

Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology

Sarah de Barros Viana Hissa *Editor*

Archaeologies of Smoking, Pipes and Transatlantic Connections

 Springer

Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology

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Sarah de Barros Viana Hissa
Editor

Archaeologies of Smoking, Pipes and Transatlantic Connections

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Editor

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Chapter 1

About Connections: A Brief Overture to Smoking and Pipes in Historical Archaeology



Sarah de Barros Viana Hissa

Abstract This book presentation offers a brief overview of pipe making in Europe, from its early days to the nineteenth century, and a discussion on how these products connected global markets and consolidated smoking practices. Considering how archaeology has studied these pipes throughout the decades, this chapter highlights some of the main discussion themes, such as determining chronology, identifying production techniques, sourcing pipe types, global markets and connections, and expressions of identity and ethnicity. Lastly, it situates the other chapters from this book in this scenario.

Keywords Clay smoking pipes · Global commerce · Identity · Pipe analysis · Terracota pipes

Smoking pipes are privileged archaeological artifacts. They are privileged because they are virtually ubiquitous in historic sites. They are also attractive, even when they do not hold elaborate or striking aesthetic motifs. They are emblems of a recent past and of a practice that, although experienced today based on other types of objects, is still very familiar. When pipes are found in excavations, they very often illustrate reports and articles about the sites from which they came. They often make up museum exhibitions, whether from excavated sites or from collections raised by donations or other means. They often appear and are noteworthy as illustrations of the past and of archaeological works carried out.

As an artifact category, there have been many studies on pipes and smoking in historical archaeology. Unsurprisingly, the kinds of study undertaken followed the development of the discipline. Firstly, we see a particular care for describing and cataloging pipe types, from their making techniques to decoration, shape and makers' marks and associated data. This emphasis was particularly important during cultural-historical and processual archaeologies, producing fundamental diagnostic

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data for sourcing and dating pipes and associated materials. European pipes, especially pipes made in the U.K. and the Netherlands, received most attention, being more or almost industrially made pipes. Following this emphasis, defining global markets attained by these pipes became a concern, as well as more local, site-based, discussions. With the growth of post-processual approaches, we may say identity issues became predominant in historical archaeologies of smoking pipes. More recently still, decolonial discussions have influenced identity studies, further motivating a focus on indigenous and African-descent related pipes. We may say that this also meant a shift of attentions from European made pipes to pipes made in the New World. These emphasis and shifts will be briefly tackled in this introductory chapter, in order to contextualize the pipes in this book.

Pipe Descriptions: Dating and Sourcing

Great attention has been paid to the manufacturing technique of pipes and the task of dating them based on their morphology. Among the statistical methods used to estimate the dating of pipes and the contexts in which they appear, the most widely used is the stem bore diameter dating method, developed by J. C. Harrington. It is based on the observation that the dimension of the rod hole decreases by about 1/64" every 30–50 years (between c. 1620–1800), due to the improvement in the technique of manufacturing the iron wire that produces the stem orifice. This method was further discussed and/or renewed by many researchers (Harrington, 1951, 1978; Oswald, 1975; Binford, 1978; Hanson, 1971; Heighton & Deagan, 1971; Deetz, 1996; Mallios, 2005; Gary, 2007; McMillian, 2016), being heavily used since then, especially in the US, on to date archaeological contexts and sites.

There are other methods for dating European pipes. Less used is a statistical method for bowl analysis developed by F. H. W. Friedrich (Oswald, 1975). Mostly used in the Netherlands, this formula is based on the premise that the bowl increases regularly over time. The result from multiplying bowl width (L), height (H) and rim diameter (D) is compared to a chronological evolution. One of the problems with the formula is that it does not take into account the thickness of the bowl walls, which are thinner for better quality specimens (Duco, 1987). Less used still, stem length dating is also based on the premise that that parameter changes with time in a predictable way. However, its fundamental problem is the difficulty to find complete stems archaeologically (Hume, 2001; Barca, 2012; Pierce, 2007). Finally, pipe bowls' shapes also provides chronological information, considering their place of production (Atkinson & Oswald, 1969; Oswald, 1975; Duco, 1987; Oostveen, 2015; Hume, 2001, 2004; Higgins, 1995, 2006; Meulen, 2003; Mallios, 2005; Pfeiffer, 2006).

