

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



Edited by
Peter Davey and Anna Ridovics

**VOLUME 4
2011**

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMIE INTERNATIONALE DE LA PIPE

PRINCIPAL EDITORS

Dr. Peter Davey, Académie Internationale de la Pipe, School of Histories, Languages and Cultures, University of Liverpool, 12-14 Abercromby Sq., Liverpool, L69 7WZ, UK.

Email: pjd1@liverpool.ac.uk

Dr. Anna Ridovics, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Department, 1370 Budapest Pf. 364, Hungary.

Email: anna.ridovics@gmail.com

TECHNICAL EDITING AND ADMINISTRATION

Dr. Susie White, Académie Internationale de la Pipe, School of Histories, Languages and Cultures, University of Liverpool, 12-14 Abercromby Sq., Liverpool, L69 7WZ, UK.

Email: admin@pipeacademy.org or sdw1@liv.ac.uk

THE ACADEMY [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.

MEMBERSHIP

There are two categories of membership: ordinary members and institutional members. Membership is open to any individual or organisation subject to acceptance of their application and payment of the annual subscription fee which at present £30 (or 35 Euros) per household or institution. Membership allows access to the Academy's meetings as well as receipt of regular newsletters and one copy of this journal. Anyone wishing to apply to join the Academy should, in the first instance, contact the administrator, Dr. Susie White, at the address given above.

SUBMISSION OF PAPERS

The Academy welcomes the submission of original papers that fall within the remit of this journal and which make a valid contribution to knowledge. Further details relating to the format and content of submissions can be found at the back of this journal.

ADDITIONAL COPIES

Additional copies of this journal can be purchased from the administrator, Dr. Susie White, (contact details above).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Academy gratefully acknowledges the financial support from British American Tobacco, Imperial Tobacco and Japan Tobacco, which has made this publication possible. This volume results from a collaboration between the Hungarian National Museum and the International Pipe Academy. In it we publish papers from the 2009 Budapest conference which was partly sponsored by the Hungarian National Cultural Foundation.

PUBLICATION DETAILS

Published by the Académie Internationale de la Pipe, School of Histories, Languages and Cultures, University of Liverpool, 12-14 Abercromby Sq., Liverpool, L69 7WZ, UK. The Academy is a U.K. Registered Charity (No. 1126166) and an English Registered Company (No. 06713511).

Published 2012. All material is © of the Academy and the individual authors.

ISSN 2040-8307

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

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

VOLUME 4

Académie Internationale de la Pipe
Liverpool
2011

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMIE INTERNATIONALE DE LA PIPE

VOLUME 4

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTORY PAPERS

Editorial *by Peter Davey and Anna Ridovics* iii

GENERAL PAPERS ABOUT SMOKING

The changing representations of tobacco and pipe smoking in the old and new worlds between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries
by Paul Jahshan 1

Rauchzeichen über Helvetien: zum Stand der tonpfeifenforschung in der Schweiz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Kantons Bern
by Andreas Heege 15

Dutch influences on the Japanese smoking habit *by Barnabas Suzuki* 39

OTTOMAN PERIOD PIPES IN THE EAST

'Drinking' a bone pipe: food for archaeological thought *by Ayşe Dudu Tepe* 45

The *other* Turkish pipe: the legacy of an Ottoman original, the chibouk
by Ben Rapaport 51

MEERSCHAUM PIPES

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 71

Iconography, morphology and meerschaum: four essays illustrating their nexus
by Frank Burla, Hakon Kierulf, Sarunas Peckus and Ben Rapaport 83

The victory at Kenyérmező pipe *by Frank Burla* 83

Norwegian pipe models with acanthus ornamentation
by Hakon Kierulf 87

The circus cheroot holder: mystery solved! *by Sarunas Peckus* 90

Canova's 'The Three Graces': from marble to meerschaum by Ben Rapaport	92
---	----

PIPES FROM THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Presentation pipes, with particular reference to the 'Queen Alexandra' pipe by Susie White	97
The conflict between Goedewaagen and Danco regarding double-walled patented pipes by Ruud Stam and Paul Jung	113

REVIEWS

Natascha Mehler: <i>Tonpfeifen in Bayern (c1600-1745)</i> by Ruud Stam.....	119
Jan Van Oostveen and Ruud Stam: <i>Productiecentra van Nederlandse kleipijpen: een overzicht van de stand van zaken</i> by David Higgins.....	119

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME	121
--	-----

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS	122
--	-----

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

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.

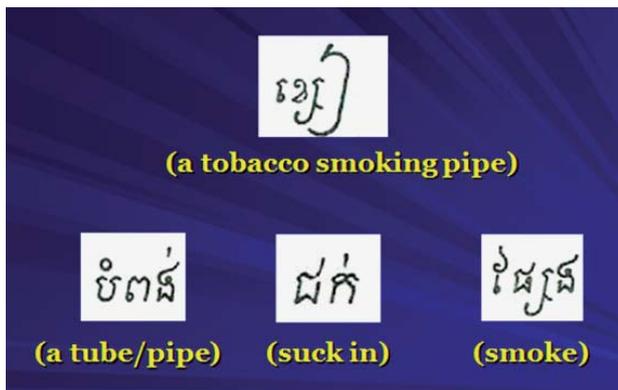


Figure 8: Cambodian words related to smoke and tobacco.

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.

Bibliography

Brongers, G. A., 1964, *Nicotiana Tabacum*, Groningen:



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.

Cooper, M., 1974, *Rodrigues The Interpreter. An Early Jesuit in Japan and China*, New York – Tokyo: John Weatherhill.

Duco, D. H., 1981, 'De Kleipijp in de Zeventiende Eeuwse Nederlanden', *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe V. Europe 2*, BAR International Series 106, Oxford, 111-367.

Hayashi, Razan, 1661, *Razan Bunshu*, 56 Miscellaneous (edited and published by his sons after Razan's death), quoted in *Kojiruien* (Encyclopedia of History and Historical Words, Instrument 24), 1984 (1st print, 1896), Yoshikawa Kobunkan, Tokyo, 540.

Hitomi, Hitsudai, 1692, *Honcho Shokkan* (Food Encyclopedia of Japan) 2, Heibonsha, Tokyo (1977), 124.

Jacob, J. M., 1974, *A Concise Cambodian-English Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Linschoten, J. H., 1596, *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*, Amsterdam (Japanese translation, 1968, Tokyo).

Saka Jochi-in Diary, 1607, quoted in *Kojiruien* (Plant 23, Grass 12), 1985 (1st print, 1896), Yoshikawa Kobunkan, Tokyo, 547.

Suzuki, B. T., 1999, *Historical Study of Smoking Introduction into Japan*, Kyoto, Shibunkaku Publishing, 329 pp.

Suzuki, B.T., 2001, 'Exportation of Kiseru of Japan in the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries: Dutch Factories and Propagation of Pipe Smoking in Asia', *Bulletin of the Japan and Netherlands Institute*, **26** (1), 99-117.

Suzuki, B.T., 2003, 'Clay pipes as Consumption Goods within the Dutch Factory – Start of supply from the home country and shift from Kiseru', *Bulletin of the Japan and Netherlands Institute*, 28(1), 59-79.

Suzuki, B.T., 2010, 'Smoking Style of Japan and Dutch Pipes', *VOC and Interchange between Japan and the Netherlands*, Tobacco and Salt Museum, Tokyo, 96-108.

Zennosuke, Tsuji (ed.), 1935, *Rokuon Nichiroku* (Diary of Rokuon' in Temple), vol. 3, Taiyosha, Tokyo, 120.