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edited by
Gabriela Blažková
Kristýna Matějková

INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CAS PRAGUE

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Andreas Heege, Kristýna Matějková, and Hans-Georg Stephan
English editing: David J. Gaul
Technical proofreading: Katarína Válová
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1 | Little big vices



Two Types of Smoking Pipes and a Global Perspective in Rua do Terreiro do Trigo, Lisbon

Miguel Martins de Sousa – José Pedro Henriques – Vanessa Galiza Filipe

Abstract

Studies of clay smoking pipes represent one of the major fields of research in post-medieval archaeology due to their frequent occurrence in the archaeological record and their suitability for typological dating. During an archaeological survey in Rua do Terreiro do Trigo, located in Lisbon's picturesque district of Alfama, very close to the Tagus River and where many different and cosmopolitan people spent their spare time during the post-medieval period, we were able to collect a significant number of smoking pipes fragments, given the site's dimension. Amongst the sherds recovered it is possible to identify a great number of European kaolin clay pipe fragments dated from the 17th to the 18th century and also a set of unusual black and grey earthenware chibouks of (yet) uncertain origin. Therefore, this paper seeks to report the smoking pipe assemblage recovered in Rua do Terreiro do Trigo, but also to discuss the study of smoking devices in the Portuguese post-medieval archaeological contexts.

kaolin clay pipes – chibouks – Lisbon – Portuguese post-medieval archaeology – Europeanisation

1. INTRODUCTION

Rua do Terreiro do Trigo is a 125-metre-long Lisbon road which connects Praça do Chafariz de Dentro and Praça do Terreiro do Trigo, in south-eastern Alfama, an old dynamic district in the cross-cultural Portuguese capital. Due to the recent need to enlarge the coverage of recycle bins, an area on this road was archaeologically surveyed by Cota 80.86 between 17 September and 20 November 2018, resulting in new information concerning knowledge of past societies that lived in Lisbon.

On the other hand, during the present century Portugal has witnessed an increasing number of archaeological works, particularly in Lisbon (Bugalhão 2016, 469). Therefore, a great number of new investigations concerning details of the numerous smoking pipes at several archaeological publications could be expected, but that is not the usual case. Thus far, only a small part of the work has been done and its results are published and available to consult.[1]

In spite of that, some research has been reported since the second half of the last century regarding

1 In Portugal, archaeologists are obligated by *Regulamento de Trabalhos Arqueológicos* (Regulations of Archaeological Work in: Law No. 164/2014, of November 4th) to produce a report explaining all the procedures, structural elements of archaeological value, among other components, within a year after the work is finished. However, some of those reports are never published and others do not contain all the information needed, as the ability of the authority to enforce the regulations is very limited (Bugalhão 2015, 45).

post-medieval publications and academic productions, such as the first study describing the smoking devices from Rua do Terreiro do Trigo, through an attempt to understand the evidence of altered states of consciousness in the archaeological record during the Early Modern period in Portugal (Sousa 2020, 69–83).

Finally, the main purposes of this paper are to present the kaolin smoking pipes and chibouks unearthed in Rua do Terreiro do Trigo, to provide a glimpse from a global perspective into one of the most cross-cultural cities of Europe during the post-medieval period, and to briefly trace the Portuguese utilisation of smoking devices.

2. THE SITE: RUA DO TERREIRO DO TRIGO, LISBON

As mentioned above, between September and November 2018, a 28 m^2 area in Rua do Terreiro do Trigo was archaeologically surveyed through the Project of Underground Ecopoints Installation in the City of Lisbon (**Fig. 1/2, 3**), undertaken by municipal determination to conduct several excavations for the installation of recycling containers.

Geologically located on a Holocene landfill and alluvium area, this site presents the following geographical coordinates: 38º 42' 38.640" N and 9º 7' 41.486" W.

Furthermore, the survey was located at the northeast block of the Alfândega de Lisboa building (**Fig. 1/1**), the old Celeiro Público, previously known as Terreiro do Trigo. However, the survey area that we present corresponds to the Terreiro do Trigo built after the 1755 earthquake, given that the previous structure was located on the east side of Terreiro do Paço, currently Praça do Comércio, from the 15th until the first half of the 18th century (Mangas 2016, 28, 29). The 'new' Terreiro do Trigo was situated in an extensive landfill area developed since the 16th century, thanks to Lisbon's demographic and economic increase, and which has been rediscovered in the last years of archaeological research due to urban development undertaken in the city (Gonzalez 2012, 92; Silva et al. 2012, 71).

With a total depth of 2.2 m to 3.3 m, the surface units referred to contemporary realities of the so-called *calçada portuguesa* (Portuguese pavement, designed with black basalt and white limestone).

In a lower position and associated with the 1755 earthquake (**Fig. 1/3**), several deposits were identified related to a landfill or destruction occurred on the site, and a great amount of materials were recovered in this layer, particularly most of the smoking pipes.

