

# Arheološki nalazi keramičkih lula za duhan iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Zadru

## *Archaeological finds of clay tobacco pipes from the Collection of the Zadar National Museum*

Izvorni znanstveni rad  
Novovjekovna arheologija

*Original scientific paper*  
*Postmediaeval archaeology*

UDK/UDC 904:688.9–033.6(497.5 Zadar)“16/18“

Primljeno/Received: 31. 03. 2008.

Prihvaćeno/Accepted: 19. 09. 2008.

KARLA GUSAR  
Odjel za arheologiju  
Sveučilište u Zadru  
Obala P. Krešimira IV, 2  
HR-23000 Zadar  
kgusar@unizd.hr

*U radu se iznosi problematika keramičkih lula za duhan pronađenih arheološkim istraživanjima stare gradske jezgre Zadra, koje se danas čuvaju u Narodnome muzeju u Zadru, u Odjelu Muzeja grada Zadra. U fondusu muzeja nalazimo četrnaest lula koje pripadaju zapadnom i istočnom tipu. Dok je zapadni tip lula zastupljen samo jednim primjerkom, lule istočnoga ili mediteranskog tipa znatno su brojnije unutar ove zbirke, a među njima nalazimo različite podskupine koje se odnose na njihovo radioničko porijeklo. Tako su unutar ovog tipa zastupljene talijanske lule tipa Chioggia i lončarske lule, te lule austrijsko-mađarske, turske i zelovske provenijencije. Svi obrađeni nalazi glinenih lula pripadaju vremenu od sredine 17. do kraja 19. stoljeća.*

*Ključne riječi: duhan, keramičke lule, Zadar*

*The paper presents a review of the issues connected to the clay tobacco pipes discovered in the archaeological excavations of the old city core of Zadar, kept today in the Zadar National Museum, in the Zadar City Museum Department. The Museum holdings contain fourteen pipes that belong to the western and eastern types. While the western type is represented by one piece only, the pipes of the eastern or Mediterranean type are much more numerous within this collection, and they include various subgroups in terms of their origin from different workshops. For instance, within this type we find Italian pipes of the Chioggia type and wheel-thrown pipes as well as pipes of Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Zelovo origin. All analyzed finds of clay pipes belong to the period from the mid-17th to the end of the 19th century.*

*Key words: tobacco, clay pipes, Zadar*

Keramičke lule pripadaju skupini novovjekovnih arheoloških nalaza kojima se kod nas do nedavno nije pridavala veća pozornost, pa je na području Hrvatske ova vrsta građe bila uglavnom potpuno zanemarena. Kao recentni nalazi, među inventarima unutar muzejskih zbirki, lule su dosta rijetke. Većinom se radi o pojedinačnim nalazima za koje nisu poznate ni točne lokacije, ni okolnosti nalaza. Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja lule su najvećim dijelom pronađene u gornjim slojevima, koji su često uništeni kontinuitetom življenja, stoga ih u većini slučajeva nije moguće smjestiti u njihov izvorni arheološki kontekst.

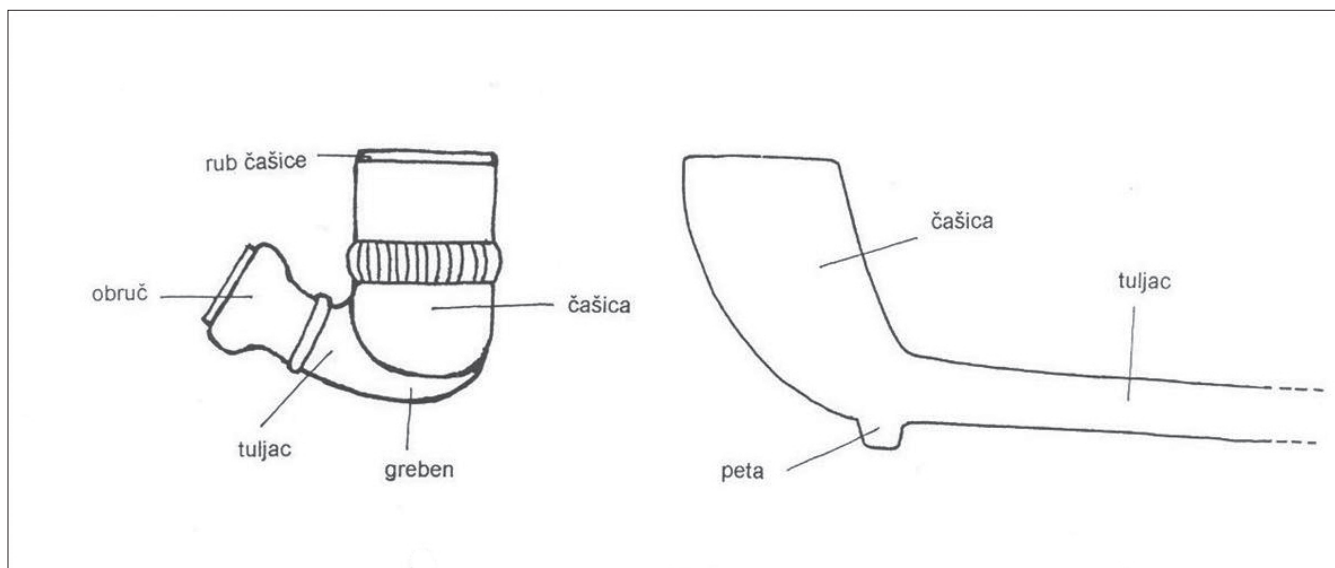
Zaštitnim arheološkim istraživanjima stare gradske jezgre Zadra 60-ih i 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća pronađena je manja količina keramičkih lula. Materijal s ovih istraživanja čuva se u Narodnome muzeju u Zadru, čija zbirka Odjela Muzeja grada Zadra broji 14 primjeraka keramičkih lula, koje do sada nisu bile znanstveno obrađene ni publicirane.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Najsrdačnije zahvaljujem Hrvoju Perici, ravnatelju Narodnog muzeja u Zadru, na ustupljenom materijalu za ovu objavu, kao i uvidu u inventarne knjige istog muzeja.

Ceramic pipes belong to a group of Modern Age archaeological finds that until recently received little attention in Croatia, which is why this type of material has been almost entirely neglected in Croatia. Considering that they are of recent date, pipes are fairly rarely found within the inventories of museum collections. In most cases these are single finds lacking information about the precise location or circumstances of discovery. In archaeological excavations pipes were by and large discovered in the upper layers, which are often destroyed by continuous living, which is why in most cases it is impossible to place them within their original archaeological context.

Salvage archaeological excavations of the old city core of Zadar in the 1960s and 1970s yielded a small number of ceramic finds. The material from these excavations is kept in the Zadar National Museum, whose Zadar City Museum Department collection contains 14 pieces of clay pipes, which have not been scientifically analyzed or published to this day.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, this material contains no additional

<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my most cordial thanks to Hrvoje Perica, the Director of the Zadar National Museum, for permission to publish this material and to inspect the Museum inventory books.



Sl. 1 Istočni i zapadni tip lule sa sastavnim dijelovima (prema Bekić 2000, Sl. 1).  
 Fig. 1 Eastern and western type of pipe with consisting parts (after Bekić 2000, Fig. 1)

Nažalost, ovaj materijal nije popraćen arheološkom dokumentacijom, pa se jedini podatci vezani uz nalaze odnose na vrijeme i mjesto njihova pronalaska. Za sedam lula poznato je da su pronađene istraživanjima otpadne jame u Sjemeništu Zmajević, do čijeg je pronalaska došlo prilikom kopanja spremnika za centralno grijanje. Pet lula je nađeno uz crkvu Sv. Krševana, 1962. g., jedna lula potječe s istraživanja stambene kuće u ulici Kraljskog Dalmatina, 1973. godine, dok je za jednu lulu poznato samo da je pronađena na Poluotoku, ali je točna lokacija i vrijeme nalaza nepoznata. Zbog toga se obrada ovih lula temelji na tipološkoj i stilskoj komparaciji s objavljenim materijalom kod nas, kao i s onim publiciranim u stranoj dostupnoj literaturi.<sup>2</sup> Važno je također spomenuti da je ovaj nevelik broj keramičkih lula unutar uže gradske jezgre Zadra pronađen u otpadnim jamama, u kojima prednjače nalazi glazirane kuhinjske i stolne keramike i stakla, koji potječu iz Italije i Španjolske, a javljaju se u vremenskom rasponu od 14. do 20. stoljeća.

Duhan se u Europi prvi put pojavljuje 1558. godine, kada ga u Španjolsku s američkoga kontinenta donosi Francisco Fernandez, koji je po nalogu Filipa II. bio poslan u Meksiko (Robinson 1985, 149). Ubrzo nakon toga duhan se javlja u Francuskoj, odakle se širi i na ostali dio Europe. U početku je duhan služio u različite svrhe, pa je najprije bio smatran univerzalnim lijekom, a kasnije i otrovom (Brusić 1987, 474). Iako se na europskom kontinentu duhan najprije javlja u Španjolskoj, običaj pušenja i upotreba lula započinje u Engleskoj oko 1570. godine (Bekić 2000, 250). Početak produkcije lula u ostalim zemljama Europe smješta se početkom 17. st., a poznato je da je već 1604. g. u Sofiji osnovan esnaf proizvođača lula (Stančeva 1972, 82). Do 1620. g. engleske lule javljaju se i na američkom kontinentu, gdje se također započinje s proizvodnjom ovog tipa (Robinson 1985, 151). Lule istog tipa proizvode se i u Nizozemskoj, gdje se za vladavine Jamesa I. sele pojedini majstori iz Engleske (Ducu,

archaeological documentation, and the only information regarding the finds pertains to the time and place of their discovery. It is known that seven pipes come from the excavation of a refuse pit in the Zmajević Seminary, discovered during the digging of a central heating tank. Five pipes were found in 1962 adjacent to St Chrysogonus' church, one pipe comes from the 1973 excavation of a residential house in the *Kraljski Dalmatin* Street, while the only information about the discovery of one of the pipes is that it was found on the Peninsula, but the precise spot and time of discovery is lacking. These are reasons why the analysis of these pipes is based on the typological and stylistic comparison with the published material in Croatia, as well as that published in the foreign literature available to me.<sup>2</sup> It is also important to mention that this small number of ceramic pipes in the narrower city core of Zadar was found in refuse pits, with predominant finds of glazed kitchenware and tableware and glass, originating from Italy and Spain and present in the time span from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Tobacco appeared in Europe for the first time in 1558, when it was brought to Spain from the Americas by Francisco Fernández, who had been sent to Mexico by Philip II (Robinson 1985, 149). Soon thereafter tobacco appeared in France, from where it spread to the rest of Europe. It was initially used for various purposes, e.g. at first it was considered a panacea and later on also a poison (Brusić 1987, 474). Even though its first appearance on the European continent was in Spain, the custom of smoking and the use of pipes started in England around 1570 (Bekić 2000, 250). The beginning of pipe manufacture in other European countries is dated to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent., and it is known that a pipe manufacturers guild was established in Sofia as early as 1604 (Stančeva 1972, 82). By 1620 English pipes appear also on the American continent, where this type of pipe started to be produced as well (Robinson 1985, 151). Pipes

<sup>2</sup> Veliku zahvalnost na pomoći oko prikupljanja literature i determinaciji pojedinih nalaza prilikom izrade ovog članka dugujem kolegama prof. dr. sc. Zdenku Brusiću i mr. sc. Luki Bekiću.

<sup>2</sup> I owe great gratitude to colleagues Prof. Zdenko Brusić and Luka Bekić, MSc, for help in collecting the relevant literature and determining finds during work on this paper.

1980, 179; Bekić 2000, 250). Pušenje lule širi se i na područje Turske, gdje je proizvodnja zabilježena 1605. godine, te doživljava ogromnu popularnost, pa s vremenom Turska postaje sinonim za proizvodnju keramičkih lula za duhan (Robinson 1985, 151). Početkom 17. st. običaj pušenja duhana bio je toliko raširen da su ubrzo uslijedile zakonske zabrane. Zabrana pušenja u Turskoj početkom 17. st. obrazlagala se time da je konzumiranje duhana nezdravo i protivno religiji, a u Carigradu se posebno napominjalo da je pušenje opasno jer postoji mogućnost izazivanja požara (Brusić 1987, 474). Do kraja 17. st. zabrane pušenja su ukinute i ova navika postaje podjednako rasprostranjena među muškarcima i ženama svih društvenih slojeva (Robinson 1985, 152).

Običaj pušenja lule nastavlja se tijekom 18. i 19. stoljeća, a u skladu s vremenom mijenja se i oblik lule. U Europi prema obliku razlikujemo dva osnovna tipa lule: zapadni i istočni tip (sl. 1).

Lule zapadnog tipa karakterizira bijela glina od koje su načinjene, kao i to da su izrađene u jednom komadu s kamišem (Robinson 1983, 265). Sastoje od male čašice u koju je bio smješten duhan i duga tankog tuljca - kamiša, koji je služio za uvlačenje dima. Rađene su od kvalitetne gline i pečene su na visokoj temperaturi. Rane lule bile su toliko male da su se čak nazivale «vilenjačke», a njihova veličina bila je uvjetovana time što je duhan početkom 17. st. bio teško dostupan i skup (Robinson 1985, 153). Najveći broj tih lula je neukrašen i jedini ukras predstavljaju oznake proizvođača, no postoje i raskošno ukrašeni primjerci. Prema obliku lule i oznaci proizvođača moguće je odrediti vrijeme nastanka, kao i radionički krug iz kojeg potječu takvi nalazi (Marx 1983, 395, 397; Brusić 1987, 478). Najznačajnija radionička središta ovog tipa javljaju se na području Engleske, Nizozemske i Francuske.

