

**JOURNAL OF THE  
ACADEMIE INTERNATIONALE  
DE LA PIPE**



Edited by  
Peter Davey and Anna Ridovics

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# JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMIE INTERNATIONALE DE LA PIPE

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## THE ACADEMY [[www.pipeacademy.org](http://www.pipeacademy.org)]

The Académie Internationale de la Pipe was founded in 1984 to provide a forum for leading scholars from around the world engaged in any field of study relating to the smoking pipe. The Academy's object is to advance the education of the public in the economic and social history of tobacco and pipe smoking worldwide. Its principal aims are to promote better awareness of the pipe as a cultural, artistic and social phenomenon; to highlight the particular place the pipe holds in the history of peoples and civilizations; to collect, preserve and disseminate evidence relating to its history and associations, and to encourage research concerning the past, present or future of the subject.

Academy members bring their own specialisms in fields such as archaeology, social and economic history and fine art, as well as having the opportunity to collaborate with others in working groups. The annual journal has been established to publish the results of the Academy's work, which will be of relevance to researchers from a wide range of related disciplines.

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# JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMIE INTERNATIONALE DE LA PIPE

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## Editorial

This fourth volume of the Journal of the Académie Internationale de la Pipe has been published at the same time as the third volume. Because of the number and size of the papers derived from the Budapest conference (Hungary in 2009) it was realized that there were too many for a single volume of the journal. As a result it was decided to publish the mainly archaeological contributions on pipes from excavations in Hungary and the neighbouring countries in Volume 3 so that there would be a coherent statement of all of this new evidence in one place. The remaining available Budapest papers which are more wide ranging in scope are published here in Volume 4, together with some material from both the Grasse (France in 2010) and Novi Sad (Serbia in 2011) conference, though the main groups of regionally-based papers from those conferences will appear in Volume 5.

The first three papers, whilst concerned directly with pipes of one sort or another are essentially studies of the phenomenon of tobacco use and smoking in different regions of the world, including Europe, America, Switzerland and Japan. Although the pipes that are used in different places and at different times are of intrinsic interest to the collector and art historian they are also very important in the study of the central role played by tobacco in many societies.

Paul Jahshan's paper, given in Budapest, considers the changing perceptions and representations of smokers and smoking in America, England, France and Hungary at different times. Heege provides a detailed overview of the arrival of tobacco and a smoking culture in Switzerland, together with an account of the sources of the pipes in use and the rather limited evidence for local pipe production. Barnabas Suzuki, in his Novi Sad paper, assesses the role of Dutch traders in the introduction of both tobacco and pipe smoking in Japan and documents the extraordinarily individual development of smoking utensils in that country. There follow two papers on eastern pipes. Ayşe Dudu Tepe discusses the archaeological and documentary evidence for the use of bone pipes by the Bedouin in Arabia. This is followed by a far-ranging, well-read overview by Ben Rapaport of the history of the *chibouk* both from the view point of foreign travellers, the artefacts themselves and their social significance.

The third part of the volume is devoted to papers on meerschaum pipes. In the opening paper Anna Ridovics looks afresh at the claim that the first meerschaum pipes were carved in Hungary by one Károly Kovács and demonstrates the extreme complexity of the evidence for and against it. More important, she introduces a very early meerschaum carving which could be 'thought' to be the 'Kovács pipe', together with two other early carvings from the first part of the eighteenth century. There follows a quartet of papers provided by members of the Academy's Meerschaum Working Group, originally presented at the Grasse conference, on the subject of the iconography

and morphology of the meerschaum pipe. The four case studies show how this raw material provided a wonderful medium for the expression of artistic, cultural and social ideas through a wide range of subject matter. Frank Burla considers the historical background, possible maker and owner of a pipe which commemorates the Transylvanian Battle of Breadfield in 1479 (Kenyérmező in Hungary). Hakon Kierulf looks in detail at the sources of inspiration and execution of acanthus-style decoration on the typical Norwegian pipe models. Sarunas Peckus takes the reader on a detective trail beginning with the purchase of a cheroot holder depicting acrobats who, eventually, are firmly identified as the world famous Belgian *Troupe Lafaille*. Finally, Ben Rapaport explores the influence of Canova's sculpture, 'The Three Graces' created for the Duke of Bedford between 1814 and 1817, on meerschaum carvers. In particular he presents a table pipe and a cheroot holder from the second half of the nineteenth century both of which in different ways, have derived their main inspiration from the Canova sculpture.

The final main section of the journal includes two papers dealing with twentieth-century pipes. In the first Susie White looks at the phenomenon of presentation pipes with particular reference to a briar pipe given to the troops fighting in the Boer War by Queen Alexandra in 1901. She considers the evidence for their production (quite a complex process involving factories in France and London) and distribution to the troops. The final paper written by Paul Jung who is based in America and Ruud Stam from the Netherlands documents a trans-Atlantic dispute between the Danco Corporation of New York and Goedewaagen in the Netherlands about the patenting of double-walled, slip-cast pipes. Both these papers point to the need for pipe studies to tackle the twentieth-century evidence in a serious way.

The volume concludes with reviews of two new books, one by Academician Natascha Mehler on the clay pipes of Bavaria and the other by Jan van Oostveen and Ruud Stam on those of the Netherlands.

In future, too, the Editor of the Journal will be happy to consider for publication any papers within the field of pipe studies that are considered to make a significant contribution to knowledge and that might be expected in the publication of a learned society.

Peter Davey  
Anna Ridovics



# The changing representations of tobacco and pipe smoking in the old and new worlds between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries

by Paul Jahshan

## Introduction

On August 29, 2009, the UK *Telegraph* reported in its 'Showbusiness' programme that Lynn Barber, writer and interviewer, had withdrawn from the November 'Book Now' festival where she was to discuss her book, *An Education*, after a photo of herself with a cigarette in her mouth, which she had supplied, was rejected by the Richmond Council in Surrey as not conducive to their policy of 'encouraging good health habits'. Remarking on the incident, her publicity director at Penguin, the photo's source, said to the organizers:

I do hope the finished brochure contains no photos of fat people (promoting obesity), or thin people (promoting eating disorders), white people (promoting cultural imperialism), black people (tokenism), [or] women wearing make-up (promoting an unhealthy obsession with idealised female beauty).

Writers and journalists are not the only ones to suffer the increasing effects of ostracism as smokers; fictional characters are quickly following suit: Popeye the Sailor Man, the creation of Elzie Crisler Segar in 1929, will have to see his pipe removed or be given an 18, adult-rated classification, as NHS managers at Liverpool's Primary Care Trust have called for a ban on all representations of smoking in films and cartoons, requesting that 'films featuring smoking we would request be classified in this way, unless it was depicting the harmful effect it has on people's health' (Waddington 2009). What this means is that from now on, only villains and bad characters will be allowed to light cigarettes, cigars, and pipes, thus actively and literally demonizing smoking and smokers. The alarming number of pubs closing everyday in the UK (the *London Evening Standard*, in 2007, was putting the number at five pubs closing every week in London only, with this number, according to the *Sunday Mirror*, rising a year later to sixty-seven a month all over the country) since the latest ban is also a reminder that smoking may not be only about puffing nicotine but also about traditions and ways of life.

On the other side of the Atlantic, smoking bans have been kept at the level of state laws, but have usually been as stringent, if not more, than in Europe. The American Nonsmokers' Rights Foundation published, in July 2011, its list of the state of nonsmoking in the United States, citing the percentage of the population covered by a

100% smokefree provision in workplace, restaurants, and bars in U.S. states and Washington D.C. (interestingly, the map legend clearly states that American Indian and Alaska Native sovereign tribal laws are not reflected; the conspicuous absence of the native American in relation to non-smoking laws can be located, as the present essay will show, in strategies of representation and exclusion). In addition, an increasing number of insurance companies charge higher premiums for smokers, and some states, like Florida, have the right not to hire them at all: Sarasota County Administrator Jim Ley said that this ban on hiring was the result of a strategy to 'produce a healthier work force and manage our long-term health care costs' (Anderson 2008).

The problem with smoking has always been, and will always be, one of representation. Putting aside the still debatable full physiological effects involved in the act of smoking, the image of the smoker has, for about five centuries, haunted the cultural, social, and economic scenes of the Western world. Alternating periods of grace and condemnation have buffeted the devotees of *Nicotiana Tabacum* but, despite the numerous and sometimes disproportionate punishments inflicted on them, humans are still smoking, and will probably continue to do so, albeit in diminishing numbers.

A study of the private and public image of tobacco and pipe smoking in the Old and New Worlds, from America to Hungary between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries will undoubtedly shed precious light on the complex processes involved in the dichotomy present in the representation and use of tobacco, and will also position the present demonization of the smoker in a broader, and therefore more intelligible, anthropological-cultural context.

There are many histories of tobacco and its uses. Publications for the layperson, such as those of Corti, Dunhill, Sabatier, Liebaert and Maya, Sabbagh, Armero, and a host of academic papers, have sketched useful historical and artistic renderings of pipe smoking; yet it is more difficult to find studies dealing with the representation of the smoker, despite the rather voluminous, albeit scattered, literature on the subject. Original documents published as early as 1595 in England present a picture of a society suddenly face-to-face with a new phenomenon affecting not only its private body but also that of its culture as a whole, ranging from medical observations to economic considerations to the symbolism found in the customs and traditions of the countries concerned.

As the use of tobacco spread from west to east, the image of the smoker changed accordingly and, as I will show, quite dramatically, in order to reflect not only the economic and medical needs of each society, but also its image(s) of itself and, most importantly, its own angst in the face of a parallel industrial revolution of sweeping proportions. Western writers and observers were also re-enacting colonial biases as they travelled eastwards, and Edward Said's critique of western orientalism and

cultural imperialism can be helpfully used in the context of the accounts of Hungary, even when written by Hungarians themselves in English when meant for foreign consumption. A study of the sources on the topic in Magyar will undoubtedly provide a much-needed addition to the currently available literature in English and French.

### America

America was the land where tobacco was first discovered by Europeans, and then later the main source of exportation to the Old World. Virginia and Maryland are, throughout the three centuries covered here, highly praised for quality and taste.

In addition, tobacco use was popularly thought to be a panacea for physical ailments, and a trusted companion when intense intellectual production was needed. General Thomas L. Clingman, 'of North Carolina,' a senator and officer in the civil war, published a book in 1885 that took the continent by storm, *The Tobacco Remedy*, in which the author brazenly writes:

Believing that such knowledge of the advantages of wet tobacco as a poultice...if it should become general, will be instrumental in saving annually many thousands of lives in the United States, I have decided that it is my duty to make a statement on the subject (p 5).

Before relating almost magical cures effected on others by the application of wet tobacco to virtually every part of the body, the general tells how tobacco literally saved his life on more than one occasion: on a sprained ankle after falling off a horse (p 6), on his leg after a 'severe gunshot wound' (p 7), on his eye after receiving 'a heavy blow...from the whip of the [omnibus] driver' (p 8), on his throat after a sudden internal swelling which he feared would have choked him to death (p 10), and on his head to cure 'erysipelas' (p 11). Clingman refers to a September 1884 issue of *Health and Home* in which the headline, 'Will Tobacco Cure Cholera,' cites him as answering 'this question in the affirmative' (p 20). Indeed, such was the fame of the book and its author that 'The Clingman Tobacco Cure' became a household name.

In 1891 appeared in New York a book entitled *Smoking: A World of Curious Facts, Queer Fancies, and Lively Anecdotes about Pipes, Tobacco, and Cigars*, where, among other 'facts,' the author warns that 'European tobacco is not as strong as that grown in America,' (p 3) explaining that German tobacco 'may be smoked continually without any bad effect,' but 'if the lover of the weed used the same amount of the American variety the effect would be very disagreeable, even dangerous' (pp 3-4). The author, George J. Manson, was keen to alert his readers to the connection between smoking tobacco and intellectual activity:

Among the famous men who have drawn inspiration and consolation from the pipe were Milton, who had his pipe and a glass of water just before he

retired for the night. Philosophers have drawn their best similes from their pipes. How could they have done so, had their pipes first been drawn from them? We see the smoke go upward—we think of life; we see the smoke-wreath fade away—we remember the morning cloud. Our pipe breaks—we mourn the fragility of earthly pleasures. We smoke it to an end, and tapping out the ashes remember that 'Dust we are, and unto dust we shall return' (p 25).

Manson refutes the claims made by tobacco detractors in a candid and somehow strange counter-example:

The enemies of the weed say that tobacco is a poison because animals will not use it. A Berlin professor, an artist, however, who has lately experimented in the Zoological Gardens, declares that common brown bears are genuine enthusiasts for tobacco (p 32).

In 1896, John Bain Jr. published in New York an anthology of stories, anecdotes, tales, and poems entitled *Tobacco in Song and Story*, in which he regrets the fact that 'no volume treating on Tobacco had heretofore appeared which contained all that deserved a place in the literature of the weed' (p i), and describes his book as a work that 'will appeal to every lover of the weed, no matter what his station in life may be or the grade of tobacco he consumes...It is intended to be a book of good fellowship, in which all smokers are free and equal' (p ii).

The admirable expressions of universal remedy, of meditative qualities, and of brotherly love and equality attributed to tobacco were met, however, with a very stiff opposition that specifically attacked 'the weed' on all three counts: as a physical poison, as a destroyer of the thinking capabilities, and as a great moral evil. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of writings dealing with tobacco take on a sombre tone sometimes verging on the apocalyptic. Orin Fowler bemoaned the fact, in his 1833 *Disquisition on the Evils of Using Tobacco*, that Americans were spending too much money on the evil weed, and invoked 'the amazing waste of property' involved in the cost of the 'article,' the 'time wasted by the use of it,' and 'the pauperism it occasions' (p 13). Fowler was confident that the expense of tobacco in its various forms 'may safely be set down at ten millions of dollars a year' (p 16). A. McAllister, a year before, was also describing smoking as a 'costly practice' (1832, p 23), and estimated 'the whole number of devotees at one million, who pay their daily homage at the shrine of this stupefying idol' (p 23).

Both writers also concur that smoking is the lot of uncivilized, and ultimately unchristianized peoples. Following America's expansion westward, and the concomitant but necessary colonial dehumanization of the Indian, Fowler, on the one hand, relegated the use of the 'filthy weed' (p 7) to the indigenous populations, and warned that up until the discovery, three hundred years before, of tobacco, the world had been civilized; McAllister, on the other hand, squarely put primitive

man's fear of being alone, and his evasion from solitary reflection, as the cause of using substances 'to stupefy those noble faculties...with which he has been endowed by the God of nature, for wise and benevolent purposes' (p 21).

This image of the white man afraid of facing his responsibilities in an America in search of its identity was, of course, unacceptable, and an ethos of non-active expansion was not to be allowed. Tobacco served, therefore, the double role of representing the dark Other, and also the symbol of a passivity not in tune with the duties of a Christian. Benjamin Waterhouse, in *Cautions to Young Persons Concerning Health*, had warned in 1822:

Do you not, GENTLEMEN, see clearly, that this unwholesome, idle custom includes the insidious effects of indolence; the deleterious effects of a powerful narcotic fumigation...I ask whether he, who indulges himself in this way, does not awake in the morning hot, restless, and dissatisfied with himself? The sound of the prayer-bell grates his nerves; even the [morning]...is unwelcome. He dresses with languor and fretfulness; his mouth is clammy and bitter; his head aches; and his stomach is uneasy, till composed a little by some warm tea or coffee. After stretching and yawning, he tries to numb his irksome feelings by a cigar and a glass of wine, or diluted brandy...By evening a handful of cigars, a few glasses of wine, &c. remove, by their stronger stimulus, these troublesome sensations; when he tumbles into bed; and rises next morning with similar feelings, and pursues the same course to get rid of them (p 36).

To Fowler, the deterioration caused by tobacco on what he called 'this Christian nation,' is enormous, and he adds that the 'eye of angels is upon us,—the eye of God is upon us,' asking whether young Christians should 'fetter, and palsy and ruin,' their 'intellectual capabilities, for the paltry pleasure of using one of the most poisonous, loathsome, and destructive weeds found in the whole vegetable kingdom?' (p 11).

Fowler, McAllister, and Waterhouse also supported the then-accepted notion that smoking causes a dryness of the mouth only relieved by drinking alcoholic beverages. The image of the tobacco-drinker, as the activity was described when it was first discovered, is thus powerfully associated with that of the alcoholic, acquiring a double stigma, and serving also the double purpose of situating both ills in the Other. It is only when 'drunkenness, with all her burning legion of evils, will cease from the earth' that Fowler's 'whole family of man' will become 'sober, temperate, holy and happy' (p 3).

Expectedly, smoking quickly acquires, after the bodily and moral degeneration it has engendered, the status of capital sin. The 'fainting, vertigo, nausea, vomiting, and loss of vision,' mentioned by McAllister, as well as the 'cold sweat' which 'gathers thick upon [the smoker's]

brow,' the fluttering pulse, the 'universal tremor' which accompany a myriad 'other symptoms of dissolution' only reflect the general dissolution of the soul (p 15). Echoing the three authors cited above, R. D. Mussey, in his 1836 *Essay on the Influence of Tobacco upon Life and Health*, could only liken what he calls the 'extraordinary propensity' of man to 'poison or destroy his own instincts, to turn topsy-turvy the laws of his being' (p 3), to nothing other than Original Sin. Mussey could only envision the roots of smoking by quoting the words of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, attributing the evil to that:

first disobedience and the fruit  
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste  
Brought death into the world and all our wo [sic],  
With loss of Eden (p 3).

and ended with subsuming all evils to that of smoking, reprinting a letter addressed to him where the writer does not hesitate one moment to venture that if 'the many acts of suicide, committed in the United States' were to be investigated, their origin would undoubtedly be found in tobacco smoking (p 42).

The Rev. Charles S. Adams, in his 1852 *Poem on the Use of Tobacco*, first delivered in 1837 to the Temperance Society of Orleans, Mass., was 'actuated by that sincere desire of doing good' (p iii) in re-publishing his poem-pamphlet against the evils of tobacco, and started with the following lines:

There is a certain plant whose use exceeds,  
By far the use of other kinds of weeds;  
And what is worthy of a special note,  
No animal but MAN, a WORM and GOAT  
Will deign to use—to chew, to smoke, to snuff—  
This nauseous, and withal this hateful stuff (p 5).

That tobacco is of the devil's side is clear to Rev. Adams in this apocalyptic vision:

It conquers still, and triumphs like a god;  
This nauseous weed, despite of all their laws,  
Still holds its throne within the human jaws.  
Since o'er our race this foe began his sway,  
More than three hundred years have passed away,  
Man is the slave, TOBACCO is the king,  
THAT LOATHSOME, NAUSEOUS, BLACK  
AND DIRTY THING!  
Blush, O my soul, for human nature blush!  
That such a foe immortal man should crush,  
And from its noble rank, by heaven assigned,  
Reduce to abject slavery his mind (p 6)!

Another American clergyman, Rev. Dwight Baldwin, in his *Evils of Tobacco, as they Affect Body, Mind, and Morals*, published in New York in 1854, did not mince his words. Under the 'Medicinal Properties' heading, he adamantly—and quite strangely—declares that the question of the medicinal powers of tobacco 'is easily answered, as none of its properties are obscure' for,

indeed, '[o]n every system not accustomed to its use, they declare themselves 'as the sin of Sodom' (p 2). Citing a certain 'Dr. Cox, of Brooklyn, a Doctor of Divinity,' Baldwin agrees that the 'dirty weed is poisonous and offensive, contrary to nature, and at war with it' (p 3), and even though 'thongs, from kings, nobles, scholars, and all classes of enlightened lands, down to the naked, squalid savages of heathen nations, pamper their animal appetites with these nauseous fumes and nauseous tastes,' one is forced, so says Baldwin, to ask: 'Where will the dominion of Tobacco end?' as the 'bewitching power of appetite, this subordination of the soul and reason of man to the beastly part of his nature' (p 5) is engulfing humanity in hell-like fire.

Short of excommunicating the flock of pipe smokers, the influential authors and guardians of the physical and moral health of the New World played upon the threat of eternal damnation, and the horror of burial outside the church in order to carefully create and maintain an image of a demonized other which should not, at any cost, reflect the very same fears and anxieties of a nation burdened with the guilt of territorial expansion, aggression, and expropriation. Smoking became an act against nature, meaning civilized nature, and a distant reminder of the Fall of Man as caused by Satan, the Adversary, as it took new and different shapes, be it in the smoking instruments or in the lascivious serpentine volutes of smoke (Fig. 1). Tobacco-as-evil will be also attributable to the schizophrenic relationship with England, seen at the same time as the ancient colonizer and enemy, and as a market necessary for the survival of the young United States.



Figure 1: Swell Struggling with the Cig'rette Poisoner (Harper's Weekly, New York, October 14, 1882, v. 26, 651).

## England

It will not come as a surprise, then, to learn that the vast majority of bodily, moral, and spiritual ills attributed to tobacco, documented and strongly espoused by American authors, is almost non-existent in the literature of the time in England. Yet, almost standing alone, King James I's 1604 famous polemic, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (Fig. 2), first paved the way to numerous official condemnations, as the plant was 'first found out by some of the barbarous *Indians*,' in order to deal, 'as all men know' with the 'uncleanly...constitution of their bodies,' but when brought to 'Christendome,' it became a 'detestable disease'. Englishmen who use the herb are imitating the 'barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and slavish *Indians*,' and are changing nature by force of habit: '*habitus, altera naturam*' (n.p). The seeds of the Other as enemy, both in the self and outside of it, which later became a fixation in the colonial ethos, are to be found there.

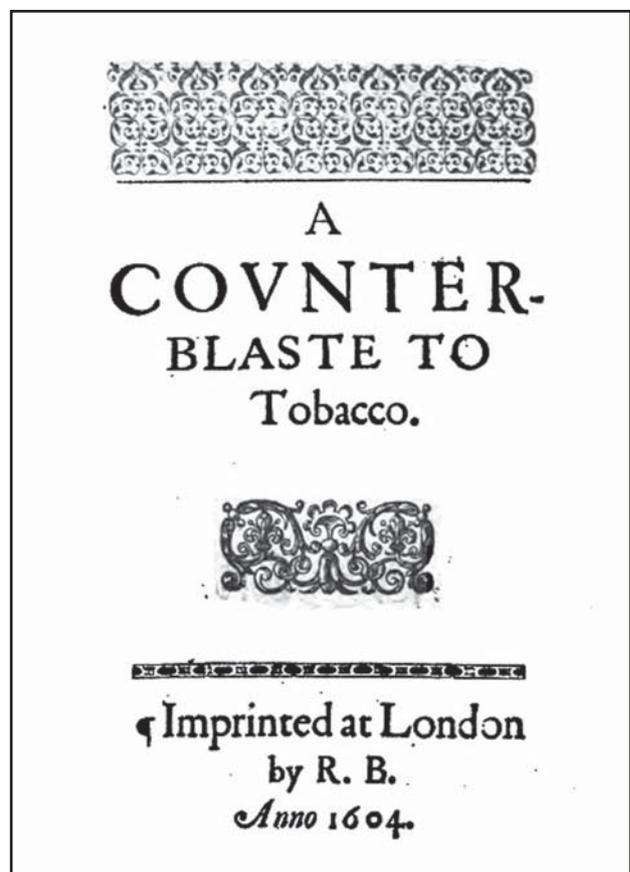


Figure 2: The cover of King James' notorious pamphlet.

One of the earliest accounts of the properties of tobacco, nine years before the king's 'counterblaste,' is entitled *Tabaco: The Distinct and Generall Opinions of the Late and Best Phisitions that Have Written of the Divers Natures and Qualities Thereof*, in which the author, Anthony Chute, was reporting the wonderful effects of the plant, from being 'very excellent and soveraigne beeing tired and weary with journeyng too far' (1595, 11), to its being an almost absolute panacea, rendering its users

whole again:

I thinke that there is nothing that harmes a man inwardly from his girdle upward, but may be taken away with a moderate use of Tabacco, and in those parts consist the chiefe reasons of our health, for the stomacke and head being cleare and void of evill humors, commonly the whole body is the better (p 19).

The image of a Paradise Regained, before the Fall and its subsequent evils, is strongly linked, contrary to the American constructions cited above, to the origin of the plant in the distant New World.

In 1602, 'Dr. Bellamy' was extolling the virtues of tobaccos and reiterating its wonderful effects on restoring a wholesomeness lost after centuries of western civilization. Tobacco is 'in essence, commendable, in smell, comfortable, in taste, tolerable, in vertue, forcible, in effect, most admirable,' and 'every discreet person... and every other considerate man and woman, &c. of highest degree, finest grain, sharpest sence may safely without danger, I say (not feed,) smell, touch, taste, and take, of our renowned Tabacco, without annoy: By it... all superfluous redoundant moisture in mens members, are wonderfully drained, & drenched, obstructions reserate and opened, paines, surrances, and grievances, marvellously appeazed; melancholie, and such mad humors, never a deale the more...augmented (n.p).

These effects were reinforced and put to music by the Elizabethan composer and organist Thomas Weelkes (1576-1623) who, in his 1608 *Ayeres or Phantasticke Spirites for Three Voices*, pictured the pipe smoker as engaging in a rejuvenating and spiritually-cleansing ritual:

Fill the pipe once more,  
My brains dance Trenchmore.  
It is heady,  
I am giddy;  
My head and brains,  
Back and reins,  
Joints and veins,  
From all pains  
It doth well purge and make clean (pp 16-17).

As if speaking from the Garden of Eden, James Jennings, more than two hundred years later, said about tobacco that it was 'one of the most important plants which the vegetable world affords,' yet was cautious enough, as a scholar of the Enlightenment, to add:

although, at present, our knowledge concerning it forbids its internal use, as a medicine, except in a very limited way, yet we think it quite possible that future researches and experiments may render it a useful auxiliary in the art of healing (1830, 81).

Indeed, studies on the effect of tobacco served, throughout the centuries, to situate scholars and physicians on the

scientific spectrum of the time, and positions with or against the plant and its uses were made parallel to their authors' level of intellectual sophistication as well as their prejudices, fears, and aspirations.

The Garden of Eden is, of course, an 'otherworldly' place, the paradise before the Fall, the exotic, lush dream of innocence. As tobacco was discovered in the New World, beyond the 'City upon a Hill,' the English version of the Spanish El-Dorado was built upon by tobacco's proponents. Its origin in the lands of a wonderfully alien civilization, its magical properties, its potent effects, its ease of use, all conspired to make it tantalizingly attractive to a society in need of a romantic outlet and, more darkly, in need of a justification for its growing expansionism abroad. Tobacco thus effects a peculiarly double-jointed rapprochement and distancing between the British crown and its overseas colonies, titillating the wildest dreams of an insular population amazed at the opening up of the world. B. Love, The author of *An Apology for Smokers*, published in 1831, was singing the praises more of an orientalist image than of a pipe smoker and, as if in a vision seen from behind a curtain of smoke, was catering to his readers' romantic yearnings when he beheld:

the sweet little tobacco-loving she-Mahometans... then sipping their sherbet or coffee and handing the chabouc from one to another as courtesy or inclination may dictate, at the same time chattering away with all their might, settling other people's affairs for them without ever dreaming of their own, and thus making the equivalent of our English ladies' tea party (p 22).

But as this depaysement was to be brought home, the 'savage' nature of tobacco's origins and the 'beastly' customs of the first smokers had to be much softened up. Consequently, the English were among the first to elevate smoking and the pipe smoker to a level of sophistication rarely seen in association with a plant. Love, in his *Apology* above, took the example of the Quakers, 'the most cleanly people under the sun,' with their houses 'perfect patterns of neatness and tidiness,' to show that 'there is not any set of people so fond of smoking, or amongst whom the custom is more general' (1831, p 16), and answered the accusation of beastliness by another question: 'this is the most groundless charge of any, for what beast ever smoked?' (p 29). Pipe smoking is an exclusively human activity, and should be considered not a debasement, but a privilege, and those who dislike smoking and the smokers are 'Misses in their teens...and unfortunate 'lady-like gentlemen' who *cannot* smoke' (p 30). Advanced human civilization is associated, in nineteenth-century England, with a clear-cut division between the sexes, their roles and behaviours.

Smoking, in other words, is a manly stimulant which not only offers economic opportunities to a pro-active imperialistic power, but is also the mark of a free spirit rising against unjust edicts. Jennings wondered at the folly of trying to stop smoking, and at the smoker's resilience

against such oppression, for neither King James, nor the Grand Duke of Moscow, nor the King of Persia, nor Pope Urban VIII, nor the Turkish Sultan Amurath IV were able to quench the fountain of smoking which continued unabated. This image of the pipe smoker, puffing away the troubles and calamities, and finding sustenance in tobacco for imagination, creativity, and non-conformism, became an ingrained icon throughout the centuries.

But lest this image of what may be called 'free-smoking' is associated with the American type of indolence cited above, it is important to note that the English were particularly keen on pointing out the social relevance of pipe smoking. The author of *The Social Pipe*, Robert Ferguson, wrote in the dedication to the 1826 edition that tobacco, which he calls the 'Social Weed,' has 'for its salutary virtues been the delight of millions, the solace of the solitary, the promoter of social intercourse, the concomitant of mirth, and the kind offering of friendship' (p v), and that, on the contrary, the smoking of tobacco 'is in no respect incompatible with the most elegant pursuits of the *Man of Fashion*, as well as the refreshment of the Merchant after his fatigues of mercantile studies' (p vi), an idea taken up later by the writer of the *Apology* mentioned above who, speaking to the then-well-established middle classes, made the tobacco plant a symbol of social equality:

O all-powerful plant, all mankind acknowledge thy sovereign power and bow beneath thy sway! The king upon his throne, the beggar in his bush, the rich man in his hall, the poor man in his cot—the naked Indian and the turbaned Turk—the subtle Persian and the cunning Greek—the haughty Spaniard and the savage Moor—the smooth-tongued Yankee and his neighbouring tribes, who first of all the world thy fragrant joys inhaled—all—all the peopled earth, wherever the sun doth shine upon man, thy presence hail and thy delights partake! (Love 1831, 11).

In 1832, *Nicotiana; Or the Smoker's and Snuff-Taker's Companion* appeared in London, penned by Henry James Meller, with the aim of defending 'all lovers of the 'soothing leaf'' (p vi) against their detractors. Smoking, far from being unsocial, is 'the common source of harmony and comfort,—the badge of good fellowship in almost every state, kingdom, and empire' (p vii). Meller adds that 'in almost every clime and condition of society it is known as a common sign, or freemasonry of friendly feeling and social intercourse' (p vii.). Countering the objections of the time, smoking is not an idle activity, for it is 'singularly popular with mechanics, the most industrious classes of England,' nor is it dirty, for it is held 'in the greatest esteem, among the most moral and cleanly sect in Christianity—the Society of Friends or Quakers' (p viii); finally, the use of the herb is not disgusting, for it is 'indulged in by the most rigidly kept women in the world—those of Turkey, who elevated in the dignity of the Haram, are taught to consider a whiff of their lord's *chibouque* a distinction' (p viii). As a moral instrument, tobacco is the promoter of the highest virtues:

The pipe and the [snuff] box are twin-brothers; they are the agents of friendship, conviviality, and mirth; they succour the distressed, and heal the afflicted; impartial and generous, they administer to all that sue for comfort, and the spirits of peace advance at their call; they live in charity with all men, unite them, and re-unite them, and they sympathise all hearts, entwining them in a cheerful and lasting community of soul and sentiment. The pipe and the box give a vigour to the mind, and a language to its ideas. They give harmony a tone, and discord a silence. They inspire the bold, and encourage the diffident. Yes! through their agency alone, all these benefits are received and experienced. In short, they express in one breath, superlative happiness (pp x-xi).

Meller then proceeds to present a brief history of tobacco and of smoking in England, followed by a selection of poems, a chapter on the 'Laws and Regulations concerning Tobacco' (p 38), and a section entitled 'The Importance of Smoking and Snuff-Taking, Exemplified in a Grave Dissertation, Dedicated to the Youth of the Rising Generation' in which the author asks: 'What, after all, are a few years in the scale of human existence! Is the fear of losing one or two of their number, to deter us from availing ourselves of innocent pleasures within our reach?' and answers with the following candid analogy: '[I]f so, London, methinks, would soon be deserted by the scientific and intelligent portion of its inhabitants, merely because the Thames water chances to be a little poisonous, or so, and the air of the town notoriously unhealthy' (p 56).

London became the focal point for similar publications meant to be companions to the mainly pipe smoker in need of meditative snippets to perfectly match an evening session near the fireplace. *Tobacco Talk and Smokers' Gossip* was one such book, published in 1884, with the subtitle *An Amusing Miscellany of Fact and Anecdote Relating to the 'Great Plant' in all its Forms and Uses Including a Selection from Nicotian Literature*. The anonymous author explains in the preface that:

[n]ot only novels and plays, old newspapers, travels and memoirs, have been examined or perused; but the works of poets and satirists, histories, acts of parliament, technical treatises...have been ransacked for contributions on the use and abuse, the praise and blame, of the 'plant divine' (p v).

The anthology, meant for 'the delectation of all devotees of Tobacco' (p v), covers 'pleasant gossip about famous tobacco-takers from Raleigh to Tennyson; not omitting the small sins of royalty, the backslidings of bishops (archbishops too) in this respect; soldiers and doctors, lawyers and artists, poets and peers—everyone in short who is an honour to nicotian society' (p vi). The contents include anecdotes with titles such as 'A Tobacco Parliament,' 'Napoleon's First Pipe,' 'Frederick the Great as an Ass,' 'Raleigh's Tobacco Box,' 'Bismarck's Last

Cigar,' 'Pigs and Smokers,' 'Shakespeare and Tobacco,' Thackeray's 'The Social Pipe,' and many others. *Tobacco Jokes for Smoking Folks*, an 1888 London publication, was equally meant as a jolly companion to the smoker; many of the stories, according to the unnamed author, have been 'culled from the pages of the Trade journal *Tobacco*, from the office of which this book is issued' (p i). The overall inclination of the book is towards an acceptance, and sometimes an encouraging, of smoking, as witness some of the short 'jokes' below:

In Turkey all the ladies smoke,  
Of Russia 'tis a trait,  
In Spain, the fair sex do the same,  
So why should London wait (p 8)?

Tobacco may be a weed, but it is one that we'd hate  
to see weeded out. Yes; it's a weed we'd chew not  
to see exterminated. See (p 51)?

Near Sittingbourne, Kent, there is a man whose wife won't allow him to smoke—but he has outwitted her. He has fitted a cushioned seat across a large washtub, and he gets into the latter and then lowers himself into a well. When at the end of the rope he opens an umbrella over himself, lights up a pipe, and enjoys his smoke and newspaper (p 59) (Fig. 3).



**Figure 3:** Husband smoking in a tub (*Tobacco Jokes*, 1888, 59).

Finally, at the closing of the nineteenth century, in 1898, *Lyra Nicotiana: Poems and Verses Concerning Tobacco* appeared in London, edited by William G. Hutchison. The relatively voluminous work starts with William Barclay's 'To his good olde Friend, M. Alexander Craig' (in the 'Seventeenth Century Smokers' section) and ends, before the editor's epilogue, with Richard Le Gallienne's 'The Happy Smoking Ground'. The editor's 'very modest performance,' as he describes his book, lies in his 'selection of some of the best poems and verses in the language which relate to tobacco' (p xiv). Anticipating negative reactions, Hutchison writes: 'Tobacco, the ascetic may exclaim, what relation has it to poetry - the criticism of life?' To which the only answer possible would be, that a life lacking tobacco would lay itself dangerously open to criticism' (p xiv), energetically adding: 'I should think but poorly of a higher life in which tobacco was not one factor of existence and poetry another' (p xv). The discovery of tobacco is to be hailed as an event of divine proportions: 'Prometheus brought fire from heaven: that was good no doubt, but Raleigh—or somebody else—did better. He brought tobacco from America' (pp xx-xxi). Fire is good, Hutchison says, to 'warm us in winter, to provide us with roast pig, to drag us over the country at a mile a minute' (p xxi), but all cater to the 'grosser and more material instincts' (p xxi); he explains, quite humorously: 'A sufficiency of heat and roast pig is necessary no doubt, so possibly is speed in communication; but warmth and pork cannot of themselves induce a tranquil philosophy of life, and there are no express trains to paradise' (p xxi). Only tobacco can.

The representation of the smoker as performing a quasi-magical ritual where brotherhood, equality and universality, among other physiological and intellectual virtues, are celebrated found, understandably, profound echoes in the writings of French authors on tobacco and pipe smoking.

### France

Despite taking a middle way between the mostly damning American views and the mostly approving British ones as to the effects of tobacco—such as M. Buc'Hoz' 1787 dissertation on tobacco where the author, on the one hand, is seen quoting a certain M. Fagon surprised by the 'temerity of man to try, for the first time, a poison more dangerous than hemlock, more terrible than opium, and more deadly than henbane and mandrake' (p 8) and, on the other hand, acquiescing that tobacco 'is a very good cephalic which wakens up the imagination & gladdens the heart' (p 27)—the image of the smoker seems to have been, overwhelmingly, that of a bon-vivant. It is true that voices were raised against excesses, but most of these were neither apocalyptic in tone, nor lethal in assumptions. An anonymous *Épître a tous les preneurs de tabac*, published in 1806, lightly portrayed those who had stopped taking the powdered tobacco as enjoying, once again, a much cleaner nose (all sources in French have been translated by the author in this paper):

[F]reed from such a shameful yoke  
I walk straight-headed, with a happy nose.  
...  
This is what they will say. Look at Crazy Hortense  
Who will say with an eloquent eye:  
What? This is he! This is the once dirty nose  
Which with tobacco was undignifyingly soiled!  
Good Lord! What a change! Without fearing criticism  
We could today make of it a relic (p 2)!

Another anonymous writer, calling himself 'a friend of the smokers' health,' was saying in 1824, in *Du Tabac et de son usage*, that he had never been able to understand 'how a nation vaunted as the most polite, the most policed, and the most delicate in the world, could have degraded itself so much as to find its happiness in the grossest and most disgusting of all habits' (p 67).

Apart from these and other rather harmless jabs, the common consensus among chroniclers of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries was that pipe smoking was a civilized activity and that smokers were participating in the creation of a refined and artistic tradition. Indeed, the same anonymous author quoted above praised the bewildering array of snuff-boxes available in his time. He lists 'boxes made of all materials, of all tastes, of all forms, and even of all political parties. One can see boxes made of gold, of chrysocolla, of crystal, of marble, agate...mother-of-pearl, ivory...horn, carton,' and also 'historical, chronological, geographical, biographical; liberal, ultra, royalist' boxes, with 'round, oval, square, flat, grotesque; urban, rural,' motifs, and those meant for the office and for travelling. On them one can find 'love, friendship, faithfulness, religion, libertinage, all the virtues and many vices'. Not content with all of this, the author asserts that snuff-boxes also reveal the innermost character of the person who carries them, and that they even 'betray his thoughts and serve, as the features of his face, to discover the secrets of his heart' (1824, 31-32).

The universality of tobacco and the ubiquity of the smoker are, more importantly, emblems of the new times to come. In 1755, about a quarter of a century before the revolution, M. Vadé's *La Pipe cassée, poème épitragipoissardiheroïcomique*, pictured the pipe as the symbol of equality for all and the emblem of a manly return to the simple joys of life:

You Courtiers, you great Lords,  
With all your wealth and your honours,  
In your banquets I challenge you  
To live a happier life than us (p 18).  
...  
I need, with a pensive air  
To look for and find with my writing nib  
The Tobacco which by day I smoke;  
For, not content to be a rhymer,  
I have the talent to be a smoker (p 26)!  
...  
Romans, what has become of you,

You to whom customs and habits  
Served for so long as ornament?  
Friends to simple nature,  
Luxury, the idol of Paris  
Was the object of your scorn (p 35).

A dance is followed by a fight in which the pipe, to the great dam of the protagonist, La Tulipe, is broken 'in one hundred pieces' (p 46) (Fig. 4), and with this tragedy closes the poem.



**Figure 4:** Final heart-rending scene of the breaking of the pipe (*La Pipe cassée*, 1755, 35).

And about another quarter of a century *after* the revolution, M. Blandeau was able to sing, in his *Empire du tabac*, the following lines to tobacco:

Amiable companion of all fortunes,  
You follow mankind to all places, and you serve  
Common souls as dutifully as great potentates  
(1822, 6).

The newly-acquired benefits of liberty, equality, and fraternity were mirrored in the universality of tobacco-smoking; it is as if the French, suddenly liberated after centuries of class oppression, were searching the world for brethren in the pipe. Louis-Alexandre Arvers, in his thesis presented in 1815 to obtain a Doctorate in medicine, marvelled at the presence of smoking in all cultures:

Tobacco has seduced all nations: the Arab cultivates it in his deserts; the Japanese, the Indians, the Chinese use it; one can find it in the torrid regions of Africa, and the inhabitants of frozen climes cannot live without it. It pleases the Nigger, the Laplander, the American savage; it is, finally, fashionable with almost all the civilized peoples of the earth (p 12).

It was with the cultivation of tobacco, however, that the French were mainly preoccupied, and a strong spirit of patriotism animated the majority of these works, as the race was to compete with, if not to win over, the tobacco market which, up to the nineteenth century, was almost entirely in the hands of the countries of northern Europe, and with the United States as the main overseas exporter. F. de Villeneuve, in his 1791 *Traité complet de la culture, fabrication, et vente du tabac*, unlike his American

counterpart cited at the beginning of this paper, believed that the cultivation of tobacco, far from plunging the nation into indolence and apathy, was, on the contrary, the key to the French nation's rebirth. He criticized the city-dwellers who 'spend their lives in a state of infantilism rejected by the active character of the nation; food, amusements, very often comic clothes, children's toys, such is today their life' (p xii), and exhorted them to go back to the countryside and take up the cultivation of tobacco, as it is only there that the nation's future lies. Tobacco cultivation restores the virility and the usefulness of the French people who must 'become Romans' (p xiii). Citing Virginia and Maryland, Croatia and Debrecen in Hungary, the author observed that the French had lost their enterprising spirit and had become useless consumers.

In the same vein, Jean Le Royer Prade, in 1677, wrote his *Histoire du tabac*, in which the virtues of the plant are classified according to the prevalent notions of patriarchal societies where male and female biological sexes are conflated with masculine and feminine social genders:

There are three species of Tobacco, the Male or Big, the Female, and the Child. As diversity of sex is attributed to plants, those that are bigger, more fertile, and less agreeable in their external form are supposed to be of masculine gender; and those in

which the contrary are found will be of feminine gender' (p 8) (Figs. 5 and 6).

As to the origin of the plant, the author is keen to give it religious foundations: 'Tobacco in powder was once part of the cult of the Gods of America. The Indians used to put it on the pyre instead of victims, and placed it on the Altars, as if to authorise the adorations given to it' (p 34). The Indians, he writes, also used tobacco for more practical purposes: 'In their navigations, if they were in danger, they would throw powdered tobacco in the air and in the sea in order to appease the wrath of the Heaven and of the waves' (p 35). Prade also enlists the medical profession of his time to give tobacco sublime properties: 'Therefore, some Medical Doctors, to honour Tobacco, observe that it is received in the brain, and assign to it the same location as the soul. According to them, being attracted by the nose, it takes, as it enters the head, the same path they assign to the pituitary to exit it' (pp 35-36), and follows with a lengthy and detailed anatomical exposition of tobacco's journey through the glands, cavities, and bones of the head.

Prade's classification was known some fifty years earlier, and appeared in the *Traicté du tabac, ou nicotiane, panacée, petun: autrement Herbe à la Reyne*, in 1626, a treatise translated from Johannes (Jean) Neander's Latin



Figure 5: The French classification of tobacco, here the 'male' plant (*Histoire du tabac*, 1677, 8).



Figure 6: Further French classification of tobacco, here the 'female' and 'child' plants (*Histoire du tabac*, 1677, 12).

version by Jacques Veyras. Neander, a medical doctor in Leyden, meant his work to show tobacco as the mother of all cures, treating 'most of the indispositions of the human body' (p 1). Smoke, when received through the nose, 'fortifies memory' and 'purges the brain from all of its filth' (p 53), said filth produced, according to the author, by the secretions of the pituitary gland. Yet young smokers must exercise caution and moderation, since 'its too long and too frequent usage will negatively affect the good constitution of the brain, and will plunge it into a hot distemper, making it lose its good temperature which will readjust with difficulty; all the more so that this age [youth] requires some humidity in order to strengthen the whole body' (p 56).

M. De Truchet, in 1816, echoed these concerns about manliness in a *Mémoire sur la nécessité d'étendre la culture du tabac en France*, where he asked: 'Have the French become less industrious, less active, less enlightened than other nations?' (p 66) His belief was that the French, should they be able to equate the love of the nation with the pursuit of this affordable and little-demanding cultivation, may equal and even surpass Hungary in the cultivation and production of high-quality tobacco.

## Hungary

The representation of the pipe smoker as it appears in the original Magyar language is better left to specialists, but quite an interesting image can be gathered from foreign travellers and from Hungarian authors writing for a foreign audience.

Because of Hungary's tumultuous history, its association with the Ottoman empire and with the Habsburg dynasty, as well as its use of a non-Indo-European language largely unrelated to most of the other languages of Europe, travellers have been keen on using this perceived outlandishness to cater to the exotic needs of their home readers and also to situate themselves advantageously *vis-à-vis* the Hungarians. Professor D. T. Ansted, in *A Short Trip in Hungary and Transylvania in the Spring of 1862*, was quick to assert that the Hungarian 'prides himself on his Tartar origin' (p 73), and none of this is more apparent than in 'his love of show; his sense of the picturesque in dress and equipment; his quickness and cleverness, leading to little practical result' (p 73), adding: 'Even in small matters he is more Oriental than Occidental. His pipe and coffee are luxuries enjoyed to far greater perfection at home in Hungary than among the ruling race in Vienna' (p 74).

Victor Tissot, publishing in London his two-volume *Unknown Hungary* towards the end of the nineteenth century, mentioned looking 'with the most envious eyes' at 'some magnificent old mouthpieces of pipes made of amber incrustated with turquoises and pearls,' along with 'cups and vases in silver gilt which had doubtless been profaned by the lips of some bandit, Turkish sabres with curved blades, and engraved with verses of the Koran' (1881, vol. 1, 148). These and 'old Oriental carpets' evoked

in him the impression of being above the 'starry heavens, under the sky of Smyrna or Bagdad, the city of doves and roses!' (vol. 1, 149). His second volume is replete with similar encounters, and the pipe smoker figures as a main staple in this orientalist fantasy where stereotyped images are jumbled together as in the following passage:

We met several villagers on horseback smoking their pipes with an air as grave and proud as that of an hidalgo. The costume of the peasant is, as it always was, picturesque; the sun-burnt face is shaded by a large felt hat, which shows off the pale and manly physiognomy, and the extreme brightness of the dark eyes (vol. 2, 144).

This Hungarian Hidalgo, straight from a Washington Irving tale, is furnished with a 'tobacco-pouch, and a short pipe of clay or red earth which is carried in the hat ribbon, or even in the cravat at the back of the neck, complet[ing] this Asiatic costume' (vol. 2, 144).

As with all orientalisms, the external effect is to titillate the imagination of the home audience, themselves the preys to a domestic oppressive system, and eager to find illusory comfort in faraway places where magic and reality commingle. The internal effect is, of course, to set up another image, parallel to the first, which subtly works at dehumanizing the Other and making him easier to understand, to categorize, and hence to subdue; this 'imaginative geography' which, to use Edward Said's terms, 'Orientalizes the Oriental,' became standard practice in the West's thirst for new territories (1995, 57) and can clearly be seen at work with Hungary, that country perceived to lay between the two worlds.

A certain 'Miss' (Julia) Pardoe, author of such romanticized travelogues like *Traits and Traditions of Portugal*, *The City of the Sultan*, and *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, devoted three volumes to Hungary under the 1840 title *The City of the Magyar*, letting loose streams of condescending and patronizing descriptions of, among other things Hungarian, pipe smokers. On a visit to Presburg, the ancient capital of Hungary and now present-day Bratislava (Slovakia), Miss Pardoe noted that although there were a number of fair youth on an evening at the Arena, it was:

much to be regretted that they [could] be seen only through a cloud of tobacco-smoke; for the fact of its being an al fresco resort permits the unlimited use of the meerschaum; and with a German or an Hungarian such a licence implies its uninterrupted enjoyment. Nor do they understand the elegancies of smoking, like the Turks, who exhaust the aroma of their chibouques without any accompanying habit which can excite disgust in their neighbours; for the effluvia of a German pipe is positively nauseous; and the scent hangs about your dress, and in your hair, long after the cause is removed, while the space immediately around the smoker is unapproachable for ladies who are at all particular as to where and in what they may chance to set

their feet (vol. 1, 24-25).

