

# TOBACCO PIPES OF CORINTH AND OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 33–64)

THE TOBACCO PLANT, noted and reported by Christopher Columbus on his voyages, was brought to Spain in 1558 by Francisco Fernandez, who had been sent by Philip II to investigate the products of Mexico.<sup>1</sup> The French ambassador to Portugal, Jean

<sup>1</sup> The research on which this report is based was made possible in part through the assistance of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The findings and conclusions presented here do not necessarily represent the views of the Endowment. This paper follows an article on the tobacco pipes from the Kerameikos, *AthMitt* 98, 1983, pp. 265–285 (= Robinson, “Kerameikos”); some of the opinions and dates there suggested have been modified in the light of further information. The conclusions reached in this paper are still tentative. More pipes that can be closely dated are needed before a definitive chronology of types and styles can be achieved. The study of the chibouk is just beginning, and I hope to contribute to it by making known the material from these excavations in Greece.

I am grateful to Professor Homer A. Thompson and Dr. Charles K. Williams, II for permission to publish pipes from the excavations of the Athenian Agora and of Ancient Corinth. The work would not have been possible without the cooperation of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and without its two libraries, both of which I used extensively. The staffs of the Agora and Corinth excavations have been tirelessly helpful.

In addition I would like to thank the Benaki Museum and the War Museum of Athens and their directors, Dr. Angelos Delivorrias and Mr. Liaskas, for the help which they and their staffs have given me and for permission to publish material in their care.

The Arents Collection, of the New York Public Library, and its curator Mr. Joseph Rankin have been of the greatest assistance. Dr. John Hayes, of the Royal Ontario Museum, generously shared with me the results of his work on the pipes of the Saraçhane excavations in Istanbul. Professor Cecil Striker, of the University of Pennsylvania and the American Research Institute in Istanbul, arranged for me to study the pipes from the Kalenderhane excavations, and Professor Dogan Kuban and his staff at the Istanbul Technical University gave me every facility to do so. Dr. Nusin Asgari and her colleagues at the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul enabled me to examine the pipes from Saraçhane and those from the 1963 excavations of the Topkapi Palace First Courtyard; Dr. Nedret Bayraktar and Ms Emine Bilirgen of the Topkapi Palace Museum showed me the pipes in those collections. In addition, Mobil Oil Türk provided invaluable help, enabling me to visit the meerscham mines and workshops of Eskişehir.

In Bulgaria I was greatly helped by Dr. V. H. Vulchanov of the Academy of Sciences, Dr. Magdalena Stančeva of the Historical Museum of Sofia, Dr. Valka Ilcheva of the Historical Museum in Veliko Tirnovo, Dr. Ivan Caraiotov of the Museum of Burgas, and Mr. Alexander Minchev of the Museum in Varna. In Romania, Professor Petre Alexandrescu arranged my itinerary and visits; his colleagues at the Archaeological Institute in Bucharest were generous with bibliography and working space. The Director of the Museums of Costanza, Dr. Adrian Radulescu, with his staff, and the curator of the “Collection of Curiosities Mercurios”, Mr. V. Georgescu-Cheluța, enabled me to study the important collection of pipes at Mangalia. The Director of the Tulcea Museums, Dr. Gavrilă Simion, and the staff of the Archaeological Museum, particularly the curator of the mediaeval department Dr. Georghe Manucu-Adamesteanu, as well as the staff of the Museum of Oriental Art at Babadag, gave me great assistance in the study of pipes of the Danube Delta area.

I have had help and encouragement from a large number of friends and colleagues who will, I hope, accept my thanks although lack of space prevents my naming each one.

Works frequently cited will be abbreviated as follows:

*BAR S* = *British Archaeological Reports International Series*

Nicot, sent seeds of the plant to Queen Catherine de' Medici; his service in spreading knowledge of such a valuable plant is recognized in the scientific name of the genus *Nicotiana*.<sup>2</sup> The remarkable qualities of the plant were variously valued at different times: at first it was regarded as a universal remedy and called *herba panacea*; later it was considered a poison; and with the establishment of the smoking habit it became a staple and a major source of revenue for many areas and governments. Although the plant came to Europe through Spain, it was through England that the tobacco pipe and the custom of smoking were introduced, in the last quarter of the 16th century. The first European smoker was Ralph Lane, governor of Virginia, who in 1586 presented Sir Walter Raleigh with a pipe and taught him to use it.<sup>3</sup>

The pipe introduced in this way was basically a tube, with one end bent and enlarged to form a bowl. At the same time, another form of pipe was making its way to Africa, again by English agency. Sir John Hawkins, privateer, adventurer, and slaver, was plying between the Guinea coast of Africa and the Gulf of Mexico in the New World, and the pipe that went from Florida and the Mississippi Delta to Africa on his ships was a bowl with a short stem socket in which a reed was inserted, through which to draw the smoke.<sup>4</sup> Hawkins

- 
- Hayes = J. Hayes, "Turkish Clay Pipes: A Provisional Typology," *The Archaeology of the Clay Pipe, IV (BAR S XCII)*, London 1980, pp. 3–10
- Kocabaş = H. Kocabaş, "Tophane Pipe Making," *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* 5, Ankara 1962/63, pp. 12–14 (translation of the Turkish, at my request, by Zoe Lanara, Athens)
- Raban = A. Raban, "The Shipwreck off Sharm-el-Sheikh," *Archaeology* 24, 1971, pp. 146–155
- Rapaport = B. Rapaport, *A Complete Guide to Collecting Antique Pipes*, Exton, Penna. 1979
- Robinson, "Kerameikos" = R. W. Robinson, "Clay Tobacco Pipes from the Kerameikos," *AthMitt* 98, 1983, pp. 265–285
- Stančeva, "Bulgarie" = M. Stančeva, "La confection de pipes en Bulgarie," *Muzej Primenjene Umetnosti. Muzejske Zbirke* 19/20, 1975–76, pp. 129–137. Serbian with French Summary, p. 138.
- Stančeva, "Varna" = M. Stančeva, "La collection de pipes du Musée de Varna," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varna* 8, 1972, pp. 81–99
- Stančeva and Medarova = M. Stančeva and S. Medarova, "Fabrication de pipes en céramique chez nous," *Muzei i pametnici na kulturata* 8, 1968, fasc. 4, pp. 4–13
- Turnbaugh = W. A. Turnbaugh, "Native North American Smoking Pipes," *Archaeology* 33, 1980, pp. 15–22
- Walker, "Bethabara" = I. C. Walker, "The Central European Origins of the Bethabara, North Carolina, Clay Tobacco-Pipe Industry," *The Archaeology of the Clay Pipe, IV (BAR S XCII)*, London 1980, pp. 11–69

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., London/New York 1929, s.v. Tobacco.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. T. Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, London 1893, p. 49, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the development of the tobacco pipe in America into different forms in different areas, see Alfred Dunhill, "Pipe Smoking," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., London/New York 1929, where the spread of smoking to Europe and to Africa is also discussed. See also Turnbaugh, pp. 20–22; note especially the figures on pp. 15 and 21. A very persuasive account of Sir John Hawkins' responsibility in this matter is presented by T. Shaw ("Early Smoking Pipes: in Africa, Europe, and America," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 90, 1960, pp. 272–305).

Dunhill addresses the question of the smoking of hemp. It is possible that in Africa the bushmen of the Kalahari desert smoked hemp from time immemorial; and their hemp pipe may be the ancestor of the various water pipes used for tobacco smoking. In the rest of the world, however, the smoking pipe arrived with tobacco and only later was adapted for use with hashish, opium, or any other herb.

Analysis of the black dottle still remaining in a few of the pipe bowls from Corinth was undertaken by

probably antedated the Portuguese in Guinea, but it is very likely that Portuguese mariners, sailing from South American ports to the Indian Ocean, carried tobacco and tobacco pipes to the Far East.<sup>5</sup> Once across the Atlantic, the smoking pipe and its use spread eastward with extraordinary rapidity, the one-piece pipe through Europe and the bowl with separate stem across Africa and around the Eastern Mediterranean; the two waves met along the north-west borders of the Ottoman Empire. In 1602, signed pipes were produced in England; by 1604 the Guild of Pipemakers was incorporated in Sofia; in 1619 London's pipemakers' guild was formed. By the 1620's the backwash had carried English pipes back to the New World, where in the colonies English pipes were smoked and English-style pipes were produced.<sup>6</sup>

Pipe smoking is said to have become common in Egypt between 1601 and 1603 and to have been introduced in Turkey in 1605. There is evidence, however, that smoking was at least known, if not yet widely practiced, as early as 1599, for Thomas Dallam reports a lively episode in his journal of that year.<sup>7</sup> The ship in which he was traveling encountered part of the Turkish fleet at the Dardanelles; there was an exchange of courtesies, and a small present was sent from the English ship to the Turkish admiral by the hand of the captain of one of the Turkish galleys.

Than the captaine of that gallie demanded a presente for him selfe. Our Mr. answered that he had nothinge. Than he desiered to have som tobaccko and tobaccko-pipes, the which in the end he had. And so he sailed to Tenedose, wheare the Amberall and the reste of the gallis weare come to an Anker.

Once established in Turkey, the custom of pipe smoking became a craze, and almost at once attempts were made to prohibit it, on grounds that it was against religion, unhealthy, and a public danger (fire in the crowded wooden houses of Istanbul was a constant and very real menace).<sup>8</sup> But nothing could check the spread of pipe smoking, and soon after the

---

Dr. S. Philianos, head of the Division of Pharmacognosy of the Physical-Mathematical School of the University of Athens. Unfortunately the matter was so entirely carbonized that no diagnosis was possible. A group of pipes found in Jerusalem and now in a private collection in Athens contained enough unburnt vegetable matter to permit analysis and to be identified as hashish.

<sup>5</sup> B. Laufer, "The Introduction of Tobacco into Europe" and "The Introduction of Tobacco into Africa," Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, *Anthropological Leaflets* 19 (1924) and 29 (1930). Cf. also J. Fraiken, "Pipemakers in Wallonia," *BAR S CVI*, i, London 1981, pp. 3-13. The rapidity of the eastward spread of pipe smoking is illustrated in a six-fold Japanese screen of the Edo period (17th century) showing westerners arriving in Japan; both the westerners and the Japanese are equipped with pipes, which have already developed characteristic European and Far Eastern styles (Chicago Art Institute, inv. no. 65.400-401).

<sup>6</sup> Pipes in the colonies: W. M. Kelso, "Rescue Archaeology on the James," *Archaeology* 32, 1979, p. 19; I. N. Hume, "New Clues to an Old Mystery," *National Geographic* 161, no. 1, January 1982, pp. 70-71. Guilds: London, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., London/New York 1929, *s.v.* Tobacco Pipes; Sofia, Stančeva and Medarova, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> "The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam," in Bent, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), p. 49. Dallam was an organmaker accompanying an organ sent as a gift by Queen Elizabeth to the Sultan. His diary is excellent reading and a mine of information, although his spelling is eccentric. See S. Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*, London 1956.

<sup>8</sup> In England, also, an effort was made to prohibit the smoking of tobacco. In 1604 King James I published anonymously his "Counterblaste to Tobacco". As it is put in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *s.v.* Tobacco: "During the 17th century the indulgence in tobacco spread with marvelous rapidity, and that in

middle of the 17th century the bans against it lapsed or were withdrawn. Then indeed smoking became universally accepted and was practiced by men and women, high or low, rich or poor, young or old, and the production of tobacco was officially encouraged, being recognized as the potential source of enormous wealth.

Pipe smoking continued to increase throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Pipes changed gradually with fashion and with the availability of tobacco. The luxurious appurtenances of smoking were quickly developed and continuously refined. Factories in France in the 19th century turned out not only European-style pipes but also pipes in the Oriental fashion, both for Europeans and for export to the East.<sup>9</sup> The increase of cigar and cigarette smoking before and during the First World War and the introduction of French brier for pipe bowls effectively ended the production of the clay pipe. Most large French factories had closed by 1926 (although Bonnaud held on until 1955), and in Istanbul the last of the Tophane master pipemakers shut up his shop in 1929.<sup>10</sup>

As the cultivation of tobacco increased during the 17th century, certain areas came to be known for special varieties of tobacco, and certain types were particularly prized, as the aromatic Latakia, the Shiraz of Persia, and the “sheep’s ear” of Yiannitsa in Northern Greece. At the same time, certain centers gained renown for their pipes. In the 17th century, Burgaz, near Adrianople (Edirne), led all the rest. Dr. Covel recorded in his diary in 1675 that “. . . the finest Tobacco-pipe heads are sold there that are to be found in Turkey.”<sup>11</sup> Today the town is called Lüleburgaz; only the epithet *lüle* (pipe bowl) attached to its name recalls the once flourishing pipemaking industry. Sofia, second city of the Empire after Istanbul, was undoubtedly a major center, as its early guild attests, and Varna may have been, as well. Certainly Istanbul must have had many pipemakers, although the earliest signed or dated works of the Tophane masters, famed world-wide in the 19th century, go back only to the end of the 18th century.<sup>12</sup> In Greece, two pipemaking centers are mentioned in 17th-century sources: Yiannitsa in Macedonia, known for its fine tobacco, was also famed for carved wooden pipe bowls; and Thebes produced fine meerschaums<sup>13</sup> (no

---

the face of the most resolute opposition of statesmen and priests, the ‘counterblaste’ of a great monarch, penal enactments of the most severe descriptions, the knout, excommunication and capital punishment.” Cf. the comments of George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun An. Dom.: 1610*, London 1615, p. 66. After discussing the Turks’ use of coffee, opium, and tobacco, he adds a parenthesis: “for *Morat Bassa* not long since commanded a pipe to be thrust through the nose of a Turke, and so to be led in derision through the Citie” to explain why tobacco is not a “principall commodity” in Turkey in the early years of the 17th century.

<sup>9</sup> Both Gambier of Paris and Bonnaud of Marseilles, major 19th-century clay-pipe factories, advertised and sold chibouk bowls, as did also Job-Clerc: Rapaport, p. 28; and Jean-Léo, *Les pipes en terre françaises*, Brussels 1971, pp. 27–29, and unnumbered pages of illustrations following p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Rapaport, pp. 22–23; Kocabaş, p. 12. Translation of the Turkish by Zoe Lanara, Athens.

<sup>11</sup> “Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel, 1670–1679,” J. T. Bent, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), p. 184. Dr. Covel was trained first in medicine, later took Holy Orders. Appointed by Charles II as chaplain to the English ambassador to the Sublime Porte, he spent several years in Istanbul.

<sup>12</sup> Kocabaş, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Evliya Çelebi: Yiannitsa pipes: V. Dimitriadis, ‘Η Κεντρική και δυτική Μακεδονία κατὰ τὸν Ἑβλιγιὰ Τσελεμπή, Thessalonica 1973, p. 223. Theban pipes: I. G. Yannopoulos, «Ἡ Περιήγησις τοῦ Ἑβλιὰ Τσελεμπή ἀπὸ τὴν Στερεάν Ἑλλάδα», Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Στερεο-Ἑλλαδικῶν Μελετῶν 2, Athens 1969, p. 171. G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* IV, 1682, p. 332. See below, pp. 167–170, “The

clay-pipe industry is mentioned). Probably every town of any size had at least one pipe-maker. In lesser villages perhaps the potter would turn out a few pipes; he may have made his own molds from a pipe or pipes brought from a major center.

### THE HISTORY OF THE CHIBOUK

The earliest tobacco pipes of the Old World were very small, as tobacco was still rare and costly in the beginning of the 17th century. Early English pipes used to be called Fairy, or Celtic, pipes, from the notion that such tiny pipes must have belonged to the Little People. We do not know exactly when the first pipes were made in Turkey, but they, too, were very small, made of white or pale gray clay and with rather long shanks. They may well reflect the English pipes that reached Turkey, by the agency of Thomas Dallam's shipmaster and others, before the short-shanked, three-part chibouk style, arriving by way of North Africa and the East, became the norm early in the 17th century. Before the end of the 17th century the gray and white ware for pipes had been replaced by red. "Red" wares for pipes are of several colors, varying with different local clays but always warm earth tones quite unlike the earlier pallid whites. A truly red appearance was esteemed, and a special clay called Spring Rose (Gülbahar) was imported by Istanbul pipemakers from the region of Lake Van to make the slip that gave some of the pipes a rich ruby tint.<sup>14</sup>

The typical chibouk of the 18th and 19th centuries is obviously different from the one-piece white clay pipe of England and most of Western Europe (see Fig. 1). Many representations of the chibouk exist, in the drawings and paintings of travelers to the Levant in those two centuries. Baron von Stackelberg has given us some of the clearest and most detailed and has added a description (Pl. 43, Stackelberg, pl. XXVIII):<sup>15</sup> "Das pfeifenrohr von

---

Meerschaums." There is a wooden pipe bowl in the Benaki Museum, inv. no. 11109 (Pl. 44:b center) which, although later than the pipes seen by Evliya Çelebi, indicates that pipe bowls of wood were carved in much the same shapes as those of clay.

<sup>14</sup> Kocabaş, p. 12. Possibly it was this same red clay that in earlier times gave the rich red gloss to Urartian red wares: cf. Maurits Nanning van Loon, *Urartian Art*, Istanbul 1966, pp. 30, 32. See also J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, and K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste*, III, *The Objects*, London 1957, p. 470, Appendix II by G. M. Crowfoot, "Burnishing Pottery." In Samaria, red ocher is used to give bright red color to clay or slip or both. Cf. the importance of red color for the stone pipes of North America: Turnbaugh, p. 16 and figs. on pp. 19 and 20.

<sup>15</sup> O. M. Stackelberg, *Costumes et usages des Peuples de la Grèce Moderne*, Rome 1825; text from the Berlin edition of 1831; pl. XXVIII, "Archonte Grec". Compare the description of the pipe to that of F. W. Fairholt, on a visit to a pasha in Egypt (*Up the Nile and Home Again*, London 1862, pp. 225-226):

The pipes we used were six feet in length, the stems of light jasmine wood covered with silk, and overlaid with woven threads of gold and silver; a thin veil of pink gauze protected this from being too readily soiled by an heated hand, without hiding the decoration. The mouthpieces were very large, of the finest amber, and the juncture with the stem secured by a golden ring thickly set with diamonds. The bowl of the pipe is sometimes cut from a rare stone, but if made of the favorite red earth, it is always richly gilt, and rests in an enamelled dish placed upon the floor.

Another excellent 19th-century description of the chibouk in all its elaboration is given by C.-E. Guys, *Culture des Tabacs en Orient*, Marseilles 1858, p. 50. Guys also presents various Turkish tales which presume a very ancient history of pipe smoking in Turkey, but which, like the tale of "The Broken Pipe of Saladin," are late folklore pinned to the great names of yore.

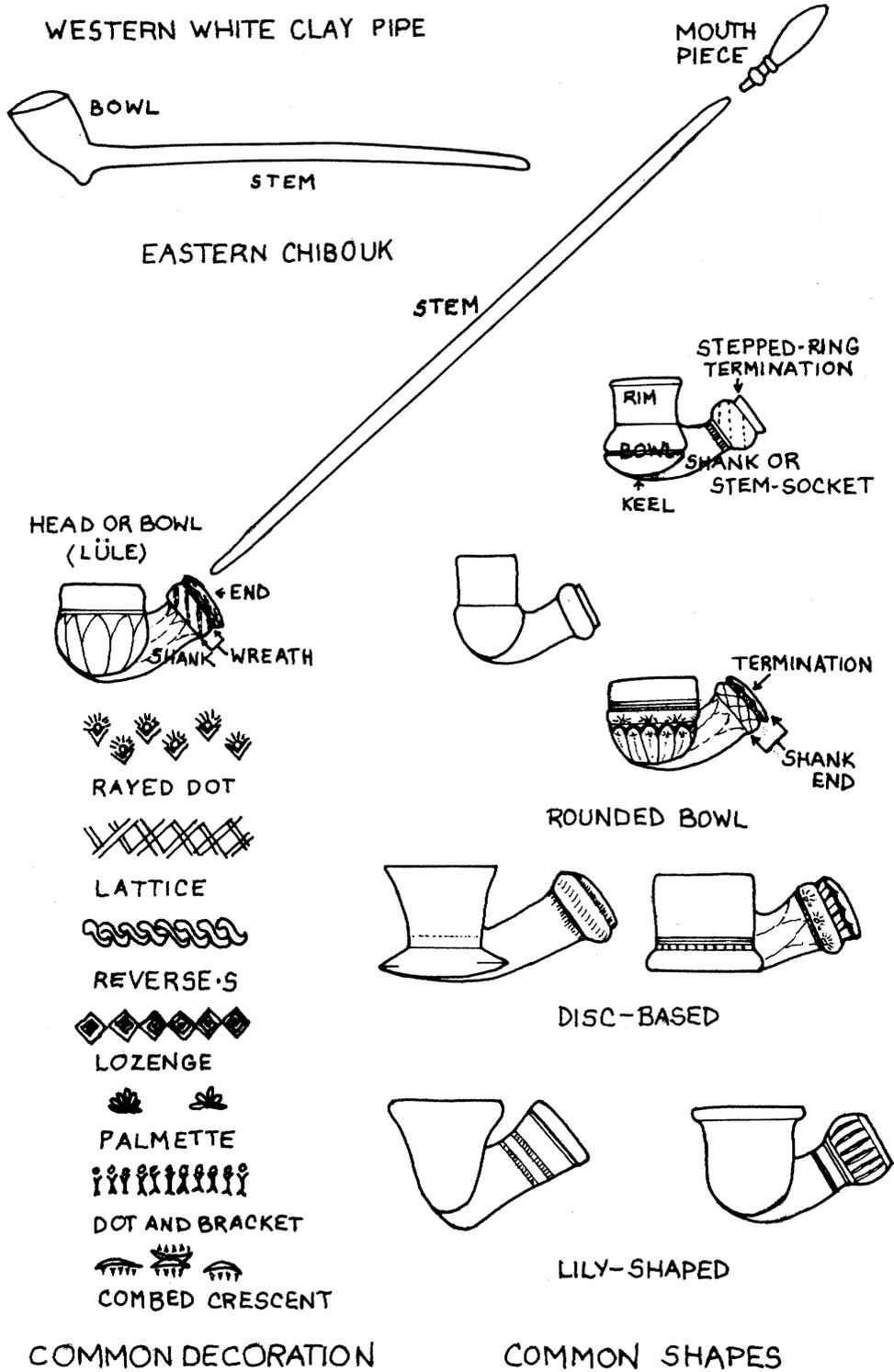


FIG. 1. Anatomy of the chibouk: common shapes and decoration. Drawing by Kathleen Donahue Sherwood

Jasminholz schmückt ein rother Taffentüberzug nebst buntem Seiden- und Goldzierath, ferner ein Mundstück von Ambra und Email, und endlich ein vergoldter Pfeifen-kopf aus rother Lemnischer Erde.”<sup>16</sup>

Often the representations of tobacco pipes left us by the travelers do not give enough detail to help us in any attempt at stylistic chronology of the pipe bowls, but some of them provide clear indications. The earliest representations that I have been able to find are in an album of Turkish miniatures dated to the 17th century (Pls. 33–35).<sup>17</sup> These show featureless pipes with the shank at right angles to the bowl; they are perhaps like the little meerschams Agora **A 43** and Corinth **C 127**. A similar simple pipe is smoked by the porter in Silvestre’s drawing of 1700 (Pl. 36).<sup>18</sup> In the 18th century pipes of greater particularity are shown: Van Mour’s Turkish lady, drawn in 1707–1708, is smoking a very dainty pipe with a shortened bowl and high cylindrical rim (Pl. 37);<sup>19</sup> the young Athenian lady in a drawing in the Benaki Museum, judged by her costume to belong to the second half of the 18th century, smokes a pipe with a rounded bowl and a widely flaring rim (Pl. 38:a).<sup>20</sup> Also in the Benaki Museum is a watercolor by Hilaire, dated 1776, showing a pipe with a straight rim and small, rounded bowl (Pl. 38:b).<sup>21</sup> From the 19th century there are several very precise depictions of pipes, and it is at once clear that pipes have increased in size. Cartwright’s costume plates, published in 1822,<sup>22</sup> show the notorious Ali Pasha with a

<sup>16</sup> Lemnian Earth: it was a common misunderstanding in the 19th century that the red pipes were made of Lemnian Earth because Lemnian Earth was a “terra sigillata”, a supposedly medicinal earth ceremonially dug by priests or hojas, in antiquity and until the recent past, on the festival of the god or on the feast of the Metamorphosis (August 6); formed into small cakes, it was stamped with an official seal. The name “terra sigillata” suggested to the classically oriented 19th-century travelers a fine Roman red clay ware with stamped decoration; but in fact most of if not all the Lemnian earth is white, and none was ever used for ceramic production but only medically and magically. For the most recent and thorough investigation and bibliography see Frank Brommer, *Hephaistos*, Mainz 1978, pp. 162–163. Some of the Arabic seals used on the earth tablets are recorded by Vincenzo Coronelli, *Arcipelago*, Venice ca. 1707, pl. 43. George Sandys describes the annual rite of taking the earth (*op. cit.* [footnote 8 above], pp. 23–24). Other 17th-century accounts include M. de Brèves, *Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Brèves, tant en Grèce, terre-Sainte et Aegypte, qu’aux royaumes de Tunis et Arger*, Paris 1628, p. 12; and Vincent, Sieur de Stochove, *Voyage fait es années 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633*, Brussels 1643, pp. 216–217. The earth was supposed to be a remedy against dysentery, plague, and poison.

