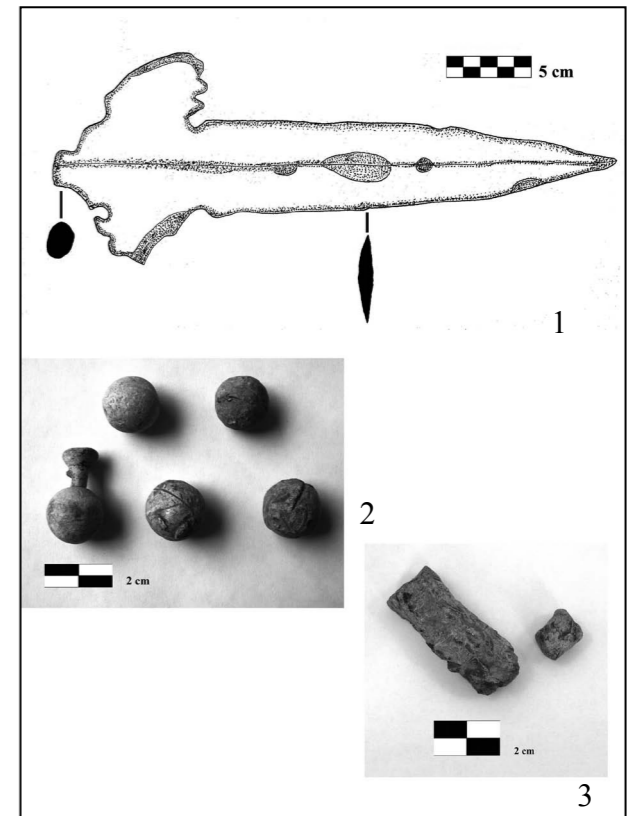


Fig. 7 Finds from the battlefield of Harsány mountain (Local Historical Collection of Nagyarsány, MoD Military History Institute and Museum /Military Archaeological Collection/)

7. kép Leletek a Harsány-hegyi csatateréről (Nagyarsányi Helytörténeti Gyűjtemény, HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, Hadirégészeti Gyűjtemény)

-	Caliber	Piece (percent)
1.	7 mm	1 (1, 25 %)
2.	9 mm	1 (1, 25 %)
3.	10 mm	8 (10 %)
4.	11 mm	8 (10 %)
5.	12 mm	10 (12, 5 %)
6.	13 mm	19 (23, 75 %)
7.	14 mm	7 (8, 75 %)
8.	15 mm	7 (8, 75 %)
9.	16 mm	8 (10 %)
10.	17 mm	3 (4, 25 %)
11.	20 mm	1 (1, 25 %)

Table 2 Distribution of the lead balls of the battlefield (73 pieces)  
2. táblázat A csatateré lövedékeinek megoszlása (73 darab)