It is essential to point out that the wide applicability of such dating methods also provided pipes with a singular status in historical archaeology. The ability to date sites and strata meant pipes had a supplementary handiness; they would not only speak of smoking habits and global commerce, but could aid other investigations by

providing chronological information. Notably, all these dating techniques are only possible due to the standardization inherent to the European pipe making industry, which offers regularity and predictability.

European Pipes: A Little on Their Production

With the introduction of tobacco and pipe smoking in Europe, as well as the increasing popularity of the practice in the Old World, smoking pipes were produced, at first, in England. The acceptance of English pipes would then have quickly spread across continental Europe, in particular to the Netherlands and Germany (Halle, Kamenz, Leipzig), but also to France, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, some of which would have also become production centers (Oswald, 1967; Duco 1980a, b; Higgins, 2009). Not coincidentally, there are associations dedicated in the study of smoking pipes in the countries where the largest European production centers were located: in the U.K., there is the *Society for Clay Pipe Research*; in Holland, the *Pijpelogische Kring Nederland*; in Germany, the *Arbeitskreis Tonpfeifen*; and in France, the *Académie Internationale de La Pipe*. Even though the latter promotes pipes from several parts in the world and was initially based in Italy, it was founded in 1984 on the initiative of the French researcher André-Paul Bastien, with our inaugural meeting held in Paris in the following year.

Information in historical accounts of tobacco consumption in England suggests that English pipe production already existed in 1573. However, the first documentary record of the industry dates from 1601 and about a specific pipe producer from 1603. Estimates by Oswald (1967) point to the existence of at least 3400 manufacturers mapped throughout the history of English pipe production, which would be, according to the aforementioned archaeologist, a figure even lower than reality. Higgins (2009), in a more recent study, already points to above 10,000, a much higher number. There was pipes production also in Ireland, Scotland (a strong and exporting industry, very well established by the early eighteenth century) and Wales (at least six producers between 1812 and 1850 and some earlier evidence referring to the seventeenth century).

In general, the magnitude of manufacturing centers in the U.K. varied from extremely small sizes, with a single manufacturer or family productions, to large exporting firms, which employ hundreds of people. However, more often and certainly at the beginning of the pipe industry in Europe, producers were organized into family factories, of small size and artisanal production units, going through various difficulties in manufacturing and marketing, including the acquisition of clay and obtaining production permits, as well as covering the costs of adequate ovens and distributing the final product. For these reasons, many of them were located in port cities (Peacey, 1996). During the nineteenth century, the industrial revolution gave impetus to the pipe industry, but in the middle of that century it faced strong competition with pipes carved in meerschaum and those in briar root. As a result of competition, ceramic pipe production industry as a whole suffered drastic

reductions during the nineteenth century and, by the year 1870, the vast majority of producers had already closed their doors.

Pipe production in the Netherlands was equally expressive and for export, since the beginning of the seventeenth century. The first pipe producers in the Netherlands were English, some of whom were soldiers who fled England as a result of the restrictions imposed by James I, as well as religious prohibitions. The earliest mention is that of two Englishmen in Amsterdam, William Jorreson Boyesman and Thomas Lourens. One factor that attests to the English origin of the Netherlands' manufacture of tobacco pipes is the use of English words and terms associated with the manufacture of these items: *kasten*, *wire*, *tremmen*, *glazen*, *smoeien*, *zoken*, *rollen*, *wrochten*, *stopper*, *bottererodeur* (Duco, 1980a, b). The industry would have then spread to other cities, such as Haarlem, Rotterdam, Groningen, Leiden and Gouda. In the period before 1620, tobacco was not socially accepted in the Netherlands, but the spread of the habit and craft was fast. According to Oswald (1967) in 1665 there were 80 manufacturers; in 1679, 161; in c. 1750, 340. These numbers are probably higher now, considering the more than 50 years of research since Oswald's work. Producing centers of importance were Alkmaar, Amsterdam, Bergenop Zoom, Breda, Delft, Deventer, Dordrecht, Enkhuizen, Gorinchem, Gravenhage (The Hague), Groningen, Gouda, Haarlem, Harlingen, Hoorn, Kampen, Leeuwarden, Leiden, Maastricht, Middelburg, Rotterdam, Schiedam, Schoonhoven, Tholen, Willinge-Langerak, Zwolle, among others (Duco, 1980a, b, 1982, 1993; Meulen, 2003; Van Oostveen, 1996, 2001, 2015). By about 1850, there were several large factories in The Netherlands, such as those of the Goedewaagen and P. J. van der Want families, both from Gouda. In 1795, all craft guilds that regulated the activity of pipe makers in the Netherlands ceased due to competition with other countries and similar products. However, Dutch pipes in the nineteenth century, especially those from Gouda, still were more expensive than English and Irish pipes from the same period (Richie, 1978; Walker, 1971; Price, 1985; Jackson et al., 1991).