<sup>17</sup> F. Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof- und volksleben. Ein Türkisches Miniaturealbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert*, Hanover 1925, pls. 36, 40, and 41. This is a reproduction of an album in Munich which appears to date from the beginning of the reign of Mehmed IV (1648–1687).

<sup>18</sup> C. F. Silvestre, *Differents habillemens de Turcs, dediez à monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne par son très humble et très obéissant serviteur C. F. Silvestre*, Paris 1700, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> Jean Baptiste van Mour, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant differents nations du Levant*, Paris 1714, pl. XLV.

<sup>20</sup> The Athenian lady is Benaki Museum, inv. no. 24034.

<sup>21</sup> The Hilaire watercolor is Benaki Museum no. ΔK 1823 Θ’ 12. Additional 18th-century illustrations are to be found in *Türkische Gewänder und osmanliche Gesellschaft im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Klaus Tuchtelt, ed., Facsimile-Ausgabe des Codex “Les Portraits des differens habillemens qui sont en usage à Constantinople et dans tout la Turquie” aus dem Besitz des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Istanbul, Graz 1966; and Georg W. Graf von Rumpf, *Costumes Grecs et Turcs*, 1768–1769, a collection of 150 original watercolor drawings in the Gennadius Library.

<sup>22</sup> Joseph Cartwright. Eleven colored costume plates of Northwestern Greece, including a portrait of Ali Pasha. London 1822. No title page or text.

sack-shaped pipe (Pl. 39) and an Albanian with a gilded or a yellow clay pipe bowl with a short straight rim and rounded gadrooned bowl (Pl. 40). Dupré's drawings to illustrate the record of his travels<sup>23</sup> show red pipes with high, flaring rims above small disklike bowls (Pls. 41:a, b); Stackelberg's Thessalian smokes a pipe with a low, round bowl and flaring rim (Pl. 42), while his well-to-do and rather Turkified Greek gentleman has an elaborate disk-based pipe (Pl. 43).<sup>24</sup> Another drawing in the Benaki Museum, Scherer's *Hellene* dated 1840,<sup>25</sup> shows a pipe without a mouthpiece and with a relatively short stem; the pipe head has a low cylindrical rim above an abbreviated bowl (Pl. 46:c).

Fortunately these drawings illustrate the stems and mouthpieces as well as the bowls of the pipes, for very few stems are preserved. A few simple wooden stems can be seen in the Municipal Museum and the Topkapi Palace Treasury in Istanbul, but I suspect that in many cases the stems are new cherry branches added for display purposes. The few unquestionably original stems that I have found are in the Benaki Museum (Pls. 44:a, b, 46:a, b);<sup>26</sup> that which belonged to Admiral Miaoulis is a handsome example (Pl. 46:b). It is the relatively short, heavy "campaign" pipe of an active man, covered in pale green silk and bound with silver ribbon. With it are two mouthpieces of amber, semiprecious stones, and enamel (Pl. 46:a); the various parts are pierced like beads and threaded over the tube of the mouthpiece proper. The part of the mouthpiece which actually touched the lips was usually of amber, although sometimes precious stones or coral were substituted. The mouthpiece, probably the least necessary part of the chibouk (Scherer's *Hellene* manages perfectly well without one), can be the single most costly part of the apparatus. Yet much could be spent on stems and bowls as well. The preferred cherry and jasmine wands were cultivated in special orchards, and the stems could be ornamented with silk, gold, silver, and pearls. The bowls, too, were capable of being inlaid with gold or silver wire or set with gems.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> L. Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople*, Paris 1825, pls. X and XXV.

<sup>24</sup> Stackelberg, *op. cit.* (footnote 15 above), pls. XV and XXVIII.

<sup>25</sup> Benaki Museum, no. ΔΚ 1886 Θ'69, drawn in Athens in 1840.

<sup>26</sup> Pl. 44:a: Benaki Museum, inv. no. 8736, a stem and mouthpiece carved as one piece of linden wood (φλαμούρι), L. 1.41 m.; Greek folk art from the region of Tripolis, after 1821.

Pl. 44:b: Benaki Museum, inv. no. 11109, a carved wooden stem in three parts, threaded for assembly, total L. 1.45 m. With it is a carved wooden pipe head which probably does not belong. William Lithgow, who traveled in the Levant in the early years of the 17th century when smoking was still quite new in Turkey, mentions a three-part stem:

... for they are excessively addicted to smoke, as Dutchmen are to the pot: which even made me to carry tobacco with me, to requite their favour, over and above their fials, more than ever I did for my own use: for in these days I took none at all: though now, as time altereth every thing, I am (*honoris gratia*) become a courtly tobacconist, more for fashion than for liking. The Turkish tobacco-pipes are more than a yard long, and commonly of wood or canes, being joined in three parts with lead or white iron; their several mouths receiving at once a whole ounce of tobacco, which lasteth a long space; and because of the long pipes, the smoke is exceeding cold in their swallowing throats.

W. Lithgow, *Travels and Voyages*, 12th ed., Leith 1814

Pl. 46:a, b: a pipestem and two mouthpieces which belonged to Admiral Miaoulis.

A small button of green translucent stone, from Temple Hill in Corinth (MF-967) may be part of a similar mouthpiece, as may an ovoid turned piece of polished white alabaster from the Roman Agora area of Corinth (MF-4241).

<sup>27</sup> M. Stančeva has pointed out (Stančeva, "Bulgarie," pp. 129–130) that the art of the pipemaker is as

It is the clay bowls which are the particular concern of this study. Chibouk bowls could be made of various materials (stone, wood, metal), but the most usual was clay.<sup>28</sup> Clay pipe heads were made of specially washed and filtered fine clay, in two-part molds of stone or metal. The openings of bowl and shank were cut out afterward, when the clay was leather hard. After an undercoat (slip) of clay was applied the pipes were decorated with stamps, rouletting, incision, or inlay and marked with the monogram signature seal and were then fired. When ready, the pipes could be once more treated with a new layer of slip, polished with a felt cloth, and if desired, decorated with gold or silver leaf. They were then fired once more, at a low temperature (muffle fired); then after a final polishing, they were ready for sale.<sup>29</sup>

### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Oddly enough, these lovely little works of decorative art seem not to have caught the imagination of pipe collectors. In the pipe-collectors' literature there is only an occasional passing reference to the chibouk as an ethnological curiosity, in contrast to the great body of material, industrial, archaeological, and connoisseurial, that is available for pipes of almost any other part of the world.<sup>30</sup> Not only have the Ottoman chibouk heads been overlooked by collectors, but they have been spurned by archaeologists. Clay pipe bowls turn up with great regularity in the late levels of excavations in Greece, the Balkans, and the Near East. Until recently these Ottoman levels have been regarded as "modern" and discarded with the upper centimeters of useless dirt cleared from above the remains of sought-for earlier civilizations.<sup>31</sup>

---

closely allied to that of the silversmith or jeweler as to that of the potter. The costly luxury of the assorted paraphernalia of the chibouk smoker was equaled in the West only by the extravagant equipment required by fashionable snufftakers.

<sup>28</sup> In the Athenian Agora in pottery storage ΠΑ/Τ 201 is a fragment which I believe may be part of a stone pipe. The pipe bowl, inv. no. 11109 in the Benaki Museum (see footnote 26 above), is a wooden version of a clay-bowl form. Wood was not an ideal material for pipes, as it eventually burned. Metal pipes are common enough, often elaborately covered with filigree and set with colored stones, but metal pipes smoke hot, and serious smokers prefer a material which does not transmit the heat so readily. Meerschaum is an ideal material, as highly prized by smokers today as it was in the 17th century. See below, pp. 167–170, "The Meerschaums".

<sup>29</sup> Kocabaş, p. 12. Compare the process of molding European clay pipes, as described by D. H. Duco ("Clay Pipe Manufacturing Processes in Gouda, Holland," *BAR S XCII*, London 1980, pp. 184–185) and by I. C. Walker (Walker, "Bethabara," p. 18).

<sup>30</sup> For an idea of available literature, see the bibliography provided in Rapaport, pp. 243–244; a glance at the catalogue of the Arents Collection in the New York Public Library will indicate the staggering amount. A partial bibliography of New World pipes, pre- and post-Contact, is given in Turnbaugh, p. 22. See also the *BAR* series *Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco Pipe*, of which eight volumes have appeared.

<sup>31</sup> Credit should be given to a few pre-World War II excavations which did not simply throw away Turkish pipe heads: at Baalbek (1921–1925) and Alaca-Höyük (1935) a few pipes are included in the publications. F. Sarre, *Baalbek*, III, *Die Kleinfunde*, Berlin/Leipzig 1925, p. 132, nos. 84 and 85, I 3304 and 3305, figs. 65, 65a. Koşay, H. Z., *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük (1935)* I, Ankara 1937, pp. VI and VII, no. 197. The dozen pipes catalogued at Hama (V. Poulsen, *Hama* IV, ii, Copenhagen 1957, pp. 280–281) from 1931 to 1936 are dated much too early but are still among the first collections of pipes to be treated seriously in archaeological excavation.

A beginning has at last been made, and pipes are now being treated along with the late pottery as legitimate excavation evidence, no longer to be routinely thrown away. In Bulgaria and Romania and at certain sites in Russia, the pipes are thus published, and useful studies of the pipes from Sofia, Varna, and Veliko Tirnovo have appeared.<sup>32</sup> In Istanbul, at least three studies are under way: a publication of the pipes in the Topkapi Palace Museum and two reports from excavations of Dumbarton Oaks, at Saraçhane and at Kalenderhane. In the latter excavations, enormous numbers of clay chibouk bowls have been found, many in closely datable contexts.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile, the archaeological evidence for dating pipe bowls is slim. There are a few surely dated pipes: from 19th-century graves in Russia and Bulgaria and from two shipwrecks, one of the early 18th and one of the end of the 17th century.<sup>34</sup>

The difficulties of acquiring archaeological evidence for dating pipes in Greece are demonstrated in the large and painstakingly careful excavations of the Kerameikos, the Athenian Agora, and Corinth. In the Kerameikos there was no stratification at all in the post-Byzantine levels, only shifting water-born sand and gravel.<sup>35</sup> The Agora of Athens and the city of Corinth, on the other hand, were continuously inhabited during the entire Turkish period and beyond, until excavation demolished the houses. The upper levels were everywhere badly disturbed. In the few cases where stratified layers with pipes were found in the Agora, all the levels belonged to the later 19th century. In Corinth, most of the pipes found before 1960 have no designated findspot beyond a general area, and although careful records of the exact findspots were kept for pipes found since 1960, in most cases these turn out to be useless for dating.<sup>36</sup>

## CORINTH

Can anything be made of the few legitimate finding places? In Corinth (see Fig. 2), the excavations since 1960 have produced pipes in four areas: the Roman Bath (the Great Bath on the Lechaion Road), the Baths of Aphrodite, Temple Hill, and a Turkish house in the Agora Southwest area. Both Temple Hill and the Baths of Aphrodite were thickly inhabited during the later Turkish period (after 1715) and more or less abandoned immediately

<sup>32</sup> Stančeva and Medarova, pp. 4–13. Stančeva, “Bulgarie,” pp. 129–137. Stančeva, “Varna,” pp. 81–99. The Varna Types mentioned throughout the present article are published here. V. Iltcheva, “Clay Pipes of Veliko Tirnovo,” *Godishnik na muzeite ot severna Bulgariia* I, Veliko Tirnovo 1975, pp. 179–199 (in Bulgarian; with German summary, pp. 198–199).

<sup>33</sup> For the Saraçhane pipes, John Hayes has been able to prepare a provisional typology: Hayes, pp. 3–10. Saraçhane Types mentioned throughout the present article are published here. The full results of both the Saraçhane and the Kalenderhane excavations of Dumbarton Oaks are in preparation and should soon appear. These will be of the utmost importance for the study of chibouks in providing a larger body of material, with far more reliable chronology, than is yet available.

<sup>34</sup> Stančeva, “Varna,” p. 82; “Bulgarie,” p. 129. Raban, pp. 146–155. Two pipes from a wreck of 1696 are illustrated in Walker, “Bethabara,” pl. I.

<sup>35</sup> The pipes from the Kerameikos are published in Robinson, “Kerameikos,” pp. 265–285.

<sup>36</sup> Of the 86 pipes known to me in the Agora of Athens, 26 are from two areas with stratified levels (Sections MM and KK); 6 are from findspots that are undisturbed and seem to be of the right period; the remaining 54 were found in contexts that are useless or irrelevant for pipe-dating purposes. In Corinth only 51 of 256 known pipes or fragments of pipes come from possibly useful findspots.

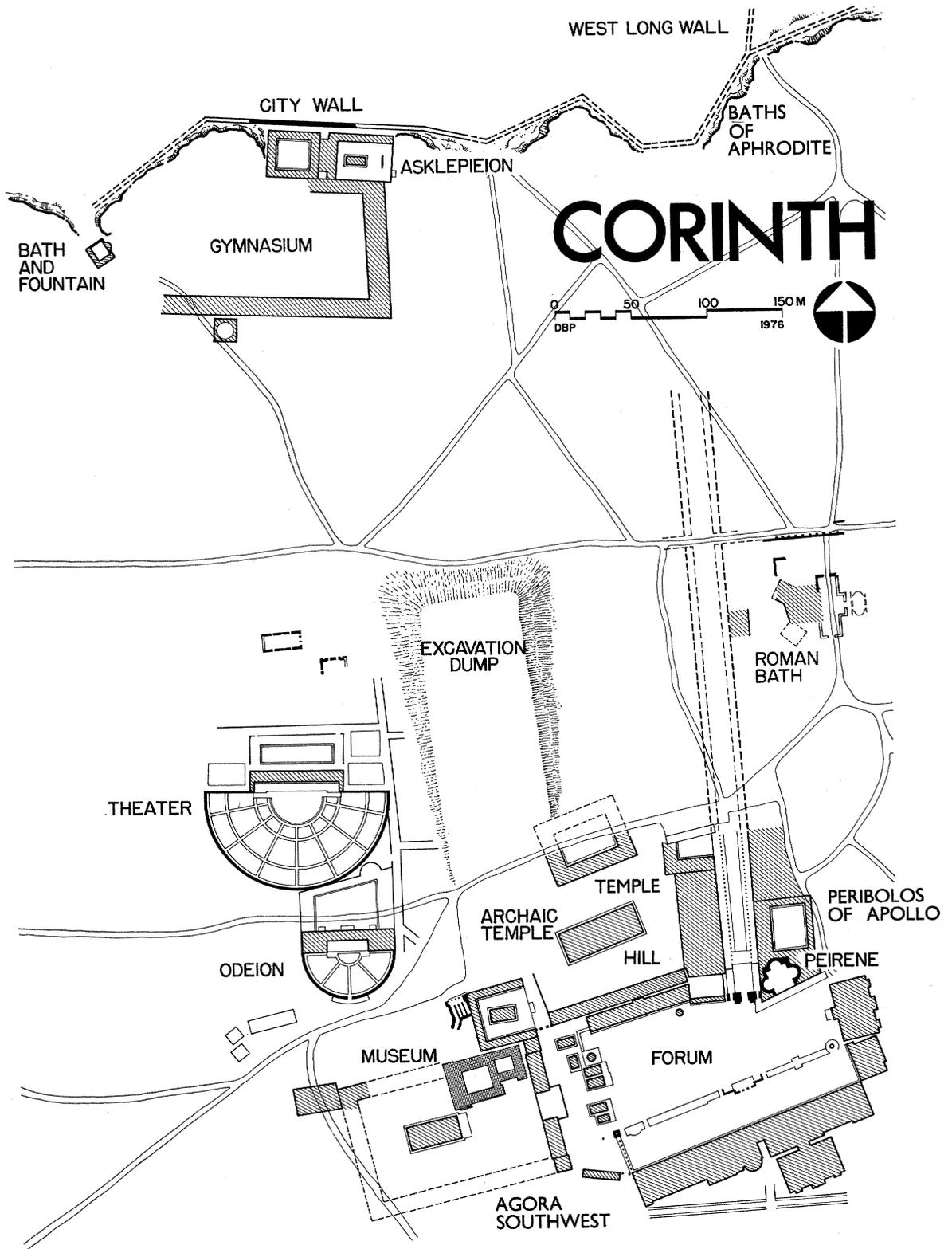


FIG. 2. Plan of Ancient Corinth: areas of the excavations where large numbers of tobacco pipes were found

after the War of Independence. Temple Hill was the site of the large farmhouse and several smaller houses seen in many travelers' drawings, and the Baths of Aphrodite were at the site where Nuri Bey and his son Kemal Bey had their palace.<sup>37</sup> For neither of these sites have we any closer dating, but for the Baths of Aphrodite site at least we should expect any pipes to date between about 1720 and 1823. Temple Hill is not so easily bracketed. No pipes are found on the Hill before the Turkish terracing project in which the kalderimia were built,<sup>38</sup> but after the War of Independence the abandonment of the site was not complete. In spite of the total and romantic desolation represented in Blouet's drawing of 1829,<sup>39</sup> Temple Hill marked the center of the village and was crossed and recrossed by pedestrians and used as a meeting place. In 1831 a school was built there, which continued in use until the earthquake of 1858. We should perhaps expect fewer 19th-century pipes from Temple Hill than from areas where habitation continued. The houses above the Roman Bath were constantly inhabited until the start of excavation in about 1964, and as a result the upper levels were hopelessly disturbed. The Turkish house in the Agora Southwest area had fallen into ruins long before excavation started, probably destroyed in the earthquake of 1858, and had never been repaired. Here alone there might be a chance of stratified levels. But the four rooms of the house, each excavated separately, had a single floor level: late 19th century. Corinth pipe **C 10**, however, was found built into a partition wall of the house, while **C 14** was in fill that covered the wall in a later remodeling. It seems safe to say that pipe **C 10** was out of use before it got into the wall, quite some time before **C 14** was discarded into the fill that covered the wall; **C 10** must be earlier than **C 14**, and both are before 1858.

The findspots of the pipes in Corinth, even when they are of no use for stratigraphy or chronology, often indicate that many examples of a single style of pipe come from a single area. For example, the Baths of Aphrodite site had a number of gilded pipes, as befits the Bey's palace; several very fine pipes resembling polished wood in color and finish came from the Roman Bath; all the examples of one striking gray fabric came from the Agora Southwest area; and four of the finest meerschaums were found North of the Peribolos of Apollo. This, I believe, reflects nothing but the personal preference of the smoker who frequented each area.

Thus far, no pipes in Athens or Corinth have occurred in datable fills of the early Turkish period but only of the late, beginning in the 18th century (in Corinth, this period is post-Venetian). This may be chance, since we do find a very few early pipes (from unstratified or disturbed deposits) and since we know from Evliya Çelebi and from Wheler that pipes were made, and therefore were probably used, in Greece in the 17th century. Hayes notes that in Istanbul, also, very few pipes are found from contexts earlier than the end of the 17th century,<sup>40</sup> a fact which he attributes partly to the severe penalties imposed for smoking

<sup>37</sup> Several drawings of Temple Hill are reproduced in H. N. Fowler and R. Stillwell, *Corinth, I*, [i], *Introduction, Topography, Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932, pp. 129–133, figs. 89–94. See also *Edward Lear in Greece*, Washington 1971, p. 28, no. 12, "Camel Bay, his house".

<sup>38</sup> H. S. Robinson, "Excavations at Corinth: Temple Hill: 1968–1972," *Hesperia* 45, 1976 (pp. 203–239), pp. 223–224, fig. 6, and pl. 48:d.

<sup>39</sup> Blouet, in *Expédition scientifique de Morée III*, Paris 1838, pl. 80, reproduced in *Corinth I*, [i] (footnote 37 above), fig. 94.

<sup>40</sup> Hayes, p. 4.

during much of the century in Istanbul itself; he suggests that evidence for early pipes may be better sought outside the capital. It probably will not be found in Athens or Corinth, which were, in the 17th century, rather provincial backwaters. Perhaps northern centers like Sofia, Salonika, Ioannina, and Arta will yield greater numbers of 17th-century pipes.

#### THE ATHENIAN AGORA

In the Agora (see Fig. 3), **A 4** is from a pit in Section  $\Phi$  and belongs to Group No. 8 published by A. Frantz.<sup>41</sup> Of her ten groups of Turkish pottery, only this one chanced to contain a pipe. The group is dated in the Late Turkish period, in the 18th century. The pipe is of white clay but has a keel; the shank is missing. **A 3** comes from Section P "above the first road strosis" at 57.80 m., which at least puts it below surface disturbance. It is a gray pipe which appears to be an early type. **A 9** and **A 12** both come from Turkish fill, strosis 1 in Section  $\Pi A$ , and were found with pottery and glass dated to the 18th century. **A 18** comes from a pit in Section H and **A 19** from a Turkish pit in Section T in which were plain glazed wares, coarse wares, and Kioutakia Ware. Both **A 18** and **A 19** appear to be pipes of the late 18th to 19th century. The two meerschaums have fairly reliable findspots: **A 44** from a grave in the Hephaisteion and **A 43** from a pithos in Section  $\Sigma$ , in which was good Turkish pottery of the 17th and 18th centuries. These findspots, while not adding much to the chronology of smoking pipes, at least do not contradict such chronology as can be worked out by other means.

The stratified levels are scarcely more informative. Section KK has five Turkish levels: the pipes come from pottery storage Box 267 (Layers I–III), Box 268 (Layers I–IV), Box 269 (Layer III), and Box 271 (Layers IV–V), which should provide at least a certain relative chronology. But Layers IV–V are dated "1778 and after, 1845 and after"; Layer III is late 19th century, and the others are dated late 19th century to 1930. And so we can only say that the pipe from Box 271 should be earlier than the rest, and in fact, although Layers I–III contain a great number of pipe styles, the pipe from Layers IV–V (**A 7**) is of a kind that is considered to be much earlier than the 19th century. The same situation prevails with the stratified levels of Section MM, meticulously separated but all within the 19th century, where even at the lowest level fragments of transfer-printed pottery occur.

#### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHIBOUK

Some general guidelines emerge from observation of the few datable pipes, the little literature available, and the travelers' drawings. First, pipes began as white or pale gray, but by the end of the 17th century they were almost always red, that is, earth colors. Second, early pipes were very small and increased in size as tobacco became more available and cheaper. Third, the opening of the stem socket or shank was at first very small (less than 0.01 m.), increasing to over 0.015 m. and even to 0.02 m. in the later 19th century. Fourth, very few pipes before the 18th century carried the maker's monogram seal; in the 19th century very few pipes did not.<sup>42</sup> Fifth, the earliest pipes do not have the graceful join of shank to bowl

<sup>41</sup> A. Frantz, "Turkish Pottery from the Agora," *Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 1–28.