In another instance, Miss Pardoe is travelling along the Danube on board a ship—aptly-named the *Árpád*—and, at various points of the journey, the boat goes to the shore and the passengers, mostly rich Europeans, are able to gauge the human loads of other boats:

Half a dozen floating mills occupied the sweep of the bay, and one of their broad, flat-bottomed barges had been put into requisition for the transport of the crowd which thronged the deck; and I never shall forget what a Noah's ark she seemed when she touched the shore (vol. 2, 48-49).

Not content with dismissing the common Hungarians as mere 'live stock' (vol. 2, 50), Miss Pardoe found herself also obliged to cater to her home readers' anti-Semitic proclivities as a 'filthy Jew with a mysterious package folded in a dirty cotton shawl' (vol. 2, 49) completes this exotico-picturesque *tableau*. Yet the colonial mythography continues as the Europeans, with Miss Pardoe as their spokesperson, are so different from the masses of Magyar-speaking people thronging around them that they see themselves in a 'desolate spot on which [they] had thus become involuntary Crusoes' (vol. 2, 49), and one can only be left guessing who their Friday(s) is/are. As the various ships continue their trip towards Komorn (half of the town is present-day Komárom in the north of Hungary, half of the town Komarno is in Slovakia), the scenes on the shores are revealing: 'some were sleeping, some conversing, a few reading, and a great number—smoking—but all looking patient, and tranquil, and resigned' (vol. 2, 50) for, obviously, pipe smoking can only be the sole occupation of a passive, numb, apathetic nation dumbed down by its own sterile reveries; indeed, they were 'very unlike what a party of our own active countrymen, or a bevy of 'go a-head' Americans would have looked under such circumstances' (vol. 2, 50-51).

Dirtiness is a companion to indolence and, in accordance with the best practices of orientalism and cultural imperialism, the Hungarian is pictured by its American and European observers as a good-for-nothing, though quite placid, individual. Another self-styled traveller, Nina E. Mazuchelli, author of *The Indian Alps*, and writing under the name of 'A Fellow of the Carpathian Society,' saw herself saddened, in her *Magyarland*, by the moral and bodily debilitation of the Hungarian people, a weakness evidently caused by smoking:

A group of men were here engaged in the construction of a new line, and as we watched them we marvelled that anything was ever completed in this land of slow workers. Every man was smoking. Leisurely taking up a small shovel-full of earth he deposited it on the heap; then leaning on his implement he paused to take a whiff at his pipe to enable him to gather the needful strength to take up another shovel-full; after which followed another pause, and so on. These slow but strong, broad-

shouldered, and muscular Hungarian navvies would soon drive an English engineer absolutely mad (1881, vol. 2, 88).

The only image of Magyar peasants worth recording to her, it seems, is that of idleness (Fig. 7).



Figure 7: Magyar pipe smokers (Magyarland, 1881, 200).

W. B. Forster Bovill, writing in 1908, will strike the contemporary reader, in his *Hungary and the Hungarians*, as probably one of the most naïve, if not outright ridiculous, propagators of colonializing myths about Hungary. In his preface, Bovill is bold enough to say that the 'Hungarian point of view ought to be presented to English readers in a picturesque form,' and even if the 'unbounded hospitality of the Magyars, and their almost over-accentuated desire to appear to advantage before Englishmen,' was seen as an asset, this 'has not blinded [the author] to their defects,' reassuring his readers that he had 'unsparingly criticised them' whenever possible (p vii). From his lofty pedestal, Bovill is capable of such sweeping statements as 'The Hungarian is also a great smoker. Sometimes I wish he were not' (p 245), and recounted a pipe story he had heard while in Budapest. The account, described as 'pathetic,' was that of an old Magyar peasant who, upon having his grandson accidentally break his favourite pipe, hanged himself. Bovill's comment on the story is shocking: 'To some the element of exaggeration may seem to appear, but to me it is quite within the limits of possibility, for this is a land of suicides' (p 246). One is reminded here of Mussey's association of smoking with suicide cited above.

Nor were the French free from these absurd generalizations, as they showed themselves, while abroad, as incisively superior as their Western counterparts. F. S. Beudant, self-styled 'Member of many Learned Societies,' allowed himself, in true colonizing vein, to write, in his 1823 *Travels in Hungary*, these telling words: 'In respect of [sic] the diversities of its people, no country whatever can be compared with Hungary. They form an heterogeneous assemblage of nations, some of which descend from the primitive inhabitants, others from the different hordes that invaded them' (p 1). The Wallachians are, 'of all the tribes

in Hungary,' 'the most remote from civilization,' and their men 'are naturally slothful' (p 7), and while their women are taking care of the household, they are indolently smoking their pipes. Expectedly, vice and degeneration are their lot: 'Their national character is that of crafty, vindictive, pilfering, and superstitious, with no fixed principles of morality or religion' (p 8).

Reverend B. F. Tefft, an American traveller during the Hungarian revolution and writing in 1852, mentioned what he calls the 'settlements of the Saxons,' in the north of Hungary, who, although they are 'the best farmers' in the country, are 'immeasurably inferior to the Magyars,' for they 'have not the first indication of delicacy about them,' and 'aspire to nothing better than the animal, or brutish life,' with men going about 'with their dirty pipe-bowls hanging a foot below their mouths' (p 53). Tefft's comments, obviously, can only mirror and, by the same token, strengthen his countrymen's guilt-ridden feelings towards their unrelenting campaigns to decimate the indigenous Indian nations under the pretext of raising them from their savageness.

Some Hungarian scholars, like Professor Arminius (Ármin in Hungarian) Vámbéry (born Hermann Bamberger/Wamberger, 1832-1913), an orientalist at the University of Buda-Pesth, associated tobacco with violence in his history of Hungary in the English-language series *The Story of the Nations*, published in New York in 1886. In the chapter on the Austrian rule of Hungary, he recounts how the Viennese government 'assailed Stambul with letters requesting the sultan not to allow Transylvania to be the place of refuge of certain 'thieves,' but to no purpose' (p 357). That period, known as the first part of the *Kurucz-Labancz* era, from 1672 to 1682, saw a power contest between the insurgents and their enemies the Austrians, in which 'there was no end of the horrors the contestants were guilty of in the course of their hostilities against each other' (p 357). What is of interest here is the strange use of tobacco as a tool for humiliation:

To cut tobacco on the enemy's bare back, or to cut strips from his quivering skin, to drive thorns or iron spikes under the finger-nails, to bury him in the ground up to his head and then fire at him...in a word, to perpetrate tortures at which humanity shudders, these were the every-day courtesies exchanged between the two belligerents (p 357).

His book is also replete with illustrations of Hungarian peasants and gypsies smoking the pipe (Fig. 8).

Other Hungarian writers have, however, attempted to portray the pipe smoker as a manly and proud person. Theresa Pulszky's *Tales and Traditions of Hungary*, published in New York in 1852, contains the story of Yanoshik, a 'mighty robber' living 'in the mountains of the counties Lipto and Arva' (p 52) when King John Zapolya, in the sixteenth century, was waging war against the Habsburgs. Described as a 'fine fellow' (p 52), Yanoshik was loved by the poor and by women, and exercised his

authority over the region. A kind of Hungarian Robin Hood with an axe instead of a bow, Yanoshik had, like Samson, a secret Achilles' heel, his belt. Finally captured, he was hanged 'with an iron hook between his ribs' and 'hung three days and three nights without uttering a complaint' (pp 63-64). Curiously, he is said to have 'smoked one pipe after the other, until at last exhausted by the loss of blood, he breathed his last' (p 64).



**Figure 8:** Hungarian gypsy (*The Story of Hungary*, 1886, 425).

On a more pleasant note, the *Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, collected by János Kriza and others, translated and published in London in 1889, offers a comic, though good-humoured image, in the tale entitled 'The Wishes,' of the pipe smoker as a domesticated and, if not indolent, at least peaceful and pacified man who keeps his pipe to his private realm. After helping a fairy stuck in the mud in a carriage, a poor man is offered three wishes, the last two being annulled by the man's awkward lighting of his pipe amidst constant quarrelling with his wife. Although the opportunity of wealth evaporates, the couple learn to refrain from squabbling in the future, and all ends well (p 217-19).

## Conclusion

From panacea to poison, from a mind-uplifting herb to a debilitating weed, from a God-given natural product to a Satanic ploy to lure mankind, the representation of tobacco and pipe smoking has run the gamut of the fears and desires of humanity; it has served as a tool to free

society from its shackles, and equally as a tool to exclude, ostracize, dehumanize, and bestialize one's enemies and one's victims, rendering them invisible in reckonings and statistics of the 'healthy' and 'sound'. Tobacco and its use has served, in more than one respect, as a mirror in which humans were—and still are—able to position themselves in relation to ethnic, historical, cultural, medical, and technological transformations affecting them for the last five centuries, and a careful study of the attending iconographic constructions of the pipe smoker, both private and public, both national and colonial, will undoubtedly offer much-needed insight into the prevailing complex images of the self and its relationship to the Other.

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# Rauchzeichen über Helvetien: zum Stand der Tonpfeifenforschung in der Schweiz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Kantons Bern

von Andreas Heege

## Einleitung

Die Erforschung der Tabakspfeifen hat in der Schweiz alte Wurzeln, aber keine Tradition. So paradox diese Aussage klingen mag, so sehr entspricht sie jedoch der heutigen Forschungssituation. Bevor wir uns den Pfeifen selbst zuwenden, sei ein kurzer Ausflug in die Kulturgeschichte des Tabaks erlaubt, denn die Schweiz hat daran nennenswerten Anteil, was gelegentlich übersehen wird. Die wichtigsten Quellen zur Frühzeit des Tabaks sind seit dem 19. Jh. ediert und werden bis heute immer wieder herangezogen und wissenschaftlich diskutiert (Tiedemann 1854, Dickson 1954, Ahrndt 2000, Goodman 2005).

## Kleine Kulturgeschichte des Tabaks in der Schweiz bis c1800

Die Geschichte des Tabaks in der Alten Welt beginnt 1492 als Kolumbus Amerika entdeckt. Die verschiedenen Formen der Tabakpflanze (*Nicotiana tabacum* und *Nicotiana rustica*) waren bereits damals in Latein- bzw. Nordamerika und der Karibik verbreitet und wurden von den dortigen Indianerstämmen genutzt. In den folgenden 40 Jahren lernen die Europäer in Amerika alle relevanten Konsumformen des Tabaks kennen: Das Rauchen, das Schnupfen und das Kauen. Nach ca. 1534 bzw. vor 1550 wächst in Portugal zum ersten Mal aus Brasilien eingeführter Tabak (*Nicotiana tabacum*) als Heilpflanze in den königlichen Gärten. Dort lernt Jean Nicot, französischer Botschafter in Portugal, seine Heilkraft bei Geschwüren und anderen Krankheiten kennen. Er schickt 1560 Samen und Pflanzen an den französischen Königshof, wo der medizinische Anbau in den folgenden Jahren forciert und die Pflanze nach ihm benannt wird. Etwa gleichzeitig gelangen Tabaksamen zusammen mit den Informationen über seine angeblich so gewaltige Heilkraft nach Spanien und Italien.

Auf dem Weg über Frankreich erreichen spätestens in den 1560er Jahren Blätter und Samen von *Nicotiana tabacum* auch Deutschland und die Schweiz. Adolph Occo, Stadtphysikus und Apotheker in Augsburg erhält 1565 von einem Freund aus Frankreich getrocknete Tabakblätter. Adolf Occo kam 1524 als Sohn des Stadtarztes Adolf Occo II. in Augsburg zur Welt. Er studierte Philosophie und, wie sein Vater, Medizin in Tübingen und Padua. 1549 promovierte er in Ferrara, wurde nach der Rückkehr nach Augsburg Gehilfe seines Vaters und trat darauf dessen Nachfolge als Stadtarzt an. 1573 wurde Occo vom

Kaiser Maximilian II. nobilitiert. Von 1582 bis zu seinem Tod 1606 war er Dekan des Augsburger Medizinischen Kollegs. Occo verfasste historische und philosophische Schriften (Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie Bd. 24, 1886, 126ff.).

Occo kennt die ihm zugeschickten ungewöhnlichen Blätter jedoch nicht. Er schickt sie weiter an Johann Funck, Arzt in Memmingen, der sie ebenfalls nicht bestimmen kann und daher an Conrad Gessner (Abb. 1), den bedeutendsten Naturwissenschaftler der damaligen Zeit in Zürich (Fischer 1966, Fischer/Petit/Staedtke u.a. 1967, Wellisch 1984, Braun 1990) weiterleitet.

Conrad Gessner stellt mit den Blättern Selbstversuche



**Abbildung 1:** Konrad Gessner (1516-1565). Der Zürcher Universalgelehrte pflanzte in seinem Garten *Nicotiana rustica* und begutachtete als erster in der Schweiz *Nicotiana tabacum* (Foto Museum Allerheiligen Schaffhausen).

an, u.a. indem er sie selber isst bzw. den Rauch durch ein Rohr einatmet und Blätter an einen Hund verfüttert und die Wirkung beschreibt (Wolf 1577, Tiedemann 1854, 141ff., Fischer 1966, 81). In seinem Antwortbrief vom 5.11.1565 an Funck sieht er zunächst keinen Zusammenhang mit *Nicotiana*, obwohl er von der grossen Heilkraft dieser Pflanze bereits durch andere Briefe aus Lyon, dem damaligen naturwissenschaftlichen Zentrum Frankreichs, erfahren hat. In einem weiteren Schreiben an Occo vom 15.11.1565 bezieht er sich jedoch auf das 1557 erschienene Buch des französischen Franziskanermönchs André Thevet, der über Brasilien, den Tabak und rauchende Indianer berichtet. Gessner besass eine 1558 in Paris

erschienene Ausgabe von Thevets Buch (Fischer 1966, 141). Er vergleicht seine eigenen Erfahrungen mit der dort gegebenen Beschreibung der Wirkung. Er fährt fort: „Ich habe keinen Zweifel, dass es sich um dieselbe Pflanze handelt. Ich höre, dass die Pflanze Nicotiana genannt wird, nach dem Namen eines gewissen Botschafters, der die Pflanze nach Frankreich brachte, andere (Thevet, Einfügung Verf.) nennen die Pflanze Pontiana oder Petum.“

Wenige Tage später erhält er von dem befreundeten Theologen Benedict Aretius (Abb. 2) aus Bern, über dessen Person wir schlecht informiert sind (Graf 1888. Jüttner 1969) die Zeichnung einer Tabakpflanze, die dieser in seinem Garten gezogen hat (Abb. 3). Dies ist der bislang älteste botanische und archivalische Nachweis für *Nicotiana tabacum* in der Schweiz und eine der ältesten Darstellungen des Tabaks in Mitteleuropa. Die in tabakgeschichtlichem Zusammenhang bis heute nie veröffentlichte Zeichnung von Benedict Aretius hat sich zusammen mit der Zeichnung von *Nicotiana rustica* (s.u.) im Nachlass Konrad Gessners in der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen erhalten. Sie hätte Bestandteil der geplanten und nie veröffentlichten „*Historia Plantarum*“ des Universalgelehrten werden sollen (Fischer 1966, 134-138, Gessner 1972, Gessner 1991, Wenige Tage später, am 13.12.1565 stirbt Gessner an der Pest, so dass seine Erkenntnisse zunächst unveröffentlicht bleiben.

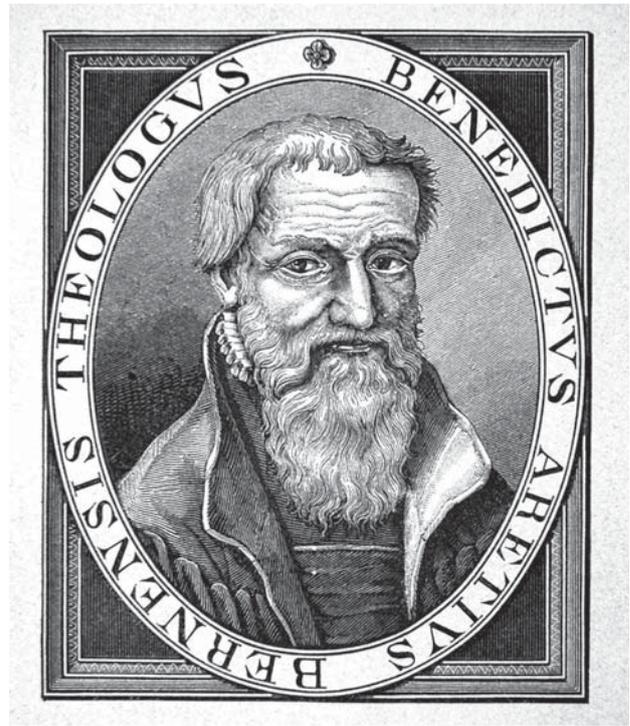


Abbildung 2: Benedikt Aretius (1522-1574) Der Berner Theologe und Botaniker pflanzte als erster in der Schweiz *Nicotiana tabacum* in seinem Garten in Bern und schickte Konrad Gessner eine Zeichnung (Graf 1888, Titelvignette).



Abbildung 3: *Nicotiana tabacum*, Pflanzenzeichnung des Bendikt Aretius aus dem Jahr 1565, Nachlass von Konrad Gessner (Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen Ms 2386, 462).

Etwas anders verhält es sich mit der ersten Anzucht und botanischen Bestimmung von *Nicotiana rustica*, dem amerikanischen „Bauerntabak“ in der Schweiz. Dieser hat bereits in den frühen 1550er Jahren den Weg in den Garten von Conrad Gessner gefunden. Auf einer Zeichnung die vor 1554 entstand (Abb. 4) schreibt Gessner: „Herba mihi ignota ex semine, misso nescio an ex Gallia vel Italia.“ Übers. d. Verf.: Aus Samen gezogene mir unbekannte Pflanze, mir zugeschickt, ich weiss nicht ob aus Frankreich oder Italien). Fakt ist, dass diese Pflanze in Europa erstmals 1553 in einem niederländischen Kräuterbuch beschrieben und auch abgebildet wird (Abb. 5). Die zweite Auflage dieses Buches aus dem Jahr 1554 veranlasst Konrad Gessner, die dort gegebene Bezeichnung „*Hyoscyamus luteus* - Gelbes Bilsenkraut“ seiner Zeichnung hinzuzufügen. Gessner besass die 1557 in Antwerpen erschienene Folgeausgabe des Kräuterbuches von Rembertus Dodonaeus selbst (Fischer 1966, 141). Mit dem Erscheinen der deutschsprachigen Ausgabe des „New Kreuterbuch“ des italienischen Botanikers Pietro Andrea Mattioli, im Jahr 1563 sieht Gessner die Bestimmung und Benennung bestätigt und trägt auch diese auf der Zeichnung ein. Dass es sich bei dieser Pflanze nicht um eine Unterart des Bilsenkrauts, sondern um die wichtigste Art nordamerikanischen Tabaks handelt, wird den Botanikern Europas erst im späteren 16. Jh. klar. Dieses Verdienst kann der niederländische Botaniker Matthias de L’Obel für sich in Anspruch nehmen (<http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/pena/pena1/jpg/s252.html>).

Während noch in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts vor allem die Heilkräfte des Tabaks diskutiert werden, verbreitet sich das genussorientierte Rauchen und das Kauen des Tabaks ab der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts vor allem durch spanische, portugiesische und englische Seeleute sowie Studenten, die die Sitte des Rauchens Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts über den Kanal auf den Kontinent bringen. Ein in Zürich gedrucktes Buch von Jacob Ziegler aus dem Jahre 1616 berichtete erstmals in einer schweizerischen Veröffentlichung ausführlich über die medizinische Wirkung des Tabaks und das Rauchen (Abb. 6), wobei ausdrücklich betont wird, dass die dazu verwendeten Pfeifen aus England kämen (Ziegler 1616). Es scheint dies auch die älteste bekannte Darstellung eines Rauchers in der Schweiz zu sein. Eine der ersten Darstellungen und Beschreibungen europäischer Raucher stammt aus der Feder des niederländischen Botanikers Matthias de L’Obel aus dem Jahr 1570/71 bzw. 1576: (Pena/Lobel 1576, 252). Erst aus dem Jahr 1618 gibt es weitere archivalische Quellen für den Tabakgenuss in der Schweiz. Beat II. Zurlauben (1597-1663), Mitglied eines bedeutenden Bürger- und Söldnergeschlechts aus Zug, notierte in diesem Jahr zum ersten Mal Ausgaben für „Tabackhrörlj“ in seinem Haushaltbuch (Dittli 2008, 116). Leider wissen wir nicht, woher er die Tabakpfeifen und den gerauchten Tabak bezog. Für 1627 und 1628 gibt es Hinweise auf den Tabakgenuss in Sarnen im Kanton Obwalden (Küchler 1895, 461).



**Abbildung 4:** *Nicotiana rustica*, Pflanzenzeichnung von Konrad Gessner aus dem Jahr 1554. Nachlass von Konrad Gessner (Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen Ms 2386, 013r).



**Abbildung 5:** *Nicotiana rustica*, Darstellung aus dem Jahr 1553 im Kräuterbuch von Rembertus Dodonaeus (Dickson 1954, 40).

Für Künstler wie den Niederländer Adriaen Brouwer (1605-1638) wird der Tabak in dieser Zeit zum Mittel der provozierenden Selbstinszenierung und der Darstellung des Neuen in der Kunst. Für andere, wie David Teniers (1582-1649), ist das Rauchen zunächst noch „Affenwerk“ und kennzeichnet einen Teil der menschlichen Eitelkeiten, der Fleischeslust und - in Verbindung mit Kleidung - der Prunksucht (Augustin 1998. Klinge/Lüdke 2005). Es ist daher kein Zufall, dass dieses Motiv auch im streng reformierten Bern aufgegriffen wird, wo Müssiggang, Prunksucht und Völlerei ebenfalls nicht als gottgefällige Lebensführung angesehen werden. Eine Wandmalerei aus der Zeit um 1630 aus dem Haus Gerechtigkeitsgasse 71 (Abb. 7), variiert das Thema auf bernische Weise, indem ein rauchender kleiner Bär mit federgeschmücktem Barett dargestellt ist. Unter den wenigen bernischen bzw. schweizerischen Quellen zum Rauchen in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (Ribbert 1999) ist der illustrierte Eintrag im Kontrollbuch des bernischen Gefängniswärters für den Pfarrer Urs Wolf aus Guggisberg aus dem Jahr 1647 besonders hervorzuheben (Abb. 8). Diesem hält der Narr in einer „Memento Mori“ Darstellung sein Tun vor. Im Hintergrund bläst ihm der Tod mit dem Blasebalg das Lebenslicht aus. Guggisberg sass allerdings nicht wegen des Rauchens „sechs Tage im Loch“, sondern wegen wiederholten Ungehorsams gegen die Obrigkeit.

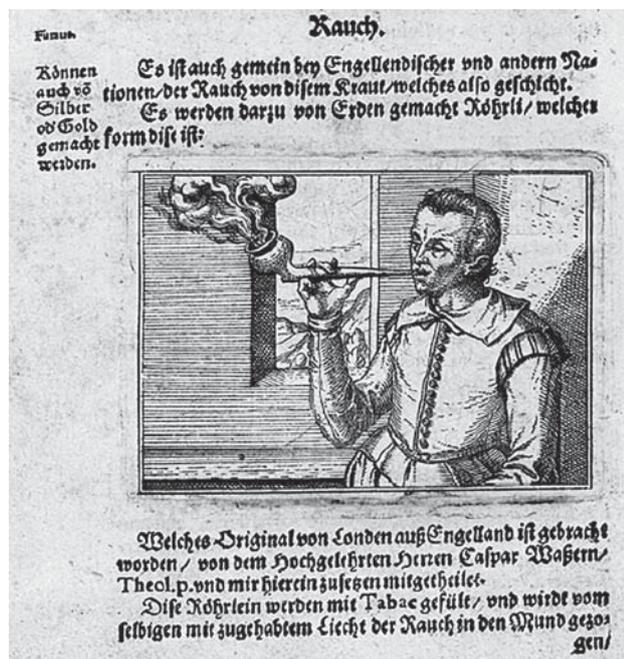


Abbildung 6: Älteste Darstellung eines Rauchers in der Schweiz in einem 1616 in Zürich gedruckten Buch (Ziegler 1616).

Die ältesten gut datierbaren Bodenfunde von Tabakpfeifen aus Bern stammen ebenfalls aus dieser Zeit. Sie belegen (Abb. 9), dass um 1650 wohl nicht nur Tabak aus den Niederlanden, sondern zusammen mit Tonpfeifen auch aus Rheinland-Pfalz, d.h. der Region um Mannheim, Heidelberg und Frankental bezogen wird. Direkt vergleichbare Pfeifen, allerdings teilweise mit inschriftlich

1650 datierter Fersenmarke, fanden sich in einer Kloake des Reischacher-Hofes in Basel (Peter-Müller 1979, Schmaedecke 1999b, 59 Abb. 8).

Offensichtlich erobert der Tabak zunehmend alle Teile der schweizerischen Gesellschaft, so dass sich die Obrigkeiten der diversen Kantone ab ca. 1650 genötigt sehen, den Kampf gegen das Rauchen in der üblichen paternalistischen Manier mit Hilfe von Verboten aufzunehmen. Eine schweizweite Bearbeitung der verschiedenen kantonalen Rauchverbote steht bis heute aus (Hengartner/Merki 1993. Vgl. für Appenzell und Obwalden Rusch-Hälg 1984 und Kuchler 1895, für St. Gallen Ziegler o.J., für Basel Kölner 1920, für Bern Merki 2006, für Luzern Merki 1993, für die Region Neuenburg Guillaume 1875, für Zug Dittli 2008, für den Raum Konstanz und Bodensee Wilts 1996). Dabei basiert das Verbot des Rauchens bis ins frühe 18. Jh. auf den immer gleichen Argumenten: Bestreiten des medizinischen Nutzens, Sorge um die Gesundheit der Bevölkerung, merkantilistische Klage über die Verschwendung von Geld und Warnung vor hochschädlichen Feuersbrünsten. Als Beispiel sei hier auf den Kanton Bern verwiesen, wo das erste Tabak-Mandat 1659 veröffentlicht wird.



Abbildung 7: Bern, Gerechtigkeitsgasse 71. Rauchender Bär mit Lunte in der Hand, Fresco aus der Zeit um 1630 (Foto Heege).

Zwischen 1670 und 1675 versucht Bern die Tabakprohibition zusammen mit den anderen Kantonen auf der Tagsatzung für die gesamte Schweiz zu regeln (Milliet 1899, 384-385 nach Pupikofer/Kaiser 1867, Kothing/Kälin 1882). Dies scheitert letztlich u.a. an dem Unwillen Basels auf den lukrativen Handel mit

Tabak zu verzichten. Es folgen in Bern weitere, nicht sehr erfolgreiche Verbots-Mandate in den Jahren 1675 (Abb. 10), 1676, 1677, 1679, 1684, 1693 und 1697. Die wirklich harten Jahre scheinen für die bernischen Raucher, betrachtet man die Zahl der Bestrafungen pro Jahr, z.B. beim Chorgericht Saanen (Marti-Wehren 1930), die Jahre zwischen 1675 und 1677 zu sein.

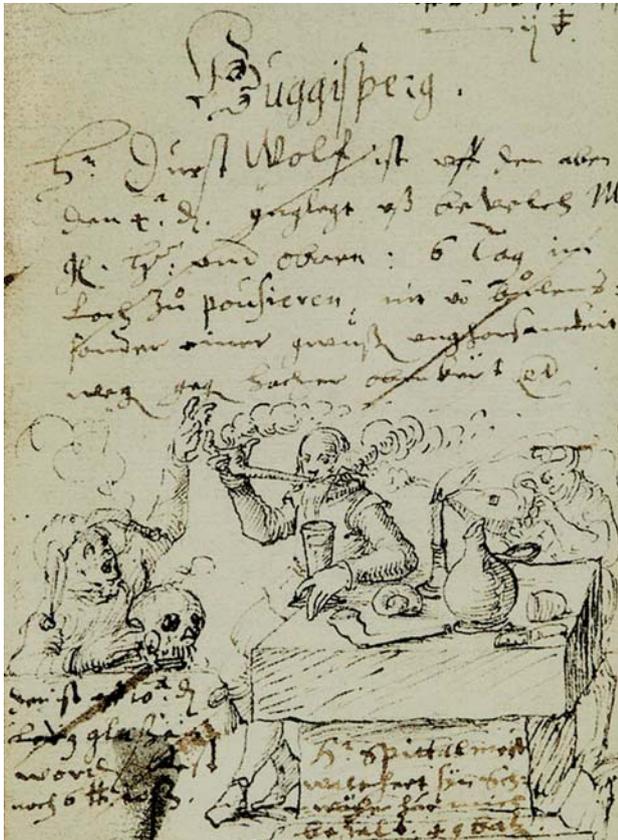


Abbildung 8: Eintrag in das Gefängnisbuch von Bern für Urs Wolf aus Bümpliz, Pfarrer in Guggisberg, 1646 (Lochrödel, Staatsarchiv Bern, BIX 596, S182; Merki 2006, 626).

Letztlich scheitern die Tabakverbote, weil zunehmend auch Söhne bernischer Patrizier und andere ranghohe Personen trotz Verbot rauchen. Ausserdem ist der Handel, vor allem auf dem Weg über Basel oder aus Frankreich, nicht kontrollierbar und die grosse Nachfrage nach Tabak lässt den Schmuggel profitabel werden. Nachdem die Tabakverbote weitgehend gescheitert sind, gehen die meisten europäischen Staaten dazu über, den Tabak zu besteuern, sei es durch besondere Zölle oder durch ausgefeilte Regie- oder Staatsmonopolbetriebe, die auch selbst Tabak anbauen lassen. Dies gilt auch für den Kanton Bern (Milliet/Frey 1895. Milliet 1899. Milliet/Frey 1915. Kräuliger 1938. Merki 1994) und weite Teile der Schweiz. Verbote bleiben nur im Zusammenhang mit der Feuergefahr bestehen.

Bereits 1702 und erneut 1705 diskutiert in Bern der Kleine Rat ob und wo die Anpflanzung von Tabak vorzunehmen sei. 1708 und 1709 berät man über eine Tabaksteuer,



Abbildung 9: Bern, Stadtgrabenfüllung unter dem Bundeshaus. Die ältesten Bodensfunde von Tabakpfeifen (um 1650) aus dem Kanton Bern (Foto Badri Redha, Archäologischer Dienst des Kantons Bern).

**MANDAT.**  
**Dardurch aller fernere**  
**Gebrauch des TABACS, in der**  
**Stadt BERN/ und allen derselben Landen**  
**und Geyieten verboten: Und mit was Straff**  
**darob zuhafsten seye/ gebotten wirdt.**



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 bey Georg Sonnenstein/ M. DC. LXXV.

H. XXXI. 343, 1675 (1)

Abbildung 10: Kanton Bern, Rauchverbot 1675 (Zentralbibliothek Bern H XXXI, 343).

die jeder Raucher oder Schnupfer zahlen solle. Diese wird am 25. April 1710 auch tatsächlich verkündet, aber aufgrund von heftigen Protesten der Berner Patrizier und Stadtbewohner sowie der Landschaft bereits am 30. Mai 1710 wieder zurückgenommen.

Erst 1718/1719 kommt es dann tatsächlich zum Beschluss Tabak anbauen zu lassen. Die Arbeiten werden zügig ins Werk gesetzt: Tabaksamen und eine Pflanzanleitung (Abb. 11) werden an Bauern verteilt und gleichzeitig die Anbauflächen von den Zehntabgaben befreit. Eine Tabakkammer, ein Tabak-Fonds und eine staatliche Tabak-Manufaktur werden eingerichtet. Man holt einen deutschen Tabakpflanzler, kauft Saatgut in Strassburg, und schickt den Sohn des Tabakspinners dorthin zur Ausbildung. Erste Setzlinge werden in einem Garten an der Lenggasse gezogen. Ab 1721 schliesst man Anbauverträge mit Landwirten in Lyss, Aarberg, Barmen und Kallnach bzw. Frienisberg. 1721 veröffentlicht man die Pflanzanleitung erneut und erschwert 1723 den Import ausländischer Tabake durch begrenzte Einfuhrpatente und Zölle, die nicht für den einheimischen Tabak gelten. Dies lockt jedoch Schmuggler auf den Plan. So sieht man sich 1727 genötigt, den Hausierhandel mit Tabak durch Patente zu regulieren (Staatsarchiv Bern B VI 382, SRQ BE I 10 1968, 447ff., Milliet 1899, 387ff., Strahm 1953.). 1726 konstituiert sich auch eine Tabakgesellschaft in Payerne, die den Tabakanbau in der Region Murten aufnimmt und heute noch besteht (Chuard/Dessemontet 1972).

Die Staatsmanufaktur wirft Gewinn ab und wird daher 1728 an den Tabakhändler Georg Berseth aus Villeneuve verkauft. 1739 kann die Zehntbefreiung aufgehoben werden. Versuche von Berseth, den Rat 1744 zu einem zu verpachtenden Tabakmonopol nach französischem Vorbild zu bewegen, scheitern. Ebenso Überlegungen des Jahres 1757/1758 Tabakanbau und Handel erneut in vollständige staatliche Regie zu nehmen. Es bleibt bei den Einfuhrzöllen (SRQ BE I 10 1968, 451f. Milliet 1899, 391f.).

Über die bernischen Tabakimporte sind wir nur unzureichend informiert (Milliet 1899, 406). 1759-1760 werden etwa 3000 Zentner pro Jahr mit einem Wert von 150.000 Livres eingeführt bzw. lokal zur Verarbeitung angekauft (Abb. 12). 1785 dürfte es sich etwa um die doppelte Menge handeln, da der Wert der Importe mit 300.000 Livres angegeben wird (Staatsarchiv Bern B IV 76). Der qualitativste Tabak stammt aus Amerika und wird auf dem Umweg über England aus den Niederlanden importiert. Tabak kommt auch aus Deutschland und dem Elsass. Fertig importierter Schnupftabak wird in der Stadt Bern und in der Landschaft vor allem von Krämern und Spezerei-Händlern weiterverkauft (Abb. 13). Diese benötigen seit 1727 ein Handelspatent. Daher wissen wir, dass 1753 im deutschen Teil des Kantons 184 Personen berechtigt sind Tabak zu verkaufen (Staatsarchiv Bern B V 98 und 99). Nach der französischen Revolution verliert sich das Tabakschnupfen aufgrund des verstärkten Imports



Abbildung 11: Pflanzanleitung für Tabak im Kanton Bern 1719 (Zentralbibliothek Bern H XXVII, 93-26).

Importe 1759-1760 Sorten	Mengen in Zentnern	
St. Vincent . . . . .	884	—
Strassburger . . . . .	457	—
Hanauer . . . . .	302	—
Bischwyler Ia . . . . .	494	50
do. ordinär . . . . .	1000	—
Holländischer Rauchtobak . . . . .	69	—
Holländer in Blei . . . . .	26	25
Kanaster . . . . .	2	—
Son d'Espagne . . . . .	60	—
Landtabak . . . . .	2367	50
	5662	25

Abbildung 12: Tabakimporte im Kanton Bern 1759-1760 (Milliet 1899, 403).



Abbildung 13: Bern ca. 1850, Spezereiladen von Herrn Wagner am Unteren Stalden. Es gab es in diesem Laden nicht nur echte holländische Tabake für Raucher sondern auch «St. Vincent» und «Marocco» für die Schnupfer. (Foto Burgerbibliothek Bern, Mss hh XXIIb, 362, Seite XV).

28. Koffeler jünger, macht hiemit bekannt, daß er wieder von den bekannten feinen Cigarren erhalten hat, und mit vorzüglich guten offenen Rauchtobacken von verschiedenen Preisen bestens versehen ist.

Abbildung 14: Werbeanzeige aus dem Berner Wochenblatt von 1812 (Nr. 26, 1812, S. 246). Es wird für Zigarren geworben! (Foto Heege).

von spanischen und kubanischen Zigarren (Abb. 14) und der in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhundert beginnenden schweizerischen Produktion von Stumpfen (Aerni 1961, Haas 1930, Stahl 1927, Cremer 2005, 41-42).

## Die Erforschung der Tabakpfeifen in der Schweiz

### Die Forschung 1867 bis 1914/15

Erste Überblicke zu diesem Thema veröffentlichte Michael Schmaedecke (Schmaedecke 1996, Schmaedecke 1999b). Wie in den meisten Ländern Europas gab es auch in der Schweiz zwischen 1840/50 und 1914/1915 eine wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung um die Frage, seit wann der prähistorische Mensch geraucht hat. Erste unkritisch-positive Übersichten über die Literatur erscheinen bereits 1855 und rückblickend 1914/1915 (Bonstetten 1855, 36 Erläuterung zu Taf. 14, Reber 1914, Reber 1915). Für die Niederlande ist eine Publikation von 1860 von besonderer Bedeutung (Westerhoff 1860). Eine sehr frühe kritische Stimme zum angeblichen Rauchen in der Antike lässt sich bereits für das Jahr 1854 anführen (Tiedemann 1854, 159). Die bis ins 20. Jahrhundert anhaltende Diskussion um das Rauchen in der Antike, bei Kelten, Römern und Germanen wird letztmalig 2002 erschöpfend nachgezeichnet (Articus 2002).

Basierend auf zumeist unzureichend stratifizierten Metall- oder Tonpfeifen aus urgeschichtlichen Ufersiedlungen und Grabhügeln sowie römischen Lagern und Siedlungen wurde diskutiert, ob bereits der bronzezeitliche Mensch oder erst Gallier und Kelten bzw. die Römer tönernen oder metallene Rauchpfeifen und den Genuss von Haschisch, Opium oder gar Tabak gekannt hätten. Gleichzeitig war die Frage nach den rauchenden Germanen der Völkerwanderungszeit und des Frühmittelalters, betrachtet man die wenig umfangreiche Literatur zu diesem Thema (Fellenberg 1886, Taf. VIII,e, Articus 2002, Koenig-Forchheim 1939-1940), offensichtlich eher von untergeordneter Bedeutung (Abb. 15).

Die urgeschichtliche oder römische Datierung war in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts ausschlaggebend für die Übernahme der Bodenfunde von Metall- und Tonpfeifen in die privaten und musealen Sammlungen, wo sich fast alle der damals geborgenen Stücke aus der Schweiz, auch heute noch befinden (Heege 2009). Mit einem Artikel des Jahres 1898 aus der Feder von Alfred Auguste Godet, Professor, Begründer und Konservator des Musée historique de Neuchâtel, wurde die wissenschaftliche Diskussion quasi entschieden (Abb. 16): Die Metallpfeifen sind neuzeitlich, sie werden wahrscheinlich im Kanton Neuenburg oder Jura produziert und stellen daher in der Konsequenz keine sammelnswerten prähistorischen Artefakte mehr dar. Dies hat Auswirkungen bis auf die heutige Sammlungsphilosophie, bei der in den meisten schweizerischen Museen unklar ist, welcher Abteilung oder welchem Kurator/Konservator man die Eisenpfeifen zuteilen soll: der Urgeschichte, dem Kunstgewerbe, der Volkskunde oder der historischen Abteilung?

Für die Schweiz beschert uns die Diskussion um das

Tab. VIII.

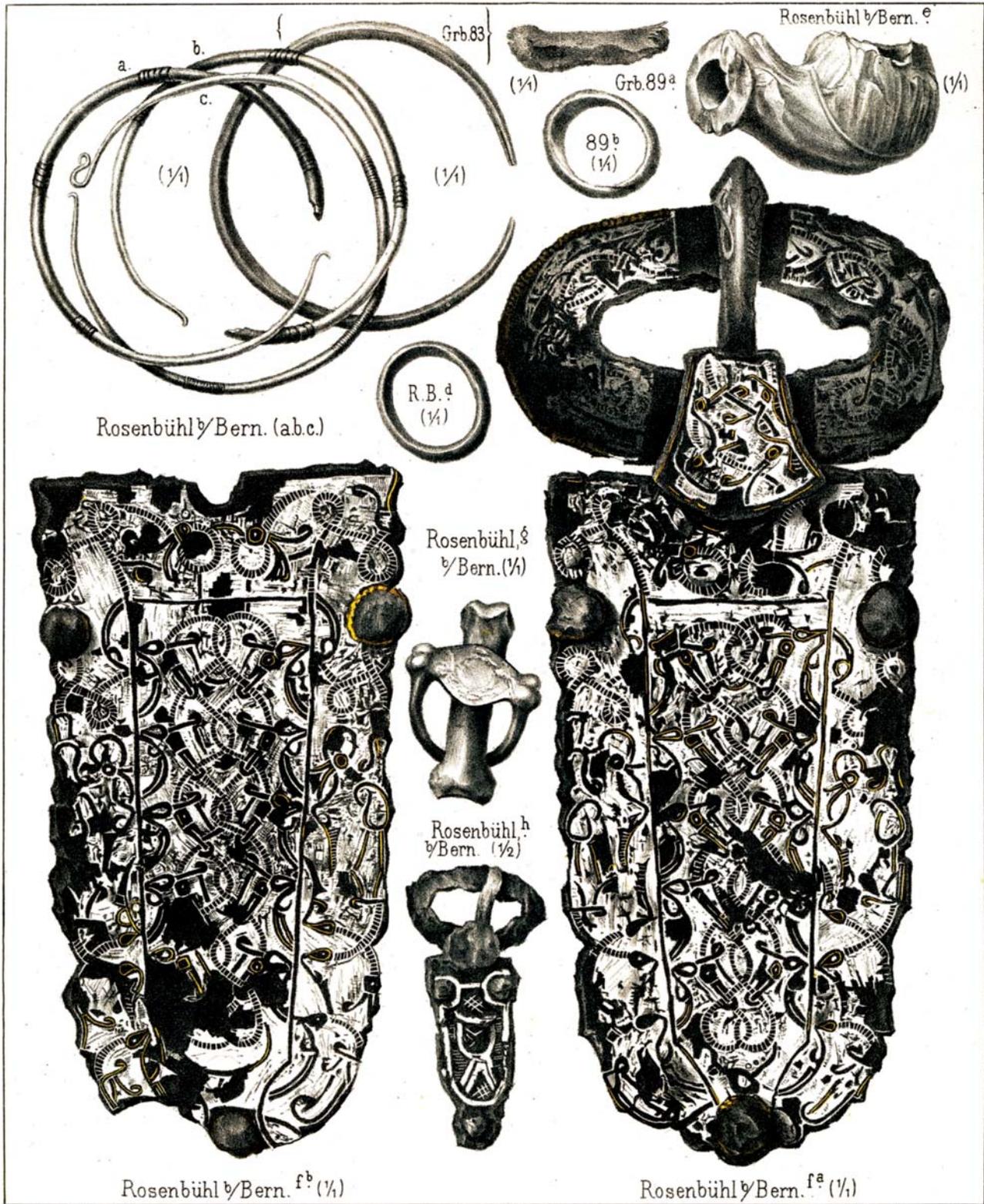


Abbildung 15: Grabfunde vom Rosenbühl bei Bern. Aus einem der Gräber des 7. Jahrhunderts soll eine tönernen Manschettpfeife stammen (Fellenberg 1884, Taf. VIII).

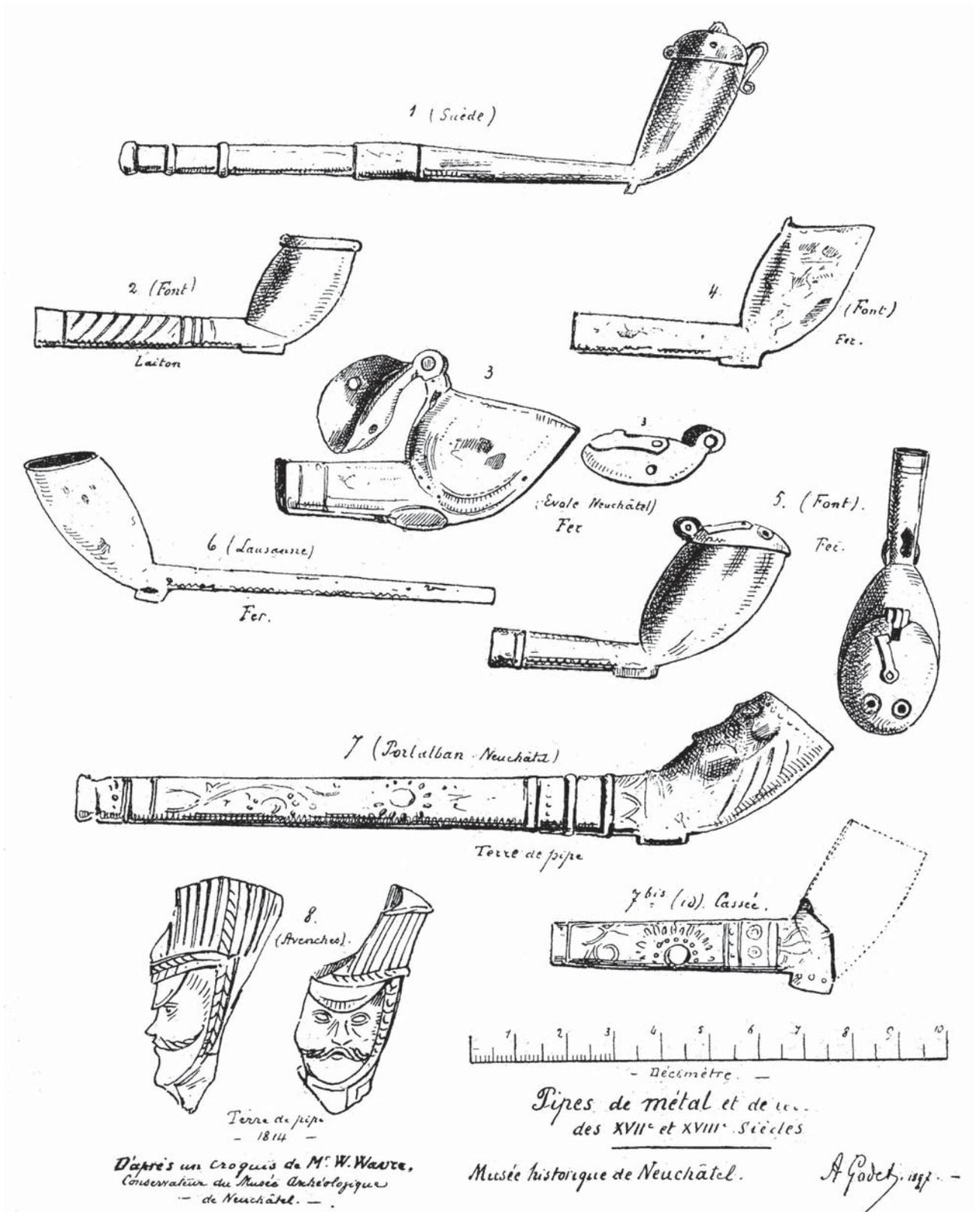


Abbildung 16: Metallene und tönernerne Tabakspfeifen aus der Sammlung des Museums in Neuenburg. Museumsleiter Auguste Godet konnte u.a. mit diesen Pfeifen und diversen Archivalien beweisen, dass es sich um Fundmaterial des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts und nicht um keltische oder römische Rauchpfeifen gehandelt hat (Godet 1898, 131).

Rauchen in der Antike in den Jahren 1914/1915 eine erste grössere Zusammenstellung metallener Tabakspfeifen (Reber 1914. Reber 1915. Werner 1913/1914). Der Autor dieser Zusammenstellung, Burkhard Reber (1848-1926, Abb. 17), war der aktivste Befürworter des Rauchens in der Antike. Er war Apotheker in Genf, kenntnisreicher archäologischer Autodidakt und Sammler mit durchaus fanatischen Zügen (Mez 1985. Jaroschinsky 1988). In seiner Zusammenstellung von 1914/1915 listete er alle ihm bekannt gewordenen Metallpfeifen, ihre Fundorte und Fundumstände in der Schweiz auf und publizierte die Objekte in Fotos. Er veröffentlichte gleichzeitig eine grössere Zahl an Tonpfeifen, die von denselben Fundorten wie die Metallpfeifen stammten und zunächst ebenfalls nicht immer als neuzeitlich angesehen wurden (z.B. Abb. 18). Ein Abgleich mit den heutigen Museumsbeständen zeigt, dass Rebers Erfassung fast vollständig war und er alle damals greifbare und relevante Literatur berücksichtigt hat. Gleichwohl erweist sich Rebers grosser Aufsatz aus den Jahren 1914/1915 als eine späte, methodisch und quellenkritisch völlig unzureichende und daher erfolglose Reaktion auf eine Diskussion, die unter Fachwissenschaftlern offensichtlich keine mehr war. Dass sein Aufsatz während des restlichen 20. Jahrhunderts nahezu ohne jeden Widerhall blieb, unterstreicht diesen Sachverhalt zusätzlich. Zeitgenössische Tabak-Spezialisten kommen ebenfalls zu einer negativen Einschätzung (Hartwich 1911, 22). Einzelne, kulturhistorisch geprägte Abweichungen von dieser Haltung bestätigen nur den generellen Trend (Jakovsky 1971, 37). Auch ein Blick in die diversen archäologischen Fachlexika des 20. Jahrhunderts wirft ein deutliches Licht auf die Wirkung von Godets Artikel von 1898. Einzig das 1907 erschienene „Reallexikon der prähistorischen, klassischen und frühchristlichen Altertümer“ von Robert Forrer und das 1927/28 erschienene „Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte von Max Ebert verzeichnen ein Stichwort „Pfeifen“ bzw. „Rauchpfeifen“ und vertreten die Auffassungen Rebers (Forrer 1907, 647-648, Ebert 1927/28, 102). Bezeichnenderweise kommt jedoch das Stichwort „Tabak“ nicht vor! In diesem Zusammenhang kann die Entdeckung und Veröffentlichung einer angeblich „späteisenzeitlichen“, Eisenpfeife mit Deckel im Bereich des Burgstalls von Riffian, Südtirol, im Jahr 2007 nur als erstaunliche Wiederholung der Geschichte gelten (Niederwanger 2007).