Pipes took a little longer to reach popularity in France. In the middle of the seventeenth century, English producers would have established themselves in Normandy, Rouen, in the Saint-Sever district, manufacturing low quality and cheap items. In the region of Flanders, in the mid-seventeenth century, pipes were produced in imitation of the pipes of Gouda, and in Dunkirk, a port city in northern France, where there were several cabarets (*guinguettes*), small bowl pipes were produced. Other important production sites still in the seventeenth century were Brittany, in Rennes (Crétal Gallard factory); in Île-de-France, in Montereau (Dutel-Gisclon factory); in Normandy, at Dieppe; in the Ardennes, at Charleville; and in Languedoc, in Saint-Quentin-La-Poterie. Still during the second half of the eighteenth century, in northern France, several others were opened (in the cities of Saint-Omer, Givet and Onnaing). In Saint-Omer, the Fiolet and Duménil factories stand out; in the Ardennes, Blanc-Garin and Gambier; and in Lille, the Gisclon factory (opened in 1829). These companies had sales and distribution agencies in Paris and, on occasion, also in London (Faveton, 1988; Goes, 1993; Lévêque, 2014).

French pipes from the seventeenth century showed some morphological similarity with Dutch pipes, and presented molded decoration and the refinement typical of

French artistic trends. From mid-eighteenth century, French factories were strengthened, especially in the north of the country. This was due to protectionist economic policy by the government, as well as from democratization of snuff, which would have encouraged pipe producers to produce more luxurious items as an innovation, to reach wealthier markets (Faveton, 1988). Faced with competition with French pipes made of other materials, such as wood, ivory, metal and even glass, ceramic pipe manufacturers innovated a lot in their models. They distance themselves from the mass production of other places, with decorations more exclusive to specific factories, worked practically like sculptures. There was an increase on diversity of bowl shapes, stem length, decoration and levels of quality and refinement, resulting in a wider range of prices and pipe categories accessible to less wealthy smokers (Humphrey, 1969; Ritchie, 1978; Hammond, 1987). Simpler and cheaper types were produced, as well as elaborate and expensive items, sold as luxury products.

Among the simplest are egg-shaped bowl items, reason why they are referred to as *à la façon hollandaise* pipes (Duco, 2004). Some of them have nearly no decoration, and others there is only the manufacturer's mark incised or molded into the stem, or there are serial numbers molded into the side of the heel. The best-known and most influential pipes in French production are the effigies, such as the *real Jacob*, many of which are also painted or enameled (Goes, 1993). Produced until the beginning of the twentieth century, pipe effigies featured personalities from literature, mythology, royalty, politics and entertainment.

Germany also had a relevant pipe industry. Its most important pipe production region was Westerwald, where refined and coarser pipes were produced, rivaling with Gouda products in terms of regional reach at the end of the eighteenth century. Pipe production in Bavaria dates back to the seventeenth century, but it was less organized, with factories producing other ceramic items and with no makers guild established. References were found for the following regions: Zittau, Bernstadt, Wittenberg and Dresden; Berlin; Görlitz and Bernstadt; Pirna, Kirchgasse; Freiburg; Breisgau; Bavaria; Bohemia; Bremen, northern Germany. Hamburg is cited as a center producing imitation Gouda pipes (Duco, 1993; Von Teichner, 1998; Kluting-Altman & Mehler, 2007; Mehler, 2009a, b; Kluting-Altman, 2013).