In a subsequent layer, the pre-earthquake units corresponded to a poorly preserved pavement and post holes related to an undetermined, probably harbour, structure.

Finally, corresponding to the 17th century or earlier, several units formed a heterogeneous layer used as a regulator for the riverfront. At this a compact road, two John III of Portugal coins (1521–1557) and a different unidentified structure were found. Neither excavated structures are depicted on any consulted cartography that contemplates the surveyed area during the 16th and 17th centuries, as those only depicted a dispersed beach area until the mid-18th century reorganisation (**Fig. 1/1**).

3. THE SMOKING PIPES: TWO TYPES

The entire Rua do Terreiro do Trigo smoking pipe assemblage came from 34 different stratigraphic units related to the realities of the 17th and 18th centuries and included 472 fragments, which, after post-excavation work, corresponded to 447.

Two types of smoking pipes were recovered from Rua do Terreiro do Trigo: imported white kaolin smoking pipes from England and mostly the Netherlands, and grey-/black-earthenware smoking pipes, referred to as chibouks, of uncertain origin.

The minimum number represented was calculated following the empirical bases advanced by Clive Orton (1982, 156–178), and with the kaolin smoking pipes this number was given by the heel/spur, terminology applied by Susie D. White (2004) and David A. Higgins (2017). For the chibouks we selected the bowl/shank junction to obtain the minimum number and used the terminology

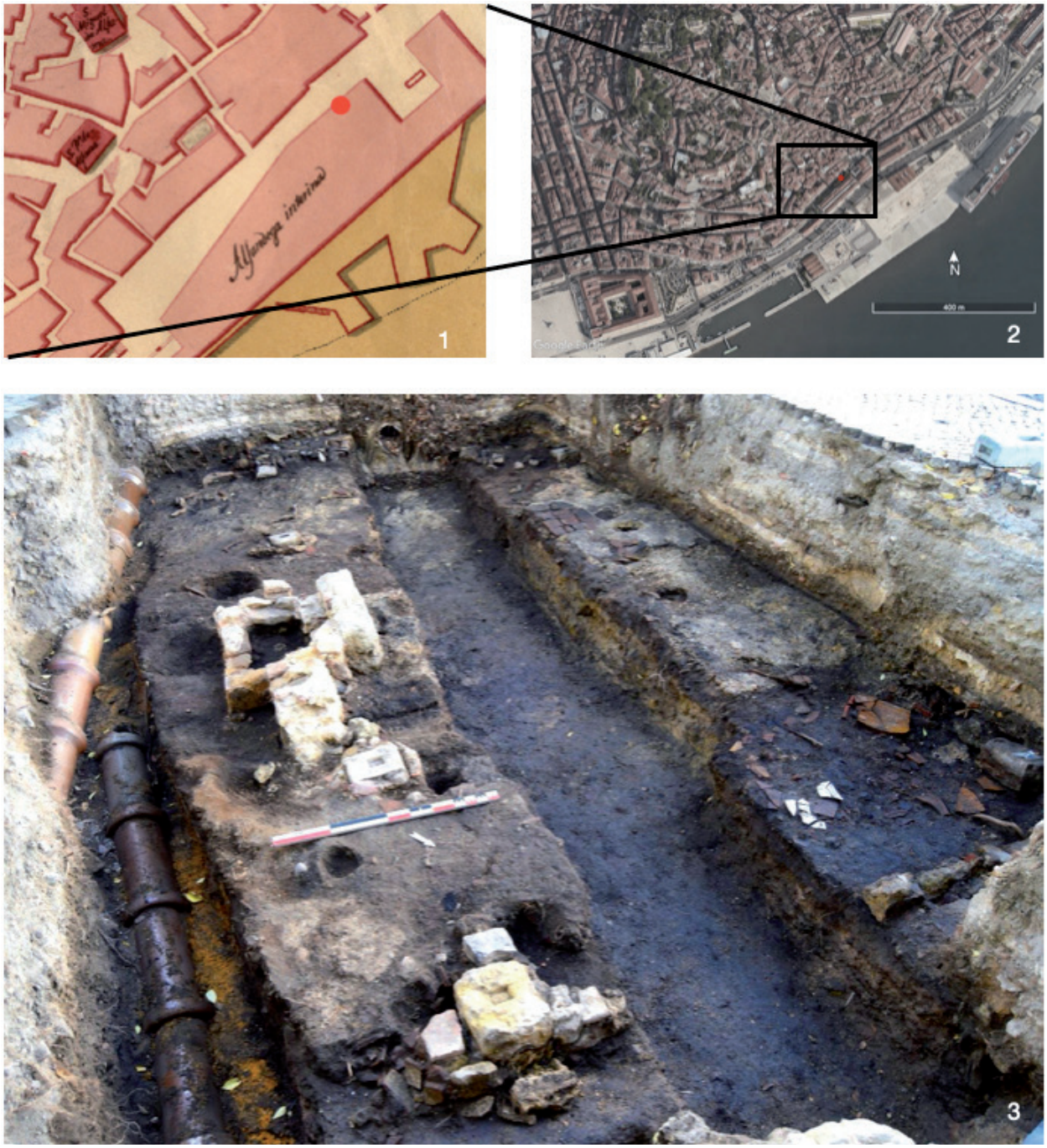


Fig. 1: Maps showing the site's location in red. 1 – Detail of 'Planta Topográfica da Cidade de Lisboa arruinada também segundo o novo alinhamento dos Architectos Eugénio dos Santos Carvalho e Carlos Mardel', 1758. Source: Lisboa Interativa; 2 – Orthophotography of south-southeast Lisbon. Source: Google Earth; 3 – General view of the layers corresponding to the destruction caused by the 1755 earthquake. Photo by J. P. Henriques.