<sup>42</sup> A study of the monogram seals on the pipes might be rewarding, as it was for the pipes of Veliko Tirnovo, where it was found that there were as many Bulgarian as there were Arabic names among the

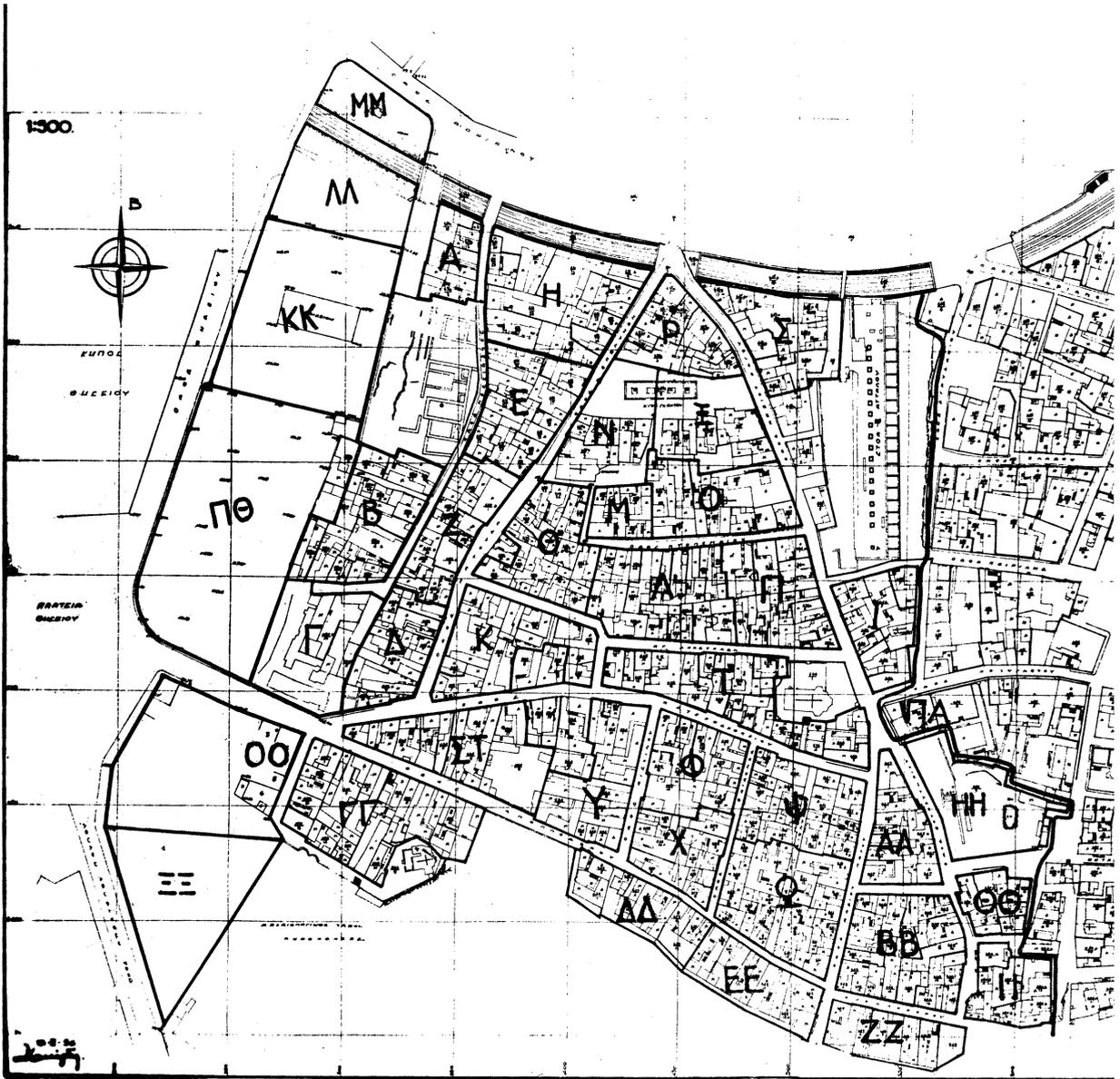


FIG. 3. Plan of the area of the Agora Excavations in 1936. The Hephaisteion, the Giants of the Odeion, the Stoa of Attalos, and the Athens-Piraeus Railway appear. Projected excavation sections are indicated. Signature appears to be that of K. Korizes, engineer

which resembles the keel beneath a boat. This feature begins in the late 17th to early 18th century and continues throughout the history of the chibouk; from the late 18th through the

signatures. There are pitfalls: imitation Arabic seals; pirated pipes (made from molds taken from signed pipes); just plain false seals, like the deliberately false dates on 19th-century "peasant" meerschaums (Rapaport, p. 69 and upper figure on p. 73).

19th century the keel may be modified: flattened and squared, or enlarged and exaggerated, or even entirely absorbed.

I have tried to arrange the pipes in chronological order, using the general guidelines listed. Within this I have grouped them according to shape. A grouping by fabric seemed perilous without more elaborate analysis of clays than was practicable. On the whole, pipes of similar shapes tend to fall into groups of similar fabrics, as with the gray group **C 14—C 16**, or the glazed pipes **C 6—C 9**. The brown, very micaceous fabric, in which several varied styles of pipe are made, is nevertheless the only fabric for one sacklike shape, **C 52—C 55**. (All clays are somewhat micaceous unless otherwise noted.) Most of the pipes are of a reddish yellow clay, with a slip of the same clay or a red slip. When the Munsell readings for the clay and slip of a pipe are very close, it should be understood that the slip is of the same clay as the pipe, only slightly darker owing to burnishing, handling, etc. The slip which changes the appearance of a pipe from buff or orange (reddish yellow) to red always registers in the 10R Munsell scale. Pipes whose red color is in the 2.5YR scale are reddish brown in appearance.

In grouping by shape I have set out three major divisions: pipes with rounded bowl, disk-based pipes, and lily-shaped pipes. The lily-shaped pipe is a late type, introduced in the middle of the 19th century,<sup>43</sup> but the other two shapes seem to have coexisted from the 17th century. It is possible that the disk-based pipes developed from such early pipes as Hayes' Saraçhane Type XXVI (**C 11—C 13, A 8**). Pipes with rounded bowl developed steadily from early forms like the Saraçhane Type IV (**C 3**). The style of the shank may be of more importance than the bowl or the rim for typology; notice in the catalogue of Corinth pipes that a single shank style (faceted, with decorated wreath and scalloped termination) is found in combination with several different styles of bowl: gadrooned (**C 34—C 38**), vertically rouletted (**C 39**), sack-shaped (**C 52—C 54**), petaled (**C 55—C 63**), cuplike rims on small disk bases (**C 69—C 78**), and other styles (**C 33, C 66—C 68**). Thus pipes with a variety of shapes of bowl may be grouped together on the basis of their shanks, and we may conclude that all the pipes with this style of shank are more or less contemporary. A note of caution should be sounded: while fashions in pipes do change somewhat, a popular shape may linger for a long time. In modern brier pipes, for example, along with new shapes offered every year there are also the classic shapes that never disappear, most with names. Some smokers require a wardrobe of assorted pipes; others have found the one shape that satisfies them and will always purchase the same shape. It is likely that with the clays, too, a few shapes continued for a very long time, and the minute alterations in a single shape which might enable us to date a particular example with some exactitude are not yet recognized.

## THE CLAYS

The catalogue of Corinth and Agora pipes illustrates the development of the clay chibouk bowl as far as it can be pieced together. The first shapes are small, the angle between the axis of the bowl and of the shank is 90° or more, and the shank simply emerges from the wall near the bottom of the bowl (**C 1, C 2**). The shanks are slender and the openings small;

<sup>43</sup> F. W. Fairholt, *Tobacco, Its History and Associations*, London 1859, p. 207.

a fat wreath and a stepped-ring termination are usual (C 2, C 3, A 2, A 3). C 4 and C 5, C 6—C 9, and C 14—C 16 are three groups of relatively early pipes without parallel in the Agora (C 8 has a duplicate in Kerameikos no. 3, TP 3) and may all be local Corinthian products, although the green- and yellow-glazed pipes may come from central Europe.<sup>44</sup> C 10 and A 7 are fragments of a type with some apparently early features but which may well be a durable type lasting throughout the 18th century. It is not common in Greece but is very frequent in Bulgaria and probably originates in Kyustendil, a town near Sofia.

C 17—C 31 and A 9—A 11 are probably all to be grouped with the pipes of Saraçhane Type XXII. These are “red or brown, thin, polished on outside. Rarely stamped . . . deep two-part bowl, undecorated” and are dated to the 18th century. In Greece we can distinguish two subdivisions of this type: C 17—C 21 and A 9 with a simple ring shank end, high rim above a shallow rounded bowl, and a concave waistband between rim and bowl; and C 23—C 29, A 10, A 11 with sacklike shape, very shallow keel, and extremely short shank ending in a swelling. Within this second subtype belongs the Varna Type III group with bird seals.<sup>45</sup> C 28 and A 10 actually have the bird seal. C 22 might belong equally well in either subtype, as it shares the shallow bowl, concave waist, and gilding of C 18, and the shorter swollen shank of C 23, C 27, and C 28. C 30, C 31, and A 12, with decoration around the bowl and a short shank swollen at the end, resemble the preceding group. A 12, found in fill dated to the 18th century, has features in common with one of the pipes from the Sharm-el-Sheikh wreck of the second quarter of the 18th century.<sup>46</sup>

With C 33 begins the long series of pipes with very similar shanks (see p. 163 above). The entire series, C 33—C 78 and A 13—A 17, is probably roughly contemporary, of the late 18th into the first half of the 19th century. The shanks of these pipes are usually faceted and end with a wreath and a termination either flat or convex, with a scalloped edge. (Often the scallops are impressed with tiny arcs, as though a quill had been pressed into them; C 35 and C 36 are two of many examples.) This termination, unlike the earlier stepped-ring termination, is as wide as the wreath below it. The wreath is usually decorated, but there are exceptions (e.g. C 52), just as the scalloped termination is occasionally varied (e.g. C 42, or C 50 with no termination at all). A smooth, unfaceted shank also occurs (C 40—C 49, C 64, C 65, A 14, A 16, A 17), with or without a wreath. Bowls are rounded and decorated in a number of ways (C 33—C 68, A 13—A 17) or condensed to a very small disk, scarcely more than a ridge around the bottom of the pipe head, while the rim takes over the function of the bowl (C 69—C 78). These cuplike pipes correspond to Saraçhane Type XIII, which Hayes considers a late 19th-century type in Istanbul. They are not represented in the Agora or the Kerameikos, but the Hellene painted by Scherer in 1840 smokes just such a pipe (Pl. 46:c).

Another small group not found at the Agora or the Kerameikos has a rounded bowl with high relief decoration and a segmented shank ending (C 79—C 82); C 83, with high relief lozenges around the bowl and a gadrooned shank ending, forms a bridge from the latter group to a collection of pipes with gadrooned shank endings, many with the keel

<sup>44</sup> Walker, p. 24: Polish green-glazed and yellow-glazed pipes.

<sup>45</sup> Hayes, p. 5; cf. Stančeva, “Varna,” pp. 88–89, figs. 10, 13.

<sup>46</sup> Raban, pp. 151–152.

flattened into a squared-off foot under the bowl (C 83—C 85, C 92, A 18, A 26).<sup>47</sup> C 84, C 85, and A 18 are nearly identical pipes, with minor variations of the treatment of the lip or the finishing of the keel. The decorative stamps used on C 84 are the same as those of C 86; C 86 is from a pipe of the same shape as C 87, a fine pipe with much gilding. C 84—C 87 all have squared feet beneath their bowls, as does C 92; C 90—C 92 are all condensed bowls with high rims and fine decoration and made of true red clay.

C 93—C 100 and A 19—A 21 belong to a particular group of pipes called at Saraçhane, Type X and in Varna, Type I.<sup>48</sup> This group usually has a straight, faceted rim, a paneled or a spirally fluted bowl, and a heavy shank with a simple, faceted termination; it is characterized by a distinctive seal in a half-moon shape, often repeated several times on shank and bowl. The Corinth examples are true to type and have the seal; the Agora examples are all a little out of the norm and lack the seal. A 20 is the only example in Athens or Corinth of a variant common in Bulgaria, Romania, and Russia: of coarse clay, it is decorated with fringed ovals and one large leaf stamp. A 21, equal in quality to the best of the monogrammed pipes of the group, has carved ovals in high relief around the bowl; rim and shank are canonical. The pipes of this group are usually made of smooth, yellowish clay, but C 96 and C 97 have been given a red slip, and C 96 has gilding as well. C 100 is a strange, flat-bottomed, tub-shaped pipe, but the seal beneath the end of the shank seems to be the familiar half-moon-shaped seal of this last group; the pipe recalls some of the European clays referred to in footnote 9 above.

C 92, C 101—C 108 and A 22—A 27 are large pipes whose bowls have been compressed to a wide disk; the rim serves the function of the bowl and sits on the disk like a cup on a saucer. C 92 has a cylindrical rim but like A 22 and A 26 (and Kerameikos no. 42, TP 31) its disk is molded in petal form.<sup>49</sup> C 101, C 102, C 104, C 105, C 107, and C 108 all have flaring rims and undecorated disks; the disk of C 102 is notched along the edge. C 107 and C 108 are late varieties, with thick walls and rather small disks. All the wide disk-based pipes from Corinth have squared feet beneath the base; of the Agora pipes, A 23—A 26 have the squared flat foot. The petal-formed A 22 has a keel as has the Kerameikos

<sup>47</sup> Corinth C 110 and C 112 and Agora A 28 also have gadrooned shank ends but are lily-shaped pipes. Agora A 26 has a large gadrooned swelling at shank end; it is of a disk-based style, as is Corinth C 92.

<sup>48</sup> Saraçhane Type X: Hayes, p. 7.

Varna Type I: Stančeva, "Varna," pp. 83–84, figs. 7–10.

Over 40 examples are recorded in the Varna Museum, 12 of them with the characteristic signature stamp, and several variants. In Istanbul the type occurs even more frequently: over 74 examples were noted in the Saraçhane excavations and more than 60 at Kalenderhane, as well as several in the 1963 excavations of the Topkapi Palace First Courtyard. Examples have been found in Romania, notably in Tulcea and Bucharest, and even as far away as Russia.

Where this type was made is problematical, but perhaps there is something to be said in favor of a center other than Istanbul, as the seals appear to be imitations of Arabic, rather than readable names. Stančeva (*loc. cit.*) believes the pipes originate in Varna, and she may be right. The coarser version, with fringed ovals and the leaf stamp, like Agora A 19, does not occur in Corinth and is very common in the north, in Bulgaria, Romania, and Russia. Cf. R. L. Rosenfeldt, *Archeologia USSR*, Moscow 1968, pp. 56–57, pl. VII; Stančeva, "Varna," pp. 84–85, figs. 8, 9; *Bucureștii de Odinioară*, I. Ionașcu, ed., Bucharest 1959, pls. LXVIII:1, 2 and CII:3.

<sup>49</sup> Stančeva suggests that there is a whole group of pipes imitating flower forms (Stančeva, "Bulgarie," p. 131, figs. 5–9; "Varna," p. 91, figs. 16, 17); this type is intended to represent the jonquil. I find this the least convincing of Stančeva's suggestions.

petal-formed pipe. **A 26**, with petal-formed disk and gadrooned shank end, belongs with **C 92**. **A 27**, with flaring walls and flat bottom, is a larger, red-slipped version of **C 76**. **A 24** is interesting in being the only deliberately black clay pipe in either the Agora or Corinth. In the Kerameikos, nos. 40 and 51 (TP 28 and 47) are black, and black is found in collections of especially fine pipes. The Tophane pipemakers achieved a superb effect with black resembling fine laquer.<sup>50</sup> These disk-based pipes correspond to Saraçhane Type VII, dated in the 19th century.

A splendid example of a disk-based pipe, far more magnificent than any of the fragments preserved in the Kerameikos, the Agora, or Corinth collections, is the chibouk said to have belonged to Ali Pasha, in the War Museum in Athens (Pls. 44:c, 45). The pipe may possibly date later in the 19th century than 1822, the year of Ali Pasha's death. It is large, ruby red, and decorated with both gold and silver. I have been told that the seal on the bottom can be read as "Istanbul". The flower stamps on the petals of the shank end and the star and crescent on the rim are latecomers in the repertory of stamps and seem to imply increasing touristic trade. The pipe shows no sign of having been smoked.

The final form of the chibouk bowl is the lily-shaped pipe, corresponding to Saraçhane Type VIII, dated late 19th century. It is represented in Corinth by **C 109—C 123**, in the Agora by **A 28—A 38**. This type was considered new at the midpoint of the 19th century and began then to replace gradually the cup-and-saucer type.<sup>51</sup> It is interesting that the total number of lily pipes and pipe fragments in Corinth is so much smaller than in Athens. Including uninventoried fragments, Corinth has 17 lily-shaped in its grand total of 248 pipes; among the 63 Kerameikos pipes are 15 lilies; and the Agora, with 22 uninventoried lilies, has altogether 32 lily-shaped pipes in a total of 85 pipes and pipe fragments. This is of course explained by the fact that the town of Corinth was moved from its age-old site after the earthquake of 1858 and was resettled on the present site of New Corinth, leaving the old site largely uninhabited just as the new pipe fashion was being introduced.

With the lily-shaped pipe there is often a decorative division of the pipe head into front, back, and sides, which is only seldom found in pipes of disk-based or rounded-bowl types (**C 13** and **C 98** are two of the infrequent exceptions). The keel lengthens and curves up the front of the bowl, separating it into right and left sides (right and left refer to the smoker's right and left, with the pipe in smoking position, shank toward the smoker). **C 109**, **C 111—C 114** illustrate this, as do **A 28—A 30**. **C 110—C 112** and **A 28** all have gadrooned shank ends. **C 115**, **C 116** and **A 31** are lily-shaped pipes with a particular form of decoration known as "peacock feather", in which overlapped impressions of rayed-dot stamps cover the entire surface except the carefully reserved areas which form the pattern. The "peacock feather" pipe is found frequently in Varna, but many examples occur in Istanbul as well.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Corinth **C 11** might be called black but is really dark gray. **C 136** is black but of treated meerschaum. The black color for clay pipes is considered to be highly desirable. It is achieved by firing. Kocabas (p. 13) says that the color was attained by "treating each article with straw smoke after the ornamentations were completed" which I take to mean, firing in a reducing atmosphere. In the Collection of Islamic Glass and Porcelain of the Topkapi Palace Museum, an entire case is devoted to the black wares of the Tophane masters.

<sup>51</sup> Hayes, p. 7; Fairholt, *op. cit.* (footnote 43 above), p. 207.

<sup>52</sup> Stančeva, "Varna," pp. 89, 90, figs. 15, 23 lower left. The "peacock feather" pipes belong to Stančeva's Varna Type IV. "Peacock feather" pipes are found all over the Ottoman Empire, although not in large

The two most usual shank endings for lily-shaped pipes are a flaring socket with flat or slightly convex termination (as in **C 115—C 117**, **C 119**, **C 121** and **A 31**, **A 32**, **A 37**, **A 38**; this is also found on disk-based pipes such as **C 106—C 108** and **A 23**, **A 24**) and a straight shank with a wide, heavy, convex flange at the end, pressed into concave facets around the edge and with an indented arc above each facet, as though the facets had been made by the pressure of a finger end, the nail leaving its mark as well. This is clear on **C 122—C 124** and **A 34—A 36**.<sup>53</sup>

**C 123** and **A 36** (like Kerameikos no. 54, TP 61) are lily-shaped pipes with faceted bowls. These are not numerous in Greece but are common in Bulgaria: in Sofia, Varna, and Veliko Tirnovo. They may be a lily variant which originates in one of the Bulgarian pipe-making centers. Other lily variants are **C 124**, **C 125** and **A 39—A 42**. **A 41** and **A 42** are duplicates in every detail; the others are all individual combinations of elements, not representative of the standard. The standard late lily pipe of the early 20th century is the thick-walled, undecorated, unburnished, brick-red pipe with heavy, angular keel (**C 119**, **C 120**, **A 37**).

The last in the catalogue of Corinth clay pipes, **C 126**, is like none of the others. It is covered with what appears to be pale pink enamel paint, and its shape is unusual. The shank ends in a wreath and a beveled stepped ring termination like those of **C 14—C 16**, but the opening is much larger than theirs. It may be an effort to imitate a meerschaum pipe in clay.

#### THE MEERSCHAUMS

A few pipes stand apart among the clay chibouk bowls in Corinth and Athens. They look at first like white clay pipes (most are in the Munsell range 10YR 8/1 to 8/2), but they are very light, and they float in water. Their shapes, on the whole, are not those of the red-clay *lüle*. They are of meerschaum, yet they do not resemble the familiar Turk's or lion's heads or the bird's claws of the tobacco and tourist shops. These are more modest pipes, with carved decoration in very low relief.

Meerschaum is a hydrous silicate of magnesia which occurs in irregular lumps or nodules in alluvial deposits of red earth. The best and largest deposits are in the plain of Eskişehir in Turkey, but there are others: Tanzania today produces commercial meerschaum in considerable quantity, and the mineral is recorded as existing in Greece at Thebes, Euboea, and Samos. The Turkish meerschaum, still the world's best, has been worked for many centuries<sup>54</sup> and made into cups, boxes, incense burners, and assorted small objects; it

---

numbers. In Bulgaria, at Burgas and Varna, they occur in slightly larger quantities than elsewhere: at least 18 examples are known in Varna. These, as well as the few from the Kalenderhane excavations in Istanbul, occur in 19th-century contexts. The dark-red clay and rather heavy forms do not look like the best Tophane ware, and it is quite possible that the "peacock feather" form of the lily-shaped pipe originated outside the capital, perhaps in Varna, as Stančeva believes.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. examples from Sofia and Varna: Stančeva and Medarova, p. 5, fig. 1; and Stančeva, "Varna," p. 83, fig. 3.

<sup>54</sup> The mines of Eskişehir were first exploited by the Romans. According to Vital Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie, Géographie administrative* IV, Paris 1894, pp. 20–27) at the end of the 19th century they were being worked in the same way, and when I visited the mines in 1981 the same methods and the same hand tools were still in use. Cuinet's report gives a full and precise description of the mining, grading, and marketing of the mineral, which is still valid today except for a few matters of detail. Prices have changed, certainly, and also

was a familiar medium when pipe smoking was introduced into Turkey, and its adaptation to pipe bowls was a natural step. The white color of the mineral may even have suggested the white clay of western pipes.

All the histories of meerschaum pipes begin in Vienna and work backward to the introduction of meerschaum to the West. There are various stories of how this happened, giving different dates for the great moment. The most popular version puts it at 1723, but 1683 and 1652 are strong contenders. All agree that meerschaum came from the East to the West and that carving of pipes from it began thereafter.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, in the East, in Greece, meerschaum was already being carved into pipe bowls by the middle of the 17th century.

Evliya Çelebi, a Turkish gentleman traveler, journeyed through Greece in 1668, and among other points of interest he visited the meerschaum quarries at Thebes. He reported “. . . of this white stone they make chibouk bowls, which they carve very beautifully. . . . they also make various vases, incense-burners and carved cups, which, when they work them with yellow wax, appear to be gold; when they are polished with butter they become hard as stone.”<sup>56</sup> Wheler visited Thebes in 1675 and recorded that their guide

. . . carried us a little way out of the Town, towards the way of Negropont; and showed us a Hill where they dig a kind of stone they make Bowls for Tabaco-pipes of. The Stone, when 'tis first dig'd out of a deep Pit, is of the colour of new Cheese, and almost as soft, being in lumps ordinarily as big as a Man's two fists. This they bring to the Town, and carve very curiously into Bowls of Pipes; which, as soon as it is dry, groweth very hard, as white as Snow, and shining. The best are sold for *Ten Aspers* apiece, and the worsor sort for *Five Aspers*. The best, and least apt to break, are those which are heaviest: Some of them I bought, and do reserve among my natural curiosities. This Hill I guess to be that called *Ismenius Collis*; and hath the little River running by the East-side of it.<sup>57</sup>

Between 1700 and 1702, the French botanist Tournefort records the Theban meerschaums, writing as one to whom meerschaum is still an unfamiliar marvel: “The bowls of their pipes are larger and more commodious than ours. Those of Negrepoint and of Thebes are of a natural earth which one carves with a knife as it leaves the quarry, and which hardens afterward.”<sup>58</sup> When Hobhouse, on his journey in 1809–1810, visited Thebes armed with Wheler's volumes as today one carries the *Blue Guide*, he followed Wheler's route exactly but saw no one, nor any trace of industry.<sup>59</sup> The “Theban stone” had already been worked out.