Kod istočnoga ili mediteranskog tipa lule su izrađene od crvene gline, a sastoje se od tri dijela: čašice, kamiša i usnika (sl. 2). Ovaj tip rasprostranjen je u zemljama istočnoga i južnog Mediterana, od sjeverne Afrike, preko Turske do Balkana (Robinson 1983, 265). U svojoj razvijenoj fazi, istočni tip oblikom i ukrasom sasvim je različit od zapadnog, no rane lule proizvođene u Turskoj početkom 17. st., nisu se puno razlikovale od engleskih primjeraka. Od kraja 17. st. one se izrađuju od crvene gline te dobivaju «klasičan» oblik. Među mediteranskim tipovima također razlikujemo različite skupine ili radioničke produkcije, a ovoj skupini pripadaju lule talijanske, austrijsko-mađarske i turske proizvodnje (Bekić 2000, 252-254).

Lule turskog tipa obično su bogato ukrašene i osim utilitarne funkcije često imaju i izrazito dekorativni karakter. Međutim, važno je napomenuti da je arheološkim istraživanjima obično pronađen samo jedan dio ovih lula - keramička čašica, a kamiš i usnik najčešće nedostaju (Bekić 2003, 151). Kamiš se izrađivao od drveta ili trske, a kod raskošnih primjeraka pronađenih na području Turske i Grčke. Za njihovu se izradu najčešće koristilo drvo višnje ili jasmína, koje se ponekad dodatno ukrašavalo biserima, svilom ili plemenitim metalima. Dužina kamiša na ovom tipu lula varira, od 1 do čak 4 m. Posljednji dio lule čini usnik, koji se izrađivao od jantara, koralja ili poludragoga kamenja (Robinson 1983,

of the same type were produced also in the Low Countries, which during the rule of James I received certain master craftsmen from England (Duco, 1980, 179; Bekić 2000, 250). Pipe smoking spreads also to Turkey, where production was documented in 1605, and becomes hugely popular there, so much so that with time Turkey became synonymous with the production of clay tobacco pipes (Robinson 1985, 151). At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. the habit of tobacco smoking was so widespread that legal prohibitions soon followed. The explanation for a smoking ban in Turkey at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. was that consumption of tobacco was unhealthy and contrary to religion, and in Istanbul particular emphasis was placed on the danger incurred by smoking as a possible cause of fire (Brusić 1987, 474). Smoking bans were suspended by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. and this custom became equally spread among men and women of all walks of life (Robinson 1985, 152).

The tobacco smoking habit continued during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the form of pipes changed together with the times. In terms of form, we can distinguish between two types of pipes in Europe: the western and the eastern type (Fig. 1).

The distinctive mark of the pipes of the western type was the white clay they were made of, and their one-piece body with a stem (Robinson 1983, 265). They consist of a small bowl which received tobacco and a long thin stem - *kamiš*, through which smoke was inhaled. They were made of good quality clay and fired in a high temperature. Early pipes were so small that they were even called "elfin", and their size was conditioned by the fact that at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. tobacco was expensive and not easily available (Robinson 1985, 153). The greatest number of those pipes are without decoration, except for the producers' marks, but there are also lavishly decorated pieces. It is possible to determine the time of production, as well as the workshop circle from which such finds come, on the basis of the form of a pipe and the producer's mark (Marx 1983, 395, 397; Brusić 1987, 478). The most important manufacture centres of this type are located in England, the Netherlands and France.

The pipes of the eastern or Mediterranean type are made of red clay, and consist of three parts: a bowl, stem and a mouthpiece (Fig. 2). This type is spread in the countries of the eastern and southern Mediterranean, from northern Africa across Turkey to the Balkans (Robinson 1983, 265). In its developed phase, the eastern type entirely differs from the western type in terms of form and decoration, but early pipes produced in Turkey at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. were not much different from the English pieces. Starting from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> cent. they were made of red clay and acquired their "classical" form. Among Mediterranean types we can also distinguish between various groups or workshop series, and this group includes pipes made in Italy, Austria-Hungary and Turkey (Bekić 2000, 252-254).

The pipes of the Turkish type are usually richly decorated, with a prominently decorative function in addition to the utilitarian one. However, it is important to mention that archaeological excavations usually yield only a part of these



Sl. 2 Prikaz grčkog arhonta iz 1825. godine s luksuznom trodijelnom lulom turskog tipa koja se sastoji od keramičke čašice, kamiša i usnika (prema Robinson, 1985, Pl. XXVIII).

Fig. 2 Illustration of a Greek archon from 1825 with luxurious three-part pipe of Turkish type which consist of ceramic bowl, stem and mounthpiece (after Robinson 1985, Pl. XXVIII)

266; Robinson 1985, 156). U Hrvatskoj do sada nisu zabilježeni arheološki nalazi kamiša ili usnika, već je isključivo riječ o keramičkim čašicama. No korištenje keramičke lule i drvenoga kamiša prezentiraju nam nalazi iz Zelova, jedinoga poznatog središta u Hrvatskoj u kojem su se tijekom 18. i 19. st. proizvodile keramičke lule (Širola 1934; Bekić 2001). Kod istočnog tipa lula keramička čašica izrađuje se u kalupu, a često se ukrašava tehnikama urezivanja i utiskivanja. Gline ni dio lule sastoji se od prostora za duhan koji je jednom veznom rupom povezan s tuljcem u kojeg se umetao kamiš. Najznačajnija središta proizvodnje lula turskog tipa nalaze se u Turskoj, Grčkoj i Bugarskoj (Robinson 1985, 152; Stančeva 1971, 81-82; Stančeva 1976, 129). Iako su ovo najvažnija produkcijska središta, lule ovog tipa proizvodile su se na čitavom Balkanu, koji je u tom razdoblju bio većim dijelom pod vlašću Otomanskog Carstva, tako da termin «turski tip» označava proizvodnju ne samo u Turskoj, nego i na ostalim područjima pod otomanskom dominacijom.

Lule nešto drukčijeg izgleda, koje također pripadaju mediteranskom tipu, proizvodile su se na području Italije. U nas najčešće talijanske lule potječu iz radionica Chioggie u pokrajini Veneto. Ove lule također su rađene u kalupu, čašica im je najčešće dvostruko duža od tuljca i bačvastog je oblika. Čašica i tuljac ovih lula povezani su s tri vezne rupe kroz koje je prolazio duhanski dim. Početak proizvodnje keramičkih lula u Chioggi smješta se u 1655. godinu, a njihova proizvodnja traje čak do 1945. godine (Boscolo 2000, 50, 53-55). Na području Italije izrađivala se još jedna vrsta lula, a to su tzv. lončarske lule ili *pipe al tornio*, koje su rađene na području Padske doline bogate nalazištima gline. Od prethodnih vrsta se razlikuju po tome što nisu rađene u kalupu, već na lončarskom kolu. Sama lula se sastoji od tri dijela, odnosno između prostora za duhan unutar čašice i tuljca nalazio se još jedan dio koji je služio za hlađenje dima

pipes – the ceramic bowl, whereas the stem and mouthpiece are mostly missing (Bekić, 2003, 151). The stem was normally made of wood or reeds, while in the production of lavish specimens found in Turkey and Greece, mostly cherry or ash wood were used, sometimes additionally decorated with pearls, silk or precious metals. Stems of this type of pipes vary in length, from 1 up to a full 4 cm. The pipe ends with a mouthpiece (the bit), made of amber, coral or semi-precious stone (Robinson, 1983, 266; Robinson, 1985, 156). Croatia has not yielded archaeological finds of stems or mouthpieces so far, only those of ceramic bowls. However, the use of clay pipes with a wooden stem is documented by the finds from Zelovo, the only place in Croatia known to have been a production centre for clay pipes during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> cent. (Širola 1934; Bekić 2001). For the pipes of the eastern type, the ceramic bowl is made in a mould, and frequently decorated by incision and impression. The clay part of the pipe consists of a chamber for tobacco, joined by a connecting hole with a stem into which a *kamiš* was inserted. The most important manufacture centres of the pipes of the Turkish type are located in Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria (Robinson 1985, 152; Stančeva 1971, 81-82; Stančeva 1976, 129). Although these are the most important production centres, pipes of this type were produced all over the Balkans, in that period mostly under the authority of the Ottoman Empire, so that the term “Turkish type” is used for the production not only in Turkey proper, but also in other areas under Ottoman domination.

Pipes of a somewhat different appearance, which likewise belong to the Mediterranean type, were produced in Italy. The most frequent Italian pipes in Croatia come from the workshops in Chioggia in the province of Veneto. These pipes were also made in a mould, with a barrel-shaped bowl that is most often twice the length of the stem. The bowl and stem in these pipes are connected by three connecting holes through which tobacco smoke passed. The beginning of the production of clay pipes in Chioggia is placed in 1655, lasting until as late as 1945 (Boscolo 2000, 50, 53-55). Another type of pipe was produced in Italy, the so-called wheel-thrown pipes or *pipe al tornio*, manufactured in the Po Valley, rich in clay sources. They differ from the previous types in that they were not made in moulds, but on a potter's wheel. The pipe itself consists of three parts: between the chamber for tobacco within the bowl and the stem there was another part that served for cooling smoke (Boscolo 2000, 45). Wheel-thrown pipes are mostly undecorated and have three connecting holes for tobacco, same as those from Chioggia. Besides the pipes produced in Veneto, one should mention also the production in other Italian regions, such as Piemonte, Lombardia, Toscana, Romagna, Abruzzo and Campania (Soave 1989, 226; Boscolo 2000, 11). Some centres like Bassano del Grappa are renowned for the production of pipes that copy the most diverse types, including those from nearby Chioggia (Boscolo 2000, 38; Verocchio 2002, 384, Fig. 398, nn 1-4).

Clay pipes of the Mediterranean type were produced also in the territory of former Austria-Hungary, and are consequently called pipes of the Austro-Hungarian type (Bekić

(Boscolo, 2000, 45). Lončarske lule uglavnom su neukrašene i imaju tri vezne rupe za duhan, kao i one iz Chioggie. Osim lula proizvođenih na području Veneta, treba spomenuti i produkciju drugih regija Italije poput Piemonta, Lombardie, Toscare, Romagne, Abruzzo i Campanie (Soave 1989, 226; Boscolo 2000, 11). Neki centri poput Bassana del Grappe poznati su po proizvodnji lula koje kopiraju najrazličitije tipove, uključujući i one iz nedaleke Chiogge (Boscolo 2000, 38; Verocchio 2002, 384, Fig. 398, nn 1-4).

Glinene lule mediteranskog tipa izrađivale su se i na području nekadašnje Austro-Ugarske, pa se prema tome nazivaju lule austrijsko-mađarskog tipa (Bekić 2000, 252, 256; Bekić 2005, 10). Rađene su u kalupu, a boja gline varira od crvenkaste do crne. Neke lule bile su i glazirane. Čašica ovih lula redovito je duža od tuljca, a između tuljca i čašice je jedna vezna rupa za duhan. Te lule često na sebi nose pečat proizvođača, a najpoznatiji radionički centar je Schemnitz u Slovačkoj (Bekić 2000, 256).

Tehnika izrade keramičkih lula izuzetno je složena. Najprije se izrađivao drveni model lule, po kojem se onda radio kalup. Kalup je dvodijelan, izrađen od drveta ili mekanoga kamena, kojem je iznutra nanesen sloj olova ili kositra s dekorativnim motivima (Širola 1934, 29-30; Stančeva 1976, 131; Duco 1980, 182; Brusić 1987, 478; Boscolo 2000, 21). U kalup se utiskivala posebno pripremljena vrsta pročišćene gline, nakon čega su se umetali klinovi pomoću kojih su se modelirali prostor za duhan u čašici i šupljina u tuljcu u koju se kasnije umetao kamiš. Unutar kalupa nanosila se mješavina ulja i petroleja koja je omogućavala lakše odvajanje lule (Širola 1934, 29, 31; Duco 1980, 186). Nakon vađenja lule iz kalupa, probijala se vezna rupa za duhan i uklanjao višak gline, a lula se mogla glačati ili dodatno ukrašavati, nakon čega se sušila i kasnije stavljala u keramičku peć. Različitim načinom pečenja, ovisno o dovodu zraka, lula je mijenjala boju. Nakon pečenja površina lule se glačala ili su se na nju mogli nanositi različiti premazi i glazure (Robinson 1985, 157; Brusić 1987, 478). Izrađivanje glinenih lula je posebna vrsta umjetničkog obrta, posve odvojena od lončarstva. Kako navodi M. Stančeva, sama tehnika izrade i način ukrašavanja imaju više sličnosti s umjetničkom obradom metala, nego izradom keramičkog posuđa (Stančeva 1972, 95). Lule su malih dimenzija i najčešće su minuciozno ukrašene utiskivanjem i urezivanjem, pa se za izradu ovakvih ukrasa koriste alatke za obradu metala. Lule istočnog tipa također se i pozlaćuju ili se na njih apliciraju niti srebrne i zlatne žice, što također jasno ukazuje na vezu između zlatarstva i izrade lula (Stančeva 1976, 135).