applied by Rebecca Robinson (1985), St. John Simpson (1990) and Philippe Gosse (2007).

3.1 KAOLIN SMOKING PIPES

There were 32 fragments of kaolin pipe bowls. Of these, seventeen corresponded to small rim or body fragments and fifteen, including three complete bowls and three in poor condition for classification, with a heel/spur resulted in the minimum number represented.

About twelve bowl fragments were decorated, ten showing the typical rouletting/milling along the rim and two with moulded decoration. One small

piece showed moulded bulbs and may connect to the largest moulded fragment which depicted a circular frame where an anthropomorphic bust is oriented towards a phytomorphic element (**Fig. 2/9**), identified on another Portuguese work in Évora which attributed the fragment to a Bavarian production from the last quarter of the 17th century (Lopes/Roque 2012, 207). On the other hand, in a display at Eurostars Hotel in Lisbon the same decoration is indicated to be of English origin and dated to the first half of the 18th century (Gomes 2005, 45).

Regarding makers' marks, ten fragments were identified with them on the spur/heel. Stamped on the sides of the spur, two fragments of possible London production were found, one with the initials 'I' and 'R' (**Fig. 2/7**), which can be attributed to Joseph Rande, John Roome, John Reynolds or James Roome, who manufactured between 1667 and 1730 (Atkinson/Oswald 1969). Another is marked with the initials 'F' and 'S' (**Fig. 2/8**), which may correspond to Ferdinando Smith, Francis Saywell or Francis Stray, who produced smoking pipes between 1642 and 1732 (Atkinson/Oswald 1969, 56, 57). Related to those we also counted two spur fragments without any mark, which we attributed to English manufacture.

From the Netherlands, eight fragments showed marks from Gouda, the largest Dutch pipe production center (Meulen 2003). The more decorative patterns of these pipes can be dated in accordance with the contemporary coat of arms of Gouda featuring six stars arranged in two parallel rows. This mark, which was introduced in 1739, appears on three heel fragments and can therefore serve as a fixed *terminus post quem* for the formation layer that yielded them. The same applies to the letter 'S' above the coat of arms, meaning *slegte*, being of a lower quality, which was introduced in 1740 (Calado et al. 2003, 87, 88).

The bases of the three mentioned heels were stamped with a crowned '64' (**Fig. 2/5**) produced in the workshop of Andries de Vries (1722–1755); the *Fruitben* (fruit basket) motif (**Fig. 2/6**) from Jan Nieuwveld (1725–1789); and a crowned 'L' (**Fig. 2/3**) which can be attributed to Cornelis de Licht (1730–1745), Jacob de Licht (1745–1753), Frans Verzijl (1753–1774), among others (Meulen 2003, 45, 76, 94).

In the Portuguese context, some of the marks listed are not exclusive to the Rua do Terreiro do Trigo site. With a crowned 'B' associated with Jan Overwesel (1730–1746), succeeded by Bastiaan Overwesel (1737–1770), we identified two fragments (**Fig. 2/1, 11**) previously recorded in other places in Lisbon (Calado et al. 2003, 87; Calado et al. 2013, 388). From Oporto (Pereira 2003, 259), Lisbon (Calado et al. 2013, 388, 389), and Setúbal (Soares et al. 2018, 88, 89) the *Schrijvende Hand* (writing hand) motif (**Fig. 2/4**) was noted and, as it is in this study, attributed to the Hage Jaspersz van Kint workshop (1714–1759) (Meulen 2003, 38, 62).

By then, two marks were found without any parallel in the Portuguese record. A crowned 'HK' (**Fig. 2/2**) connected to the workshop of Handrick Kwast (1719–1749; Meulen 2003, 70) and a *Man in Sjees* (*Kar*) (man in a wagon) motif (**Fig. 2/10**) which is attributed to many pipe makers between 1719 and 1782 (Meulen 2003, 36, 70).

Consistent with most of the clay smoking pipe studies (Higgins 2017, 6), the 403 stem fragments were much more numerous than the bowl sherds, constituting 93% of the kaolin clay fragment group. Of these, fifteen were registered as proximal sections which may correspond to mouthpieces, though it is difficult to be sure about that aspect (Calado et al. 2003, 92), making it challenging to distinguish from the 385 fragments corresponding to mesial sections. However, some elements such as teeth marks (**Fig. 4/1**) and the reduced diameter value were used in order to allow such a classification.