According to Mehler (2009a, b), Dutch pipes influenced German pipe manufacturers, as well as a large number of the pipes used in Germany were actually Dutch (notably from Gouda). In German production, long-stemmed pipes, similar to Dutch shapes, were produced especially in the eighteenth century. Several short pipe effigies produced in the nineteenth century feature the well-marked black pupils and some added colors, much alike their French counterparts, including versions of their *real Jacob*. German production, like the French, was also influenced by Turkish styles, in shapes and arabesques. Germany also produced pipes especially aimed at the US market, with effigies of its presidents, such as George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Many porcelain pipes were also produced, with very colorful hand paintings or transfer prints, decorated with floral motifs, effigies, zoomorphs, buildings, coats of arms and portraits, in addition to pipes being made in other materials, such as briar and sea foam, decorated with intricate carvings, from the

eighteenth century. Interestingly, the only reference found in this review for pipes produced using a lathe was in Germany (Kluting-Altman & Mehler, 2007).

As seen, pipe making in Europe quickly became a highly industrialized production, aiding capital accumulation, playing a role in power relations between countries and regions, and building trade connections.

Commerce and Global Markets: Brief Considerations

Since tobacco was introduced from the Americas into Europe, smoking very rapidly became a worldwide practice (Kiernan, 1991; Schivelbusch, 1992). However, Christian colonizers assimilated and disseminated only the conceptions of tobacco that would not collide with their worldviews, rejecting most spiritual or ritualistic symbolism associated with the plant by indigenous peoples. In this process, tobacco was desacralized (Hissa, 2018, 2020) and transformed into a commodity (Norton, 2008) as a significant product in global markets. While this process of tobacco desacralization banished all spiritual healing and shamanic relations to nonphysical worlds and entities, it maintained some associations with good health. European cosmology of tobacco smoking prescribed it as a remedy against tuberculosis, coughing, persistent phlegmatic fluids, wheezing and shortness of breath, and, occasionally, venereal illnesses) (Goodman, 1994). It was seen as a means of relaxation (in that sense, closer to alcohol than coffee), of intellectual concentration, of wisdom and as a way to avoid lustful thoughts. Smoking pipes became often associated with positive stereotypes of melancholy and contemplation. It would calm the body, while coffee would stimulate the brain (Schivelbusch, 1992).

This process of tobacco desacralization also made commodities of smoking's paraphernalia, such as clay pipes and tobacco containers, which were then mass-produced and worldwide distributed. Smoking clay pipes were widely used in Europe, from aristocrats and bourgeois to workers, following social distinctions attributed to objects. Its use was associated with contemplation and leisure in the dominant classes and with work and celebrations in the subordinate classes (Gojak & Stuart, 1999). The use of these European pipes was not restricted to that continent, and its trade reached global dimensions. European sailors used them on a large scale and explorers carried them with them on expeditions to the Arctic in the eighteenth century (Ritchie, 1978) or to Antarctica in the nineteenth (Schávelzon, 1997; Zarankin & Senatore, 2007; Hissa, 2012). They were part of everyday objects in the English colonies around the world—from the USA to Australia –, as well as in the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish colonies (Volpe, 2008; Hissa, 2018, 2020; Hissa et al., 2023). Associated with the process of capitalist expansion, the spread of smoking practices and its apparatuses equally entails a circulation of ideas. While colonizing nations established hegemonic connection networks and markets for their products, there were also parallel linkages between colonized regions and peoples, which also influenced and strengthen each other. Several products were even designed for specific markets, as was the case with a manufacturer in Bristol having

different styles for Africa, America, Spain and Ireland (Oswald, 1975) or the *Squatters Budgerie* pipe was made in Great Britain for the Australian market.

Pipes work well as indicators of trade relations between regions and countries. For an example, in Australia, pipes from the United Kingdom, France, Netherlands, USA and Germany have been identified in port areas, dated up until c. 1850. Among those pieces, a predominance of pipes from Scotland (in particular from the manufacturer Thomas White and Co.) was observed (Gojak & Stuart, 1999). From the nineteenth century, Scotland occupied a leading role in the international export of smoking pipes, a position hitherto held by London, Bristol and Southampton, which seemed to show in Australian archaeological record. Another example of pipes as indicators of relations between regions is the finding of great quantities of smoking pipes made in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, in areas occupied by the Dutch West India Company (*Westindische Compagnie*—WIC) in Brazil (Hissa, 2019a, b). Rotterdam, which directly exported pipes to the region of Pernambuco, which was conveyed in historical documentation (Oostveen, 2015), began producing at least from 1621, increasing rapidly until the end of the 1640s, disappearing practically until the end of the century.