U zbirci Narodnog muzeja u Zadru nalazimo lule zapadnoga i istočnog tipa. U zapadni tip ubrajamo samo jednu fragmentarno očuvanu lulu (**kat. 1, T. 1,1**). Izrađena je od kvalitetne bijele gline, a nedostaje joj dio gornjega vanjskog ruba čašice i kamiš, koji su bili izrađeni u jednom dijelu, kao što je i inače slučaj kod ovog tipa lula. Čašica se donjim dijelom oslanja na malu petu. Jedini ukras čašice čini tordiran krug unutar kojeg se javljaju dva slova: «WM». Iznad i ispod slova nalaze dva stilizirana vegetabilna motiva koji tvore oblik sličan sunčevu disku, ispod kojeg izlaze njegove zrake. Oznaka «WM» predstavlja pečat radionice, a ista reljefno

2000, 252, 256; Bekić 2005, 10). They were made in moulds, with clay colour varying from reddish to black. Some pipes were also glazed. The bowls of these pipes are regularly longer than the stems, and between the stem and the bowl is a connecting hole for the tobacco. These pipes often have a producer's stamp on them, and the most famous workshop centre is Schemnitz in Slovakia (Bekić 2000, 256).

The technology of production of the clay pipes is extremely complex. First a wooden model of a pipe was made, which was used as the model for a mould. The mould consists of two pieces, made of wood or a soft stone, whose interior was smeared with a layer of lead or tin with decorative motifs (Širola 1934, 29-30; Stančeva 1976, 131; Duco 1980, 182; Brusić 1987, 478; Boscolo 2000, 21). Refined clay, specially processed for the purpose, was pressed into the mould. After this, wedges were inserted, which were used for shaping the tobacco chamber in the bowl and the hollow in the tubular stem into which *kamiš* was later inserted. A mixture of oil and petroleum was applied to the interior of the mould in order to facilitate the separation of the pipe (Širola 1934, 29, 31; Duco 1980, 186). After the pipe was removed from the mould, a connecting hole for tobacco was perforated and excess clay was removed. The pipe could then be polished or additionally decorated, after which it was dried and subsequently put in a pottery kiln. Variations in the method of firing, depending on the flow of air, produced changes in the pipe colour. After firing, the pipe surface was polished or various slips and glazes could be applied to it (Robinson 1985, 157; Brusić 1987, 478). The manufacture of clay pipes is a specific type of applied art, entirely separate from pottery. In M. Stančeva's words, the production technology and method of decoration bear more similarity to artistic metalworking than making earthenware (Stančeva 1972, 95). The pipes are of a smaller size and are most often minutely decorated by impression and incision, so that the tools used in the production of ornaments of this kind are those borrowed from metalwork. The pipes of the eastern type are also gilded, or threads of silver and gold wire are applied to them, which is another clear indicator of the connection between goldsmithing and pipe-making (Stančeva, 1976 135).

The Collection of the Zadar National Museum contains pipes of the western and eastern types. The western type is represented only by a pipe preserved in fragments only (**cat. 1, Pl. 1,1**). It was made of quality white clay, and it is missing a part of the upper exterior rim of the bowl and a stem, which were made as a single piece, as is customary in this type of pipe. The lower portion of the bowl leans on a small heel. The only decoration of the bowl is a twisted circle with two letters inscribed within: "WM". Above and below the letters there are two stylized vegetable motifs forming a shape similar to the sun disc, with its rays emanating from below. The "WM" symbol marks the stamp of the workshop, and the same letters are repeated in relief on the lateral side of the heel (one letter on each side). It is interesting that the motif of a crown appears on the heel above these letters. In Croatia, the pipes of the western type with a WM stamp have been discovered in Poreč, Rovinj, Split and on



Sl. 3 Radionički pečat na luli turskog tipa kat. br. 11.  
Fig. 3 Circular workshop mark on pipe of Turkish type cat. 11

istaknuta slova W i M ponavljaju se na bočnom dijelu pete (po jedno slovo sa svake strane). Zanimljivo je da se iznad ovih slova na peti javlja motiv krune. Lule zapadnog tipa s WM pečatom u Hrvatskoj su pronađene u Poreču, Rovinju, Splitu i na Paklenim otocima (Bekić 2000, 257, sl. 3, T. 7,1-5; Kovačić 2002, 11; Lete 2005, 17-19). Osim u Hrvatskoj, nalazimo ih i na tlu Italije u Chioggi (Boscolo 2000, 29-31, sl. 28-31). Kod nekih od ovih lula ispod slova javljaju se i brojke, što u nas nije slučaj. Iako su najpoznatije lule ovog tipa proizvedene u Engleskoj i Nizozemskoj i ostale lularske radionice u Europi često kopiraju ovaj tip, pa ostaje neriješeno pitanje kojem radioničkom središtu pripisati ove nalaze. Izuzetno velika količina nalaza ovog tipa pronađena je u Chioggi iz koje potječe i dokument u kojem se navodi da Severino Meidel 1793. godine od predstavnika trgovačkog udruženja dobiva dozvolu za otvaranje radionice koja proizvodi lule englesko-holandskog tipa. Upravo radi tih činjenica, kao i nalaza lula koje su ukrašene prikazom lava Sv. Marka zajedno s WM pečatom, Boscolo pretpostavlja djelovanje «WM» radionice na mletačkom tlu (Boscolo 2000, 29-31).

No kako ova lula ipak pripada engleskom tipu, paralele je također moguće povući s nalazima koji potječu iz Engleske. Prema tipologiji Atkinson-Oswalda, zadarsku lulu prema obliku moguće je usporediti s engleskim tipovima 25 i 27, proizvedenim u Londonu tijekom 18. i početkom 19. st. (Atkinson, Oswald 1969, 179, Fig. 2/25, 2/27).<sup>3</sup> Iako u samom Londonu u to vrijeme djeluju brojna lularska središta, čije proizvode nije uvijek moguće sa sigurnošću pripisati točno određenim radionicama, lule s ovakvim WM pečatom na peti pripisuju se radionici Williama Manbya i njegova sina. Kod ovih lula pečati se javljaju u tri kombinacije: samo s WM inicijalima, s okrunjenim WM inicijalima ili u kombinaciji okrunjenih inicijala i motiva koji izgleda poput izlazećeg Sunca (Atkinson, Oswald 1969, 186). Kombinaciju krune i WM inicijala na peti, osim u Londonu, nalazimo na tlu ame-

the Pakleni Otoci archipelago (Bekić 2000, 257, Fig. 3, Pl. 7,1-5; Kovačić, 2002, 11; Lete, 2005, 17-19). In addition to Croatia, we find them also in Italy in Chioggia (Boscolo 2000, 29-31, Fig. 28-31). Some of these pipes also have numbers beneath the letters, which is not the case here. Although the most famous pipes of this type were produced in England and the Low Countries, other pipe-making workshops often copied this type, so the question as to which workshop centre we should attribute these finds remains unsolved. An exceptionally large number of finds of this type were found in Chioggia, which yielded also a document stating that in 1793 the members of the trade union granted Severino Meidel the permission to open a workshop for the production of the pipes of the English-Dutch type. Precisely due to these facts, as well as the finds of pipes decorated with the representation of St Mark's lion together with a WM stamp, Boscolo presumes that the "WM" workshop was active in the territory of the Venetian Republic (Boscolo 2000, 29-31).

However, as this pipe belongs to the English type, parallels can likewise be drawn with the finds from England. Following the typology by Atkinson & Oswald, we can compare the Zadar pipe in terms of shape with the English types 25 and 27, produced in London during the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> cent. (Atkinson, Oswald 1969, 179, Fig. 2/25, 2/27).<sup>3</sup> Even though many pipe-making centres were active in London at the time, whose products cannot always be attributed with certainty to specific workshops, the pipes with a WM stamp on the heel are attributed to the workshop of William Manby and his son. The stamps on these pipes appear in three combinations: with WM initials only, with crowned WM initials or in a combination of crowned initials and motifs resembling the rising Sun (Atkinson, Oswald 1969, 186). The combination of the crown and WM initials on the heel is found, in addition to London, on the American continent, which imported a considerable quantity of London pipes (Atkinson, Oswald 1969, 204-207). Pipes with the WM stamp were found even in Port Royal on Jamaica (Atkinson, Oswald 1969, 206). Underwater investigations of shipwrecks in that area yielded more than 12000 pipes of English and Dutch type, dated from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Marx 1976, 109-110). The pipes from Jamaica with a crowned WM stamp on the heel, whose bowl is also decorated with these same initials, are dated to around 1750 and attributed to the workshop of Manby junior (Atkinson, Oswald 1969, 206). We date our pipe approximately to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while the question of the workshop of its origin remains open, considering that parallels are found in the pipes from Chioggia as well as in those from the Manby workshop. Bekić states that the remaining finds of WM pipes from Croatia can be attributed to Italian workshops but also to those in England, while their large numbers discovered in Croatia and Italy could be explained by developed trade between England and Venice, with the latter probably being responsible for the arrival of these pipes in our territory

<sup>3</sup> Tip 25 datira se od 1700. do 1770. godine, a tip 27 od 1780. do 1820. godine. Kako je zadarskom primjerku nepotpuno očuvana čašica, ne možemo se sa sigurnošću opredijeliti za niti jedan od navedenih tipova.

<sup>3</sup> Type 25 is dated from 1700 to 1770, and type 27 from 1780 to 1820. Considering that the bowl of the Zadar specimen is incompletely preserved, we cannot be certain in the attribution to either of the mentioned types.

ričkoga kontinenta koji uvozi značajnu količinu londonskih lula (Atkinson, Oswald 1969, 204-207). Lule s WM pečatom pronađene su čak i u Port Royalu na Jamajci (Atkinson, Oswald, 1969, 206). Naime, hidroarheološkim istraživanjima brodoloma na tom području pronađeno je više od 12 000 lula engleskoga i holandskog tipa, koje se datiraju od 17. do 19. stoljeća (Marx 1976, 109-110). Lule s Jamajke s okrunjenim WM pečatom na peti kod kojih je istim inicijalima ukrašena i čašica, datiraju se oko 1750. godine i smještaju u radionicu Manbya mlađeg (Atkinson, Oswald 1969, 206). Našu lulu okvirno datiramo drugu polovinu 18. i početak 19. stoljeća, a kako paralele nalazimo na lulama iz Chioggie, te onima iz radionice Manby, pitanje njezina radioničkog porijekla za sada ostavljamo otvorenim. Bekić navodi kako je ostale nalaze WM lula iz Hrvatske, osim talijanskim radionicama moguće pripisati i engleskim, a njihova velika količina pronađena na našem i talijanskom području mogla bi se objasniti razvijenom trgovinom Engleske i Venecije, čijim posredstvom ove lule vjerojatno i dolaze na naše područje (Bekić 2000, 257; Bekić 2005, 11). Uostalom, lule londonskih radionica trgovinom dospjevaju čak i na tlo Amerike, pa je moguće da su na isti način dospjele i na naše područje. Lule zapadnog tipa kao posljedica dobrih trgovačkih veza raširene su po raznim europskim zemljama, uključujući i one poznate po vlastitoj produkciji istočnog, odnosno turskog tipa (Stančeva 1972, 98, Fig. 27; Stančeva 1976, 136-137, sl. 23).

Slijedi skupina istočnih (mediteranskih) lula kojima pripada najveći dio zbirke Narodnog muzeja, među kojima nalazimo one talijanske, austrijsko-mađarske, turske i zelovske produkcije.

Unutar skupine talijanske provenijencije svakako prednjače one iz spomenutoga radioničkog centra Chiogge. Važno je napomenuti da su to lule kod kojih se između prostora za duhan i tuljca javljaju tri vezne rupe za protok duhanskog dima, što kod ostalih lula nije slučaj. Jedno od objašnjenja za ovakvo oblikovanje lule je da tri vezne rupe smanjuju mogućnost da se začepi mrvicama duhana, što je kod jedne vezne rupe česta pojava (Boscolo 2000, 12). Čašica im je koničnoga ili bačvastog oblika, najčešće ukrašena vertikalnim rebrima, a mogu imati i ukrašen tuljac.

Lule iz Chiogge među zadarskim materijalom zastupljene su s četiri primjerka. Od jedne lule očuvao se tuljac s grebenom i donji dio čašice (**kat. 2**, T. 1,2). Obruč tuljca ukrašen je tordiranim plitkim kanelurama, a između grebena i početka čašice nalazi se naglašena profilacija. U gornjem dijelu lule vidljive su tri vezne rupe i početak čašice. Ovu lulu moguće je smjestiti u prvo razdoblje proizvodnje u Chioggi, koje se datira od 1655. do 1750. godine. Paralele joj nalazimo među lulama pronađenim u Rovinju (Bekić 2000, T. 2,5) i na Korčuli (Stipković 2003, kat. 3), te u Chioggi (Boscolo 2000, kat. 138).<sup>4</sup>

Sljedeća lula koja potječe iz istoga lularskog središta puno je bolje očuvana od prethodne, a nedostaje joj greben (**kat. 3**, T. 1,3). Na obruču tuljca se nalaze plitke horizontalne kanelure, a između grebena i čašice nalazi se jedno vodorav-

(Bekić 2000, 257; Bekić 2005, 11). In any case, the pipes from the London workshops were traded as far as the American continent, so it is possible that they reached our territory in the same way. As a result of good commercial ties, the pipes of the western type were spread through various countries of Europe, including those renowned for their own production of the eastern, that is, Turkish type (Stančeva 1972, 98, Fig. 27; Stančeva 1976, 136-137, Fig. 23).