Erst ca. 100 Jahre nach Godets grundlegendem Artikel von 1898 haben wir erneut Bodenfunde von Metallpfeifen zu verzeichnen, die ihre Entdeckung einerseits dem Einsatz von Metalldetektoren und andererseits gezielten wissenschaftlichen Ausgrabungen und besonders guten Erhaltungsbedingungen verdanken. Unter anderem barg der Archäologische Dienst des Kantons Bern bei der Ausgrabung der Glashütte Court-Chaluet «Pâturage de l'Envers» im Jahr 2002/2003 eine Eisenpfeife und ein Stielfragment einer Eisenpfeife (Abb. 19). Das Besondere dieser Funde liegt in der Tatsache begründet, dass die Glashütte und mithin die Eisenpfeifen, aufgrund historischer Quellen in die Zeit von 1699 bis 1714 datiert werden können (Glatz 1991, 76, Gerber 2003, Gerber



**Abbildung 17:** Burkhard Reber, Apotheker in Genf (1848-1926), veröffentlichte 1914/1915 eine erste, forschungsgeschichtlich bedeutende Zusammenstellung von Metall- und Tonpfeifen in der Schweiz (Reber 1897, Titelvignette).



**Abbildung 18:** Chevroux am Neuenburger See, 1879 im Bereich einer Seeufersiedlung gefundene Tonpfeife des 17. Jahrhunderts (Reber 1915, Fig. 23).

2010). Es handelt sich zur Zeit um die einzigen absolut datierten Stücke in der Schweiz.

#### **Tabakpfeifen aus Ton in der Forschung nach dem 1. Weltkrieg**

Tonpfeifen, wie auch andere Bodenfunde der Neuzeit, spielen in der schweizerischen Archäologie von 1914/1915 bis in die 1980er Jahre und in einzelnen Kantonen auch

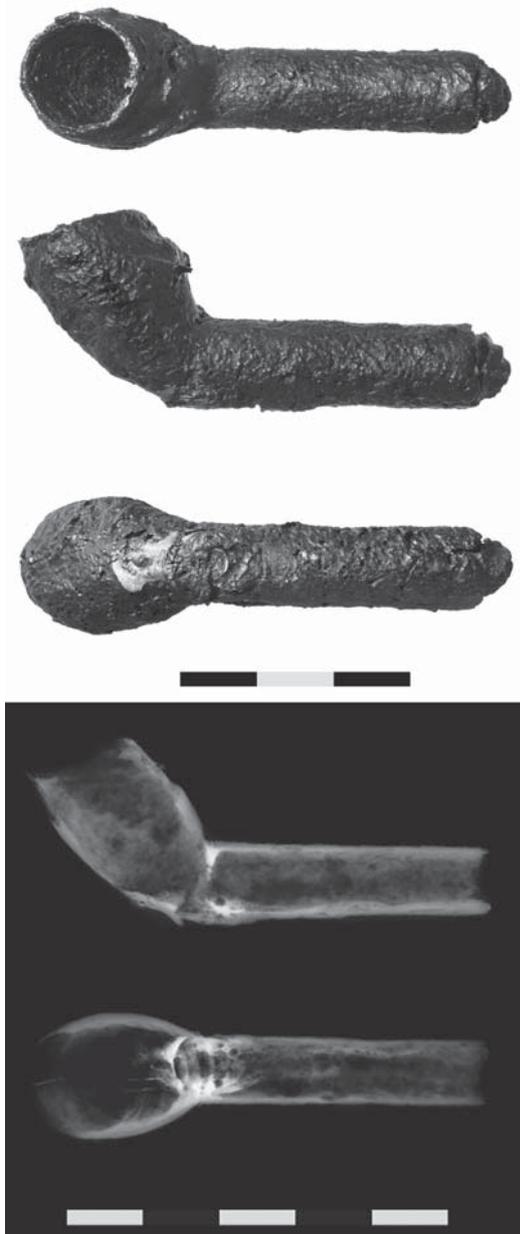
noch heute, keine Rolle. Daran änderte auch die Tatsache, dass der Schwede Nils Lithberg bei seiner Ausgrabung von Schloss Hallwil (Kt. Aargau) bereits vor dem 1. Weltkrieg Tonpfeifen barg und 1932 veröffentlichte, nichts (Lithberg 1932, Taf. 36). Zwischen 1950 und 1955 erschienen die Kartenblätter des Atlas der schweizerischen Volkskunde zum Thema Tabak, die sich neben den Fragen nach der Intensität und den Formen des Rauchens (Zigaretten, Zigarren, Pfeifen) auch mit dem Tabakkauen und -schnupfen sowie der Frage ob und was Frauen rauchten, beschäftigten (Geiger/Weiss 1950-1995, Karten 40 bis 48). Die Kartierung der verwendeten Pfeifenformen, die auf Erhebungen vor dem 2. Weltkrieg beruhte, zeigt, dass die Tonpfeife zu diesem Zeitpunkt schon länger keine Bedeutung in der Schweiz mehr hatte. Weitergehende

historische Fragestellungen zur Pfeifenform, Herkunft und Import wurden nicht behandelt.

Trotz vielfältiger Forschungen zu Tabakpfeifen in den Niederlanden und der angelsächsischen Welt war und blieb die 1979/1980 erfolgte Bearbeitung einer teilweise inschriftlich datierten Tonpfeifengruppe aus Basel singulär (Abb. 20). Die teilweise auf das Jahr 1650 datierten Pfeifen stammten aus der Kloakenverfüllung des sog. „Reischacher Hofes“ am Münsterplatz 16 (Peter-Müller 1979, Peter 1980, Fundgruben 1996, Abb. 3 bzw. 28, Keller 1999, Taf. 115-124). Besitzer der Liegenschaft war ab 1650 Hans Jacob Zörnlin: Kaufmann, Zunftmeister und Oberstleutnant der eidgenössischen Armee. Ab 1656 war er Ratsherr und starb 1659. Er gehörte zur Basler „Upper Class“ und rauchte offensichtlich qualitätvolle Tonpfeifen aus der Werkstatt des Hans Minch in Frankenthal (Schmaedecke 1999b, 59, Hürkey 1995).

In der Folgezeit wurden nur wenige Tonpfeifen veröffentlicht. So legten die Ausgräber der Zürcher Münsterhofes 1982 einzelne niederländische Pfeifen vor, da auch Fundmaterial aus nachmittelalterlichen Platzschichten veröffentlicht wurde (Schneider/Gutscher/Etter u.a. 1982, Taf. 49, 5-7; Taf. 51,3-4.). Die Ausgrabung (1977/1978) und die Veröffentlichung so junger Ablagerungen muss zu diesem Zeitpunkt, als von der Etablierung einer Neuzeitarchäologie in der Schweiz noch keine Rede sein konnte, positiv auffallen. Erst mit der Veröffentlichung der zwischen 1798 und 1807 abgelagerten Funde aus der Alten Landvogtei in Riehen, Kanton Basel-Stadt, erfolgte 1994 die erste ausschliesslich der Neuzeitarchäologie gewidmete Publikation in der Schweiz. Unter den Funden befanden sich auch wenige Ton- bzw. Porzellanpfeifen (Matteotti 1994, Taf. 26, 180-185). 1997 veröffentlichte schliesslich Lotti Frascoli zwei wichtige Kloaken- bzw. Abfallkomplexe des späten 17. Jhs. bzw. der Zeit um 1700 aus Winterthur, die ebenfalls zahlreiche, auch glasierte Tonpfeifen aus niederländischer bzw. süddeutscher Produktion (Raum Mannheim/Frankenthal und unbekannte Produktionsorte) enthielten (Frascoli 1997, 104-105).

Es ist der bleibende Verdienst von Michael Schmaedecke (Kantonsarchäologie Basel-Landschaft), Ralph Röber (Archäologisches Landesmuseum Konstanz) und Martin Kügler (heute Schinesisches Museum Görlitz) die Erforschung der Tonpfeifen in der Schweiz und in Südwestdeutschland, in den späten 1980er und den 1990er Jahren durch eigene Forschungen und Veröffentlichungen deutlich angeregt zu haben, nachdem vorher kaum grundsätzlichere Arbeiten oder verstreute Fundbearbeitungen erschienen waren (Schmaedecke 1987, Schmaedecke 1996, Röber 1995, Kügler 1996, Duco/Schmaedecke 1988, Sarri 1992, Schwiien 1992, Matteotti 1994, Junkes 1995, Frascoli 1997, Schmaedecke 1998). Besonders das 1998 in Liestal (Kanton Basel Land) veranstaltete Kolloquium des „Arbeitskreises für Tonpfeifen“ kann als Meilenstein gelten. Der 1999 erschienene Tagungsband (Schmaedecke 1999a) resümierte nicht nur Terminologie und Typologie



**Abbildung 19:** Court-Chaluet, Glashütte «Pâturage de l'Envers». Eisenpfeife aus der Produktionszeit der Glashütte 1699-1714. Die untere Abbildung zeigt ein Röntgenbild des Objekts. M. 1:1 (Foto Badri Redha, Archäologischer Dienst des Kantons Bern).

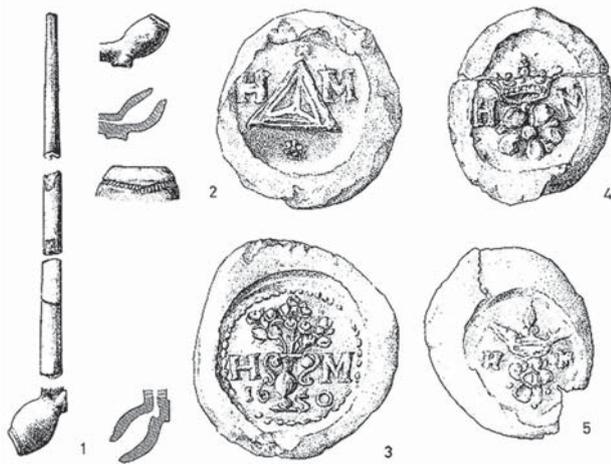


Abb. 33. Münsterplatte 16: Tonpfeifen in Fundortausstellung mit Glas und Keramik. Abbildungen 25–32. 1 = Pfeifenkopf (A.1977.4959) mit verschiedenen Pfeifenrohrfragmenten (A.1977.4959 und 5137). – Maßstab 1:2. 2 = Pfeifenkopf (A.1977.5106 c). – Maßstab 1:2; Rückenseite. – Stempelmarken: Gleichseitiges Dreieck mit Winkelhalbierenden. Unterhalb der Basis kleine fünfblättrige Rosette, zu beiden Seiten der Dreiecksbasis die Initialen H und M. – Maßstab 4:1. 3 = runde Stempelmarke eines Pfeifenkopfes (A.1977.5106 a) mit zweifelhafter Vase und Rankenstrang. Zu beiden Seiten der Vase die Initialen H und M, darunter die Jahreszahl 16–50, mit Perikranz eingefasst. 4 = ovale Stempelmarke eines Pfeifenkopfes (A.1977.5106 b) mit perlongeschmückter Zuckerkrone über fünfblättriger Krone mit unterliegenden Kleeblättern, zu beiden Seiten die Initialen H und M. 5 = ovale Stempelmarke eines Pfeifenkopfes (A.1977.5106 k) ähnlich 4 aber von minderer Qualität (Nachahmung?), zudem flächig gestempelt. – Gezeichnet von Z. Bruw. – Maßstab der Stempelmarke jeweils 4:1.

**Abbildung 20:** Basel, Reischacher-Hof. Tonpfeifen der Zeit um 1650 (Peter-Müller 1979, Abb. 33).

sowie den Forschungsstand in der Schweiz sondern brachte gleichzeitig eine Übersicht über den Fundbestand an Tonpfeifen aus dem Kanton Basel-Landschaft, dem südwestdeutschen Raum und Liechtenstein. Die für die Tonpfeifenversorgung der Schweiz so wichtige Kurpfalz mit den Produktionsorten Mannheim und Frankenthal wurde ebenso vorgestellt, wie die für das spätere 18. und frühe 19. Jahrhundert an Bedeutung deutlich zunehmende Produktion aus dem Westerwald.

Diesem Tagungsband folgte bis heute, neben verschiedenen wichtigen Einzelveröffentlichungen zum Thema (Schmaedecke 2002a, Röber 2002, Schmaedecke 2002b, Schmaedecke 2003, Grünenfelder/Hofmann/Lehmann 2003, Obrecht/Meyer/Reding 2003, Boschetti-Maradi/Portmann 2004, Obrecht/Reding/Weishaupt 2005, Springer 2005). bedauerlicherweise erst eine weitere Regionalbearbeitung. Eva Roth Heege veröffentlichte 2006 und 2007 die Tonpfeifen aus dem Kanton Zug, unter denen sich sowohl Importe aus den Niederlanden, dem Westerwald, Frankreich und Österreich (teilweise Abb. 21) sowie möglicherweise der Kurpfalz und Süddeutschlands befanden (Roth Heege 2006. Roth Heege 2007). Als eine besondere Pfeifenform müssen die sogenannten „Trichterkopfpfeifen“ aus rot und schwarz gebranntem Ton hervorgehoben werden, die ohne Model – handgerollt – hergestellt wurden (Abb. 22). Identisch gefertigte und dekorierte Vergleichsstücke, sind bisher aus Windisch (Kt. Aargau), Frenkendorf (Kt. Basel-Landschaft), Bern und Willisau im Kanton Luzern bekannt. Die bernischen Stücke wurden zwischen ca. 1700 und 1740 im Stadtgraben unter dem Waisenhausplatz abgelagert (s.u. Abb. 25). Vergleichbar gefertigte, aber abweichend dekorierte Stücke stammen aus Konstanz, Freiburg und dem Elsass, so dass an einen bislang unbekanntem oberrheinischen

oder sogar schweizerischen Produktionsort zu denken wäre.

Es sei in diesem Zusammenhang daran erinnert, dass es bislang weder archivalische noch archäologische Nachweise für eine umfangreichere lokale Pfeifenproduktion in der Schweiz gibt. Dagegen scheinen einzelne Hafner im 18. und 19. Jh. Kleinstserien von Manschettpfeifen mit einfachen Tonmodellen gefertigt zu haben. Solche Modelle (Abb. 23) fanden sich bislang zweimal im Kanton Bern (Heege 2007).

Der Kanton Bern verfügt aufgrund archäologischer Ausgrabungen, die bislang noch nicht umfassend ausgewertet worden sind, über eine Reihe wichtiger, absolut datierter Fundkomplexe. Diese werden in Zukunft eine Beurteilung der Entwicklung des Tonpfeifenimports in diesem Kanton gestatten.

Unter dem Bundeshaus in Bern wurde ein Rest der Stadtgrabenfüllung im «Oberen Graben» angetroffen: Grabung Bundeshaus 2005–2006 unter der Leitung von Christiane Kissling, Roger Lüscher und Armand Baeriswyl, Fp.-Nr. 038.130.2006.01, Fnr. 100899. Historische Nachrichten sind zur Fundstelle derzeit nicht bekannt, doch lässt ein Vergleich verschiedener bernischer Stadtansichten eine zeitliche Eingrenzung zu. Die Masse des Fundmaterials dürfte nach 1607 und teilweise auch noch nach 1635 in den Boden gekommen sein. Diese Datierung wird bestätigt durch das Vorkommen der ältesten bernischen Tabakspfeifen in der Verfüllung, die typologisch in die Zeit um 1650 datiert werden können (vgl. Abb. 9).

Ein weiterer unbearbeiteter Tonpfeifenkomplex stammt von der Glashütte Court-Chaluet „Sous Les Roches“ im heutigen bernischen Jura (Auswahl Abb. 24). Die Glashütte produzierte von 1673 bis 1699 (Glatz 1991, 76). Eine modernen Ansprüchen genügende Ausgrabung hat auf der Glashütte nicht stattgefunden. Die Informationen zum Befund stammen aus dem Archiv des Archäologischen Dienstes des Kantons Bern (Fp.-Nr. 277.002.1966.01), die Funde aus der Sammlung Bassin im ADB, deren eindeutige Geschlossenheit nicht mit letzter Sicherheit feststeht. Leider ist der Fundkomplex aufgrund der Zusammensetzung des Pfeifeninventars nicht ganz einheitlich. Unter den Funden befinden sich Stücke, die wohl in Mannheim bzw. der Kurpfalz produziert wurden (Wirth/Teutsch 2007, Kat. Nr. 9 und 10). Ihr Scherben ist, im Vergleich mit niederländischen Pfeifen, teilweise auffällig grob gemagert und rosa bis beschafarbig. Das punktgefüllte Dreieck kann als gesicherte Fersenmarke für Frankenthal gelten, die Buchstaben „OK“ vielleicht als „Otto Kissius“ aufgelöst werden. Einer der Stiele weist eine Datierung in das Jahr 1692 auf. Daneben fanden sich die typischen grün bzw. gelb, auf der Glashütte aber auch blau glasierten Pfeifen, die im süddeutschen Raum und der Deutschschweiz relativ häufig sind, ohne dass ihre Herkunft bisher hätte befriedigend geklärt werden können (Roth Heege 2007, 102 und Abb. 3, Heege 2010a, 175–180). Vergleichbare Stücke stammen auch



Abbildung 21: Manschettpfeifen aus dem Kanton Zug (Foto Kantonsarchäologie Zug, Res Eichenberg).

aus dem unmittelbar nördlich an den Jura anschliessenden französischen Raum (Tchirakadzé/Bouvard 1992, Fuhrer/Tchirakadzé 1995).

Für die mehr als 10 m mächtige Stadtgrabenfüllung des ehemaligen «Schegkenbrunnengrabens», heute Waisenhausplatz, kann das Jahr 1786 als gesicherter historischer Terminus ante quem gelten. Während der Ausgrabung (Grabung Waisenhausplatz/Metroparking unter der Leitung von M. Portmann, D. Gutscher und A. Boschetti-Maradi, Fp.-Nr.: 038.130.2001.02, Vorberichte in Jahrbuch SGUF 85, 2002, 339-340 und 86, 2003, 254 sowie Gutscher 2002, Boschetti-Maradi 2006, 59-65 und Taf. 55-69) wurden die mittleren, möglichst ungestörten Schichten partiell mit einem Bagger abgetragen und anschliessend ca. 300 m<sup>3</sup> auf einer Bauschuttdeponie ansiebt. Die in der ausgebagerten Grabenfüllung gefundenen Mineralwasserflaschen (ausschliesslich P-Flaschen), die über 2500 Tabakpfeifenfragmente (Auswahl Abb. 25) sowie die bestimmbaren Münzen und Rechenpfennige (t.p.q. 1732 bzw. 1733) belegen, dass die geborgenen Funde dieser massiven Einfüllungsphase in die erste Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts datieren (Fundmaterial ca. 1700–1740).

Es handelt sich bei den Tonpfeifen zu mehr als 95% um Fragmente eines frühen bzw. entwickelten Basistyps 2 bzw. frühen Basistyps 5. Diese beiden Formen wurden zwischen ca. 1700 und 1730/1740 vor allem in den Niederlanden hergestellt (zahlreiche eindeutige Stielumschriften). Der jüngere Basistyp 3 (ab ca. 1730/40) oder Pfeifen mit der charakteristischen Fersenseitenmarke «Wappen von Gouda», die 1739 eingeführt wurde, fehlen mit ganz wenigen Ausnahmen.

Daneben gibt es immer noch einzelne ältere Stück, der oben bereits beschriebenen grob gemagerten Machart, einmal mit Stielumschrift „Otto Kusius“. Zu dieser Gruppe gehören auch die auffälligen Pfeifenköpfe mit den vier Gesichtern (Abb. 25, oben links), und die mit schrägen Perlbandern verzierten Stiele, wie sie auch in der Glashütte „Pâturage de l’Envers“ und an einigen anderen Fundstellen im Jura bzw. in den schweizerischen Seen des Mittellandes vorkommen (Schmaedecke 1999b, 53 Abb. 4). Glasierte Pfeifen sind nur mit wenigen Fragmenten im Inventar vertreten, dafür gibt es zusätzlich einige Exemplare der schon beschriebenen schwarz gebrannten Trichterkopfpfeifen. Insgesamt unterscheidet sich dieser stadtbernerische Komplex aufgrund der vielen



**Abbildung 22:** Handgerollte und geformte (nicht gemodelte!) Trichterkopfpfeifen des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts aus dem Kanton Zug. Vergleichsfunde gibt es bislang nur aus Bern, Windisch und Willisau. Handelt es sich um die einzige Tonpfeifenform, die in der Schweiz produziert wurde? (Foto Kantonsarchäologie Zug, Res Eichenberg).

qualitätvollen niederländischen Pfeifen, deutlich von den Komplexen aus den nördlich, im Einflussbereich Basels gelegenen Glashütten.

Ein weiterer Tonpfeifenkomplex stammt aus dem alten Bärengraben in Bern (Abb. 26). Die Aufgabe und Mülleinfüllung des 1513 eingerichteten Bärengrabens erfolgte von 1763 bis 1765 (Boschetti-Maradi 2006, 58–59 und Taf. 37–54). Dem entsprechen die niederländischen Tonpfeifen eines deutlich entwickelten Basistyps 3.

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in der Brunnghasshalde auf der Nordseite der Stadt, lieferte ebenfalls historisch absolut datiertes Tonpfeifen-Fundmaterial mit einem Terminus ante quem (Abb. 27). Der Unterbau der Halde wurde ab 1787 und intensiv 1821/1822 bzw. zwischen 1825 und 1832 auf der Nordseite der Stadt Bern mehr als 25 m hoch aufgeschüttet (Heege 2010b). Die chronologische Geschlossenheit des Inventars lässt sich auf dem Weg über die Mineralwasserflaschen abschätzen. Der in Selters und Fachingen 1830/31 vollzogene Wechsel der Brunnenmarken ist im geborgenen Fundgut nicht mehr vertreten, weshalb die Schüttungsarbeiten



**Abbildung 23:** Steffisburg, Kanton Bern, Höchhus. Model aus Ton für eine Manschettpfeife. Das Model lag unter den Resten einer Irdenware-Töpferei der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Foto Badri Redha, Archäologischer Dienst des Kantons Bern).



Abbildung 24: Glashütte Court-Chaluet „Sous Les Roches“, Kanton Bern. Tonpfeifen aus der Glashütte, die von 1673-1699 produzierte (Foto Badri Redha, Archäologischer Dienst des Kantons Bern).



Abbildung 25: Bern, Stadtgrabenfüllung unter dem Waisenhausplatz (ca. 1700-1740). Tonpfeifen unterschiedlicher Herkunft (Schweiz, Frankreich, Niederlande Süddeutschland?, Foto Badri Redha, Archäologischer Dienst des Kantons Bern).

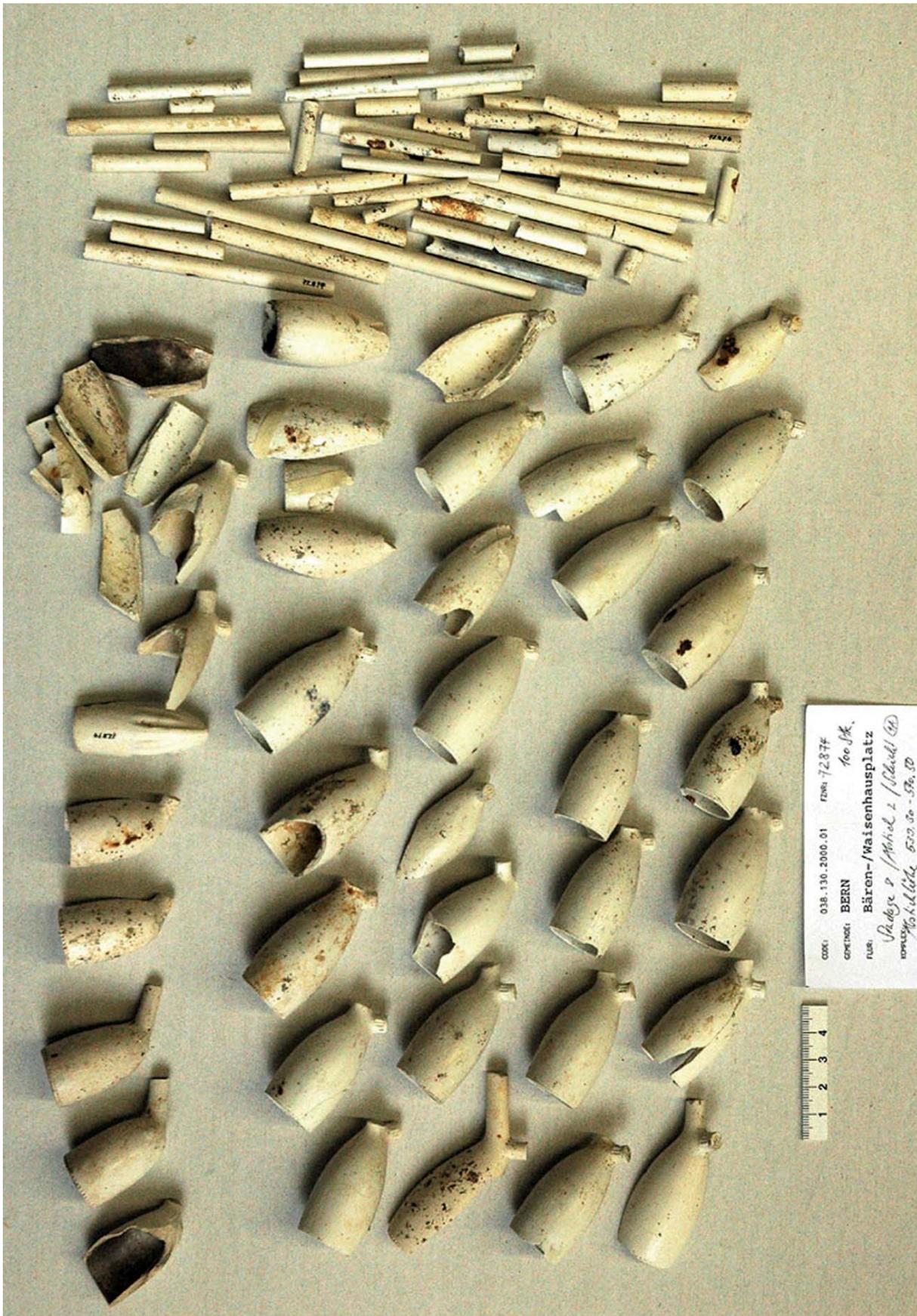


Abbildung 26: Bern, Einföhlung des Alten Bärengrabens (1763 bis 1765). Tonpfeifen überwiegend aus den Niederlanden (Foto Heege).

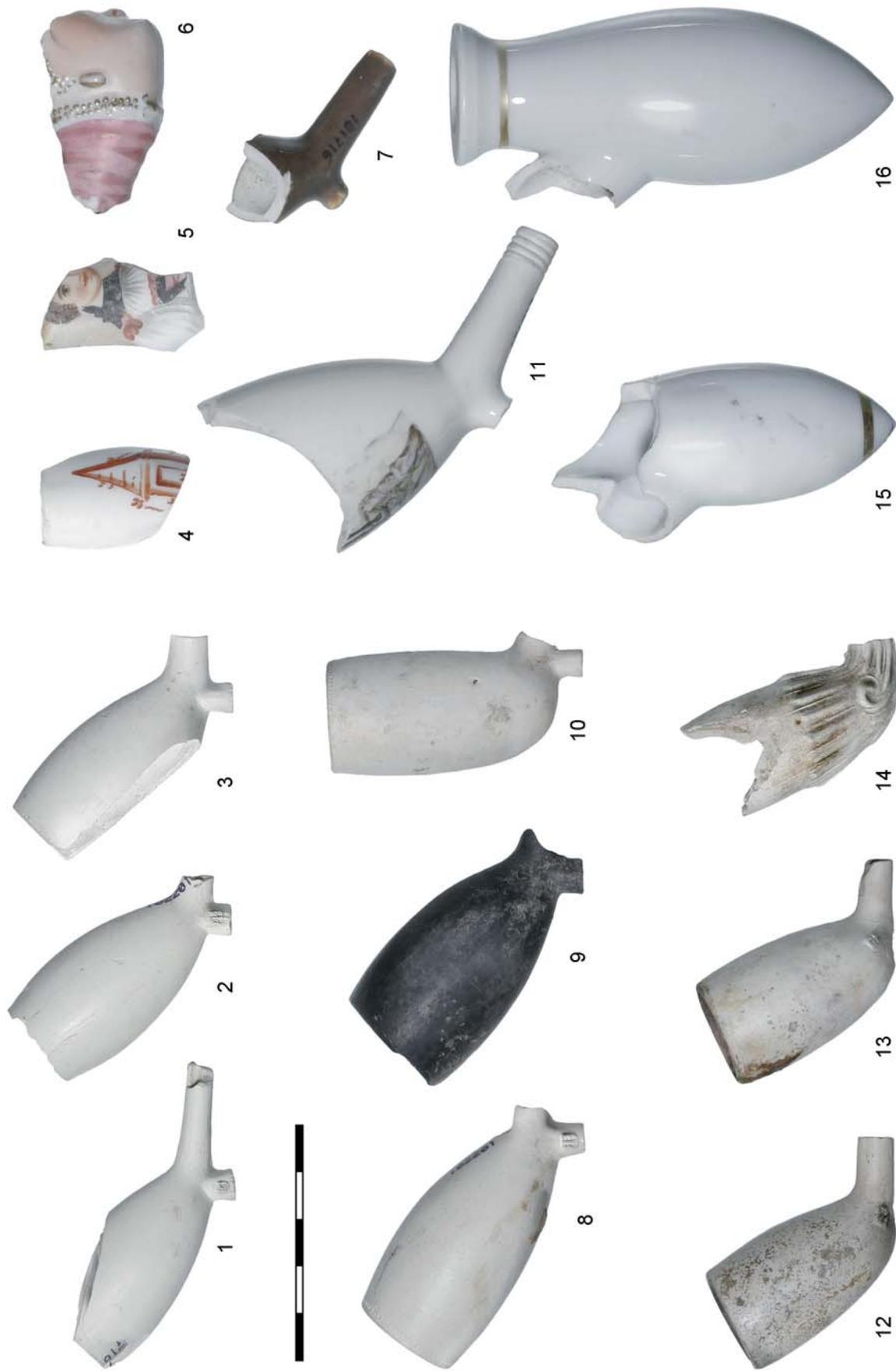


Abbildung 27: Bern, Brunneggshalde, Stadtmüllschüttung zwischen 1787 und ca. 1831. Ton- und Porzellanpipen aus den Niederlanden, dem Westerwald und deutschen(?) Porzellanmanufakturen (Foto Badri Redha, Archäologischer Dienst des Kantons Bern).

für den Strassenunterbau im untersuchten Bereich zu diesem Zeitpunkt wohl bereits weit fortgeschritten bzw. abgeschlossen waren.

Die Funde aus der Haldenschüttung belegen, dass sich ab dem späten 18. Jh. das Angebot an Tabakspfeifen erneut verändert. Die zunehmend unmodernen Tonpfeifen werden in grösserer Zahl nun auch aus dem Westerwald (Grenzhausen, Gebrüder Dorn, Fersenmarken gekrönte 16 und 46) importiert. An ihre Stelle treten nicht nur auf den zahlreicher werdenden Bildquellen sondern auch in den Angeboten der Messehändler der Berner Herbstmesse (Abb. 28) sog. Gesteckpfeifen mit Porzellanköpfen, Holzstielen und Mundstücken aus Horn oder Bernstein, oder Pfeifen mit Köpfen aus dem mineralischen

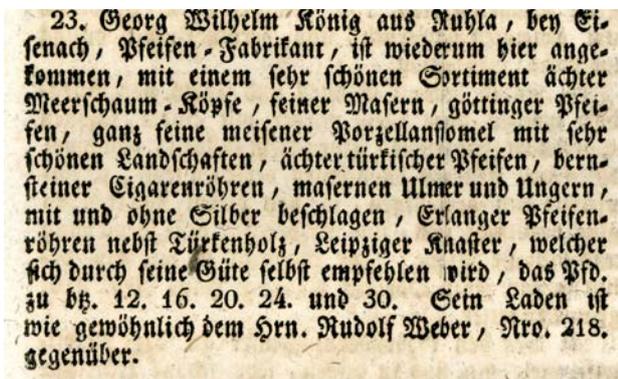


Abbildung 28: Anzeige des Tabak- und Pfeifenhändlers Georg Wilhelm König aus Ruhla in Thüringen für die Berner Herbstmesse 1812 (Berner Wochenblatt No. 14, 1812, S. 128)

Meerscham bzw. Maserholzknollen. Jüngere Pfeifen liegen aus Bern oder z.B. aus dem Kanton Zürich nur noch in seltenen Ausnahmefällen vor (Heege 2008, Abb. 15,72, Frascoli 2004, Taf. 17, 116-121).

#### Desiderate der Forschung

Aus dem vorstehenden Text dürften die Desiderate der schweizerischen Tonpfeifenforschung hinlänglich deutlich geworden sein. Es fehlen jegliche Aufarbeitungen für die Westschweiz und für den Kanton Tessin. Aber auch aus der Deutschschweiz mangelt es an entsprechenden Untersuchungen, wobei vor allem das weitgehende Fehlen archäologischer Funde aus Basel und die fehlende Vorlage von Funden aus Zürich hervorzuheben sind. Wünschenswert wären kantonale Übersichten oder Zusammenstellungen der Funde einzelner Städte.

Daneben fehlt es aber auch an Analysen schriftlicher Quellen zur Handwerks Geschichte der Neuzeit, um lokale Tonpfeifenproduktionen verifizieren oder definitiv ausschliessen zu können. Das Studium von Zeitungen und Anzeigenblättchen könnte ab der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts zusätzliche Informationen zur Herkunft der Pfeifenimporte liefern. Die Frage nach der Herkunft der Pfeifengruppen aus dem 17. und frühen 18. Jh. liesse sich

nur auf dem Wege über verbesserte Publikationen aus den Herstellungsorten (Mannheim, Frankenthal) bzw. -regionen (Westerwald, Süddeutschland/Elsass) klären.

#### English summary

Tobacco played a very early role in the history of Switzerland. *Nicotiana rustica* and *Nicotiana tabacum* were grown in the gardens of important botanists and scientists from at least 1554 and/or 1565. In 1616, for the first time in Switzerland, a book published in Zurich by Jacob Ziegler described in detail the medicinal effects of tobacco and smoking. At that time it was specifically stated that the pipes concerned were imported from England. In Switzerland smoking first spread through all social classes following the 30-years war. Although the earliest archeological finds of tobacco pipes barely date before 1650, individual paintings and archival references establish their presence between around 1620 and 1650. An attempt to suppress smoking from the <1650>s failed in all cantons and was replaced by a corresponding tax on tobacco at some time just before 1700.

So far the independent production of tobacco pipes in Switzerland has not been proven. All the archeological pipe finds must, therefore, be imports. The oldest finds show some slight connection with the Mannheim and/or Frankenthal regions of Germany. In addition, pipes with coloured glazes found in the second half of the seventeenth century were probably produced in southern Germany. From this time pipes from the Netherlands are increasingly found among quality conscious smokers - a development reinforced by the presence of Swiss mercenaries in the Netherlands between 1698 and 1798. Besides clay pipes, the use of locally produced iron pipes can be proved in Switzerland from around 1700. Not until the late 18th century and in the nineteenth century did Gouda clay pipes receive serious competition from Westerwald in Germany. From around 1800 wooden, meerscham and porcelain pipes together with an increased local production of cigars in the 1830s, all contributed to the decline in clay pipe usage.

In Switzerland there is no long tradition of clay pipe studies. In terms of modern archeological research, a small group of archaeologists strive to progress this aspect of the cultural history of the modern age. So far, however, stratified groups and, in particular, studies of cities and individual cantons are lacking.

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# Dutch influences on the Japanese smoking habit

by Barnabas T. Suzuki

## Introduction to smoking and the early smoking style

### *The early Japanese smoking style*

As described in *Razan Bunshu* (Hayashi, Razan, 1661) and *Honcho Shokkan* (Hitomi Hitsudai 1692) the early Japanese smoking style was either in the form of rolled or shredded tobacco leaves pasted on a sheet of paper and then rolled. This style of smoking is doubtlessly that practiced in the West Indies and Latin America, and among Spanish and Portuguese seamen who started arriving in Japan in the late sixteenth century. Although, in their mother countries, smoking in the form of rolled tobacco was not popular, yet before the latter half of the seventeenth century, tobacco ingestion in the form of snuff (*polvo*) was widespread.

The first Portuguese vessel arrived in Japan in 1550. Since then, Portuguese trading ships arrived almost every year via Goa (India). The first Spanish vessel to arrive was in 1587, but was a wreck. Only two Spanish ships reached Japan via Manila in the Philippines before 1600, the 1587 wreck and one sheltering from a storm in 1589. Naturally, it can be concluded that the introduction of tobacco smoking into Japan was by Portuguese seamen or merchants in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

### *The first mention of kiseru (a Japanese metal pipe)*

The first mention of 'tobacco' in Japanese documents is in 1576 (Izumosaki Village Land Survey Record), then in 1593 (Diary of Rokuon'in Temple) and again in 1602 (Ohbayashi Village Land Survey Record). The first mention of *kiseru* is in 1603 (*Ryukyu Ohrai*, a text book compiled by Taichu).

This reference to *kiseru* was followed in 1607 by *Saka Jochi-in Diary* and then by a letter of Matheus de Couros, S.J. from Arima to Rome reporting the smoking habits of Japanese seminary students in 1612. The original letter in Portuguese is kept at the Jesuit Archive in Rome in the *Japonica Sinica Series* (ARSI, 2b, ff.163v-164) as shown below in English translation:

A good example of this is the order which Father Visitor (Francisco Pasio) issued four years ago (i.e. 1608), forbidding everyone to drink without permission the smoke of a certain dry herb called Tobacco (it is called the Holy Herb in Portuguese), which has recently spread a great deal throughout Japan. He did this so that our men should not waste their time in this practice and also because it is very conducive to sensuality. He forbade this rigorously in virtue of Holy Obedience, laying down that whoever drinks or sucks this smoke (it is drunk with a certain instrument) without permission should receive a discipline in the refectory for the first offense

and should be deprived of Communion for the second. But however, many scoldings and penances you give to many of the Japanese Brothers, there is really no solution to the problem because they drink it secretly. Some who have tinder and flint even get up during the night, light a candle, and freely drink the smoke of the herb. Nor do they hesitate to drink it in the presence of the *dojuku* and lay people, even though they all know that it is forbidden in the house, or they declare that this smoke is medicinal and keeps out the cold (Cooper, 1974, 177-178; Suzuki, 1999, 222-226).

## The arrival from pipe smoking countries

The shift in smoking styles from a rolled leaf to the use of a pipe is already seen in 1603 as stated above. A smoking pipe is not a Japanese invention as its name *kiseru* implies. Tobacco smoking with a pipe must have been introduced by a European from a pipe smoking country. Visits from either Holland or England late in the sixteenth or in the beginning of seventeenth are recorded in 1585 and 1600.

### *Holland*

The first recorded arrival of a Dutchman is Dirrick Geritszon Pomp at Nagasaki in 1585 on a Portuguese merchant ship from Goa (India). He stayed there for about eight months until 1586. Pomp was originally from Enkhuizen where the first Dutch smoking ban was issued in 1580.

### *England*

William Adams, an English pilot, arrived in 1600 on a Dutch ship wreck the *Liefde*. It seems there was no clay pipe or tobacco left on the ship when it reached Japan. In 1614, he recorded the purchase of four *kiseru* pipes for himself in Kyoto, Osaka or Sakai.

## Dutch metal pipes and the introduction of metal pipes into Japan

In the late sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth centuries the only pipe smoking countries were England and the Netherlands. Until about 1640 to 1650 or later, before the production of clay pipes in the Netherlands started to satisfy the domestic demand, seamen and merchants on long voyages to Asia and the New World seem to have used metal pipes instead of the more fragile clay pipes which were not in sufficient supply for a long voyage.

Specimens of such metal pipes were recently excavated in the Netherlands (Figs. 1 & 2). Up to this date pipes with metal bowls and mouthpieces linked with wooden stems are only found in or in the vicinity of harbour cities where the Dutch East India Company was located. The first pipe was excavated in Rotterdam in 1990 (Fig. 1) during railroad construction works. The bowl and other parts are made of pewter and the push-in stem is wooden. Its mouthpiece was not found but was most likely to have been a pewter one like the other parts of the pipe.



**Figure 1:** Pewter pipe excavated in 1990 (c1580) in Rotterdam (Photograph courtesy of D. Duco, Pijpenkabinet, Amsterdam)



**Figure 2:** Pewter pipe (c1620) excavated in 1990 in Rotterdam (Photograph courtesy of D. Duco, Pijpenkabinet, Amsterdam).

Before these two pewter pipes were found in Rotterdam, one wooden pipe stem was excavated in Amsterdam in 1986 (Fig.3). Basically, its construction is very much like the two pipes from Rotterdam.

Later, in 2008 two pewter pipes were also excavated in Amsterdam. One is a push-in stem type (Fig. 4) and of very similar construction to the one excavated in Rotterdam in 1990 (see Fig.1). The other one has a screw-in type of wooden stem with a pewter mouth piece (Fig. 5).

Two metal pipes were also excavated in the vicinity of Enkhuizen, one is made of lead (Fig. 6) and the other is of bronze (Fig. 7). Both seem to be for push-in stems.

All these metal pipes have been excavated in or in the vicinity of the harbour cities, where the Dutch East India Company was located.

As mentioned earlier, Dirrick Geritszon Pomp visited Nagasaki in 1585 and stayed for about 8 months (Suzuki,



**Figure 3:** Wooden pipe stem covered with pewter (1600-1625), excavated in 1986; dimensions: 138mm x/ 11mm x 7 mmφ (Photograph: Wiard Krook, Bureau Monumenten & Archeologie (BMA), Amsterdam).



**Figure 4:** Pewter pipe with a wooden stem, excavated in 2008; length 95mm; bowl: inner 12.3mmφ, depth 12mm; collar: c14 x 14mm; Stem: 11mmφ & 7 mmφ (Photograph by B. T. Suzuki, Oct. 3, 2011, courtesy of Bureau Monumenten & Archeologie (BMA), Amsterdam).

1999, 98). He could have smoked with a metal pipe during his stay in Nagasaki. He lived in Goa, India for about 20 years working as an artilleryman for the Portuguese trading company, but it is not clear if he had an opportunity of returning to his home town and acquiring a smoking habit before 1585. However, there were cases of the arrival of Dutch artillerymen at Goa to work for Portuguese ships. In 1584, several of them arrived at Goa (Linschoten 1968, 580).

Enkhuizen is the town where Dirrick Geritszon Pomp was originally from and which is known to have announced the first ban of tobacco smoking on certain days of the church calendar in 1580 (Suzuki 1999, 98, 255; Brongers 1964, 21-22; Duco 1981, 114, 371). This town, like Amsterdam and Rotterdam was also one of the six Dutch East India Company bases, where these metal pipes mentioned earlier were found.



**Figure 5:** Pewter pipe with a wooden stem excavated in 2008; length 19.8cm; bowl: c17.1x19.1mm (Photograph by Wiard Krook, Bureau Monumenten & Archeologie (BMA), Amsterdam).



**Figure 6:** Lead pipe (1615~1630) excavated in 2007; bowl inner diameter: 12 mmφ, depth: 18mm (Photograph by B. T. Suzuki, Oct. 3, 2011, courtesy of Don Duco, Pijpenkabinet, Amsterdam).



**Figure 7:** Double conical bronze pipe c1620-1625 (Photograph courtesy of Don Duco (Pijpenkabinet, Amsterdam).

The basic construction of such Dutch metal pipes with a wooden stem is identical to a typical Japanese *kiseru*. So far metal pipes of this construction have not been found in the Netherlands or in the rest of Europe except from these three cities of Enkhuizen, Rotterdam and Amsterdam.

It is strongly suggested that the introduction of the metal pipe into Japan was by the Dutch. As mentioned earlier, Dirrick Geritszon Pomp is the first recorded Dutchman to visit Japan (he visited at least twice and it could be even before 1585). Since the first mention of *kiseru* in the Japanese documents was in 1603, it fits well with the time scale that the metal pipe introduction was made in about 1585. When a curious Japanese saw a Dutchman smoking with a metal pipe with a wooden stem, it was natural to have a copy made with an easier hollowed out bamboo stem. Thus, a habit of smoking with a rolled tobacco leaf evolved into a new method of using a pipe with shredded tobacco.

Before the cultivation of tobacco was started in Japan, possibly toward the end of the sixteenth century, imported tobacco leaves were extremely expensive. A shredded tobacco leaf is sufficient for smoking several times with a small bowled pipe. When the shredding of tobacco improved, becoming finer and finer, the *kiseru* bowl also

decreased in size. One fill of tobacco is good for several puffs and then the ash is replaced with a pinch of new tobacco. Thus the increase in smoke temperature is controlled for cooler smoking.

Thus, the Japanese smoking habit first started with rolled tobacco leaf learned from the Portuguese and then shifted to pipe smoking learned from the Dutch.

#### The etymology of *kiseru*

In 1897 Earnest Satow, an English diplomat, found the Cambodian word *khsier* in a French-Cambodian dictionary, meaning a pipe for smoking tobacco. This became an established explanation for the origin of the word *kiseru*.



**khsie** n. pipe for smoking tobacco Jacob (1974, 29).

However, the author's etymological study has revealed that, in Cambodian, it was a loan word.

*Khsier* in Cambodian does not contain any meaning of ‘tube / pipe’, ‘smoke’, ‘to suck’ or ‘tobacco’ as shown in Figure 8.

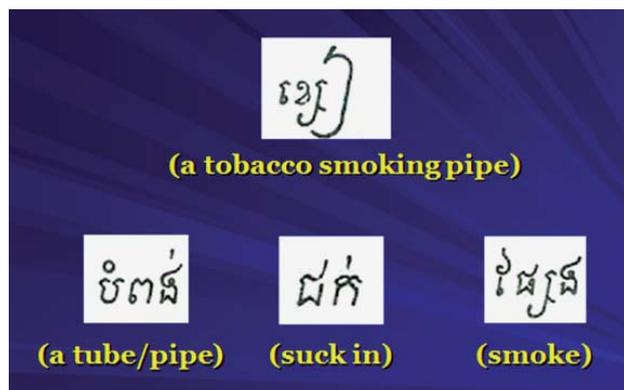


Figure 8: Cambodian words related to smoke and tobacco.

It is also confirmed by the Ministry of Culture of the Kingdom of Cambodia that the word *khsier* does not have any origin in the Cambodian language.

When pipe smoking was introduced widely in Europe either by English or Dutch smokers, a smoking pipe was generally named after the English name ‘pipe’. If a smoking pipe was introduced into Japan by a Dutchman, the Japanese for a smoking pipe is likely to have adopted the Dutch name *pijp*.

No other Dutchman or Englishman visited Japan before 1600. The next Dutch visit was in 1600 by a wrecked ship, the *Liefde*, on which 24 or 25 survivors both English and Dutch arrived, or in 1609 when the first Dutch merchantman arrived in Hirado. The first English merchant ship arrived in 1613 and their trading post in Japan existed until 1623.

When a copy of the metal pipe was made, after D.G. Poms’ short eight-month stay in Nagasaki, it is most likely that the name of the new smoking tool was sought by asking a Portuguese living in Nagasaki. It was not possible for Japanese people to distinguish Portuguese from Dutch.