In a sense, it is correct to say that the first carved meerschaums were made in the West, for the sculptured shapes of the 18th- and 19th-century Viennese pipes must be very far from the products of the Theban shops. The pipes that Wheler calls “curiously carved” were probably very like some of these from Athens and Corinth, which may in fact have come originally from Thebes. If this is so, they should date no later than the 18th century. The

the grading of the meerschaum has become more intricate. Cuinet remarked four grades according to size; today the miners sort the lumps into five categories according to quality, and each of these categories is divided later into twelve classes on the basis of size, color, porosity, etc.

<sup>55</sup> Rapaport, pp. 49–51. The earliest preserved European meerschaums are Austro-Hungarian, and their shapes are derived from the Turkish chibouk, as the authorities agree. The early European meerschaums do not, however, resemble clay chibouks as closely as they resemble the meerschaums here presented.

<sup>56</sup> Yannopoulos, *loc. cit.* (footnote 13 above). The translation from Greek is my own.

<sup>57</sup> G. Wheler, *A Journey into Greece*, IV, London 1682, p. 332.

<sup>58</sup> Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage au Levant*, Paris 1717, Letters XIII–XIV, p. 101.

<sup>59</sup> J. C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania, and other provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the years 1809 and 1810*, Philadelphia 1817, pp. 234–235.

smaller pipes (C 127—C 129, A 43) are the earlier, for in meerschaum as in clay, pipes were small while tobacco was scarce. There was as yet no tradition of the virtues of the material from the smoker's point of view; it was enough that it was heat resistant and could be shaped.<sup>60</sup> The little pipes C 127 and A 43 reflect Western clay pipes in their shapes, and the decoration along the central line of the pipe from the rim down and under the bowl may echo the seam of a moldmade white-clay pipe.<sup>61</sup> But already a unique form of decoration is developing. The decorative motifs on the two pipes all reappear in larger and more elaborate examples, as though the smaller pipes had established the repertory: compass-drawn circles, rosettes, squidlike volutes, spiraling vines. C 128 and C 129 are clearly copied from clay chibouk bowls: C 128 is of the type of C 3, with straight rim, small rounded bowl, and a keel; seals and patterns are impressed on the soft stone of rim and bowl just as though it were clay. C 129 is a simple pipe with sacklike shape and a keel, possibly similar to C 29. It was not a success: the walls were too thin for the material (meerschaum pipes must have fairly thick walls), and a hole, possibly caused by a flaw in the stone, has opened in the bowl; this must have been a "five-asper" pipe.

A 44, like C 128, has stamped decoration on the rim in the technique of clay chibouk bowls, as well as compass-drawn and carved circles on the bowl; a little round reinforcement has been left beneath the bowl where the pipe would rest. C 130 has the same decorative scheme as C 127 but is much larger. C 132 and C 133 have a capacious sack shape and very thick walls; the decoration covers the entire bowl now but still in patterns of concentric circles and volutes, to which a winglike element has been added.<sup>62</sup> C 134 has the same shape, but the decoration is confined to a circular device on each side, in which a rosette like that of C 127 is enclosed within a wheel of wing pattern. C 135 and C 136, while keeping the same shank as C 130, C 132, and C 133, have bowls with broad, almost flat bottoms and straight walls which join the bottom in an angle rather than a curve. These begin to have the shape of several European meerschaum classes.<sup>63</sup> C 136 is unusual in being black.<sup>64</sup> The last, C 137, while having a rounded bowl with a relieving circle at its resting point, has a shank which joins the bowl quite differently from the preceding pipes and terminates in a

<sup>60</sup> Wheler's remark that the heavier pipes are the better is the opposite of today's ideas: lightest weight for the size is considered best, because it is more porous and will give a better "smoke". Wheler was thinking in terms of durability, that thicker pipes will not break so readily, and in this he was quite right; witness C 129.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. a clay pipe from Varna (Stančeva, "Varna," p. 82, fig. 1 right) which seems to be the kind of pipe the meerschaum carvers had in mind when they made C 127 and A 43.

<sup>62</sup> I have seen meerschaums like this only at Mangalia, Romania, in the Museum of Curiosities (Colecția de Curiosități Mercurios, under the Museum of National History and Archaeology of Costanza). There, in a large collection of pipes including meerschaums of all shapes and sizes, I noted one or two examples of the same shape as C 132 and C 133, one even with the same sort of carved decoration.

<sup>63</sup> Rapaport, figs. on pp. 51, 54, 55, 57.

<sup>64</sup> An uninventoried shank of another black meerschaum pipe, from Agora Southwest, is in context lot 1240. The fact that two of the 17 known fragments of meerschaums from Corinth and Athens are black indicates that the black form had a certain popularity. I have not discovered what treatment was used to produce the shiny black surface. There are trade secrets today, as there were in the 17th century, for the coloring of new meerschaum. Evliya's report of a yellow wax treatment that made the meerschaum look like gold is probably the earliest hint of them. Today a variety of waxes can be used in finishing pipes, beeswax being preferred by purists, but usually the coloring of the pipe is achieved through long and careful smoking. One contemporary pipemaker in Turkey claims (in a letter to the editor, Tom Dunn, *Pipemaker's Ephemeris*, Winter 1976, p. 18) to bake a deep brown color into his meerschaums, so that they cannot be distinguished from briars!

very precise molding, as though the pipe were to have a metal fitting, as was common with 19th-century meerschaums.<sup>65</sup> The decoration, still made up of circles, volutes, and wings, is confined to the front and bottom of the bowl. The shape of this pipe is that of the Kalmach, a Hungarian shape commonly used for meerschaums and woods and supposed to have been derived from a chibouk.<sup>66</sup>

In these meerschaum pipes from Corinth and from the Agora we may well have products of the Theban meerschaum of the 17th and early 18th century, and it may be that pipes like these, carried westward by Wheler and others, sparked the European meerschaum industry.

<sup>65</sup> Rapaport, p. 53.

<sup>66</sup> *Idem*, p. 97 and lower figure on p. 96.

## CATALOGUE

All dimensions are in meters. All photographs on Plates 47–64 are at 1:1. Abbreviations used: L. = Length; H. = Height; W. = Width; D. = Diameter; P.(p.) = Preserved; Max. (max.) = maximum; dim. = dimension. Clay colors are described according to the Munsell Soil Color Chart (Kollmorgan Corporation, Baltimore, 1975). Most pipes show signs of slight or heavy use; a few appear never to have been smoked.

## CORINTH

Findspots from which come great numbers of pipes are indicated on the plan Fig. 2. Several findspots mentioned in the catalogue but not named on the plan are from the early years of the excavations, in areas imprecisely defined and at levels which were not recorded. The following list may help to indicate their approximate locations:

- Agora Northeast = South of and above the level of the Fountain of Peirene.  
 Agora Northwest = Northwest part of the Roman Forum.  
 Agora Southeast = Area around the southeast corner of the Roman Forum.  
 Agora Southwest = Area to south and southwest of the western half of the South Stoa (see Fig. 1).  
 Justinian's Wall = Late antique fortification wall about 1350 meters due east of the Roman Forum.  
 Lechaion Road Area = Between the east flank of Temple Hill and the rising ground further east.  
 New Museum, East = The area under and east of the east wing of the Museum.  
 North of School = Area south of the east half of the South Stoa.  
 Oakley House South = An area lying 150–250 meters west of the Museum.  
 St. John's [church] = Area around and below a late Byzantine church at the northwest corner of the Roman Forum.  
 Southeast Stoa = A north-south colonnade on the west front of the Southeast Building, at the east side of the Forum.  
 South Stoa West = Area over the western half of the South Stoa.

## THE CLAYS

- C 1.** MF-2896 Pl. 47 shank opening 0.007. Temple Hill. Rim missing; shank end chipped. Light brown (7.5YR 6/4) clay, light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) slip. Small pipe with cylindrical rim, shell-shaped bowl; shank emerges from side of bowl, has wreath and stepped-ring termination. Single band of impressed reverse-S around shank, double band around wreath (cf. Stančeva, "Bulgarie," p. 134, fig. 15 top).  
 P.L. 0.032, p.H. 0.022, max. D. bowl 0.028, D. rim at break 0.02. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Rim and shank missing. White (10YR 8/2) clay. Small pipe with cylindrical rim; shank emerges from side of paneled bowl. Bowl has angular shoulder with gouged pattern; hatched triangles on panels of sides; stamped circle where panels meet on bottom of bowl; circles on stub of shank.  
 17th century.  
 Like **C 1**, **C 2** belongs to Hayes' Saraçhane Type III. It is a widespread type, for examples have been found in Sofia (Historical Museum MUC-A-1224) as well as in Greece and Istanbul.
- C 2.** MF-1978-99 Pl. 47 L. 0.054, p.H. 0.012, max. D. bowl 0.03, D. **C 3.** MF-6347 Pl. 47 L. 0.015, p.H. bowl 0.02, D. bowl 0.033, D.

<sup>67</sup> Stančeva and Medarova, p. 6, fig. 2 lower left (MUC-PΦA-572).

shank opening 0.008. Agora Northeast. Rim missing. Reddish brown (5YR 5/3) to dark gray (5YR 4/1) clay and slip, burnished. Shallow rounded bowl; shank forms keel beneath bowl, has wreath and stepped-ring termination. Impressed leaf pattern on shoulder; rouletting in diagonal lines on wreath and outlining keel; line of larger rouletting along center of keel, like a slide-fastener or "zipper".

Late 17th to early 18th century.

Cf. Kerameikos no. 11 (TP 36), which closely resembles **C 3** except in color. Both belong to Hayes' *Sarāḥane* Types IV and V (IV is gray ware, V the red-ware version). The "zipper" along the keel is a decorative feature which occurs on many of but by no means all the Type IV and V pipes; it occurs also on some of the *Sarāḥane* Type XXIV and XXVI pipes. It is found only on pipes that combine a developed keel and a stepped-ring shank termination. Pipes like **C 3** had a wide popularity; they are found in Istanbul, in Romania at Babadag and at Tulcea, as well as in Greece. The type may also have had a very long life. I was told in Babadag that pipes of this style were still being made there in the 1920's.

- C 4.** MF-2379 Pl. 47  
 L. 0.05, p.H. ca. 0.03, D. shank opening 0.012. Justinian's Wall. Most of rim broken away; shank chipped. Pinkish gray (7.5YR 6/2) clay, dark reddish gray (10R 3/1) slip. High straight rim, rounded bowl, developed keel; shank flares to simple end, slightly convex termination. Faint impressed decoration on shoulder and on rim (?); grooves outline keel; a diagonal groove on rim. Decoration appears to have been made in the mold; seam of two-part mold faintly visible. Late 17th to early 18th century.

Fragments of three pipes of similar shape, decoration, and fabric have been found in Corinth on Temple Hill (context lot 72-278). I have seen no examples of the fabric in Athens, but there are a few in Istanbul: two from Kalenderhane (in 18th-century contexts) and perhaps five from *Sarāḥane* (where they are included in Type IV). The same fabric occurs in two Corinthian examples of a different shape, both from Temple Hill (see **C 5**). The unusual greenish gray clay of most of these pipes and the

purplish slip give at first glance a "Corinthian" appearance. The rather large number found in Corinth, compared to the relatively small number elsewhere, suggest that this may be a local Corinthian product.

- C 5.** MF-1978-98 Pl. 47  
 L. 0.052, p.H. at bowl 0.027, max. D. bowl 0.029, D. shank opening 0.009. Temple Hill. Rim broken away; shank end chipped. White (10YR 8/2) clay, pinkish gray to reddish gray (5YR 5/2 to 6/2) slip. Sacklike bowl from which shank projects without keel. Shank flares slightly to simple termination. Small rosette stamped on each side and on center front; grooves around shank end. 17th to 18th century.

A similar uninventoried pipe from Temple Hill (context lot 1978-287) has a panel of dots on center front as sole decoration. These two sack-shaped pipes are of the same fabric as **C 4** and, like it, may represent the work of a Corinthian pipemaker. The shape recalls early meerschaums: cf. **C 132** and **C 137**.

- C 6.** MF-11431 Pl. 47  
 P.L. 0.051, p.H. 0.03, D. shank opening 0.009. Agora Southwest. Rim and over half of bowl missing. Light brown (7.5YR 6/4) clay, dark green transparent glaze applied directly to clay. Small pipe with shank protruding at right angle from side of bowl. Wreath and stepped-ring termination at shank end. Decoration of horizontal grooves around rim, vertical scoring on bowl, and angled slashes on wreath is entirely moldmade. 17th to 18th century.

Glazed pipes are not common in Greece nor indeed anywhere in the Ottoman Empire; the four here presented (**C 6**—**C 9**) from Corinth and one in the Kerameikos (no. 3, TP 3) are the only examples I have seen. They may be a local Corinthian product, perhaps from a single potter's shop. They give the impression of being a potter's sideline rather than the work of a master pipemaker. Pipes with green and yellow glaze do occur, however, in the late 17th century in Poland;<sup>68</sup> perhaps these glazed pipes are imported.

<sup>68</sup> Walker, p. 24.

**C 7.** MF-11420 Pl. 47  
L. 0.054, H. 0.038, D. shank opening 0.008. Agora Southwest. Part of rim and bowl missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, green glaze. Nearly identical to **C 6**.  
17th to 18th century.

**C 8.** MF-10261 Pl. 47  
P.L. 0.045, p.H. 0.022, D. shank opening 0.007. Agora Southwest. Rim broken away; glaze worn. Reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) clay, transparent yellow glaze. Shape and decoration as **C 7** but bowl shorter.  
17th to 18th century.  
Cf. yellow-glazed Kerameikos no. 3 (TP 3).

**C 9.** MF-8283 Pl. 47  
L. 0.05, H. 0.035, D. shank opening *ca.* 0.01. St. John's. Part of rim and bowl, upper part of shank missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 7/6) clay, dark green glaze. Small pipe with shank nearly at right angle to bowl; slightly outturned rim, sack-shaped bowl, simple swelling at shank end. Moldmade floral(?) or scale(?) relief decoration on bowl.  
17th to 18th century.

**C 10.** MF-11120 Pl. 48  
P.L. 0.048, p.H. 0.035. Agora Southwest. Most of shank missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/8) slip. Forward-tilted, sack-shaped bowl, flat on bottom; rim thickened forward so that front of pipe curves outward into a lip while back remains nearly straight. Slender, faceted shank with bulge close to bowl.  
18th century.

This pipe was found built into the wall of a Turkish house destroyed probably in 1858; the pipe must have been discarded well before the wall was built. The forward lean of the bowl may echo early English and Dutch pipes, but more probably the shape is related to the red-clay pipes of Hungary. Similar pipes have been found on Temple Hill (context lot 1978-287), one of which has the shank preserved; this shows that two shanks from Agora Southwest (context lot 1240) and one from the Athenian Agora (**A 7**) are from the same kind of pipe. Another

example is Kerameikos no. 2 (TP 2). These few examples from Greece are vastly outnumbered by the quantities found in Bulgaria, where over 20 have been found in Sofia alone. In Kyustendil, southwest of Sofia, this is the predominant pipe, as I was told at the Historical Museum of Sofia, and it may well originate there.<sup>69</sup>

**C 11.** MF-11381 Pl. 48  
P.L. 0.032, H. 0.036, D. rim 0.02, D. bowl *ca.* 0.03. Agora Southwest. Shank missing. Gray to black (7.5YR 5/0-4/0-3/0-2/0) clay and slip, burnished. High cylindrical rim, shallow biconical bowl, molding where rim joins bowl. Rouletting outlines keel; minute, sharply stamped patterns around top and bottom of rim and on upper surface of bowl. Oval seal on bottom of bowl.  
Early 18th century.

Makers' seals rarely occur before the 18th century but are almost universal by the 19th century. Hayes reports that they sometimes occur on Saraçhane pipes of 18th-century Types V, VI, and XXII. **C 11** seems to me to belong with Saraçhane Type XXVI, which is dated 17th to 18th century but does not have makers' stamps. **C 11** was found in the demolition of a Turkish house, together with a similar pipe (context lot 1246, #4) that preserves the shank, which has wreath and stepped-ring termination. An almost identical pipe in white clay is in the Historical Museum at Sofia, MUC-A-2519. Cf. also **C 12** and **C 13**. These may be the early form of the disk-based pipe so popular in the 19th century; they may also be the sort of pipe shown in early 18th-century drawings such as Van Mour's (Pl. 37).

**C 12.** MF-75-84 Pl. 48  
P.L. 0.045, p.H. *ca.* 0.023, D. bowl or base 0.034. Temple Hill. Rim and shank missing; chipped. Hard, red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (2.5YR 4/6) slip, burnished. Condensed bowl with slightly concave shoulder; slender shank with bulge close to bowl; keel modified to a squared, concave foot. Rich rouletted, stamped, and incised decoration on upper surface of bowl; band of brackets around shank stub; foot outlined with rouletting and decorated with five stamped circles. Small seal on left side of shank close to bowl.

<sup>69</sup> Debrecen in Hungary was the chief Central European center of red-clay pipes in the 18th and early 19th centuries (Rapaport, pp. 23, 25). For the Bulgarian pipes see Stančeva and Medarova, p. 7, fig. 3:b.

Early 18th century.

From the remains of Turkish houses at the west end of Temple Hill. Four uninventoried pipes of similar type, with rich decoration on the upper surface of the flattened bowl, came from the same area (context lot 1978-287). Three preserve the shank opening, which is in each case small: 0.008. Three have shallow keels, but one has a flat squared foot. Modification of the keel is not frequent until late in the 18th century, and the concave foot of **C 12** is not a common form; the only other examples I know are a pair of later pipes of different type in the Athenian Agora, **A 41** and **A 42**. Squared flat feet with decoration are occasionally found on variously shaped pipes, e.g. Kerameikos no. 21 (TP 16) and Corinth **C 84**, **C 85**, and **C 92**. **C 12** appears to belong to Hayes' Saraçhane Type VI, which is found in 18th-century contexts. **C 11**—**C 13** seem to me to be closely related shapes. All have makers' seals, which are rare before the 18th century, but all belong early in the century.

**C 13.** MF-74-115 Pl. 48

L. 0.057, H. 0.045, D. shank opening 0.01. Temple Hill. Most of lip, one third of rim missing; bowl chipped. Red (2.5YR 4/6) clay, strong brown (7.5YR 4/6) slip, burnished. High cylindrical rim with small molding where it joins shallow biconical bowl. Slightly flattened keel; shank ends in small molding below biconical wreath and slightly convex termination. Rouletting outlining keel and on small moldings; on center front of rim a large triangle of impressed quatrefoil lozenges;<sup>70</sup> on outer face of shank end a band of stamped leaves. Very small seal in shape of ivy leaf on shank.

18th century.

A shank end of this biconical shape, with outer surface decorated, although on a pipe with a different bowl, comes from the Sharm-el-Sheikh wreck and can be dated to the second quarter of the 18th century.<sup>71</sup> Cf. also **C 15**. The straight rim and condensed bowl of **C 13** are similar to later pipes **C 70** and **C 71**, although the shank is quite different and

the proportions in general slender; perhaps these are earlier and later phases of one type?

**C 14.** MF-10985 Pl. 48

L. 0.06, H. 0.04, D. shank opening 0.008. Agora Southwest. Large piece missing from rim. Fine, gray (10YR 6/1 to 7/1) clay, no apparent slip. Thick-walled pipe; straight inward-sloping rim set off only by decoration from rounded bowl; straight shank with wreath, stepped-ring termination. Deeply impressed decoration around waist and on wreath at shank end; wide rouletted band of lattice pattern on otherwise nonexistent keel on bottom of bowl. Oval seal beneath shank close to bowl.

18th century.

One of a group of pipes, with **C 15** and **C 16**, all from Agora Southwest, all of the same thick, smooth gray fabric apparently without slip, with similar shapes and decoration, and all with the same maker's seal. No similar fabric or style exists anywhere else so far as I know. The entire group, including uninventoried fragments in context lots 1240, 1246, 1251, and 1551, is from a small area where a Turkish house was demolished. They occur only here, and so although they may be a Corinthian product, they may equally well represent the personal collection of the master of the house, who brought them from some source as yet unidentified. The wreath and stepped-ring termination of the shank is reminiscent of early pipes such as **C 3**, but these are large, handsome pipes, quite unlike the early pipes in appearance. The stepped ring seems very uniform; perhaps it was intended to receive a metal fitting?

**C 15.** MF-11142 Pl. 48

L. 0.06, H. 0.039, D. shank opening 0.009. Agora Southwest. Mended from two pieces; half of bowl missing; shank end chipped. Fine, gray (10YR 6/3 to 5/1) clay. Shape as **C 14**, except that shank ends in biconical rather than rounded wreath. Around waist a band of lattice pattern, above and below it an ogee stamp used to make triangular nets (cf. **C 88**). Bottom of bowl and seal as **C 14**.

18th century.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Stančeva and Medarova, p. 12, fig. 8 lower right.

<sup>71</sup> Raban, p. 152.

The biconical, decorated shank end recalls that of **C 13**. Although the biconical wreath occurs in this group of gray pipes, the rounded wreath like that of **C 14** appears to be more usual.

**C 16.** MF-11976 Pl. 48  
P.L. 0.04, p.H. 0.03. Agora Southwest. Rim and shank missing. Fabric, shape, decorative scheme, and seal as **C 14** and **C 15**.  
18th century.

The pointed-volute stamp used to decorate **C 16** is the same as that used to very different effect on **C 14**. The lattice roulette of all three pipes is the same. (Other stamps are used on some of the uninventoried examples; the group as a whole is not limited to the few stamps illustrated on **C 14**—**C 16**.)

**C 17.** MF-8686 Pl. 48  
L. 0.055, H. 0.03, D. shank opening 0.013. New Museum, East. Much of rim, large piece of shank end missing. Pink (7.5YR 7/4) clay, yellowish red (5YR 4/6) slip, beautifully burnished; traces of gilding. High, slightly convex rim set off by concave band from shallow rounded bowl. Simple ring at shank end. Single line of rouletting at joint of rim to bowl, bowl to shank, and shank to shank end. Gilding on waistband and on shank termination. Faint vertical burnishing marks on rim.  
18th century.

The shape, with band dividing rim from bowl, seems related to that of **C 23** and Kerameikos no. 18 (TP 35) and possibly also **C 13**. The simple ring shank termination occurs in Sarachane Types V and XXII (Type XXII is considered a variant of Types V and VI). **C 17**, **C 18** and **C 19** form a closely linked group of particularly lovely pipes, their fabric very hard and fine, their finish brought to a high gloss suggestive of polished mahogany or of a horsechestnut. The effect, to our modern eyes, of glowing wood is one of the hallmarks of the best Tophane pipes. Dr. N. Asgari at the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul pointed this out to me, and I observed it myself in the Tophane exhibits in the Topkapi Palace Museum. These three pipes must surely be Istanbul products. None of the three has a seal; evidently their maker felt that the quality of the pipes was signature enough.

**C 18.** MF-2364 Pl. 49  
L. 0.055, H. 0.036, D. shank opening 0.013. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Pieces missing from rim and shank end; right side surface destroyed. Light reddish brown (2.5YR 6/4) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, beautifully burnished. Shape and decoration as **C 17** but with slightly deeper bowl and no trace of gilding.  
18th century.

**C 19.** MF-8687 Pl. 49  
L. 0.054, H. 0.039, D. shank opening 0.012. New Museum, East. Half of rim missing, surface damaged. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, dusky red (10R 3/4) slip, beautifully burnished; traces of gilding. Shape and decoration as **C 18**, with slightly deeper bowl. Gilding on waistband and on ring at shank end; dots of gold on back of rim (toward the shank).  
18th century.

**C 20.** MF-8688 Pl. 49  
L. 0.054, H. 0.035, D. shank opening 0.012. New Museum, East. Left side of bowl, chip from rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/8) slip, highly burnished. High, straight, slightly inward-slanting rim set off from rounded bowl only by three grooves. Shank has simple ring termination; rouletting below ring and outlining keel.  
18th century.

A very fine pipe, beautifully made of thin, hard fabric and with a glossy finish. Although the grooves at the waist recall Kerameikos no. 17 (TP 25, a pipe with a bird seal), the simplicity, technical competence, and the form of its shank termination all put **C 20** with the foregoing three pipes.

