The Image of a Habit.

Pipes and the Depiction of Smoking in Central European Art from the Beginning to the First World War

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Abstract

The habit of smoking and the pipe have been depicted in Central Europe from the late 16th century onwards. These depictions can be regarded as important sources not only for the then actual pipes but also for the social interpretation of smoking. From a curiosity over to a sign symbol of wealth and also especially after the outbreak of the second phase of the 80 Eighty Year's War in 1621 of soldiers, to a common and easily-offending habit, different distinct and slightly overlapping phases of the smoker's image can be traced up to the mid-17th century in an increasing number of depictions, which ledt to the stereotype of the smoking peasant and later on to the general acceptance by the authorities, which is reflected in smokers depictions of the later 17th and 18th century. Due to the Napoleonic Wars, we see the pipe as a symbol of status again and seemingly contrary to that of joy and "gemütlichkeit" in a time when other methods of tobacco consumption were on the rise. The paper will give a brief overview about of the different phases of in the changing image of the pipe smoker in art and it's relationship to the contemporary pipe production in Central Europe.

Central Europe – pipes – smoking – depictions of smoking – pipes in art

1. INTRODUCTION

Up to now, a general overview of smoking in Central European art has been missing despite being the subject of some exhibitions (e.g. Schäfke 1984; Haine 2013, 11–15; Ridovics 2019), a brief introduction (Articus 2005), a few chapters regarding early tobacco consumption (Grimm 2018, 161–173; Hartje 2004, 253) and smoking women (Articus 2019; Stam 2019, 68–71). Paintings reveal who smoked what kind of pipe and can even detect later copies, like one after Teniers (1610–1690) with a mid-18th century basic type 3 pipe (Baumgärtel/Bürger 2005, 222, no. 162; Duco 2003, 204, 205, no. 15, 16). Although there are quite delicate depictions of smokers on tobacco equipment, they are left omitted in this work, since it is evident that most smokers would at least not be very inimical towards smoking. Other depictions that can be regarded as sources for smoking and its popularity as such, e.g., botanical illustrations depicting a smoker (as early as 1616; Bischop 2008, 166, fig. 10 left), stove tiles (Gruia 2012), house signs of different professions[1] and even painted tiles, which were popular even in the early 17th century as in later years (Krook 2013), simply lack the artistic quality necessary to determine the intended message about smoking. Often a great deal of information seems to be lost due to copy processes in some cases, as on some tiles with identical images (see Krook 2013, figs. 5, 11–13, 23).

1 See e.g., Köster/Link 2019, nr. II.142: Cooper's guild house shield, 1600–1700 (A. Wilgocka).



Fig. 1: Frans Hals: Merrymakers at Shrovetide (Metropolitan Museum New York no. 964, ca. 1616/1617; Metmuseum1.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020], excerpt).

2. PIPES AND THE DEPICTION OF SMOKING

The oldest dated depictions introduce the process of smoking and its central tool, the pipe in a neutral anthropological manner,[2] similar to the American Indians depicted from the 1550s onwards (Menninger 2009, figs. 1–3). Even older (1575–1600) is an allegorical print edited by Jan Tiel (Van der Lingen 2014b, 111, fig. 1; Grimm 2018, 165). Here a woman emerges from a fish smoking her pipe with a smile. This is the first spooky figure, followed by an ape in the Temptation of St. Anthony (1610–1615) from the workshop of Frans Francken II (Grimm 2018, 165, 172, 173, figs. 20, 21). From this, the parodistic smoking monkey genre by David Teniers evolved. An allegorical painting depicts a philosopher in "classical" garment smoking and drinking (Epicure or Sanguine Temperament? 1615–1625) ascribed tentatively to Barent van Someren (Grimm 2018, 166, 168, fig. 12).

In 1616/1617 Frans Hals painted a carnivalistic group in which two men flank a young man dressed up as a maid. One of them, the Peeckelharing, has a glowing pipe inside his hat (**Fig. 1**).[3] This inspired Judith Leister (1629) and Hendrick Pot to characterise the smokers as cockish (Grimm 2018, 166).