Next follows a group of eastern (Mediterranean) pipes, making up the bulk of the collection of the National Museum. This group includes pipes of Italian, Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Zelovo origin.

Within the group of Italian origin certainly predominate those from the mentioned workshop centre in Chioggia. It is important to mention that these pipes have three connecting holes for the flow of tobacco smoke between the tobacco chamber and the stem, which is not the case in other pipes. One of the explanations for such a shape of the pipe is that three connecting holes diminish the possibility of clogging by tobacco particles, which is frequently the case in one connecting hole only (Boscolo 2000, 12). They have a conical or barrel-shaped bowl, most often decorated with vertical ribs, and the stem is also sometimes decorated.

There are four pipes from Chioggia among the Zadar material. All that has remained of one pipe is the stem with a ridge and the lower part of the bowl (**cat. 2**, Pl. 1,2). The ring of the hoop is decorated with twisted shallow cannelures, and there is a prominent profilation between the ridge and the beginning of the bowl. Three connecting holes and the beginning of the bowl are visible in the upper part of the pipe. This pipe can be placed in the first period of production in Chioggia, dated from 1655 to 1750. We find parallels for this pipe among those found in Rovinj (Bekić 2000, Pl. 2,5) on the Korčula island (Stipković 2003, cat. 3), and in Chioggia (Boscolo 2000, cat. 138).<sup>4</sup>

The next pipe from the same pipe-making centre is far better preserved than the previous one, and it is missing the ridge (**cat. 3**, Pl. 1,3). The stem ring contains shallow horizontal cannelures, and there is a profiled horizontal rib between the ridge and the bowl. The bowl is high and conical, and it has two horizontal ribs in the middle. We find analogies among the pipes discovered in Chioggia, which also belong to the period between 1655 and 1750 (Boscolo 2000, cat. 146, 149).

The third pipe lacks only a small part of the upper edge of the bowl (**cat. 4**, Pl. 2,1). The bowl has two ribs across the middle, and it has a prominent profilation between its connection with the ridge. The stem ring is decorated with two vertical relief ribs. Similar pipes belonging to the second period of manufacture, dated from 1750 to 1850, are found in Rovinj, Split, on Korčula and in Chioggia (Bekić 2000, Pl. 1,3; Lete 2005, 21; Stipković 2003, cat. 1; Boscolo 2000, cat. 152, 172), and they aid us in the attribution of our piece.

The fourth pipe, with a specific shape, is the most interesting specimen of all (**cat. 5**, Pl. 2,2). It is, unfortunately,

4 Prema oblikovanju tuljca i profilaciji između grebena i čašice sličnosti još nalazimo s lulama kat. 101, 102, a po ukrasu narebnog obruča tuljca s kat. br. 105 i 107. Usp. Boscolo 2000.

4 We find additional similarities in terms of the shape of the stem and the profilation between the ridge and the bowl on pipes cat. 101 and 102, while regarding the decoration of the ribbed ring with cat. 105 and 107. Comp. Boscolo 2000.



Sl. 4 Prikaz Kaštelanina iz oko 1860. godine s lulom turskog tipa (prema Duplančić 1999, 22).

Fig. 4 Illustration of man from Kaštela from around 1860 with pipe of Turkish type (after Duplančić 1999, 22)

no profilirano rebro. Čašica je visoka i konična, a na sredini ima dva vodoravna rebra. Analogije nalazimo među lulama pronađenima u Chioggi koje također pripadaju razdoblju od 1655. do 1750. godine (Boscolo 2000, kat. 146, 149).

Trećoj luli nedostaje samo mali dio gornjeg ruba čašice (kat. 4, T. 2,1). Čašica ima dva rebra po sredini, a između njezina spoja i grebena je istaknuta profilacija. Obruč tuljca ukrašen je s dva okomita reljefna rebra. Slične lule koje pripadaju drugom razdoblju proizvodnje koji se datira od 1750. do 1850. nalazimo u Rovinju, Splitu, na Korčuli i u Chioggi (Bekić 2000, T. 1,3; Lete 2005, 21; Stipković 2003, kat. 1; Boscolo 2000, kat. 152, 172), prema kojima određujemo i naš primjerak.

Najzanimljiviji primjerak predstavlja četvrta lula, specifična zbog svog oblika (kat. 5, T. 2,2). Lula je, nažalost, fragmentarna i nedostaje joj gornji vanjski dio čašice i prijelaz čašice u greben. Na obruču se nalazi pojas s kosim plitkim crticama i jedno reljefno rebro. Po cijeloj površini lule odnosno na čašici i tuljcu vidljiva su okomita rebra koja se mogu tumačiti kao dekoracija ili kao ostatci tragova višedijelnog kalupa. Čašica je koničnog oblika koja se širi prema vrhu, a njezin gornji unutrašnji dio završava šiljasto. Rub čašice dvostruko je profiliran, a na grebenu ispod tuljca nalazi se ojačanje. Prema cjelovito očuvanim sličnim primjercima iz

fragmented and it lacks the upper exterior part of the bowl as well as the transition from the bowl to the ridge. There is a belt with short shallow slanting lines and a relief rib on the ring. Vertical ribs are visible across the entire surface of the pipe, i.e. on the bowl and the stem, which can be interpreted as decoration or remains of traces of a multi-piece mould. The bowl is conical, widening towards the top, and its upper interior part ends in a point. The bowl rim has a double profilation, and there is a reinforcement on the ridge below the stem. Entirely preserved similar pieces from Chioggia allow us to assume that this pipe was shaped as a boot (Boscolo 2000, cat. 160, 161, 163). The front part of the foot of the boot probably lay on the exterior of the bowl opposite the stem. The reinforcement on the ridge probably stands for the heel, while the upper part of the bowl represents the boot-top. The boot-shaped pipes appear during the second period of production in Chioggia, lasting from 1750 to 1850, which is also the date for our pipe.

A characteristic addition to these pipes from Chioggia are stems, around twenty centimetres long, made of the wood of *Marasca*, a special type of cherry (Soave 1989, 225). Even though not one find of a stem has been discovered in Croatia so far, it would be interesting to suppose that in Zadar for this type of pipe a stem of the same wood was used, considering that this region is famous for growing *Marasca*, used for the making of the renowned *Maraschino liqueur*.

The next pipe is the only find of this type in the collection of the Zadar National Museum (kat. 6, Pl. 2,3). The pipe is missing the stem and the upper part of the bowl, its surface is damaged and shows no preserved traces of decoration. The lower part of the ridge has a disc-shaped widening on which the pipe reclines. Only the beginning of the bowl is preserved, with three visible connecting holes for tobacco. A small chamber for cooling the tobacco smoke is positioned below that part. This pipe belongs to the group of the so-called wheel-thrown pipes, which, in contrast to the other types, were not made in moulds but hand-made on a potter's wheel and most often bore no decoration. The pipe consists of three parts: a bowl with a chamber for tobacco, an antechamber for cooling smoke and a stem for inhaling smoke. The bowl with the antechamber is designed separate from the stem, after which the pipe parts were assembled. Due to the manual assembly they often have an irregular shape. In Croatia, a considerable number of these pipes were found in Rovinj and Split, and it is interesting that we also find them in Chioggia (Bekić 2000, Pl. 2,1-4,6-9; Lete 2003, 22, 23; Boscolo 2000, 45-46, cat. 80-88). These pipes, together with the one from Zadar, belong to the imports from the workshops in the Po Valley, and the time of their production probably corresponds to that of the pipes that belong to the first period of production in Chioggia, i.e. we could date them from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century.

A distinct group of pipes of the eastern type is formed by those produced in Austria-Hungary. Three pieces belonging to this type are preserved in the National Museum. The first pipe was made of orange clay with a brown slip that gives the surface of the pipe a marble-like appearance (kat. 7, Pl. 3,1). The pipe has a decorated stem and the lower portion of the bowl. From the stem towards the bowl



Chiogge moguće je pretpostaviti da je ova lula bila izrađena u obliku čizme (Boscolo 2000, kat. 160, 161, 163). S vanjske strane čašice nasuprot tuljca vjerojatno se nalazio prednji dio stopala čizme. Ojačanje na grebenu vjerojatno predstavlja petu, a gornji dio čašice sru čizme. Lule oblika čizme javljaju se tijekom drugog razdoblja chiogganske proizvodnje, koja traje od 1750. do 1850., u koje smještamo i našu lulu.

Karakterističan dodatak ovim lulama iz Chiogge su kamiši dužine oko dvadesetak centimetara, izrađeni od drveta maraske, posebne sorte višnje (Soave 1989, 225). Iako se u Hrvatskoj do sada nije pronašao ni jedan primjerak kamiša, zanimljivo je pretpostaviti da se u Zadru za ovaj tip lule koristio kamiš istog drveta, jer je ovo područje poznato po uzgoju maraske od koje se proizvodi i čuveni liker Maraskino.

Iduća lula predstavlja jedini nalaz ovog tipa u zbirci Narodnog muzeja u Zadru (**kat. 6**, T. 2,3). Luli nedostaje tuljac i gornji dio čašice, površina joj je oštećena i na njoj nisu očuvani nikakvi tragovi dekoracije. Donji dio grebena ima diskasto proširenje na koje se lula oslanja. Od čašice je očuvan samo početak s vidljive tri vezne rupe za duhan. Ispod tog dijela nalazi se mala komora koji služi za hlađenje duhanskog dima. Ova lula pripada skupini tzv. lončarskih lula koje za razliku od ostalih tipova nisu rađene u kalupima, već ručno na lončarskom kolu i najčešće nisu ukrašene. Lula se sastoji od tri dijela: čašice s prostorom za duhan, pretprostora u kojem se hladi dim i tuljca za uvlačenje dima. Čašica s pretprostorom izrađuje se posebno od tuljca, nakon čega se dijelovi lule spajaju, a zbog ručne izrade često imaju nepravilan oblik. Na području Hrvatske znatnu količinu ovih lula nalazimo u Rovinju i Splitu, a zanimljivo je da ih također nalazimo i u Chioggi (Bekić 2000, T. 2,1-4,6-9; Lete 2003, 22, 23; Boscolo 2000, 45-46, kat. 80-88). Te lule, zajedno sa zadarskom, pripadaju importu radionica iz doline rijeke Po, a vrijeme njihova nastanka vjerojatno se podudara s onima koje pripadaju prvom razdoblju proizvodnje u Chioggi, tj. mogli bi ih datirati od sredine 17. do sredine 18. stoljeća.

Posebnu skupinu lula istočnog tipa čine one austrijsko-mađarske proizvodnje. U Narodnome muzeju sačuvana su tri primjerka ovog tipa. Prva lula izrađena je od narančaste gline sa smeđim premazom koji površini lule daje mramorni izgled (**kat. 7**, T. 3,1). Luli je ukrašen tuljac i donja polovina čašice. Od tuljca prema čašici razvija se list s volutama koji se širi od grebena prema bočnim stranama. Sa svake bočne strane nalazi se po jedan krug unutar kojeg je danas nejasan motiv. Na obruču čašice i tuljca nalazi se profilacija. Gornji dio čašice je neukrašen i odijeljen od donjega jednim vodoravnim rebrom. Analogije za ovu lulu nalazimo među onima proizvedenim tijekom 19. stoljeća u čuvenom centru Schemintzu, tj. današnjoj Bánskoj Štyavnici u Slovačkoj (Bekić 2000, T. 4,4; Nagy 2000, 46). One se sastoje od donjeg reljefno ukrašenog dijela koji ide od tuljca preko grebena, a čašica u gornjem dijelu je kružnoga ili poligonalnog oblika. Površina lula često je potamnjena ili mramorizirana, čime se postiže poseban izgled. Schemnitz-lule gotovo uvijek imaju pečat proizvođača na tuljcu i reljefnu oznaku na donjem dijelu čašice. Našoj luli nedostaje dio tuljca na koji je obično smještena radionička oznaka, a u donjem dijelu čašice ima nejasne reljefne oznake. No usprkos njezinoj nepotpunoj očuvanosti, ovu lulu smještamo u isti radionički krug.

U fundusu istog muzeja čuva se još jedna lula ovog tipa. Riječ je o luli izrađenoj od fine pročišćene gline narančaste boje, koja je u presjeku siva, a nedostaje joj gornji dio čašice (**kat. 8**, T. 3,2). Obruč tuljca je profiliran i ispunjen sitnim

unfolds a leaf with volutes, which widens from the ridge towards the lateral sides. On each lateral side there is a circle with a presently unclear motif inscribed within. There is a profilation on the ring of the bowl and the stem. The upper part of the bowl is undecorated and detached from the lower part by a horizontal rib. We find analogies for this pipe among those produced during the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the renowned centre in Schemnitz, i.e. present-day Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia (Bekić 2000, Pl. 4,4; Nagy 2000, 46). They consist of the lower part, decorated in relief, which runs from the stem over the ridge, and the bowl whose upper part has a circular or polygonal shape. The surface of the pipes is often darkened or marbled, which gives it a distinctive appearance. Schemnitz-pipes almost always have a producer's stamp on the stem and a relief mark on the lower part of the bowl. Our pipe is missing the part of the stem that usually bears a workshop's mark, and in the lower part of the bowl it has indistinct relief symbols. In spite of its incomplete preservation, we attribute this pipe to the same workshop circle.