For the three distal sections, we added eleven of the previously mentioned bowl fragments, selecting the ones which possessed a stem section, finding 414 fragments which we measured in order to find the total length of the kaolin stems: 1181.15 cm.

This experimental procedure was performed with the realisation that during the 18th century, which is the chronological scope of the majority of the smoking assemblage studied based on the stem bores, stems would reach from 33.02 cm to 34.29 cm (13" to 13½", respectively, according to

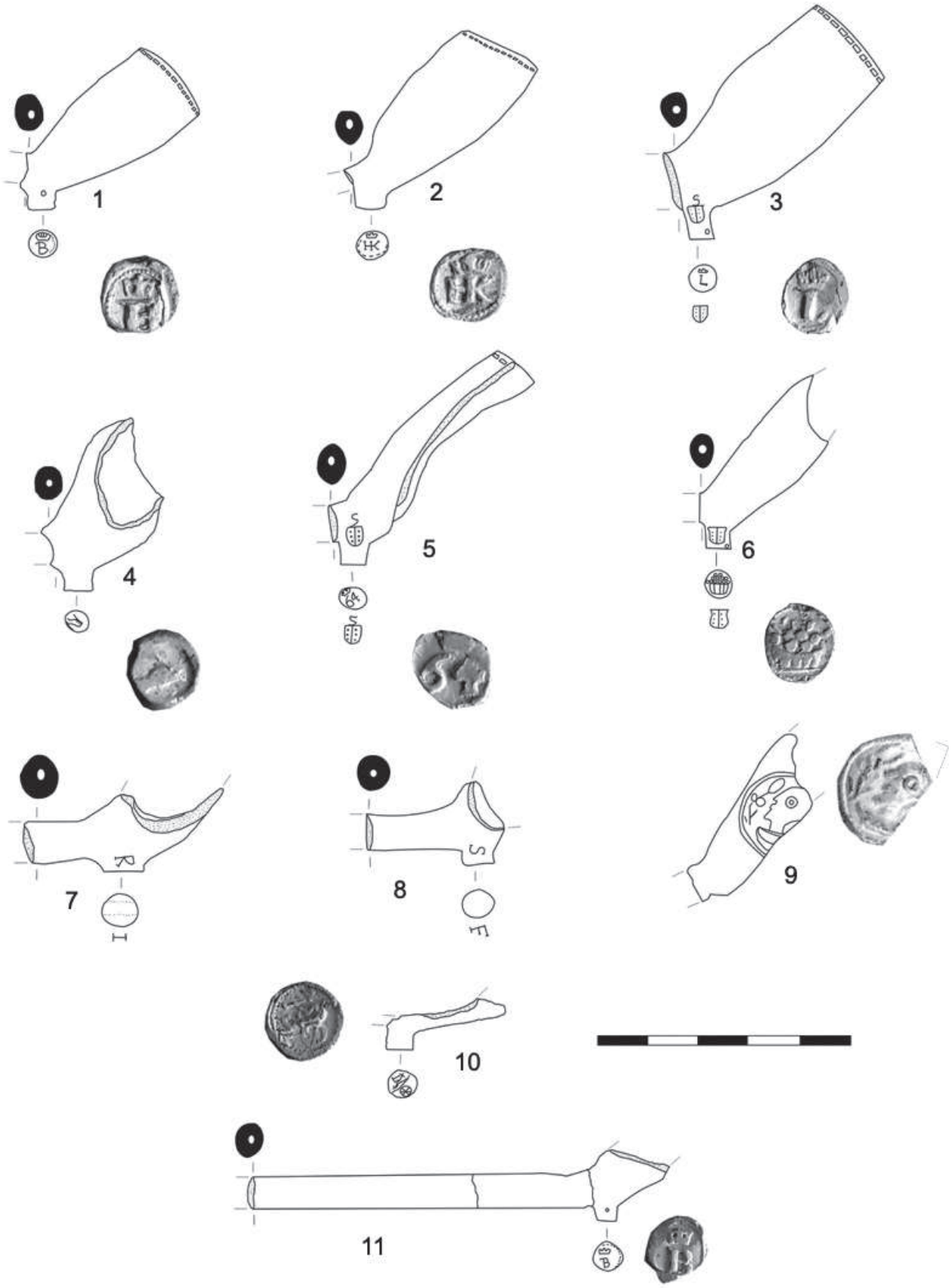


Fig. 2: Kaolin smoking pipe bowls from Rua do Terreiro do Trigo, Lisbon. 1 – Inv. No. RTT'18.252; 2 – Inv. No. RTT'18.82; 3 – Inv. No. RTT'18.256; 4 – Inv. No. RTT'18.361; 5 – Inv. No. RTT'18.76; 6 – Inv. No. RTT'18.216; 7 – Inv. No. RTT'18.423; 8 – Inv. No. RTT'18.411; 9 – Inv. No. RTT'18.435; 10 – Inv. No. RTT'18.163; 11 – Inv. No. RTT'18.191. Photo and drawing by M. M. de Sousa.