At that time there was no word for a smoking pipe in the Portuguese language due to the absence of a pipe smoking habit, and the Portuguese word ‘*cachimbo*’ for a smoking pipe came much later. The only answer that the Portuguese could give was *que sorver* which means ‘a thing to suck with’ in Portuguese. When the Portuguese *que sorver* was corrupted in pronunciation, it became *kiseru* in Japanese. A bamboo stem used for *kiseru* is called *rao* in Japanese, which is also a corruption from a Portuguese word, *rabo* meaning an axis or a stem (Fig. 9).

The numbers of licensed Japanese trade ships calling in Cambodia increased after 1603 by an official letter that Ieyasu wrote to the King of Cambodia, when *kiseru* was



Figure 9: Etymological analysis of *kiseru* and *rao*.

already in use in Japan. With the increased trade between Cambodia and Japan, Japanese towns were founded in two places in Cambodia. Cargo lists show the frequent shipping of *kiseru* and shredded tobacco for Japanese expatriates in Cambodia and other Japanese towns in the Philippines, Vietnam and Thailand. The propagation of tobacco smoking was thus promoted by Japanese inhabitants in these areas. Until Dutch traders started to receive a sufficient supply of clay pipes, they also shipped shredded tobacco and *kiseru* from Japan to Taiwan and other Dutch trading posts in Asia.

The Cambodian word, *khsier* with its limited meaning of ‘a pipe for tobacco smoking’ must have been adopted from the Japanese word *kiseru* (Figs. 8 & 9).

### Dutch clay pipes

Dutch clay pipes excavated in Japan are mainly from the site of Dejima in Nagasaki where the Dutch trading post had been located since 1641 after 32 years in Hirado. Approximately 10,000 fragments of clay pipes have been excavated at the site up to now and only about 5% are dated from the period between 1640 and 1690 (Suzuki 2001, 103; 2003, 63-64; 2010, 81). A majority (62.5%) of the excavated fragments are from the period 1700 to 1740. Most of these clay pipes were smoked inside the Dutch trading post. Very limited quantities of Dutch clay pipes have been excavated outside of Dejima and most of them are unsmoked. So far no more than 20 pieces have been recovered.

Actually there was no demand for clay pipes in Japan

and those pipes excavated outside Dejima were given as gifts to the Japanese and accepted as novelty items. Glazed porcelain wares were commonly in use in Japan; unglazed cheap ceramics were only for games, drying salt or roasting sesame seeds, or for use in shrine ceremonies. No influence of Dutch clay pipes on Japanese smoking tools can be observed.

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**Figure 10:** An excavated example of an early kiseru (beginning of seventeenth century); a larger bowl kiseru for coarsely shredded early tobacco (Photograph B.T. Suzuki).



**Figure 11:** Examples of refined kiseru of a later date; small bowl for finely shredded advanced smoking tobacco (Photograph B. T. Suzuki).

Theodorus Niemeyer NV.

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## **‘Drinking’ a bone pipe: food for archaeological thought**

*by Ayşe Dudu Tepe*

In the sixteenth century tobacco was mainly used for medicinal purposes; especially the treatment of bites and burns, and as an antidote for poison. However, the popularity that the tobacco plant soon gained was not due to its health benefits, but rather its psychoactive attributes. Within a century of its discovery in the New World, the inhaling of tobacco smoke had become a widespread phenomenon in both Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

The recreational use of tobacco required only basic equipment; usually consisting of pipes produced from clay or wood. The cheapest and most common type was of clay. However, pipes are also produced from other materials such as metal, coconut, stone and bone. The latter is presently non-artefactual, since no examples have been collected at Ottoman period sites in the Middle East or North Africa. Yet historical evidence confirms their usage and nature, especially among the Bedouin tribes of the northern Hijaz. The following paper will attempt to speculate on aspects such as manufacture, distribution and usage of bone pipes, drawing upon evidence, although limited, from European historical travellers’ accounts, and relating these to the preliminary data offered below on stone pipes, as they share characteristics in terms of usage and manufacture. Bone and stone are a free and available resource, and were therefore adapted, especially by Bedouin, for the purpose or even desire to create a smoking device and delivery system that was robust and cheaper than clay pipes. Moreover, evidence also points towards that particular pipes made from bone and other materials were used as water pipes for ‘drinking’ slightly intoxicating fumes.

Even though this is a hypothetical approach, this might be fruitful in order to explore the potential scope of bone pipes as a hitherto overlooked category of material culture.

### **Tobacco pipes**

Clay pipes are one of the most recognizable artefacts that are found consistently across the Middle East, as both shape and form are perfect designators of the object’s function. As a result, archaeologists are increasingly recognizing that these artefacts offer a reliable chronological tool for dating and understanding late cultural strata. Furthermore, the development of typological sequences in which stylistic and technological variations occur across time and space allow this chronological framework to be continually developed and elaborated. Currently, the main preliminary typologies for Ottoman clay pipes are those defined by Hayes based on the material from Saraçhane Turkey (Hayes 1980, 1992), and Robinson’s studies on the material from the Athenian Kerameikos and Corinth, Greece (Robinson 1983, 1985). In spite of their

origin, these assemblages are increasingly used to identify and contextualise clay pipes recovered in the Middle East and Egypt (e.g. Simpson 1990b, 2000, 2001, and 2008). However, clay pipes merely represent one form of the tobacco consumption requisites. Other smoking devices such as water pipes, earthenware pipes and stone pipes carved from meerschaum, soft limestone or steatite, were also part of the tobacco consumption package. The latter belong to a poorly documented group in the archaeological record. It is important to stress also that tobacco, snuff canisters, steel, flint and pipe-bore cleansers are also part of this package, as well as many other items.

A small number of limestone, soft stone and chalk pipes have been recovered from Palestine and eastern Jordan (Groot 1987, vol. II: 520-521), and Iraq (Jarjis 1986, 299), these may be a commodity produced and/or distributed by local Bedouin groups. In support of this, various European explorers account for this assemblage as local products manufactured and distributed by Bedouin groups living in the Hijaz, yet this is still to be archaeologically attested. The Hijaz, ‘the barrier’, is the coastal region of the western Arabian Peninsula bordering on the Red Sea. The mountainous region is composed of crystalline and granite rocks. Local Bedouin tribes could easily produce these pipes since stone was easy to source and ‘free of charge’.

Finally, meerschaum, the ivory of the nineteenth century, occurs in its natural form in Eskişehir, Turkey, and from there it was exported to Vienna. As meerschaum is a fine-grained soft stone it is easy to be cut and worked, and readily lends itself to elaborate carved ornamentation, and was especially prized for its ivory colour. It became as much a collector’s item as a smoking apparatus in the European heartlands, and was often referred to as ‘the queen of pipes’.

### **Stone and bone - review of the historical evidence**

Charles Doughty (1843-1926) informs us that:

the best pipe-heads are those wrought in stone by the hands of the Bedouins, the better stone is found two days below Héjr, and by Teyma. Besides they use the sebîl, or earthenware bent tube of the Syrian haj market (Doughty 1964, I, 288; cf. also Burton 1913, I, 144, n. 2).

Czech orientalist and explorer, Alois Musil (1869-1944), while passing ‘Arejf al-Ṛalâjîn notes:

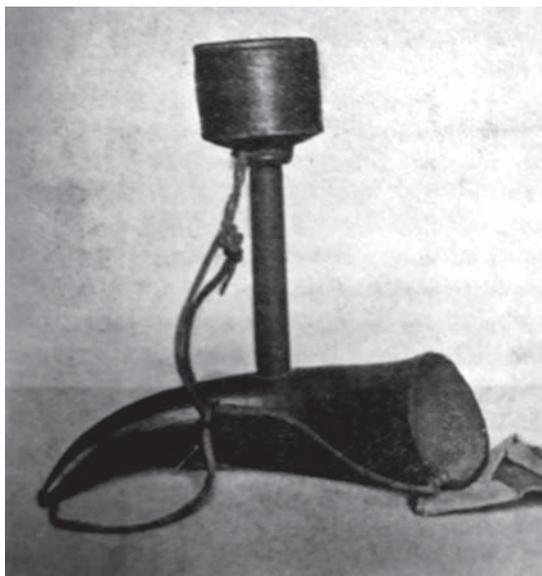
...where the Arabs dig out meerschaum from which they cut their short pipes. Smokers from the whole of the northern half of the Heğâz are said to come here. Many of them carry away on their camels as much as two loads of the soft stone and sell it to their fellow tribesmen (Musil 1978, 100).

In a study of the Rwalâ Bedouin of northern Arabia, Musil informs us that:

both men and women are fond of smoking. Every smoker has a pipe. A man's pipe is called a sebil, a woman's raljun. The Rwejlî either carves a sebil himself from a soft stone or buys it from a Kubejsi (Musil 1928, 127-28).

Finally, a short note on steatite pipes is worth mentioning. According to G. W. Murray, the Arab nomads of the Muzeina tribe guard the secrets of the outcrops of steatite which are to be found in the Sinai Peninsula, near the Gulf of Aqaba. The Muzeinas were apparently engaged in pipe manufacturing, and by safeguarding the steatite source, other tribes were excluded from access. The Ababda, nomads living in the eastern desert and Red Sea Mountains in southeast Egypt, are also recorded as having made pipes from local steatite (Murray 1923, 421).

But from historical travellers' accounts it also appears that bone pipes were in ubiquitous use. Although these are not attested in the archaeological record of Ottoman sites, some of their characteristics, as deduced from the sources, may help explain this paucity. Bone pipes, as with stone are not common outside North America, where they were manufactured and utilized by native American tribes (Dunhill 1924, 31-34). A few examples from South Africa have been collected along with earth smoking pipes (Kingston and Balfour 1901; cf. also Balfour 1922). The author has recently seen what may resemble a bone pipe, recovered in secure contexts, from south Jordan. However, it has not been possible to examine this one example thoroughly. This could potentially be the first artefactual evidence. Shape and form resemble the South African bone pipe published by Kingston and Balfour, 1901 (Fig. 1).



**Figure 1:** Native tobacco-pipe from Natal (after Kingston and Balfour 1901).

The first mention of this rather humble bone object is by the Frisian explorer Carsten Niebuhr (1733-1815) during the expedition to Arabia Felix (1761-1767). Niebuhr accounts that:

An Arab who accompanied us to Mount Sinai, and during travel lost his pipe, filled his tobacco in a bone. A new invention for the tobacco smokers who have this kind of accident (Niebuhr 1772, 98, n. 1).

A second account derives from an Englishman, William Gifford Palgrave (1826-1888), an Arabic scholar, who travelled incognito as a Muslim Syrian physician in central and eastern Arabia (1862-63). As he was travelling from Ma'an, along the caravan route of Wadi Sirhan, a valley that runs southeast from the ancient site of Al-Azrak in eastern Jordan and crosses the border into Saudi Arabia and ends at the wells of Maybuu, on his way to Djowf (Al-Jauf), he met a local Bedouin tribe:

"Ya woleyd," or "young fellow" (for so they style every human male from eight to eighty without distinction), "will you not fill my pipe?" says one, who has observed that mine was not idle, and who, though well provided with a good stock of dry tobacco tied up in a rag at his greasy waist-belt, thinks the moment a fair opportunity for a little begging, since neither medicine nor merchandize is to be had. But Salim, seated amid the circle, makes me a sign not to comply. Accordingly I evade the demand. However, my petitioner goes on begging, and is imitated by two or three others, each of whom thrusts forward, (a true Irish hint) a bit of marrow-bone with a hole drilled in one side to act for a pipe, or a porous stone, not uncommon throughout the desert, clumsily fashioned into a smoking apparatus, a sort of primitive meerschaum (Palgrave 1868, 18).

Both Niebuhr and Palgrave describe that a single bone formed the pipe. It is quite possible that the bone essentially only required some minor working in the form of drilling a small hole on the side, or nothing at all. It seems apparent that it took very little time to create these curious objects, and that bone was ready at hand. This assumption is supported by a description deriving from Edmund O'Donovan (1844-1883), a British war-correspondant, who during his journey to Merv, an oasis city in Central Asia, in 1881 noted a pipe:

...by no means so common among the Turcomans. It consisted of the tibia of a sheep, from which the marrow had been extracted, and which was pierced at its largest extremity. This was filled nearly to the top with tumbaka, the smoke being inhaled through a touch-hole-like perforation close to its smaller extremity (O'Donovan 2009, II, 440).

A bone pipe of that described by Niebuhr, Palgrave and O'Donovan may in fact resemble the early African bone and clay tube pipes, also known as the *dakka* (Fig. 1) - being drawn from the native name for hemp, that were especially used among the Berbers of North Africa and by native South Africans (Dunhill 1924, 135-144, 168-169), or even the more funnel shaped Indian *chillum*. Pipes of

these sorts in some occasions merely required a reed for a stem or mouthpiece and filled with some tobacco, flint and steel or hot coal to turn up the smoke.

In other instances, bone was used as a supplementary material. Doughty reports that the Bedouin on occasion used bird bones as pipe-stems:

The rákham is stiff-feathered, her white wings are tipped black, the bill is yellowish...and the Bedouins think their hollow bones make them the best short pipe-stem (Doughty 1964, I, 439).

In another passage Doughty wrote:

The Bedouins...hoping to shoot a crow, and have a pair of shank-bones for pipe-stems (Doughty 1964, II, 240).

In contrast, more intricate forms of pipes were also fashioned. Musil, while camping in Al-Hawga, a basin area in northern Arabia, describes his meeting with an Arab tribesman as follows:

He smoked incessantly an ill-smelling tobacco in a curious short pipe, called *bûz* – a combination of half an alum pipe and a piece of a hare's calf-bone. His original short pipe, *sebîl*, having broken at the bottom of the bowl where the nicotine settles, he had substituted for the broken part a piece of a hare's bone, sticking it into the break in the bowl and sewing round it a piece of hide to prevent it from shifting and to keep the smoke from escaping. He held the bone in his mouth and stuffed the rest of the pipe with tobacco (Musil 1927, 172. cf. also Musil 1928, 127-31).

The apparatus which Musil describes, rather creative, was put together by various pieces; alum, bone and skin. A pipe, somewhat similar in function, of such a smoking device the author has so far only seen in the small South African assemblage (Kingston and Balfour 1901, 11) and Dunhill's pipe book (1924). According to the authors these pipes, are water pipes, also known as *dakka*. The earliest *dakka* pipes consisted of a simple tube made of bone and then developed to more elaborate forms (Fig. 2). *Dakka* pipes were mainly used for smoking hemp and other intoxicant plants (Dunhill 1924, 135-144). Kingston and Balfour's example consists of a cow's horn with a hole drilled in one side in which a hollow reed is inserted as a pipe-stem (Fig. 2). The bowl fixed to the stem, consists of a stone ware inkbottle, rather unusual since steatite bowls are the most commonly used, which has been broken at the bottom to form an open bowl (Kingston and Balfour 1901, 11). Could Musil's reference of the *bûz* be a simple or even alternative form of a water pipe? The only indicator to validate this probable assumption is found in Musil's reference of the pipe namely the *bûz*, a term most probably deriving from the Turkish *buz*, which means ice and/or cool.

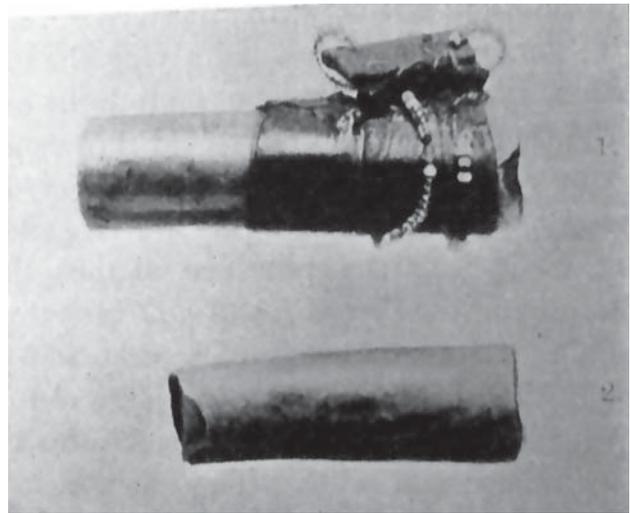


Figure 2: Dakka pipes (after Kingston and Balfour, 1901).

The water pipe, a common sight in the Middle East today, seems to have been a Persian invention in the seventeenth century. In Safavid illustrations, water pipes appear to have been small handheld devices with an inflexible stem, held on top of a globular container, and through which the smoke was inhaled with a small reed (Keall 1993, 290). Yet, the type or form of a water pipe varies very much from region to region. In Arabia, *narghiles*, coconut containers, acted as a similar device, and other materials such as tin canisters have also been reported (Burton 1913, II, 125).

The above question remains open for further speculation and examination, however, while Musil's description is rich in detail regarding the repair and fashion of the pipe it is worthy of note shortly to address the ill-smelling tobacco, as other explorers have noticed similar fumes and assigned these as intoxicating. This, combined with the little information that exists regarding Bedouin use and manufacture of bone pipes, points towards a link between the African *dakka* water pipes, which were mainly used for smoking hemp and other intoxicant plants.

#### 'Drinking' tobacco

In an ethnological study from 1886 entitled 'Ethnological Notes on the Arabs of Arabia Petraea and Wady Arabah' the author notes that the dried leaves of *hyoscyamus* (henbane), or *sekharan* as the locals call it, a common plant growing in this region, are used for smoking (Hull 1886, 135). The inhaling of this plant produces some sort of intoxication. Another plant with similar effect is the *mandrake* which grows in the limestone downs of Judæa (Hull 1886, 135).

Captain Richard F. Burton (1821-1890) noticed during his pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina between 1851 and 1853 that some Bedouin tribesmen were smoking:

a green weed, very strong, with a foul smell, and costing about one piastre per pound. The Bedouins

do not relish Persian tobacco, and cannot procure Latakia (Burton 1913, II, 118).

It appears that this sort of tobacco is a local product cultivated in Arabia and known as Hijazi or Kazimiyah. Hummi, another strong variant, grown in Yemen and other places, Burton describes as rather intoxicating, used unwetted and placed in the tile on the buri or coconut pipe, and was not something respectable men would smoke (Burton 1913, I, 66 n. 4). Burton describes it as follows:

...respectable men would answer "no" with rage if asked whether they are smoking it, and when a fellow tells you that he has seen better days, but that now he smokes Hummi in a buri...it is that this tobacco is never put into pipes intended for smoking the other kinds (Burton 1913, I, 66, n. 4).

### **Buri**

The Arabic *buri* or *būrī* derives from the Turkish word *boru* which means 'pipe'. Yet the Arabic term can also be translated into trumpet, bugle or simply horn. It is thus quite feasible that the *buri* was either bent to resemble a horn or that it simply was horn. It would have been time consuming and rather difficult to form either clay or stone into that form. As a result the *buri* might have been created more or less naturally from bone deriving from an oxen's or oryx horn. On the side a hole would be drilled to fit the stem and on the top a tile, from either stone or clay, functioning as the bowl in which the Hummi was placed. There is a striking resemblance between the African *dakka* pipe and the *buri* both in appearance and usage of invigorating 'tobacco', and Musil's reference to the *būz* is likely to be a simple water pipe, yet all this is still to be attested and it would be wrong to draw hasty conclusions, since this requires more examination than provided in this paper. Moreover the problem with the above assumption is the lack of material evidence from archaeological contexts in the Middle East.

### **Provisional conclusions**

These allusions to bone pipes, stone pipes and tobacco are interesting as they provide fresh insights into usage, manufacturing and distribution; moreover, they might also help explain the archaeological paucity. One can speculate if some bone parts were better than others depending on the type of pipe one wished to create and smoke on. The sources mention marrow-bone, hare's calf-bone and hollow bones from birds, where the latter were the most appropriate for pipe-stems. Horns from either oxen or oryx were most likely the best material if one wished to produce a *buri*. However, other materials, combined with bone or stone were also used as noted by Musil.

It is significant that nearly all sources refer to these objects as made, utilized and produced by Bedouin dwelling in the Hijaz, since they perhaps could not afford or obtain pipes of other materials. As both bone and stone are easy to source, the wish for creating a smoking device and delivery system that was robust and cheaper than

ordinary clay pipes seems likely. This in turn, would have spared Beduin time, money and journeys to larger cities to buy some of the items which were part of the tobacco consumption package. Thus making them more or less self-sustained, both in regard to obtaining and working the material, but also as local variants of tobacco seemed to have been cultivated and traded. Much of this points towards that not only were Bedouin tribes eminent in producing pipes by using their natural environment, moreover they reused various items such as skin, alum, tin canisters, and even a .303 cartridge case as Bertram Thomas (1892-1950) noted during a journey in Arabia (Thomas 2008, 153), to 'drink', - an Arabic term that also denotes smoking, their tobacco.

Stone-pipes were probably produced for local needs rather than for export, and distributed among tribes, thus restricting its geographical scope and the number of produced pipes. It appears that bone was used as an element in creatively handcrafted smoking devices such as water pipes, or in some cases made to form a single tube requiring no more than tobacco, a stem or mouthpiece and a strike with some flint and steel. This indicates its more personal and restricted use in both space and time. If one was to break, lose or wear out their pipe a new one was easily created either by a single bone or reusing some of the elements and replacing the broken part with a similar material or a completely new one. Any discarded piece could either be reused for other purposes, tossed into the wilderness or a bonfire, thus making it difficult for archaeologists to collect and identify bone pipes.

The absence of bone pipes and the poorly documented and scarce distribution of stone pipes in the archaeological record are possibly partly due to the entangled form of these objects, as a miss-match of diverse reused and processed materials, but also given its estimated time of use and amounts of produced items, and finally, its geographical extent restricted to the Hijaz.

Hopefully this short article can draw the attention of archaeologists and pipe enthusiasts to become familiar with the use and form of bone pipes in the Ottoman Middle East, and thereby recognizing it as a category of material culture. This in turn, would sharpen our look and rectify the lack of material evidence.

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# The *other* Turkish pipe: the legacy of an ottoman original, the *chibouk*

by Ben Rapaport

## Introduction

The associated communities of pipe smokers and pipe collectors are well aware of the significance of Turkey and its skilled craftsmen in mining meerschaum, and in the manufacture and export of finished meerschaum tobacco pipes. However, too few know that at a much earlier time, Turkey was the epicentre for the original design, production and extensive use of the *chibouk*, another tobacco pipe made from a different medium, terracotta clay. In recent years, much has been written about the discoveries of *chibouk* pipe bowls and shards at various archaeological sites in Eastern Europe and in the Middle East. This essay illuminates the *chibouk* as a unique Ottoman pipe, as a work of art, and as a cultural and social phenomenon.

As preamble to this manuscript, in 'Oriental Smoking', the author noted:

In India a hookah, in Persia a *nargilly*, in Egypt a *sheesha*, in Turkey a *chibouque*, in Germany a meerschaum, in Holland a pipe, in Spain a cigar - I have tried them all. The art of smoking is carried by the Orientals to perfection (Anon. 1832, 255).

Unlike the author, I have not tried them all, but of them all, I have chosen to write exclusively about the Turkish *chibouque* as a pipe format, without regard for the various tobaccos - an altogether fascinating study itself - that were customarily smoked in it. Anecdotally, other than the warrior army made of terracotta - as many as 8,000 soldiers, 130 chariots with 520 horses, and 150 cavalry horses - dating from 210BC, and discovered in Shaanxi Province, China, in 1974 - I know of no other artefact made exclusively and so extensively of this clay that has drawn as much attention or interest in the past quarter - century as the Turkish *chibouk*.

Researching this pipe has been a worthwhile endeavour, and it confirms how perceptive and prescient was the late collector and friend, Dr. Irnák Osskó, and his colleague Ferenc Levárdy who stated in their illustrated opus *Our Pipe-Smoking Forebears* (1994): 'The *chibouk* really deserves a separate chapter' (Levárdy 1994, 88). I concur, and I hope that the reader will, too. Given the proximity of the Ottoman Empire to Europe, it is easy to forget just how markedly different its people were in comparison to their western neighbours, specifically in regard to the art and craft of this tobacco pipe and their custom of pipe smoking.

The English introduced tobacco to the Turks in the early 1600s. Some historians suggest that the introduction was precisely 1600/1601 (1009 Hejira) during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I. Other research has claimed that tobacco was in use in the Ottoman Court as early as 1576, but the focus of this essay is the pipe, not the tobacco, so the question of exactly when tobacco was introduced is moot. In 1633, Sultan Murad IV declared smoking punishable by beheading or being drawn and quartered. West states:

He (Murad IV) caused some to be hanged with a pipe through their nose, others with tobacco hanging about their neck, and never pardoned any for that' (West 1934, 44).

West was not alone in this charge. According to Napier:

.....(t)he first person who introduced the use of tobacco into the land of the Osmanli, is said to have been punished by having his nose perforated, a pipe-stick passed through the aperture, and in this state to have been paraded about Constantinople, 'in terrorem,' to all those who might have felt an inclination to indulge in so baneful a custom (Napier 1842, 132).

That decree had little effect on the populace, and in 1655 smoking was, once again, allowed in Turkey. After Ottoman women learned how to smoke from men, by the dawn of the eighteenth century, they, too, took pleasure in the puff.

## Introducing the *chibouk*

Anyone who has smoked a meerschaum pipe, visited a tobacco shop, or attended a pipe exhibition knows that nearly all meerschaum pipes for sale around the world are exported from Turkey as finished pipes made from this mineral dug out of the mines of Eskişehir, a city about 220 miles southeast of Istanbul. Today, Turkey is the only country that has a substantial supply of this raw mineral and a cast of diligent carvers who have been crafting pipes exhibiting myriad assorted motifs for at least a half-century.

Yet there is another Turkish tobacco pipe, one that was also exported for a time, a pipe made of a different material - deep red (chestnut) terracotta clay - that is singularly national (Fig. 1). It is the true Ottoman pipe, the long-stemmed *chibouk*, somewhat neglected or forgotten in the annals of pipe history. Until fairly recently, very little scholarly research had been conducted on this pipe, but that has all changed for the better, as will be revealed later in this essay. Interestingly, there is a recent resurgence in smoking these Middle-eastern pipes. With the popularity of *hookah* (or *shisha*) lounges and bars around the world, several new books in English and French offer a detailed history and the 'how-to' of these water pipes; the three eastern Mediterranean pipes, with assorted spellings, are essentially synonymous in their use: *hookah* (Indian), *nargileh* (Arabic), and *shisha* or *ghalyun/kalioun* (Persian).



**Figure 1:** Generic chibouk bowl and decorated stem with bulbous ivory mouthpiece (photograph by Darius Peckus).

According to an anonymous article in *Harper's Magazine* '(t)he Turkish *Tchibouk* holds a middle place between the hookah and meerschaum' (Anon. 1855a, 11). This pipe was in use much before the Turks began making meerschaum pipes, and it pretty much ceased to exist in the early twentieth century, while the 'white goddess' of pipes continues to be produced and exported.

The *çibuk* (anglicized *chibouk*, *chibuk*, *chibouque*, *tchibouk*, *tschibouk* and, sometimes, *ciunoux*), means shoot, twig, or staff, most likely a reference to the pipe's long stem; for the remainder of this essay, wherever possible, I use '*chibouk*'. The origin of the word is still in question. Supposedly, it comes from central Asia where its original meaning was a herdsman's pipe or flute. Matthee states:

....these pipes were known in Turkish and Persian as *chupuq* or *chapuq*, a cognate of the Persian word for wood, *chub* and rendered in English as *chibouk*' (Matthee 2005, 134).

The *chibouk* was also very popular in the northern and north-western, Turkish-speaking regions of Persia. Here is an embellished declaration:

It would be a long list were I to give all the names for what we call a *chibouk*; there are, perhaps, a hundred and fifty; I myself know upwards of fifty. It is generally known by a different name among every different people (Anon. 1852a, 64).

I, for one, do not believe this writer's exaggerated assertion as to the extraordinary number of names for the *chibouk*!

The earliest mention of the *chibouk* I found was by William Lithgow in 1632. He had travelled to Aleppo and Damascus, and noticed that Turkish tobacco pipes were more than a yard long, and its three parts - the bowl, stem, and mouthpiece - were joined with lead or white iron. The following is one interpretation of how the *chibouk* evolved:

In the earlier stages the pipe was made of one entire piece of clay; but soon the fact was established that this substance became so heated as to decompose the tobacco. Metallic and other pipes were tried, but still the same evil existed; until wood, especially brier-wood, became the most popular. But that also being combustible, the flavour of the tobacco was deteriorated, and at last the arrangement was made

of a stem of wood with a bowl of clay attached to it, to contain the ignited plant (Oscanyan 1886).

Parenthetically, I encountered the description of a very early and, I must assume from the above citation, experimental wood-bowl *chibouk*:

Algeria, another of the countries of northern Africa, where the Arab and the Arab Pipe have set their unmistakable seal, has a very marked type of Tobacco-pipe whose shape has been so often copied in France and our own country at different times that it is now very familiar to everyone who smokes. Here is one such *Tschibouk*, some twenty inches long, its wooden bowl inlaid with brass, its stem of black and white ivory, further adorned with brass wire; producing a wonderfully striking combination, - an effect, indeed, properly to be described as *Arabesque*: a Pipe of Romance! Yet another has its bowl inlaid with pearl, haleotis, and brass wire (Copes 1893, 51).

Before advancing this story further, there is a titbit about the *chibouk* that is not well known and hardly mentioned in primary sources. John Tallis's History and Description of the Crystal Palace, and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851 (1852) acknowledges two discrete variants, and Billings similarly asserts in a segment of his book devoted to Turkish Chibouques and Wood Pipes:

The stiff-stemmed Turkish pipes, quite different from the flexible tube of the *hookah* and *narghile*, are of two kinds, the *kablioun* or long pipe, and the *chibouque* or short pipe.... The tubes of the *kabliouns* are often as much as seven or eight feet long (Billings 1875, 157).

Beyond these two ephemeral claims, and another cited later in this essay, I have come up empty for further details about the *kablioun* variant. The possibility exists that these three sources may have confused *kablioun* with the near-proximate spelling of *kalioun*, the Persian word for water pipe; that is, their so-called 'long pipe' might have been a pipe with one or more of those *long*, flexible hoses, i.e., the *kalioun*.

### Prominence in Orientalist art

It is near impossible to describe in few words the historical significance of the *chibouk*. The task of detailing its influence on art and literature is also daunting, more so than the recorded impact on society and culture by any other pipe genre. So, first travel with me through the surreal world of the *chibouk* in art - I discuss literature at the end of this treatise - and then to this pipe in the real world. Look closely at any painting of a harem's typical occupants - a lusty female slave or a concubine - in the Odalisque and Orientalist interpretations of Léon Benouville, Frederick Arthur Bridgman, Richard Dadd, Eugène Delacroix, Achille Devéria, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres, Étienne Liotard, Mariano

Fortuny Marsal, and many others, and you might see a *chibouk* or a *nargileh* or both - the two earliest modes of smoking tobacco in Turkey - in use or included as special effects. Joan Delplato expresses it succinctly:

The pipe is probably the most frequently used object in the tradition of harem pictures, and it most readily identifies the exotic harem locale... In harem images there are two kinds of pipes - the *chibouk* and the *hookah* or *narghile* (Delplato 2002, 111).

And other paintings, such as Théobald Chartran's 'The *Chibouk* Smoker,' Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps's 'Le *Fumeur de Chibouk*,' and Charles Theodore Frère's, 'The Warrior's Rest' depicting a mid-eastern souk, coffeehouse or *casbah* café might include one or more locals drinking mocha and smoking the *chibouk*.

The appearance of the *chibouk* was not limited only to harem and *casbah* art. It also appealed to artists, dignitaries and intellectuals in the West. In the still very popular *The Book of Pipes & Tobacco* (1974), Carl Ehwa included not only a nineteenth-century engraving of *chibouks* and a *nargileh*, Delacroix's painting, 'Turque *Fumant* (a *chibouk*) *Assis sur un Divan*,' c1850, and Liotard's pastel, 'Turkish Lady with Her Attendant' (the lady holds a very long-stemmed *chibouk*), c1750, but also Constantin Hansen's 1837 painting, 'Et *selskap af danske kunstnere i Rom*' (A Group of Danish Artists in Rome), in which three of the six men are smoking *chibouks*! It is known that King Ludwig II (1845-1886) - 'Mad Ludwig' - spent hours at the Moorish Kiosk, an exotic building on the grounds of Schloss Linderhof, in Bavaria, dressed in oriental costume, smoking his *chibouk*, and dreaming that he was an oriental prince. On display at the Tobacco Museum in Prilep, Macedonia, is the *chibouk* belonging to the last Romanov czar, Nikolai II. Britain's Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, a frequent traveller to the East, was to have said: 'My pipe is cooled in a wet bag, my coffee is boiled with spices, and I finish my last *chibouk* with a sherbet and pomegranate.' Some of the pipes he purchased in the bazaars and sent to his home in Bradenham, England were as much as nine feet in length. Considering himself an accomplished smoker, and enamoured with the pipes of Turkey, the main character, Vivian Grey, in Disraeli's novel by the same name, speaks to Miss Manners:

Here am I lounging on an ottoman, my ambition reaching only so far as the possession of a *chibouque*, whose aromatic and circling wreaths, I candidly confess, I dare not here excite (Disraeli 1826, 36).

Another distinguished nineteenth-century British gentleman, Sir Samuel White Baker, explorer, game hunter, and writer, who held the title of Pasha and Major General in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, remarked: 'But a pipe! - the long '*chibook*' of the Turk, would have made our home a paradise!' (Baker 1868, 92). It is evident

that the *chibouk*'s influence spread at least as far west as the Isle of Jersey. In *The (Tourist) Guide to Jersey* (1881) appeared a full-page advertisement in verse form for W. C. Shave, 8, Queen Street, a retailer of smoker's requisites. I quote a relevant stanza:

Chibouk, Hookah, Meerschaum, Clay,  
Tempt the lovers of the pipe,  
Cigars, Tobaccos, unalloyed,  
In prime condition, rich and ripe.

### A lifestyle essential

In that day, any reference to pipe smoking in Turkey automatically signified either the *chibouk*, or the *nargileh*, or both. The *chibouk* has been described as a pipe of ceremony; a pipe 'unequaled as an implement for smoking'; 'a symbol of masculinity'; 'a mark of distinction reserved for persons of very exalted rank'; 'eminently good for health'; to be of high value; a pipe that was passed from father to son. Lord Kinross considered this pipe to be nearly 'the national emblem' of the Ottoman Empire. On background, how important was this pipe in Turkish culture and custom? Here is a colourful explanation from Samuel S. Cox (1852):

A Turk without his *chibouque*, would be like a man without a nose...He gives it prominence above everything, except the Koran - above the feast, the bath, and the turban.

Alfred De Bessé reported:

A Turk rarely goes out without his pipe and tobacco; the former is divided into two or three pieces, which fasten together by silver screws, and it is carried in a cloth cover, attached to a belt under the coat (De Bessé 1854, 175).

According to *Adventures With My Stick & Carpet Bag; Or What I Saw in Austria and the East*:

But a *chibouk* will almost smoke itself, if you will only light it; and, with its mild Turkish tobacco, tempts almost any man to become a devotee to the weed, at least while in Turkey (Anon 1855b, 103-104).

This attachment of a Turk to his *chibouk* is not exaggerated:

In fact, the '*chibouk*' is the Osmanli's meat and drink, the breath of his nostrils, the food of both body and mind; the companion of his domestic happiness, as well as of his hours of business; the sharer of his toils, and his partner in danger. The beloved *chibouk* accompanies him into the recesses of the harem, into the council-hall and the banqueting-room; it has even a place at his saddle-bow, when supporting toils and dangers of travel and warfare. Like a favourite and favoured child, he lavishes his riches on its adornment,

and his fortune is known by the costliness of his pipe, which is clothed in silk and fine garments, and capped with an amber mouth-piece, richly ornamented, and often worth large sums (Napier 1842, 193-194).

When a Turk broke his fast, the first priority was not to eat, but to smoke his *chibouk*. 'Nothing can be done in Turkey without smoking. The orthodox way of doing it is by a *chibouk*,' averred Mr. George Crawshay, Esq., to the Newcastle Foreign Affairs Association on December 22, 1874 (Anon. 1875, 85). The same Samuel S. Cox also wrote:

It is thought that the black coffee and solacing *chibouque*, the cross-legged position, and the seeming leisure, laziness and obesity of the Turk, are signs of that contentment which can only be found in the fatalistic East (Cox 1887, 606).

A local adage is also worthy of mention: Give a Turk a mat to sleep on, a pipe, and a cup of coffee, and you give him the sum total of all earthly enjoyments. The significance of both pipes to these people was summed up nicely by Charles Jones (1873):

The *chibouk* may, at times, be associated with the poetical reveries of the Oriental day-dreamer, and the *hookah* with pleasant fancies of the Anglo-Indian reposing in the shade of his bungalow.

Oscanyan explains:

One reason of the luxury displayed in the Turkish pipe is, that the *chibouk* is an indispensable appendage of hospitality, always presented to the guests, and constantly changed and replaced by another, each successive pipe exceeding its predecessor in beauty and value, until the visit is terminated. The *chibouks* and *nargillés* are symbols of luxury and wealth among the Osmanlis (Ottoman Turks)...and there is great ambition to excel each other in the costliness of their appurtenances of smoking. Many of the pashas and other men of wealth possess *chibouks* to the value of \$50,000, ranging from \$10 upwards (Oscanyan 1857, 307).

This gesture of hospitality accorded to guests is not much different than the symbolic significance of the shared peace pipe - the calumet - between the Native American and the White Man in the New World. Murray paints an interesting word portrait of the *chibouk* and its owner:

You know a man's character and pretensions by the length and richness of his pipe...(a) Pacha sports a cherry stick 6 feet long, artistically jointed, mounted with clouded amber, and set with brilliants, with the bowl as large as a coffee-cup, elegantly moulded and richly gilt...This lordly pipe may cost from £20 to £100; the bag which

contains the *Latakia*, is made from the flowered borders of the rich Cashmere, and the pipe, cup, and slipper-bearer, and the Pacha, are all the slaves of this lordly chibouk (Murray 1871, 82).

Charles Dickens elaborates further:

I was informed that the collection of pipes possessed by one of the pashas had cost 30,000£ sterling, and it was said the diamonds which decorated a single pipe sometimes used by the Viceroy of Egypt, represented a tenth of that amount in value. Independently of rings of large diamonds round the amber mouthpiece, it is not unusual to see tassels of diamonds suspended from the pipe. But these very costly appurtenances are used only on rare occasions.... The pride of pipes is the most ostentatious of Oriental extravagances; there is, in fact, no limit to expenditure in the jewellery which ornaments the most costly of appurtenances. Yet, precious as is the chibouk, I once saw a bey, exasperated against one of his servants, rush at him with the precious pipe he was smoking, and which he broke upon his vassal's person, while pouring out a cataract of abuse (Dickens 1860, 249).

In a word, the collective image of the Turk was a turbaned gentleman lolling in luxury, seated on cushions or recumbent on a sofa, perhaps relating supernatural tales while smoking a *hookah* or a *chibouk*!

So symbolically intertwined were the turbaned Turk, his *chibouk*, and tobacco throughout Eastern Europe that, according to Fellner:

Die Figur des Tschibuk rauchenden Orientalen diente während der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie als Signet für die Tabaktrafik: gemalt auf Türladen, als Schild über dem Eingang oder in Form einer aus Holz geschnitzten Figur.

Literally: during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the figure of the *chibouk* of the smoking Oriental served as a sign for the tobacconist's shop: either painted on the door, as a shield over the entrance, or as a carved wood figure (Fellner 2001).

It is interesting to note all the casual tourist and observer praise for the *chibouk*, but what of those who lived among the Turks? J. O. Noyes was a surgeon in the Ottoman Army who was highly critical of the *chibouk*. His 'Rambles in Bulgaria' contained something that, I am sure, no Turkish smoker of the period would have found amusing. He charged:

The pipes become longer and more cumbrous as one penetrates further in the east of Europe... The Turks will never become a progressive people until their pipes are reduced from the dimensions of feet to inches (Noyes 1856, 5).

## The epicentre of *Lülesi* production

Workshops producing *chibouk* pipe bowls probably began early in the seventeenth century, given that on record is a *chibouk* bowl dated to 1646. The foremost manufacturing centre for the *chibouk* bowl was Tophane, a district located in Beyoğlu on the European side of Istanbul, a centre known for the production of fine pottery objects, such as cups and saucers, ashtrays, compotes, ewers, other household wares, and the Tophane pipe, '*Tophane lülesi*' (not to be confused with *lületasi*, the Turkish word for meerschaum). No doubt, they probably also produced the *lüle*, the chillum - or tobacco pipe bowl - of the *nargileh*. Until the late 1800s, there were as many as 50 shops in the Tophane district making such bowls; one street in the district is still called *Lüleci Hendeği* (*Lüleci Hendek* Street), known locally as Pipe-maker's Hollow. There were other centres around the country, such as Avanos, Burghaz, Edirne, Iznik, and Toprakkale, but Tophane was the most prolific; no doubt, the best bowls came from Constantinople, because in this very city the pipe makers' guild was established. There is evidence that the Turks not only had a robust pipe export business, but also exhibited their wares at various European and international expositions. For example, at the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, a few merchants exhibited *chibouk* bowls and related accoutrements: 'Tobacco pipes of Turkish clay with various designs' from Kassian Held, Nürnberg, 'Turkish clay tobacco pipes' from H. Wöbke, 'Scented agriot cherry-tubes for tobacco-pipes' from Michael Biondek, Vienna, and silk and gold pipe tassels from Egypt (Great Exhibition Catalogue 1852, 1101).

Similar wares were produced at Es Siout (Osioot), Egypt, why, perhaps, the casual observer, not a serious student of pipe lore, came to believe that the *chibouk* originated in Egypt. Warner's guidebook, somewhat reinforces this belief:

The Pipe of Egypt is the *chibouk*, a stem of cherry five feet long with a small clay bowl, however richly it may be ornamented, furnished with a costly amber mouthpiece, wound with wire of gold, and studded, as it often is, with diamonds and other stones of price, it is, at the best, a stiff affair;.....(Warner 1907, 181).

Furthermore, Seward makes the following reference to Egypt:

The bowl of the *chibouque* is of the red clay of Egypt, the stem, five feet long, of the fragrant Danubian willow, with an amber mouth-piece eight inches long. The Princess Validé's *chibouque* had a jasmin-stem and mouth-piece of black amber profusely set with diamonds (Seward 1873, 535).

No doubt, the *chibouk* was prevalent throughout Egypt, but it did not originate there. Similarly, the pipes of Bokhara (Uzbekistan) and Khirghiz (Afghanistan) are derived from

the Turkish *chibouk*, and while their stems are long and straight, they are shorter than those associated with the *chibouk*.

At the end of the fifteenth century Bosnia, together with much of eastern and southern Europe, fell under the Ottoman Empire. With the arrival of the Ottomans, and until the Austro-Hungarian monarchy occupied that country in the 1870s, *chibouk* bowls were among the handicrafts developed in a number of Bosnian localities. As well, terracotta pipe bowls have been discovered at archaeological digs in Greece, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen, evidence suggesting that these countries may have produced their own, rather similar bowls.

When the cigarette was popularized in the mid-nineteenth century - during the Crimean War, most British, French, Russian and Ottoman soldiers smoked the cigarette - along with the opening of a few cigarette factories toward the end of that century, the custom of smoking these long-tube pipes began to gradually fade, along with the ceremony of pipe distributing and lighting, described later. By 1921, it is believed that only one craftsman was plying this trade, and the last shop was to have shuttered in 1928. According to St. J. Simpson:

....(t)he last pipe-maker in Istanbul died in A.D. 1928, although others appear to have lingered on as late as the 1950s in other parts of the Middle East' (Simpson 1990).

Personally, I find these two events occurring in the same year - the shuttering of the last shop and the death of the last pipe maker - much too coincidental. Regardless, sometime in the early twentieth century, the *chibouk*, an emblem of the Ottoman imperial rule, went the way of the empire. According to Schechter whereas coffeehouse proprietors protected the water pipes because they could rent them to clients, the *chibouk* was fast going out of fashion and escaped local collective memory, the pipe guilds were slowly disappearing, and the industry eventually became obsolete. In the glossary of Schechter's book appears the following statement:

Manufacturing of *chibouks* was also an important industry. The *chibouk* disappeared during the second half of the nineteenth century when the cigarette was introduced (Schechter 2006, 209).

Others, as indicated earlier, believe that the *chibouk's* demise occurred sometime in the early twentieth century.

## A Turkish revival

### The bowl: part the first (configuration)

Except for the occasional mention in an archaeological or ethnological report or a study on Ottoman Empire culture, not much attention has been paid to the *chibouk*, and most books on antique pipes, including my own, mention this pipe format only in passing. John Hayes's 1980 study, an

important archaeological survey, established a provisional typology and chronology for *chibouk* bowls, identifying 27 discrete types. Then, in 1993, a certain Dr. Erdinç Bakla, a ceramicist by avocation, wrote the text, originally begun as a master's thesis in 1967, for a lushly illustrated retrospective catalogue to accompany an exhibit of Tophane pipes and other terracotta objects sponsored by Turkey's Dişbank (Bakla 2007). Bakla calculated, from his own estimate, that there were at least nine bowl configurations in varying sizes from quite small to large, each shaped like an inverted cone: conical, cylindrical, tulip-shaped (everted), hemispherical, surmounted by a cylinder, crater-rimmed, crater-rimmed on a flower-shaped base, octagonal-shaped cylinder, and flattened sphere (Figs. 2 and 3). The general design of this urn-like shape was to:

....present a greater surface of exposure to the atmosphere, and to bring a smaller body of tobacco in contact with the bowl, which is made as thin and delicate as the nature of the material will permit, so as to possess the least quantity of body, and thus less power of retaining heat' (Oscanyan 1886).

Parenthetically, in a book written solely for pipe smokers, not pipe historians, an American pipe maker Karl Weber reports on a bowl configuration that is not mentioned in Bakla, in any research monograph or any archaeological report I have encountered:

At the base of the pipe there are often several apertures into which additional stems may be placed, thereby making the *chibouk* a most sociable pipe' (Weber 1965, 66).

If true, then there was some design synergy between the *chibouk* and the *nargileh* in that some of each were configured to accept multiple hoses for simultaneous participation by several smokers.

Uzi Baram, a noted anthropologist, and probably the most prolific writer on ancient Ottoman archaeological finds, noted that the shank also assumed various configurations: triangular, rectangular, hand-shaped, and flower-shaped. Bowls had a flattened base so that they could rest on the ground, because the *chibouk* smoker sat cross-legged or reclined. There were various finishes: unglazed, glazed, fired (black finish), and white. It is believed that the Tophane pipe-makers were specialists in producing burnished-black *chibouk* bowls, and reserved this technique for their finest pipes. Bowls were thrown and moulded on a potter's wheel, formed in plaster moulds as a model, then reformed in a metal (most often of lead) mould, removed and allowed to dry. Supposedly, this clay composition starts out as yellow and becomes a deep pink, or chestnut, colour during baking. One source described the clay as 'finely mixed orange ware without grits, firing gray at the core and light orange at the surfaces.' According to Oscanyan:

A peculiar species of clay was discovered in Turkey so remarkably argillaceous as to supersede



*Figure 2: Another generic chibouk bowl (photograph by Darius Peckus).*



*Figure 3: Two variant styles of chibouk bowls (photograph by Darius Peckus).*

all other substances for the construction of pipe-bowls; and these Oriental and philosophic smokers have displayed their wisdom and science in the peculiar form into which they have moulded them (Oscanyan 1857, 305).

But where in Turkey? Bakla makes slight mention of two sources for this clay, Burghaz and Rusçuk (now in Bulgaria). Another claims that the clay was from a local source in Stamboul (Constantinople); another states that the clay came from the Van region of Eastern Turkey; and a mid-nineteenth century report indicated that the mixture was the red clay of Nish (now Serbia) and the white earth of Roustchouk (Could this be Bakla's Rusçuk?). Yet another, in the aforementioned 'History and Mystery of Tobacco' stated: 'The bowls are made of earth found near Thebes, and are of handsome design and richly gilt' (Anon. 1855a, 11). Finally, there is this from Jane Haldimand Marcet:

The bowls are made of a clay called *kefkil*, found in Asia Minor and Greece. In its native state, it is soft and white, but when baked, it becomes hard; and, unlike the English pipe-clay, turns to a black or red colour (Marcet 1830, 19).

Decoration, if applied, was left to the artisan's imagination.

There were innumerable incised decorative patterns appearing on these bowls, as well as the application of gold and silver leaf, *niello*, even encrusted semi-precious jewels. Occasionally, one can encounter a bowl entirely wrapped in tightly-woven brass or silver wire and decorated with assorted, coloured glass beads (Fig. 4). In essence, the *chibouk* bowl was quite variable in terms of shapes, motifs, even colours. Few bowls exhibited a date of manufacture, but often the maker's mark would be stamped; it came into use during the eighteenth century and, by the nineteenth century, very few pipes were found without a maker's mark. Anecdotally, the prized *chibouk* bowls, the best of today's collecting breed, are the late nineteenth-century chased, engraved, and filigreed silver and cast bronze varieties - more likely a Persian variant - the history of which has yet to be told (Figs. 5 and 6).