Finally, Fox (1998, 2002) discussed a large collection of more than 20,000 European pipes in Port Royal, Jamaica, showing how seventeenth century Jamaica was connected to the world economic system, by consuming English pipes, which played a part in England's global dominance. Two interpretive models provided support in her analyses (Fox, 2015). The first is the world-system theory of Immanuel Wallerstein and André Gunder Frank and the second, theories of consumption and the consumer, based mainly on Thorstein Veblen, Jacques Maquet and Pierre Bourdieu. While world-system theory positions colonies and metropolises in the integrated and hierarchical network of global tobacco production and consumerism, consumption theories emphasize personal choice and individual agency in building identities and justifying mass appeal of product.

These few examples point out to the important role smoking pipes played in consolidating relations, markets and trade alliances, as well as their part in mapping them using the archaeological record.

Smoking Pipes and Identities

Loktu (2012) indicates a shift in emphasis in the study of archaeological pipes in recent years, moving towards approaches with more sociohistorical rather than chronological objectives. These studies address a variety of subjects. One of the topics is the introduction of tobacco smoking in the Old World, which would have been driven largely by explorers and sailors, and its impact. Another interesting topic discussed refers to the constraints or political stimuli that the consumption and production of tobacco and pipe received by European governments. In addition, socially constructed preferences in the form of tobacco consumption (chewing, inhaling and smoking) is also a topic of investigation. The decline in tobacco

smoking using pipes was also an object of study, considering that these have become outdated objects, obsolete compared to cigarettes, associated with modernity, the new and the speed of events. Smoking as a completely social and cultural practice, instead of a basic bodily necessity such as eating, drinking, and sheltering from the weather, means pipes go a long way in aiding multi-scalar discussions on global relations and on local expressions.

Within archaeology, coming from a more interpretative or post-processual stand, identity issues were privileged topics in pipe studies, such as expressions of patriotism (Reckner, 2001), Irish and Irish American Identities (Reckner, 2016) or gender and feminist studies (Seifert, 1991; Dallal, 2016). A DNA sample extracted from a pipe stem found in a late nineteenth century African-American saloon in Virginia was analyzed. The result encouraged discussions evoking gender and ethnicity in a public place (Dixon, 2006). Another DNA sample collected from a clay tobacco pipe stem, this one from an African American slave quarter in Maryland was also analyzed (Schablitsky et al., 2019). The results indicated the sample belonged to a woman closely related to Mende living in present-day Sierra Leone, West Africa, which, again, fed important discussions on gender and the ethnicity of the smoker. Additionally, Loren (2022) discussed identity associated to spiritual, as well as bodily and sensorial experiences. Studying white clay pipes at early Harvard College, the author reflected on the effects of smoking in embodied experiences and interactions, taking into account puritan beliefs and practices, and its relations to restrictions on pleasure and behavior.

Whereas European pipes embody discussions on the general outline of European and colonial appropriation and incorporation of smoking practices into worldwide connections, there is only so much it can do in terms of identity. We can discuss identity of users, whomever they might be. Nevertheless, the makers are always going to be European. Local and regional productions of pipes in the New World during historical periods were produced by different techniques and elaborated by groups and peoples from different sociocultural backgrounds. The focus on pipes made in the Americas opens the possibility of dealing with specific relationships with smoking. This might also imply different materials, and several gestures and relations to the tools and components themselves. Small-scale manufactures and uses can also indicate significant markets and identity meanings.

Although there has been an attempt to date terracotta pipes based on the criteria of some standardization (Monroe & Mallios, 2004; Monroe et al., 2004), the main take on the study of such pipes have been to discuss ethnicity. That is the case with pipes from the Chesapeake region, Virginia, USA. Several authors have debated these pipes as products of either Africans and Afro-Americans or of American native peoples (Emerson, 1988; Mouer et al., 1999; Monroe, 2002; Agbe-Davies, 2011, 2016 and others). While not discounting the importance of these identity issues, in a more recent discussion Agbe-Davies (2018) advocated for a focus widening, in order to encompass production technique, labor relations and circulation of products.