**C 21.** MF-74-69 Pl. 49  
Max. p. dim. 0.036. Temple Hill. Only part of shank end preserved. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8) slip, burnished. Simple ring termination; single line of rouletting below ring. Seal on shank.  
18th century.

The ring termination is similar to the foregoing group **C 17**—**C 20**, but the fabric and the fact that there is a seal keep **C 21** apart.

**C 22.** MF-3826 Pl. 49  
L. 0.059, H. 0.033, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southeast. Chip missing from rim. Weak red (10R 4/4) clay and slip, burnished; gilding. Straight, slightly flaring rim; shallow rounded bowl; swelling at shank end. Around waist, bowl, and shank termination, a band of incised and impressed ornament; rouletting outlines keel. Gilding on rim, on ovals around bowl, and on shank termination.

18th century.

Pipes like this have been found at Alaca-Höyük and at Varna.<sup>72</sup> The deep red clay and gilding put **C 22** in a special luxury class with a very few other pipes of various types: cf. **C 51**, **C 88**—**C 92**. The pipe from Alaca-Höyük, while closely resembling **C 22**, also appears to be of the same shape as **C 18** and has the same shank termination as **C 18**. The simple swelling of the shank end of **C 22** is like those of **C 23** and **C 24**.

**C 23.** MF-10237 Pl. 49  
L. 0.053, p.H. 0.029. Agora Southwest. Rim, half of shank end missing. Red (2.5YR 4/6) clay and slip, burnished. Straight rim set off from condensed bowl by wide, almost flat band; shallow keel; short shank ending in swelling. Single line of rouletting below waistband, double line outlining keel. Seal in form of bird beneath shank.

Second half 18th century.

This pipe seems to belong to Hayes' Saraçhane Type XXII, which is dated to the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Similar pipes occur at Kalenderhane in 19th-century contexts and also at the excavations of the Topkapi Palace First Courtyard made in 1963. The shape and the bird seal put this pipe in Stančeva's Varna Type III.<sup>73</sup> Agora pipe **A 10** and Kerameikos no. 17 (TP 25) have the bird stamp; Agora **A 11** and Kerameikos no. 18 (TP 35), without the stamp, are yet of the same shape as **C 23**. Stančeva believes this type to be a Varna product, as 26 examples were found there. Corinth musters at most a dozen that can be considered as belonging to the

type, including uninventoried fragments, while Athens in the Agora and Kerameikos together has only four examples. The bird-stamped pipes may well originate in Varna.

**C 24.** MF-1978-61 Pl. 49  
P.L. 0.059, p.H. 0.026, D. shank opening 0.012. Temple Hill. Most of rim missing. Fine, red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (2.5YR 4/8) slip, burnished. Shape similar to **C 23**. Rouletting between rim and condensed bowl; shallow keel outlined by rouletting; short shank ending in swelling ornamented with impressed darts and lozenges. Seal on right side of shank.

Second half 18th century.

Seal is very small, may be same as that of **C 26** and of an uninventoried pipe from Temple Hill (context lot 72-189).

**C 25.** MF-1978-96 Pl. 49  
P.L. 0.056, p.H. ca. 0.027, D. shank opening 0.011. Temple Hill. Rim, three quarters of bowl missing. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (2.5YR 5/8) slip, burnished, worn. Shape as **C 23** and **C 24**. Rich stamped decoration of repeated rayed dots<sup>74</sup> around bowl and around swelling of shank end. Rouletting at joint of rim to bowl, bowl to shank, and shank to swelling at end. Seal enclosed in a circle on right side of shank.

Second half 18th century.

Decorative scheme resembles that of **C 26**.

**C 26.** MF-576 Pl. 49  
L. 0.056, p.H. 0.03, D. shank opening 0.009. No recorded findspot. Rim and part of shank missing. Fine, hard, reddish brown (5YR 5/4) clay, red (2.5YR 4/6) slip, burnished. Sacklike bowl; shallow keel; very short shank, swelling at end. Trace of straight rim with palmette; on shoulder of bowl and on swelling of shank, band of rouletting and band of repeated ovals, those on bowl larger than those on shank.<sup>75</sup> Seal on right side of shank.

Second half 18th century.

Seal, fabric, and decoration resemble those of an

<sup>72</sup> Remzi Oguz Arik, *Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük, Rapport préliminaire sur les travaux en 1935*, Ankara 1937, p. 33 and pl. VII: A, no. 197. Stančeva, "Varna," p. 94, fig. 22.

<sup>73</sup> Stančeva, "Varna," pp. 88–89, figs. 12 and 13.

<sup>74</sup> Stančeva and Medarova, p. 12, fig. 8 bottom row, second from left.

<sup>75</sup> Stančeva and Medarova, p. 11, fig. 7 bottom row, second from right.

uninventoried pipe from Temple Hill (context lot 72-189), although that pipe is in shape closer to **C 24**. The seals of these three pipes are all very small and may be the same monogram. The small shank opening and rich decoration of **C 26** may argue for an early place in the series. Its color, fabric, glossy finish, and delicate decoration resemble those of **C 50**.

**C 27.** MF-11948 Pl. 49  
P.L. 0.058, p.H. 0.026, D. shank opening *ca.* 0.014. Roman Bath. Rim, part of shank end missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6) clay, red (10R 4/8) slip, burnished. Rim set off from rounded bowl by two grooves; very short shank with swelling at end; rouletting above and below swelling and outlining shallow keel. Seal on right side of shank. Second half 18th century.

The shape of this pipe is the same as that of the bird-stamped pipes in the Agora (**A 10**) and the Kerameikos (no. 17, TP 25).

**C 28.** MF-11214 Pl. 50  
P.L. 0.054, H. 0.032, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Mended; most of rim and part of bowl missing; shank chipped. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/6) slip, burnished. Slightly flaring rim set off by two grooves from rounded bowl; short shank with swelling at end; shallow keel flattened and squared at front. Single line of rouletting around keel and above and below swelling at shank end. Seal on left side of shank. Second half 18th century.

Very like **C 27**, except for treatment of keel and the seal. The flattened, squared keel is not the norm for the Saraçhane XXII—Varna III group to which these pipes belong but does occur, although never on those pipes of the group which carry the bird stamp. Pipes with the bird stamp invariably have a shallow keel. The squared foot is more commonly found under disk-based pipes than rounded-bowl pipes. There are, however, other examples: cf. **C 84**, **C 85**, and **C 87**, and also Kerameikos no. 21 (TP 16).

**C 29.** MF-11203 Pl. 50  
P.L. 0.052, p.H. 0.026, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Rim missing, shank end chipped. Red (2.5YR 4/8) clay and slip. Sack-shaped bowl; very shallow keel; short shank with

swelling at end. Mold-formed grooves on shank end and on bottom of bowl, bordered by rouletted wedge marks. Seal on lower right side of shank. Second half 18th century.

In shape this pipe resembles **C 24** and **C 27**, but the decoration of the bowl recalls a different type: cf. **C 66—C 68**.

**C 30.** MF-10211 Pl. 50  
P.L. 0.046, p.H. 0.03, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Only shank and part of bowl remain. Reddish brown to yellowish red (5YR 5/4 to 5/6) clay and slip. Rounded bowl, trace of outturned rim; very short shank swollen at end. Wide zone of diagonal rouletted lines, bordered by rouletting, around bowl; single line of rouletting around shank swelling. Seal on left side of shank. Second half 18th century.

The exceptionally short, swollen shank puts this pipe close to the Saraçhane XXII—Varna III group, although the shape of the bowl does not belong there.

**C 31.** MF-11941 Pl. 50  
P.L. 0.046, H. 0.033, D. shank opening *ca.* 0.013. Agora Southwest. Most of rim, half of bowl, and half of shank end missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, burnished, worn. Low concave rim; hemispherical bowl; smooth shank flaring to simple ring termination. Around bowl, zone of impressed overlapped circles, bordered by double grooves; double groove around middle of shank; rouletting at joint of keel and bowl. Seal on right side of shank. Second half 18th century.

The shank of this pipe is like those of the group **C 17—C 19**; the shape and decorative scheme is closer to **C 30**.

**C 32.** MF-1059 Pl. 50  
P.L. 0.026, p.H. 0.038. No recorded findspot. Single fragment of bowl. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, slip fired unevenly from the color of the clay to red (2.5YR 4/8). From a pipe with a sack-shaped bowl and no keel, perhaps of a shape similar to **C 5**. Floral and other stamps arranged in vertical columns around bowl. 18th to 19th century.

**C 33.** MF-11944 Pl. 50  
 P.L. 0.059, H. 0.042, D. shank opening *ca.* 0.013. Roman Bath. Most of rim and upper part of shank missing. Fine, hard, light reddish brown (5YR 6/4) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8) slip, well burnished. High, slightly convex rim; rounded bowl; faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination. Petal form of bowl is carved, details indicated with incision and rouletting; surface textured with very fine vertical incision. Rouletting around keel; hatched triangles stamped between ends of shank facets; rayed dots on wreath. Seal on undersurface of shank.  
 18th to 19th century.

There is a pipe just like this one among the Sarachane pipes of Type V (which is provisionally dated 18th to 19th century); another has been found in a late 19th-century context at Kalenderhane; and a third comes from Burgas in Bulgaria (Burgas Museum, inv. no. 1680). I think there can be no doubt that these are the work of a single pipemaker, whose shop must have been in the Tophane district of Istanbul.

**C 34.** MF-70-232 Pl. 50  
 P.L. 0.048, H. 0.04. Temple Hill. Mended; shank and half of rim missing. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (10R 4/8) slip, burnished. High, straight rim; rounded gadrooned bowl; faceted shank. Two bands of impressed dotted lattice pattern on rim, rouletting around keel. Seal on right side of shank.  
 18th to 19th century.

The seal of **C 34** appears very like that of **C 70**.

**C 35.** MF-10206 Pl. 51  
 L. 0.061, p.H. 0.042, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Mended; shank and about half rim and bowl preserved. Fine, hard, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, fired gray at core; red (2.5YR 5/8) slip, beautifully burnished. Short, slightly convex rim, deep rounded gadrooned bowl. Faceted shank with wreath, convex scalloped termination with quill marks. Palmettes in angles of gadroons of bowl and of facets on shank. Rouletting along join of keel to bowl and around shank below wreath; rayed dots on wreath. Seal on left side of shank.  
 18th to 19th century.

The seal appears to be identical to that of **C 66**.

Although the seals of **C 35**, **C 36**, and **C 37** are similar to one another, they are not (as far as I can tell) identical. **C 35** is a very fine pipe, comparable in quality to **C 33** and **C 48**, and undoubtedly made in Istanbul.

**C 36.** MF-11947 Pl. 50  
 L. 0.06, H. 0.04, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Most of rim missing. Fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8) slip, well burnished; discolored here and there to pink (7.5YR 7/4). Shape and decorative scheme as **C 35**. The stamps in the angles of the shank facets are triangles enclosing floral forms; the rayed dots on the wreath are arranged in diagonal rows of three. Seal on left side of shank.  
 18th to 19th century.

**C 37.** MF-5142 Pl. 51  
 L. 0.062, H. 0.041, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Chip broken from front of rim. Pale brown (10YR 6/3) clay and slip, burnished. Shape and decoration as **C 36** except for different stamps: hatched triangles on bowl, palmettes on shank; and the rows of rayed dots on the wreath slant the opposite way. Seal on left side of shank.  
 18th to 19th century.

**C 38.** MF-11429 Pl. 51  
 P.L. 0.062, p.H. 0.035, D. shank opening 0.015. Agora Southwest. Rim and half of bowl missing. Creamy reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and (7.5YR 7/6) slip, burnished. Straight rim, deep gadrooned bowl; faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination with quill marks. Palmettes in angles between gadroons, hatched triangles between shank facets, rayed dots on wreath. Seal on left side of shank.  
 18th to 19th century.

While this pipe resembles **C 35**—**C 37** in shape, decoration, and color, the fabric is very different: it is smooth, thick, and creamy rather than thin and woodlike.

**C 39.** MF-2568 Pl. 51  
 P.L. 0.041, H. 0.04. No recorded findspot. Shank, much of rim missing; bowl chipped. Reddish brown to yellowish red (5YR 5/4 to 5/6) clay and slip, burnished. Straight short rim, deep rounded bowl, faceted shank. Entire bowl covered with vertical lines of rouletting, carefully applied.

18th to 19th century.

The thin fabric and careful workmanship of this pipe put it in the category of probable Tophane (Istanbul) products such as **C 35**, which in shape and proportions it much resembles. Cf. Kerameikos no. 26 (TP 20) and Agora **A 14**. The Agora example comes from a stratified deposit that is probably to be dated in the late 18th century.

**C 40.** MF-12566 Pl. 51  
P.L. 0.058, p.H. 0.029, D. shank opening 0.013. Roman Bath. Rim missing. Hard, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8) slip, burnished. Hemispherical bowl, smooth shank flaring to wreath and convex scalloped termination. Rouletted band at base of rim; bowl covered with carefully applied vertical lines of rouletting; rouletting outlines keel and circles shank below wreath. Rayed dots on wreath. Seal on right side of shank.  
18th to 19th century.

**C 41.** MF-12567 Pl. 51  
L. 0.055, H. 0.044, D. shank opening 0.014. Roman Bath. Half of rim missing, shank termination chipped. Fine, hard, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8) slip, burnished. High, slightly convex rim, hemispherical bowl, smooth shank flaring to convex termination. Decoration of bowl as **C 40**; no wreath, only a line of rouletting around shank end. Seal on left side of shank.  
18th to 19th century.

Cf. **A 14**. The high convex rim recalls **C 33** and **C 48**.

**C 42.** MF-11205 Pl. 51  
P.L. 0.057, p.H. *ca.* 0.022, D. shank opening 0.015. Agora Southwest. Most of rim missing, shank end chipped. Light reddish brown clay (5YR 6/3) fired unevenly to dark gray (5YR 4/1), burnished. Outcurved rim, hemispherical bowl; heavy, smooth shank with wreath, faceted termination. Vertical rouletting on bowl; rouletted line and rayed dots on shoulder; rouletting around keel and around shank below wreath; three rows of rayed dots on wreath. Seal on right side of shank.  
18th to 19th century.

The seals of pipes **C 40**—**C 42** are similar but not, I think, identical; the same is true of their decoration.

**C 43.** MF-2898 Pl. 51  
P.L. 0.054, p.H. 0.024, D. shank opening 0.014. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Rim, part of bowl missing. Pink to pinkish gray (7.5YR 7/4 to 6/2) clay and slip, burnished and smoke darkened. Hemispherical gadrooned bowl; smooth shank with undecorated wreath, notched (pseudo-scalloped) termination with wedge impressions instead of quill marks. Rouletting around keel and around shank below wreath. No seal.  
18th to 19th century.

**C 44.** MF-12568 Pl. 51  
P.L. 0.056, p.H. 0.025, D. shank opening 0.013. Roman Bath. Rim missing. Hard, yellowish red (5YR 5/6) clay and (5YR 5/8) slip, burnished. Smooth hemispherical bowl set off from rim and keel by rouletted line; smooth shank, undecorated wreath, convex scalloped termination. Seal, perhaps rosette rather than monogram, on left side of shank.  
18th to 19th century.

**C 45.** MF-74-68 Pl. 52  
Max. p. dim. 0.042, D. shank opening 0.014. Temple Hill. Only shank preserved. Light brown (5YR 6/4) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/6) slip, well burnished. Short smooth shank from a pipe with rounded bowl; undecorated wreath, plump scalloped termination with quill marks. Seal on left side.  
18th to 19th century.

**C 46.** MF-74-88 Pl. 52  
P.L. 0.052, p.H. *ca.* 0.032, max. p. dim. 0.052, D. shank opening *ca.* 0.015. Temple Hill. Most of bowl, part of shank missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6) clay and slip, burnished. Rounded bowl; smooth shank with narrow undecorated wreath, scalloped termination. Trace of band of dotted lozenges between borders of rouletting around shoulder of bowl. Seal on left side of shank.  
18th to 19th century.

Cf. **C 44**, **C 45**. Shanks **C 45** and **C 46** are related to the shank of an uninventoried pipe from the Baths of Aphrodite (context lot 549, #2) which has much of the bowl preserved: on each side of the bowl is a stamped ornament, probably a benedictory motto

and scroll, and on the right side of the shank is a seal, read by George Miles as SULEIMAN(?). Another fragment from the same lot 549 preserves a scrap of rim in the same fabric, with parts of two motto seals on the bowl. These two fragments have exact parallels in Istanbul in the Topkapi Palace First Courtyard excavations of 1963. The fragments, and by extension **C 45** and **C 46**, are most probably Istanbul products.

**C 47.** MF-11139 Pl. 52  
P.L. 0.048, p.H. *ca.* 0.032, D. shank opening 0.011. Oakley House South. Rim, most of bowl, large chip from shank end missing. Dark to very dark gray (2.5YR 4/0 to 3/0) clay, reddish brown (5YR 5/4) slip; apparently misfired. Hemispherical bowl; shank as **C 44** and **C 46**. Vertical lines, widely spaced, incised on bowl (cf. the petal decoration of **C 48**). Seal on left side of shank.  
18th to 19th century.

**C 48.** MF-11943 Pl. 52  
P.L. 0.048, H. 0.042. Roman Bath. Shank missing; rim chipped; worn. Fine, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, yellowish red (5YR 4/6) slip, highly burnished. High, slightly convex rim set off from rounded bowl by plain band between two grooves. Petals incised on bowl; pendent palmettes stamped in angles between tops of petals. Rouletting around keel. Seal on rim at back, above shank.  
18th to 19th century.

A fine pipe with the glossy finish of the Tophane master pipemakers, like **C 33** and **C 35**.

**C 49.** MF-10067 Pl. 52  
Max. p. dim. 0.026, D. shank opening 0.011. Baths of Aphrodite. Only shank end preserved. Red (2.5YR 4/6) micaceous clay and slip, burnished. Smooth shank with wreath, scalloped termination with quill marks. Rayed dots overlapped on wreath, band of rouletting below. Small heart-shaped seal.  
18th to 19th century.

**C 50.** MF-6133 Pl. 52  
L. 0.061, p.H. 0.032, D. shank opening 0.011. North of School. Rim missing. Red (2.5YR 4/6) clay and slip, hard and micaceous, highly burnished. Spherical bowl; sleek faceted shank flaring

<sup>76</sup> Poulsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), p. 281, no. 1075.

slightly, then drawing in to end without terminating element. Around bowl a wide band of fine vertical incision, a surface texture contrasting with the high polish of the rest of the pipe.

18th to 19th century.

Excellent workmanship, unusual shank. Fine incision is used occasionally to vary the texture of the surface: cf. **C 32** and **C 51**; a pipe from Hama has a similar contrast of polished and textured surfaces.<sup>76</sup>

**C 51.** MF-6346 Pl. 52  
P.H. *ca.* 0.031. Agora Northeast. Single small fragment from wall. Fine, hard, red (10R 4/6) clay and slip, traces of gilding. Low concave rim with outturned lip; rounded bowl; delicate incised vertical lines form background for reserved geometric and floral pattern.  
18th to 19th century.

**C 52.** MF-10262 Pl. 52  
L. 0.051, H. 0.043, D. shank opening 0.01. Agora Southwest. Pieces missing from rim and shank end. Micaceous red (2.5YR 4/6 to 5/6) clay and slip, burnished, worn. Rim and bowl form one sack-shaped unit with beveled lip; faceted shank with undecorated wreath, scalloped termination. Facet ends thickened to petals, hatched triangles stamped in angles between them. Seal on left side of shank.  
18th to 19th century.

Cf. Kerameikos no. 27 (TP 26).

**C 53.** MF-12580 Pl. 52  
P.L. 0.057, p.H. 0.035, D. shank opening *ca.* 0.013. Roman Bath. Rim, piece from shank end missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6 to 4/6) clay and slip, burnished. Shape as **C 52**. Rayed dots on wreath at shank end. Seal on lower right side of shank.  
18th to 19th century.

**C 54.** MF-1818 Pl. 52  
P.L. 0.061, p.H. 0.04, D. shank opening 0.012. Agora Southeast. Rim broken, shank end chipped. Micaceous red (2.5YR 4/6) clay and slip, burnished. High, slightly concave rim set off by decoration rather than by shape from rounded bowl; faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination with double quill marks. Relief cord around lower

part of rim; bowl petaled, triangular floral stamp in each petal, and concentric triangle stamp between tops of petals. Rouletting along center line of each petal and around keel. Hatched triangles between ends of shank facets, slanted ovals below wreath, double row of lozenges on wreath. Seal on lower right side of shank.

18th to 19th century.

The decorative scheme of this pipe is like that of **C 55—C 64**, the petaled-bowl group, but it is larger, and the high concave rim gives it a sacklike appearance. The fabric, of a micaceous clay recalling the Roman Micaceous Water Jars,<sup>77</sup> is one that I have found in pipes only at Corinth, except for one example in the Kerameikos, no. 27 (TP 26). In Corinth there are 11 examples, which when put together and contrasted with all the other pipes from Corinth look like a distinctive, coherent group. Yet the pipes of this material are of many diverse types: **C 12**, with a wide disk base; **C 26** with sacklike shape and very shallow keel; **C 50** with spherical bowl and unusual shank; **C 52—C 54** with large sack-shaped bowls; **C 125** perhaps like **C 50** or, as its heavy keel suggests, a variant of a late 19th-century lily shape. The seals of all these pipes differ as much as the shapes.

**C 55.** MF-10246 Pl. 52  
Max. p. dim. 0.044, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Only shank preserved. Micaceous red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and slip, burnished. Faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination with quill marks. Probably from a pipe similar to **C 54**. Dots stamped in angles between facet ends; rayed dots overlapped on wreath. Seal on right side.  
18th to 19th century.

**C 56.** MF-10212 Pl. 52  
L. 0.06, H. 0.035, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Over half of rim missing; shank end chipped. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) slip, unevenly discolored to gray (10YR 5/1) as though the pipe had been on a burn pile. Straight rim; rounded petaled bowl with heavy wreath at shoulder.

Short faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination with quill marks. Stamped decoration: on base of rim, rouletted band; on wreaths at shoulder of bowl and at shank end, overlapping rayed dots; on center of each petal, delicate rouletted line topped by fan-shaped floral stamp, giving feathered effect. Deep incision above petals and below wreath. Rouletting around keel. Seal on left side of shank.

Probably early 19th century.

This decorative scheme distinguishes a group of round-bowled pipes very popular in Corinth. Many variations are possible, as the following nine pipes, **C 57—C 65**, illustrate, but the essential elements are all present in **C 56**. These pipes almost always have a monogram seal; a few have the same seal, but a variety of seals occur. The style was evidently popular enough to be made by several pipemakers.

**C 57.** MF-10250 Pl. 53  
P.L. 0.052, p.H. 0.03, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Most of rim, half of bowl missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6) clay and slip, well burnished. Shape and decoration as **C 56**. Seal on left side of shank.  
Probably early 19th century.

**C 58.** MF-11428 Pl. 53  
P.L. 0.055, p.H. 0.025, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Rim, over half of bowl missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and slip, burnished. Shape and decoration as **C 56** and **C 57**. Seal on left side of shank, similar to that of **C 57**.  
Probably early 19th century.

A similar uninventoried pipe from the Baths of Aphrodite (context lot 1246, #2) has a seal like but not identical to those of **C 56—C 58**.

**C 59.** MF-71-68 Pl. 53  
Max. p. dim. 0.033, D. shank opening 0.012. Temple Hill. Shank preserved, with trace of bowl. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay, red (2.5YR 4/6) slip, burnished. Faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination with quill marks; palmettes in angles of facets; stamped dot pattern on wreath. Seal on left side of shank.  
Probably early 19th century.

<sup>77</sup> Micaceous water jars: H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora, V, Pottery of the Roman Period*, Princeton 1959, M 240 and others.