Bakla further reports on the production of pipe bowls:

Shops varied in appointment from the luxurious to the ramshackle and each craftsman's pipes were distinctively different from those of his rivals. Every atelier designed and prepared its own moulds and a single shop offered at least twenty different models. There were even ateliers that catered to specific clientele, producing pipes for



**Figure 4:** Chibouk bowl with wind cover and retaining chain, overlaid with woven, brass-wire protective cover (photograph by Darius Peckus).



**Figure 5:** *Persian chibouk variant; wood bowl with inlaid ivory dots and patterned silver-wire décor (photograph by Darius Peckus).*



**Figure 6:** *Three Persian chibouks with their associated wood stems, top and bottom bowls of brass, centre bowl of wood with inlaid mother-of-pearl décor (photograph by Darius Peckus).*

sale to a particular religious sect or profession that were stamped with a distinctive emblem indicative of the group (Bakla 2007, 36).

In this, I find little difference between how these shops operated and how later western European porcelain, wood, and meerschaum pipe manufactories functioned and catered to patrons.

### **The bowl: part the second (provenance)**

Much conjecture regarding both the origin of the *chibouk* bowl's configuration and its manufacture remain. Dunhill (1924, 235) noted that roughed-out meerschaum pipe bowls exported from Turkey resembled the *chibouk* bowl in their 'general outline and proportion'. Wilson observed that many of the ancient clay pipes found in the mounds of Florida, South Carolina, and in the Mississippi Valley bear:

.....so near a resemblance to that of the red clay pipe used in modern Turkey, with the cherry-tree pipe-stem, that it might be supposed to have furnished the model (Wilson 1857, 330).

J. W. Dawson, writing about prehistoric American pipe forms had a similar opinion on the *chibouk* construct:

These 'mound-pipes' (pipes found in the ancient burial mounds of Native Americans) usually represent bowl and tube in one piece, thus differing from the modern Indian pipe, which consists of a bowl and long wooden stem, and bears a distant resemblance to the *chibouk* of the Turks' (Dawson 1880, 149).

Others have chimed in with a similar analogy, but I think that Silberman assumes too many geographic, economic, and cultural ties:

And the *chibouk* or small clay pipe bowl, common throughout the Ottoman Empire - was derived from the traditional types of the native American tribes of Florida and the lower Mississippi Valley, and spread through the agency of French and Portuguese traders to Africa and ultimately to the Near East (Silberman 1989, 228-243).

Baram declares:

The early tobacco pipes in the Middle Eastern part of the empire (rather than in Istanbul) look surprisingly similar to examples in West Africa. The reason may be quite simple: the shape and designs of clay tobacco pipes in the Middle East originated in the styles from West Africa.

The English-style kaolin pipe probably influenced initial styles in the imperial centre of the Ottoman Empire (Baram 2002, 141-2).

There is a thread of truth to this, because a number of clay bowls from Ghana (West Africa) have several similarities to the *chibouk* bowl, but to my knowledge, no one has yet posited a logical relationship between Ghana and the Levant.

Baram also offers a comment regarding manufacture in the same essay: by the late nineteenth century, '(t)he French are manufacturing Turkish tobacco pipes for the Ottoman markets' (Baram 2002, 143). I suspect that if all those Turkish artisans of long ago read this, they would take issue with him. Elsewhere, I read that *chibouk* bowls were exported to Germany to be 'polished and finished with great elegance.' Perhaps, like Baram's claim about the French that I find hard to believe, this second observation might be an urban legend, or this other person confused *lületasi* - meerschaum - with *lülesi*. A more likely scenario than Baram's is the connection between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the two countries shared a border. The proximity and association of these two peoples influenced Hungarian pipe makers who crafted pipe bowls that closely resembled the shape and style of those made by their Ottoman neighbours. Ample proof of their similarity, what the Hungarians identify as *tajtécsibuk* (meerschaum pipe bowls), and *cserépcsibuk* (terracotta pipe bowls) is found in several line drawings in Levárdy, *Our Pipe-Smoking Forbears* (1994), and in the many illustrated examples in the retrospective catalogue of the Blaskovich Museum (Haider and Ridovics 2005). Notice the proximate spelling of *chibouk* and *csibuk*.

In this regard, I also believe that there is a parallel between the configuration of the *chibouk* and the earliest Western European pipes, as Alfred Dunhill noted in his book. Austro-Hungarian, German, and Scandinavian meerschaum pipes (and, later, many German, Austrian, and Danish porcelain and wood pipes) were also married to long wood stems similar to those used with the *chibouk*. Those others were collectively called lap pipes, because the smoker sat, squatted, reclined or stood at a distance from his pipe bowl and needed assistance to fill, light and empty it, a rather awkward and cumbersome procedure with such an elongated stem.

### **Marriage of bowl, 'stick' and mouthpiece**

#### **The bowl**

The *chibouk* bowl had to be paired with a stem, also an art form - not just any old tree branch or knotty twig - and a mouthpiece. Just as there were varieties in the shape and ornamentation of the bowl to be had, so it was true for the stem, euphemistically called 'stick,' and the mouthpiece (Fig. 7).

#### **The stick**

According to Dodd: 'The Turks make pipe-stems of cherrytree, mock-orange, and jasmine wood, the second of which has great power of absorbing the tobacco oil....' (Dodd 1869, 283). Maple, rosewood, and moussa (the Judea tree) were also made into stems. Typically, dark-



**Figure 7:** Turkish smoker's set in fitted case consisting of chibouk bowl with repoussé silver overlay, three sections of an ebony wood stem, amber mouthpiece, and reaming/cleaning tools (photograph by Darius Peckus).

red stems were cherry from Asia Minor, and rough, light-brown stems were jasmine saplings from Albania. According to Billings, 'Some of the gardens of Turkey and Greece contain jasmine trees purposely cultivated to produce straight stems for these pipes' (Billings 1875, 158). Stems typically measuring a meter or more were for home use. A nineteenth century note describes sticks:

The sticks of which the pipe is composed are of various sorts; the best are the cherry-sticks, which are found finest in Constantinople. The young sticks are trained up straight and strong, but most of those that are largest and handsomest are joined, which is done so neatly that, till smoked, it is impossible to detect the joining; these last a considerable time, and are elegant. Others are made of Jessamine, rose - in fact of any wood - and some are ornamented with silk and embroidery (Anon. 1853).

De Kay comments on the significance of the stick's length:

The trades in which the greatest proficiency is displayed are the coppersmiths, wood-carvers, and pipe-makers.... In no article, perhaps, do the Turks display more ostentation and extravagance than in their pipes. This is carried so far, that for a single amber head we have known the sum of \$300 to be paid, and have even heard a larger sum mentioned.... The rank and station of an individual are in some degree measured by the length of his pipe-stem, which must be of cherry or jessamine of the natural growth. Thus the diplomatic length of a pipe-stem belonging to an officer of the court

cannot be less than six feet; a merchant or trader may sport a *chibook* of four feet; while a *caikgee*, or waterman, solaces himself with a twelve or eighteen inch tube (De Kay 1833, 369-370).

Some 50 years later, Oscanyan offered his rationale for the extreme length of the stick:

The object gained by the length is that the smoke arrives at the lips comparatively cool, and having in its passage deposited the more solid particles in the stem, in a state of purity, and being straight, is easily cleaned; for, contrary to German philosophy, the stem must be kept clean and sweet. Still another advantage gained by the length is, that the pipe may be easily disposed of for the moment, resting by the side or against a table without deranging the tobacco in the bowl, which has a flat bottom, and is, moreover, guarded by a brass tray beneath it to protect the floor from any accident (Oscanyan 1886, 654-655).

From a medical and scientific point of view, most experiments and studies of the common practice of smoking conclude that in pipe smoking, considerable difference exists depending on the length of the pipe stem. In the long-stemmed pipe, the smoke is cooled before reaching the smoker's mouth, and much of the nicotine condenses in the stem. The following may be a true or a spurious claim - absent scientific proof - but according to Hare (1885): 'The different methods of using tobacco are harmful in the following order: chewing, cigarette smoking, cigar smoking, pipe smoking, Turkish-pipe smoking'. In degree of harmfulness, he essentially stated that the Turkish chibouk was way ahead of its time.

Also:

The stick itself is common dog-wood, or cherry, or Jessamine; and as the pipe-maker is always at hand, and will bore a stick in two minutes at any time, it is not uncommon for a host to have branches of roses or other plants loaded with fragrant blossoms bored for pipe-sticks, and handed to his guests fresh from the garden (Anon. 1856).

And at least one observer reports that *chibouk* stems varied with the season:

In summer, too, the *chibouque* of cherry-wood, brought from the Balkan, is exchanged for the lighter jessamine tube of Damascus or Aleppo, covered with fawn-coloured silk and fringed with silver (Bulwer 1832).

And from another source:

In your comings and goings among the cloudy people, the stalls of tobacconists, and dealers in pipe-bowls, amber mouthpieces, and cherry-sticks catch your eye....Property of no little value are superfine pipe-sticks of cherry and jasmine. The cherry-tube, straight as a dart, its smooth bark bright as if French polished; the straw-coloured jasmine, six feet long, without knot or blemish, tempt many a Turk to sin against the tenth commandment (Thou shalt not covet...). Few things so choice five hundred piastres are often offered and refused (Anon. 1858).

For the machine-tool-savvy pipe researcher, Klunzinger provides a very detailed explanation of the stick-maker's drilling technique:

We halt with astonishment before the stall of a workman who is using a strange kind of boring-tool. Holding in one hand a bow something like a fiddle bow, the string of which he has twisted round an upright rod, he gives the rod a rapid circular movement by urging the bow backwards and forwards. In this way a piece of iron wire projecting above the rod, and having a lancet-like point, cuts its way deeper and deeper into the heart of the reed which he holds down on the top of it with his other hand. With a few strokes, which produce a scratching, rattling sound, he produces an excellent tube for a tobacco-pipe. Beside him sits an assistant or brother, the *turner*. The whole of his portable apparatus consists in a foot-board, with two small boards rising perpendicularly from it, between which the object to be turned, be it wood, bone, or amber, is firmly fixed by means of projecting pins. By the bow in his right hand this object is made to revolve on its axis, while his left hand applies the sharp steel chisel that cuts the object smooth. The apparatus is steadied by planting the naked right foot upon two cross-bars, the left upon the foot-board (Klunzinger 1878, 11-12).

Last, turning to Billings again, commenting on pipe sticks:

The wild cherry tree wood, which is the most frequently employed, is seldom free from defects in the bark, and some skill is exercised in so repairing these defective places that the mending shall be invisible (Billings 1875, 157).

### The mouthpiece

By now, the Turks were a nation of pipe smokers, and smokers must have their mouthpieces! The moneyed class insisted on bulbous mouthpieces of coral, bone, ivory, or glass and, on occasion, the addition of silken tassels, but the *crème de la crème* of mouthpieces was lustrous red, orange, or yellow amber (Figs. 8 and 9). One reason why the Turks employed amber as a mouthpiece is that they believed that amber was supposedly free of all impurities and would not transmit infections. Another reason, obviously, is amber's natural beauty, availability, and relatively low cost; it was, for all intents and purposes, the principal ornament of the *chibouk* and, in a word, a necessity. 'Sketches of Constantinople' offered this observation:

The mouthpiece of the Turkish pipe, in addition to being formed of amber, is frequently adorned with precious stones, enamelling, or carving, according to the fancy or means of the purchaser (Stone 1844, 113).

Morris makes reference to the desire for amber mouthpieces:

The amber mouth-pieces are dear, and much care is manifested in their selection; their price varies from four to five dollars to hundreds of dollars, according to the quality of the material and the richness with which it is ornamented, some being set with gold and pearl (Morris 1855, 175).

To get a further sense of the value attributed to these mouthpieces, this quotation suffices: 'For a pair of *chibouque* mouth-pieces of moderate dimensions, but well matched as to colour, sums varying from one to two hundred dollars are readily given' (Appleton 1872, 601).

And that was an article published on November 30, 1872! Gautier had this to report:

As to the amber mouthpieces, they are the object of a trade of their own; and which approaches to that of jewellery, by the value of the material and the expense incurred in working it. The amber comes chiefly from the Baltic on the shore of which it is found more abundant than anywhere else. At Constantinople, where it is very dear, the Turks prefer it of pale lemon colour, partly opaque, and desire that it should have neither spot nor flaw, nor vein; conditions somewhat difficult to combine, and which greatly enhance the price of the mouthpieces. A perfect pair of them commands



*Figure 8: Ornate filigreed silver and red amber chibouk mouthpiece (photograph by Darius Peckus).*



*Figure 9: Five amber chibouk mouthpieces--red, orange, and yellow - each a slightly different configuration, each exhibiting a different degree of ornamentation (photograph by Darius Peckus).*

as much as eight or ten thousand piastres - from £70 to £90.

A collection of pipes worth 150,000 francs (£6,000) is not at all an unusual thing among the high dignitaries or the richer private persons, in Istamboul. These precious mouthpieces are encircled with rings of gold, enamelled, and often enriched with diamonds and rubies. It is, in fact,

an Oriental mode of displaying the possession of wealth. All these pieces of amber - yellow, pale, or clouded, and of different degrees of transparency, polished, turned, and hollowed, with the utmost care - acquire, in the rays of the sun, shades of colour so warm and golden, as would make Titian jealous, and inoculate with the desire of smoking, the most resolute victim of 'tobacco phobia.' In the humbler shops, cheaper mouthpieces are to be

found, having some almost imperceptible flaw or fault, but not the less perfectly performing their office, or being the less cool and pleasant to the lips.

There are imitations of amber in Bohemian glass, of which enormous quantities are sold at paltry prices; but they are used only by the Armenians and the Greeks of the lowest class. No Turk, who has any self-respect, uses anything but the pure amber (Gautier 1875, 109–110).

Against all this high praise, there is the occasional, more precisely, the rare naysayer about amber, such as: ‘Amber or glass mouthpieces only serve to spoil the smoke, which they render pungent’ (About 1855, 275).

### **The chibouk: a thing of beauty**

When the marriage of bowl, stick and mouthpiece occurred, it was an exquisite wedding ceremony in the eyes of many. A luxuriant description of a *chibouk* is found in Louise Muhlbach’s ‘Visit to The Harem’:

The stem, four feet long, was covered with a gold network interrupted by bands of gold like rings, in which sparkled precious stones of great size; around the amber mouthpiece was a broader band set thickly with superb diamonds; the little head of gold and jewels rested in a saucer of gold upon the carpet, and the rim of this saucer was also studded with diamonds (Muhlbach 1871, 285).

In another relatively early essay, the writer acknowledges that pipes and stems came in several qualities with different levels of ornamentation, because the less wealthy, as I stated previously, also smoked the *chibouk*. Here’s an excerpt from Sonnini:

The pipes of more common wood are covered with a robe of silk tied with threads of gold. *The poor, with whom the smoke of tobacco is a necessary of first rate importance, make use of simple tubes of reed* (my emphasis). The top of the pipe is garnished with a species of mock alabaster, and white as milk: it is frequently enriched with precious stones. *Among persons less opulent, the place of this is supplied by faucets* (my emphasis). What goes into the mouth is a morsel of yellow amber, the mild and sweet savour of which, when it is heated or lightly pressed, contributes toward correcting the pungent flavour of the tobacco. To the other extremity of those tubes are adapted very handsome cups of baked clay, and which are commonly denominated the *nuts of the pipes*. Some of them are marbled with various colours, and plated over with gold leaf. You find them of various sizes: those in most general use through Egypt are more capacious; they are, at the same time, of greater distention. Almost all of them are imported from Turkey, and the reddish clay of

which they are formed is found in the environs of Constantinople (Anon. 1799, 582).

In the aforementioned *Great Exhibition Catalogue* there is a section devoted to the examination of the pipes that Turkey displayed:

There are numerous examples of the Long-pipe, or *Kablioun*, and the Short-pipe, or *Chiboque* (yet another spelling), with the Cherry-tree, Jasmine, Wild plum, and Ebony-tubes; and likewise the crude gimblets, with which these tubes, five feet or more in length, are bored...The wild cherry-tree, which is principally used, seldom occurs free from defects in the bark, to repair which, so that the reparation cannot be discovered, is the chief difficulty. There are examples of *Lulés* or Pipe-bowls used with these tubes...They are very graceful in form, and are, in some cases, ornamented with gilding, but as the Turk prefers a fresh bowl each time, the plain ones are chiefly employed on the score of economy...The *Imames* or amber Mouth-pieces exhibited in the Turkish Section surpass those of any other in splendour (Great Exhibition Catalogue 1852, 672).

Thirty years later, a visiting rapporteur had this to say about an exhibition of tobacco pipes at the Museum of Science and Art in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1880:

The Turkish case is especially attractive, resplendent as it is with rich amber, gold and precious stones, of which the bowls and stems consist, or with which they are adorned. Here is the biggest pipe in the collection - the stem, which is embroidered with silk and gold, being 5 ft. 8 in. in length (Anon. 1880).

These many citations reinforce the notion of the Turkish pursuit of, and penchant for, luxury and ostentation in their smoking implements.

Beyond the bowls, pipes, and mouthpieces illustrated in this article, the reader can find other chibouk bowl configurations illustrated at a number of Web sites and on exhibit in a number of museums (see Additional note below page 67).

### **The pipe bazaar**

The following evidences that many who travelled to Turkey usually found time to visit the bazaars, especially those stalls vending pipes. The aforementioned Dr. Murray offered this colourful description of Constantinople’s activity in the city’s bazaars:

The manufacture and sale of all the appliances and means to boot, necessary for smoking, occupy about a third or a fourth of all shops and workmen in Constantinople. There are the *Tootoon*, or tobacco-shops; the *Timbuckee* shops for *nargille* or

water pipes; shops for the sale, and workshops for the manufacture of the bowls, ditto for the pipe-sticks, ditto for the amber mouth-pieces and their tubes. Then there are manufacturers for the glass, for the brass, and for the leather appliances of the *nargille*, for the brushes to clean, and the cakes of perfumes charcoal to light the *nargille*; add to this, manufacturers of coffee-cups, coffee-pots, *chibouk* stands, makers and sellers of tobacco-bags, &c., and we may well believe that a fourth or a fifth of all the industry of Constantinople vanishes directly or indirectly in - smoke (Murray 1871, 82–83).

This account of a Turkish pipe bazaar contains an exceptional level of detail from a casual observer:

We went thence...to the pipe-stick bazaar, where I intended to be a purchaser both of amber and cherry sticks. Of the former there are two sorts; the white, creamy, or lemon-coloured amber is the most valuable; and a large mouth-piece of the very purest is sometimes worth 5000 or 6000 piastres, equal to about 50*l.* or 60*l.* sterling. The second or yellow kind, being more common, is comparatively little esteemed, for the perfection of this article consists in its being free from flaws, cracks or spots; and if the tube of wood can be seen through the amber, it is considered as very inferior in a Turk's estimation. There is a third sort, which is valueless from its transparency. It is either real or factitious, and often consists merely of the scrapings and refuse morsels, melted into lumps, and manufactured into cheap mouth-pieces.... The cost of these generally exposed for sale varies from 20 to 1500 piastres, and when one of a higher price is required, it is found in the possession of some wealthy Turkish or Armenian merchant (Auldjo 1835, 57).

Every conceivable shape, size, and finish of bowls, stems, and mouthpieces were for sale at the local speciality shop, the *chibouk* bazaar. In such a shop:

They (pipe stems) are about five feet long, and form the real *chibouk* that the Turk loves...and rows of mouthpieces, looking like sucked barley sugar, golden and transparent. The amber is all shades of yellow, from opaque lemon to burnt saffron. Some of those more shiny ones are only glass, the dearer ones have little fillets of diamonds round their necks, and are worth a purse full of piastres. Then there are dull green ones for cheap pipes (Littell 1860).

As a visitor to a pipe bazaar who took notice of the assortment of smokables for sale, Edmondo de Amicis described it thus:

The eye dwells fondly upon bundles of *chibouks*, with sticks of cherry, jasmine, maple and rosewood;

mouth-pieces of yellow amber from the Baltic, polished and lustrous as crystal, set with rubies and diamonds, and of many shades of colour (de Amicis 1896, 78).

This is another view of the pipe bazaar:

Pipe-bowls of painted clay, with stems a man's length, and mouthpieces whereon half the wealth of the happy smokers is expended; great globes of priceless amber, set with jewels and hopped with gold - it is thus that the cool incense of the *latakia* approaches the lips of him who gives his soul to peace and the extreme delight of the *chibouk* (Stoddard 1881, 94).

And for added emphasis, I offer the following:

As for the pipe-makers - busy among their stacks of jasmine, their heaps of rose-stems, their bundles of cherry-sticks, and their crates full of earthen pipe-bowls, red or fawn coloured, and more or less gilded and valuable, their amber mouthpieces, and their water-pipes with flexible tubes, vases of Bohemian glass, and jewelled inhalers - they are truly ingenious and prosperous. They drive a good trade in a land of smokers. Those amber mouthpieces range in value from eight pounds to about half a sovereign. I do not mean those extravagant temptations yonder, peeping from the coffer, and ringed about with a double circle of brilliants - but the plain ones, such as merchants use. The diamond-adorned pipes are for the lips of *seraskiers* and *capitan pachas*, wholesale robbers who can afford to invest some thousands sterling in their smoking apparatus. But the plain mouthpieces are handsome enough, great semi-transparent knobs, like small apples, perforated for the admission of ambrosial vapours. The best are of white amber; we seldom see white amber at home, for the Turks buy it up, having a prejudice against the yellow variety, which confines it to the use of economical smokers. There are glass mouthpieces, too, designed for those poor Lazes and Anatolians (Chambers 1861, 237).

In 'From Pera to Bucharest' there is this:

Then we got into Pipe Street; so christened from the occupation of its inhabitants, who are seen sitting in their open shops, which are exactly like wooden boxes with one side taken out, kneading and moulding red clay, and gilding and carving it with much cunning, and fashioning cherry and jasmin sticks, and fitting mouthpieces of glass and amber, and so composing the *tchibouk* - instrument well beloved by Turks, and well enough suited to a sedate people, sedentary in habits, and composed in motions (Anon. 1857, 207).

Each account of visitors to Turkey seems to portray the same general sense of wonder when visiting the bazaars:

Another street contains shops for the manufacture and sale of the *chibouque* and its component parts, the mouth-piece, stick, and tobacco-holder. The last is formed of red earth and shaped like the bowl of a common English pipe, but somewhat larger: the sticks are about five feet in length, of cherry or Jessamine wood; the straightest and best bear a high price; but the luxury of the Moslim is chiefly manifested in his mouth-piece, made of amber, the beauty of which consists in its paleness and opacity. The price of a *chibouque* knows no limit, as it may be set with diamonds and other precious stones to any extent (Elliott 1839, 389).

Mention was made earlier that *chibouk* bowls were also made in Egypt. This is the observation of a visitor to a Cairo pipe bazaar:

Here, for instance, is a Grand Vizier in a gorgeous white and amber satin vest, who condescends to retail pipe-bowls, - dull red clay pipe-bowls of all sizes and prices. He sells nothing else, and has not only a pile of them on the counter, but a binful at the back of the shop. They are made at Siout in middle Egypt, and may be bought at Algerian shops in London almost as cheaply as in Cairo (Edwards 1890, 9–10).

### The smoking ritual

In ‘Persian and Turkish Tobaccos,’ Oscanyan considers the pleasures of the *chibouk*:

Certainly, then, a Turkish *chibouk* is unequalled as an implement for smoking. It is the very essence of luxury, and no wonder the Turks repose for hours on their silken couches, and recline on their fluffy cushions and puff and puff again ‘ambrosial gales.’ Indeed, the pipe is their all in all - it is their ‘eye-opener’ on awaking, and their ‘nightcap’ before retiring. The women enjoy it as well as the men - in fact, everyone is a smoker. It is considered by all the Orientals that ‘a pipe and a cup of coffee is a complete entertainment’ (Oscanyan 1886, 655).

In confined areas, the *nargileh* was more convenient to smoke, because it was handier for small rooms. To be comfortable, a *chibouk* puffer required an orbit of about five feet. To observers, the *chibouk* thrown on a pillowed divan or ottoman symbolized the grand tour and a half-concealed love of tobacco. In the retinue of servants to the richest of the rich, the pasha, was a *çubukçu*, a pipe-butler, responsible for handing out pipes to visitors, and a *çubukçubasi*, a chief pipe-steward who, assisted by the *atesçi*, the fire stoker, held, filled, and lit the pipe; they were the most showy servants of the finer Turkish households. The custom would also mandate that this servant place a small copper pan on the floor in which

the pipe bowl would rest, and then, with a proper *salaam*, hand the stem to his master or his master’s guest. In a typical Turkish coffee house, a pipe-man was responsible for handing out pipes to the visitors. And to sum up by way of that anonymous author of the article, ‘Oriental Smoking’ that was cited in the introduction:

The pasha should possess many (pipes), never use the same for two days running, change the bowl with each pipe-full, and let the *chibouque* be cleaned every day, and thoroughly washed with orange flower water. All this requires great attention, and the paucity and cost of service in Europe will ever prevent any one but a man of large fortune from smoking in the Oriental fashion with perfect satisfaction to himself (Anon. 1832, 256).

For about 400 years, smoking, to a Turk, was considered a necessity, but fast-forward to the 21st century, and things are quite different today for all Turkish smokers... a seismic change in public policy and attitude! According to Hansen (2009), the initial instalment of a smoking ban went into effect in May 2008 that prohibited smoking in taxis, malls, and offices and on the Bosphorus ferries. In July 2009, all enclosed establishments had to ban tobacco products. The manager of Ali Paşa Narghile, Faruk Taş, responded: ‘I can understand banning cigarettes, but this is a water-pipe garden. This is our culture.’

### Literary fascination with the *chibouk*

In this part of the world, it is said that Oriental poets allude to coffee, opium, wine, and tobacco as the four elements of the world of enjoyment, or the four cushions of the sofa (or couch) of pleasure. This, perhaps, explains why the *chibouk* is found in so much literature. It gets honourable mention in various venues and formats. For example, in Bulgaria, New Year’s Day is called *Chibouque-gunu* (Switch Day). There’s a French song written by Louis Jourdan, ‘*Le Tchibouk*,’ a ballad by Thomas O. Davis, ‘The Sack of Baltimore,’ and Anton Chekhov’s short story, ‘The Beauties.’ While the movie adaptation of Nikos Kazantzakis’s book, *Zorba the Greek*, did not illuminate this pipe, the author makes reference to the contemplative Zorba reminiscing about his grandfather smoking a *chibouk*. There’s the ‘*Pas de Chibouque*,’ an exotic ballet interpretation of Thomas Moore’s 1817 prolonged reverie, *Lallah Rookh*. And a host of assorted other literary works that placed the *chibouk* in prominence as, for example, an 18-page quatrain, ‘Commerce’ dedicated to describing the exhibits to the 1862 International Exhibition:

Pipes of all shapes and kinds may now be seen;  
Pipes such as haply ne’er before have been:  
*Chibouk, narghilla, hooka*, meerschaums, there;  
Wondrous display, - as numerous as rare (Evanson 1868, 33-34).

Lord Byron’s ‘The Corsair,’ ‘The Smoke Traveller’ by Irving Browne, ‘The Turkish Pipe’ by C. M. Sawyer, ‘The Odalisque’ by Bayard Taylor, and ‘*Chibouque*’ by Francis

S. Saltus, about a pasha, his palace, and his pipe. One poem, in particular, resonates:

And it's oh, to be a Turk,  
To sit in a harem snug,  
All day without any work,  
On an elegant Persian rug,  
And smoke a *chibouk*, with half-shut eyes,  
And dream of the *houris* (female spouses of the righteous) in Paradise! (Shoemaker 1898).

A more hyperbolic characterization of the *chibouk* is found in a manuscript written about 1840 by Henry Forrester:

Even the ugliest Turk, with the most harem scarem countenance in the world, becomes soon as his lips kiss the smooth amber of his soulsoothing *chibouque*, as amiable and composed as a tortoise shell Tom Cat on a hearth rug, purring a base to the tenor of a copper tea-kettle (Forrester 1947, 59).

### A final word

One interesting take away from this essay is a discriminating point about the *chibouk*'s construction, as Goes recounts: 'The eastern Mediterranean is the only region where the ceramic shank pipe, with a stem of different material, was originally used (Goes 1993, 64). Goes's emphasis, I believe, is on the word 'originally' - not the word 'only' - because, at a later time, many English clay pipe manufacturers, Crop in particular, and several French clay pipe makers produced pipes that were wedged to reed, hard rubber and buffalo horn stems.

Since the publication of Bakla's book in 1993, many students of the ceramic arts, researchers, historians, and archaeologists of the Levant have taken a keen interest in the pursuit of further understanding of this native craft. In fact, since 1980, these pipes have been used as a new archaeological dating tool in the Aegean area. For additional reading, I commend any of the books and monographs that address in part or in their entirety, the *other* Turkish pipe. And if the reader is *really* serious about wanting to know more, read James Augustus St. John, *Egypt and Mohammed Ali; or Travels in the Valley of the Nile* (Volume II, 1834), an oft-quoted, much-respected history of the country. It includes a table, 'The Turkish Pipe, and Its Different Parts,' listing every component of the *chibouk* in Arabic, phonetic English, and English, accompanied by this introduction:

The Orientals, being great smokers, regard their pipes as matters of considerable importance, and have bestowed on each part of the apparatus a distinct name. To have collected the whole of the fumigatory vocabulary might have been an affair of some labour; but I subjoin the principal names for the benefit of lovers of smoke (St. John 1834, 590).

For the collector of *chibouks*, for the pipe historian, for the ceramicist or pipe artisan who might produce a *chibouk* facsimile one day, discovering this arcane information in St. John's book... well, it just doesn't get any better than this!

I conclude with a passage from *Account of the Centennial Celebration, at Danvers, Mass.*, June 16, 1852:

Then followed a Turkish tent or harem, with the grand Sultan and his family, which consisted of four wives and eight children, in the full dress of the in-door costume; the Sultan quietly enjoying a smoke from his *chibouk* as he passed along, while his wives were as happily engaged with the smaller Turkish pipes (Anon. 1852b, 109; *kadin çubuğu*, a woman's pipe, I believe).

Had I been a cub reporter for a local newspaper covering this event in, of all places, Massachusetts - pad and pencil in hand, *sans* Kodak camera (not yet invented) - I would have written this human-interest story using the following alliterative headline: 'Stylish Sultan and Sweethearts Synchronize Smoke at Sunday Social'!

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### Additional note: where to see collections of *chibouks*

*Chibouk* bowls and bowl shards can be seen at the Municipal Museum and the Topkapi Sarayi Museum, Istanbul, the Maritime Museum, Alexandria, Egypt, the Soap Museum, Sidon, Lebanon, the Regional Historical Museum, Kyustendil, Bulgaria (part of the Ottoman Empire until 1878), the West Moravian Museum in Trebic, Czech Republic, and the Museum of Macedonia, Skopje, Republic of Macedonia (tools related to *chibouk*-making). It's likely that through the years, enough old *chibouks* and bowls have been discovered to start a handful of Turkish antiques merchants in business, and as is readily seen from the several illustrations in this article, over time and with patience, one could amass quite an interesting assortment of yesterday's *chibouk* bowls. Yet were the manufacture of the Turkish *chibouk* revived today, I'd venture that it would appeal to only tourists and kitsch collectors.

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# True or false, in the wake of a legend the so called ‘pipe of the first meerschaum carver’, Károly Kovács, in the Hungarian National Museum?

by Anna Ridovics

(Translated into English by Andy Rouse)

## The legend

Whether Hungarian or international, practically all the specialist literature concerning itself with the art history of smoking refers to the legend which attaches Hungary to the birth of the meerschaum pipe. It has been recorded that a certain cobbler, Karl Kovács (Károly Kovács) of Pest, Hungary, was the first to have made two pipes in 1723, one for himself and one for a Hungarian count named Andrassy who gave him two lumps of raw meerschaum (Cudell 1927, 144-147; Dunhill 1982, 222; Frich 1936, 71; Hochrain 1978, 3; Döbler 1972; Remethey 1937; Haider 2000; Levárdy 1994/2000, 120-121; Rapaport 1979/1989, 49-50; 1999, 16). The Hungarian Count (Andrassy) was on an official mission to Turkey in 1723, received a lump of meerschaum from the Sultan Achmed III (in some reports, the lump came from the Orient in others, two lumps, not one). One elaboration on the Count details that he was an expert chess player. The Sultan challenged Andrassy and the latter lost three consecutive games. As tokens of esteem for the Count's subtle diplomacy, the Sultan gave him three gifts: a diamond encrusted dagger, two slave girls and a block of meerschaum. Returning to Pest he gave it to a cobbler who, when not making or mending shoes, made wooden pipes. The Count was his one of his patrons (Rapaport 1999, 16). Károly Kovács is also reputed to be the first meerschaum pipe-carver to treat the material with wax. According to tradition, this came about by chance. While smoking a pipe he observed with wonder the beautiful change in colour of that part which had made contact with his sticky fingers. In another version the pipe gets dropped into the wax. In this way he came to know of the magical effect whereby meerschaum, when coming into contact with wax, produces a glossy sheen, and turns a reddish - brown colour when being smoked. It is said that the one pipe he gave to Andrassy, while the other he kept for personal use. Andrassy certainly caused a stir in elite circles with his new pipe, and by the middle of the eighteenth century the aristocracy was maintaining a flourishing new industry of meerschaum pipe-carving in Pest and Vienna (Haider 2000, 62, Levárdy 1994, 118-119; 2000, 120). It is written in the specialist literature that the descendants of Count Andrassy had donated the pipe to the Hungarian National Museum.

However, nothing has been able to substantiate the legend. The thorough research of Edit Haider - who was

the first to write the history of Hungarian pipe-carving, and who for two decades was curator of the museum's pipe collection - yielded nothing. No data about Károly Kovács was unearthed. Neither the famous pipe nor any document, inventory entry or deed of gift could be found in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum. The person of Count Andrassy has been identified by many as Gyula Andrassy (1823-1890), who it is true was the deputy diplomat in Constantinople, but more than 100 years later. It is therefore understandable that serious writers on the theme have been exceptionally sceptical as regards the truth of the legend (Rapaport 1999, 17).

## The sources of the legend

What is the source of the legend? The publication of the *Wurzbach Biographisches Lexikon* (1874) made the story of Károly Kovács widely known.

Kovacs, Karl (Holzschnitzer und Erfinder der Meerschaumpfeifen, geb. In Ungarn). Lebte in Pesth um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts (1753) und schnitt aus einem Stücke Meerschaum, das ein Graf Andrassy, Ahnherr des gegenwartigen Ministers des Aeusern in Oesterreich, aus der Türkei mitgebracht, die ersten Meerschaumpfeifen und ist somit der Erfinder einer Industrie, welche nachmals so ungeheure Dimensionen an, genommen hat. Die von Kovacs verfertigte erste Meerschaumpfeife wird im ungarischen National Museum ausbewarht (Augsburger Sonntagsblatt, 40, von 5. October 1873; Wurzbach 1874, 396).

Károly Kovács (woodcarver, inventor of the meerschaum pipe, born in Hungary) lived in or around the middle of the eighteenth century (1753) in Pest, and made the first meerschaum pipe from a piece taken from Turkey by one of the ancestors of the present minister of foreign affairs for Austria, thus becoming the inventor of an industry that later spread on a very large scale. The first meerschaum pipe made by Kovács is kept in the Hungarian National Museum (translation in Levárdy 1994, 119). The lexicon takes as its source the October 5<sup>th</sup> issue of *Augsburger Sonntagsblatt* from 1873 (Appendix 1). This was the year of the Viennese World Exhibition, at which the Hungarian pipes enjoyed massive success. A hitherto unknown piece of data comes to light from the German article. The information comes from an English magazine (*eine Englische Blatt*), *The Engineer*. Unfortunately the article does not say when.

## Károly Kovács and Count Andrassy

Let us examine the elements and statements of the first sources, about the two individuals Károly Kovács and Gyula Andrassy.

**Károly Kovács**, the innovator, is a Hungarian woodcarver from Pest from the first half of eighteenth century (no more information; he may have died in 1753). Meerschaum from Turkey was given to him by one of the ancestors of the ‘present minister of foreign affairs for Austria’.

**Count Gyula Andrassy** (1823-1890) was the minister of foreign affairs in 1874 (Fig. 1). He participated in the 1848-49 War of Independence against the Habsburgs. He was abroad as the delegate of the new government in Constantinople, in Turkey when the war came to an end. After 1849 he emigrated to London, later living in Paris and Switzerland. In 1851 he was condemned to death and an effigy of him was hanged. In the Parisian saloons the handsome count was called secretly by the women *Le beau pendu de 1848*. After his amnesty he came back to Hungary and became one of the most important politicians in the Compromise era. As a Hungarian Prime minister (1867-71) he placed the crown on the head of Emperor Franz Joseph. Between 1871 and 1878 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. But who was his ancestor; who could have visited the Sultan's court? Earlier we thought, like Levárdy, that it was Baron Stephen Andrassy (Levárdy 2000, 120; Haider 2000, 62; Ridovics 2002, 454). According to Ferenc Levárdy, the individual may have been the founder of the Betlér branch of the Andrassy family, the captain of Lőcse (today's Levoča, Slovakia), one-time Kuruc general and later Habsburg sympathiser István Andrassy, who may

have been an imperial envoy in Constantinople in the 1720s. The task of imperial diplomacy at the Turkish Porte was to have the *Pragmatica Sanctio* (inheritance on the female line) accepted and to diplomatically isolate Rákóczi's emigration. However, as regards the person in question there is only speculation and there is no data to support Andrassy as being an envoy. The family was raised in 1676 to baronial rank, won through the bravery of Miklós Andrassy I in the campaigns against the Turks. The first count in the family was Károly Andrassy I, who was given this honour in 1780 for his military service and successes by Empress Maria Theresa. But the ancestor we are seeking may also be from the mother's side - he might not necessarily bear the name of Andrassy!

### Pipe in the Hungarian National Museum?

'The first meerschaum pipe made by Kovács is kept in the Hungarian National Museum'.

This means that it was in the museum in 1873-74. But now the museum has neither the pipe, nor any record of the donation. We have to take a brief look at the



**Figure 1:** Meerschaum pipe with the portrait of Gyula Andrassy and his wife, after 1867. (Hungarian National Museum Acc. No. 1956.92. L: 26 cm H: 17,5 cm) Photograph by András Dabasi.

museum's history: 1802 is the date of the foundation of the Hungarian National Museum by Count Ferenc Széchenyi from his private collections. In 1825, *Cimeliotheca Musei Nationalis*, the first catalogue of the museum was published and this mentions only one wooden pipe. The museum has inventories only from the year 1846. But unfortunately very little material can be found in the archive predating 1879, a lot of paper having been damaged during the Second World War. The histories of the individual collections had to be written for the jubilee volume celebrating the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Hungarian National Museum (Ridovics 2002). In the course of this the 1878-1879 register made of items transferred to the Museum of Applied Arts came under scrutiny (M.N.M. Iparművészeti Múzeumnak átadott tárgyak 1879, 82, items 2081, 2082, 2083). Among the objects transferred in 1879 to the Museum of Applied Arts were three meerschaum pipes mounted in silver. Two of them were decorated with a relief portrait, while

on the third one were three medallions placed among richly engraved military insignia: a crowned king, a man holding a horn of plenty and a Turkish sultan, each of whom surrounded by an inscription in German. This pipe is probably identical to the beautiful piece made at the beginning of the eighteenth century, celebrating King Charles III of Hungary's 1718 Pozsarevác Peace Treaty which was published in the 2000 catalogue (Ridovics 2002, 454). One of the earliest finely carved meerschaums to be found in Hungarian collections is a superb relic of Baroque applied art Museum of Applied Arts, Acc. No. 10.418.) (Lovay 1985, 3 item 46, picture 8; Levárdy 1994/2000, 121; Ridovics 2000, 75, pictures, 198-199, items 20/26). As to how it entered the National Museum, no light has been cast. Could this be the pipe held to be the work of that famed first meerschaum carver, the Pest master Kovács I asked in 2002 (Ridovics 2002, 454)? And I am increasingly convinced that yes, this could be the pipe held as being the work of Károly Kovács (Fig. 2).



**Figure 2:** Peace treaty-pipe. (Museum of Applied Arts, Acc. No. 10.418. L: 10.5 cm H: 10.5 cm) Photograph by András Dabasi.

### ***Pipe in honour of the 1718 Pozsarevác Peace Treaty***

In the catalogue of the pipe exhibition organised in 2000 I analysed the historical iconography of this pipe of exceptional value belonging to the Museum of Applied Arts (Ridovics 2000, 75, 201). But at that time I had no inkling that it had once been in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum. Today the iconographic analysis must be modified a little. In the medallion with the legend held by two naked puttos on the two sides of the military insignia can be seen the busts of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI (1685-1740), King Charles

III of Hungary (1711-1740) and the Turkish Emperor Achmed III (1673-1736, 1703-1730). The inscription runs: ACHMETH III TURCKISCHER KAUSER (sic); CAROLUS VI. ROMISCHER KAUSER (Figs. 3 and 4).

As a pre-picture for the portraits the images of the both rulers from a popular print 'Türcken Kalender' from the time of the Peace Treaty, were used. (Fig. 5). Behind both medallions are symbolical animals - the strong, brave lion and the coward, vulgar dog. Between the military insignia, on the front part of the pipe's rotund bowl is



Figure 3: Peace treaty-pipe: Charles VI.



Figure 4: Peace treaty-pipe: Achmed III.



Figure 5: Unknown German master: front page of the *Türcken Kalender* with the portrait of Charles VI and Achmet III and a battle scene, copperplate, Hungarian National Museum MTKcs. 11.592.



Figure 6: Gottfried Rogg (1669-1742): Glory of Charles VI. with the allegorical figure of Righteousness and Peace, in a cartouche Austrian eagle is chasing the Turkish army. Engraving. Hungarian National Museum MTKcs. 2616.



Figure 7: Enthroned Pax with Mars, God of War, F16-2711.

a crowned female figure enthroned amid a framework of richly carved acanthus leaves, a horn of plenty and a sword in hand. Beside her stands a warrior in armour and a visor, his foot treading upon a crown. He holds a horn of plenty aloft, the contents of which he is tipping toward the female figure. The ribboned caption above them reads: FRIEDERVEHRT UNFRIEDVERZEHRT (Peace-lover, troubled by lack of peace) (Fig. 6). Earlier analyses, my own included, described the female figure as *Fortuna*, Goddess of Fortune (Lovay 1985. 3.; Levárdy 1994/1999. 121., Ridovics 2000. 75). However, it is more probably *Pax*, that is, the allegorical figure of Peace, which appears on graphic depiction by an Augsburgian master, Gottfried Rogg (1669-1742) in honour of Charles VI in a similar manner and with the same attributes (Fig. 7). On the engraving there are two allegorical female figures near the medallion portrait of Carolus VI, Holy Roman Emperor between military insignia with the legend: CAROLUS VI DEI GRATIA GLORIOSUS IN ORBE IMP. He is wearing a mail-coat as a general and above the medallion is the Holy Roman Crown. *Justice* holds a sword and a balance in her hand; *Pax* is sitting on the other side with her cornucopia; their hands are folded. The text cited is from Psalm 85.11, *Justitia et Pax osculatae*

*sunt*, 'Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other'. The German inscription is a little different from this GERECHTIGKEIT DEN FRIED ERSTREIT. 'So Justice fights the Peace out'. Under the legs of the allegorical women a battle is depicted in a cartouche. The Turkish army is on the run because the eagle, with outstretched wings as Jupiter, is chasing the enemy by bolts from his claws. This engraving surely influenced the pipecarver (or the procurer) when he composed the content and the composition on his pipe. The figure of Pax on the pipes has a cornucopia in one hand and a sword in the other. It is necessary to fight out and then to save the peace. Beside her stands a general, Carolus VI, as Mars, the god of war expressing that military success creates the opportunity for plenty, rest and peace. The allegorical animal scene above the central figures signifies triumph. The Austrian eagle swoops down upon the Turkish dog, bringing it to earth. SO HAT DES ADLERS KLAUEN GEFUHLT DER TURCK MIT GRAVEN (And so with horror the Turk felt the eagle's claws) (Figs. 8 and 9).



Figure 8: The Austrian eagle swoops down upon the Turkish dog, F16-2710.



Figure 9: Gottfried Rogg (1669-1742): Glory of Charles VI, detail of the eagle with outstretched wings, raining thunderbolts down on the enemy.

The pipe erects a memorial to the 1718 peace treaty at Požarevac. But what is the historical backdrop to this famous peace treaty? In 1715 the Turkish Porte broke the peace treaty previously made at Karlóca (today's Sremski Karlovci, Serbia). Fighting was renewed. The new campaign against the Turks was led by Eugene of Savoy, and in summer 1716 they reaped a victory over them at Pétervárad (today's Petrovaradin, Novi Sad, Serbia). A year later Belgrade was retaken (22. VIII. 1717). The remarkable commander Eugene of Savoy was fêted by the whole of Europe. On July 21, 1718 the peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire was signed by Charles VI in the presence of representatives from Great Britain, Holland and Sweden. The long war with the Turks had come to an end. The Serbian village of Požarevac was chosen as the site for the signing of the treaty. The Emperor entrusted Count Virmont with representing the Habsburg Empire. According to the Hungarian laws enacted at the 1712 diet in Pozsony (today's Bratislava, Slovakia), Hungarian envoys should also have been present. Baron Gáspár Sándor and János Antolcsics the Croatian tax official (*főharmincados*) had been appointed for the task. But they couldn't travel as they couldn't raise the expenses required to get them there. Finally the Emperor didn't give them the commission. The Peace of Požarevac meant a considerable increase in territory for the Habsburgs. The Peace, which was to stand for 25 years, at the same time meant the end of the liberation of historic Hungary. Pursuant to the peace, the Porte was obliged to cede the territories from Temesköz and Belgrade, the lands west of Olt, the parts of the Havasalföld occupied in 1716 and the northern territories of Serbia and Bosnia. With this, there came an end to the reoccupation of all those territories which had belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary prior to Turkish Occupation. After 1718 the Temesköz was not returned to Hungary, but a separate province, the Banat of Temes, was organised under the joint governance of the Court Military Council and the Court Chamber. The question of Hungarian emigration occasioned much debate. (Francis II, Rákóczi II, the Ruling Prince of Hungary, the prince of Transylvania was the leader of the War for Independence against Habsburgs (1703-1711). He emigrated to Turkey in 1717. The imperial envoys demanded the extradition of Rákóczi and his followers, with which the Porte did not comply. But the Hungarian emigrées had to distance themselves from the sultan's court. From 1720 they lived at Rodosto, which they were not allowed to leave. Six days later a trade agreement was signed, in which the emperor's subjects – Germans, Hungarians, Italians and Dutch – were guaranteed free trade in the Ottoman Empire, free passage along the Danube, the Black Sea and on Turkish ships, and permission was given to establish consulates for their protection. Following the peace treaty the Ottoman Empire entered a new era, known as the 'Tulip Era' (*Lale Devri*). Sultan Ahmed III and his Grand Vizier Damat Ibrahim followed a policy of peace. This was a period when literature, culture and the arts blossomed. European technical innovations were emulated. As a sign of their open policy, the Ottoman Empire sent embassies to Europe.

### **The vivat Carolus pipe**

The Museum of Applied Arts preserves another pipe, also connected with the Turkish Wars and in praise of Charles VI (Museum of Decorativ Arts Acc. n. 10.417. Lovay 1990, 75; Levárdy 1994/1999, 119-120; Ridovics 2000, 76). On the bowl of the artistically carved pipe with the inscription VIVAT CAROLUS, below the triumphant arch crowned with the coat-of-arms of the House of Habsburg, the emperor as victorious commander can be seen on a chariot drawn by lions, at the head of his soldiers and Turkish prisoners of war (Figs. 10 and 11). An engraved inscription and monogram can be discerned on the silver lid, which reads, *Souvenir d'amitié, CB*. The pipe therefore served to seal male friendship. It is well-known that in the eighteenth century the gift of a finely-worked pipe promising a pleasant smoke was much prized. But who could have been the owner of this pipe with the French inscription?



**Figure 10:** Vivat Carolus pipe. Museum of Decorativ Arts Acc. n. 10.417. L: 11cm H: 15 cm) Photograph: András Dabasi.



**Figure 11:** *Vivat Carolus pipe*; lid inscriptions: Souvenir d' amitié, CB (Carolus Batthyány). Museum of Decorativ Arts Acc. n. 10.417. L: 11cm H: 15 cm) Photograph: András Dabasi.