In the genre paintings of the 1610s, displaying smoking young people of the upper class in fashionable dresses emerged. Esaias van Velde's Garden-party (1614) inspired similar paintings by Willem Buytewech from 1616 to the early 1620s, in which he ridicules the fancy offspring of the rich, while Dirck Hals painted *Merry Company* in 1628 without any sign of criticism (Grimm 2018, 166, 167, 169 fig. 13; Baumgärtel/Bürger 2005, 112–114; Biesboer/Sitt 2004, 64, 70–73, 79–85, 98f)[4] and *The Small Smoker* by his brother Frans is somehow more ambivalent (c. 1625–1627; Liedtke 2007, 106, 266–268, fig. 19, no. 60, 369–370, no. 89). In 1620, Gerard van Honthorst painted a group of three joking young women and men, accompanied by an old woman, which is in fact a brothel scene (Grimm 2018, 167, fig. 14) like those by Hendrik Pot and Willem Anthonissene (1628) (Grimm 2018, 167; Biesboer/Sitt 2004, 180–185, no. 40–42; see Neumeister 2003, 85f. colour plate 3). Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne's *Princes Maurice and Frederik Henry at the Valkenburg Horse Fair* (1618; Grimm 2018, 165, 172, fig. 19; Van der Lingen 2014b, 111) displays no smokers but a wheel on the shelter with pipes, advertising the possibility to smoke and buy equipment inside, just a factual statement as in early Dutch genre paintings.

Genre and allegory merge in some 1620s paintings by Dutch Caravaggisti, where lighted pipes are an interesting source of illumination in allegorical depictions of soldiers or in a paragone with a famous antique painting only preserved by description (Grimm 2018, 165, 166, 168, fig. 11; Lenting

2 Grimm 2018, 164, 165, 167, fig. 10. The bad taste is mentioned in one of the first reports about tobacco consumption, while in the beginning the euphoria about the positive health effects of tobacco prevailed: Menninger 2009, 28, 33–35, 38, 55–59, 67, about reports of negative effects in 1665, see: Menninger 2009, 62.

3 See Liedtke 2007, 251–259, no. 58; Metmuseum1.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020].

4 wikimedia.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020].



Fig. 2: David Bailly: Self-Portrait with Vanity Symbols (Museum De Lakenhal Leiden, 1651; Commons.wikimedia2.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020]).

2012, 430; Schnackenburg 2016, 182, 184, 186, 208, 210, no. 20, 41; Neumeister 2003, 235, 237, fig. 170). Jan Martens' *Two Smokers* (1627) follows the French-Italian Caravaggisti Nicolas Tournier's *The Two Smokers* (1620–1625), who contrasts excessive with modest consumption of alcohol and tobacco in an encyclopaedic manner (Grimm 2018, 161–169, 170–179; Articus 2005, 112, fig. 3). Werner van den Valckert painted an encyclopaedic picture of a young couple (c. 1620s), where the woman takes the pipe of the man, being critical with respect to smoking (Grimm 2018, 168, 171, fig. 16). In Jan van den Vliedt's and Rembrandt's engraving *Smell* (1634), the woman is more obliviously disgusted by the wealthy young man blowing smoke towards her (Grimm 2018, 168). Likewise, a print by Jan van de Velde II clearly states in the inscription that the bad smell is not acceptable.[5] This critical approach to smoking is prevalent in the genre paintings of Jan Miense Molenaer and his wife Judith Leyster from the 1620s and 1630s (Grimm 2018, 168; see Neumeister 2003, 221, 224, 226–229, figs. 161, 165, colour plate 11; Biesboer/Sitt 2004, 138–140, 142–145). Jakob Duck showed a woman as virtuous by her great distance from the pipe, tobacco in paper and box (c. 1632–1633; see Kisluk-Grosheide 1988, 201, 202, figs. 2, 3; Liedtke 2007, 182–184, no. 41).

The sitters in the earliest smoker pictures are dressed fashionably and elegantly, while, with a few exceptions from the 1620s to 1640s onwards following Brouwer and Teniers, soldiers, farmers and pub patrons were the typical smokers.[6] This development had its economic base in the shift from expensive pharmacies to shops as tobacco dealers in the 1620s, which led to smoking being a widespread habit beginning in the 1630s (see Stam 2019, 68). Smoking peasants were then cruelly ridiculed by Pieter de Bloot (c. 1633; Raupp 1996, 40–43, no. 7: Hanna Peter-Raupp) or made fun of in Adriaen van Ostade's *Senses* (1633–1635; Baumgärtel/Bürger 2005, 172, 173, no. 15, 16).

