

**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](mailto:pjd1@liverpool.ac.uk)

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

Email: [anna.ridovics@gmail.com](mailto: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](mailto:admin@pipeacademy.org) or [sdw1@liv.ac.uk](mailto:sdw1@liv.ac.uk)

## 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.

## 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

<b>CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME</b> .....	121
--	-----

<b>GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS</b> .....	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*

## **‘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:

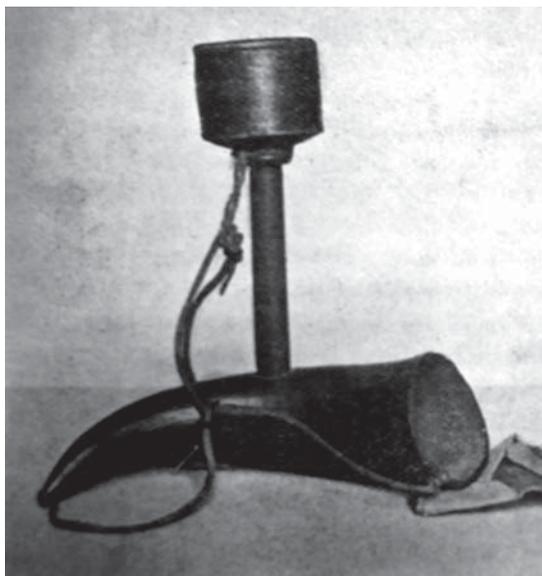
...where the Arabs dig out meerschaum from which they cut their short pipes. Smokers from the whole of the northern half of the Heğâz are said to come here. Many of them carry away on their camels as much as two loads of the soft stone and sell it to their fellow tribesmen (Musil 1978, 100).

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 *sebîl*, a woman's *raljun*. The Rwejlî either carves a *sebîl* himself from a soft stone or buys it from a Kubejsî (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.

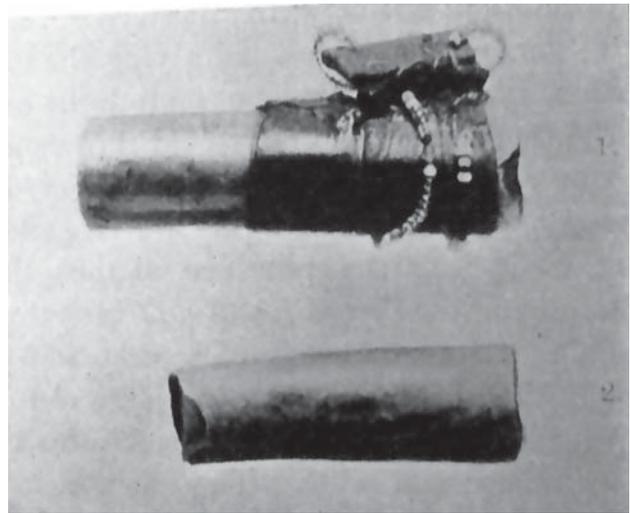


Figure 2: Dakka pipes (after Kingston and Balfour, 1901).

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.

### **References**

- Balfour, H., 1922, 'Earth Smoking-Pipes from South Africa and Central Asia, *Man*, **22** (May, 1922), 65-69.
- Burton, R. F., 1913, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al Madinah and Meccah*, I - II (ed. Lady Burton), London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.
- Doughty, C. M., 1964, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, I-II. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Dunhill, A., 1924, *The Pipe Book*, London: A. & C. Black, Ltd.

- Groot, J. C., 1987, 'The Small Finds' in S.T. Parker *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan. Interim Report on the Limes Arabicus Project, 1980-1985*, Oxford: BAR, International Series 340, 2 Vols, **II**, 497-521.
- Hayes, J. W., 1980, 'Turkish Clay Pipes: A Provisional Typology' in P. Davey (ed.) *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe No. 4*, Oxford: BAR International Series 92, 3-10.
- Hayes, J.W, 1981, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul. Volume 2 The Pottery*, Princeton.
- Hull, E. G., 1886, 'Ethnological Notes on the Arabs of Arabia Petraea and Wady Arabah' *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, **15**, 132-136.
- Jarjis, M. A., 1986, 'The Pipe and its sorts: "Field Study"' in M.S. Demerji *Researches on the Antiquities of Saddam Dam Basin Salvage and Other Researches*, Baghdad: Ministry of Culture and Information, State Organization of Antiquities and Heritage, 281-313.
- Keall, E. J., 1993, 'One Man's Mede is another Man's Persian; One Man's Coconut is another Man's Grenade', *Muqarnas*, **10**, Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar, 275-285.
- Kingston, H. D. R. and Balfour, H., 1901, 'Native Smoking Pipes from Natal', *Man*, **1**, 11-12.
- Murray, G. W., 1923, 'The Ababda', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, **53** (Jul. - Dec., 1923), 417-423.
- Musil, A., 1927, *Arabia Deserta A Topographical Itinerary*, New York: American Geographical Society; Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 2.
- Musil, A., 1928, *The manners and customs of the Rwala bedouins*, New York: American Geographical Society; Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 6.
- Musil, A., 1978, *The Northern Heğāz. A Topographical Itinerary* New York: AMS Press, American Geographical Society; Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 1. Reprint of original edition from 1926.
- Niebuhr, C., 1772, *Beskrivelse af Arabien ud fra egne iagttagelser og i landet selv samlede efterretninger affattet af Carsten Niebuhr*, Forlaget Vandkunsten (2009).
- O'Donovan, E., 2009, *The Merv Oasis; Travels and Adventures East of the Caspian During the years 1879-80-81*, **II**, BiblioBazaar.
- Palgrave, W. G., 1868, *Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-63)*, London: Macmillan and Co.
- Simpson, St. J., 1990, 'Ottoman Clay Pipes from Jerusalem and the Levant: a critical review of the published Evidence', *Society for Clay Pipe Research Newsletter*, **28**, October, 6-16.
- Simpson, St. J., 2000, 'The Clay Pipes' in R. P. Harper and D. Pringle *Belmont Castle: The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, British Academy Monographs in Archaeology No. 10, Oxford: The British Academy, 147-171.
- Simpson, St. J., 2002, 'Ottoman Pipes from Zir'in (Tell Jezreel)', *Levant*, **34**, 159-172.
- Simpson, St. J., 2008, 'Late Ottoman Pipes from Jerusalem' in K. Prag *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961-1967*, **V**, 433-446.
- Thomas, B., 2008, *Arabia Felix*, Hesperides Press, (reprint).