Ferenc Levárdy suggests that the *Vivat Carolus* pipe was made after the coronation of Charles III in Pozsony (today's Bratislava, Slovakia). Possibly the ruler gave it to mark this occasion to his supporter the Vice Chancellor Lajos Batthyány. The inscription on the lid, *Souvenir d' amitié, CB*, would then signify *Comes Batthyány* (Fig. 12). In 1712 Charles called together the Hungarian diet in Pozsony, issuing his diploma on May 21 and was ceremonially crowned King of Hungary in Pozsony the following day with the crown returned from Vienna (Levárdy 1994/1999, 119-120).

**Lajos Ernő Batthyány** (1696—1772?, chancellor 1732-1746) was the elder son of the famed general and victor over the Turks, **Ádám Batthány II** (1662-1703) and the Silesian Eleonóra Strattmann, who was equally famed for her beauty. The family belonged to the innermost Viennese court circles, his mother being counted among the most trusted advisers of Charles IV's wife, Elisabeth Christina. Count Lajos held his position at the court from 1716, and between 1723 and 1751 was Grand Cupbearer. Between 1732 and 1746 he was Chancellor, and in 1751 was Hungary's Hungarian Palatine. He had a younger brother, **Count Károly József Batthyány** (Carolus Batthyány), who made a military career for himself (Fig. 12). Károly József Batthyány (Rohonc, 1698 – Vienna, 1772) count, later (1764) duke, War Lord, Field Marshal. He fought from an early age, being present at the Turkish War between 1716–18. He showed much courage at the Battle of Belgrade. He was a member of the 1719 Imperial delegation at Constantinople. Between 1739 and 1740 he was Ambassador of the Habsburg Court in Berlin. In 1742-56 he was Seneschal of Croatia, Slavonia



**Figure 12:** Jean Pierre Sauvage (worked between 1744 -1780): portrait of Field Marshall Charles Joseph Batthyány (1698-1772) Hungarian National Gallery Acc. n. 2003.1.M. (after Batthyány catalogue 2005).

and Dalmatia. From 1748 he was nominated educator of the crown prince, the Archduke Joseph. He was one of the main advisors of the empress Maria Theresa in military questions. (The general may have been a lover of chess, the game of strategy. There was a valuable chess board with figures in the Batthyány Treasury from the eighteenth century).

### **Conclusion**

There are two pipes in the Museum of Decorative Art which may earlier have been in the Hungarian National Museum. One of these could be the so-called 'Kovacs pipe'. Both may have belonged to the same owner, Carolus Batthyány, from probably the same period, the reign of king Charles III the first part of the eighteenth century. The two pipes are different in style, are prepared by different masters. There is one more very interesting pipe probably from the same period saved in the Alice Rothschild Collection in Grasse, France (Inv. N. 269. AS-9-87-400/34). The style and the motives are very close to the 'Peace Treaty'-pipe. The beautifully carved, artistic baroque style of acanthus leaves, the structure of the motives on the lower part of the bowl and the stem are very similar on both pipes. On the pipe base is a richly vined, acanthus leaf decoration, a spiral column in the middle (Figs. 13-15). Is it the mood of the baroque art or

maybe the same hand, same workshop? On the front of the bowl there is a strange expression. Here are two floral medallions with figural plastic work. The lower part is a biblical scene – Daniel the prophet is praying between the lions. Above it can be seen a portrait of a Turkish general (Sultan?) between military insignia (Fig. 16). Maybe it is an allusion on the Hungarian Christian prisoners or emigrants who fought against the Habsburgs and had to leave their country. After the Treaty of Pozsarevac Francis II Rákóczi and the exiled Hungarians had to move into Rodosto (Tekirdag, Turkey). A large Hungarian colony grew up around this town on the Sea of Marmora. Francis II Rákóczi died here in 1735. We think that this pipe also can be related to the historical situation after the Peace Treaty, and could come from the same workshop for a customer sympathising with the Hungarian emigrants. So the colourful story of the legend is not so unbelievable, as it was thought earlier. But it doesn't mean that it is sure. What is certain that these pipes are valuable pieces of baroque art from the first part of eighteenth century though there is a superimposed silver stamp on the Peace Treaty-pipe from 1806-09. But back to the legend. Yet the sources referring to the legend refer to the count at the Turkish embassy, Gyula Andrassy, as an ancestor. But what is the connection between Gyula Andrassy and Carolus Batthyány? The uncle of his father, Karoly



**Figure 13:** *Daniel between the lions-pipe, Alice Rothschild Collection in Grasse, France (Inv. N. 269. AS-9-87-400/34).*



**Figure 14:** Base of the Daniel-pipe.



**Figure 15:** Base of the peace treaty-pipe.



**Figure 16:** Bowl decoration – Daniel between the lions, Turkish General.

Andrássy II, married Szerafin Batthyány. This may have been the way in which the pipe may have come to the Andrássy family.

It is possible that the legendary pipe entered the Andrássy family via Countess Szerafin Batthyány. The story of the pipe may have been related by Count Gyula Andrássy himself, which is why he is always also mentioned. He turned up in London on several occasions during his emigration.

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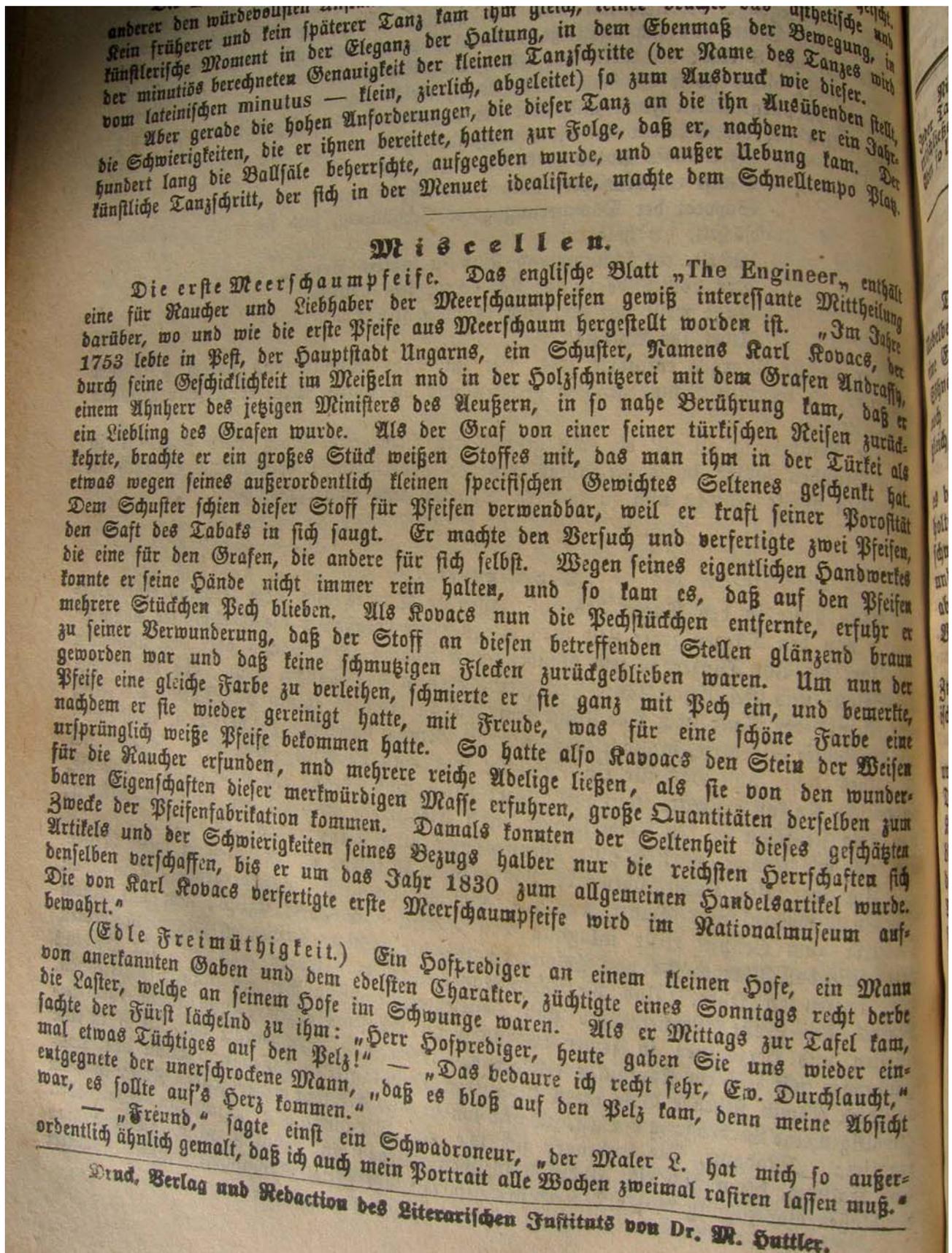
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Augsburger Sonntagsblatt, 5th October 1873.



# 'Iconography, morphology and meerschaum: four essays illustrating their nexus'

by F. Burla, H. Kierulf,  
S. Peckus and B. Rapaport

## Introduction

by Ben Rapaport

What is iconography? Its origin is Greek, *εἰκών* (eikon), 'image' and *γράφειν* (graphein) 'writing', but it means much, much more! Iconography is best explained and answered in what is a very informative and illuminative book on the subject, *An Introduction to Iconography* (van Straten 1994). However, this monograph is much less about iconography per se, and much more about meerschaum carvings as an art form, so as this essay evolves, the association between iconography and meerschaum will become apparent. There are assorted definitions, interpretations, and concepts of iconography, but there are the common elements to all definitions, interpretations, and concepts, such as works of art, pictures, images, and symbols. Using the Wikipedia definition, in brief:

Iconography is the branch of art history that studies the identification, description, classification, and the interpretation of the content of symbols, themes, *subject matter*, or images (our emphasis).

It is, literally, symbolic forms associated with a subject or theme of a stylized work of art, or pictorial material relating to or illustrating a subject. We happen to like the following definition:

...the study and interpretation of figural representations, individual or symbolic, religious, secular, or mythological and, more broadly, the art of representation by pictures or images. It is pictorial *material* (our emphasis, again) relating to or illustrating a subject, or the imagery or symbolism of a work of art, an artist, or a body of work.

Note that pictorial material is sufficiently generic and broad that it can be *any material*. Therein lies the connection between meerschaum, the material, engaged in the hundreds of thousands of two- and three-dimensional carved pipes and cheroot holders that have been produced throughout time that, as visual arts, literally, span myriad subjects.

Extensive iconographical study did not begin in Europe until the eighteenth century when, as a companion to archaeology, it consisted of the classification of subjects and motifs in ancient monuments, e.g., engravings. Then, it slowly began to apply to the history and classification of Christian images and symbols of all sorts in whatever

medium they happened to be rendered originally or in whatever way they were reproduced for study. With the rise of the systematic investigation of art from prehistoric ages to modern times, it became apparent that each major phase or epoch in which figural representations occur had created and developed an iconography of its own in varying degrees of richness and elaboration. As used today, the term is necessarily qualified to indicate any field of study under discussion, so iconography can take many forms, such as the iconography of Buddhism, Christian art, Cervantes's Don Quixote, the artist Van Dyck, the portraits of British Army officer T.E. Lawrence, Nasca ceramics, advertising, the violin, and a host of other interesting topics deemed worthy of investigation.

Unless an artwork makes visual sense, peeling the layers of meaning in its iconography is pointless. In the study of most art objects produced in a distant era or in a faraway country, knowledge of iconographic shorthand is a useful tool. For example, appreciating the symbolic implications of a finely carved meerschaum pipe can make viewing it more engaging. Iconography can also be related to actions, situations and concepts, so, for example, St. Catherine of Alexandria is traditionally portrayed in the presence of a wheel, a familiar attribute that serves to identify her and, at the same time, signifies a miracle connected with her martyrdom. Some attributes are more difficult to understand, and their obscurity has led scholars to consult other images or literary sources in order to interpret the motif more satisfactorily. Iconography is a way to classify works of art with reference to its subject matter, themes, and symbolism, rather than style. Attaching significance to symbols can help to identify subject matter; for example, viewing a painting in which a specific number of attendees are present at the coronation of Queen Victoria are identified in order to determine the significance of why this particular group and to place this work of art in its proper historical context. Or, something from literature, an apropos quotation from Louis Aragon in his *Le Paysan de Paris* (1980) that is quite relevant to this thesis:

A meerschaum pipe which represented a siren provoked the sudden memory of a prostitute that he once knew on the Rhine (Cohen 1993, 198).

It might have been the siren's looks, her apparel, or how she reposes on the pipe that provoked this memory... the image and its symbolic significance.

Much has been written in several languages about meerschaum as a cottage industry, about the craft of carving, and about the principal carvers and where they plied their trade, but there is very little study on record about the art of meerschaum iconography. This monograph is merely a starting point, an *entrée*, so to speak, into this specific dimension of research. More than 200 years' worth of meerschaum pipe and cheroot holders produced in western and central Europe, England, and the United States represent a cornucopia of iconographic subject matter. By the time craftsmen affiliated with the fledgling industry of meerschaum carvers began to express their

own unique and individual skills creating the utensils of smoke in the early 1800s, thousands of assorted images - sculptures, paintings, architecture, ceremonial, celebratory and historic events, famous personages of the day, battles won and lost, heroes and heroines of mythology, and much more - were relatively familiar themes to these artisans. There were no industry guidelines, design criteria, pattern books, factory catalogues, or instructional notes on what to carve - essentially no rules, no limitations, no boundaries - so applying their individual skills, imagination, inspiration, perspective, and creativity, they duplicated and replicated in meerschaum those images, or interpreted art objects and events as they saw fit, using this soft, white, pliable mineral that was very popular for smoker's utensils from about the mid-eighteenth century until the early 1900s. These artisans often portrayed and thematically executed pipes and holders as they viewed or understood them, and they often found that other carvers in competition had rendered the same motif in either exacting or, sometimes, quite dissimilar fashion, e.g., two expressions from the deft hands of two different carvers. For example, a pipe of the bust of Mephistopheles, the carver influenced after having read Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*, or Christopher Marlow's *Faustus*, the other after having attended a performance of Charles Gounod's opera, *Faust*. One could ask: "What does this work of art depict?" or "What is the theme or subject of this work of art?" The answer would be the same. The outward appearance of each, when compared, however, would be different, because each artist's rendering would be different, e.g., discrete nuances or affectations in the face, or the length and curve of the feather in his hat, or the style of his shirt collar; the face, the feather, the collar are symbolic, each interpretation shaped by the social background of each artisan and what each had personally experienced, read or seen about the character prior to undertaking the task of carving the pipe.

The most commonly encountered meerschaum icons, whether from European or American artisans, have been a handful of assorted, elementary, common motifs, some of which are being reproduced today by contemporary Turkish meerschaum carvers: eagle talon and egg, skull/skull in hand, busts of a plain-Jane schoolmarm wearing a hat, a turbaned, bearded Arab, a Nubian man or woman, cherubic children in various poses, and assorted horses, deer, and dogs. These motifs, in our opinion, have no iconographic significance...they were popular icons, and most ateliers catered to the average patron's pedestrian taste. The more intellectually challenging, intricate, complex, detailed, outsized, and ornately carved pipes and cheroot holders are those that bore unique, incised patterns representative of a region, such as intricate scrollwork and the stylized Greek key, or were special pieces as much to preserve as to smoke. This finery was produced 'to order', or commissioned to celebrate an important event or occasion, in order to create a representation of something or someone worthy of perpetuity, however long the pipe or cheroot holder might endure, use and degree of care and preservation notwithstanding.

At a time there was once a school of ivory carvers in Provence, France, specializing solely in carving Christian icons - biblical scenes and personages from the New Testament - and it is our thesis that, quite in parallel, we present a case for a much larger school of meerschaum carvers spread across Europe and the United States, engaging meerschaum in limitless expressions, not just a single motif or theme. The title of a recent book, *The Karen Bronze Drums of Burma: Types, Iconography, Manufacture and Use* (Cooler 1995) says it all, because the contents describe the various stylistic designs and formats of drums produced over time by the several Karen tribes of Burma. Were we four to collaborate on a book on meerschaum utensils for the pipe and cigar smoker, we might adapt the title from Cooler and call ours *Meerschaum Smoking Utensils of Europe and the United States: Types, Iconography, Manufacture and Use!*

The four essays that follow are written by members of the International Academy of the Pipe who are best described as devotees of the antiquarian utensils of smoke, more specifically, antique pipes and cheroot holders in all mediums, with a special interest in those crafted in meerschaum. Each essay is different, each singular in its focus, and each tells its own unique story of a particular piece (or pieces) in their respective collections, or of a piece with which he is familiar. Each author states what he believes to be the meaning or significance that the artist intended, explains why the object was created, and ventures a best guess as to why it was created in this fashion. After a careful reading of each essay, perhaps the reader may arrive at a different conclusion and have a better, more logical answer to this latter question than the respective authors.

### **The Victory at Kenyérmező Pipe**

*by Frank P. Burla*

#### **The pipe bowl described**

The pipe - more precisely, a pipe bowl without its accompanying stem - is a carved block of meerschaum, and is 6 inches (15.2cm) in height and 5-¾ inches (14.6cm) in length. The motif carved on the bowl depicts the commemoration of the victory by the Hungarian army against the Turks in the battle at Transylvanian Kenyérmező (Breadfield), Hungary, in 1479 (Fig. 1).

In the far-left midsection of the bowl are bas-relief-carved horses in a makeshift fenced-in area. The centre midsection shows in bas-relief three military officers in uniform having a discussion, happily saluting each other with upraised hands. At the top centre of the bowl is a scroll inside of which in bas-relief are written the words *Istennek hála mienk a győzedelem*; translated, these words declare "Thanks be to God, the victory is ours" (Fig. 2). To the far right, on the midsection of the bowl an armed

officer is on guard in front of a tent (Fig. 3). On the top of the tent there is a symbol of the famous Hungarian Black Army, a flag with a shield on which is seen the letter M under a crown. Above the shield a bird is sitting. The bird - a raven - is the heraldic symbol of the great Hungarian king, Matthias. At the heel of the tent is written the attribution of the historical place and date: *Kenyér/mező 1479*.



**Figure 1:** Front view of the Victory at Kenyérmező Pipe.

The pipe bowl is further inscribed, having in bas-relief on three separate front pedestals the names of the main Hungarian historical personalities in this battle: left pedestal, Kinezi Pál; middle pedestal, MATIAS Corvinus; right pedestal, Bathori I. (Fig. 4).

Under the central pedestal a shield is carved under a seven point crown, a crown of baronial rank, with the monogrammed letters /S J or I (?)/.

Below (Fig. 5), on the silver base of the wind cap is the engraved name Ujfalvi Sándor. There are marks on the base of the silver lid on the bowl: they are the hallmarks

of Old Buda (Óbuda which was merged with Buda and Pest to become Budapest in 1873) with the date, 1825, and the number 13 (representing 13/16 pure silver content) and the stamp of the silversmith, PH Adler (Philip/Fülöp Adler). There is also an unidentified floral silver stamp.

### Inspiration for the carving

The motif on this pipe bowl commemorates the Battle of Breadfield (Kenyérmező). The names of the main Hungarian historical personalities of the battle are carved on the front pedestals of the pipe. Matthias Corvinus, or Matthias I Hunyadi (1443-1490) was the king of Hungary and Croatia (1458-90). He also became King of Bohemia, (1469-1490) and Duke of Austria. He received his surname Corvinus after the raven (*corvus*) on his coat of arms. He was the great Renaissance ruler of the Hungarian Kingdom who organised a powerful centralised country. He raised a strong military force, the first permanent Hungarian mercenary army, the Black Army. At this time Hungary reached its greatest territorial extent (present-day south-eastern Germany to the west, Dalmatia to the south, the Eastern Carpathians to the east, and south-western Poland to the north). Wars against the Ottoman Empire were an important stimulus for the protection of the borders against them. There was a great victory in 1479 when a huge Ottoman army was damaged at Szászváros (now Orăștie, Romania) in the so-called Battle of Breadfield, famous throughout Europe. The Hungarian forces were commanded by Pál Kinizsi and István Báthori. Pál Kinezi, correctly written Pál Kinizsi (1431? - 1494) was a well-known, very strong military leader in the Black Army of King Matthias, Ban of Temes and Captain of all military forces of southern Hungary. István (Stephan) Báthori of Ecsed (1430c-1493) was of high noble birth, Royal Court judge, *Voivode*, or territorial governor, of the Hungarian Crown for Transylvania (1479-1493) and commander of the Transylvanian army.

The Turkish army entered Transylvania on October 9, 1479, near Câlnic and was led by Ali Kodsha and Skender, or Ali Michaloglu and Skander, according to other sources. The probable strength of the Ottoman forces was about 20,000 soldiers, accompanied by some 1,000-2,000 Wallachian infantrymen led by Basarab cel Tânăr-Țepeluș. On October the 13th, Kodsha bey pitched his camp at Breadfield, located between Alkenyér (now Șibot, Romania) and Szászváros (now Orăștie, Romania). The Hungarian army of somewhere between 12,000 and 15,000 men was led by Pál Kinizsi, István Báthori, Vuk Branković, and Basarab Laiotă cel Bătrân. The Battle of Breadfield took place at a location between Szászváros and Alkenyér. The casualties were high, with several thousand Turks and approximately 1,000 of their Wallachian allies killed. The Hungarians lost approximately 3,000 men in this battle. The few Turks who survived the massacre fled into the mountains where most were killed by the local population. In memory of the victory against the Turks, István Báthori raised a chapel near the village of Becenc (now Aurel Vlaicu earlier Bintini, German Benzendorf, Romania).



Figure 2: Inscription within a banner at the top centre of the pipe: *Istennek hála miénk a Győzedelem*



Figure 3: Mid-section of the bowl of the Victory at Kenyérmező Pipe with inscription: *Kenyér/mező/1479* (see insert).

There are numerous references to the battles in the Transylvanian region. One of these is a short history of the land and its control entitled *Transylvania, A Short History* (Lasar 1997). Reading Lasar's book and portions of *The Ottomans in Europe* (Woodward 2001), *The Nation's History* (Yolland 1917) and *The Poetry of the Magyars*, (Bowring 1830) provided the knowledge to realize how historically significant this pipe bowl was.

#### The owner(s) of the pipe

Under the central pedestal is carved in the meerscham a shield under a seven point crown, a crown of baronial rank, with the monogrammed letters /S Z(?)/. It could be

the monogram of the person who commissioned the pipe or for whom it was commissioned. Later it could have been presented for a subsequent owner, whose name is engraved in the silver mount. Ujfalvi Sándor (1792–1866) was a reform politician, writer, legendary great hunter, and a well-known and passionate individual from this region who stood for the rights of freedom and open land. He was involved in the movement for a new form of animal husbandry.

#### The master of the pipe?

Based on this circumstantial evidence and my research, although limited because of my lack of command of the

Hungarian language, I was able to find a few sources of information. These sources indicate that the Philip (Fülöp) Adler workshop in Óbuda probably executed this bowl. This conclusion is based on the following:

- The silver hallmark is Adler PH, 1825, Óbuda;
- The researchers think that Philip Adler's workshop made not only silverwork but was one of the few master pipe-carving entities operating in the area at the time;
- Philip (Fülöp) Adler was also attached to Hungarian traditions, such as battle scenes for freedom, one in particular that the company portrayed on an earlier pipe carved in 1823 known as the Bercsényi Pipe (Levárdy 1994, 128-130).

The pipe bowl was sold by an Eastern European family



Figure 5: Engraving on the base of the wind cap: Ujfalvi Sándor.



Figure 4: Names on the three front pedestals of the Victory at Kenyérmező Pipe: (left) Kinezi Pal, (centre) MATIAS Corvinus, (right) Bathori I

to a dealer, and the dealer was told that this meerschaum pipe bowl, along with other items the family was selling, were historic family heirlooms from the 1800s. The first American appearance of this rare meerschaum pipe bowl in recent years was at a public exhibition, *Meerschaum Masterpieces*, sponsored by the then Museum of Tobacco Art and History, Nashville, Tennessee in 1994 (Museum of Tobacco Art and History, 1990, 12-13, Fig 75). This bowl is in my personal collection.

#### Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Anna Ridovics of the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, for her assistance in this research endeavour. Without her contribution, especially for translation and for her intimate knowledge of Hungarian history, my undertaking would have been a much more daunting and intellectually challenging effort.

References such as encyclopaedias, partially translated articles, and a wide variety of information on the Internet, e.g., Wikipedia, were used in the preparation of this essay.

#### Norwegian pipe models with acanthus ornamentation by Hakon Kierulf

This article does not focus on a particular antique meerschaum pipe, but on meerschaum pipe bowls in the typical Norwegian style decorated with acanthus ornamentation. All the photographs are by the author.

#### The Norwegian pipe model

The true origin of a specific pipe model that is considered typically Norwegian will never be fully known, but its design and configuration are supposedly from around the turn of the eighteenth century (Pritchett 1890, 25). It is a fairly simple configuration cut from a flat, narrow block without any distinctive separation between the bowl and the shank (Fig. 6). Viewed from the front or from above, it has straight or nearly straight, parallel sides. Viewed from either side, it appears quadrangular, but rather than four similarly proportioned angles, the lower side is most often curved. The sides are even or almost even, as are the ends. The upper ends are sharp-edged, each end having a hole,

the nearest for insertion of a pipe stem, the farthest being the tobacco bowl. The lower edges are usually graded or have softer forms. Originally, this particular pipe was made of wood, usually birch, much later of briar and, to a certain extent, of block and imitation meerschaum. The most common variety was undecorated, but some were, and some even had silver mounts.



**Figure 6:** Side view of a typical, plain, meerschaum pipe bowl in typical Norwegian form; the identity of the 'AR' of Christiania (Oslo) is not known.

### The acanthus décor

The acanthus motif derives from the Mediterranean vegetable family, *Acanthus*. Through the ages, two species, *Acanthus spinosus* and *Acanthus mollis* (Fig. 7), with their large, floppy leaves and prominent veins, have been used as ornamental design. The Greeks used this motif c500-600 years B.C.; the Romans adopted it at the time of Emperor Augustus (63 B.C.–14 A.C.), and since that era it has been part of European art history.



**Figure 7:** *Acanthus mollis*.

The time from when the acanthus, as a carved ornament, was used in Norway lies in a hazy mist, as does the origin of much earlier designs. The existence of primitively carved tendrils is documented as far back as 800 B.C. (Magerøy, 1983, 43, 148–222). Through time, influenced by the European Renaissance in the sixteenth century,

artists employed simple acanthus ornamental décor in church interiors and, to some extent, on profane furniture and everyday objects. But it was not until the Baroque trend arrived in Norway in the seventeenth century that the acanthus became a popular and widespread design applied in woodcarving, in ironwork, in the traditional Norwegian rose painting of house interiors or on furniture, and on assorted utensils. From then on it spread and became popular throughout the country. Although allowance for woodcarving was reserved for members of the town guilds, it was, nevertheless, also employed by district locals. In Norway, woodcarving is divided into three main schools: *Karveskurd* (cut carving), e.g., patterns with triangular cuts; *Flatskurd* (relief carving with an almost even surface); and *Krillskurd* (deep, three-dimensional, plastic carving). Cut carving was also used for pipe making, but in the context of acanthus is of no interest, whereas the other two are. Districts, counties and valleys came to adopt and develop different carving styles. *Flatskurd* was common in the county of Telemark, while *Krillskurd*, especially in the nineteenth century, dominated in Gudbrandsdalen, because tradesmen in the towns of Trondhjem and Christiania - the former name of Oslo - through advertisements, encouraged local farmers to carve first-class souvenirs, such as pipe bowls, for the tourist trade. Merchants established workshops in which competent woodcarvers from the districts were engaged; moreover, carving schools were established to fulfil this purpose (Sveen 2004, 18–19, 43, 49, 64, 96).

### Early Norwegian tobacco pipes

The first written documentation of the use of tobacco in Norway, one of the poorest countries in Europe, prior to and in the beginning of the twentieth century, stems from a criminal case in 1612 in the town of Bergen (Gierløff 1928, 57). Due to the country's seafaring traditions and contact with England and Holland, tobacco, pipe smoking and clay pipes probably arrived much earlier from the west. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, meerschaum pipes exhibiting typical German models - with long stems and flexible mouthpieces - became fairly common among the more wealthy families. Tobacco was expensive, yet it was smoked at all levels of society, but meerschaum pipes never became commodities for ordinary people. Norway had a long tradition of making everyday utensils in wood; hence, wooden copies of imported meerschaum pipes were produced, as well as the earlier-mentioned Norwegian model.

### Meerschaum pipe makers of Norway

Not only did Norway have an established tradition of using wood as a popular material, but it also had a tradition for embellishing wooden utensils with exquisitely carved designs. Meerschaum pipes were imported in the beginning, but local wood-turners and wood-carvers, whose names are now long forgotten, started making pipe bowls in birch. Some of these pipe makers decorated their pipes with relief-carved motifs or various traditional designs, and the acanthus was one of the very popular designs.

Pipe production on a larger scale did not occur in Norway until the wood turner and carver Gudbrand Larsen (1815–1902) from the municipality of Ringsaker in Hedemark County started his pipe factory in the small town of Lillehammer in 1844. Sometime earlier, he had visited Eskesehir, Turkey and established contact with raw meerschaum exporters. This was his incentive to make meerschaum pipes. As a wood-carver, Larsen knew the acanthus design very well, as did his carver-employees, among whom Jehans Odde (1836–1899), August Larsen, Gudbrand's son (1856–1914), and Lars Prestmoen (1871–1957) are the most famous. They were exceptionally competent carvers of miniature objects who, from time to time, carved extraordinary and beautiful motifs on the pipes, but their production was principally focused on pipes meant for smoking, not as gifts for special occasions. Quite a number of the pipes from their hands exhibited some degree of decoration, and the acanthus was the most significant. These carvers, working in G. Larsen's factory never signed their pipes. The pipes bore only the stamped factory name. From 1844 onwards, this Lillehammer factory dominated the Norwegian pipe-making market, but supposedly some local, independent carvers also carved meerschaum pipes before as well as after the factory was established.

#### Acanthus-ornamented meerschaum pipes of the Norwegian model

Meerschaum pipes, the bigger the better and, when ornamented and silver-mounted, yet better, symbolized the status of their owners. Tobacco, meerschaum and silver demonstrated that the owner was a wealthy man. Neither of the two pipes shown in this article is large, but both are representative of the Norwegian ornamented model in meerschaum.

Pure meerschaum derives its eventual colour from tobacco smoke, as is shown in the illustration (Fig. 8), the first example of these pipe bowls. It measures 6.6cm in length, 5.1cm in height, and 3cm in breadth. Its silhouette, somewhat unusual for the Norwegian model, is almost pentagonal, and its top edges are graded. Otherwise, it has the typical features of the model. It is decorated on the sides, front and bottom with acanthus leaves, and there is also a flower on the underside. The carving is done artistically with deep cuts, giving the acanthus an animated look typical of *Krillskurd*, the Gudbrandsdal acanthus style. It has a few surface cracks, and it has been smoked, although not long enough to change its colour uniformly and completely. Rather small in size, and of the simple Norwegian model, yet of meerschaum and exhibiting a relative high standard of carving, the pipe probably belonged to a man of some means. It is stamped 'G. Larsen' and it dates from about the second half of the nineteenth century.

The ornamentation on the silver-mounted pipe bowl (Fig. 9) is also acanthus, but more *Flatskurd*-like, i.e., Telemark acanthus. Its measurements are 6.7cm in height, 8.2cm in length, and 3.2cm. in breadth. It has some minor cracks,

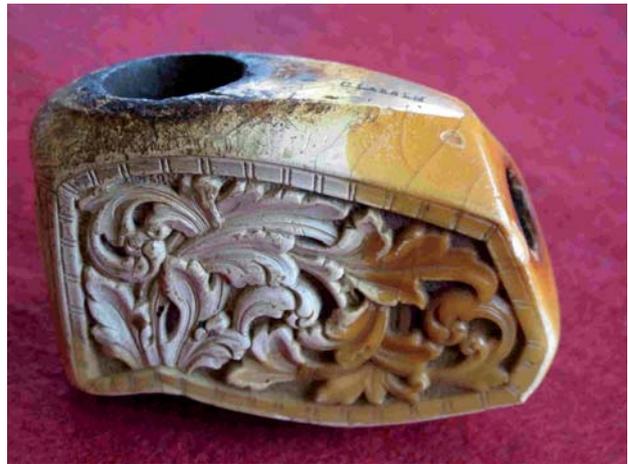


Figure 8: Unusual, almost pentagonal, Norwegian meerschaum model with acanthus decoration in *krillskurd*.



Figure 9: Silver-mounted Norwegian meerschaum pipe model with acanthus leaf decoration in *flatskurd*.

has not taken on any colour, and the meerschaum quality is questionable, i.e., whether it is block or pressed meerschaum. Its silver mountings bear no incised stamp or maker's mark. This bowl, however, is also stamped 'G. Larsen' which must be taken as a grant for the quality of the silver. The mark S-830 is, per the Norwegian Silver Act of 1891, a required stamp on all silverware produced for sale. Nothing precise can be said regarding dating. It was most probably produced in the last half of the nineteenth century, and without any silver stamps, it is possible that it was made before 1891, although it does not have the older, required silver stamp. Due to its origin, the pipe material, silver and carving, this pipe bowl was obviously bought and smoked by a man of a certain high standard of society.

Both pipes have acanthus ornaments but of slightly different styles although carved at the same factory in Lillehammer, the gateway to the Gudbrandsdalen valley where the *Krillskurd* style was dominant. The fact that *Flatskurd* carving was employed at G. Larsen shows that pipes were carved at the factory without any affiliation to

local traditions, but according to the prospective buyer's taste and purse. Although the two styles in question originated in different areas, both were popular and also used by local unnamed pipe carvers elsewhere in Norway, depending on their manner and carving competence.

### The circus cheroot holder: mystery solved!

by Dr. Sarunas 'Sharkey' Peckus

The evolution of this essay began several years ago when I purchased a meerschaum cheroot holder on eBay. The motif was four circus acrobats executing an intricate routine. The fitted case bears the inscription 'Emanuel Czapek, Praha - Prikopy 35, Prag - Graben 35', one of the most prestigious and respected nineteenth century meerschaum carvers of the region, south-eastern Europe (Fig. 10). Specifically, as the carving indicates in this complex routine, a lady acrobat is precariously positioned while holding up three male acrobats and their paraphernalia: a table and a variety of barbells. At the base of the holder is the inscription: 'TROUPE LAFAILLE'. What this particular act signified, and who this troupe was piqued my interest and curiosity, and I began an investigation of sources available to me. To my excitement, Google produced the first clue, indicating that this group was a member of the [P.T.] Barnum and [James Anthony] Bailey, 'The Greatest Show on Earth'; since 1907, Ringling Bros. and Barnum and Bailey was listed under 'performers and acts with circuses' (*Billboard*, July 16, 1910). Hence, this was proof that this group was real, not a motif imagined or invented by the carver, and that Troupe Lafaille were professional performers affiliated with this circus renowned for its high-flying trapeze acts. As a collector and at that time, I was content with this knowledge, having gained this much information for my own purpose. Were someone to ask about it then, I could offer this titbit in response.

A number of years passed without follow-on research. However, the thought of mining this further kept recurring now and then. There just had to be more to this story, and somewhere out there in the ether I would find it, if I persisted and persevered, because the Internet was burgeoning with all sorts of information and data in tsunami-like fashion. The impetus for a renewed attempt to research the background of this cheroot holder and, perhaps, to discover the association between Czapek, a meerschaum craftsman in Prague and a (determined later) Belgian circus troupe, an intriguing linkage - if such existed - came in October 2009 with the decision by the International Academy of the Pipe's Meerschaum Working Group to write a collaborative monograph on iconography and meerschaum.

The first Google search in late 2009 resulted in a phenomenal find, a black and white postcard for sale illustrating, in the exacting detail as that depicted on the holder, this acrobatic group doing its routine (Fig. 11). The title on the postcard in German read 'Truppe Lafaille, Original, Die Besten Olympische Spiele', translated



Figure 10: Meerschaum cheroot holder showing an acrobatic routine involving three male and one female acrobat.

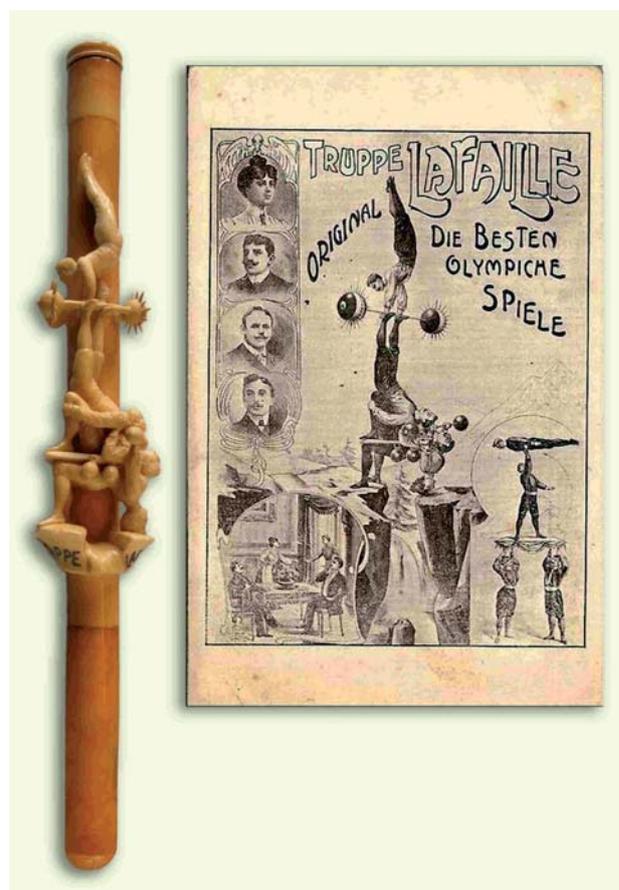


Figure 11: Black and white German postcard (right) showing the Lafaille troupe in the same acrobatic position as the cheroot holder (left).

literally, 'Troupe Lafaille, Original, The Best Olympic Games'. In addition, the postcard included the portraits of these very four artists. Without question, this was, indeed, at least at that moment, a great find, like encountering the proverbial needle in the research haystack!

Further searches offered a number of leads that did not exist at the time of my first attempt. I then found a postcard in English with the title 'Troupe Lafaille, Continental Acrobatic Sketch, Manager: J. Lafaille' (Fig. 12) without additional details, but this second postcard made my day nonetheless.

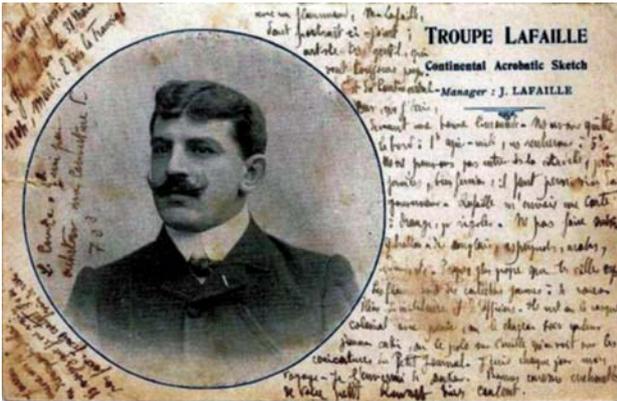


Figure 12: Black and white English postcard including a photograph of the troop manager J. Lafaille.

Next I found a short notice in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 2, 1908:

Vier Mann hoch und auf eine zwei Meter hohen Treppe hinauf; atemlos folgt man der Menschen pyramide. Auf lebendem Piedestal - arbeitet mit erstaunlicher Kraft die Truppe Lafaille.

This, translated literally, is:

One observes breathlessly a two-meter high pyramid of four individuals. With amazing power this human pedestal, the Troupe Lafaille is performing their act.

Following this came a very pleasant surprise, a black and white photograph of the entire troupe accompanied by a young Belgian acrobat in the circus archives of the Andre De Poorter division of the Museum of East Flanders, Gent, Belgium (Fig. 13). This mystery was being solved, piece-by-piece, and I sensed that with all this new, additional information in hand, I could craft a story from what I had now learned that would be stimulating reading to any inquisitive individual interested in either circus history or meerscham iconography.

Then, in contact with the University of Illinois, it kindly provided me with two Barnum and Bailey programmes,

one for 1909 and one for 1910, each with the following notation:

Another new and novel act of strength. Numerous feats entirely new to America, concluding, Mlle. La Faille forms a bridge and alone supports the entire troupe and paraphernalia, Belgium's greatest artists, The Lafaille Troupe (Fig. 14).



Figure 13: Black and white photograph of the entire troupe accompanied by a young Belgian acrobat in the archives of the Museum of East Flanders, Gent.

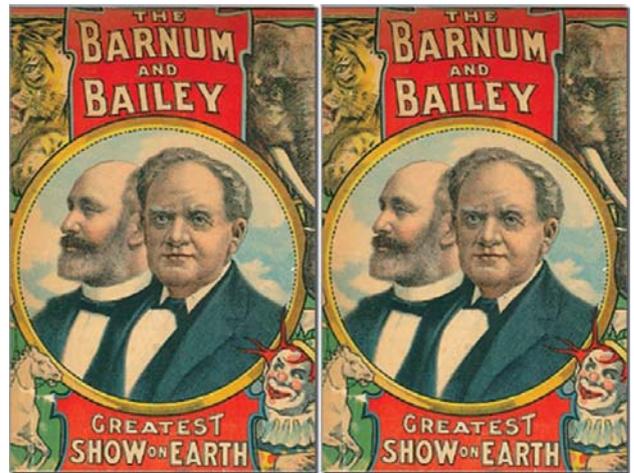


Figure 14: 1909 and 1910 programmes for 'THE BARNUM AND BAILEY GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH'.

These two programs conclusively establish the fact that these Belgian artists were at the peak of their career and had earned a reputation of having the highest degree of artistic endeavour and strength.

The culmination of my research was a colour poster that the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida, sent to me (Fig. 15). The greatest pleasure in owning this poster is seeing the troupe, centre stage, performing its signature routine just as it appears on the holder and on the first postcard. The poster bears the inscription:

The Barnum & Bailey, Greatest Show on Earth.  
New Foreign Feature Acts Now Seen For The First  
Time in America

...and it is dated 1909.

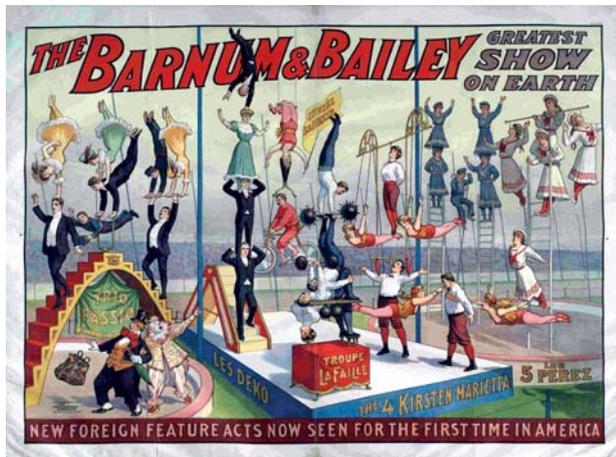


Figure 15: 1909 poster for Barnum and Bailey circus showing the Troupe La Faille in the centre.

I am now at peace. My quest for information at this juncture is adequately sated. I may never learn the connection between Czapek and Lafaille, but I confidently know who this troupe was and why it received so much international attention. Given the burgeoning expansion of the Internet, there is no doubt that more data can be found, but for the purpose of this intellectual exercise, what I have uncovered is ample and sufficient. I may undertake a third investigation at some later date, but at this moment, I bask in the light of discovery, because what I have discovered, learned and described herein is not (meerschaum) art *imitating* life, but meerschaum art *duplicating* life or, in this instance, lives.

There are a number of immediate questions that can be asked. Here are some that come to mind. Why was the holder carved? Was it a commemorative piece? If so, what was the occasion or event? Was it commissioned and, if so, by whom? Why a carver in Prague, when many in Belgium at the very same time were as proficient in producing finely executed meerschaum pipes and holders? Did everyone in the troupe have one?

I have to believe that by now all the members of this troupe have assumed their rightful place in the great acrobatic circus tent above. Where are they buried, and might their graves be appropriately marked for posterity as one of the greatest acrobatic teams ever may, one day, using advanced search techniques, be known or, more likely, may never be known. Anything is possible, and it is my sincere hope that some future reader of this essay will have the intellectual wherewithal to assume the mantle, the challenge, and the curiosity to take this next step. The iconographic relationship between the holder and its history has begun, but it should not end here.

## Canova's 'The Three Graces': from marble to meerschaum

by Ben Rapaport

After more than a century of prim cover-ups, literal and metaphorical, of the sexual content of the greatest nudes in art, experts have been waking up to the erotic, even pornographic, potential. As Blake Gopnik wrote in 'In Art We Lust' (*The Washington Post*, November 8, 2009):

I think it essential that we understand them as objects in the context of men wanting to look at naked women.

Today's art historians don't believe that all the many masterpiece works of art with a capacity to titillate detract from the works' importance or sophistication. Nudes were depicted in sculpture and vase paintings by the ancient Greeks, in Roman wall paintings at Pompeii, Botticelli's allegorical painting, 'Springtime', Titan's 'Venus With a Mirror', Goya's 'Nude Maja', Courbet's 'Origin of the World', and Canova's 'The Three Graces', just a few examples of this art genre that could be called lusty aesthetics.

### Significance of the number three

To the Chinese, three is a perfect number; to the Mayan, the sacred number of woman; Egyptians saw it as the number of the cosmos; to the Japanese, it is three treasures: truth/courage/compassion. In Christianity, the Trinity and concepts such as body/mind/spirit, refer to the makeup of a human being. We have been encouraged to live and act in faith/hope/charity. The combination of thought, word, and deed is the sum of the capability of humans. As Paul Fussell claims:

In early Christianity the enemies are three: the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, just as the virtues are three: Faith, Hope, and Charity. And in adjacent mythologies there are three Furies, three Graces, and three Harpies, Norns, or Weird Sisters (Fussell 1975, 128).

### The artist

Antonio Canova was born in Italy in 1757, the son of a stonemason. When his mother remarried in 1762 after his father's death, he was sent to live with his grandfather, also a stonemason and sculptor. His talents recognized, he was apprenticed to the sculptor Giuseppe Bernardi and moved to Venice. By the time he was 18, he had opened his first studio, and in 1780 he moved to Rome. His style comes from the close study and understanding of ancient Roman sculptors, and there is a consistent theme of Greek and Roman mythology in all his sculptures. Canova is considered the quintessential sculptor and in all respects, until perhaps the maturity of Rodin, he was the role model for all aspiring sculptors.

## The sculpture

Artists throughout the ages have found 'The Three Graces' an appealing subject. They were depicted in Greek sculpture and vase paintings, in Roman wall paintings at Pompeii, in later, allegorical paintings, and in the marble statue of Canova. Their prominence in the world of art is somewhat surprising, because their role in mythology was not great. Canova sculpted more than a dozen figural groups in marble and cast-plaster, but none of equivalent beauty of 'The Three Graces' - considered the most expensive sculpture in the world - frequently depicted as Rubenesque-looking, anatomically correct, naked sisters with their hands on each other's shoulders, the two outer figures looking one way, and the middle one looking the other; it stands approximately five feet, four inches in height. The Duke of Bedford commissioned this sculpture for Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire, England, after he saw a previous version commissioned by the Empress Josephine. Finished sometime between 1814 and 1817, it arrived at the Abbey in 1819 where it was surrounded by other neo-classical sculptures for nearly two centuries (Fig. 16).

Frederick, Earl of Carlisle heaped praise on the sculpture in his paean, 'To The Duke of Bedford on His Group of the Three Graces':

Tis well in stone to have three Graces,  
With lovely limbs, and lovely faces;  
But better far, and not in stone,  
To have the Three combined in One (Howard 1820,  
60).