Considering South America, many clay or terracotta pipes were associated with populations of African descent in Argentina (Schávelzon, 2003; Zorzi & Schávelzon,

2016), Brazil (Lima et al., 1993; Agostini, 1998, 2011, 2018; Souza, 2000, 2018; Hissa, 2019a, 2020), French Guiana (Auger et al., 2018; Suarez, 2017, 2018), Peru (Solano et al., 2021), and so on. In a more recent work, Hissa (2024) discussed AfroIndigenous making of terracotta pipes in the Amazon, as well as some issues on circulation of pipes in Brazilian territory. These works exhibited a concern with issues of identity and ethnicity, political resistance, making techniques and distribution of products.

After this non-exhaustive overview, we move onto the pipes this book.

The Pipes in This Book

This volume is a take on smoking, tobacco and pipes compiled from two main premises. Firstly, it agrees with a need to soften the chronological landmark between pre-historical and historical archaeology in the New World (see Lightfoot, 1995, 2015, and others), tracing narratives of both long and short duration on their smoking pipes. Following this idea, some of the chapters deliberately bring precolonial elements of indigenous relations to smoking and its material remains in favor of an unbroken or more fluidly flowing narrative of the past. Some of the papers offer a long-term perspective of connections with a more remote past, regarding smoking, pipes and tobacco. As a second premise, this volume strives for highlighting connections, them being chronological, geographical, cultural, social, and so on.

Opening the book, Tania Andrade Lima and Marcos André Torres de Souza discuss pipes from a very important archaeological site, the Valongo Wharf in Rio de Janeiro, one of the most significant disembarkation ports during the Atlantic trade of enslaved Africans. Their study brings data from the archaeological site, complemented by information on pipes from other nearby sites, as well as historical written documents, cartography and iconography. The Valongo pipes sum up to a large sample of diverse types, connected to several times and places. One interesting connection brought up by the authors is one between Rio de Janeiro pipes and an English ship that ended up in Australia. Other transatlantic connections discussed by the authors are of deep meaning, regarding the importance of *lines* to Central African cosmological and graphical systems. Lima and Souza argue the *lines* as a continuing intercontinental cultural thread, persistent in hybridization and Creolization processes. Similarly, pearl like decoration on pipes found at the Valongo site were taken as a component incorporated from European esthetics as part of the hybridization process. Other pipes receive the same degree of delicate description and interpretation, but all of them considered as social agents fundamental to cultural reterritorialization processes.

To this chapter, follows a discussion by Diogo Costa based on Amazonian pipes associated with African descent groups, considering their making and use. The excavations at the Murutucu Mill site, located on the outskirts of the city of Belém, Brazil, produced clay smoking pipes that were described here in their shape, clay and decorative elements and discussed as linked to West Central Africa cosmologies

and symbols. Brazilian Amazon is then connected to specific parts of Africa, through these small smoke conductors. One particular pipe brings another suggested interpretation, which may attest to long-term memories of how the enslaving process began individually.

In Chap. 4, I present an overview of clay smoking pipes in Brazil, from pre-colonial to historical periods. The chapter maps different types of pre-historical pipes, from anthropomorphic to tubular, but only drafting a *longuee durée* perspective. From colonial periods to the early twentieth century, foreign pipes (mainly from England, Netherlands, France, Italy and the USA) are shown to have been found only at some types of historical archaeological sites in Brazil. Furthermore, as the chapter's main focus, I present a panorama of Brazilian-made low-fired clay pipes, those ubiquitous throughout the territory. Their making and use are strongly associated with African descent groups and, to a lesser degree, to indigenous peoples. This leads to a discussion about different scales of connections: (1) between past and present among Amerindians; (2) between African and American continent; (3) between connections being built and coexisting in possible AfroIndigenous practices; (4) between different African descent peoples; (5) between artisans from several regions of Brazil; and so on. All of these connections are alive, dynamic, constructive and intense.