- C 60.** MF-11206 Pl. 53  
L. 0.055, H. 0.034, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Pieces broken from rim and shank; bowl chipped. Brown to red (7.5YR 5/4 to 2.5YR 5/8) clay and slip, perhaps discolored from heavy use (?), burnished. Straight rim, petaled bowl, narrow wreath at shoulder; faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination. Rim and bowl as **C 56—C 58**; wreath of shank has lattice pattern; shank facets edged with rouletting, darts in angles between. Seal on right side of shank, identical to that of **C 61**.  
Probably early 19th century.  
**C 60** is identical to **C 61** (*q.v.*) and from the same shop and the same mold.
- C 61.** MF-2895 Pl. 53  
P.L. 0.044, H. 0.035. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Most of shank missing, rim chipped. Red (2.5YR 5/8) clay, reddish brown (5YR 5/4 to 4/4) slip, burnished. Shape, decoration, and seal identical to **C 60**.  
Probably early 19th century.  
The seal occurs on one other pipe so far as I know: on the bowl of a lily-shaped pipe from Agora Southwest, **C 112**, where it appears together with a small floral stamp.
- C 62.** MF-71-69 Pl. 53  
P.L. 0.055, H. 0.031, D. shank opening 0.013. Temple Hill. Rim badly chipped; much of shank end missing. Light reddish brown (5YR 6/4) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8) slip, burnished. Shape and decoration as **C 60** and **C 61** except that shank facet ends are not shown by stamped triangles in the usual way. Seal on right side of shank.  
Probably early 19th century.  
Seal is the same as that of **C 63** and **C 64**; all three of these pipes have smooth rather than faceted shanks, evidently the personal preference of the maker.
- C 63.** MF-11422 Pl. 53  
L. 0.055, H. 0.028, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Piece missing from rim; shank chipped; worn. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and slip, burnished. Shape and decoration as **C 62**. Seal, probably like that of **C 62** but very faint, on right side of shank.  
Probably early 19th century.
- C 64.** MF-564 Pl. 53  
P.L. 0.056, p.H. 0.026, D. shank opening 0.014. No recorded findspot. Rim missing. Light brown (7.5YR 6/4) clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6) slip, burnished. Deep bowl, no wreath above petals; smooth shank. Cf. Agora pipe **A 17**. Seal on right side of shank, identical to those of **C 62** and **C 63**.  
Probably early 19th century.
- C 65.** MF-10279 Pl. 53  
P.L. 0.058, H. 0.035, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Much of rim missing. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay, reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6) slip, burnished. Low flaring rim; no wreath at shoulder; petals are tall with deep indentations between their tops. Short smooth shank with paired combed crescents on wreath, scalloped termination. Rouletting at base of rim; fan-shaped rayed dot above rouletted line in center of each petal; rouletting around keel and double line around shank. Seal on right side of shank.  
Probably early 19th century.
- C 66.** MF-1977-73 Pl. 53  
P.L. 0.057, H. 0.034, D. shank opening 0.014. Temple Hill. Over half of rim missing. Fine, hard, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8) slip, highly polished. Concave rim with everted lip, rounded bowl; faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination with quill marks. Decorative band around base of rim; bowl bordered above and below by deep rouletted wedges; rouletting around keel. Triangular floral stamp in facets of shank, small rayed dots on wreath. Seal on left side of shank, identical to that of **C 35**.  
18th to 19th century.  
This and the following **C 67**, **C 68**, **C 79**, and **C 83** seem to belong to Saraçhane Type XXVII, which Hayes provisionally dates to the late 19th century.
- C 67.** MF-74-128 Pl. 53  
P.L. 0.06, p.H. 0.029, D. shank opening 0.016. Temple Hill. Rim missing. Light reddish brown (5YR 6/3) clay, slip fired to an uneven light reddish brown to dark reddish gray (5YR 6/3 to 4/2); appearance of pipe is gray. Shape and decorative scheme as **C 66**, with palmettes stamped in angles of shank facets, the rayed dots on wreath

applied in diagonal rows as on **C 36**; no quill marks. Seal on left side of shank.

18th to 19th century.

**C 68.** MF-71-70 Pl. 54

Max. p. dim. 0.055, D. shank opening 0.016. Temple Hill. Fragment preserves part of shank and bowl, trace of rim; deep scratch (incision?) below greatest diameter of bowl. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/8) slip, well burnished. Shape and decoration as **C 66** and **C 67**; palmettes in angles of shank facets, lattice pattern on narrow wreath, no quill marks. Seal on right side of shank, chipped.

18th to 19th century.

Several of this type of pipe have been found at Kalenderhane; it is very probably an Istanbul product, which the glossy appearance of the pipes supports.

**C 69.** MF-10235 Pl. 54

P.L. 0.036, p.H. *ca.* 0.026, D. shank opening 0.012. Agora Southwest. Shank and small part of bowl and rim preserved. Red (2.5YR 5/8) clay and slip, burnished. Flaring rim; bowl compressed into small disk; faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination with quill marks. Zigzag band around bottom of rim; rouletting around keel; dotted triangles between ends of shank facets, leaf pattern on wreath. Seal on right side of shank.

19th century.

**C 70.** MF-10270 Pl. 54

P.L. 0.053, p.H. *ca.* 0.026, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Most of rim and bowl missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and slip, burnished. Bowl condensed to small disk; faceted shank with undecorated narrow wreath, scalloped termination; rouletting articulates parts. Seal on right side of shank, apparently same as that of **C 34**.

19th century.

Pipes **C 69**—**C 78** appear to correspond to Saraçhane Type XIII. Most of the Saraçhane examples have the keel flattened to a squared foot beneath the disks; they are mostly of brownish clay like the Saraçhane Type X pipes. The rim is usually cylindrical rather than flaring. There are no examples of the

type in Athens, but in Corinth there are several and from various parts of the city. Their shanks are like those of the pipes with rounded, petaled bowls (**C 56**—**C 65**), and I believe that they belong to the same decades as those pipes. Hayes dates Type XIII to the second half of the 19th century, which I would like to believe is too late, although not one of the Corinthian examples comes from fill that can be securely dated any earlier.

**C 71.** MF-11421 Pl. 54

L. 0.058, H. 0.027, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Piece missing from rim. Reddish yellow to red (5YR 6/6 to 2.5YR 4/8) clay and slip, burnished. Cylindrical rim; bowl condensed to small disk; shallow keel; short faceted shank with wreath, scalloped termination. Rouletting at base of rim, at joint of shank to rim and bowl, and below wreath. Palmettes in triangles stamped below shank end but not exactly between facet ends. Rayed dots on wreath. Seal on right side of shank. 19th century.

There are uninventoried fragments of similar pipes from the Baths of Aphrodite and from Temple Hill, in context lots 549 (#4), 563, 72-189, 1976-231, and 1978-287. The presence of pipes of this group at both the Baths of Aphrodite and Temple Hill may incline us to date the group earlier than Hayes puts the Saraçhane Type XIII, since both the Hill and the Turkish palace site at the Baths were uninhabited after the War of Independence. Perhaps we can date the group to the first 30 years of the 19th century.

**C 72.** MF-11204 Pl. 54

L. 0.058, H. 0.032, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Most of rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and slip, burnished. Shape and decorative scheme as **C 71**. Floral stamp in angles between shank facets, rayed dots on wreath, quill marks. Seal on left side of shank, apparently identical to that of **C 73**. 19th century.

**C 73.** MF-11940 Pl. 54

L. 0.059, p.H. *ca.* 0.028, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Most of rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and slip, burnished. Almost identical to **C 72** and similar to **C 71**. The

- nearly imperceptible differences are details of the final stages of decoration: **C 73** has dots instead of a floral pattern in the angles between facet ends, and the rayed dots on the wreath are shallower and fewer. Seal on left side of shank appears identical to that of **C 72**.  
19th century.
- C 74.** MF-10303 Pl. 54  
P.L. 0.028, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Only shank preserved. Light reddish brown (5YR 6/4) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/6) slip, burnished. Shank from a pipe of same type as **C 71**—**C 73**. Hatched triangles between facet ends; stamped keyhole pattern on wreath. Seal on lower left side of shank.  
19th century.
- C 75.** MF-11432 Pl. 54  
P.L. 0.03, D. shank opening 0.015. Agora Southwest. Only shank preserved. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4) clay, slip fired brown to dark gray (10YR 5/3 to 4/1); in color and texture resembles **C 69**. Traces at break indicate shape was like **C 69**. Shank scarcely faceted, but triangles stamped below termination give that effect. Richly decorated wreath. Seal on right side of shank.  
19th century.
- C 76.** MF-71-71 Pl. 54  
P.L. 0.041, p.H. *ca.* 0.023. Temple Hill. Base, part of rim and shank preserved. Light brown (7.5YR 6/4) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/6) slip, burnished. Flaring rim, flat base; faceted shank joins side of rim and base with no keel; keel has been absorbed into base leaving only its outline rouletted on the flat bottom of the pipe. Base has rounded profile. Rouletting around rim above base; dot-filled triangles stamped between shank facet ends. Seal on left side of shank.  
19th century.  
Cf. **C 77**.
- C 77.** MF-71-72 Pl. 54  
P.L. 0.048, p.H. 0.028, D. shank opening 0.013. Temple Hill. Rim missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/8) clay and slip, burnished. As **C 76**, except that base has angular profile. Shank has wreath stamped with circles, scalloped termination with quill marks. Seal on left side of shank.  
19th century.
- C 78.** MF-563 Pl. 54  
L. 0.051, H. 0.026, D. shank opening 0.013. No recorded findspot. Large piece missing from chipped rim. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4) clay and slip, burnished. Cylindrical rim, small disk base, like **C 69**; faceted shank joins rim and base without keel, like **C 76** and **C 77**. Shank decoration as **C 77**. No seal.  
19th century.
- C 79.** MF-11949 Pl. 54  
P.L. 0.047, H. 0.038, D. shank opening 0.014. Roman Bath. Most of rim and bowl missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, worn red (10R 4/6) slip. Low concave rim with rolled lip; hemispherical bowl; smooth heavy shank with segmented termination. Rouletting below lip, at base of rim, at joint of bowl and shank, and below shank end. Upper part of bowl has wide band of four rows of carved scallops, the rows separated by rouletting. Seal on right side of shank.  
19th century.  
A segmented termination also occurs on a lily-shaped pipe in the Athenian Agora, **A 29**.
- C 80.** MF-11979 Pl. 55  
P.L. 0.057, p.H. *ca.* 0.025, D. shank opening 0.015. Roman Bath. Rim, half of bowl, bottom of pipe missing. Light reddish brown (5YR 6/4) clay, red (2.5YR 5/8) slip, burnished. Shape and decoration as **C 79**. Seal on left side of shank.  
19th century.
- C 81.** MF-2901 Pl. 55  
P.L. 0.046, p.H. 0.026. Excavation dump, 1928. Rim, shank end missing; bowl chipped. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4) clay and slip, burnished. Shape and decoration as **C 79** and **C 80**. Seal on left side of shank.  
19th century.
- A fourth example of the same style of pipe is from the Baths of Aphrodite (context lot 549, #1); it is nearly intact and shows how **C 79**—**C 81** must originally have looked. Its seal was read by George Miles as RB[–]W. The seals on the four pipes are all different; the appearance of the pipes, close as it is, also indicates that they are the work of four different pipemakers. Several similar pipes have been found at Kalenderhane in Istanbul, in 19th-century contexts.

**C 82.** MF-11434 Pl. 55  
P.L. 0.055, H. 0.035, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Most of rim and bowl missing. Red (2.5YR 5/8) clay and slip, burnished. Shape as **C 79**; decoration of broad band around bowl is cross grooved so that the spaces between grooves stand out in quilted relief. Decoration of bowl and shank end formed in mold; rouletting around lip, bowl and shank added later. Seal on right side of shank.  
19th century.

**C 83.** MF-2378 Pl. 55  
P.L. 0.051, p.H. 0.03. Justinian's Wall. Rim, most of shank missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6) clay and slip, burnished. Upper half of bowl enlarged, overhanging smaller lower half. Smooth shank, traces of gadrooned termination, palmettes in lower angles. Upper half of bowl covered with carved and stamped relief lozenges outlined by rouletting; rouletting above and below lozenges and on joint of keel to bowl. Seal on right side of shank.  
19th century.

The color and glossy finish of this pipe, as well as the division of the bowl into upper and lower halves, recall **C 66—C 68**; the relief decoration of the upper half is reminiscent of **C 79—C 82**, in particular the quilted effect of **C 82**, a form of decoration I have observed only on these two pipes. Gadrooned shank ends are more common: cf. **C 84**, **C 85**, and **A 18**; gadrooned shank ends occur frequently on later disk-based and lily-shaped pipes in the Agora, the Kerameikos, and Corinth, as well as in Istanbul, Bulgaria, and Romania.

**C 84.** MF-919 Pl. 55  
L. 0.058, H. 0.033, D. shank opening 0.013. South end of Southeast Stoa. Shank end broken. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/8) slip. Slightly inward-sloping straight rim, heavy rolled lip; rounded bowl; short shank with gadrooned swelling at end. Rouletting below lip, at base of rim, at joint of bowl to shank, above and below gadroons of shank end. Bowl lightly marked with petals, a double dotted lozenge in each petal, hatched triangles between petal tops. Same triangle stamp used between gadroons of shank end. Keel flattened to square foot,

ornamented with volute stamp. Seal on right side of shank.  
19th century.

**C 84** closely resembles the following **C 85** except for lip and details of stamps on bowl; even the seal appears the same. A nearly identical pipe has been found in a 19th-century context at Kalenderhane. Cf. Agora **A 18**. The flattened squared foot beneath a rounded bowl is not common in Corinth (see under **C 12** above), but in Istanbul many examples occur, on pipes of various styles; it is evidently one of the acceptable options. The pipemaker might combine elements at will to achieve the effect he wished.

**C 85.** MF-11418 Pl. 55  
L. 0.055, H. 0.033, D. shank opening 0.012. Agora Southwest. Piece of rim missing, worn. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/8) slip. Shape as **C 84** except that rim lacks rolled lip. Decoration as **C 84**, except no stamps on petals and palmettes between petal tops. Seal on right side of shank, very like that of **C 84**.  
19th century.

**C 86.** MF-11115 Pl. 55  
P.L. 0.057, p.H. ca. 0.027, D. shank opening 0.013. Baths of Aphrodite. Rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/8) slip, burnished. Shallow rounded bowl; keel flattened and squared; smooth shank with wreath and simple molding at end. Bowl as **C 84**, petals stamped with double dotted lozenge. Rouletting outlines foot and each element of shank end. Seal on shank, read by George Miles as SMI.  
19th century.

Cf. **C 84** and **C 87** and also Kerameikos no. 21 (TP 16). Shape of **C 86** is close to **C 87**, and both are slipped to look like really red pipes. To judge by the number of pipes of other clay with deep red (10R 4/6 or 4/8) slip, red is the desired effect in the 19th century. Yet pipes of deep red clay as well as slip are the exception in Corinth; and in Istanbul, among the many hundreds of pipes from Saraçhane, Kalenderhane, and Topkapi, I saw not one example. See **C 115** below.

**C 87.** MF-2893 Pl. 55  
P.L. 0.04, H. 0.041. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Mended, rim broken, shank missing. Light

reddish brown (5YR 6/4) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, burnished, gilded. Flaring rim with everted lip, set off by moldings from shallow rounded bowl like that of **C 86**; keel flattened to wide, squared foot. Stamped ogival patterns below lip; incised panels around bowl, circles stamped at top and bottom of each panel, in center of each panel combed crescents back-to-back. Foot outlined by rouletting and decorated with incised lines. Gilding on lip, upper part of rim, and bowl.

19th century.

**C 88.** MF-920 Pl. 55

Max. p. dim. 0.028. Acrocorinth. Small rim fragment. Fine, hard, red (10R 4/6) clay and slip, burnished, gilded. From pipe similar to **C 87**, ogival stamp used to form a net over entire surface of flaring rim.

19th century.

**C 89.** MF-1819 Pl. 55

P.L. *ca.* 0.039, p.H. 0.037. Agora Southeast. Fragment preserves profile of rim and bowl, stub of shank. Fine, hard, red (10R 4/8) clay and slip, well burnished, traces of gilding. Flaring rim, moldings at its base; rounded gadrooned bowl; smooth shank. Crescents stamped on edges of gadroons, darts in angles between their tops. Gilding on lip, on alternate waist moldings, and on alternate gadroons.

19th century.

**C 90.** MF-10236 Pl. 55

P.L. 0.039, p.H. 0.033. Agora Southwest. Most of shank and rim, all of lip missing. Red (2.5YR 4/6 to 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip, well burnished. High, straight, faceted rim above condensed gadrooned bowl; smooth shank. Very fine stamped and incised decoration on rim facets; rouletting between gadroons of bowl. Seal on left side of shank.

19th century.

Shape and high quality of workmanship recall early pipes like Agora **A 6**; decoration is like **C 84** and **C 86** but more carefully done.

**C 91.** MF-1978-95 Pl. 55

P.L. 0.039, p.H. *ca.* 0.017. Temple Hill. Fragment preserves part of bowl and shank. Fine,

hard, red (10R 4/6) clay and slip, well burnished; traces of gilding. Concave band set off (missing) rim from much condensed bowl; smooth shank. Vertical scoring around bowl. Gilding on bowl and on seal on left side of shank.

18th to 19th century.

An uninventoried similar fragment, also from Temple Hill (context lot 1976-231), preserves the shank end; a simple swelling like those of **C 28** and others of the Saraçhane XXII—Varna III group. The concave waistband of **C 91** also recalls that group. The seal of **C 91** is like that of **C 90**.

**C 92.** MF-12578 Pl. 56

P.L. 0.055, H. *ca.* 0.038. Roman Bath. Most of rim, shank end missing. Hard, fine, red (10R 4/6) clay and slip, burnished, painted, and gilded. High, straight rim, condensed bowl molded in segmented or petal shape. Smooth shank flattened to squared foot beneath base; trace of gadrooned shank end. Rim painted in what appears to be white enamel, in lacy floral and foliage design; gilding at bottom of rim, on segments of base, on seal, and probably on (missing) shank end. Incised floral ornament on foot. Seal on left side of shank.

19th century.

The shape of **C 92** puts it with the disk-based pipes (cf. **C 101**—**C 106**); only the fine, red clay and the gilding put it with **C 90** and **C 91**.

**C 93.** MF-74-67 Pl. 56

L. 0.061, H. 0.032, D. shank opening 0.014. Temple Hill. Shank end broken. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, reddish yellow to yellowish red (5YR 6/6 to 5/8) slip, burnished. Straight faceted rim, rounded paneled bowl. Heavy faceted shank flaring to scalloped termination. Stamped palmettes and floral triangles in panels of rim; paired combed crescents on cord at joint of rim and bowl; floral stamp in center of each bowl panel. Semi-circular seal on bottom of bowl and twice on shank.

19th century.

This and the following **C 94**—**C 99** belong to a large category of pipes, easily recognizable by fabric, shape, decoration, and an idiosyncratic seal that seems to be a meaningless imitation of an Arabic monogram seal. Most of the Corinth examples of the

type have this seal, which does not appear on any other type (with the possible exception of **C 100**). There are three related pipes in the Agora (**A 19—A 21**), of the typical fabric but with variant decoration and without the seal. The category corresponds to Varna Type I and to Saraçhane Type X.<sup>78</sup>

**C 94.** MF-72-173 Pl. 56  
L. 0.065, H. 0.04, D. shank opening 0.015. Temple Hill. Much of rim and bowl missing, shank chipped. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4) clay, brown (7.5YR 5/4) slip. Straight faceted rim set off from paneled bowl by relief cord. Heavy faceted shank flaring to simple termination with faceted edge. In rim facets, palmettes topped by floral stamp; paired crescents on cord; palmettes in angles between panels of bowl. Seal as that of **C 93**, twice on left side of bowl, twice on lower part of shank. 19th century.

**C 95.** MF-2365 Pl. 56  
P.L. *ca.* 0.041, p.H. *ca.* 0.034, D. shank opening 0.014. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Shank and small part of bowl preserved. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and slip, burnished. Straight faceted rim; gadrooned (rather than paneled) bowl; shank as **C 93**. Palmettes on rim and above gadroons, paired combed crescents between gadroons. Seal as **C 93**, on lower left part of shank. 19th century.

The gadrooned bowl is not the norm for this group but does occur: Agora pipe **A 19** has a gadrooned bowl.

**C 96.** MF-12565 Pl. 56  
P.L. 0.047, H. 0.035. Roman Bath. Much of rim, bowl, and shank end missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, traces of gilding. Shape and decoration as **C 93**. Gilding on one panel of bowl, one facet of rim; probably alternate facets and panels were gilded. Seal, as of **C 93—C 95**, on lower part of shank. 19th century.

Cf. **C 97**. Red-slipped examples of this group are less frequent than those in the reddish yellow or light brown color of the clay.

<sup>78</sup> See footnote 48 above.

**C 97.** MF-10247 Pl. 56  
P.L. 0.038, p.H. *ca.* 0.03. Agora Southwest. Most of shank and small part of bowl preserved. Red (2.5YR 4/5) clay and (10R 4/8) slip, burnished. Paneled bowl, faceted shank flaring to scalloped termination. Seal as of **C 93** beneath shank. 19th century.

Both shank and seal seem blurred, as if this pipe, in a different clay, had been made in a mold made from a pipe.

**C 98.** MF-562 Pl. 56  
L. 0.055, H. 0.03, D. shank opening 0.013. No recorded findspot. Chipped at rim and shank end. Fine, light brown (7.5YR 6/4) clay and slip. Straight faceted rim; bowl surrounded by wide zone of diagonal flutings; shank as **C 94**. Palmettes and floral lozenges on rim facets; on front of bowl, fluted zone interrupted by triangle filled with tiny palmettes. Rouletting outlines keel. Seal, as of **C 93**, three times on bottom right of bowl. 19th century.

**C 99.** MF-10216 Pl. 56  
P.L. 0.058, H. 0.032, D. shank opening 0.013. Agora Southwest. Much of rim and bowl missing. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay, yellowish red (5YR 5/6) slip, well burnished. Shape as **C 98**. Different stamp used for devices on rim; combed crescents on cord at shoulder. Seal, as of **C 93**, on bottom of bowl, twice on lower right of shank. 19th century.

**C 100.** MF-11433 Pl. 56  
P.L. 0.059, H. 0.033, D. shank opening 0.015. Agora Southwest. Rim broken, shank end chipped. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay. Tub-shaped pipe, rolled lip, flat bottom. Shank projects directly from bowl, flares to flat notched termination. Rouletting below lip, around bottom, at joint of shank to bowl; rouletting and grooves around middle of shank. Seal beneath outer end of shank. 19th century.

Seal is faint but closely resembles the seal of **C 93—C 99**, characteristic of the Varna I—Saraçhane X group. The shape is unusual in Greece, but a very similar pipe was found in the

excavations of the monastery of Mihai Voda in Bucharest and dated 18th century.<sup>79</sup> Nineteenth-century French factories were producing versions of this shape, as well as many others;<sup>80</sup> it is not impossible that this is an import from the West, although it does not look like a factory-made piece.

**C 101.** MF-10974 Pl. 57  
P.L. 0.083, p.H. ca. 0.033, D. base 0.049. Agora Southwest. Most of rim, half of shank end missing; base chipped. Fine, hard, red (10R 4/6) clay and slip, burnished. High flaring rim; bowl compressed to a wide disk. Shank forms squared foot beneath base, flares to large swelling at end. Grooves and rouletted line around bottom of rim; rouletting around foot, grooves and notches across toe; relief ring around shank near base; band of vertical grooves between rouletted lines around widest part of shank end. Seal on lower left side of shank.  
19th century.

As in the group **C 69—C 78**, so in this and the following pipes, **C 101—C 108**, the bowl has been compressed to a disk, the rim taking on the function of the bowl. But how different in appearance are the two groups! This common type of pipe often has the flat foot with squared toe, and the disk may be decorated in various ways, as may the rim. In general these are large pipes. There are many beautiful examples in the Topkapi Palace Museum, and the type seems to have been that most favored by the Tophane pipemakers. In the Municipal Museum of Istanbul (case 52) is a set of five red pipes of this type, in a special case with shaped compartments to hold each pipehead. The nearly 50 examples from Saraçhane, Hayes' Type VII, all have 19th-century contexts. But pipes with a high rim and wide disk base have a longer history.<sup>81</sup> The large 19th-century variety may have developed from earlier pipes such as **C 12** and **C 13**.