Who were these three girls? They were the daughters of the god Zeus and the nymph Eurynome, three sister goddesses who attended Venus, the goddess of love. They were an ancient symbol of liberality: Aglaia (Splendour, or Elegance), who gave away; Euphrosyne (Mirth), the sister who received; and Thalia, (Good Cheer, or Youth and Beauty), who gave back. In Greek mythology, they are the goddesses of joy, charm, and beauty. They presided over banquets, dances, and all other pleasurable social events, and brought joy and goodwill to both gods and mortals. They were the special attendants of the divinities of love, Aphrodite and Eros, and together with companions, the Muses, they sang to the gods on Mount Olympus, and danced to beautiful music that the god Apollo made upon his lyre. In some legends Aglaia was wed to Hephaestus, the craftsman among the gods. They were believed to endow artists and poets with the ability to create beautiful works of art. They were almost always together as a kind of triple embodiment of grace and beauty. In art they are usually represented as lithe young maidens, dancing in a circle, a popular subject for artists of all kinds around the world. Standing close together, the only covering they wear is a delicately placed drape. They are traditionally shown with one sister in the middle facing backwards, but Canova has his beauties all facing the same way, leaning in towards each other. Although veiled for modesty, one can admire how lifelike Canova's white marble statue is,

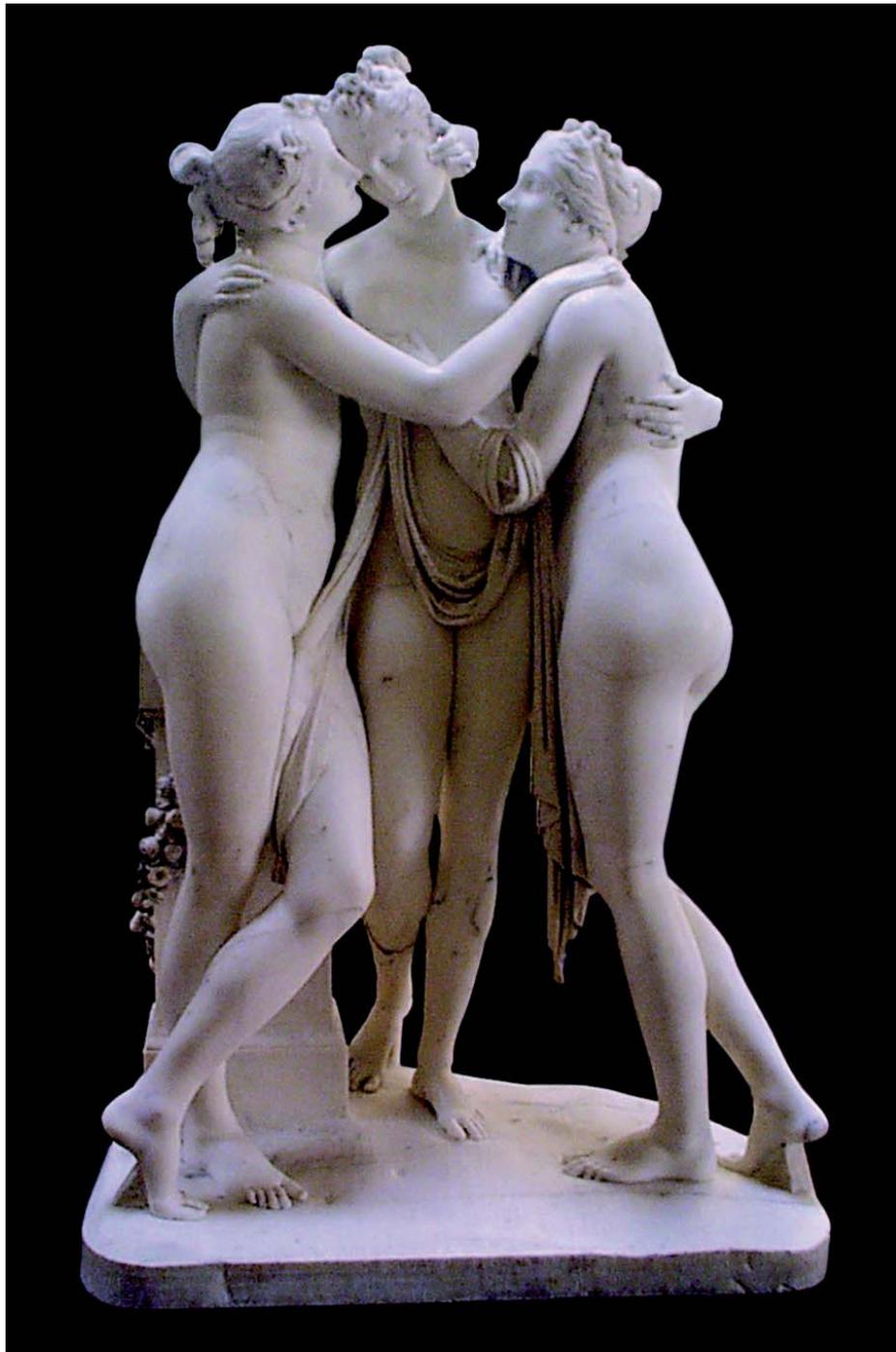
the freedom in the arms, the delicacy in the hands, the elegance of their coiffures, and the affectionate manner in which these three entwine; lovingly caressing the others, each sister is serene and peaceful, if somewhat erotic.

## Expressions in art and literature

Canova's model has been replicated many times on canvas and in etchings. Perhaps the earliest discovered is 'The Three Graces', a fresco by an unknown Roman artist, 79 A.D., found at Pompeii; Sir Peter Paul Rubens, 'The Three Graces'; George Frederick Watts, 'The Three Graces'; Jacques Louis David, 'Mars Disarmed by Venus and The Three Graces'; Lucas Cranach the Elder, 'The Three Graces'; Sandro Botticelli; Jacopo Carucci; 'The Three Graces' by John Singer Sargent; and many others. There are also expressions by three contemporary artists, Michael Parkes, Gary Kaemmer, and Linda Apple. And that's not everything painted, sculpted, etched, chiselled, and carved of this subject. So famous was this sculpture that several books have been written about it and Canova, as well as a few reprises in other mediums, among them, Edward Granville, *The Three Graces. A Comedy in One Act* (1889); Gilbert Abbott à Beckett, *The Three Graces*, a classical and comical, musical and mythological burlesque in two acts (1853); The Duchess (pseudo.), *The Three Graces* (1895), and *The Three Graces*, a 1988 Russian opera-parody composed by Vladimir Tarnopolsky. No doubt, there is much more that I have not cited, so is it any surprise, then, with all the interest, attention, and notoriety that Canova's sculpture had received, someone decided to carve its likeness in meerschaum?

## Replicate art in meerschaum

Even in the nineteenth century, an early stage of globalization was operative in a regional sense. Think of it: Greece, Rome, Rubens (Flemish), Canova (Italian), all having a slight degree of connection with the sculpture, ample evidence that communications of a limited kind travelled in those days. And anyone who might have given thought to carving a meerschaum pipe or a cheroot holder in the sculpture's likeness would have been a nineteenth century craftsman from Austria, Germany, or France; from about 1850 to 1925, these three countries had the most skilled carvers with agile hands and an eye for art. Canova's sculpture was not only a challenge, but also an inspiration, to reproduce it in miniature, given an appropriate amount of raw material and the time to execute it. Who these unsung artisans were, how many might have undertaken the challenge, how many variant configurations might have been produced; all these questions remain a mystery never to be solved. A few carvers must have admired the sculpture sufficiently enough; after all, imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. It is unfortunate that everyone can associate 'The Three Graces' with Canova, but without a clue of any kind, it is impossible to determine who might have carved the two meerschaum expressions illustrated in this article. I would like to believe that many other likenesses were produced, and that those others are still in existence somewhere in the world in private collections or in museum vaults. The



**Figure 16:** Canova's sculpture of the three graces commissioned by the Duke of Bedford, carved between 1814 and 1817.

first image is the property of a private American collector, a striking interpretation of 'The Three Graces' as a table pipe standing 31.5 inches in height including the pedestal, supposedly produced by the Ludwig Hartmann Company, Vienna, for the 1873 *Weltausstellung* (World's Fair) in that city (Fig. 17). To create a functioning pipe, a few modifications and adaptations were required, and it is also evident that the artist used his discretion to make a few artistic changes, but the resemblance is unquestionable. Discounting the wood pedestal, these changes are readily apparent: the young women have been separated, the body drapes have been removed, and their arms uplifted to

support a tray and a pitcher forming the pipe bowl. Added to this scene is a winged putto at the base, and a bird and a rose atop the underside of the tray.

The second expression, a cheroot holder, is considered to be a 'one-off' version, a variant, or The Three Graces updated for the genteel Victorian era. This 7-inch cheroot holder, made in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Fig. 18), is also the property of an American collector. Here the three young women are transformed from scantily-clad nudes to prim and proper young ladies believed to be The Three Virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, one helmeted and



*Figure 17: Meerschaum table pipe depicting the 'Three Graces', c1873.*



*Figure 18: 'Three Graces' meerschaum cheroot holder, second half of the nineteenth century.*

one with a cornucopia; on the shank, below and in front are foliate scrolls; there is an amber mouthpiece and an amber insert in the silver wind cover. Just like Canova's work, the products of these two unidentified meerschaum master-carvers are remarkable for their purity, beauty, simplicity and execution.

Today, there are porcelain, bronze, cold-cast marble, stone, and resin figurine-size replicas of the Three Graces for sale, and even tempera on paper of them dancing, but on reflection, other than Canova's rendition in marble, and these two relatively similar artefacts in meerschaum - there may be yet more to be discovered - there are too few three-dimensional versions in other mediums that illuminate the beauty and finesse of his original in marble. That level of detail is not lost on the cheroot holder and, more specifically, the table pipe. In particular, the table pipe exhibits the affinity of the artist (or artists), an excellent example of handcraftsmanship in one medium adapted to and transformed into another medium.

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## Presentation pipes, with particular reference to the Queen Alexandra pipe

by Susie White

### Introduction

In 2009 two members of the Academy, John Adler and Felix van Tienhoven, began research into a presentation pipe that was mentioned in a newspaper article in the *Leeuwarder Courant* dated November 8, 1901 (Fig.1). The Dutch text can be translated as:

The 6000 tobacco pipes that the Queen intends to send privileged regiments in South Africa as a Christmas present have been made in France. The finishing touches will be added in England, that is to say the silver mounting with the monogram of the Queen.

**De zesduizend tabakspijpen die de koningin als kerstgeschenk naar eenige bevoorrechte regimenten in Zuid-Afrika zenden wil, werden gemaakt in Frankrijk. Men zal er in Engeland de laatste hand aan leggen, d. w. z. ze voorzien van het zilveren beslag met het naamcijfer der koningin.**

*Figure 1: Extract from the Leeuwarder Courant, 11th November 1901.*

One of the pipes in question survives in the Adler Collection. The pipe is housed in a specially designed case with a hinged lid. A sloping panel at the front of the case has a hand written label attached which reads:

This pipe was made at the GBD factory at the time of the Boer War. It is one of a large number made by special command of H.M. Queen Alexandra and was included in a Christmas parcel she sent to every soldier fighting in the campaign. Of special interest is Her Majesty's crest, engraved on the silver band of the pipe.

The pipe itself is made of briar wood and has a brown vulcanite mouthpiece (Fig. 2). The silver mount bears the monogram of Queen Alexandra (two crossed As) above which is a crown (Fig. 3), and a maker's mark AO (Fig. 4). There are no clear hallmarks on the silver band, although there are worn areas next to the maker's mark which could be the remnants of a hallmark. The pipe has been heavily smoked and at some point during its life the bowl has broken off, but has since been repaired.

Despite their best efforts both John Adler and Felix van Tienhoven were left with a number of unanswered questions about this particular type of pipe and the circumstances



*Figure 2: Queen Alexandra briar from the Adler Collection (photograph by David Higgins).*



*Figure 3: Detail of the royal monogram on the Queen Alexandra briar (Adler Collection; photograph by David Higgins).*



*Figure 4: Detail of the AO maker's mark (Adler Collection; photograph by David Higgins).*

surrounding its manufacture. What else is known about presentation pipes in general? Is the attribution to GBD correct given that the pipe is marked AO? Who paid for them? Finally, how were they distributed and to whom?

This paper will look at the whole phenomenon of presentation pipes, principally from a British perspective, but with some evidence drawn from contemporary European accounts. It will then consider the phenomenon of pipes being given as gifts by members of the royal family from the late nineteenth century through to the Great War. Finally, by drawing on newspaper accounts of the day, it will look at the surviving evidence for the production and distribution of the Queen Alexandra pipes in an attempt to answer the questions posed by this particular example.

### What is a presentation pipe?

The Queen Alexandra pipe falls under the broad heading of a 'presentation pipe', which is something of a catch-all phrase that is rather ambiguously used to draw together and label pipes that are seen as a little bit 'special' or out of the ordinary, or that were either presented as gifts, or as tokens of thanks or esteem. In reality these pipes were not really any different to any other pipe that would have been produced and used, but the simple act of presenting them as a gift, for whatever reason, appears to have elevated them so that they are perceived as something special or different.

These so called 'presentation pipes' appear to be a part of a tradition that is not peculiar to one particular type of pipe, or even any one period. From the seventeenth century, in England, giant clay pipes survive covered with multiple stamps. The giant pipes were not practical in terms of a means by which to smoke tobacco, but that they were specially produced as a novelty item and could

therefore fall in to the category of a 'presentation pipe'. In the early part of the nineteenth century, coiled clay pipes, often referred to generically as 'Staffordshire pipes', were sometimes made bearing the name of an individual and a date. These can be regarded as the earliest English presentation pipes since the name given on the pipe is generally considered to either be that of a new born child, and therefore the pipe was given to the parents around the time of the birth, or of an individual who received the pipe at their 'coming of age'. Higgins (2005, 34) cites two examples formerly in the Wills Collection, the first inscribed 'D DAVIS 1807' (Fig. 5), and a second marked 'JOHN HUGHES 1808' (Macartney 1906, Plate V). Of a slightly later date are examples marked 'FRANCES HIGGANS 1820' in the Pijpenkabinet, Amsterdam, and another, formerly in the Wills Collection, inscribed 'THOMAS NICHOLLS 1823' (Edings 1931, Plate VII). These coiled pipes could also have been presented as gifts to a dignitary or, as in the case of the Shropshire firm W. Southorn & Co, to royalty. During the 1950s Southorn's of Broseley, Shropshire, produced an elaborate display of coiled and twisted churchwarden pipes for King Farouk of Egypt, but unfortunately he was exiled before they could be presented (Higgins 2005, 38).

Some metal pipes can also be seen as 'presentation pipes', for example, a George III churchwarden that was presented to the President of the *Smoking Society*, which was founded in 1790, and was, until recently, in the collection of the Birmingham Assay Office (Tienhoven 2005). Meerschaums too were used as presentation pipes, such as an example in the Higgins Collection, which has an inscription on the silver mount reading 'M<sup>rs</sup> Stent to M<sup>r</sup>. JOHN JACKSON' (Fig. 6). Similarly, there is a splendid boxed meerschaum in the collections of the Hungarian National Museum that was presented to George Bentham at the Chester Regatta on 19 August 1845 (Fig. 7).



Figure 5: Staffordshire coiled pipe marked D DAVIS 1807, with insert showing detail of the mark (Higgins Collection Acc. No.: 21502.59; photograph by David Higgins).



**Figure 6:** Meerschaum pipe in the form of mythical character, possibly Puck, with a silver mount, shown as an insert, bearing the inscription Mrs Stent to MR. JOHN JACKSON (Higgins Collection Acc. No.: 1108.17; photograph by David Higgins).



**Figure 7:** Meerschaum pipe presented to George Bentham at the Chester Regatta 10 August 1845 with the lettering vivimus in fumo on the silver cap (Hungarian National Museum Acc. No. D.2004.1.100; photography by András Dabasi).

Such 'presentation pipes', no matter which medium they were produced in, were clearly meant to be something special; an object that would have been considered worthy either as a gift, to mark a special event, or as a token of thanks or esteem to a specific person. These pipes appear to have been marked with an inscription or presented in a box to set them apart from an ordinary every-day pipe and, although they were still fully functioning pipes, it is possible that they were intended to be kept as display pieces rather than actually used.

### Pipes for the troops

Pipes given to troops can also be considered to be 'presentation pipes'. The giving of gifts, often including smoking related items such as cigarettes, cigars, pipes and tobacco, to military personnel is a tradition that can be traced back to at least 1855. An article in the Jackson Oxford Journal dated 27<sup>th</sup> January 1855 reports that:

Mr. Leonard Sedgwick, pipe-maker, of Barnsley, despatched a day or two ago, 5000 pipes of his own manufacture to the Crimea for the British forces there (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Saturday, January 27, 1855; Issue 5309).

In France too in 1855, Napoleon III granted every member of his army 300g of tobacco every ten days (Delon and Gouault 2006, 144) and in 1870 in Germany, Crown Prince Frederick William sent a Christmas gift of a pipe with his portrait to 'every soldier of his gallant army' (Hervier 1916, 195).

In Britain at Christmas 1899, Queen Victoria sent out tins of chocolate embossed with her portrait and with the date 1900 on them. These were provided by the three major chocolate companies, Fry's, Cadbury's and Rowntree's, each of whom initially produced 40,000 tins. This was probably the first time that a reigning monarch had ever given such a personal gift to their serving soldiers (Huxtins, accessed 11.02.12). The tins were sent out at a point in the war when British troops had suffered some of their worst defeats and the gift of chocolate fuelled a number of barbed comments from fellow Europeans. French cartoonists, in particular, had a field day, with one of them saying 'Chocolate Victoria. Just the thing for treating all the wounded you've got' (Canadian Anglo-Boer War Museum, accessed 12.02.2012). Despite these quips, however, the chocolate was appreciated and the tradition of gift giving from royalty continued until at least 1914 when the then 17 year old Princess Mary, daughter of King George V and Queen Mary, launched the H.R.H. The Princess Mary's Sailors' and Soldiers' Christmas Fund. This fund was to raise the money needed to send Christmas gifts to every British soldier and sailor serving overseas and rapidly exceeded its target of £100,000. By the time the fund closed in the 1920s it had reached in excess of £200,000. These gifts included a few little luxuries that were intended to make life on the front line a little more bearable; chocolate, something to smoke and sometimes even a pair of warm woollen socks and a

clean handkerchief. The majority of the gifts were geared towards the smoker and included a briar pipe.

Such gifts were clearly viewed by many European nations as being important for the morale of their troops on the front line. In December 1914, Crown Prince Frederick Wilhelm stated that:

My grandfather, the Crown Prince Frederick William, for the Christmas of 1870, sent every soldier of his gallant army - your fathers and your grandfathers - a pipe with his portrait. I am doing the same thing. May this modest gift to my loyal companions in arms be a souvenir of our Christmas celebrated together, in the greatest days of Germany! (Hervier 1916, 195).

This *Kaiserliche*, or royal gift, comprised a large meerschaum pipe for the troops and a box of cigars for the officers. Belgian and French troops also received moral boosting gifts. In the case of the Belgian troops these gifts were paid for by funds raised in America. An article in the *New York Times* published on 11<sup>th</sup> March 1918 reports:

Senator Henri la Fonatine of Belgium, President of the Executive Committee in charge of raising funds in America to supply gifts for Belgian soldiers, in a statement yesterday said: "A great misapprehension exists today in the minds of the American public. It seems to think that the entire Belgian army is interned with the rest of the population of Belgium within the Germany lines. From this it is assumed that the Belgian relief, which has provided for the support of these people, includes the soldiers and that the soldiery are, as it were, a mere inanimate part of the Military activities. The contrary is the case. These soldiers subsist on ten cents a day, their official compensation, which comes to them from the seat of the Belgian Government at Havre. For everything else, to meet the privations of their work, support must come from the populations of other countries. It is to keep up the morale of these Belgian soldiers that we are endeavoring to raise in America a fund of \$100,000 a year, as long as the war lasts, to supply those small comforts for the Belgian soldiers that are now being supplied to the soldiers of other nations through the various funds that have been supplied for that purpose. By comforts I mean tobacco, books, and all of the little things that the soldiers need so much." The Guaranty Trust Company is the depository of the fund, and A. G. Hemphill, the Chairman of the board of that company, is one of the New York committee.

The press from the period is full of examples of 'silver-mounted briar pipes' and tobacco being given to soldiers about to head back to the front in South Africa. For example, Private George Page, reservist of the East Yorkshire Regiment, employed at The Stoves Department in the North Road Engine Shed, was presented with a

silver-mounted pipe, tobacco pouch, a supply of tobacco and a purse of silver (*The North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 20<sup>th</sup> December 1899). Likewise, Mr. Edward McConnell who was employed at Messrs Craig, Taylor and Co.'s shipyard, was presented with a silver-mounted briar pipe and a pouch of tobacco together with a meerschaum pipe and tobacco, not to mention a purse of gold. These items were all subscribed for by his fellow workers and the Ancient Order of Druids with whom he was also connected (*The North Eastern Daily Gazette*, 20<sup>th</sup> December 1899). Finally, the *North Eastern Daily Gazette* for the 20<sup>th</sup> November 1899 records that Private Thomas Coulthard of the 1<sup>st</sup> Royal Warwickshire Regiment, who was 'called upon to re-join his regiment in South Africa', had received a mounted meerschaum pipe and cigar holder, tobacco, matchbox and tobacco pouch and a box of cigars, all subscribed for 'by his friends'. Other examples can be found on an almost weekly basis throughout 1899 and 1900 (see Appendix 1).

Even after the Boer war this tradition of giving a pipe continued. In July 1905, *The Times* reported on an event that took place at Buckingham Palace on the afternoon of 24<sup>th</sup> July, when Chelsea Pensioners and nurses were invited to meet King Edward VII, Queen Alexandra and other members of the royal family. After an inspection by the King each man was presented with 'a briar pipe with the royal cipher stamped on it and a quarter pound of tobacco'.

#### Queen Alexandra's pipes

Alexandra of Denmark was married to the eldest son of Queen Victoria, Albert Edward. Following Victoria's death in January 1901, Albert Edward succeeded to the throne as King Edward VII. In an attempt to do what she could for the British troops serving in South Africa, and following in the footsteps of her mother-in-law, Alexandra decided to continue this growing trend of giving pipes and other gifts to boost morale. During the winter months of 1901 the world press was buzzing with news of a generous Christmas gift from Queen Alexandra, with articles appearing in papers as diverse as the *Daily Telegraph* (Fig. 8), the *New York Times* (Fig. 9), the *Auckland Star* (Fig. 10), the *Leeuwarder Courant* in the Netherlands (Fig. 1 above) and the *Revue de Cercle* in France (Fig. 11). A full list of the references found is given in Appendix 2.

LONDON, NOV. 4.  
The Queen is sending silver-mounted briar pipes to the South African troops as Christmas presents.

*Figure 8:* Daily Telegraph, Issue 9384, 5th November 1901, Page 5.

#### From Queen Alexandra to the Troops.

LONDON, Nov. 4.—Queen Alexandra, following the example of Queen Victoria, is sending Christmas gifts to the troops in South Africa. For this purpose she has ordered thousands of briar pipes, each silver mounted and bearing the stamp of the crown and her Majesty's monogram.

*Figure 9:* New York Times, 4th November 1901.

The Queen is sending silver-mounted briar pipes to the South African troops at Christmas.

*Figure 10:* Auckland Star, Volume XXXII, Issue 254, 5th November 1901, Page 5.

#### Le cadeau de Noël aux troupes du Sud-Africain.

— La Press Association annonce que la reine se propose d'envoyer aux troupes servant actuellement au Sud-Africain son cadeau de Noël. On a commandé dans ce but plusieurs milliers de pipes avec monture en argent sur lesquelles seront gravés une couronne et le chiffre de la reine.

*Figure 11:* Revue de Cercle Militaire, Bulletin de la Réunion des Officiers, 16th November 1901.

The majority of these newspaper articles were repetitive in what they said and did not really give much detail. However, by sifting through them, more and more information regarding the nature of the gift has started to emerge. *The Times* dated 1<sup>st</sup> November 1901, for example, stated that:

The Press Association learns that the Queen proposes to make a Christmas present to a number of soldiers now serving at the front. Her Majesty has ordered some thousands of good briar pipes, silver mounted. It is understood that the makers will be required to deliver the consignment in good time to allow of their reaching South Africa before Christmas.

By December 1901 a little more information has been released to the press about the nature of the pipes themselves:

Five thousand, five hundred silver mounted briar pipes, ordered by the Queen for presentation to men of those regiments in South Africa with which Her Majesty is more directly connected, will be despatched this week to South Africa, consigned to Lord Kitchener. The pipes which have Queen Alexandra's monogram on a broad silver band and

are of high quality, every bowl being warranted  
(*The Daily Telegraph*, 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1901).

### Who made the pipes?

Although there appears to be plenty of evidence to show that Queen Alexandra ordered some 5, 500 briar pipes (6,000 if the *Leeuwarder Courant* is to be believed), there is far less evidence from the surviving newspapers as to who made the pipes or who paid for them.

As can be seen from the earlier discussion, a number of these presentation pipes were given by individuals, or companies, to employees returning to the front and the majority of these 'gifts', which often included tobacco pouches, and a purse of either gold or silver, were usually subscribed for by friends and work colleagues. In some instances special funds were set up to which people could make donations, as was the case with the Sailor and Soldiers Christmas Fund, set up by Princess Mary in 1914. In *The Western Mail* on 14<sup>th</sup> November 1899, in addition to silver-mounted briar pipes that were to be 'presented to each non-commissioned officer of the 4th Mountain Battery Royal Artillery' by Dr. Rutherford Harris, reference is made to a 'Tobacco Fund'. This fund was set up by Mr. F. P. Robjnt in an attempt to provide tobacco for the troops to smoke in their pipes. The newspaper reports that within two days 'two hundredweight of the weed [tobacco]' had been subscribed, which 'will provide a good smoke amongst 776 men'.

As well as individual recipients of these 'presentation pipes', there are references to a number of large groups of pipes that were distributed to whole regiments, over and above those given by Queen Alexandra. For example on the 28<sup>th</sup> December 1899 *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* reports that Lord Pirbright presented 1,000 briar pipes and 200lb of tobacco as a New Year gift to members of the East and West Surrey Regiments in South Africa.

The two most useful articles, however, not only report on who was to receive the pipes, but they give a little more information about where those pipes might have come from. The first example comes from an article that appeared in the *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, on 13<sup>th</sup> January 1900. This article reports that an appeal for volunteers had been made by Colonel Hutchinson, as part of which they were to be presented with a pipe and tobacco. Fifteen volunteers had reported to Colonel Hutchison for active service in South Africa and, true to his word, he presented them with a 'silver mounted briar pipe and a pound of tobacco' supplied by J. and H. Ablewhite, tobacconists, of Grantham. Col. Hutchinson later published his letter of thanks to Miss Ablewhite. The census returns for Grantham for 1891 and 1901 indicate that J. and H. Ablewhite were in fact two sisters, Jessie and her younger sister Hilda both born and raised in Grantham, Lincolnshire. In 1901 they were living at 20 High Street, Grantham, and were both working as tobacconists. On the census records it states that they were working 'on their own account'.

Although this provides the name of the tobacconist who supplied the pipes and tobacco, it does not provide any information as to who actually made the pipes. The second example, however, might.

In the *Belfast Newsletter* for the 12<sup>th</sup> December 1899 it was reported that the members of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Royal Irish Rifles from Belfast and District were to be the recipients of a silver-mounted briar root pipe, a tin of 'Three Castle' cigarettes, 1lb of 'Capstan' tobacco, two pairs of woollen socks, six handkerchiefs and a linen 'huck' towel (Fig. 12). The article goes on to list the subscribers to the fund that was to pay for these gifts and states that 'W. D. and H. O. Wills & Co., Bristol, had been directed to forward the tobacco, 'good pipes' and cigarettes'. Among the list of disbursements is the name of Messrs Leahy, Kelly and Leahy Limited, as the suppliers of the '1,000 good briar-root pipes'. It is quite difficult to trace Messrs Leahy and Kelly in the documentary records but they would appear to have been wholesale and retail tobacconists operating from 2-4 Castle Place, Belfast and appear in the Belfast/ Ulster Street Directory at that address in 1901.

All of these examples provide tantalising evidence that these silver-mounted briar pipes were clearly looked upon as suitable gifts or 'presentation pipes' to give to soldiers, or sailors, heading off to the front line. It is also clear that the tobacconists of the day had access to them, often in quite large numbers, but which firm were supplying the pipes for the Queen's gift?

On the 4<sup>th</sup> November 1901 *The Times* reported that:

Her Majesty has ordered some thousands of good briar pipes, silver mounted, and upon the mount of each one is to be stamped a Crown and the Queen's monogram. It is understood that the makers will be required to deliver the consignment in good time to allow of their reaching South Africa before Christmas.

By the 12<sup>th</sup> November 1901 there is a little more information with *The Times* now reporting that:

A portion of the consignment of pipes intended by the Queen as a gift to the men of the regiments in South African with which she is directly connected has been delivered to her Majesty. There are two varieties of shape, the other edge of the bowl being practically straight in the case of one and somewhat rounded in the other. Each pipe is fitted with a substantial straight mouthpiece of black vulcanite, and each has a broad and fairly heavy silver band, upon the upper side of which is stamped a crown with the Queen's monogram immediately beneath it. The pipes are of British fitting, but, as it was desired to get the highest quality of briar, the bowls are of French wood.

Interestingly it is a report in the *Wanganui Chronicle* dated 9<sup>th</sup> January 1902, that provides the most information with

## BELFAST AND THE ROYAL IRISH RIFLES.

### THE CITY'S CHRISTMAS PRESENT.

#### A SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENT.

We have been supplied with the following report of the work done in connection with the sending of the Christmas present to the 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Rifles:—

Committee—The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Right Honourable Thomas Sinclair, P.C.; Sir James Henderson, J.P.; Colonel R. G. Shannon-Crawford, D.L.; the Dean of Belfast, E. Ashley Spiller, William Clarke, R. Fitzsimmons, and S. Carson.

#### RECEIPTS.

To Subscriptions	
Per "Belfast News-Letter" .....	£74 10 2
" "Northern Whig" .....	22 7 2
" "Evening Telegraph" .....	19 11 10
" "Ulster Echo" .....	8 7 6
" E. A. Spiller (treasurer) .....	172 17 9
" " (by collection-boxes) .....	113 11 2
	£411 5 7

#### DISBURSEMENTS.

By Messrs. W. D. & H. O. Wills, Limited (per their local agents, Messrs. J. Young & Son)—2,000 lbs. best tobacco, and 1,000 tins best cigarettes, both duty free .....	£150 0 0
Messrs. Leahy, Kelly, & Leahy, Limited—1,000 good briar-root pipes .....	35 8 4
Messrs. John Arnott & Co., Limited—2,000 pairs good woollen socks .....	71 0 0
Messrs. Lindsay, Thompson, & Co., Limited—1,000 ½ dozens pocket handkerchiefs .....	52 1 8
Ulster Weaving Co., Limited—1,000 good linen huck towels .....	22 6 7
Advertisements—Acknowledging subscriptions, &c.—"News-Letter," £5 14s; "Evening Telegraph," £5 10s; "Ulster Echo," £5. "Northern Whig" made no charge. ....	16 4 0
Sundry expenses (printing, carriage, postages, &c.) .....	7 2 4
	£354 2 11
Total cost of gifts .....	£354 2 11
Balance for Lady Mayoress's fund .....	57 2 8
	£411 5 7

The response given to the request for the above funds was most prompt, hearty, and generous from all classes, and greatly exceeded the highest anticipations of the committee. The gifts selected represent:—

1. 1 lb. best navy cut "Capstan" tobacco.
2. A good silver-mounted briar-root pipe.
3. A tin (50) best "Three Castle" cigarettes.
4. 2 pairs good woollen socks.
5. 6 full-sized pocket handkerchiefs.
6. A good linen huck towel.

for each man (and some additional). The tobacco, pipes, and cigarettes were duly despatched from Southampton on the 4th inst., and the remaining presents leave Belfast to-day. After paying all the accounts and expenses, a handsome balance of £57 2s 8d remains in hands for the Lady Mayoress's fund.

The committee desire to express their most warm and hearty thanks to every subscriber, to the proprietors of the local newspapers for their strong and most favourable support and assistance in receiving subscriptions; to Messrs. William Strain & Sons, who kindly made and supplied the collection boxes gratis; also to the many business houses and good friends who voluntarily collected subscriptions or took charge of collection boxes, and otherwise assisted in making the fund such a complete success.

E. ASHLEY SPILLER,  
Secretary and Treasurer.

Belfast Bank, Belfast, 12th December, 1899.

#### COPIES OF LETTERS FORWARDING THE PRESENTS.

Belfast Bank, Belfast,  
30th November, 1899.

DEAR SIR—I have the honour and pleasure to inform you that Messrs. W. D. & H. O. Wills & Co., Bristol, have been directed to forward to you (to be delivered in good condition)—

- 2,000 ½ lb. tins of best tobacco.
- 1,000 good pipes, and
- 1,000 tins of best cigarettes,

as a small Christmas present from Belfast and district to the officers and men of the Royal Irish Rifles under your command. The money for this present was most heartily subscribed in a few days by all classes in response to a request, copy of which I enclose, published in the local papers, and made (as you will observe from the newspaper cuttings I also send) at the thoughtful and modest suggestion of a lady.

I also take the liberty of mentioning, what perhaps may already be known to you, that a most successful fund has been established by the Lady Mayoress of the city for the care and support of the families or dependents of all soldiers on active service resident in the city or neighbourhood, and to extend help for this purpose to other districts.

Every person in the city and district is taking the deepest and most confident interest in the movements of the Royal Irish Rifles, our own good regiment. And I need scarcely say that you and all your brave men have our most sincere and most hearty good wishes and prayers for the great honour and success of the regiment, and speedy triumphant return amongst us. On behalf of all the inhabitants of the city and district, I am desired to tender to you and every man in the regiment a most heartfelt Christmas greeting.

Yours sincerely,

E. ASHLEY SPILLER,  
Secretary of the Christmas Fund.

To the officer commanding 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Rifles, South Africa.

Belfast Bank, Belfast, 12th Dec., 1899.

DEAR SIR—With reference to my letter of the 30th ult. advising you of the despatch of tobacco, pipes, and cigarettes as a Christmas box from Belfast and district to the Royal Irish Rifles, I am most happy to inform you that the subscriptions received have far exceeded the amount anticipated, and a further Christmas gift of

- 2,000 pairs of good woollen socks,
- 1,000 ½ dozen pocket handkerchiefs, and
- 1,000 linen huck towels

has to-day been also despatched, the committee having been advised that these articles would form the most suitable and useful gifts in addition to the tobacco, &c.

Again wishing your good self and all your brave officers and men "All the compliments of the season, and a speedy return to old Ireland"—I am, sir, yours sincerely,

E. ASHLEY SPILLER.

To the officer commanding 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Rifles, South Africa.

Figure 12: The Belfast News-Letter (Belfast, Ireland), Tuesday, 12th December 1899; Issue 26320.

regard to the pipes that were made for Queen Alexandra's gift:

With reference to the gift by Queen Alexandra of pipes to the men of the regiments in South Africa with which she is directly connected, mentioned in the cablegrams recently, the London *Daily News* states that there are two varieties of shape, the other edge of the bowl being practically straight in the case of one and somewhat rounded in the other. Each pipe is fitted with a substantial straight mouthpiece of black vulcanite, and each has a broad and fairly heavy silver band, upon the upper side of which is stamped a crown with the Queen's monogram - two As crossed - immediately beneath it. The pipes are of British fitting, but, as it was desired to get the highest quality of briar, the bowls are of French wood (*Wanganui Chronicle*, 9<sup>th</sup> January 1902; Pg 1).

A very similar pipe to the Adler example was recently sold over the internet (Ebay, accessed 14.02.2012). This is another of Queen Alexandra's pipes and clearly has the embossed silver band with her Majesty's monogram. Unlike the Adler example it also has a Birmingham hallmark for 1901 next to the AO maker's mark, as well as GBD clearly stamped on both the bowl and the mouthpiece (Fig. 13). Armed with this information a closer examination of the Adler pipe was made and it is possible to see the very worn remnants of a GBD mark on the bowl (Fig. 14).

At the end of the nineteenth century and into the early years of the 1900s there were a number of briar pipe producing

firms based in France, in St. Claude, who had connections with foreign clients and agents, including the London based merchant Adolphe Oppenheimer. The relationships between the various firms is quite complicated and a detailed discussion of their interconnections is beyond the scope of this paper (see Cole 1976). However, in order to provide a context for the Queen Alexandra pipes, it is necessary to give a brief overview of the links between GBD and Oppenheimers.

GBD was a brand created by Ganneval Bondier and Donninger, a company established in Paris in 1850 initially producing meerschaum pipes but by 1855 briar pipes had been added to their product range (Cole 1976, 12). The link between GBD and Oppenheimers appears to have been established during the 1870s when Oppenheimers were counted amongst the numerous foreign clients that GBD had. By the end of the nineteenth century A. Oppenheimer and Co. had become GBD's sole British Agent (Cole 1976, 18).

GBD relied heavily on contacts in St Claude for their supply of briar bowls, mainly from C J Verguet Frères. Both GBD and Verguet supplied Oppenheimer with pipes but in order to retain some control over their supply Oppenheimers established their own factory in St Claude in the early 1880s, Sina & Cie (Cole 1976, 26).

The most likely scenario for the production of the Queen Alexandra pipes would seem to be that the bowls were turned in St. Claude, probably at the Verguet factory, then sent to GBD in Paris for polishing and branding, before finally arriving at Oppenheimer's in London for silver mounting (Fig. 15).



**Figure 13:** Queen Alexandra pipe with AO maker's mark and Birmingham hallmarks for 1901. The plaque on the front of the bowl reads 'Presented by Queen Alexandra C. R. Knight PER STAFF 3rd B<sup>n</sup> Scottish Rifles South Africa 1902' (photograph courtesy of James Hammond).



*Figure 14: Queen Alexandra's pipe with detail of the remnants of the GBD stamp on the bowl (Adler Collection; photographs by David Higgins and Susie White).*

### Who paid for the pipes?

The majority of the gifts of pipes to individual soldiers returning to the front line appear to have been paid for by private subscription from friends, work colleagues and perhaps even the man's employer. In the case of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Royal Irish Rifles subscription seems to have been made from members of the public and coordinated through local newspapers such as the *Ulster Echo*, the *Evening Telegraph* and the *Belfast News-letter*. There was also a large proportion of the total fund raised through collection boxes; but what about the pipes for the Queen's gift?

On the 18<sup>th</sup> September 1901 Countess Derby wrote a letter to *The Times* to launch a 'National Appeal - Christmas Gifts for the Troops'. In this open letter she kindly requested readers of the Times to donate funds to the Field Force Fund and reported that it was proposed that each parcel should contain, if possible, 'a pipe and tobacco, a pair of socks or handkerchief, a small plum pudding, a Christmas card and a small housewife'. The 'small housewife' was a sewing kit that contained needles, buttons, thread and small patching of fabric and leather.

The Field Force Fund appears to have been in existence prior to the Boer War. Its remit was to supply a few home comforts 'to those soldiers who were not already provided regimentally' and was specifically geared towards looking after those troops who were in the field of combat.

Countess Derby's scheme to provide Christmas parcels was submitted to Lord Kitchener for his approval and he wrote back from Pretoria on the 16<sup>th</sup> August 1901 saying:

There is no doubt of the great good the Field Force Fund is doing, and I hope you will be able to continue to obtain funds for this most desirable object. I cannot exaggerate my appreciation and praise of the work done by the fund, and I think that so long as hostilities continue so long will its usefulness be undiminished, and I should be very sorry indeed to hear that I could no longer look to it for the comforts which it has so long and so generously bestowed on the troops under my command' (*The Times*, Wednesday, 18<sup>th</sup> September 1901; Pg 6; Issue 36563).

In October 1901 Queen Alexandra agreed to become the patron of the Field Force Fund (Fig.16), which at that time was known as the *Morning Post* Field Force Fund, presumably as many of the contributions were being coordinated through the *Morning Post* newspaper. Later that same month *The Times* reported that the fund had:

...reached a total of £14,250. The contributions received by the editor of the *Morning Post*, yesterday included a sum of £1,462 17s. collected on the London Stock Exchange, at the request of Lady Romilly, two cheques of £100 each from anonymous donors, and a sum of £33 collected from British residents and visitors at Montreux, Switzerland' (*The Times*, Saturday, 19<sup>th</sup> October 1901; pg10; Issue 36590).

There can now be little doubt that the Field Force Fund, under the patronage of Queen Alexandra, paid for these gifts, including the silver mounted briar pipes. What is



Figure 15: An early twentieth-century photograph of Oppenheimer's 'Silver Mounting Room' (Adler Collection).

#### THE FIELD FORCE FUND.

Her Majesty the Queen has graciously accorded her patronage to the *Morning Post* Field Force Fund, and in a letter to Lady Charles Bentinck commands it to be stated that "she is very pleased to give her patronage to the Field Force Fund for sending Christmas gifts to the soldiers, and her Majesty wishes the scheme every success."

Figure 16: Nursing Record and Hospital World, 19th October 1901, Page 310.

not clear is whether the Queen's monogram was put on these pipes simply because she was the patron of the fund, or as a result of some personal donation from the Queen herself. If the price given for the 1,000 silver mounted briar pipes that were given to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Royal Irish Rifles is a true indication of the cost of such pipes, i.e., £35-8-4 (Fig. 13), then the cost for the 5,500 pipes would have been £195-5-10. However, in the Adler archive there is an early twentieth-century reference to Oppenheimers

selling silver-mounted briar pipes at 25/- per dozen, with a surcharge for additional marking on the mount (Adler *pers. comm.* 14.2.12). This would give a price of £572-18-4 for 5,500 pipes, which suggests that these were much better quality pipes than those supplied to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Royal Irish Rifles. The pipes purchased by the Field Force Fund could have cost anything from between £200 and £600. Such a sum could have been donated privately by the Queen, particularly given that some anonymous donors were already giving as much as £100. Unfortunately there is no evidence that has been found to confirm who actually paid for the pipes one way or the other. What is clear is that the Queen clearly felt quite strongly that she wanted to do something to help with the war effort and if, by presenting a gift of a briar pipe to her soldiers on the front line she helped to boost their morale, then her job was done, whether or not that included an actual monetary donation.

In Lord Kitchener's response to Countess Derby in September 1901, he raised the question of what might happen to any surplus funds that were left after the conflict was finally over:

Should there be a surplus after the cessation of the hostilities, I am sure there will be no difficulty in disposing of it to the men's advantage, for it will be some time before the troops can resume normal peace conditions, and until they do so I should like to think that the work of the fund will be continued (*The Times*, Wednesday, 18<sup>th</sup> September 1901; pg 6; Issue 36563).

A decision was made in favour of the men and in *The Times* on the 4<sup>th</sup> November 1902, in an open letter to the editor, Cicely Cavendish Bentinck, on behalf of the Field Force Fund, said that after careful consideration and consultation with Lord Kitchener the recommendation was:

That the money should be given to some organisation for helping the Reservists to obtain employment, and the committee therefore have decided to hand over their balance to the "National Association for the Employment of Reserve Soldiers", of which Colonel A. M. Handley is the Secretary. The committee trusts that this decision will meet with the approval of the subscribers, who by consenting to the proposed arrangements will further benefit the men who have now returned home after their long and arduous work in South Africa (*The Times*, Tuesday, 4<sup>th</sup> November 1902; pg 9; Issue 36916).

Queen Alexandra's association with the Field Force Fund continued up to the Great War by which time it had been re-branded as Queen Alexandra's Field Force Fund.

**Who were the pipes distributed to?**

Having addressed the question of who made the pipes and who paid for them, the final question is who were the pipes actually distributed to?

According to *The Great War Forum* (accessed 10.02.2012) the Queen Alexandra pipes were 'sent to Lord Kitchener, and were given first to Warrant Officers, Staff Sergeants, Sergeants, and specially distinguished soldiers. The remainder was distributed on a proportional basis; 15 to each Cavalry regiment, 22 to each Infantry battalion, and 18 to each Militia Infantry battalion'.

Davis (1906, 266) notes that 'A small draft of 33 non-commissioned officers and men joined on 2nd February [1902], bringing 22 pipes presented by Her Majesty..... for distribution to the best men of the Battalion.' Following a search of records for the 2nd Battalion, The Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment, 1857-1919 (War Office Archives: 7502/152), Davis notes that the following information was found. No date is given but the reference comes within the entries for early 1902:

QUEEN'S PIPES: Twenty two pipes were received for 'Her Majesty The Queen Alexandria' [*sic.*] and were distributed as follows:

Reg. No.	Rank	Name
	Staff Sergeant Major	Robinson
	Staff Sergeant Master	Cook Weston
A 2902	Colour Sergeant	J E Hawkes
A 5635	Private	G Crabb
B 1950	Colour Sergeant	J ? Davies
B 4197	Sergeant	H Penny
C 4382	Sergeant	N Smith
C 5225	Sergeant	A Stemp
D 4038	Sergeant	E Thorne
D 3086	Private	H Roberts
E 2326	Colour Sergeant	C M Barrett
E 3741	Private	F E King
F 5073	Sergeant	A Burnes
F 5145	Private	A Benfield
G 787	Colour Sergeant	W Ewer
G 4025	Sergeant	J Osborne
H 911	Colour Sergeant	R Routley
H 1152	Private	L Denyer
K 3632	Colour Sergeant	J Balchin
K 7541	Sergeant	E Croker
5543	Corporal (Mounted Infantry)	W Smith
4646	Private (Mounted Infantry)	E Buckmaster

Price (1992) talks specifically about the 2<sup>nd</sup> Scottish Horse regiment and notes that Queen Alexandra's pipes were to be awarded to senior non-commissioned officers serving in South Africa. According to information held in the Regimental Museum archives at Dunkeld, in relation to the regiment of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Scottish Horse, those pipes were distributed on the 27<sup>th</sup> January 1902. The following conditions were issued from the Assistant Adjutant General's Office, Pretoria:

The pipes should be given to Warrant Officers, Staff Sergeants, and Sergeants as far as possible in order of seniority, or to specially selected soldiers who have performed distinguished service in the field. You will please forward to me at your earliest convenience a list of names, in duplicate, of those to whom you propose to present the pipes, giving regimental number, rank and full name.....the reasons for the selection should be briefly stated against each name. Upon receipt of this list..... the pipes will be forwarded to the Depot of your regiment where they will be issued to the recipient under Regimental arrangement. The signature of the recipient being taken in each case. The recipient's receipts will be forwarded to this office. The Officer Commanding, 2nd Scottish Horse returned the completed list on 8th March 1902.

**Conclusions**

This study has shown that there is a long-standing tradition of presenting a pipe as a gift to mark some special occasion

or as a token of esteem for service rendered. This tradition dates back to at least the start of the nineteenth century in England and the presentation of pipes to German troops had started by 1870. But it was at the end of that century that large scale presentations of pipes to serving British troops appears to have become particularly popular, with a number of examples of gifts from individuals or organisations to troops serving in the Boer War having been noted. At the same time, Queen Victoria seems to have started a tradition of giving gifts from the monarchy to the troops with her 1899 gift of Christmas chocolates. This was followed in 1901 by Queen Alexandra's gift of silver-mounted pipes, the bands of which were stamped with her personal monogram and an example of which survives in John Adler's collection. These pipes were distributed to the troops according to seniority or for notable service. The cost of this gift was probably met by public subscription, which was supported by the Queen's patronage of the fund set up to raise that money. What is still unknown is whether that fund actually received a private donation from the royal family itself.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank John Adler for loaning the pipe for study and for providing useful comments on the Oppenheimer connections and the briar trade in general; to Felix van Tienhoven for providing information about the article from the *Leewardier Courant*; and to David Higgins for taking the photographs to illustrate this paper and for commenting on its first draft.

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## Appendix 1

Selection of references found relating to the giving of other 'presentation pipes' to men serving in the Boer War, to members of the Naval Brigade and to a Police office as a mark of esteem.