Considering its structure, this book crosses the Atlantic twice. After the discussions on Brazilian connections, we make our first Atlantic crossing. In Chap. 5, Miguel Martins de Sousa and Tânia Manuel Casimiro describe and discuss clay pipe production and use in Portugal, from the seventeenth to nineteenth century. An iconographic revision of representations of smoking in Portuguese art shed light to smoking as a social habit, such as smoking as an individual and/or a collective practice, as well as possible social restrictions to the smoker. The chapter presents pipe production in Lisbon as targeting internal markets. In addition, it offers an overview of clay tobacco pipes found in several sites throughout Portugal, highlighting that most pipes found were produced outside Portugal, mainly Netherlands, England and the Mediterranean. The authors highlight the connections between Brazil and Portugal in the way tobacco was understood as a medicine, as well as the commercial connections between pipe making centers.

Similarly, Gavin Lucas and Jakob Orri Jónsson, in Chap. 6, offer a panorama of smoking pipes in Iceland. Their overview brings tobacco consumption via smoking, snuff and chewing, during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The authors discuss pipes and tobacco smoking regarding social classes through time, based on pipes found in sites associated with diverse socio-economic groups, from the economic elite to fisherman. They observe an increase in the import connections and consequential generalization of smoking habit and its implements, followed by a decrease, which should be understood in association to other ways of tobacco consumption. Furthermore, this chapter brings the material culture associated with tobacco consumption into the discussion, as integral and fundamental dimensions of that practice.

It is interesting to take note that the two European narratives on smoking and pipes present in this book are peripheral—and also consumers—to the main centers

of historical clay pipe production, such as the UK, the Netherlands, France, Germany and Mediterranean regions). This is significant since it brings forth the global commerce and the connections it promotes into focus.

The second Atlantic voyage returns us to the American continent, highlighting more obvious Amerindian connections, as well as some of its origins. The last two discussion chapters not only show and exemplify how pipes, smoking and tobacco have been pan-Amerindian for hundreds of years, but also how they played profound roles in cosmological views, ritual practices and social bonding activities, some of which still persist, despite globalization's processes and repercussions.

The seventh chapter offers another context native to the New World, the Maya. Jennifer Loughmiller-Cardinal, Keith E. Eppich and James Scott Cardinal bring forth the importance of tobacco from the Maya creation myth regarding tobacco, through clay stamped flasks from the latter half of the Mayan Classic Period (c. 700 A.D.–850 A.D.). Moreover, this discussion sees a persistence in the way tobacco is stored and carried in flasks in the Classic Period to its use today, with tobacco still stored and carried in small gourds as a possible continuation of long time practices. As a particular focus of this chapter, the authors describe and analyze a sample of such archaeological flasks considering (1) production characteristics and the regulation of stamps standardization; and (2) the possibility of them being elite prestige goods and having significant gift-performance, even if mass-produced and reproduced.

Closing the book, in Chap. 8, Verónica S. Lema offers a dense overview of pipes and smoking from pre-hispanic to the colonial period, considering the Southern Andes in South America and northern Argentina and Chile. She mentions pre-colonial pipes made of bone, cougar, stone and clay, from different contexts, such as cave burial. Drawing from secondary information on archeometric and archaeobotanical analysis, the author discusses the use of different smoking plants. Considering snuffing and inhaling processed plants as part of the act of plant consumption, Lema also presents a series of studies on pre-colonial snuff trays and inhalers tubes. The idea of smoking is extended to censers and fire pits, highlighting the importance of *fire*, of *burning* and of the *smoke* itself in indigenous cosmologies, such as the shamanic practices of healing fumigation, which still persists in some regions of South America. When Lema's overview reaches the colonial period, it uses both archaeological and written records, discussing how other vehicles were already being used instead of pipes for consuming plants. Archaeological remains from the seventeenth century onwards attest to some kinds of relations between natives and Europeans associated with smoking and burning plants, as well as inhaling snuff. An ethnographic account of burning smoking plants in present time closes this *longuee durée* history of smoking in that extensive region.

It was the goal of this volume to present a range of connections: chronological (past to present), material, cultural, social, and transatlantic, drawing from different case studies and overviews. Hopefully, this opportunity for knowing less frequently discussed or non-central contexts and how they made and used smoking pipes and tobacco implements will offer an enrichment experience. Finally, I would like to thank all of the authors for their fine contributions to this volume.

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