Hume 1991, 296). Therefore, the obtained result corresponded to at least 36 smoking pipes. Nevertheless, the stems of certain pipes could reach 47.72 cm (18") covering 26 pipes, once again more than the previously minimum number represented by the bowl fragments (15).

Although it was not proved, this suggested that bowls could be reused with a broken stem, a fact that can indicate the smoking habit through the lower classes of individuals or can be related to the short life expectancy of these objects, which could also be intentionally broken for several reasons (Calado et al. 2003, 92, 93).

Chromatically, a reddish fragment (10R 5/8) occurred in the kaolin stem group, corresponding to iron oxide contamination. However, as it is related to such a small fragment (3.1 cm in length) it could easily be mistaken with the local Portuguese production of red/orange 'earthenware smoking pipes' found at a few locations around the country (Neto et al. 2006, 129; Coelho 2012, 756; António 2006, 29; Pimenta/Silva 2019, 253, 254; Martins 1998, 17; Calado et al. 2003, 87; Calado et al. 2013, 385; Cardoso 2017, 109–116) and at the very least produced in Lisbon (Oliveira 2019, 71, 72).

About 45 stems were identified with a horizontal oriented decoration: 39 fragments with geometric decoration were registered, specifically one with a wavy band (**Fig. 3/1**), two with incised bands of milling (**Fig. 3/3**), nine which depict lines of small circles and 27 with a combination of the last two mentioned patterns (**Fig. 3/5, 8**). These decorative motifs are often recorded in archaeological studies associated with 18th century Dutch pipes, although it was also used in English and French productions (Gosse 2007, 98; Pinto et al. 2011, 44).

Lastly, half of the six stems with epigraphic inscriptions are marked 'IN GOUDA' (**Fig. 3/4**), which was also used in the 18th century (Calado et al. 2003, 89). A different fragment features part of that inscription '[…] OUDAS'; however, it is preceded by 'VIE […]' (**Fig. 3/7**) which can correspond to 'B:V:EVEN' referring to Barend van Even or Evers (1744–1768) (Meulen 2003, 101). Another epigraphic element '[…] W[I]EWE […]' (**Fig. 3/6**) may be linked to Jan van der Wies (1746–1776),

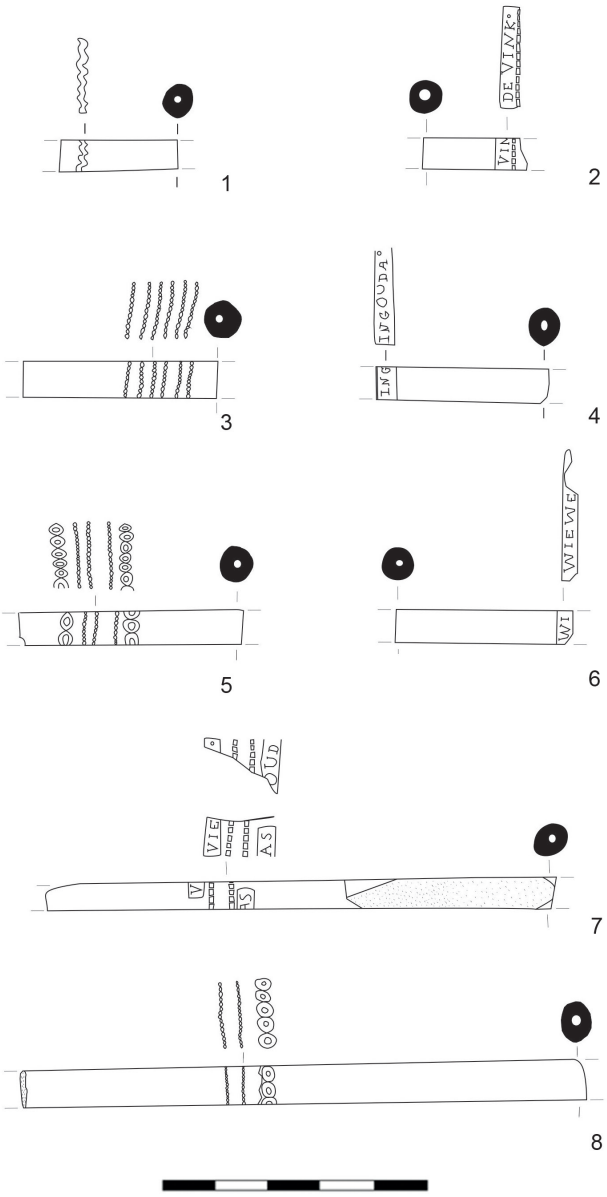


Fig. 3: Kaolin smoking pipe stems from Rua do Terreiro do Trigo, Lisbon. 1 – Inv. No. RTT'18.4; 2 – Inv. No. RTT'18.291; 3 – Inv. No. RTT'18.5; 4 – Inv. No. RTT'18.332; 5 – Inv. No. RTT'18.6; 6 – Inv. No. RTT'18.165; 7 – Inv. No. RTT'18.255; 8 – Inv. No. RTT'18.140. Drawing by M. M. de Sousa.

and the last epigraphic stem inscription is '[…] DE VINKº' (**Fig. 3/2**), which can be associated with the workshops of Jacob of Jan de Vinck and Jan of Jacob de Vinck (1730–1764) or Teunis de Vink (1745–1782; Meulen 2003, 103).