**C 102.** MF-224 Pl. 57  
H. 0.045, D. base 0.05. Lechaion Road Area. Rim broken; shank and part of base missing. Light

brown (7.5YR 6/4) clay, slip unevenly fired white to weak red (10R 4/4); burnished. High, flaring rim on nearly flat disk base; flat squared foot. Narrow line of rouletting around middle of rim; edge of disk base notched to give scalloped effect. On left side of rim just below lip a small rosette stamp.  
19th century.

Color is unusual and is the same as that of **C 103**, a shank end. **C 102** and **C 103** probably come from the same pipe.

**C 103.** MF-2900 Pl. 57  
P.L. 0.034, D. shank opening 0.016. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Only shank end preserved. Fabric as **C 102**. Shank flares to swelling surrounded by band of vertical scoring.  
19th century.  
Probably from the same pipe as **C 102**.

**C 104.** MF-565 Pl. 57  
P.L. 0.043, p.H. 0.041, D. base 0.042. No recorded findspot. Rim chipped, shank and part of base missing. Light reddish brown (5YR 6/4) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, burnished. High, flaring rim, wide flat disk; keel flattened to squared foot, as **C 101** and **C 102**. Band of stamped floral spirals between relief cords around middle of rim. Seal on left side of rim, close to lip.  
19th century.

Pipes of this type often carry the signature seal near the lip rather than on the shank. Cf. **C 102**, **C 105** and Kerameikos no. 31 (TP 45).

**C 105.** MF-12115 Pl. 57  
Max. p. dim. 0.034. Oakley House South. Small fragment of rim. Red (10R 4/8) clay and slip. From flaring rim of a fine, thin-walled pipe shaped like **C 102** or **C 104**; two seals near lip.  
19th century.

**C 106.** MF-10986 Pl. 57  
Max. p. dim. 0.051, D. shank opening 0.016. Agora Southwest. Shank and trace of base preserved. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip,

<sup>79</sup> G. Cantea, "Les recherches archéologiques autour du monastère de Mihai Voda," *Bucureștii de Odinioară*, Bucharest 1959, p. 140, pl. CXV:3.

<sup>80</sup> See footnote 9 above.

<sup>81</sup> Robinson, "Kerameikos," p. 271.

burnished. Shank from pipe with wide disk base, probably with flat squared foot. Shank flares to simple termination; two grooves around middle of shank. Seal on left side, close to end.

Late 19th century.

The wide and relatively flat-ended shank seems to be one of the late styles; it occurs almost exclusively on disk-based and lily-shaped pipes of the late 19th century. Cf. **C 107**, **C 108**, **C 115**—**C 117**, **C 119**, **C 121** and **A 23**, **A 24**, **A 31**, **A 32**, **A 37**, **A 38**.

**C 107.** MF-74-85 Pl. 57

L. 0.071, H. 0.03, D. shank opening 0.016. Temple Hill. Chipped; piece of shank end missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, burnished. Heavy flaring rim, small disk base; shank forms squared foot beneath base, flares to flat termination. Rouletting below lip, at bottom of rim, and around foot; on center front of rim a stamped pattern of scroll surrounded by leaves. Identical to **C 108**.

Late 19th to early 20th century.

**C 108.** MF-12617 Pl. 57

L. 0.07, H. 0.038. Roman Bath. Rim chipped, part of shank missing. Fabric, shape, and decoration as **C 107**. Seal on right side of shank.

Late 19th to early 20th century.

A pipe from the Athenian Agora, **A 40**, with an even smaller disk, seems to form a bridge between **C 107** and **C 108** and the lily-shaped pipes.

**C 109.** MF-12564 Pl. 58

P.L. 0.055, H. 0.038, D. shank opening 0.015. Roman Bath. Lip chipped, piece missing from shank end. Yellowish red clay (5YR 5/6) and slip (5YR 5/8), burnished to lustrous finish. Lily-shaped fusion of rim and bowl; smooth shank forming deep keel which continues under and up front of bowl to make a decorative division of bowl into left and right halves; shank ends in swelling. Groove below lip; grooves and rouletting outline keel, meet in front in a point surmounted by a stamped pineapple; on each side of bowl a benedictory-motto seal set in a rosette. Band of vertical scoring around shank end. Seal on right side of shank.

19th century.

Well-made, thin-walled pipe, probably a product

of Istanbul. The vertically scored band around the shank end we have noted also on disk-based pipes: **C 101** and **C 103**, **A 25**, and Kerameikos no. 34 (TP 38).

**C 110.** MF-6332 Pl. 58

L. 0.051, H. 0.051, D. shank opening 0.015. Agora Northeast. Part of shank missing. Light brownish gray (10YR 6/2) clay (and slip?). Rim with everted lip blends into rounded bowl; swollen gadrooned shank end. Bowl covered with sprawling floral pattern in relief. Seal on right side of shank.

19th century.

All forms, including seal, are blurred; all were made in the mold, which was probably taken from a decorated, signed pipe.

**C 111.** MF-11942 Pl. 58

P.L. 0.04, p.H. 0.037. Agora Southwest. Most of rim and shank end missing. Red (10R 4/6) clay and slip, burnished. Lily-shaped; short shank ending in gadrooned swelling. Bowl molded with relief petals or leaves. On front, petals merge down into keel. Rouletted detail on and between petals. Seal, apparently identical to that of **C 46**, on right side of shank.

19th century.

Cf. Stančeva, "Varna," p. 92, fig. 18. There is a close parallel also from Kalenderhane. The large number found in Varna suggests that this may be a Varna product.

**C 112.** MF-11270 Pl. 58

P.L. ca. 0.037, p.H. ca. 0.04. Agora Southwest. Fragment preserves part of bowl and shank. Red (2.5YR 5/8) clay and slip, burnished. Lily-shaped bowl, short shank with gadrooned swelling at end, like Agora **A 28**. Rouletting at joint of keel to bowl; traces of stamped pattern between gadroon ends. On left side of bowl a lozenge-shaped stamp containing a floral pattern; beside it a seal.

19th century.

The seal appears to be the same as that on **C 60** and **C 61**, both rounded petaled-bowl pipes, and on Agora **A 28**.

**C 113.** MF-72-172 Pl. 58

P.L. 0.065, p.H. 0.035, D. shank opening 0.014.

Temple Hill. Mended; rim, part of shank missing. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, burnished. Slender lily-shaped bowl; long shank, heavy keel continuing up front of bowl; simple swelling at shank end. On right side of bowl, stamped rosette surrounded by leaves; on center front, three leaves; left side undecorated. Seal on top of swelling at shank end.

Late 19th century.

Cf. Kerameikos no. 58 (TP 56) and Agora **A 29**, which, like **C 113** and **C 114**, are rather tall, slender pipes and display the new emphasis on a decorative division of the pipe into two sides which was begun with pipes like **C 109**.

**C 114.** MF-2899 Pl. 58  
P.L. 0.032, p.H. ca. 0.028. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Fragment preserves part of bowl and shank. Pinkish gray to brown (7.5YR 6/2 to 5/2) clay and slip, burnished; pipe much discolored, gives impression of being gray. From a pipe similar to **C 113**; rouletting at joint of keel to bowl; trace of ornament on center front above keel; on each side a crosshatched circle surrounded by curved teeth and surmounted by a pineapple.

Late 19th century.

**C 115.** MF-11380 Pl. 58  
P.L. 0.058, p.H. 0.035, D. shank opening 0.016. Agora Southwest. Rim missing, bowl worn. Red (10R 4/6) clay and slip, burnished. Lily-shaped rim and bowl; heavy shank, angular keel, wide flat termination. Reserved areas on keel, around shank end, and in crescent shape on bowl; the rest of the surface is covered with closely repeated, rayed-dot stamp. Seal on underside of shank in reserved area at end.

19th century.

Cf. **C 116** and Agora **A 31**. All have seals under the end of the shank, but all three seals are different. This striking decorative scheme is found only on lily-shaped pipes and is known as "peacock feather"; it is found all over the Ottoman Empire, although not in large numbers. It may originate in Varna.<sup>82</sup> If in fact both **C 111** and **C 115** come from Varna, perhaps the other pipes of real red (10R 4/6) clay may also be Varna products: **C 88**, **C 89**, **C 91**, **C 92**, **C 101**, **C 116**.

<sup>82</sup> See footnote 52 above.

**C 116.** MF-12992 Pl. 58  
P.L. 0.037, D. shank opening 0.015. Roman Bath. Only shank preserved. Red (10R 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip, burnished, worn. From a pipe like **C 115**. Seal beneath shank in reserved zone.  
19th century.

**C 117.** MF-10987 Pl. 58  
Max. p. dim. 0.051, D. shank opening 0.016. Agora Southwest. Shank and trace of bowl preserved. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip. Shank of lily-shaped pipe, flaring to wide, sloping termination. Band of leaf pattern between double lines of rouletting around shank end. Small seal on right side of shank.  
19th century.

Cf. shanks from disk-based pipes like **C 106** and **A 24**.

**C 118.** MF-11954 Pl. 58  
P.L. 0.045, H. 0.04. Agora Southwest. Rim broken, shank missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip. Heavy, thick-walled pipe, lily-shaped rim and bowl; keel forms fan-shaped reinforcement on front of bowl. Lip notched or milled; groove and series of pendent ogee stamps below lip (cf. the fine pipes **C 87** and **C 88**); three more ogees on front of bowl above keel; six vertical lines of rouletting on keel at front. Seal on left side of shank.  
19th to 20th century.

This pipe resembles Agora **A 33**—**A 35** in fabric and general style, although details differ.

**C 119.** MF-6290 Pl. 59  
P.L. 0.061, H. 0.04, D. shank opening 0.016. Agora Northeast. Much of rim and bowl missing; worn at front. Light reddish brown (5YR 6/4) clay, red (10R 5/8 to 4/8) slip. Thick-walled, lily-shaped rim and bowl; heavy shank flaring from angular keel to wide flat termination. Three grooves around shank are sole decoration. Seal on left side of shank.  
19th to 20th century.

Cf. **C 120** and **C 121**, Agora **A 37**, and Kerameikos nos. 48–51 (TP 52, 50, 51, and 47). These brick-red, dull-surfaced pipes without decoration are the

last stage of the chibouk in Greece. This sort of pipe was smoked within living memory in Monastiraki, sometimes even without a stem. Cf. also Stančeva, "Varna," p. 90, fig. 14. The seal of **C 119** is the same as that of Agora **A 32**; cf. also the seals of the rounded-bowl pipes **C 34** and **C 81**.

**C 120.** MF-2897 Pl. 58  
P.L. *ca.* 0.051, H. 0.049. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Part of bowl and keel preserved. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip. From a pipe like **C 119**, with heavy walls, angular keel, and no decoration.  
19th to 20th century.

**C 121.** MF-10253 Pl. 59  
P.L. 0.047, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Shank, trace of bowl preserved. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip, worn. From a pipe like **C 119**. Two rouletted lines around shank; edge of termination faceted. Seal on right side.  
19th to 20th century.

**C 122.** MF-10298 Pl. 59  
P.L. 0.057, p.H. *ca.* 0.04, D. shank opening 0.016. Agora Southwest. Rim missing, front of bowl worn. Red (10R 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip, burnished. Lily-shaped rim and bowl; keel curving up onto front of bowl; straight shank ending in wide convex termination, concave facets around edge, arcs as of fingernail imprints on outer surface. Double row of rouletting around shank. Seal on left side of shank.  
19th to 20th century.

This is one of the common late shank terminations. It occurs most frequently on pipes with lily-shaped bowls. Cf. Agora **A 34** and **A 35**, Kerameikos nos. 53–55, and 57 (TP 54, 61, 62, and 59), also pipes from Sofia and Varna.<sup>83</sup>

**C 123.** MF-10145 Pl. 59  
P.L. 0.059, p.H. *ca.* 0.025, D. shank opening 0.014. Agora Southwest. Rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, burnished. Lily-shaped bowl, multi-faceted (with several zones of facets in different planes); shank as **C 122**. In center of each bowl facet a four-part lozenge with a dot in each quarter. Seal on right side of shank.

19th to 20th century.

Cf. Agora **A 36**, Kerameikos no. 54 (TP 61). There are a few examples in Istanbul: from Sarachane where they are counted in Hayes' Type VII and from Kalenderhane. But there are many examples in Bulgaria, particularly in Sofia and in Veliko Tirново. In Bulgaria the type acquires a more narrow-waisted form, emphasizing the distinction between rim and bowl (cf. Stančeva and Medarova, p. 5, fig. 1 bottom row, center). Lily-shaped pipes with bowls having a single zone of facets, petaled at the top like Kerameikos no. 53 (TP 54) exist at Corinth only in one uninventoried fragment from Temple Hill (context lot 1976-231).

**C 124.** MF-12577 Pl. 59  
P.L. 0.06, H. 0.04, D. shank opening 0.015. Roman Bath. Much of rim missing; shank end chipped. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (2.5YR 4/6) slip, worn. Variant of lily-shaped pipe, with flaring rim, narrow waist, rounded bowl; shank as **C 122** and **C 123**. On rim a florid volute-palmette, probably originally one of a series; grooves and line of rouletting around base of rim, on shank below termination, and along joint of bowl and keel. Faint seal on right side of shank.  
19th to 20th century.

**C 124** seems to belong in the large family of lily-shaped pipes, in spite of the sharply offset rim. The interrelations of the late 19th-century types illustrate the complete freedom of the pipemaker to combine elements at will, and it is probably in vain that we try to divide the late pipes into more than the most general categories.

**C 125.** MF-11592 Pl. 59  
P.L. 0.056, p.H. at bowl 0.027, D. shank opening 0.015. Agora Northwest. Rim, part of bowl missing. Micaceous red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and slip, burnished. Small rounded bowl, straight shank with wide hemispherical cushion at end, flat termination with faceted edge. Wide band of vertical scoring around bowl and around cushion at shank end. Seal on left side of shank.  
Late 19th century.

The material of **C 125** recalls the group of rounded-bowl, dark red micaceous pipes (see **C 54**), but its

<sup>83</sup> See footnote 53 above.

shape seems closer to that of Kerameikos no. 44 (TP 46). It is probably a variant of the lily-shaped type.

- C 126.** MF-11945 Pl. 59  
 P.L. 0.069, p.H. 0.025, D. shank opening 0.014. Roman Bath. Rim missing. Pinkish gray (5YR 7/2) clay with small dark grits, coated with heavy, glossy pale pink (5YR 7/4) slip or paint. The fabric is unlike any other pipe I have seen anywhere. Rim set off by relief ring from shallow sacklike bowl with smooth bottom; long, heavy shank projects directly from bowl, has wreath, stepped-ring termination. Around bowl, two bands of vertical strokes; on wreath, deeply impressed heart-shaped stamps enclosing three dots. Seal on shank appears to be only a dot but is much obscured by the thick paint.  
 18th to 19th century.

Large size and unusual fabric of **C 126** suggest a late date, although the shape and the stepped termination are like early pipes. Possibly an imitation of a meerschäum (?).

#### THE MEERSCHAUMS

- C 127.** MF-75-131 Pl. 59  
 P.L. 0.02, H. 0.035, max. W. bowl 0.025. Temple Hill. Shank missing; small holes in fabric probably due to flaws in the meerschäum. White meerschäum. Small forward-tilted rim and bowl, blending into shank like a bent tube. Incised band of vine pattern where rim meets bowl; incised volute motifs on center front and along bottom of pipe. On each side of bowl, incised rosette in a circle.  
 17th century.  
 Cf. Agora **A 43**.
- C 128.** MF-11419 Pl. 59  
 P.L. 0.04, p.H. 0.03, D. bowl 0.036. Agora Southwest. Shank, most of rim missing; holes due to flaws in material, as in **C 127**. White meerschäum. Cylindrical rim, low rounded bowl, shallow keel. Band of chevrons impressed around shoulder; around greatest diameter, eight different seal impressions, probably benedictory mottoes. Along joint of bowl and keel, a band of ogees. On bottom, one random floral motif, possibly a signature.

17th to 18th century.

The shape corresponds to **C 3** and to Hayes' Sa-raçhane Type IV, which is found in contexts of the late 17th to 18th century.

- C 129.** MF-74-140 Pl. 59  
 P.L. 0.022, H. 0.035. Temple Hill. Only fragment of front of pipe from rim to keel remains; hole through lower front of bowl. White meerschäum. Rounded, sacklike rim and bowl; shallow keel. Faint band of vertical strokes, possibly bur-nishing marks, around rim below lip.  
 17th to 18th century.

- C 130.** MF-2366 Pl. 59  
 P.L. *ca.* 0.061, D. shank opening 0.008. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Rim, part of bowl missing; shank end chipped. White meerschäum. Narrow bowl scarcely wider than shank. Shank swells toward end; small flat termination. Relief collar around shank at joint to bowl; incised squidlike volutes along center line of front and bottom of bowl. Both incision and impression used in decoration.  
 17th to 18th century.

Cf. decorative scheme of **C 127** and Agora **A 43**. **C 130** is a larger pipe, and probably later, but uses the scheme and the repertory of patterns already established.

- C 131.** MF-3781 Pl. 59  
 P.L. *ca.* 0.056, D. shank opening 0.007. Agora Southwest. Shank, part of bowl preserved; small holes in fabric, as in **C 127** and **C 128**. White meerschäum. From a pipe like **C 130** in size and shape. Swelling at shank end is ribbed, herring-bone panels between ribs. Double flat collar where shank joins bowl; on each side of bowl traces of incised and impressed patterns: compass-drawn circle enclosing rosette.  
 17th to 18th century.

- C 132.** MF-6538 Pl. 60  
 L. 0.061, H. 0.045, D. shank opening 0.008. Agora Northeast. Rim mended, small pieces missing; shank chipped. White meerschäum, blackened at rim. Thick-walled (*ca.* 0.013 at rim), sack-shaped bowl; shank has swollen end, flat termination. Rim and shank end reserved, bowl and shank covered with incised decoration: on bowl swirling

complex of squidlike volutes, floral and winglike forms; on shank, series of bands studded with concentric circles. Cf. **C 133**.

18th century.

**C 133.** MF-2362 Pl. 60

L. 0.063, p.H. 0.034, D. shank opening 0.008. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Rim missing. White meerschaum. Shape and decoration as **C 132**, with slight differences in detail. Note reappearance of the rosette on each side of bowl, as on **C 127**.

18th century.

**C 134.** MF-2361 Pl. 60

P.L. 0.058, H. 0.051, D. shank opening 0.007. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Rim cracked; shank cut or ground short. White meerschaum. Rim and bowl as **C 132** and **C 133**; shank very short, beveled at end, as though broken and then ground smooth (?). Double flat collar where shank joins bowl; on each side of bowl a single wheel of wing pattern enclosing a rosette.

18th century.

Although the decoration of **C 134** is much more restrained than that of **C 132** and **C 133**, it employs the same repertory of motifs. It is close to them in size, shape, and quality of carving, and probably it originally had a shank like theirs.

**C 135.** MF-6694 Pl. 60

P.L. ca. 0.046, p.H. 0.025, W. bowl at base 0.032. South Stoa West. Lower part of bowl preserved. White meerschaum. Sacklike bowl with angular lower profile and only slightly curved bottom. On

bowl, two zones of vine and floral patterns; on bottom, squidlike volutes along center, winglike elements around edge, against crosshatched background; decoration stops at point where shank begins. Cf. **C 136**.

18th to 19th century.

Cf. **C 126**, perhaps a clay version of this shape, which is more characteristic of meerschaums than of clays.

**C 136.** MF-5140 Pl. 60

P.L. 0.066, p.W. bowl at base 0.03, D. shank opening 0.009. Agora Northeast. Most of bowl missing. Meerschaum, colored glossy black.<sup>84</sup> Size, shape, and decoration as **C 135**. Shank ends in swelling set off by plain band and flat ring termination, like that of **C 132** and **C 133**.

18th to 19th century.

**C 137.** MF-2363 Pl. 60

L. 0.074, H. 0.047, D. shank opening 0.009. North of Peribolos of Apollo. Rim and shank end chipped. White meerschaum, colored unevenly to black at rim. Sacklike bowl merging into shank which flares to flat termination. Small molding at lip and shank end, probably to receive metal fittings. Small ring around a hollow on the bottom (cf. Agora **A 44**). Incised decoration on front and bottom of bowl, using the familiar motifs of squidlike volutes, wings, and vines.

18th to 19th century.

This is very similar to the Hungarian shape called Kalmach, from which many European meerschaums are descended.

In addition to the 137 inventoried pipes from Corinth, I am aware of at least 109 uninventoried pipes or fragments, five of them meerschaum. Most of them are duplicates of examples that are adequately represented in the catalogue or are too small and fragmentary to be of much use. They occur in the following context pottery lots:

Baths of Aphrodite, lots 549, 553, 558, 563, 564

Agora Southwest, lots 1240, 1243, 1246, 1250, 1251, 1551

Temple Hill, lots 72-189, 72-192, 74-75, 74-76, 75-193, 75-194, 1976-231, 1977-158, and 1978-287.

There are probably other pipes that I have not discovered, among the stored pottery.

<sup>84</sup> See footnote 64 above.

## THE ATHENIAN AGORA

Excavation sections cited as findspots are identified by Greek capital letters.

## THE CLAYS

- A 1.** MC 1277 Pl. 61  
 P.L. 0.049, D. shank opening 0.008. Section KK. Rim, half of bowl missing; shank chipped. Severe burning has wholly altered the color of the clay; appearance is of dark-gray clay with yellowish white outer surface. Small rounded bowl, scored vertically, apparently in the mold; shank forms slight keel beneath bowl, ends in segmented wreath.  
 Late 17th century.  
 Resembles Kerameikos no. 8 (TP 7) although shank does not seem to have had a stepped-ring termination; cf. also Hama pipe no. 1072 and a pipe from a ship wrecked in 1696.<sup>85</sup> **A 1** was found with pipes **A 24** and **A 26**, in fill dated in the last decade of the 19th century; it is earlier than its company.
- A 2.** MC 1322 Pl. 61  
 P.L. 0.052, D. bowl 0.029, D. shank opening 0.008. Section E. Rim missing. Reddish brown (5YR 5/3) clay, dark to very dark gray (5YR 4/1 to 3/1) slip; appearance is of gray clay and black slip. Small rounded bowl; shank projects directly from bowl, has wreath, stepped-ring termination. Band of double triangles stamped around shank end.  
 Late 17th to early 18th century.  
 Cf. Kerameikos no. 9 (TP 4). Both probably belong to Hayes' Saraçhane Type IV, found in late 17th- and early 18th-century contexts.
- A 3.** MC 1329 Pl. 61  
 L. 0.053, D. bowl 0.03, D. shank opening 0.007. Section P. Rim missing, shank termination chipped. Gray (5YR 6/1) clay, very dark gray (2.5YR 3/0) slip. Small rounded bowl, shallow keel. Pipe appears to have suffered in the making; bottom is malformed. Shank has swelling at end, stepped-ring termination. Band of diagonal rectangles stamped around widest part of bowl and shank end.
- A 4.** MC 1305 Pl. 61  
 H. 0.045, D. at lip 0.026, max. D. bowl 0.029. Section O. Rim broken, shank missing. White pipe clay. High, slightly flaring rim with slightly thickened, outturned lip; small sacklike bowl; keel. Relief ring at base of rim; vertical grooves on bowl.  
 Late 17th to early 18th century.  
 From the pit at 78/KB in Section O, this pipe belongs with a published pottery group: Frantz, *op. cit.* (footnote 41 above), pp. 4, 24–25, figs. 24, 25, group 8. Of the ten groups of Turkish pottery there published, group 8 is the only one that contained a pipe. Group 8 is dated generally to the 18th century.
- A 5.** MC 1327 Pl. 61  
 P.L. 0.026, p.H. 0.04, max. D. bowl 0.03. Section KK. Shank end, most of rim missing; bowl chipped. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay and slip, burnished. Straight rim; small rounded bowl with concave shoulder; keel. Relief ring at base of rim; patterns of dots and arcs impressed on rim and around bowl, rouletting on relief ring.  
 Late 17th to early 18th century.  
 Resembles Hayes' Saraçhane Type XXIV, of which only three examples were noted. The shape is related to Type VI; cf. **A 6**.
- A 6.** MC 1278 Pl. 61  
 P.H. 0.027, max. D. bowl 0.031, D. rim 0.02. Section KK. Shank, most of rim missing. White pipe clay. Cylindrical rim; small rounded bowl with concave shoulder; keel. Shape like **A 5** but executed with greater artistry. Rim has stamped groups of dots above relief ring; bowl has petal-shaped flutes, the petals separated by minute rouletting; rouletted line outlines keel.  
 Late 17th to early 18th century.