In the early 1620s, Pieter Claesz painted the first "toebackjes" (smoking still lifes) depicting a breakfast mostly of hering, bread, wine and smoking utensils;[7] those from Flanders are slighlty more opulent.[8] In a number of mid-17th century still lifes, the smoking equipment, mostly just a pipe, is part of an overall vanity emblematic (Raupp 2004, 86–89, no. 13: Marcus Dekiert). This iconography can already be detected in Judith Leyster's *Two Musicians* (1629; Biesboer/Sitt 2004, 124–126, no. 23). Both topoi could be combined (Raupp 2004, 260–263, no. 59: c. 1650: Mirjam Neumeister).

Brouwer and Teniers depict themselves smoking and feasting with peasants (Grimm 2018, 169, 170, fig. 22). These self-portraits clearly stand out, because in 17th-century portraits one very rarely finds pipes or smoking utensils at all. The old-

5 Rijksmuseum1.nl [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020].

6 Grimm 2018, 169, 170; Krook 2013, 148; Articus 2005, 110, 111, fig. 1. See f.e. the pictures by Jan Miense Molenaer, Brouwer, Teniers, Adriaen van Ostade, David Rijckaert III., Bary und Sorgh: Knuttel 1962, 83, 88, 93, 96, 112, 122, 127f. pl. 1–5, 8, 9, 11; Klinge 1991, 26, 27, 30, 31, 54–67, 92–96; Biesboer/Sitt 2004, 158, 159, 190, 191, 194, 195; Klinge/Lüdke 2005, 114, 115, 134–137, 152, 153, 156, 157, 164–171, 180, 181, 200–205; Baumgärtel/Bürger 2005, 172f. Nr. 126; Raupp 1996, 218–221, 228–231; Stam 2015, 63, fig. 1; Vézilier-Dussart 2019, 240, 241; Ridovics 2019, 57, figs. 6, 7.

7 Kollerauktionen.ch [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020]; see also Baumgärtel/Bürger 2005, 109, no. 74: Harlem, dated there to the mid-17th century, but according to the pipe a date of c. 1630–1650 is more likely; see Duco 2003, 202, 203, no. 2: 1630–1640.

8 Joris van Son, 1658: Baumgärtel/Bürger 2005, 214, 215, no. 155; Antwerp, Circle of Alexander Adriaenssen, c. 1637: Raupp 2004, 38–41, Nr. 1 (Hanna Peter-Raupp).



Fig. 3: Pieter de Hooch: A Woman and Two Men in an Arbor (Metropolitan Museum New York no. 1976.100.25, ca. 1657/1658; Metmuseum2.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020], excerpt).



Fig. 4: Jan Jozef Horemans the Elder: Shoemaker workshop (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, no. GG 2627, 1712; KHMWien.at [online]. [accessed 5 Januar 2021], excerpt).

est is that of Nicolas de Respaigne by Peter Paul Rubens, who depicts the sitter in Turkish costume holding an Ottoman pipe (Grimm 2018, 157; Van der Lingen 2014a, 39–41, figs. 2, 3), which might be considered a prop in a costume play. Another exception is David Bailly's still life *Self-Portrait with Vanity Symbols* (1651, **Fig. 2**; Chong/Kloek 1999, 188–191). The painter plays with vanity symbolism, showing himself as a young man holding a self-portrait in middle age, although he was at least 66 years old. The pipe is part of the still life on the right. A group portrait, maybe a humourist engagement picture painted by Teniers in 1644, depicts two pipes amidst symbols of Eros and Vanity (Klinge/Lüdke 2005, 162, 163, nr. 35: Margret Klinge). Brouwer and Teniers staged themselves as provocateurs by displaying a crude behaviour, which is an alternative on the topic that artists are like their subjects and as such subculture and culture as well.