2

Fig. 4: Photographic records of specific smoking pipe fragments. 1 – Grey earthenware chibouk, *in situ*; 2 – Kaolin smoking pipe stem with teeth marks. Photo by M. M. de Sousa, found inside a post hole. Rua do Terreiro do Trigo, Lisbon. Photo by J. P. Henriques.

3.2 EARTHENWARE SMOKING PIPES OR CHIBOUKS

Twelve fragments belonging to the chibouk group were found, some unearthed in post holes (**Fig. 4/2**), without any precise archaeological parallel found in Portugal. These correspond to two complete chibouks, five shank-sockets, three rims, one shank termination and one keel fragment. Therefore, the unearthed fragments from the excavation resulted in a minimum represented number of eight.

We previously have applied a grey and black earthenware smoking pipe nomenclature, giving prior attention to the colour of the burnished surfaces, which in the case of non-kaolinitic pipes ranges from grey (5YR 5/1) to black (5YR 2.5/1), rejecting the widespread Ottoman/Turkish pipe term, as we were never sure about its origin (Simpson 2002; Gosse 2007, 150). Furthermore, the term chibouk (Robinson 1985), as the first in which these kinds of objects were divulged, should not be denied.

With the two complete elements (**Fig. 5/1, 2**) it is possible to assert the following measurements: 1 cm in diameter of the shank's termination, up to 1.7 cm of rim diameter, between 3.5 cm and 4.5 cm in total length and an average height of 3.75 cm.

Regarding the decoration, the present chibouks are very plain, particularly in comparison with similar assemblages (Robinson 1985; Wood 1990; Simpson 2002; Gosse 2007) only a double incised line appears around the shank termination. We identified six chibouks (**Fig. 5/1–6**) with this decoration pattern identical to chibouks found in Barcelona, Malta and Marseille, dated for the late 17th and early 18th centuries and studied as 'sack shape' or Balkan productions (Gosse 2007, 191, 192; Beltrán de Heredia et al. 2012, 178; Wood 2014, 63). Another two fragments correspond to a bowl base with a short shank showing swelling near the termination (**Fig. 5/7**), along with a keel fragment with incised vertical lines (**Fig. 5/8**), which also has parallels in the Maltese finds (Wood 2014, 56–59).

Nevertheless, given the vague decoration elements and the lack of manufactures' marks, other provenances may be suggested, such as an origin in America, as the place where many locals, Africans and Europeans used smoking pipes similar to the given chibouks in association with some indigenous pipes that could have been brought to the metropolitan state (Hissa 2018, 152, 153). Another possibility is an African origin linked with products from the Mafamba site (M'Bokolo 2010, 635), archaeological artefacts from Cabo Verde (Cardoso/Soares 2010, 200) and reported finds from the Moroccan city of Azemmour, namely the *en forme de sac* AZ6–072 chibouk of possible Western Mediterranean provenance (Teixeira et al. 2016, 182, 188). This group is nonetheless representative of the cross-cultural life in Lisbon during the Early Modern period.