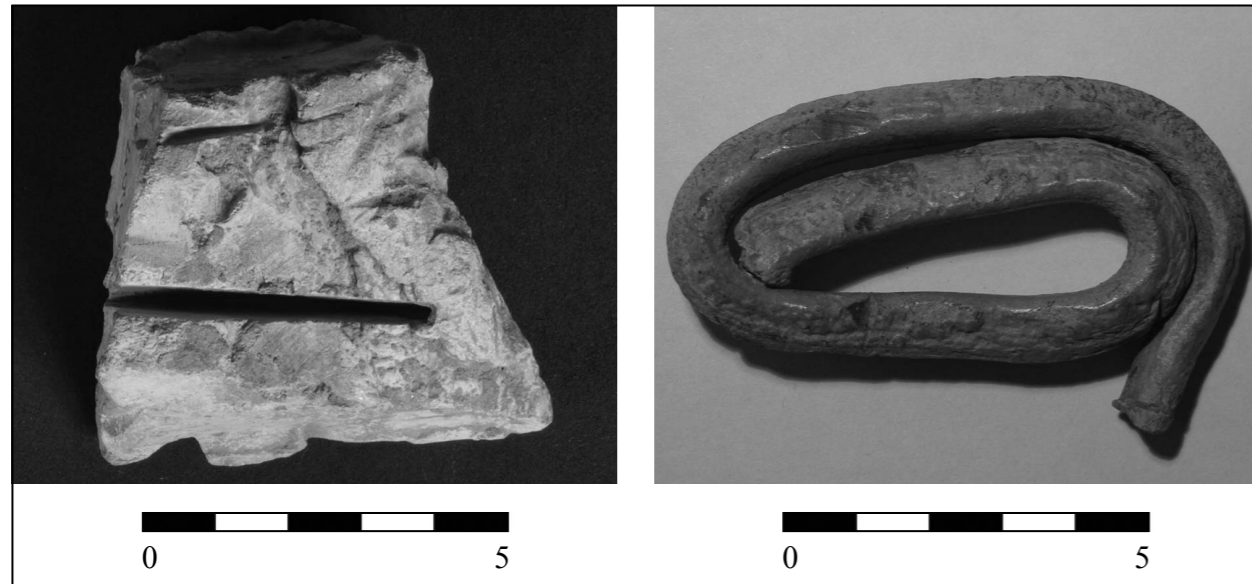


Fig. 8 Lead sticks for the making of slugs (MoD Military History Institute and Museum, Military Archaeological Collection, accession number: 2011.41.1; 2014.22.1)

8. kép Ólom rudak hasáb alakú lövedék készítéséhez (HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, Hadirégészeti Gyűjtemény, leltári szám: 2011.41.1; 2014.22.1)

The research had two main questions about the battle: where was the battle started (where was the Christian army attacked by the Turkish cavalry) and where was the Turkish camp? Villars marquis gave some important information regarding the first question. Villars wrote in his letter which was dated 15<sup>th</sup> of August in Baranyavár, that he had to go up to Harsány mountain and he had to admire the grandeur of the attacking Turkish army during the time of the first phase of the battle: “L’électeur de Bavière dit au marquis de Villars de monter le plus diligemment qu’il pourroit, sur la montagne d’Ersans, pour découvrir les mouvements des turcs” (VILLARS 1884, 73). So on the basis of Villars marquis the first phase of the battle can be localized near the Harsány mountain and not on the plain of Villány (POLGÁR 2014, 119). The information provided by Charles of Lorraine and Villars marquis is important regarding the problem of the Turkish camp. The research has three pieces of information from the written sources. 1.) The Turkish camp was on a sylvan terrace and it was girded with moors (“... nous trouvâmes leur camp à une demie-lieue du premier retranchement qui étoit entre de marais dans une espace fort étroite ...”) (VILLARS 1884. *Villars au marquis de Croissy. Au camp de Baraniavar, le 15 août 1687*, 371; see also: DIARY OF CHARLES OF LORRAINE 1683–1689. “*Du camp entre harshan et mohats, le 16 d’aoust [sic!] 1687*”, 973).

2.) The camp was 2 miles long (“... quasi huit heures

*ce soir lors que nous arrivâmes de leur camp qui avoir près de deux lieues longueur.*”) (DIARY OF CHARLES OF LORRAINE 1683–1689. “*Du camp entre harshan et mohats, le 16 d’aoust [sic!] 1687*”, 973). 3.) The field works of the Turkish camp were semi-finished (“*Le Turcs n’y travaillons depuis le matin et le fossé n’étoit pas fort [et] profond.*”) (DIARY OF CHARLES OF LORRAINE 1683–1689. “*Du camp entre harshan et mohats, le 16 d’aoust [sic!] 1687*”, 973; see also: MARSIGLI 1732. *Espiegazione della tavola XXXV*, 125).

Based on the engravings, the Turkish camp was near Pölöcske. Both the engravings which were researched by Csaba D. Veress marked the ruin of the Franciscan cloister (the *quadrum* and the church-tower) (VERESS 1987, 700–701; VERESS 1989, 52–53). Research indicates on the basis of the written sources that the Turkish army could not finish the field works of the camp, so it is problematic whether the field work system which can be seen on Marsigli’s work was realistic or was not? Moreover, a Swedish engraving from the Swedish Military Archives (Military Archive of Stockholm, accession number: L. H. No. 28; SZITA 1989, 325.) shows another field work system (Fig. 6) (POLGÁR 2014, 128).

#### Archaeological research and artifacts from the battle

The area of the battlefield became disorganized by agriculture. András Vályi has already written