Another pipe of this type is kept in the holdings of the same museum. The pipe is made of fine refined orange clay, with a gray cross-section, and it is missing the upper part of the bowl (**kat. 8**, Pl. 3,2). The stem ring is profiled and filled with slanting notches. Decoration on the pipe is concentrated on the lower part of the bowl. Flower petals in relief are radially arranged from the ridge to the top, and there are two profiled ribs above them. There is another profiled rib on the stem, as well as an impressed oval seal, with the inscription "A.RESS" inscribed within. There is yet another mark below the stem ring, but it is now indistinct. In contrast to all the so far mentioned pipes, this one bears no traces of burning or tobacco, so that it had probably never been used. Except in Zadar, the pipes with this stamp appear also in the territory of Italy (Boscolo 2000, Fig. 41), Hungary (Nagy 2000, 54) and Slovenia (Tomanič-Jevremov 1997, cat. 3, Fig. 6,3). The stamp "A.RESS" is the mark of the workshop of Anton Ress from Wiener Neustadt in Austria, who took over the pipe-making workshop of M. Amstätter in 1830. Large-scale production of Anton Ress' workshop is corroborated by the fact that as early as 1837 it employed 60 workers with a daily output exceeding 6000 pipes (Morgenroth 2001, 55).

We single out as a specific piece of this group a pipe made of quality ochre clay, with a gray cross-section, with a brown marbled slip on the surface (**kat. 9**, Pl. 3,3). The stem ring is decorated with shallow horizontal cannelures, while the bowl has two vertical ribs. The transition from the ridge to the bowl is profiled, and there is a relief impression of an oval mark with the stamp "RESS" inscribed within on the lower part of the stem. An interesting feature of this pipe is that there are remains of a metal wire on the rim of the bowl and the stem, used for attaching a lid to the mouth of the pipe. The pipes with a lid on the bowl belong to the so-called *Coffeehouse* style, i.e. pipes smoked in coffee shops, which were particularly in vogue during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Bekić 2000, 252, 255; Boscolo 2000, 33). Our pipe, in addition to the lid on top of the bowl, had another one on the stem. In Croatia, such type of the 19<sup>th</sup> pipes with a lid on the bowl was found on Korčula as well (Stipković 2003, cat. 9). Our pipe combines several elements that belong to various series of eastern-type pipes. Besides the elements

kosim potezima. Dekoracija lule koncentrirana je na donji dio čašice. Od grebena prema vrhu radijalno se nižu reljefne cvjetne latice, iznad kojih se nalaze dva profilirana rebra. Na tuljcu se također nalazi profilirano rebro i utisnuti pečat ovalna oblika, unutar kojeg je natpis «A.RESS». Još jedna oznaka nalazi se ispod obruča tuljca, no ona je danas nejasna. Za razliku od svih dosad navedenih lula, ova na sebi nema nikakvih tragova gorenja i duhana, tako da vjerojatno nikad nije bila upotrijebljena. Osim u Zadru, lule s ovim pečatom pojavljuju se i na području Italije (Boscolo 2000, sl. 41), Mađarske (Nagy 2000, 54) i Slovenije (Tomanič-Jevremov 1997, kat. 3, sl. 6,3). Pečat «A.RESS» predstavlja oznaku radionice Antona Ressa iz Wiener Neustadta u Austriji, koji 1830. preuzima lularsku radionicu M. Amstättera. Značajnu produkciju radionice Antona Ressa potvrđuje podatak da već je 1837. godine u njoj zaposleno 60 radnika i da proizvodi dnevno više od 6000 lula (Morgenroth 2001, 55).

Kao poseban primjerak ove skupine izdvajamo lulu koja je izrađena od kvalitetne oker gline, u presjeku sive, sa smeđim mramoriziranim premazom na površini (**kat. 9**, T. 3,3). Ukrašen joj je obrub tuljca vodoravnim plitkim vodoravnim kanelurama, a čašica s dva okomita rebra. Prijelaz grebena u čašicu profiliran je, a na donjem dijelu tuljca je reljefno utisnuta ovalna oznaka unutar koje je pečat «RESS». Zanimljivost ove lule također je u tome da se na obrubu čašice i tuljca nalaze ostatci metalne žice kojom se na otvor lule vezivao poklopac. Lule s poklopcem čašice pripadaju tzv. *Coffeehouse* stilu tj. lulama koje su se pušile u kavanama, a naročito su bile popularne tijekom 19. stoljeća (Bekić 2000, 252, 255; Boscolo 2000, 33). Naša lula, osim poklopca na vrhu čašice, imala je i jedan na tuljcu. Ovakav tip lula 19. st. s poklopcem na čašici kod nas je pronađen i na Korčuli (Stipković 2003, kat. 9). Naša lula ujedinjuje nekoliko elemenata koji pripadaju različitim produkcijama lula istočnog tipa. Osim elemenata *Coffeehouse* stila, treba istaknuti oblik lule s vodoravnim rebri na čašici koji podsjeća na one tipa Chiogga. No kvaliteta gline, premaz lule i pečat «RESS», ipak upućuju na austrijsku proizvodnju. Kod ove lule vjerojatno se radi o austrijskoj kopiji lule tipa Chiogga, što je doista rijetkost, jer su kako je već istaknuto, puno češći slučajevi talijanskih radionica specijaliziranih za kopiranje austrijskih proizvoda, kao što je Bassano del Grappa (Boscolo 2000, 38; Bekić 2000, 256).

Unutar izdvojene skupine zadarskih nalaza lula navodimo one turskog tipa. Značajka im je da osim utilitarne funkcije imaju i dekorativni karakter te spadaju u izuzetno kvalitetne proizvode. Točna determinacija radioničkog porijekla ovih lula često nije moguća, jer se one proizvode na širokom području Europe i Male Azije, koje je u to vrijeme pod otomanskom dominacijom.

Prva lula rađena je od kvalitetne narančaste gline sa sjajnim crvenim premazom (**kat. 10**, T. 4,1). Ima kuglastu čašicu iz koje izlazi tuljac. Obrub tuljca i veći dio čašice reljefno su ukrašeni. Dekoraciju čašice čine točkice grupirane unutar rombova. Na hrptu se nalazi dvostruka V-linija iz koje teku radijalne crte prema bočnim stranama čašice. Obrub tuljca oblikovan je poput reljefne cvjetne čaške između čijih latica se nalaze sitni trolisti. Iako ne nalazimo izravne analogije za ove dekorativne motive, prema obliku i rasporedu dekorativnih motiva, kao i kvalitetnom crvenom premazu, moguće ju je usporediti s nalazima lula iz 19. stoljeća koje su pronađene u Grčkoj.<sup>5</sup>

5 Robinson 1983, Taf. 53, no. 23 (za oblik čašice); Robinson 1985, Pl. 55, C 84-85 (za oblik lule i raspored dekoracije na čašici i tuljcu).

of the *Coffeehouse* style, we should single out the form of a pipe with horizontal ribs on the bowl, resembling those of the Chiogga type. However, the quality of clay, the slip on the pipe, and the "RESS" stamp, indicate an Austrian production. In the case of this pipe we are probably dealing with an Austrian copy of a Chiogga-type pipe, which is indeed a rarity, because, as has already been pointed out, there are far more frequent cases of Italian workshops specialized in copying Austrian products, for instance, Bassano del Grappa (Boscolo 2000, 38; Bekić 2000, 256).

Within a separate group of the Zadar finds of smoking pipes we mention those of the Turkish type. In addition to their utilitarian function they also have a decorative character, and they rank as products of exceptional quality. It is often not possible to pinpoint the workshop origin for these pipes, as they are produced over a wide territory of Europe and Asia Minor, at that time under Ottoman domination.

The first pipe was made of quality orange clay with a lustrous red slip (**cat. 10**, Pl. 4,1). It has a spherical bowl from which the stem protrudes. The stem ring and the larger part of the bowl bear relief decoration. The bowl is ornamented with dots grouped within rhombuses. There is a double V-line on the ridge, from which radial lines emanate toward the lateral sides of the bowl. The stem ring is shaped like a flower calyx in relief, with tiny trefoils between its petals. Even though we don't find direct analogies for these decorative motifs, it is possible to compare it based on the shape and layout of decorative motifs, as well as the quality red slip, with the finds of pipes from the 19<sup>th</sup> century discovered in Greece.<sup>5</sup>

The Turkish type is represented also by two pipes with a disc-shaped base. The bowl in this type of pipe is flattened so much that it turned into a base in the shape of a circular disc, and its rim is elevated and widened so much that it functions as a bowl (Robinson 1985, 165). One pipe has a circular disc-shaped base from which protrudes a fragmented bowl that widens towards the top (**cat. 11**, Pl. 4,2). It is made of orange clay with a bright red slip. The stem is shaped like a flower calyx and it tapers from the opening towards the base. There are three thin lines made with a serrated instrument on the lower half of the bowl. There is a circular workshop mark below the bowl opening, with a barely visible Arabic (?) inscription within (Fig. 3). There are two double V-lines on the back of the discoid base, which run from the outer edge of the disc toward the base of the stem. Hayes places the pipes of this form with a red slip and a circular workshop mark into type VII, which belongs to the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Hayes 1980, 7, Fig. VII; Hayes 1992, 393, Fig. 149, VII, Pl. 50 g-h). The most sumptuous piece of this group is the silvered and gilded so-called Ali Pasha's pipe, kept in the Military Museum in Athens (Robinson 1985, 166, Pl. 44c, 45a,b). We find the most similar pieces to our one among the material discovered in Greece<sup>6</sup> and

5 Robinson 1983, Pl. 53, No. 23 (for the shape of the bowl); Robinson, 1985, Pl. 55, C 84-85 (for the shape of the pipe and the layout of decoration on the bowl and the stem)

6 Robinson 1983, Pl. 54, No. 31-33, 37-38 (for the shape of the pipe), No. 35 (for the shape and decoration of the stem); Robinson 1985, Pl. 57, C 101-102, C 107-108 (for the shape of the pipe), C 104 (for the shape of the pipe and the decoration of the bowl), Pl. 63, A 26 (for the shape and decoration of the stem).

Turskom tipu pripadaju i dvije lule s diskastom bazom. Kod ovog tipa lula čašica je toliko spljoštena da je pretvorena u bazu u obliku kružnog diska, a njezin obod je povišen i proširen tako da ima funkciju čašice (Robinson 1985, 165). Jedna lula ima kružnu diskastu bazu iz koje izlazi fragmentarna čašica koja se širi prema vrhu (**kat. 11**, T. 4,2). Rađena je od narančaste gline sa svijetlim crvenim premazom. Tuljac je oblikovan poput cvjetne čaške i sužava se od otvora prema bazi. Na donjoj polovini čašice nalaze se tri tanke linije rađene nazubljenim instrumentom. Ispod otvora čašice je kružna radionička oznaka, unutar koje se javlja slabo vidljiv arapski (?) natpis (sl. 3). S donje strane diskaste baze su dvije dvostruke

V-linije koje idu od vanjskog ruba diska prema bazi tuljca. Lule ovog oblika s crvenim premazom i kružnom oznakom radionice Hayes smješta u tip VII koji pripada 19. stoljeću (Hayes 1980, 7, Fig. VII; Hayes, 1992, 393, Fig. 149, VII, Pl. 50 g-h). Najraskošniji primjerak ove skupine je posebrena i pozlačena tzv. Ali Pašina lula koja se čuva u Vojnome muzeju u Ateni (Robinson 1985, 166, Pl. 44c, 45a,b). Primjerke najsljednije našem, nalazimo među materijalom koji je pronađen u Grčkoj<sup>6</sup> i Istanbulu,<sup>7</sup> iako je ovakav tip lula s diskastom bazom poznat i u Bugarskoj u 19. stoljeću (Stančeva 1972, 91-92, Fig. 16-17; Stančeva, 1976, sl. 9; Ilčeva, 1975, Tab. 1, 7-9). Dodatnu potvrdu za dataciju ovog tipa turskih lula u 19. st. nalazimo i na brojnim ilustracijama iz tog vremena, poput grafike s prikazom grčkog arhonta iz 1825. godine (sl. 2), ili prikaza Kaštelanina iz oko 1860. godine (sl. 4).

Istom tipu pripada još jedna lula iz Narodnog muzeja, još raskošnije ukrašena od prethodne. Izrađena je od narančaste gline i ima sjajni premaz smeđe boje (**kat. 12**, T. 4,3). Diskasta baza oblikovana je poput cvjetne čaške, kao i veći dio tuljca. Čašica koje se širi prema vrhu većim dijelom nedostaje, no i dalje su vidljivi ostatci dekoracije ispod otvora. Ukrašačini girlanda na kojoj vise listići koji se izmjenjuju sa srolikom motivima u lukovima girlande. S donje strane baze reljefno je istaknut greben iz kojeg se šire laticice čaške. Šire paralele za ovaj izuzetno kvalitetan i dekorativan proizvod također nalazimo među materijalom iz Grčke i Bugarske. Stančeva ovako oblikovane lule uspoređuje s cvijetom narcisa na kojeg podsjeća njihova baza i čašica (Stančeva 1972, 91-92, Fig.16-17). Robinsonova smatra da lule s bazom u obliku cvijeta i one s neukrašenom diskastom bazom pripadaju istoj skupini lula, koja ima nekoliko različitih varijanti (Robinson 1985, 165). U svakom slučaju, našoj luli najbliže paralele nalazimo u Kerameikosu, Korintu i Ateni (Robinson 1983, Taf. 55, nr. 42; 1985, C 92, A 22, A 27). Navedeni grčki primjerci, datirani u 19. stoljeće, imaju bazu oblikovanu poput reljefne cvjetne čaške, a kod jednog primjerka na isti način oblikovan je i tuljac.