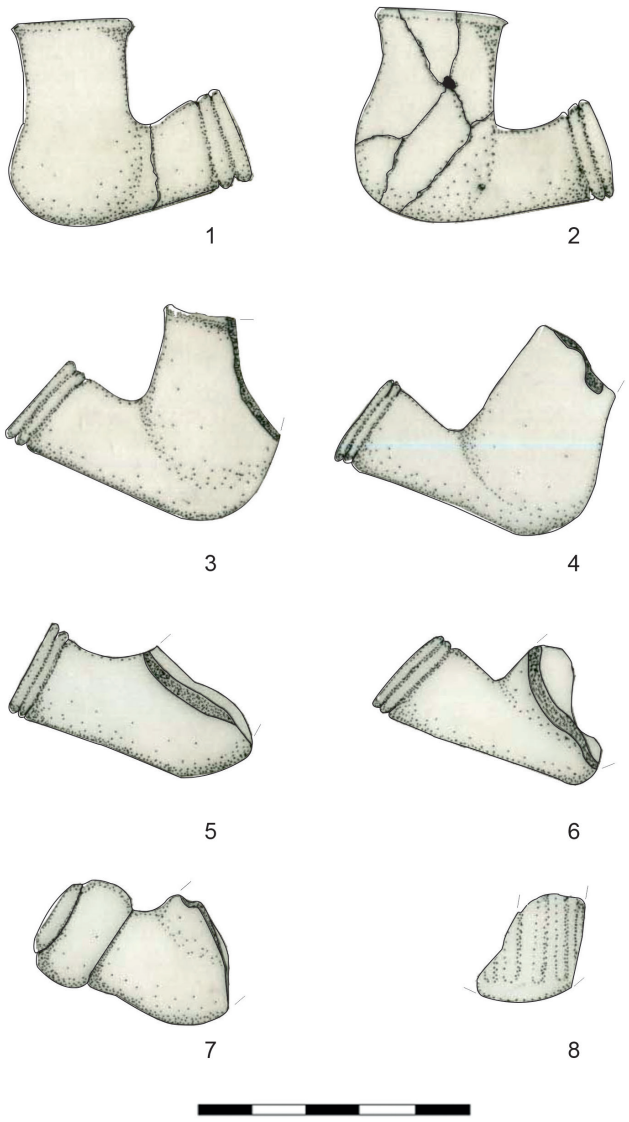


Fig. 5: Chibouk bowls from Rua do Terreiro do Trigo, Lisbon. 1 – Inv. No. RTT'18.441; 2 – Inv. No. RTT'18.437; 3 – Inv. No. RTT'18.440; 4 – Inv. No. RTT'18.442; 5 – Inv. No. RTT'18.443; 6 – Inv. No. RTT'18.447; 7 – Inv. No. RTT'18.436; 8 – Inv. No. RTT'18.444. Drawing by M. M. de Sousa.

4. DISCUSSION

From a previous study, 87 Portuguese sites have been located where smoking tools were recovered. Although none of them were analysed in order to discover the carbonised *flora* (Sousa 2020, 64), there are some plans to conduct such an analysis (Calado et al. 2003, 92).

However, it is possible to assume a prior smoking attitude in Funchal (Gomes/Gomes 1998, 321–324) and, by *Cannabis sp*., around contentious assumptions related to a '15th century hashish smoking pipe from Granada Kingdom' unearthed in the Augustinian Convento de Nossa Senhora da Graça de Tavira (Cavaco/Covaneiro 2017, 203, 204), which may be linked to outdated assumptions related to Moorish smoking devices from Spain (Váldes Fernández 1993).

In spite of that, with the arrival of New World shipments, there was a diverse assemblage of psychoactive substances namely one solanaceous, *Nicotiana rustica* or *Nicotiana tabacum*, commonly called tobacco or *petume/betum* and *erva santa* (holy weed) in early documents (Góis [1566] 1926, 229; Souza [1587] 1851, 200). In this regard, Rodrigo Banha da Silva and Paulo Guinote indicated the second half of the 16th century as the beginning of tobacco consumption in Portugal (Silva/Guinote 1998, 87), along with believed panacea properties starting from the 1530s or 1540s (Teixeira et al. 2015, 25) and in association with other authors listed the second half of the 17th century (**Fig. 7/1**) as the period of tobacco imposition on the economic ranks (Caldeira 2008; Price 2007).

From a historical point of view, the contributions of Arlindo Manuel Caldeira are quite relevant to an understanding of the Portuguese role in the history of tobacco (2008). Furthermore, tobacco consumers could appear in several contexts, relying on historical documents, like religious houses, where this product was consumed on holy/festive occasions (Braga 2010, 314, 315), along with a 'great debauchery that exist on the regular convents to shelter tobacco outbreaks' during the 17th and 18th centuries on the Iberian Peninsula (Figueirôa-Rêgo 2018, 1368).

Although we do not believe that nicotine was the only smoking substance and, as new approaches support, there are other plant species that can be listed in smoking tools (Carmody et al. 2018, 646), especially among a cross-cultural territory (**Fig. 6**). By means of the Portuguese archaeological scenario, it can be suggested that tobacco consumption using smoking pipes is greater during the second half of the 17th century and during the 18th



Fig. 6: 'Chafariz d'el Rey', c. 1570–1580, by an anonymous painter. Berardo Collection, Lisbon.

century, although it represents an abundant commodity since the past century. It is in this period where many people with different origins must have left their footprints, i.e., their possessions, in the Portuguese layers.

This encourages reflection on different approaches to tobacco consumption, like cigars (**Fig. 7/2**), other devices rather than the typical kaolin pipes (**Fig. 7/3**), chewing tobacco (Teixeira et al. 2015, 25) and inhaling snuff, which appears to have been the preferential manner during the late 18th century (Ruders [1798–1802] 2002, 157). Note that snuff taking was still regarded as a 'serious social problem' by an anthropologist studying Portuguese women from Alentejo villages during the mid-20th century (Ribeiro 1969, 235, 236).

The Portuguese archaeological background presents its first appearance on smoking devices through a set of photographs from Irisalva Moita archaeological work in the Hospital Real de Todos-os-Santos area – currently Praça da Figueira, Lisbon (Moita 1965, 74, 75), later studied along a red-earthenware smoking pipe (Martins 1988, 17). The earliest occurrences of smoking tools are include in the Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora (Ferreira 1983, 28), in the Casa dos Bicos (Amaro 1983, 263), in the Hospital da Confraria do Espírito Santo dos Pescadores e Mareantes de Sesimbra (Franco et al. 1988, 167, 168) and in a mill from Alfragide (Martins 1998).