that musket-balls and cannon-balls, swords and fragments of musket were found in the area of the battlefield in 1799 (VÁLYI 1799. III. 636). Béla Németh wrote in the 19<sup>th</sup> century about the battlefield: “*These fields are full of still broken grape-shot and cannonball fragments. When the woods were planted, these fragments, hindering the cultivation, were huddled in piles which gathered moss and are still visible in the woods. Beside this, numerous Turkish and Christian swords and other weapon parts, horseshoes, bridles, halters, chains and the like were found and can still be found on the fields. These objects are used for various domestic purposes by the people of Lőcs ...*” (NÉMETH 1897, 489–490, 492). The collections of the Janus Pannonius Museum of Pécs and the MoD Military History Institute and Museum have some artifacts from the battle. The Local Historical Collection of Nagyarsány (Nagyarsányi Helytörténeti Gyűjtemény) has some unpublished artefacts from the battle also. The collection has some lead musket balls and iron cannon balls, however, the most interesting artifact of the historical collection is an iron partisan-head (the complete length: 26, 5 cm, the length of the blade: 20 cm, width: 4, 3 cm) (Fig. 7, 1) and an iron hand-grenade (weight: 2816 g, diameter: 7, 2 cm). The archaeological research of the battle began in 2012. The more important finds which can be connected to the battle were iron cannon-balls and lead bullets. The cannon-balls are identifiable as cannon balls of the “*coulevrine*” (“battle-snake”) and the “*canon Légere*” (“light cannon”) on the basis of Raimondo Montecuccoli’s military work (MONTECUCCOLI 1770, *Livre I, chapitre II. Article second, De l’Arillerie. I. 271*; POLGÁR 2014, 126). 73 lead balls are known from the site (Fig. 7, 2; table 2). A stray short lead stick and a carved lead slug are also known from the area of the battlefield (MoD Military History Institute and Museum, Military Archaeological Collection, accession number: 2011.85.1; 2013.1.3.) (Fig 7, 3) (POLGÁR 2014, 126–127). The carved lead slugs are well-known from the area of the battlefields of Europe and North-America from the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries (SMITH–LEGG–WILSON 2009, 55; STARBUCK 2010, 40, 42; POLGÁR 2014, 126–127). Marsigli wrote about the methodology of the curving of the lead stick and he discussed that this method was a typical bullet-making method in the Turkish army (MARSIGLI 1732, *Capitolo VIII. Delle Armi Da Foco, e prima delle portatili*. 15). The lead slugs are in the battlefield of West Europe and North-America and Sir James Turner commemorated the iron slugs apropos of the definition of the “*blunderbass*” in

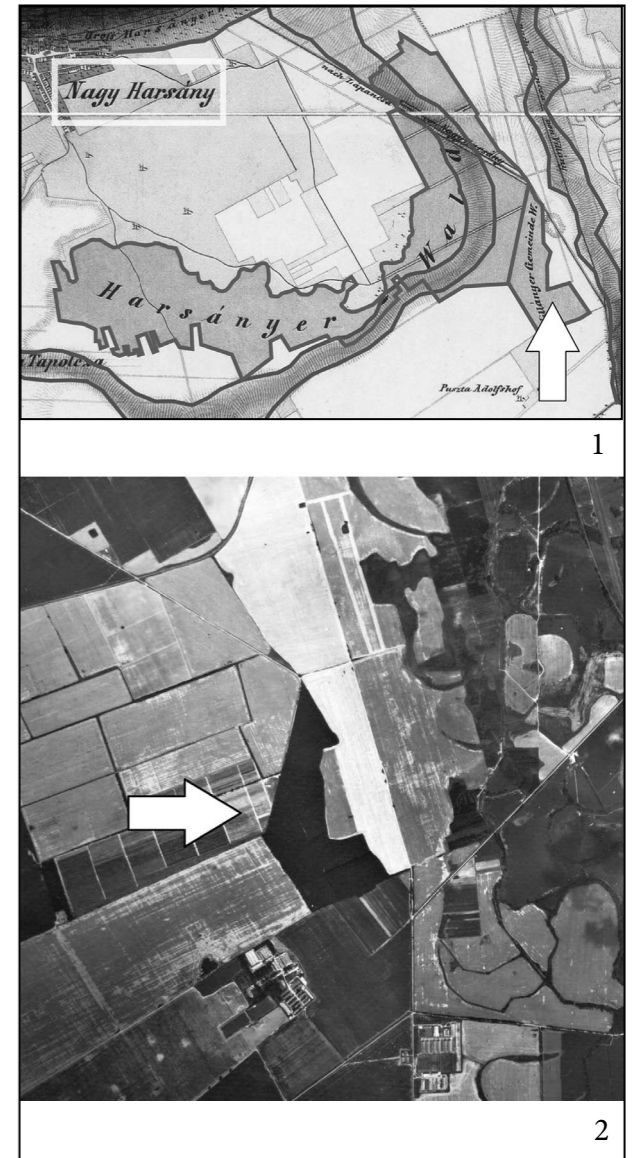


Fig. 9 1: The “Harsányer Gemeinde Wald” (SECOND MILITARY SURVEY, XXX-65/66; 2: Archive air photo, MoD Military History Institute and Museum, Map-collection)