Date	Gift of...	To/From	Source	Additional Notes
1899, Nov 14	Silver mounted briar pipe.	To each non-commissioned officer of the 4th Mountain Battery Royal Artillery by Dr Rutherford Harris.	<i>Western Mail</i> -Cardiff, Wales (Tuesday November 14, 1899; Issue 9509).	In addition to the general town's presentation, Mr. F. P. Robjert started a tobacco fund and in two days had two hundredweight of the weed [tobacco] subscribed, which 'will provide a good smoke amongst 776 men'.
1899, Nov 20	Silver-mounted briar pipe, a pouch filled with tobacco and a purse of gold.	To Mr Tom Prest, employed by Messrs Whitwell's Ironworks, subscribed for by his fellow workmen.	<i>The North-Eastern Daily Gazette</i> - Middlesborough (Thursday December 20, 1899)	Reservist called to the front.
1899, Nov 20	Silver mounted briar pipe, 1lb tobacco, a cigar case filled with cigars, and a purse of gold.	To Mr Patrick FitzPatrick, employed by Messrs Head, Wrightson and Co.'s Teesdale Ironworks.	<i>The North-Eastern Daily Gazette</i> - Middlesborough (Thursday December 20, 1899)	Reservist called to the front.
1899, Nov 20	Silver mounted briar pipe and a pouch of tobacco together with a meerschaum pipe and tobacco, as well as a purse of gold.	To Mr Edward McConnell, employed at Messrs Craig, Taylor and Co's shipyard, subscribed for by his fellow works and the Ancient Order of Druids with whom he was also connected.	<i>The North-Eastern Daily Gazette</i> - Middlesborough (Thursday December 20, 1899)	Reservist called to the front.
1899, Nov 20	Silver-mounted briar pipe, a tobacco pouch, 1lb tobacco, a purse of gold and a gold brooch for his wife.	To Mr John Spence, employed by Messrs Head, Wrightson, and Co, at their Eaglescliffe Foundry., subscribed for by his fellow workmen.	<i>The North-Eastern Daily Gazette</i> - Middlesborough (Thursday December 20, 1899)	Reservist called to the front.
1899, Nov 20	Silver mounted briar pipe and a purse of gold.	To Mr John Gibson.	<i>The North-Eastern Daily Gazette</i> - Middlesborough (Thursday December 20, 1899)	Reservist called to the front.
1899, Nov 20	Mounted meerschaum pipe and cigar holder, tobacco, matchbox and tobacco pouch, and a box of cigars.	To Private Thomas Coulthard of the 1st Royal Warwickshire Regiment, who was called upon to re-join his regiment in South Africa. Subscribed for by his friends.	<i>The North-Eastern Daily Gazette</i> - Middlesborough (Thursday December 20, 1899)	
1899, Nov 20	A handsome silver mounted pipe, tobacco pouch and tobacco.	To Mr Park, of the Princess of Wales's Own Yorkshire Regiment, who was called to re-join his regiment.	<i>The North-Eastern Daily Gazette</i> - Middlesborough (Thursday December 20, 1899)	
1899, Nov 20	Silver-mounted pipe, pouch of tobacco and a purse of gold.	To Mr Ed. Onions, foreman at Messrs Cochrane, Grove and Co.	<i>The North-Eastern Daily Gazette</i> - Middlesborough (Thursday December 20, 1899)	Mr Onions was assured his job would be there for him when he returned. He said he hoped that he 'might be able before his return to strike a blow for his Queen and country'.
1899, Dec 12	Silver-mounted briar root pipe; a tin of 'Three Castle' cigarettes; 1 lb 'Capstan' tobacco; 2 pairs woollen socks; 6 handkerchiefs; a linen huck towel.	To the 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Rifles from Belfast and District.	<i>The Belfast News-letter</i> (Tuesday, December 12, 1899; Issue 26320).	Lists subscribers to the fund that paid for these gifts. Also says that W. D. and H. O. Wills & Co., Bristol have been directed to forward the tobacco, 'good' pipes and cigarettes. In the list of Disbursements, it names Messrs Leahy, Kelly & Leahy Limited as the suppliers of the '1,000 good briar-root pipes'.

Date	Gift of...	To/From	Source	Additional Notes
1899, Dec 27	Silver-mounted pipe and a quantity of tobacco	To each man of the 1 <sup>st</sup> Vol. Batt (Princess of Wales Own) Yorkshire Regiment 'now in South Africa'	<i>The Northern Echo</i> – Darlington (Wednesday, December 27, 1899; Issue 9300).	Reports that the battalion had collected from amongst its members £60 for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association Fund which had been forwarded to Capt. Power, Brigade Major of the East Yorks. Vol. Infantry Brigade. The sum of £20 had also been collected and forwarded to Major Spottishwoode, for the Yorkshire Regiment New Year's Gift Fund, for men of the 1 <sup>st</sup> Battalion now in South Africa.
1899, Dec 28	1000 briar pipes and 200lb of tobacco as a New Year gift.	To the East and West Surrey Regiments in South Africa from Lord Pirbright.	<i>The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post</i> (Thursday December 28, 1899; Issue 16110)	
1899, Dec 30	Silver-mounted pipe, tobacco pouch, a supply of tobacco and a purse of silver.	Private George Page, reservist of the East Yorkshire Regiment, employed at The Stoves Department in the North Road Engine Sheds.	<i>The North-Eastern Daily Gazette</i> - Middlesborough (Thursday December 30, 1899)	
1900, Jan 13	One pound of tobacco and a silver mounted briar pipe.	Presented to 15 volunteers for active service in South Africa by J and H Ablewhite, tobacconists, Grantham.	<i>Nottinghamshire Guardian</i> (Saturday, January 13, 1900; pg 4; Issue 2851).	Volunteers came forward following an appeal from Colonel Hutchinson. Ablewhite's then wrote to Col. Hutchinson with their offer of a pipe and tobacco gift to all those who volunteered. Hutchinson's published his letter of thanks to a Miss Ablewhite.
1900, Feb 3	Silver-mounted briar pipe and a 1/4lb tin of tobacco.	To each of the men of the 1st V. B. Leicestershire regiment going to South Africa from the Marquis of Granby (Hon. Colonel).	<i>The Times</i> (Saturday, Feb 03, 1900; pg 12; Issue 36056; col B.).	
1900, Mar 17	Silver mounted briar pipe, pouch and tobacco and a purse of money.	To Mr Frank Bartlett of the Devon Regiment, leaving to join General Buller's force in South Africa. Subscribed for by his friends.	<i>Trewman's Exeter Flying Post</i> (Saturday, March 17, 1900).	
1900, Mar 17	A handsome silver mounted pipe, silver-mounted pouch bearing his monogram and tobacco.	To Corporal W. Morey of the 4th Battalion Devon Regiment.	<i>Trewman's Exeter Flying Post</i> (Saturday, March 17, 1900).	
1900, Mar 24	Silver mounted briar root pipe, tobacco and a purse of silver.	To Mr Joseph Todd, employed at the North Eastern Railway Company, who left to rejoin the colours of the Field Artillery.	<i>The Yorkshire Herald</i> (Saturday, March 24, 1900; pg 11; Issue 15224).	
1900, Apr 7	Presentation of a silver-mounted briar pipe, a pouch filled with tobacco, and a novelty match box, as a token of their esteem.	To PC L Wilson, by Deputy Chief Constable Superintendent J. R. Hutchinson on behalf of the Alertonshire Division of the North Riding Police Force.	<i>Northern Echo</i> – Darlington (Saturday, April 7, 1900; Issue 9387).	Not a military gift, but one as a mark of esteem.
1900, Apr 25	A tobacco pouch with the words 'Naval Brigade, 1900', a silver-mounted briar pipe, a metal match box and cigarettes.	To members of the Naval Brigade at a gala dinner for St George White and Captain Lambton, in Portsmouth. The Mayor asked men to accept the souvenirs with 'the best wishes of the inhabitants of Portsmouth'.	<i>The Morning Post</i> – London (Wednesday, April 25, 1900; pg 5; Issue 39903).	

Date	Gift of...	To/From	Source	Additional Notes
1900, Jul 20	Two cases, Nos. 1 and 2. Tobacco, 800 canisters for officers; two cases Nos. 3 and 4., tobacco, 2080 packages for troops; pipes 1440 (ten gross), cherry wood; handkerchiefs [sic], 600; and a variety of useful articles.	To the Imperial Yeomanry Hospital Fund from Mr. D. G. Bingham of Utrecht 'comforts for the troops'.	<i>The Standard</i> (Friday July 20, 1900; pg 3; Issue 23733).	
1900, Sep 5	Silver-mounted briar pipe in a tobacco pouch filled with tobacco.	To Mr. W. Howell, employed by R. M. S. P. Co. for 40 years and foreman of the sail loft in Southampton, by Mr Hinves on behalf of the subscribers.	<i>The Hampshire Advertiser</i> (Wednesday, September 5, 1900; pg 2; Issue 5659).	Gift included a silver-mounted ebony walking stick.

## Appendix 2

Summary of references found relating specifically to Queen Alexandra's pipes.

Date	Detail from article	Source
1901, Nov 4	Queen Alexandra, following the example of Queen Victoria, is sending Christmas gifts to the troops in South Africa. For the purpose she has ordered thousands of briar pipes, each silver mounted and bearing the stamp of the crown and her Majesty's monogram.	St John, N. B., <i>Daily Sun</i> (No. 264, Monday Nov 4, 1901, page 4).
1901, Nov 4	The Press Association learns that the Queen proposes to make a Christmas present to a number of soldiers now serving at the front. Her Majesty has ordered some thousands of good briar pipes, silver mounted, and upon the mount of each one is to be stamped a Crown and the Queen's monogram. It is understood that the makers will be required to deliver the consignment in good time to allow of their reaching South Africa before Christmas.	<i>The Times</i> (Monday Nov 4, 1901; pg 6; Issue 36603)
1901, Nov 4	Queen Alexandra, following the example of Queen Victoria, is sending Christmas gifts to the troops in South Africa. For the purpose she has ordered thousands of briar pipes, each silver mounted and bearing the stamp of the crown and her Majesty's monogram.	<i>New York Times</i> (Nov 4, 1901).
1901, Nov 5	The Queen is sending silver mounted briars to the South African troops for Christmas.	<i>Auckland Star</i> (volume XXXII, Issue 254, 5 November 1901, Page 5).
1901, Nov 5	The Queen is sending silver-mounted briar pipes to the South African troops as Christmas presents.	<i>Daily Telegraph</i> (Issue 9384, 5 November 1901, Page 5).
1901, Nov 5	The Queen is sending silver-mounted briar pipes to South African troops for Christmas.	<i>Thames Star</i> (Volume XXXIX, Issue 10098, 5 November 1901, Page 2).
1901, Nov 5	The Queen is sending silver-mounted briar pipes to the South African troops at Christmas.	<i>Wanganui Herald</i> (Volume XXXV, Issue 10487, 5 November 1901, Page 2).
1901, Nov 6	Queens sending silver mounted briars to the South African troops for Christmas.	<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i> (Volume XXIX, Issue 4222, 6 November 1901, Page 2).
1901, Nov 6	It is announced that her Majesty Queen Alexandra intends sending silver-mounted briar pipes to the troops in South Africa as a Christmas gift.	<i>Brisbane Courier</i> (6 November 1901, page 5).
1901, Nov 6	Queen Alexandra is sending vast numbers of silver-mounted briar pipes to Cape Town, to be presented to the troops in South Africa on Christmas Day.	<i>Barrier Miner</i> (Vol. XIV. No. 4191, 6 November 1901, page 1).
1901, Nov 8	The Queen is sending silver-mounted briar pipes to the South African troops for Christmas.	<i>Akaroa Mail and Banks Peninsula Advertiser</i> (Volume LII, Issue 2622, 8 November 1901, Page 2).

Date	Detail from article	Source
1901, Nov 8	The Queen is sending silver-mounted briar pipes to South African troops for Christmas boxes.	<i>Bruce Herald</i> (Volume XXXVII, Issue 83, 8 November 1901, Page 5).
1901, Nov 8	De tabakspijpen die koningin Alexandra naar Zuid Afrika zenden zal – ten getale van 6000 ongeveer – als Kestgeschenk voor de troepen, blijken alleen besemd te zijn voor de regimenten “waaraan H. M. rechtstreeks ve bonden is”.	<i>Leeuwarder Courant</i> (No. 266, 11 November 1901, page 2).
1901, Nov 11	De zesduizend tabakspijpen die de koningin als kerstgeschenk naar eenige bevoorrecht reginmenten in Zuid-Afrika zenden wil, worden gemaakt in Frankrijk. Men zal er in Engeland de laatste hand aan leggen, d.w.z. ze voorzien van het zilveren beslag met het naam-cijfer der koningin.	<i>Leeuwarder Courant</i> ( No. 264, 8 November 1901, page 2).
1901, Nov 12	A portion of the consignment of pipes intended by the Queen as a gift to the men of the regiments in South African with which she is directly connected has been delivered to her Majesty. There are two varieties of shape, the other edge of the bowl being practically straight in the case of one and somewhat rounded in the other. Each pipe is fitted with a substantial straight mouthpiece of black vulcanite, and each has a broad and fairly heavy silver band, upon the upper side of which is stamped a crown with the Queen's monogram immediately beneath it. The pipes are of British fitting, but, as it was desired to get the highest quality of briar, the bowls are of French wood.	<i>The Times</i> (Tuesday, Nov 12, 1901; pg8; Issue 36610; col. A.).
1901, Nov 16	La Press Association annonce que la reine se propose d'envoyer aux troupes servant actuellement au Sud-Africain son cadeau de Noël. On a commandé dans ce but plusieurs milliers de pipes avec monture en argent sur lesquelles seront gravés une couronne et le chiffre de la reine.	<i>Revue de Cercle Militaire, Bulletin de la Réunion des Officiers</i> , (16 November 1901, No. 46, page 537).
1901, Nov 22	Five thousand five hundred silver-mounted briar pipes ordered by the Queen for presentation to men of those regiments in South Africa with which her Majesty is more directly connected have been completed, and will be despatched this week to South Africa, consigned to Lord Kitchener. The order was given on October 24 and the whole of the pipes were ready by November 16, although made to pattern and having the Queen's monogram on a broad silver band.	<i>The Times</i> (Friday, Nov 22, 1901; pg4; Issue 36619; col A.).
1901, Dec 1	5, 500 silver-mounted briar pipes. The pipes have Queen Alexandra's monogram on a broad silver band and are of high quality and every bowl is warranted. Presented to the men of those regiments in South African with which Her Majesty is more directly connected	<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> (December 4, 1901).
1902, Jan 9	With reference to the gift by Queen Alexandra of pipes to the men of the regiments in South Africa with which she is directly connected, mentioned in the cablegrams recently, the London 'Daily News' states that there are two varieties of shape, the other edge of the bowl being practically straight in the case of one and somewhat rounded in the other. Each pipe is fitted with a substantial straight mouthpiece of black vulcanite, and each has a broad and fairly heavy silver band, upon the upper side of which is stamped a crown with the Queen's monogram - two A's crossed - immediately beneath it. The pipes are of British fitting, but, as it was desired to get the highest quality of briar, the bowls are of French wood.	<i>Wanganui Chronicle</i> (9 January 1902, page 1)
1902	Silver-mounted briary pipe with Queen Alexandra's monograph and a plaque attached to the bowl reading 'Presented by Queen Alexandra to Sjt CR Knight 3rd Battalion Scottish Rifles 1902'. Pipe has an AO makers mark and a Birmingham hallmark for 1901.	<a href="http://www.ebay.com.au/itm/FINE-ANTIQUE-SILVER-BRIAR-PIPE-1902-GBD-BOER-WAR-SUPERB-/120746205265">http://www.ebay.com.au/itm/FINE-ANTIQUE-SILVER-BRIAR-PIPE-1902-GBD-BOER-WAR-SUPERB-/120746205265</a>

## The conflict between Goedewaagen and Danco regarding double-walled patented pipes

by Ruud Stam and Paul Jung

Shortly after World War II there was a notable conflict between N.V. Royal Goedewaagen and the New York retailer/importer Danco regarding Goedewaagen's patented double-wall slip-cast pipes (Baronite pipe/Hollow-Bowl pipe). This led to the break-up of their business relationship.

This paper will first examine the history of the development of the patent for the Baronite pipe and the importance of access to the American market for Goedewaagen. It will then explain the conflict with Danco.

In the nineteenth century the German firms Bordollo of Grünstadt (Bordollo made pipes before 1836) (Schmitz 1836) and Jacobi Adler & Co of Neuleiningen near Grünstadt (Tymstra 1986, 13-23), were among the firms that developed the glazed slip-cast pipe. In The Netherlands, during the nineteenth century, the Gouda pipe makers clung to the traditional metal mould pressed pipe. But the glazed slip-cast pipes made by Bordollo, some with under glaze pictures showing Dutch landscapes or Dutch trade and customs, were sold successfully in the Netherlands. In 1898, the Dutch pipe factory of van der Want en Barras in Gouda first imported these Bordollo pipes and soon began to produce slip-cast pipes themselves (Tymstra 1996, 835). Other firms in Gouda started the production of these pipes much later - Ivora (1914) and Zenith (1915) (Tymstra 1999, 1086, O. van der Want *pers comm.*). Goedewaagen had already begun making slip-cast pipes in 1895, but it was not until 1912 that they were able to produce slip-cast pipes with a proper glaze. The slip-cast pipes were successful in Holland and the profits for the firms that produced them were good (Stam 2005, 1695-1698). In the twenties, the four main types of glazed slip-cast pipes that were in production were: plain pipes without a picture, hand painted pipes (Fig.1), glazed pipes with a coloured under-glaze, and mystery pipes (glazed pipes with a white under-glaze picture which when smoked became visible due to the background clay turning brown).

During the 1920s there was considerable development of slip-cast pipes. There was a large increase in the number of shapes, and the sales of the slip-cast pipes grew steadily. On the other hand, sales of traditional pressed pipes strongly declined and among the slip-cast pipes, the hand painted pipes slowly disappeared.

More important than this shift in the assortment of styles was the development of the slip-cast double-wall pipe (Tymstra 1992, 374-383). Goedewaagen as well as Ivora

(‘Blacko-pipe’, P. van der Want) in 1920 produced the first double-wall slip-cast pipes, and Hollandia made a limited number of double-wall pipes (Tymstra 1996, 870). Zenith (P. J. van der Want Azn.) started much later with the production of these pipes (the ‘Wanta pipe’). The double-wall slip-cast pipe was much more expensive than the single wall slip-cast pipe but the profit margin on these pipes was higher in comparison. In the beginning, the production was rather limited, but increased strongly in the twenties (Sahm 309, nr. 834: Goedewaagen for example in 1923 exported only 58 gross and produced 95 gross for the Dutch market).



**Figure 1:** Hand painted pipe from Goedewaagen. Commemorative pipe: mobilization 1914, World War I (photograph by Ron de Haan).

So, it is not surprising that Goedewaagen tried to optimize and protect the company advantage of their double-wall pipe. For this reason, in 1920, Goedewaagen applied for a patent for this type of pipe. Goedewaagen called the double-wall slip-cast pipe the ‘Baronite’ pipe (Sahm 309, nr. 745). On 20 April 1921 Goedewaagen registered the name Baronite at the Bureau for Industrial Property, for the price of 95 Guilders.

Ivon van der Want (P. van der Want/Ivora firm) and Aart van der Want (P. J. van der Want Azn./Zenith firm) opposed the provisional patent that was so unfavourable for them, and it was not until 1924 that the definitive patent (number 12201) was granted to Goedewaagen, due to the fierce fight with Ivora and Zenith (Fig. 2). An argument used in this struggle was that in 1909 Rathbone

Fig. 1

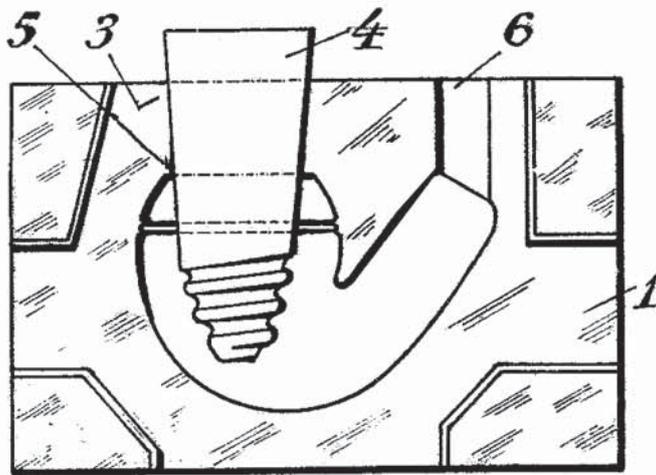


Fig. 2.

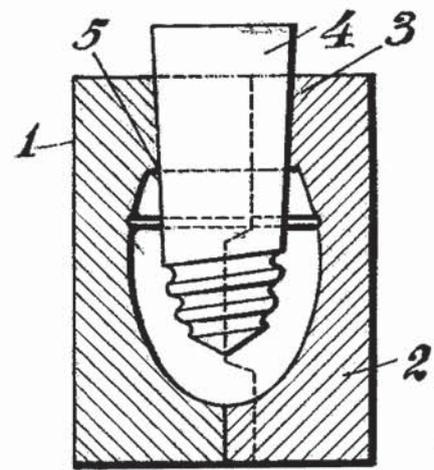


Fig. 3.

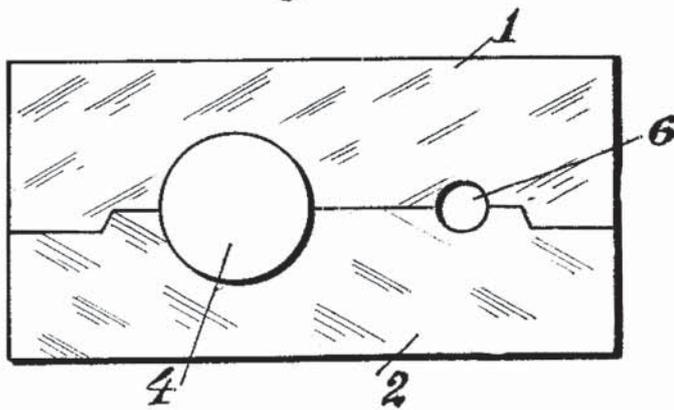


Fig. 4.

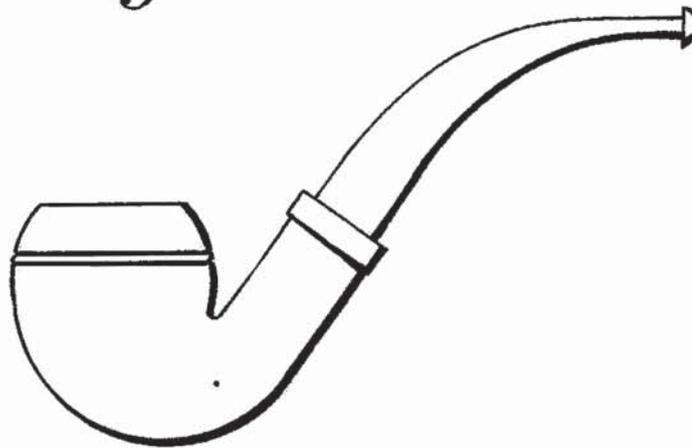


Figure 2: Drawing attached to the letter of application of the Goedewaagen patent.

and Chambers (Surrey, England) had already been granted a patent for double-wall pipes (Fig. 3). This argument was rejected for two reasons: Goedewaagen used a different mould construction that made it possible to remove the stopper before opening the mould, and the stopper had a screw thread. The screw thread was intended to make the bottom of the pipe a bit coarse, so that tobacco would not fall out of the pipe. Goedewaagen never used the screw thread in production, so this argument can be seen as a sort of a trick to get the patent issued. However, the patent was still granted. The Baronite pipe was also patented in Germany and Belgium (1921), in England (1922) and in Czechoslovakia (1931) (Sahm 309, nr. 455-457).

Some months after the provisional patent was granted (7 May 1923), Goedewaagen notified Zenith that it would file a financial claim in court if Zenith continued producing double wall pipes in a way contrary to Goedewaagen's provisional patent (Sahm 309, nr. 458). From the letter in which Aart van der Want (Zenith) defended his right to make these pipes it is clear that the patent could be interpreted in a number of ways and that enforcement of the rights of this patent were really not possible. After this failed attempt to enforce its rights, Goedewaagen no longer tried again in The Netherlands. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of

September 1924, the Goedewaagen patent was definitively granted in spite of the weak proof that their method of producing slip-cast pipes was an innovation. So, the three van der Want companies could not prevent the granting of the patent, but Goedewaagen could not prevent the van der Want companies from producing these pipes. As an outcome of the whole fight, Goedewaagen and the three van der Want companies could produce the double-wall slip-cast pipe and the patent in the Netherlands was only useful for advertising reasons.

As the inner and the outer walls of double-wall pipes are separated, there are more possibilities to give the outer wall a different shape. For the French pipe smokers Goedewaagen developed a double-wall pipe in the form of the head of Clemenceau. In 1933, for the American market a series of portrait pipes was released of presidents Washington and Lincoln, and of Benjamin Franklin. These pipes were sold to America in rather large numbers until the seventies. There was also a pipe in the shape of the head of an American Indian (Fig. 4). This pipe was also designed for the American market, but as it was poorly designed it did not sell well. The potential of the more freely designed double-wall pipe was not used very often as the plaster moulds used wear out rather quickly.

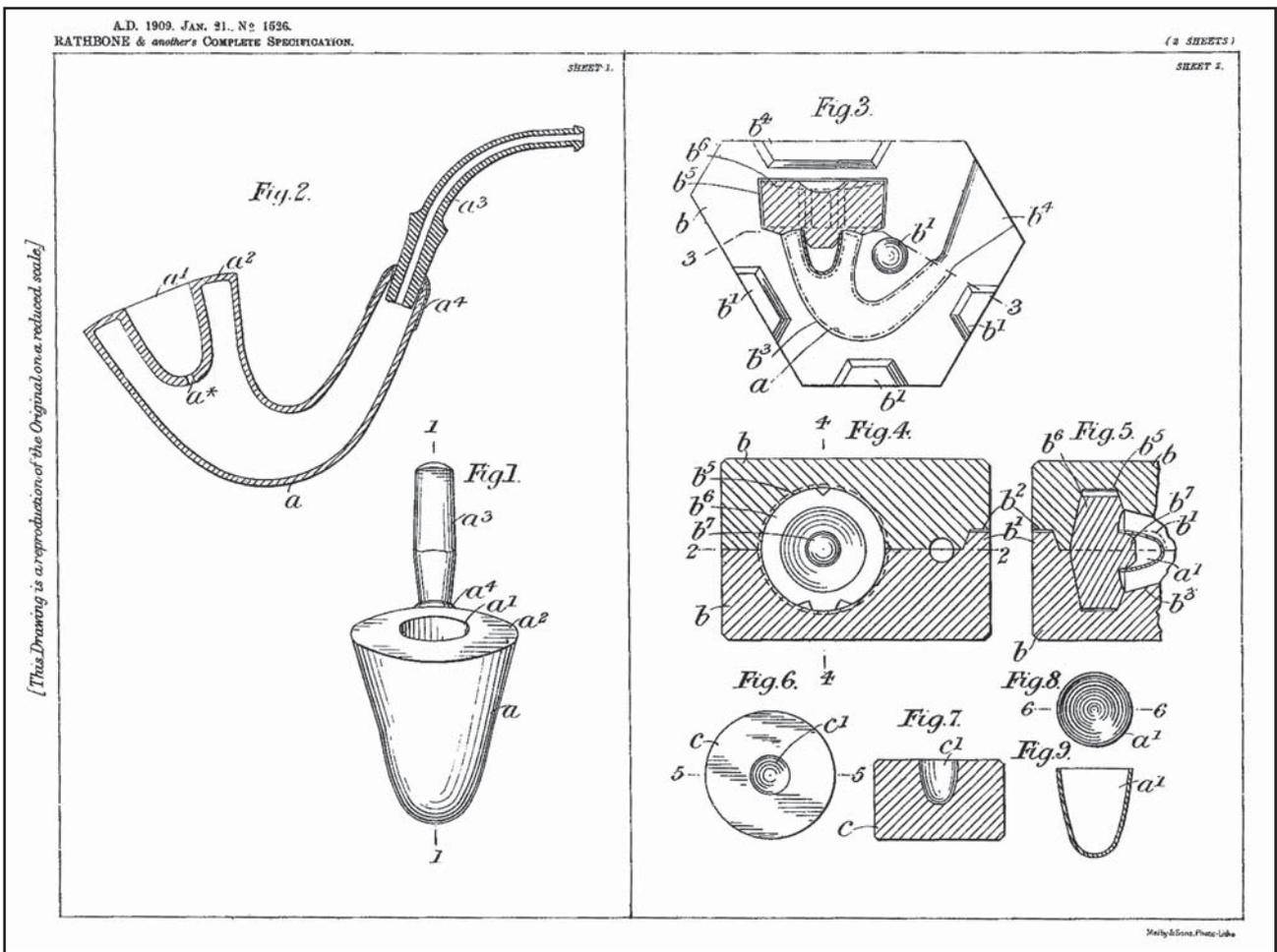


Figure 3: Drawing of the patent from Rathbone and Chambers.

The big advantage of the luxurious double-wall pipe is the pleasant way they smoke. In contrast to single wall pipes, the tobacco moisture stays in the hollow bowl, and it smokes much cooler and dryer than the single wall ones. In the thirties, fewer new patents were issued for slip-cast pipes. This seemed to be the end of its development. Only small improvements, mostly regarding a better connection of stem and bowl, were patented. Both Goedewaagen and Zenith had these patents granted (Sahm 309, 455 (1931) and Sahm 310, 440 (1935)).



Figure 4: Baronite pipe shaped as the head of an Indian, with stamp detail (photograph by Ron de Haan).

The importance of the American market for Goedewaagen becomes evident from its participation in exhibitions. For example, at the South Florida Fair there was a pipe and tobacco shop with Goedewaagen supplying all the necessary articles for this shop. Goedewaagen also participated in the 1939 New York World's Fair. In 1938 Goedewaagen also patented the Baronite pipe in America for twenty years to protect these pipes in the American market (Sahm 309, nr. 575. U.S.Pat. Off. 363346). In America, in the thirties and forties, the Baronite pipes, with a timeless design of shapes derived from wooden pipes, were of special interest for the American pipe smokers. They were supplied in white imitation meerschaum and in calciné finishes. Apart from the Baronite pipes, Goedewaagen also sold single-wall slip-cast pipes, among them the mystery pipes, and traditional clay pipes such as churchwardens and figural pipes.

Before World War II, Goedewaagen had two agents in New York: Wally Frank and Danco (Figs. 5-6). After the start of the war, Goedewaagen could no longer provide its customers in America with pipes. In 1943, the Danco company of New York, one of Goedewaagen's retailers, began sales of their own double-walled pipes, (the Hollow Bowl Pipes) when the stock of the Goedewaagen pipes ran out (Figs. 7-8). Danco 'protected' this product with a non-existing patent number (438977). This fraudulent number does not correspond to a patent registered in the owner's name or for a clay pipe. The Danco Hollow Bowl Pipe was sold in a box with their own 'Danco Hollow Bowl' label (Fig. 9). After the war, Goedewaagen wrote an angry



Figures 5 and 6: Cover (left) and page (right) from the Wally Frank Christmas catalogue from 1941 (photograph by Ron de Haan).

letter about this affair to Danco (This letter unfortunately is not in the Goedewaagen archive). Danco felt that the resentment of Goedewaagen was unwarranted and offered Goedewaagen, in a friendly letter, to restart the sales for Goedewaagen as an agent (Sahm 309, nr. 775) (Fig. 10). Goedewaagen refused this offer and from 1947 on, Wally Frank became the only representative of Goedewaagen in the whole of the United States. The export from Goedewaagen to the United States at that moment is second in importance to exports to Belgium (Sahm 309, nr. 348). In 1947 Goedewaagen exported in total for 35,500 guilders; for 9,000 guilders to the United States and for 11,000 guilders to Belgium. Unfortunately, it is no longer possible to determine whether Goedewaagen was so annoyed by this conflict for them to stop the relationship with Danco or if they used the conflict as an excuse to make the stronger Wally Frank as their sole agent, who operated in large parts of the United States. But, it is clear that Danco no longer sold Goedewaagen pipes and appears to have gone out of business by about 1951 (last entry in the Thomas' Register N.Y., published in 1951, p.13141).

**Abbreviations**

Sahm 309: Archive number of the Goedewaagen archive in the 'Streekarchief Hollands Midden', Gouda.

Sahm 310 is the Zenith archive in the 'Streekarchief Hollands Midden', Gouda.



Figure 7: Cover from the Danco catalogue from 1943 (photograph by Ron de Haan).



Figure 8: Pages from the Danco catalogue from 1943 (photograph by Ron de Haan).



Figure 9: Danco pipe with its box (photograph by Ron de Haan).

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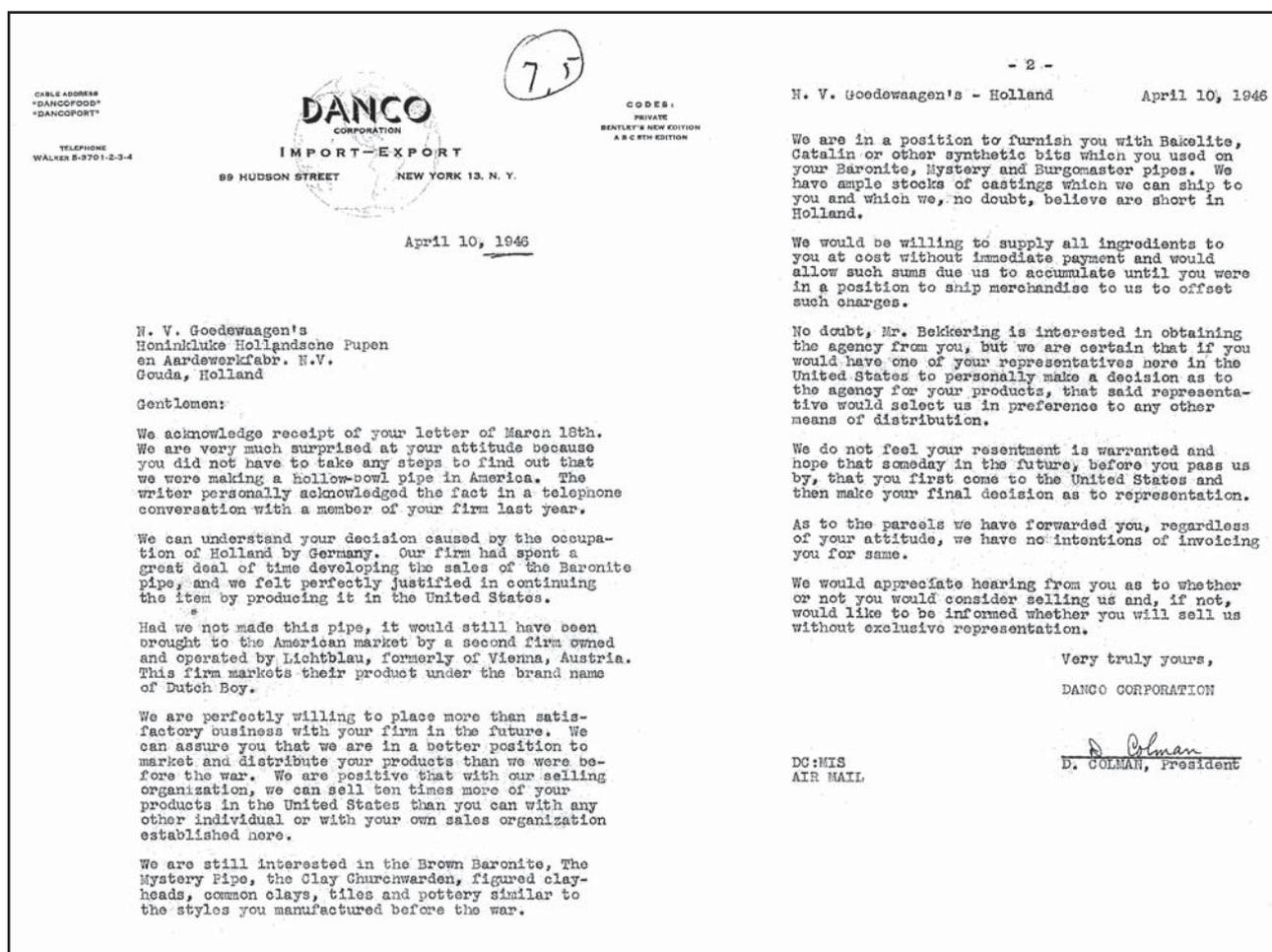


Figure 10: The letter from Danco.

Tymstra, F., 1996, 'Hollandia pijpen I', *Pijpelogische Kring Nederland*, **19:74**, 835-846.

Tymstra, F., 1999, 'Ivora-werken, Fa. P. van der Want GZ', *Pijpelogische Kring Nederland*, **21:84**, 1086-1095.

## REVIEWS

*Tonpfeifen in Bayern (ca. 1600-1745)*. By Natascha Mehler. Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters, 22. 423 pages, illustrated. Bonn: Dr Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 2010. ISBN 978-3-7749-3586-6. EUR 120.00€.

In 2010 Natascha Mehler's dissertation on Bavarian pipes was published. At the time Natascha started her investigation Bavarian pipes were considered by many researchers to be Dutch imports. In this impressive study the author manages to establish not only a typology and chronology for the Bavarian pipes, but also to prove that in Bavaria pipe production took place in at least seven centres: Abensberg, Passau, Kröning, München, Amsberg, Coburg and Nürnberg. The combination of historical sources from diverse archives, the systematic investigation of 9427 pipe fragments with archaeological methods and the use of chemical data (Röntgen fluorescence analysis) to establish the origins of the clays that were used for the production of the pipes has proved to be an interesting method for a fundamental analysis of the origin and the chronology of these pipe fragments.

The author describes the development of clay pipe production in connection with Bavarian tobacco politics and regulation in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. This is most important in order to interpret the archaeological findings.

From 1601 on, it is proved that there was tobacco consumption in Bavaria. As tobacco consumption increased the Bavarian Electors felt that this improper use of tobacco should be banned. By 1652 regent Maria Anna introduced the first ban on smoking. As the prohibition was hardly effective, in 1675 a tobacco and pipe monopoly was established fitting in with the mercantilist politics of that time. Called Appalto the Bavarian tobacco and pipe monopoly lasted in different forms from 1675 to 1745. It was interrupted between 1717 and 1727 and it was briefly revived between 1769 and 1772. The intention of the Bavarian rulers was to support the local economy and to increase local production. It was supplemented by a restriction of the importation of foreign tobacco and pipes and by imposing high protective duties on the few foreign pipes and tobacco that were still allowed to come in.

The monopoly was carried out by private businessmen, the so called *Appaltators*, who rented the monopoly. Under this monopoly only the *Appaltators* were allowed to organize clay pipe production within the realm of the Electorate. As the control of the monopoly was very difficult in Bavaria with all its enclaves as imperial free cities, archduchies and other enclaves, it was important to the *Appaltators* to have their Bavarian pipes marked in an easily recognizable way. So for example the pipes from the time of the most famous *Appaltator*, Johann Senser were often marked on the bowl with ISC or IS in big letters.

Establishing a typological and chronological classification of the Bavarian pipes could not lean on the classification of Dutch pipes and also a classification with the help of old price lists could not have been applied. Consequently the author first started to establish a typology free of chronological interpretation. The chronological non-linearity of Bavarian clay pipes was a big difficulty for the classification. Only the pipes with moulded letter marks, the abbreviations of the names of the *Appaltators*, could be well dated as the periods during which the *Appaltators* had their monopolies are well known from archival sources. The Bavarian clay pipe chronology is to a great part built upon those dates. Other archaeological methods were used for dating of pipes without marks. The author distinguishes two phases in clay pipe production in Bavaria, before and after the start of the monopoly in 1675. Prior to this date pipes were produced in potters' workshops. It is not clear whether this form of production stopped totally with the beginning of the monopoly. But it did anyway to a great extent as the pipes should be marked to prevent fraud and production should be well controlled by the successive *Appaltators*.

Natascha Mehler has established new methods in the typological and chronological classification of clay pipes. The multi disciplinary approach has proved to be most effective and this dissertation can be regarded as an example for research on regional pipe assemblages that can't be dated with the help of well known productions. What is more, an unknown part of pipe history is unravelled. The presentation of Bavarian pipes is important as it shows the limits of Dutch influence on the pipe production in that part of Germany due to historical developments. This study has already proved to be important for the study of certain types of Bohemian pipes that occur in Bohemia as well as in Bavaria. More research is required on central European pipes to investigate the correlations in production in this region.

Ruud Stam

Jan van Oostveen and Ruud Stam, 2011, *Productiecentra van Nederlandse kleipijpen – Een overzicht van de stand van zaken*, Pijpelogische Kring Nederland (ISBN 978-90-801138-4-8).

This latest study of the Dutch pipe making industry, entitled 'Dutch clay pipe production centres – an overview of current knowledge', is nicely presented in a soft bound A4 format of 170 pages, with the text set in double columns and full colour illustrations throughout. This study draws on nearly 25 years of research that have taken place since the last review of the industry, *De Nederlandse kleipijp*, was published by the Pijpelogische Kring Nederland in 1988. Since that time a number of new production centres have been discovered and further information has been found about those that were already known, particularly with regard to the marketing areas of

these various centres. This new book draws together both the pre-existing information and new research to provide an up-to-date account of the Dutch pipe making industry. The first part of the book (pages 5-31) is entirely in Dutch and provides an introduction to the study of Dutch pipes, an overview of the introduction of tobacco and pipes to the Netherlands, the production methods employed to make pipes and the marks and styles that were produced. There is then a section looking at the trade in Dutch pipes from the late sixteenth century onwards and a bibliography containing a useful list of publications on Dutch pipes.

The main part of book (pages 32-170) is given over to a description of 52 different pipe making centres in the Netherlands. The format for each description is the same, with the text being arranged under five standard headings and with an English summary at the end. Each entry starts with a location map and goes on to describe that particular centre, with representative photographs to illustrate the styles of pipe and mark that were used there. A general account of the pipemaking history of each place is given under the first heading, sometimes with a graph to show the changing numbers of pipe makers working there. The products and bowl forms are then described, followed by details of the marks used and the distribution of products from that centre. The entry ends with a list of the pipemakers recorded in each place (except Gouda) and, finally, an English summary.

This is an easy book to use and provides a comprehensive overview of pipe making right across the Netherlands. The numerous illustrations give a fair idea of the range of material that was produced while the good quality photographs convey the nature and finish of the pipes themselves. The inclusion of a makers' list for each centre is very useful when considering the industry in that particular place, but the downside is that it will make the lists rather tedious to access for anyone trying to identify a mark from an unknown source. In order to do this, it will be necessary to trawl through each of the 52 entries to try and find a match. One solution would be to have a single database of all makers that could be sorted in a variety of ways (for example, by name, place or date) – but this is perhaps something that needs to be compiled, accessed and maintained digitally, perhaps through a website.

One or two small niggles are the failure to provide English summaries of the introductory sections, which would have encouraged a wider audience to access the volume, and fact that the bowl forms and marks are not presented to a standard scale. While it is difficult to control the size of digital images in a publication, this is an issue that can easily be addressed by including a scale in each shot, and the use of scales with all photographs and the reproduction of bowl forms at 1:1, with mark details at 2:1, should certainly be encouraged as 'best practice'. There is a lot to be said for illustrating bowl forms at life size, since this not only conveys an accurate impression of the piece but also allows other finds to be directly compared with the published example.

These minor quibbles aside, this is a very well researched and presented piece of work. It provides an comprehensive account of all the Dutch pipe making centres and one that is presented in a systematic way so as to make the information on each easily comparable. The illustrations present a broad range of Dutch bowl forms, marks and decorative schemes, as well as kiln material and occasional shots of pipe making locations or associated ephemera. This will be an essential volume for anyone with an interest in the Dutch pipe making industry or who wants to identify Dutch material in their collections.

The book costs 32.50 Euros, plus postage. An order form and payment details can be found on the website at [www.productiecentra.tabakspijp.nl](http://www.productiecentra.tabakspijp.nl).

*David Higgins*

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# Guidelines for Contributors

by Dennis Gallagher

Principal Editor, Académie Internationale de la Pipe

## Submissions

The Academy welcomes the submission of original papers that fall within the remit of this journal and for which the author possesses full publication rights for both text and illustrations. All submissions should make a valid contribution to knowledge, whether this be of a scientific, historic, artistic or cultural nature, and they should be of a suitable standard for inclusion in an academic journal.

Papers should in the first instance be sent to the principal editor for consideration (contact details below), who will circulate them to the sub editors for comment if they are in a language other than English or if there is any doubt as to their suitability, content, or quality.

All submissions should include a clear title for the work as well as the name(s) of the author(s) as they wish them to appear in the final publication. Any material submitted for publication will be peer reviewed before being accepted. The Academy reserves the right to decline papers of inappropriate subject matter or insufficient quality or to return them for revision if they do not meet the guidelines set out below. Please note that any material submitted (paper, disks, photographs, artwork, etc.) will only be returned to the author if this is specifically requested in a covering letter that is included with the material at the time of submission.

## Language

English is the preferred language for submission, but papers in other major European languages (French, German and Spanish) will be accepted where this is not possible. If papers are submitted in other languages they should include a comprehensive summary (at least one tenth the length of the main text), which will be translated into English and published with the full article.

## Format

Texts should be sent in an IBM compatible digital format and can be submitted on either floppy disk, CD or as an email attachment. Tables can be included in the text but, if the data is drawn from separate files (for example, Excel tables) then copies of these should be included as well. Illustrations should not be embedded in the text.

## References

Any evidence presented in a paper should be properly referenced so that the source can be identified. References should be given using the Harvard style. Footnotes or endnotes should not be used. Do not use '*ibid*' but rather the author, year and page(s) for each entry.

Non-Roman scripts should be transliterated.

## In the text

Give the author, date and page number in brackets e.g., (Davey 2005, 25)

## In the list of references

Details of published sources should be listed at the end of the paper with a reference provided at the relevant point in the text. Each reference at the end of the paper should include the names of all the authors, the complete title and publisher of the work and the year and place of publication.

### Books:

Piers, H. 1835 *Biographie de la ville de St Omer*, St Omer: Lemaire.

For articles or sections within a larger volume the page numbers for the relevant section should also be given, together with the authors and title of the volume as a whole.

### Articles:

Stam, R. 2009 'National clay pipe summaries: Netherlands', *Journal of the Académie Internationale de la Pipe*, 2, 93-108.

### Embedded article:

Higgins, D. A. 2003 'Tobacco pipes from excavations at Dung Quay, Plymouth' in P. Stead 'Excavations of the Medieval and Later Waterfront at Dung Quay, Plymouth', *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society*, 61, 63-95 (21-133).

### Website:

Smith, R. H. 1998 *Canadian Clay Tobacco Pipe Industries*, online at <http://www.virtlogic.ca/pipe/pipes.html> [accessed 27.09.10]

## Manuscript sources

Manuscript or similar sources should be cited in a separate section. Details should be given of the collection housing them and any accession or reference number.

## Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements should be placed in a separate paragraph at the end of the paper.

## Illustrations

- Every figure must be referred to in the text and each is to be given a separate number (Figure 1, Figure 2, etc.)
- Wherever possible a metric scale bar should be included in the illustration and the units of division noted in the caption (Scale = 5cm, etc.)
- Where this is not possible a known dimension for any object illustrated should be given in the caption (e.g., 'Height of pipe bowl is 49mm'), but do not use a ratio scale (e.g., 3x life size, or, 1:50) because of the

problems of sizing digital images.

- Illustrations of the smaller types of pipe bowl (around 7cm or less in height) should be prepared with a view to being published at life size with details of any makers' marks at twice life size.
- A caption should also be provided to go with each figure, including the name of its creator so that they can be properly credited. Captions for figures and tables can be placed in the text to mark the ideal position for their insertion but they should also be provided as a separate list accompanying the main text.
- Tables and illustrations should be submitted as separate digital files or as individual pages at the end of a document, and numbered sequentially using Arabic numerals for figures. They can also be submitted as good quality original artwork or photographs suitable for scanning. Digital images should be provided in CMYK format as TIFF or EPS files at high resolution suitable for printing. As a guideline, images should be submitted at a minimum input scanning resolution of 300 dpi for full colour, 350-400 dpi for half tones, 600 dpi for slides or transparencies, 800 dpi for simple line and 1200 dpi for fine line illustrations. Please note that the final reproduction quality is dependent on the quality of the original illustration.
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- A separate Figure list should be provided.

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### Preparing the text

#### Font

10pt Times New Roman for main text and captions. Tables and numbers within figures in Arial 8pt.

#### Headings

1. 10pt in bold with 6pt space.
2. 10pt Italic in bold no space.
3. 10pt Italic in bold run on.

### Measurements and numbers

All measurements should be given in metric unless an original source using some other unit of measurement is being cited, when the metric equivalent should be given in brackets as well. Where a paper refers to a country or area

where some other unit of measurement is generally used, then the measurement should be given first in metric, with the local unit of measurement in brackets if desired. Numbers should be given with a comma separating each third principal digit and a decimal point separating fractions, e.g., 1,959.08.

### Quotations

Use single quotation marks throughout, with double "quotation marks" for a quote within a quote. Quotes longer than c20 words should be indented, without quotation marks, as follows:

this is an example of a long quote. Note that there are no quotation marks and that the text is indented. The source is given in Harvard style at the end (Higgins 1897, 33).

### Dates

Centuries in full:

'seventeenth century' NOT 17<sup>th</sup> century

1700s, 1880s NOT 1600's, 1880's

*c* = circa

### Checklist

Submissions should include the following elements: -

1. The main text in an IBM compatible format, with any acknowledgements at the end.
2. A comprehensive summary of at least one tenth the length of the main text (but only if the paper is submitted in a language other than English).
3. A list of references, including both published and unpublished sources.
4. Tables or illustrations as separate items (not embedded in the text), as either digital files (as specified) or good quality hard copy.
5. A list of captions for each table or illustration, including a note of any scale size and the name of the artist or photographer.
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