Zanimljive nalaze iz zadarske zbirke također predstavljaju i posljednje dvije lule. Jedna od lula izrađena je od narančaste gline sa sivim premazom, a nedostaje joj dio tuljca (**kat. 13**, T. 5,1). Konična čašica lagano se širi prema vrhu i izvija prema van. Na njezinim bočnim stranama javlja se reljefno istaknuti cvijet koji se sastoji od kružića i točkica. Na stražnjem hrptu čašice nalaze se dva niza kružića ispunjenih točkicama. Spoj baze tuljca i čašice ojačan je reljefnim rebrićima. Lula ima istaknut reljefni hrbat i greben svojom cijelom

Istanbul,<sup>7</sup> even though such type of pipe with a discoid base is known also in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Bulgaria (Stančeva 1972, 91-92, Fig. 16-17; Stančeva 1976, sl. 9; Ilčeva 1975, Pl. 1, 7-9). We find additional confirmation for the date of this type of Turkish pipes in the 19<sup>th</sup> cent. in numerous illustrations from that period, like a 1825 print depicting a Greek archon (Fig. 2), or a depiction of a man from Kaštela from around 1860 (Fig. 4).

Another pipe from the National Museum, even more lavishly ornamented than the previous one, also belongs to the same type. It was made of orange clay and it has a lustrous brown slip (**cat. 12**, Pl. 4,3). A discoid base is shaped like a flower calyx, as well as the larger part of the stem. The bowl that widens towards the top is largely missing, but remains of decoration below the opening are still visible. The ornament consists of a garland from which hang small leaves that alternate with cordate motifs in the arches of the garland. A ridge from which extend the petals of the calyx is highlighted in relief on the back of the base. We find wider parallels for this product of outstanding quality and decoration among the material from Greece and Bulgaria as well. Stančeva compares the pipes shaped in this way with a hyacinth flower, brought to mind by the shape of their base and bowl (Stančeva 1972, 91-92, Fig.16-17). Robinson thinks that the pipes with a flower-shaped base and those with an unornamented discoid base belong to the same group of pipes, which has several different varieties (Robinson 1985, 165). In any case, we find the closest parallels for our pipe in Kerameikos, Corinth and Athens (Robinson 1983, Pl. 55, No. 42; 1985, C 92, A 22, A 27). The mentioned Greek pieces, dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, have a base shaped like a flower calyx in relief, and in the case of one piece the stem is shaped in the same way.

The last two remaining pipes from the Zadar collection are interesting as well. One of the pipes was made of orange clay with a gray slip, and it lacks a part of the stem (**cat. 13**, Pl. 5,1). The conical bowl gently widens towards the top and it flares out. Their lateral sides have a flower rendered in relief, consisting of small circles and dots. Two rows of small dotted circles decorate the back ridge of the bowl. The joint of the stem base and the bowl is reinforced with relief ribs. The pipe has a prominent relief ridge along its entire length. The surface of the pipe is quite coarse, and the slip itself is of inconsistent colour. This pipe is atypical in form as much as decoration. The only possible parallels are found among the fragments of pipes discovered in Dalmatia. A similar ornament of relief circles and dots on the back ridge appears on a fragment of a pipe discovered in Split (Lete 2005, 25), while the parallels for the ornament of a flower on the lateral side of the bowl are found on a small fragment of a pipe from Gardun near Trilj (Bekić 2000, Pl. 5/12). The only difference lies in the fact that the flower on the pipe from Gardun is composed of two circles surrounded by dots, while our flower consists of one circle only. Even though this type of decoration is entirely unknown on Turkish pipes, it is possible to date these pieces by their shape to the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century and determine them as pipes that probably belong to the Turkish type (Bekić 2000, 276, Pl. 5/12).

6 Robinson 1983, Taf. 54, nr. 31-33, 37-38 (za oblik lule), nr. 35 (za oblik i dekoraciju tuljca); Robinson 1985, Pl. 57, C 101-102, C 107-108 (za oblik lule), C 104 (za oblik lule i dekoraciju čašice), Pl. 63, A 26 (za oblik i dekoraciju tuljca).

7 Hayes 1992, Pl. 50 h (oblik i dekoracija čašice).

7 Hayes 1992, Pl. 50 h (the shape and decoration of the bowl).

dužinom. Površina lule dosta je gruba, a i sam premaz je neujednačene boje. Ova lula atipična je kako svojim oblikom tako i dekoracijom. Jedine moguće paralele nalazimo među ulomcima lula pronađenima na tlu Dalmacije. Sličan ornament reljefnih kružića i točkica na stražnjem hrptu javlja se na fragmentu lule pronađenom u Splitu (Lete 2005, 25), a paralele za ornament cvijeta na bočnoj strani čašice nalazimo na malom ulomku lule iz Garduna kod Trilja (Bekić 2000, T. 5/12). Jedinu razliku čini to što je cvijet na gardunskoj luli sastavljen od dva kruga oko kojeg su točkice, a naš od jednoga kruga. Iako je ovaj tip ukrasa potpuno nepoznat na turskim lulama, ove primjerke prema obliku moguće je smjestiti u 18. ili 19. stoljeće i odrediti kao lule koje vjerojatno pripadaju turskom tipu (Bekić 2000, 276, T. 5/12).

Druga je lula izrađena od svijetle narančaste gline s oker premazom i u potpunosti joj nedostaje tuljac (**kat. 14**, T. 5,2). Čašica je zvonasta oblika, a gornji joj je rub lagano zakošen prema van. Donji dio čašice ukrašen je kosim okomitim rebrićima između kojih su nizovi poprečnih crtica. Gornji obrub ukrasa čini traka u kojoj se ponavlja motiv nizova crtica koje su u ovom slučaju okomito postavljene. Na grebenu lule nalazi se malo kružno zaravnanje. Površina lule fino je glačana, a čini se da je imala crveni premaz danas očuvan u tragovima. Dekorativni motivi lule ponešto su nepravilni, što može biti rezultat istrošenosti kalupa korištenog za njezinu izradu. Nažalost, našoj luli nedostaje tuljac, pa nam nije točno poznat njezin oblik. No treba istaknuti i da je oblikovanje gornjeg ruba čašice, koji je zakošen prema van i malog zaravnanja na dnu, česta pojava kod lula zelovskog tipa (Bekić 2000, T. 6,1-4). Sama dekoracija nema izravne usporedbe s lulama i kalupima koji se pripisuju Zelovu, no šire analogije za dekorativni motiv nalazimo kod onih turskog tipa (Robinson 1985, Pl. 51, C 39-41, A 14). Iako ova lula pripada zelovskoj produkciji, ne trebaju nas čuditi sličnosti koje pokazuje s turskim primjercima, jer kod zelovskih lula nalazimo elemente turske, talijanske i austrijsko-mađarske proizvodnje (Bekić 2001, 46). Kako za dekoraciju naše lule ne nalazimo paralele na očuvanim kalupima iz Zelova, koji uglavnom potječu iz druge polovine 19. st. (Bekić 2001, 44), našu lulu smještamo nešto ranije, u kraj 18. ili početak 19. stoljeća.

Kako je već navedeno, zadarske nalaze lula prema obliku možemo svrstati u dvije osnovne skupine, tj. u zapadni i istočni tip. Zapadni tip, iako zastupljen samo jednim primjerkom, važna je potvrda o prisutnosti lula ovog tipa u Zadru. Skupina lula istočnog tipa u Zadru je znatno brojnija. Među ovim keramičkim materijalom nalazimo lule talijanskih, austrijsko-mađarskih i turskih radionica. Nekima od tih lula moguće je točno ustanoviti radioničko porijeklo i vrijeme nastanka, a pojedini primjerci na sebi nose i oznake radionica, dok za neke nalazimo samo šire paralele u tipologiji i dekorativnim motivima lula mediteranskog tipa. Zanimljive nalaze također nam predstavljaju lule koje ujedinjuju elemente različitih produkcija, poput austrijske kopije talijanskih lula ili one iz Zelova. Ovaj mali, ali reprezentativni uzorak keramičkih lula za duhan iz zadarskoga Narodnog muzeja svjedoči nam i o raširenosti ovog običaja, izuzetno popularnog u čitavoj Europi, naročito od 17. do kraja 19. stoljeća, kada lule zamjenjuju cigarete. Zadarske lule, koje možemo datirati od sredine 17. do kraja 19. stoljeća, potrebno je promotriti i unutar konteksta dosad zanemarene arheološke baštine novog vijeka, uklopiti ih u širu sliku načina života istog razdoblja, te civilizacijskih i trgovačkih veza, čiji je važan dio i kultura uživanja duhana.

The second pipe was made of light orange clay with an ochre slip, and it is missing the entire stem (**cat. 14**, Pl. 5,2). The bowl is bell-shaped, with the upper edge slightly slanting outwards. The lower part of the bowl is decorated with slanting vertical ribs, with rows of short transverse lines between them. The upper border of the decoration consists of a strip containing the motif of a series of short lines, in this case in vertical position. There is a small circular surface on the ridge of the pipe. The surface of the pipe is finely polished, and it appears that it had a red slip, today only preserved in traces. Decorative motifs on the pipe are somewhat irregular, which is perhaps attributable to the worn-out condition of the mould used for its manufacture. Unfortunately, our pipe is missing the stem, so we cannot ascertain its exact form. However, it should be pointed out that the shape of the upper rim of the bowl, slanting outwards, with a small platform on the bottom, is a frequent occurrence in the pipes of the Zelovo type (Bekić 2000, Pl. 6,1-4). The decoration itself has no direct analogies with the pipes and moulds that are attributed to Zelovo, but wider analogies for the decorative motif are found in the pipes of the Turkish type (Robinson 1985, Pl. 51, C 39-41, A 14). Even though this pipe belongs to the Zelovo manufacture, we should not be surprised by the similarities it shows with the Turkish pieces, because in the Zelovo pipes we find elements of Turkish, Italian and Austro-Hungarian manufacture (Bekić 2001, 46). Considering that we can find no parallels for the decoration of our pipe on the preserved moulds from Zelovo, which by and large date from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> cent. (Bekić 2001, 44), we place our pipe somewhat earlier, in the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

As has already been mentioned, the Zadar pipe finds can be classified by their form into two basic groups, i.e. the western and the eastern types. The western type, although it consists of only one piece, is an important confirmation about the presence of the pipes of this type in Zadar. The group of pipes of the eastern type in Zadar is much more numerous. We find among this ceramic material the pipes from Italian, Austro-Hungarian and Turkish workshops. For some of these pipes it is possible to ascertain the workshop of origin and the date of manufacture, and some pieces even bear workshop's marks on them, while for the others we find only wider parallels in the typology and decorative motifs of the pipes of the Mediterranean type. Interesting finds are also those pipes that combine the elements of various manufactures, for instance, Austrian copies of Italian pipes or those from Zelovo. This small, but representative sample of clay tobacco pipes from the Zadar National Museum bears testimony to the wide distribution of this custom, exceptionally popular all over Europe, particularly from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when pipes are replaced by cigarettes. The Zadar pipes, which we can date from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, should be analyzed also in the context of the previously neglected archaeological heritage of the Modern Age, and incorporated within a wider picture of the way of life in the same period, as well as of the civilizational and commercial ties, of which the culture of enjoying tobacco forms an important part.

**KATALOG NALAZA:**

P. P. D. = promjer prostora za duhan; U. P. T. = unutrašnji promjer tuljca; D. S. Č. = debljina stijenke čašice; V. P. D. = visina prostora za duhan; (N. S.) V. = (najveća sačuvana) visina lule

**1. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 1,1)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sv. Krševan, 1962. g.

Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 1,9; D. S. Č. = 0,3; V. P. D. = 3,9;

N. S. V. = 4,5 cm

Tip: zapadni, engleski, pečat WM

**2. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 1,2)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sv. Krševan, 1962. g.

Dimenzije: U. P. T. = 0,9; D. S. Č. = 0,4; N. S. V. = 2,2 cm Tip: istočni, Chioggia

**3. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 1,3)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sv. Krševan, 1962. g.

Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 2; U. P. T. = 0,8; D. S. Č. = 0,3;

V. P. D. = 4; N. S. V. = 6,8 cm

Tip: istočni, Chioggia

**4. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 2,1)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sv. Krševan, 1962. g.

Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 1,7; U. P. T. = 0,8; D. S. Č. = 0,4;

V. P. D. = 3,7; V. = 5,5 cm

Tip: istočni, Chioggia

**5. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 2,2)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Ulica Kraljskog Dalmatina, 1973. g.

Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 1,8; U. P. T. = 0,8; D. S. Č. = 0,3;

V. P. D. = 3,5; N. S. V. = 6,3 cm

Tip: istočni, Chioggia

**6. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 2,3)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sv. Krševan, 1962. g.

Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 1,8; U. P. T. = 0,7; D. S. Č. = 0,4;

N. S. V. = 3,7 cm

Tip: istočni, lončarska lula

**7. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 3,1)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sjemenište Zmajević

Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 1,8; D. S. Č. = 0,3; V. P. D. = 3,3; V. = 5 cm

Tip: istočni, austrijsko-mađarski

**8. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 3,2)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sv. Krševan, 1962. g.

Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 1,5; U. P. T. = 1; D. S. Č. = 0,3;

N. S. V. = 2,2 cm

Tip: istočni, austrijsko-mađarski, pečat A. RESS

**CATALOGUE OF FINDS:**

D. T. C. = diameter of the tobacco chamber; I. D. S. = inner diameter of the stem; T. B. W. = thickness of the bowl wall; H. T. C. = height of the tobacco chamber; (G. P.) H. = (greatest preserved) height of the pipe

**1. CLAY PIPE (PI. 1,1)**

Site: Zadar, St Chrysogonus, 1962

Dimensions: D. T. C. = 1,9; T. B. W. = 0,3; H. T. C. = 3,9; G. P. H. = 4,5 cm

Type: western, English, WM stamp

**2. CLAY PIPE (PI. 1,2)**

Site: Zadar, St Chrysogonus, 1962

Dimensions: I. D. S. = 0,9; T. B. W. = 0,4; G. P. H. = 2,2 cm

Type: eastern, Chioggia

**3. CLAY PIPE (PI. 1,3)**

Site: Zadar, St Chrysogonus, 1962

Dimensions: D. T. C. = 2; I. D. S. = 0,8; T. B. W. = 0,3;

H. T. C. = 4; G. P. H. = 6,8 cm

Type: eastern, Chioggia

**4. CLAY PIPE (PI. 2,1)**

Site: Zadar, St Chrysogonus, 1962

Dimensions: D. T. C. = 1,7; I. D. S. = 0,8; T. B. W. = 0,4;

H. T. C. = 3,7; V. = 5,5 cm

Type: eastern, Chioggia

**5. CLAY PIPE (PI. 2,2)**

Site: Zadar, Kraljski Dalmatin Street, 1973

Dimensions: D. T. C. = 1,8; I. D. S. = 0,8; T. B. W. = 0,3;

H. T. C. = 3,5; G. P. H. = 6,3 cm

Type: eastern, Chioggia

**6. CLAY PIPE (PI. 2,3)**

Site: Zadar, St Chrysogonus, 1962

Dimensions: D. T. C. = 1,8; I. D. S. = 0,7; T. B. W. = 0,4;

G. P. H. = 3,7 cm

Type: eastern, wheel-thrown pipe

**7. CLAY PIPE (PI. 3,1)**

Site: Zadar, Zmajević Seminary

Dimensions: D. T. C. = 1,8; I. D. S. = 0,7; T. B. W. = 0,4;

G. P. H. = 3,7 cm

Type: eastern, Austro-Hungarian

**8. CLAY PIPE (PI. 3,2)**

Site: Zadar, St Chrysogonus, 1962

Dimensions: D. T. C. = 1,5; I. D. S. = 1; T. B. W. = 0,3;

G. P. H. = 2,2 cm

Type: eastern, Austro-Hungarian, A.RESS stamp

**9. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 3,3)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sjemenište Zmajević  
 Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 1,9; U. P. T. = 1,1; D. S. Č. = 0,2;  
 V. P. D. = 4,5; V.= 5,5 cm  
 Tip: istočni, austrijska kopija tipa Chioggia ?, pečat RESS

**10. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 4,1)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sjemenište Zmajević  
 Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 2,4; U. P. T. = 1,4; D. S. Č. = 0,2;  
 V. P. D. = 3,1; V.= 4 cm  
 Tip: istočni, turski

**11. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 4,2; SI. 3)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sjemenište Zmajević  
 Dimenzije: U. P. T. = 1,5; D. S. Č. = 0,3; V. P. D. = 3,4;  
 V.= 3,5 cm  
 Tip: istočni, turski, pečat slabo vidljiv (arapski natpis?)

**12. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 4,3)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sjemenište Zmajević  
 Dimenzije: U. P. T. = 1,7; D. S. Č. = 0,3; V. P. D. = 3,8;  
 V.= 4,5 cm  
 Tip: istočni, turski

**13. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 5,1)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Poluotok  
 Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 1,7; U. P. T. = 0,9; D. S. Č. = 0,6;  
 V. P. D. = 3,3; V.= 4,3 cm  
 Tip: istočni, turski ?

**14. KERAMIČKA LULA (T. 5,2)**

Nalazište: Zadar, Sv. Krševan, 1962. g.  
 Dimenzije: P. P. D. = 2; D. S. Č. = 0,5; V. P. D. = 3,4;  
 N. S. V.= 4,3 cm  
 Tip: istočni, zelovski

**9. CLAY PIPE (PI. 3,3)**

Site: Zadar, Zmajević Seminary  
 Dimensions: D. T. C. = 1,9; I. D. S. = 1,1; T. B. W. = 0,2;  
 H. T. C. = 4,5; V.= 5,5 cm  
 Type: eastern, Austrian copy of the Chioggia type (?), RESS stamp

**10. CLAY PIPE (PI. 4,1)**

Site: Zadar, Zmajević Seminary  
 Dimensions: D. T. C. = 2,4; I. D. S. = 1,4; T. B. W. = 0,2;  
 H. T. C. = 3,1; V.= 4 cm  
 Type: eastern, Turkish

**11. CLAY PIPE (PI. 4,2; Fig. 3)**

Site: Zadar, Zmajević Seminary  
 Dimensions: I. D. S. = 1,5; T. B. W. = 0,3; H. T. C. = 3,4;  
 V.= 3,5 cm  
 Type: eastern, Turkish, stamp poorly visible (Arabic inscription?)

**12. CLAY PIPE (PI. 4,3)**

Site: Zadar, Zmajević Seminary  
 Dimensions: I. D. S. = 1,7; T. B. W. = 0,3; H. T. C. = 3,8;  
 V.= 4,5 cm  
 Type: eastern, Turkish

**13. CLAY PIPE (PI. 5,1)**

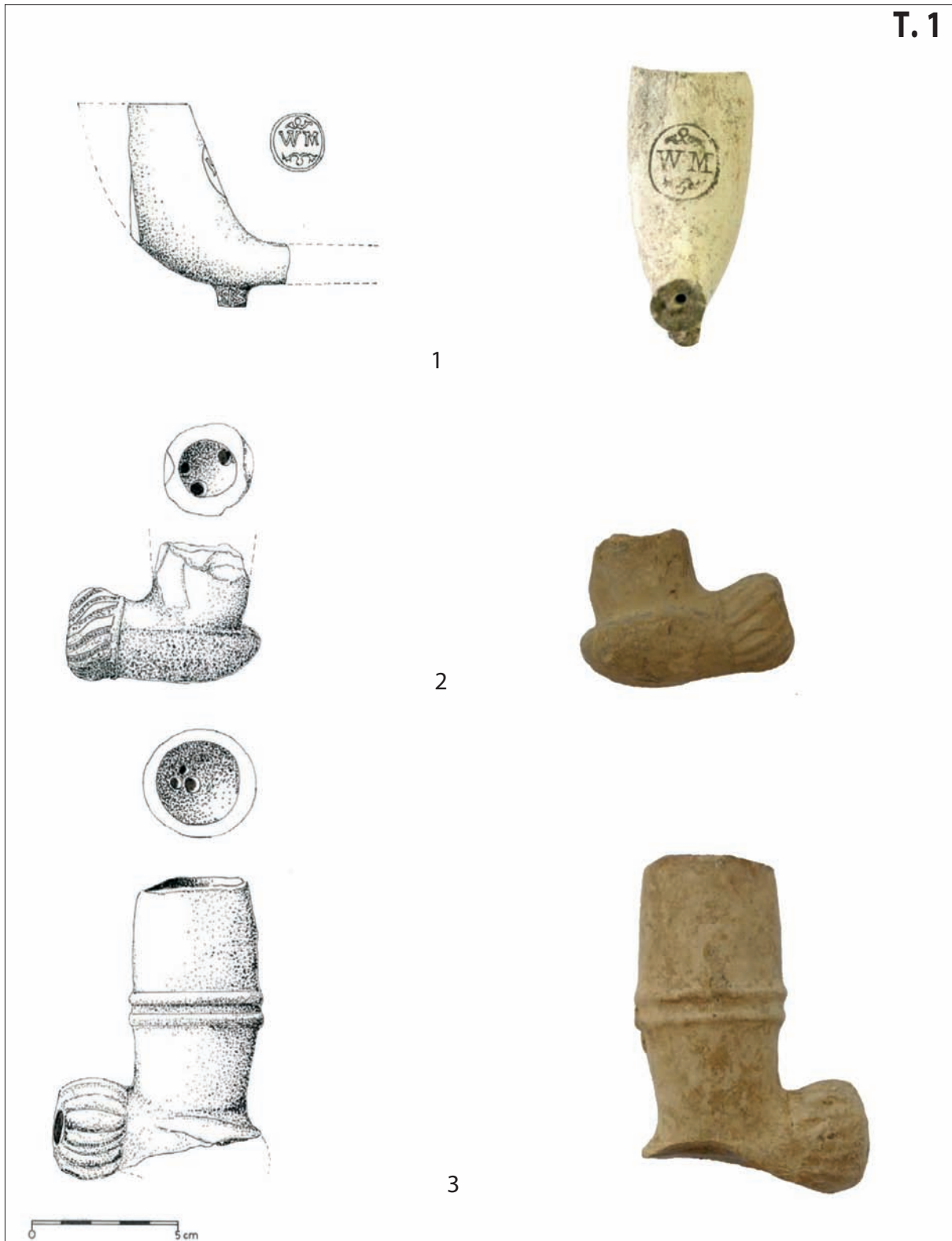
Site: Zadar, Peninsula  
 Dimensions: D. T. C. = 1,7; I. D. S. = 0,9; T. B. W. = 0,6; H. T. C. = 3,3; V.= 4,3 cm  
 Type: eastern, Turkish ?

**14. CLAY PIPE (PI. 5,2)**

Site: Zadar, St Chrysogonus, 1962  
 Dimensions: D. T. C. = 2; T. B. W. = 0,5; H. T. C. = 3,4; G. P. H.= 4,3 cm  
 Type: eastern, Zelovo type