9. kép 1: A „Harsányer Gemeinde Wald” (Második katonai felmérés, XXX-65/66; 2: Archív légi fotó, HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, Térképgyűjtemény)

his *Pallas Armata* in 1683 also (TURNER 1683, 137). So the carving of the lead sticks was an imperative method out and away in the armies. In general there are two methods of making slugs: at first large and irregular lead sticks could be curved or smaller, thinner and folded sticks could be curved by axes or knives (Fig. 8) (POLGÁR 2014, 122). The research of the Turkish earth-works was an important aim of the field work. We surveyed the archive air photos



Fig. 10 Ferro-concrete gunner fortress (Cold War) at the site of Majs and Villány (2014)  
10. kép Vasbeton géppuskás erőd (hidegháború) a majsi és a villányi lelőhelynél (2014)

of the site, but we did not find the mark of Turkish Age earth works. The landscape has changed greatly since the 17<sup>th</sup> century: the moors of the Karasica creek were drained in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the area of the Harsány forest was strikingly diminished. We are able to follow the reduction of the Harsány forest with the help of the military surveys of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and the archive air photos of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In our time the area of the Harsány forest is diminished to the place of the “*Harsányer Gemeinde Wald*” (Fig. 9, 1–2). In conclusion, mass-graves are still to be found, and we can presume that the fallen Turkish soldiers were buried in the earth-works (SECOND MILITARY SURVEY, XXX-65/66; POLGÁR 2014, 125, 128).

#### Summary

The historical landscape was changed both at the battlefield of Mohács and Harsány mountain. The intense agriculture and the fortifications of the cold war changed the area of the battlefields, some parts of the “Hungarian Maginot Line”, the Southern defensive lines can be found at both sites, for example we can mention some ferro-concrete gunner fortress (Fig. 10). Illegal metal detector surveys have caused significant damage in the area of the sites (POLGÁR 2014, 130).

In the case of the Battle of Harsány Mountain we are able to deploy various sources (particular diaries, letters and engravings with reality topographical points) for research. On the basis of the various source-bases we can extrapolate the main events to the modern landscape. We were not able to

localize the places of the Christian battalions at the battlefield, but the finds helped to identify the area of the first phase of the battle, the finds (musket-balls and cannon-balls) which are connected to the battle are concentrated between Nagyarsány and Villány near the Harsány mountain (POLGÁR 2014, 128–129).

In the case of the battlefield of Mohács the research is also varied, but the sources are not accurate. Contemporary sources were propagandistic and the handbills and narratives accentuated the brutality of the Turkish army. On the basis of the Turkish and the Christian written sources some localization theories were born in the 19–20<sup>th</sup> century. The example of the mass-grave of Azincourt illustrated that the finding of mass-graves can lead the research astray. The mass-grave which was found by Sir Robert Woodford in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was at the area of the English camp and not at the area of the battlefield (SUTHERLAND 2006). The key to the localization of the military manoeuvre of the battle is identifying and excavating the village of Földvár which is mentioned by the Christian eyewitness, Chancellor István Brodarics. Furthermore, the main archaeological mission at the battlefield is to excavate the house-places of the village and to find the pustular destruction layers of 1526.

#### Acknowledgement

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## AZ ELSŐ ÉS MÁSODIK “MOHÁCSI CSATA” (1526, 1687) RÉGÉSZETI KUTATÁSOK ÉS LEHETŐSÉGEK

### *Kivonat*

A konfliktusrégészet fiatal interdiszciplináris területe a hazai régészetnek. Napjainkig csupán három 1711 előtti (nyílt terepen lezajló) összecsapás – az első és második mohácsi csata és a romhányi csata – kutatása során került sor régészeti terepi kutatómunkára.

A HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum 2010 óta kutatja az első mohácsi csata helyszínét a pécsi Janus Pannonius Múzeummal. A megkezdett terepkutatások elsődleges célja a csata egyik szemtanúja, Brodaries István kancellár (szerémi püspök) által említett Földvár falu azonosítása és régészeti kutatása. Földvár falu lokalizációjára vonatkozóan több elmélet is született, elsőként Szücs Jenő helytörténész helyezte a középkori falu helyét Majs község közvetlen északkeleti térségébe. Négyesi Lajos sikeres fémkereső műszeres majs terepbejárásait szisztematikus geofizikai felmérés és további terepbejárások követték. A geofizikai felmérés során a település több, a főutca vonalához illeszkedő épületfoltja vált azonosíthatóvá. A középkori falunyom területén (eltérő intenzitással) őskori, római kori és középkori kerámiatöredékek láttak napvilágot. A fémkereső műszeres terepbejárások révén III. Béla, IV. Béla, Zsigmond és II. Ulászló pénzérméi, illetve több 16. századi Habsburg-veret került elő. A fémleletek többségét (vaslemezből kivágással kialakított) patkó-, illetve sarkantyútöredékek és nyílhegyek képezték. Az egyik figyelemre méltó lelet egy töredékes vas buzogányfej volt. A falunyom területén több korszak tárgyi emlékei keveredtek, mivel a település a 16. században tovább élt, illetve a lelőhelyen intenzív mezőgazdasági művelést folytattak a 18. századtól kezdve. A majs terepkutatások fontos célja még a középkori Földvár falu plébániatemplomának lokalizációja is. A rendelkezésre álló források alapján feltételezhető, hogy a középkori Földvár falu plébániatemploma a majs Borromei Szent Károly templom helyén állhatott. Az 1752-ben kései barokk stílusban emelt templom építése során a korábbi temető jelentős része elpusztult, 2014-ben, a plébániatemplom térségében elvégzett geofizikai felmérés által kimutatható volt az elpusztult temetőrészlet templom körüli zónája. A templom térségében több, a kora újkor időszakából származó és a betelepülő szerb népességhez köthető sírt tártak fel 2013-ban. A sírok keltezését és interpretálását numizmatikai leletek és a kora újkori szerb női vi-

selet jellegzetes tartozékaiként számon tartott bronz hajtűk tették lehetővé. (A majs Szent Paraszkéva ortodox templom a 17–18. században épült. Feltételezhető, hogy a betelepülő szerb népesség a középkori plébániatemplom temetőjét használhatta kezdetben.)

A második mohácsi csata az 1526. évi mohácsi csatához hasonlóan gazdag hadtörténeti irodalommal rendelkezik. Szita László a csata számos külföldi forrását rendezte magyar nyelvű forrásdokumentum-gyűjteménybe 1987-ben, illetve Veress D. Csaba elsőként vizsgálta a csata hiteles képi ábrázolásait. Villány és Nagyharsány térségében 2010-ben kezdődtek a HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum terepi kutatásai. A komplex módszerekre épülő kutatómunka fő célja a csata első fázisának (a Miksa Emánuel vezette keresztény balszárny megtámadása) lokalizálása és a török tábor terepi azonosítása volt. A kutatómunka során áttekintettük a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti Képcsarnokának és az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárnak, az Apponyigyűjteményben őrzött, a Harsány-hegyi csatát láttató ábrázolásait, valamint újra megvizsgáltuk a csata fő írásos forrásait, így a keresztény sereg fővezére, Lotaringiai Károly Bécsben őrzött, francia nyelvű hadinaplóját, Claude-Louis-Hector de Villars márki levelezésének és memoárrészleteinek, illetve az olasz polihisztor, Ferdinando Luigi Marsigli *Stato militare dell' Impero Ottomano, incremento e decremento del medesimo* című művének a csatára vonatkozó adatait. A rendelkezésre álló térképészeti adatok (katonai felmérések) alapján a 17. századi történeti táj jelentős mértékben megváltozott a Harsány-hegy déli térségében elhelyezkedő erdőség irtása, a Karasica mocsarainak lecsapolása és az intenzív mezőgazdasági művelés következtében. A Nagyharsány és Villány közti autópálya térségéből jelentékeny mennyiségű, a csatához köthető tárgyi emlék (muskétagyöngyök, ágyúgyöngyök, egy partizánfej töredéke) látott napvilágot. A lelőhelyen több eltérő történeti korszak kézi tűzfegyvereihez köthető lövedék került elő. A talált lövedékek között az öntött, illetve a feltekereselt ólomrúdból, darabolással kialakított példányok is jelen vannak egyszerre. A tárgyi emlékegyetem leletmintázata alapján nem volt mód a keresztény sereg bataillon-jainak terepi elhelyezkedését rekonstruálni, ugyanakkor a leletanyag révén feltételezhető, hogy a csata korai fázisát a Vil-

lány és Nagyharsány közti területre, a Harsány-hegy közelebbi térségébe kell lokalizálni. Az intenzív mezőgazdasági művelés következtében az archív légi fotókon a török sáncokra utaló terepobjektumokat

egyelőre nem sikerült azonosítani. (A török tábor védelmező sáncok maradványainak azonosítása azért is fontos feladat, mert feltételezhető, hogy az elesett török katonákat a félkész sáncokba temették.)

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