From the mid-17th century, smokers are depicted in a quite normal manner, be they soldiers,[9] peasants (perhaps the shift stemming from Pieter de Bloot as early as 1638)[10] or anyone else without emphasis on this behaviour. They just happen to be smoking (Raupp 2004, 302–305, no. 71: Hans-Joachim Raupp: 1661; Baumgärtel/Bürger 2005, 76, 77, no. 45: 1679). This can be linked to the general acceptance of smoking by the authorities during the later 17th to 18th century. Pieter de Hooch

9 Soldiers contributed to the spread of the habit of smoking during the Thirty Years' War: Stam 2017, 2 with further references. See also Haider/Orgona/Ridovics 2000, 121, 122, Colour Plate 1. The vivat pipes were likely produced predominantly for soldiers: Articus 2019, 25, 26, fig. 16.

10 Personal information Margret Klinge. See Musée du Tabac 1991, 29, 73: David Teniers and Nicolas van Haeften: 1694; Raupp 1996, 18–23, no. 1, 2: Thomas van Apshoven, 1622–1665 (Cordula Schumann); Biesboer/Sitt 2004, 196–199, no. 48, 49: Adriaen and Isaak van Ostade, 1656, resp. 1639; Finckh/Hartje-Grave 2009, 200, no. 87: Pieter de Bloot, 1638; Jacob Gole after Adriaen van Ostade: Boijmans.nl [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020].



Fig. 5: Attributed to Georg Lisiewski: Das Tabakskollegium (Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Potsdam, ca. 1737; Commons.wikimedia3.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020]).

painted interiors that reflect a completely different social and moral setting, each containing a man smoking (**Fig. 3**).[11] Adriaen van Ostade (1671) shows a wealthy customer talking to a hunter who is smoking, a subject to become quite common later,[12] and in the early 18th century, the male heads of families with their pipe as a sign of a peaceful household is foreshadowed in works by Jan Jozef Horemans the Elder (1712, **Fig. 4**, resp. 1710–1730).[13] In 1791, two *Senses* allegories by Jan Ekels display smokers in a quite respectable manner.[14] This reflects the general acceptance of smoking. Smoking was unstoppable, so taxing tobacco was the method of regulation and, most obviously, the VOC equipped each new hired sailor with tobacco pipes in 1675 (Ellmers 2011, 7–9). Sailors and harbour workers alike are often depicted smoking and as stated in written sources, pipes were used until the stem was completely gone.[15] The ban on smoking inside ship cabins was not successful even with gentlemen.[16]

But Jan Steen still criticised drinking, smoking and indications of sexual deviation like in the 1660s (Articus 2005, 111, fig. 2; Liedtke 2007, 841–844, no. 196: 1663–1664; see also Biesboer/Sitt 2004, 210, 211, no. 55) and in around 1667 characterises a teacher by his preferences: alcohol and tobacco (Aescht 2015, 202, fig. 221).

11 Liedtke 2007, 360–362, fig. 85, 364, 365, no. 87; Metmuseum2.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020].

12 Rijksmuseum2.nl [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020].

13 Raupp 1996, 128-131, no. 30 (Marcus Dekiert); Commons.wikimedia1.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020].

14 Liedtke 2007, 193–196; Metmuseum3.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020].

15 Ellmers 2011, 8; Stettner 1992, figs. 24, 27, 28, 36, 37; see also *The Fisherman* (c. 1660–1665) by Quiringh Gerritzs. Brekelenkam: Raupp 1996, 68, 69, no. 14 (Wolf Nolting). Articus 2019, 30, 31, fig. 24 above: A depiction of the harbour worker in 1874 is explained: "Raucht Alles was brennt" (smokes anything that burns).

16 Stettner 2002, 390, 391, 393, 394, fig. 11: Smokers inside a cabin of a "trekshuiter" between Amsterdam and Harlem by Simon Fokke (1711–1782).



Fig. 6: Georg Friedrich Kersting: On Outpost (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz no. A II 327, 1815; Commons.wikimedia4.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020], excerpt).

In the early 18th century, King Frederick William I of Prussia founded his "Tabakskollegium", assembling friends and confidants to smoke and drink beer in the Dutch tradition of pipe clubs (see Menninger 2009, 65, fig. 4: 1690), where people could communicate and ranks were not as important, as was usual in such a strictly hierarchical society. He was one of the first to be portrayed as a smoker in 1710 and 1737 (**Fig. 5**). As a forerunner, in 1707 Claes Janszoon Visscher depicted Prince Frederik Hendrik lighting his pipe during the Siege of 's-Hertogenbosch in a historical painting (Stam 2019, 180, fig. 2.8.2); in the same year, Jan Kupecký painted himself smoking a pipe with a black stub-stemmed bowl.