## LITERATURA / BIBLIOGRAPHY

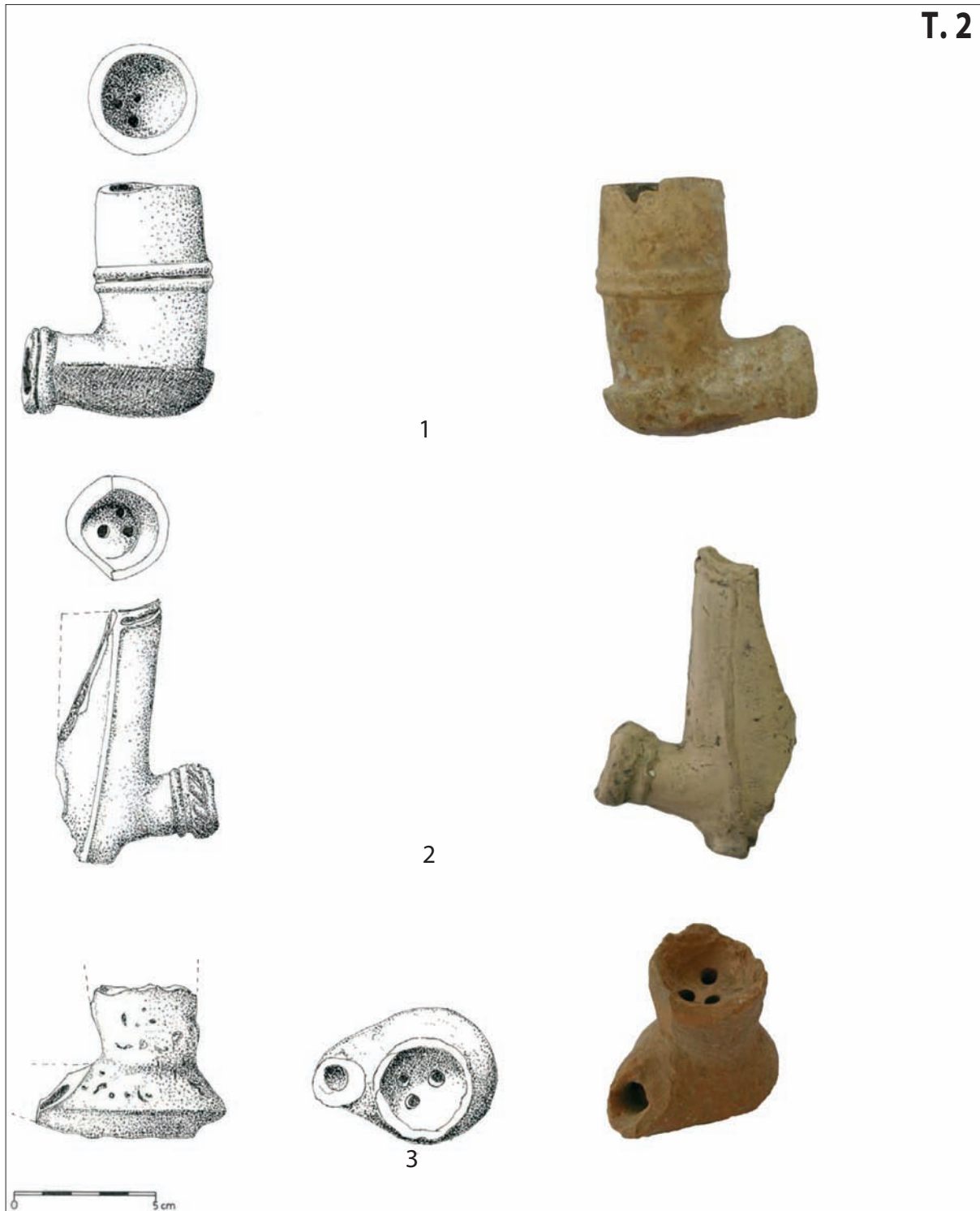
- Atkinson, D., Oswald, A., 1969, London Clay Tobacco Pipes, The Journal of British Archaeological Association XXXII, London, 171-207.
- Bekić, L., 2000, Uvod u problematiku glinenih lula na području Hrvatske, VAMZ XXXII-XXXIII, Zagreb, 249-279.
- Bekić, L., 2001, Clay pipes made in Zelovo, Croatia, Society for Clay Pipe Research Newsletter 57, Worcester, 44-49.
- Bekić, L., 2005, Uvod, u: *Lete N., Glinene lule s nalazišta kod rta Sustipana u Splitu*, Split, 9-11.
- Bikić, V., 2003, *Gradska keramika Beograda (16-17. vek)*, Beograd
- Boscolo, G., 2000, *La pipa chioggiota e altre pipe in terracotta*, Sottomarina.
- Brusić, Z., 1987, Dio tereta s lađe iz 17. stoljeća potonule kod otoka Bisaga u Kornatskom arhipelagu, PrilpuD 26, Split, 473-490.
- Duco, D. H., 1980, De Techniek van het Pijmakersbedrijft te Gouda, u: *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe IV*, BARIntSer 92, Oxford, 115-217.
- Duplančić, A., 1999, *Kaštelanska narodna nošnja*, Kaštela
- Hayes, J. W., 1980, Turkish Clay Pipes: A Provisional Typology, u: *The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe IV*, BARIntSer 92, Oxford, 3-10.
- Hayes, J. W., 1992, Clay Tobacco Pipes, u: *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul, vol. 2, The Pottery*, Princeton, 391-395.
- Ilčeva, V., 1975, Glineni luli ot Veliko Tirново, Godišnik na muzeite ot severna Bilgaria 1, Varna, 179-199.
- Kovačić, V., 2002, *Hidroarheološka rekognosciranje i istraživanja vrsarsko-porečkog akvatorija*, Poreč
- Lete, N., 2005, *Glinene lule s nalazišta kod rta Sustipana u Splitu*, Split
- Marx, R., 1983, *Shipwrecks in Americas*, New York
- Morgenroth, W., 2000, Das Geheimnis Der Echten Schemnitzer Tabakspfeifen, Knasterkopf 14, Höhr-Grenzhausen, 53-59.
- Nagy, Z., 2000, Transdanubian Pipe Manufacturers Associated with Selmebanya, u: *The History of the Hungarian Pipemaker's Craft. Hungarian History through the Pipemaker's Art*, Budapest, 45-55.
- Robinson, R. W., 1983, Clay Tobacco Pipes from Kerameikos, Mdl 98, Berlin, 265-284.
- Robinson, R. W., 1985, Tobacco Pipes of Corinth and of the Athenian Agora, Hesperia 54/2, Athens, 149-203.
- Soave, D., 1989, Le pipe in argilla di Chioggia, Atti del XXII Convegno Internazionale della Ceramica, Albisola, 225-229.
- Stančeva, M., 1972, Kolekcijata ot luli viv varnenskija muzej, Bulletin du Musée National de Varna VIII (XXIII), Varna, 81-90.
- Stančeva, M., 1976, O proizvodnji keramičkih lula u Bugarskoj, Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti 19-20, Beograd, 129-138.
- Stipković, J., 2003, Keramičke lule iz uvale Gradina, Luško libro, Godišnjak društva Vela Luka 11, Zagreb, 29-36.
- Širola, B., 1934, Neki kućni obrti u Zelovu, Etnografska istraživanja i građa I, Zagreb, 27-37.
- Tomanič Jevremov, M., 1997, Ormož, u: *Drobci nekega vsakdana*. Archaeologia Historica Slovenica 2, Ljubljana, 107-139.
- Verocchio, V., 2002, Pipe in teracotta, u: *La Ceramica Postmedievale in Abruzzo, Materiali dallo scavo di Piazza Caporali a Castel Frentano (CH)*, Documenti di Archeologia Postmedievale 1, Firenze, 383-387.



T. 1: 1-3 Zadar, sv. Krševan  
Pl. 1: 1-3 Zadar, St Chrysogonus



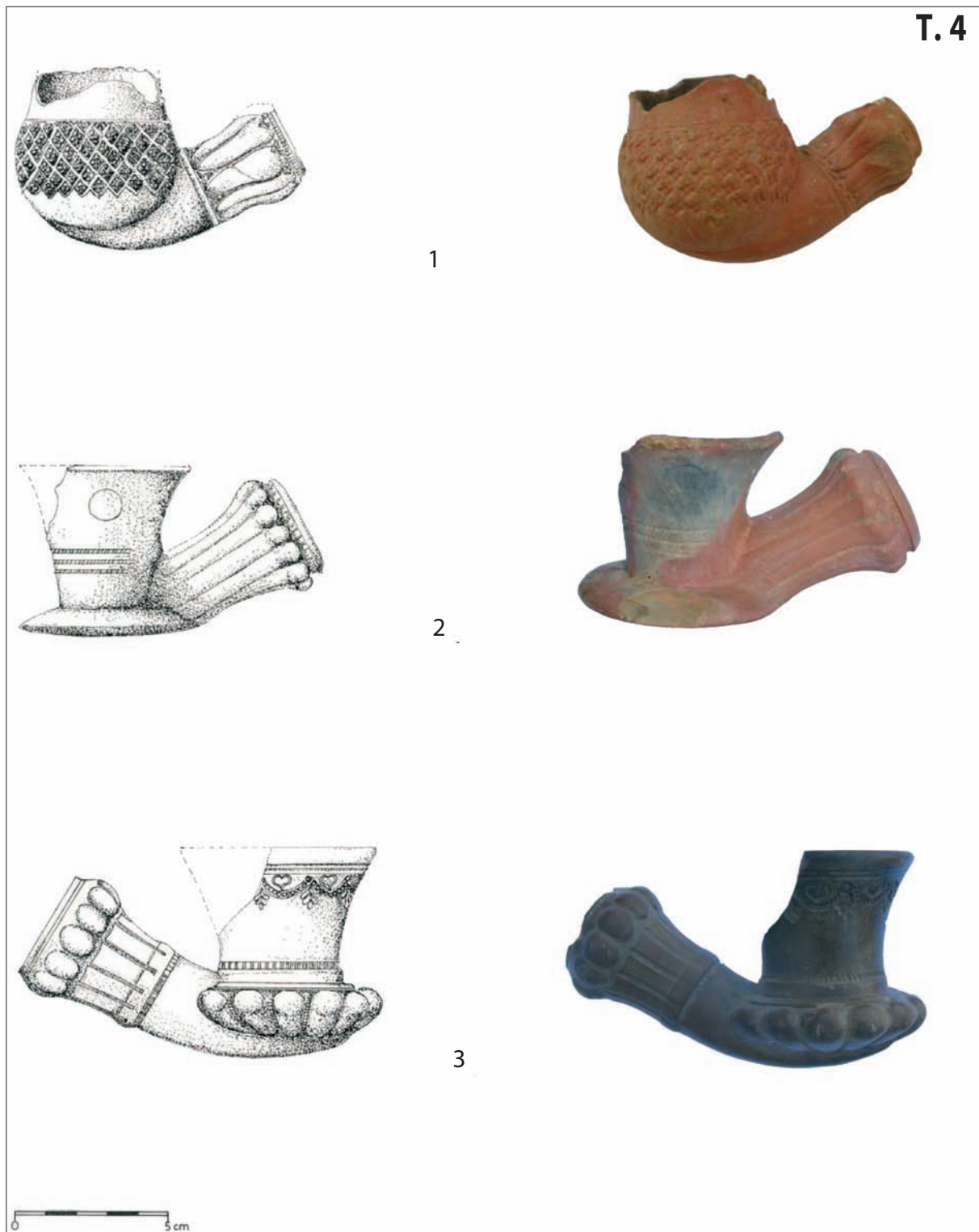
T. 2



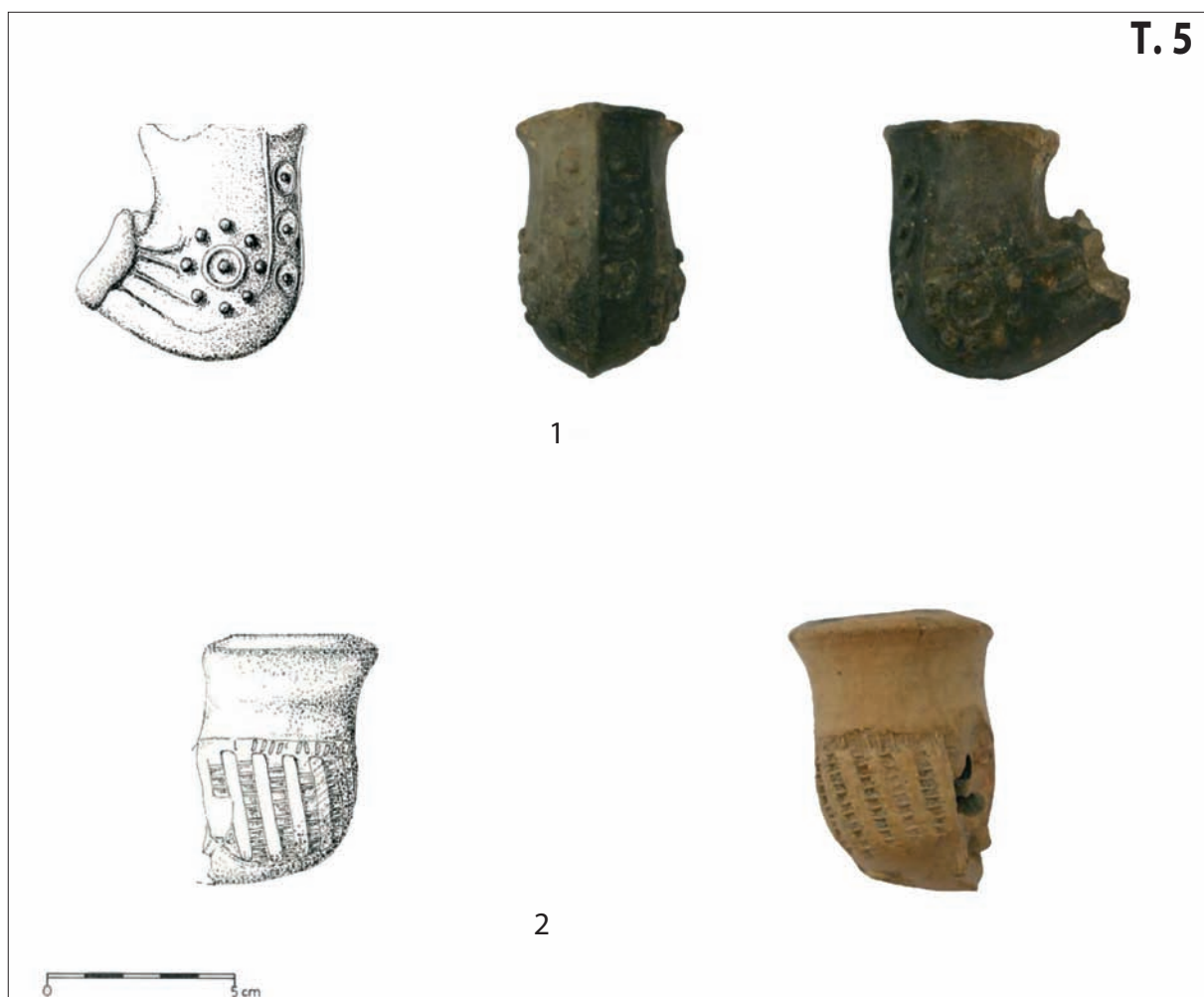
T. 2: 1, 3 Zadar sv. Krševan; 2 Zadar, Ulica Kraljskog Dalmatina  
Pl. 2: 1, 3 Zadar, St Chrysogonus; 2 Zadar, Kraljski Dalmatin Street



T. 3: 1, 3 Zadar, Sjemenište Zmajević; 2 Zadar, Zadar, sv. Krševan  
Pl. 3: 1, 3 Zadar, Zmajević Seminary; 2 Zadar, St Chrysogonus



T. 4: 1-3 Zadar, Sjemenište Zmajević  
Pl. 4: 1-3 Zadar, Zmajević Seminary



T. 5: 1 Zadar, Poluotok; 2 Zadar, sv. Krševan  
Pl. 5: 1 Zadar, Peninsula; 2 Zadar, *St Chrysogonus*