During the present century, an article discussing the kaolin clay pipes recovered in the Casa do Infante has been published (Pereira 2003), along with others, such as the widely mentioned study concerning the clay smoking pipes from the Castelo de São Jorge allure (Calado et al. 2003; Pimenta et al. 2008) and from the Palácio dos Marqueses de Marialva – currently Praça de Luís de Camões, Lisbon (Calado et al. 2013).

Despite these and other publications, for the first time a Portuguese smoking pipe production centre is designated in the Real Fábrica de Videos de



Fig. 7: 1 – 17th-century tiles panel depicting a smoking pipe on a cask. Palácio dos Marqueses de Fronteira. Photo by M. M. de Sousa; 2 – 'Retrato de Negro', 18th century, by Morgado de Setúbal. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon. Inv. No. 33987 TC. Source: MatrizNet; 3 – Detail of 'Interior de uma casa do baixo povo', c. 1820. Source: Universidade Federal do Paraná, *apud* Hissa 2018:39.

Coina (Custódio 2002, 220),[2] as a recent article supporting the production of Portuguese smoking pipes, mentioned in some previous papers refers to 'earthenware smoking pipes', in Rua Damasco Monteiro, Lisbon (Oliveira 2019, 67).

Due to a post-medieval view on the Portuguese archaeological record, a noticeable increase of smoking pipe publications could be observed through private archaeological companies (Simão 2010; Pinto et al. 2011). Likewise, several academic publications have studied smoking pipe fragments along with other assemblages (Oliveira 2012; Gomes 2014; Ferreira 2015; Serdoura 2019; Sousa 2020).

On the other hand, in the Portuguese context there is other evidence of the use of smoking pipes, like anthropological studies revealing tooth wear in Lagos (Wasterlain et al. 2016, 625), Coimbra (Carvalho/Wasterlain 2017, 1473) and possibly in Lisbon (Pereira 2009, 422, 423). With regard to the habit of snuff taking, rare archaeological occurrences can ambiguously relate to that, such as a box lid made of bone which, due to its small size, can possibly correspond to a snuff box (Cardoso 2009, 65). However, the occurrence of those, often made from perishable or valuable materials, are mostly confined to auction catalogues.

2 This consideration is quite ambiguous as there is no evidence on specific tools for smoking pipe production and the assemblage recovered is not large enough to support such an approach.

Conclusion

Most of the large sets of smoking pipes collected in Portugal are from 17th- and 18th-century landfills and consider a Dutch or English 'trade'. A clear example are the numerous fragments that have been exhumed from Lisbon's area, rebuilt after the 1755 earthquake, where the smoking assemblage discussed in the current paper was unearthed. However, it is also related to spare time habits, as depicted in a few anthropomorphic figures on Portuguese faience (Moncada 2008, 93) and on some tiles panels (Calado et al. 2003, 93; **Fig. 7/1**); these smoking tools morever revealed a global perspective through Rua do Terreiro do Trigo site denoting, again, 'trade' relations with different places, such as England, the Netherlands and, most likely, the Balkan or North African region.

Nevertheless, we suggest that pipe smoking was a marginalised habit over the Portuguese mainland in lieu of snuff taking during most of the post-medieval period (Sousa 2020, 115, 116). In this regard, very little is known about the forms of Portuguese snuff boxes and especially smoking pipes, as a single workshop was archaeologically reported for producing earthenware smoking pipes between the last half of 17th and the 18th century (Oliveira 2019, 68), with parallels at other national sites (Pimenta/Silva 2019, 256).

Concerning the chibouks, which can embrace more than one origin, for now these depict a peculiar set in the Portuguese archaeological record. However, peculiar sets can often occur in cross-cultural spaces, as this paper reveals. Therefore, on a global scale, the study of various smoking devices like water pipes, such as narghiles/hookahs (Wood 1990, 9) or porcelain kendis (Pais 2013, 286), oriental opium pipes (Costa 2009), chibouks of distinct shapes (Robinson 1985, 154; Simpson 1990), and the perishable ones listed by Alfred Dunhill from his pipe collection (1973) is strongly recommended.

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Miguel Martins de Sousa
Alumnus NOVA – FCSH
Avenida de Berna, 26-C
1069–061 Lisbon, Portugal
miguelmsousa1996@gmail.com

José Pedro Henriques
IAP, NOVA – FCSH / Cota 80.86 Lda.
Avenida de Berna, 26-C
1069–061 Lisbon, Portugal
josephenriques@cota8086.pt

Vanessa Galiza Filipe
IAP, NOVA – FCSH / Cota 80.86 Lda.
Avenida de Berna, 26-C
1069–061 Lisbon, Portugal
vanessafilipe@cota8086.pt