The merchant Peter Sieberg painted two still lifes called *Arbeit* (Work) and *Vergnügen* (Pleasure) in c. 1790. In the latter, he depicted books, games, tea accessories and smoking utensils of his free time (Ellmers 2011, 22–24, fig. 13). During the 19th century, we see pipe smoking as a typical activity during after-work hours (Articus 2019, 30, fig. 23).

Pipes and soldiers were nearly inseparable. Georg Friedrich Kersting was one of the forerunners for the Biedermeyer. He painted heroes of the German Fight for National Freedom, where Hein Hartmann is lying in the foreground smoking his pipe while the then national poet Theodor Körner sits below (**Fig. 6**). Around 30 years later, the Hungarian national poet Sandor Petöfi was depicted by Soma Orlai Petrich holding a huge stub-stemmed pipe.[17] A soldier is also depicted in the foreground of the watercolour *Besuch bei der Bürgerwache* (1818) smoking a long clay pipe, while to the right a Jewish pipe dealer is offering similar pipes to a housemaid (Articus 2019, 27, 28, fig. 21). Decorated reserve pipes became a phenomenon and even in a family magazine like *Gartenlaube*, beautiful pipes were evidently among the most enjoyable Christmas presents for loved ones in the barracks.[18] In World War I, cigarettes had widely replaced tobacco pipes as means of smoking. Belgium therefore gave every soldier a daily ration of cigarettes (and occasionally some royal cigars as well), but no tobacco for pipe smokers, some of whom nonetheless continued their habit (Lierneux 2015, 417; 2017, 100). Another prominently smoking group was students like the "Bursch" (member of a burschenschaft), characterised by an over-dimensioned pipe with crossed foils aside his stick and scarf (Peckus/Rapaport 2014, 46).

As such, the pipe was a symbol of status, joy and "gemütlichkeit" (See e.g., Deutscher Hausschatz 1887/88, 313). This is mostly evident by Wilhelm Busch satirising this in the Lehrer Lämpel episode of his well-loved *Max & Moritz* book, where the two boys blow up their teacher by filling his pipe with gun powder (**Fig. 7**).

Most pipe smokers were male. Only at the beginning of the first half of the 17th century are some Dutch women of very different social backgrounds depicted smoking. Later, there is a clear divide concerning females and smoking: in most Central European regions, women simply didn't smoke. On the other hand, according to written and pictorial sources in the northern coastal region, female smokers were quite common, though perhaps not

17 Ridovics 2019, 295: mid-19th century. Many Hungarian pipes commemorate war heroes as shown in Ridovics 2019; the same can be said about their Polish counterparts: Paś 2017.

18 Titschack 1999, 102: 1886. Pipes are featured in the middle of the story pictures.



Fig. 7: Wilhelm Busch: Extracts aus Lehrer Lämpel from Max und Moritz (1865; Commons.wikimedia5–8.org [online]. [accessed 5 December 2020]).



Fig. 8: After Rudolf Jordan: Inside a beach tavern (Deutscher Hausschatz 1887/1888, 57, 1884–1888).

openly in high society (Articus 2004; 2019, 19, 20, fig. 4; Stam 2019, 69, 70). In the late Biedermeier journal *Deutscher Hausschatz* in 1887/88, a pipe-smoking father is on the frontispiece and a wood engraving after an 1884 painting by Rudolf Jordan depicts an elderly woman smoking her pipe next to some of the men in a coastal inn (**Fig. 8**).

Conclusion

Up to the 1620, all depictions of smokers are either allegorical, explanatory or depicting the wealthy, while later to the mid-17th century, smoking was a sign of crudeness. Afterwards it was mostly regarded as normal behaviour and rarely criticised, becoming a sign of a spare-time pleasure and peacefulness, so soldiers and later students were still typical smokers. But it took about 100 years to become acceptable enough to be portrayed as an actual smoker even for men, while women just in the North Sea region seem to have adopted this habit in greater numbers.

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