<sup>85</sup> Poulsen, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), p. 281, no. 1072; Walker, pl. I.

Cf. **A 5** and Kerameikos no. 10 (TP 29). The shape is a popular one; it seems to correspond to Hayes' Saraçhane Types VI and XXIV, of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The same shape is echoed in a fine red pipe of the 18th century in Corinth, **C 90**, and a similar shape continues in the Austro-Hungarian clay and meerschaum pipes of the 18th and 19th centuries.<sup>86</sup> **A 6** was found together with **A 14** in fill which is dated to the late 19th century and so is of no use in dating the pipes.

**A 7.** MC 1280 Pl. 61  
P.L. 0.046, D. shank opening 0.007. Section KK. Only shank preserved. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, worn. Slender faceted shank, conical molded termination. Cf. Kerameikos no. 2 (TP 2) and Corinth **C 10**; see **C 10** for discussion. The type occurs frequently in Bulgaria and may well originate there.  
18th century.

**A 8.** MC 1299 Pl. 61  
P.L. 0.053, D. base 0.035, D. shank opening 0.011. Section MM. Most of rim missing; bowl chipped. Clay fired brown to black, reddish brown to yellowish red (5YR 5/4 to 5/6) slip. Straight rim; condensed bowl; short shank making keel beneath bowl, ending in large swelling. Rouletting below rim and outlining keel. Four rows of tiny wedge-shaped impressions on shank swelling. Small seal faintly impressed on lower right side of shank, under bowl.  
Second quarter 18th century.

From the lowest of the stratified Turkish levels in Section MM, **A 8** should be one of the earliest pipes in those deposits. Cf. Corinth **C 13**.

**A 9.** MC 1302 Pl. 61  
P.L. 0.03, p.H. 0.036. Section ΠA. Half of rim and bowl preserved. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (10R 4/8) slip, well burnished. High, straight rim set off from condensed bowl by concave band; keel beneath bowl. Band of paired crescents around rim above waistband; around bowl a zone of impressed brackets, bordered by grooves.

<sup>86</sup> Rapaport, figs. on p. 21, upper center, and p. 50, right.

<sup>87</sup> Stančeva, "Varna," pp. 88–89, figs. 12 and 13.

18th to 19th century.

Well-made, thin-walled pipe. Cf. Corinth **C 91** but also **C 18**. **A 9** was found in the same fill as **A 12**, a fill dated 18th century. **A 9** probably belongs with Saraçhane Type XXII.

**A 10.** MC 1272 Pl. 61  
P.L. 0.054, D. shank opening 0.013. Section E. Rim missing. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and slip. Sack-shaped bowl, shallow keel, very short shank ending in simple swelling. Rouletting around keel and shank termination. Seal in form of a bird on lower right side of shank.  
18th century.

The bird stamp occurs on Kerameikos no. 17 (TP 25) and on Corinth **C 23**, which in shape is close to the following **A 11**. The bird stamp is characteristic of a group of pipes from Varna<sup>87</sup> which may be products of a Varna workshop.

**A 11.** MC 1323 Pl. 61  
P.L. 0.04, p.H. ca. 0.025. Section E. Rim, shank missing. Reddish brown (2.5YR 5/4) clay and slip. Greatly compressed bowl, set off from (missing) rim by wide, flat band. Two rows of rouletting around shallow keel.  
18th century.

**A 11** is very similar to **C 23**, which has a bird stamp like that of **A 10**. **A 10** and **A 11** with Corinth **C 23** and Kerameikos nos. 17 and 18 (TP 25, 35), make up a single group, quite possibly the work of a Varna pipemaker. The group, often distinguished by the bird stamp, falls within the larger category Varna Type III—Saraçhane Type XXII.

**A 12.** MC 1301 Pl. 61  
P.L. 0.053, D. shank opening 0.012. Section ΠA. Rim, most of bowl, half of shank missing. Red (10R 4/6) clay and slip. Rounded bowl with mold-formed decoration of oblique grooves; very short shank with partially segmented wreath, convex termination.  
Second quarter 18th century.

Found in Turkish fill with marbled ware, cut

glass, etc., dated provisionally to the 18th century; pipe **A 9** was in the same fill. The round shape and short shank of **A 12** resemble one of the pipes from the Sharm-el-Sheikh wreck<sup>88</sup> and so may perhaps be dated in the second quarter of the 18th century, although the pipe also resembles Corinth pipes **C 30** and **C 31**, which probably belong in the second half of the century.

**A 13.** MC 1297 Pl. 61  
 P.L. 0.043, H. 0.042, D. rim 0.031, D. bowl 0.034. Section MM. Shank missing. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and slip. High, slightly convex rim; rounded gadrooned bowl; rouletted line of minute lattice pattern around base of rim and outlining keel.  
 18th to 19th century.

**A 14.** MC 1279 Pl. 61  
 L. 0.052, H. 0.04, D. shank opening 0.012, D. rim 0.029, D. bowl 0.033. Section KK. Half rim missing. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay and slip, burnished. Straight rim, deep rounded bowl, smooth shank flaring to plain convex end. All decoration is by different sizes of rouletting: larger around base of rim and at shank end, smaller in vertical lines on bowl, around keel, and around shank below termination.  
 18th to 19th century.

Cf. Corinth **C 39—C 41** and Kerameikos no. 26 (TP 20), all of which have seals; **A 14** has no seal but is otherwise similar. It was found, with **A 6**, in stratified Turkish fill.

**A 15.** MC 1300 Pl. 62  
 H. 0.036, D. rim 0.031, D. bowl 0.031. Section MM. Mended; shank missing, rim broken. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay, dark red (2.5YR 4/6 to 3/6) slip, burnished, worn. High, straight rim, rounded bowl; joint of rim and bowl marked by rouletting; wedge-shaped stamps and rayed dots around bowl; rouletting around keel.  
 18th to 19th century.

Cf. Corinth **C 20**, a pipe of the same size and shape, although of finer fabric. The difference in

appearance that different decorative schemes can give to what is basically the same pipe is striking. **A 15** comes from the lower stratified Turkish levels in Section MM but with pottery that included at least one 19th-century fragment of transfer-printed ware.

**A 16.** MC 768 Pl. 62  
 Max. p. dim. 0.063, D. shank opening 0.015. Section OO. Only shank preserved, chipped; large circular depression on left side. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4) clay and slip, partly fired black (5YR 2.5/1). Shape of break indicates rounded bowl. Smooth short shank, large wreath at end, smooth convex termination. Overlapping rayed dots on wreath, above lines of rouletting. Rectangular seal on bottom.  
 18th to 19th century.

Shape of seal is unusual. The seal was formerly read as a date, but I am assured by both Pierre McKay and Nikos Stavrolakis that it is a monogram and not a date. The circular depression on the side of the shank is difficult to account for. I understand that multiple chibouks were once used (I have not seen one), something on the order of the big coffee-house narghile. Might this be the mark left by a strut between shanks of a large multiple pipebowl?

**A 17.** MC 1289 Pl. 62  
 L. 0.056, p.H. 0.027, D. shank opening 0.014. Section MM. Rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and slip, burnished. Rounded bowl; smooth shank with wreath, notched (pseudo-scalloped) termination. Rouletting at base of rim; impressed rayed dot at top and groove down center of each petal of bowl, giving feather effect; rouletting around keel; wreath has rouletting and lattice pattern only on underside. Seal on lower right side of shank, read by Nikos Stavrolakis as AZ?Y.  
 Probably early 19th century.

Cf. Corinth **C 64** and **C 65**. These three pipes are of similar fabric, shape, size, and decoration; their seals are similar but not identical. The seal of **A 17** is like that of a quite different 19th-century pipe from Corinth, **C 31**. **A 17** was found with **A 33**, in a stratified level containing 19th-century pottery.

<sup>88</sup> Raban, p. 152.

**A 18.** MC 1273 Pl. 62  
P.L. 0.056, H. 0.039, D. shank opening 0.013. Section H. Half of rim and bowl missing; shank end chipped. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip, burnished. Thickened rolled lip, sack-shaped body, short slender shank with gadrooned swelling at end. Rouletting around rim beneath lip and at joint of bowl and shank. On front of bowl, palmette and volute ornament; keel extends under bowl and up the front, where it ends in an ogival stamp which joins the ornament on the bowl front; floral triangles stamped in angles of gadroons on shank.  
19th century.

Cf. Corinth pipes **C 84** and **C 85**. The keel extending up the front of the bowl and the gadrooned shank end are features often found on lily-shaped pipes: cf. **A 28**.

**A 19.** MC 1304 Pl. 62  
P.L. 0.053, H. 0.031, D. shank opening 0.013. Section T. Much of rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and (7.5YR 7/6) slip. Outcurved, faceted rim; gadrooned bowl; short, heavy shank flaring to notched (pseudo-scalloped) termination. Stamped palmettes and combed crescents on rim and bowl. Rouletting around keel. No seal.  
19th century.

Cf. Corinth **C 99**. **A 19**—**A 21** belong to the large group Varna Type I—Saraçhane Type X, to which belong also Corinth pipes **C 93**—**C 99**. The group is discussed under **C 93**. **A 19** was found in a pit with Kioutakia and other late Turkish wares.

**A 20.** MC 1328 Pl. 62  
L. 0.058, H. 0.032, D. shank opening 0.015. Section MM. Part of rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay and slip. Straight faceted rim; rounded paneled bowl; heavy faceted shank flaring to scalloped termination. Palmettes surmounted by floral lozenges in rim facets; pendent palmettes between tops of bowl panels; pendent fringed oval at top of each panel; on panel to right of shank, a large leaf stamp. No seal.  
19th century.

<sup>89</sup> See footnote 48 above.

<sup>90</sup> See footnote 49 above.

This is the only example from Athens or Corinth of a decorative scheme frequently found in the Varna Type I—Saraçhane Type X group, except for two uninventoried fragments in the Agora, pottery storage KK/T 62 and MM/B 6. Pipes with the leaf stamp often have no seal; they tend to be rather heavy and coarse. They may be a later or a cheaper version of the type. The leaf stamp is very frequent in Bulgaria, and there are many examples from Russia with the fringed ovals and the leaf decorative scheme. It has also been found in Bucharest.<sup>89</sup> **A 20** was found in the same fill as **A 21** and **A 29**.

**A 21.** MC 1285 Pl. 62  
P.L. 0.059, H. 0.033. Section MM. Shank end broken. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4) clay and (5YR 6/4 to 5/6) slip, burnished. Straight faceted rim; bowl surrounded by zone of carved, incised, and stamped ovals; faceted shank flaring to convex scalloped termination. Palmettes and floral lozenges in rim facets; combed crescents on ridge at shoulder; minute rouletting and stamped triangles between ovals around bowl. No seal.  
19th century.

This is the finest of the Agora pipes of the Varna I—Saraçhane X group. In shape it is close to **C 98**. It was found with **A 20** and **A 29**.

**A 22.** MC 1292 Pl. 62  
P.L. 0.038, p.H. 0.021, W. bowl 0.037. Section MM. Rim, shank missing; bowl chipped. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip. Bowl compressed and mold-formed into seven heavy ovoid protrusions, possibly intended to represent flower petals.<sup>90</sup> Keel beneath bowl.  
19th century.

Cf. Kerameikos no. 42 (TP 31). The Agora pipe is from a fill in which were 14 pipes or pipe fragments including **A 25**, **A 34**, **A 40**—**A 42**. All 14 are lily-shaped or disk-based pipes or variants of those two types.

**A 23.** MC 1287 Pl. 62  
P.L. 0.078, p.H. 0.025, D. base 0.046, D. shank opening 0.016. Section MM. Most of rim missing, disk chipped. Flaring rim; bowl reduced to disk;

shank forms flat squared foot beneath disk, flares to flat termination. Single line of rouletting around shank end.

19th century.

A common 19th-century shape; for discussion see Corinth **C 101** and **C 106**. **A 23** was found in stratified 19th-century levels with other disk-based and lily-shaped pipes, including **A 37**.

**A 24.** MC 1276 Pl. 62  
P.L. 0.073, p.H. bowl 0.021, D. base 0.041, D. shank opening 0.015. Section KK. Mended; most of rim missing. Clay fired reddish brown (5YR 5/3), slip fired black. Flaring rim; bowl compressed to disk; shank makes shallow, flat squared foot beneath base and flares to flat termination. Double band of rouletting around shank; herringbone band around rim.  
19th century.

Similar to **A 23**, except for black color.<sup>91</sup> The base of **A 24** was found, along with **A 1** and **A 26**, in a stratified deposit dated *ca.* 1890–1897. The shank, also from Section KK, was not in stratified levels.

**A 25.** MC 1291 Pl. 63  
P.L. 0.068, D. base 0.035, D. shank opening 0.015. Section MM. Most of rim missing. Red (10R 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip. Small disk base; shank makes flat foot beneath base, flares to swelling at end. Band of vertical scoring around widest part of shank end.  
19th century.

Cf. Corinth **C 101**, **C 103**, and Kerameikos no. 34 (TP 38). **A 25** comes from a fill with 13 other pipes, all disk based or lily shaped (cf. **A 22**).

**A 26.** MC 1275 Pl. 63  
L. 0.10, p.H. at bowl 0.026, D. base 0.058, D. shank opening 0.02. Section KK. Most of rim missing. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, burnished. Bowl compressed to wide disk molded in petal form; shank becomes squared foot beneath disk, has large gadrooned swelling at end. Rouletting around bottom of rim, on shank above and below gadroons; triangles between gadroon ends.

Late 19th century.

The large size, petal-molded base, and gadrooned shank of this pipe recall the pipe in the Athens War Museum (Pls. 44:c, 45). The gadrooned shank end seems to be a 19th-century feature; it occurs on pipes of various shapes, as **A 18** and **A 28**. **A 26** was found in fill dated *ca.* 1890–1897, from which came also pipes **A 1** and **A 24**.

**A 27.** MC 1284 Pl. 63  
L. 0.081, D. base 0.054, D. shank opening 0.018. Section MM. Rim missing, disk chipped. Red (10R 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip. Flaring rim; compressed disk base; heavy faceted shank with wreath and scalloped termination projects directly from rim and base. Keel has been absorbed into flat base, where only outline remains, a double-grooved triangle. Two grooves and line of rouletting around bottom of rim; floral triangles between facet ends; lattice pattern on wreath.  
19th century.

Cf. Kerameikos nos. 37 and 38 (TP 39 and 40); Corinth **C 76**—**C 78** have similar faceted shanks and smooth bottoms, but their disks are much smaller. The smooth bottom without keel or foot seems always to occur together with a faceted shank. **A 27** comes from late fill, with pottery like that found with **A 30**.

**A 28.** MC 1324 Pl. 63  
P.L. 0.061, H. 0.042, D. shank opening 0.014. Section KK. Much of rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6 to 6/5) clay and slip. Lily-shaped pipe with deep keel; short shank, gadrooned swelling at end. On each side of bowl a cross-hatched circle with a dot in the center, surrounded by 16 dots, the whole surmounted by a pineapple. Dotted triangles and minute rouletting at upper and lower gadroon ends. Seal on right side of shank, read by Nikos Stavrolakis as the Arabic equivalent of  $\psi$ : [ $\psi/\omega/v$ ].  
19th century.

Seal appears to be the same as that on the bowl of Corinth **C 112**, a pipe very like **A 28**. The same seal is also found on **C 60** and **C 61**.

<sup>91</sup> See footnote 50 above.

- A 29.** MC 1286 Pl. 63  
P.L. 0.069, p.H. bowl 0.03, D. shank opening 0.016. Section MM. Rim missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, burnished. Slender lily-shaped pipe; faceted shank ends in segmented swelling; keel continues in a relief ridge up front of bowl. Herringbone pattern along ridge, row of small circles on each side of it; a small rosette stamped on each side of bowl. 19th century.
- Cf. Corinth **C 113** and **C 114**, and Kerameikos nos. 52 and 58 (TP 55, 56). Segmented shank endings occur on Corinth **C 79**, **C 80**, and **C 82**, where they look quite different. **A 29** was found in a stratified level in which were six pipes, including **A 20** and **A 21**.
- A 30.** MC 1283 Pl. 63  
P.L. 0.064, H. 0.045, D. shank opening 0.016. Section MM. Rim chipped. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6 to 3/6) slip. Lily-shaped pipe; keel extends into decorative reinforcement on lower front of bowl; shank flares to convex termination. On reinforcement, tiny wedge-shaped stamps; on front of bowl, vertical file of pineapple and dot stamps; double band of rouletting around shank end. Second half 19th century.
- The pipe with keel projecting as a reinforcement of the lower center front is a frequent subtype of the lily-shaped pipe. Cf. **A 33**—**A 35**, as well as Corinth **C 118** and Kerameikos no. 55 (TP 62). **A 30** was found in fill with late Turkish pottery.
- A 31.** MC 1303 Pl. 63  
P.L. 0.06, H. 0.042, D. shank opening 0.014. Section IIA. Pieces missing from rim. Red (10R 4/6) clay and slip, burnished. Lily-shaped pipe, heavy shank flaring to flat termination. All-over pattern of rayed dots save for reserved areas at lip, shank end, and in bands and ovals on bowl. Seal beneath shank end, in reserved zone. 19th century.
- Cf. Corinth **C 115** and **C 116**, "peacock feather" pipes, possibly made in Varna.<sup>92</sup> Both Corinth examples bear seals, also in the reserved zone beneath
- the shank end; all three seals are similar but not identical. That of **A 31** has been read by Nikos Stavrolakis as a name, possibly NANKI.
- A 32.** MC 1282 Pl. 63  
P.L. 0.046, D. shank opening 0.015. Section KK. Only shank preserved; chipped. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip. Shank of lily-shaped pipe, flaring to flat termination. Two grooves around shank. Seal on left side. 19th century.
- Same shank as **A 31**. Cf. also the simpler pipes **A 38** and Corinth **C 115**—**C 117**, **C 119**, and **C 121**. It is one of the most usual shank styles for lily-shaped pipes. Seal of **A 32** nearly identical to that of **C 119**; cf. also the seals of rounded-bowl pipes **C 34** and **C 81**.
- A 33.** MC 1290 Pl. 63  
P.L. 0.052, H. 0.04. Section MM. Rim chipped, most of shank missing. Reddish brown (5YR 5/4) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip. Heavy, thick-walled pipe; thick lip notched or milled on outer edge, double groove below lip. Keel forms decorative reinforcement at center front of bowl. Second half 19th century.
- Cf. **A 34**, **A 35**. **A 33** was found in late stratified levels, with pipe **A 17** and with 19th-century pottery.
- A 34.** MC 1296 Pl. 63  
P.L. 0.062, H. 0.041, D. shank opening 0.014. Section MM. Much of rim and bowl missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip. Heavy, lily-shaped bowl, thick lip as of **A 33**, with ogee stamps superimposed on the double grooves. Keel forms decorative reinforcement with notched edges on center front of bowl; straight shank with wide convex termination, concave facets around edge, arcs as of fingernail imprints on outer surface. Seal on lower left side of shank. Second half 19th century.
- Cf. **A 33** and **A 35**. Corinth **C 118** also has ogees below the lip. The shank termination is another very common one for late pipes, particularly the lily-shaped pipes. Cf. **A 35**, **A 36**, Corinth **C 122**—**C 124**, and Kerameikos nos. 53–55, 57 (TP 64, 61,

<sup>92</sup> See footnote 52 above.

62, 59), all lily-shaped pipes or variants of the type. **A 34** was found in fill which contained 14 pipes including **A 22**, **A 25**, and **A 40—A 42**.

**A 35.** MC 1298 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.062, H. 0.041, D. shank opening 0.013. Section MM. Much of rim and bowl missing. Yellowish red (5YR 5/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip. Similar to **A 34**. Outer edge of lip has lattice rather than notches; ogees below lip made by a worn stamp; same stamp used for additional decoration on front, above reinforcement. Second half 19th century.

From lower Turkish levels, with **A 13**.

**A 36.** MC 1325 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.063, D. shank opening 0.017. Section KK. Rim, most of bowl missing. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip. Lily-shaped bowl, faceted and stamped with palmette and other patterns; shank as **A 34** and **A 35**. Seal on lower right side of shank. Second half 19th century.

Lily-shaped pipes with faceted bowls are not uncommon: cf. Kerameikos nos. 53 and 54 (TP 54 and 61) and Corinth **C 123**, where the type is discussed. The seal of **A 36** has been read by Nikos Stavrolakis as TAKAB.

**A 37.** MC 1288 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.061, H. 0.044, D. shank opening 0.016. Section MM. Rim broken. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip. Heavy, thick-walled, lily-shaped pipe with everted lip; angular keel; shank flaring to flat termination. Three grooves around shank. 19th to 20th century.

Common late type in Athens and Corinth. Cf. Kerameikos nos. 48–51 (TP 52, 50, 51, and 47) and Corinth **C 123—C 125**. **A 37** was found in a stratified level with three disk-based pipes (including **A 23**) and another lily-shaped pipe.

**A 38.** MC 1274 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.05, p.H. 0.033. Section KK. Rim, shank end missing. Reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip, worn. Lily-shaped pipe; heavy

angular keel; flaring shank. Minimal rouletting on shank and along keel.

19th to 20th century.

Cf. **A 37**. **A 38** was found in stratified late fill.

**A 39.** MC 1326 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.064, D. base 0.023, D. shank opening 0.014. Section KK. Most of rim and bowl missing. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip. Shape combines disk-base and lily forms: flaring rim, condensed bowl, heavy shank flaring to flat termination. Double groove and line of rouletting at base of rim, vertical scoring around bowl, grooves around shank end. Oval seal on left side of shank. 19th century.

It has been suggested that the seal may represent the letters AA, as in the name Ali (?).

**A 40.** MC 1295 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.051, H. 0.042. Section MM. End of shank, most of rim missing. Red (2.5YR 5/6) clay and (10R 4/6) slip. Hybrid shape like **A 39**: flaring rim, condensed bowl, heavy flaring shank. Rouletting around base of rim, stamped patterns on front. Seal on right side of shank. Second half 19th century.

Cf. Corinth **C 107** and **C 108**. **A 40** is from a late level, in which were 14 pipes including **A 22**, **A 25**, **A 34**, **A 41**, **A 42**, and four uninventoried fragments that match **A 40** in every respect, even to the decoration of the front.

**A 41.** MC 1293 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.063, D. shank opening 0.015. Section MM. Rim, much of bowl missing. Light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay, red (10R 4/6) slip. Flaring rim, small bowl; shank making squared, slightly concave foot beneath bowl and flaring to large swelling at end. Stamped decoration on front of bowl, fingernail arcs around bottom of bowl, wide band of lattice pattern with pendent arcs around shank end. Seal on right side of shank. 19th century.

Cf. **A 42**, the identical twin of this pipe. The shape is unusual and may be related to Hayes' Sarachane Type XXV, a flat-bottomed pipe with

flaring rim. The squared foot of **A 41** and **A 42**, however, suggest that this is another hybrid variation: a disk-based pipe without the disk. Both **A 41** and **A 42** were found with **A 40**.

**A 42.** MC 1294 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.063, D. shank opening 0.015. Section MM.  
As **A 41**, and found with it.  
19th century.

#### THE MEERSCHAUMS

**A 43.** MC 1306 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.052, H. 0.047, D. shank opening 0.007.  
Section Σ. Half of rim missing. White meerschaum, use-darkened. Small pipe like bent tube, shank at right angles to bowl. Relief line or cord around rim below lip and around shank close to bowl, the two joined by relief line along center of

front and bottom. Compass-drawn pendent semi-circles and dots on rim and on front of bowl.  
17th century.

Found in a pithos with Turkish pottery of the 17th and early 18th century. Cf. a white clay pipe from Varna.<sup>93</sup>

**A 44.** MC 1281 Pl. 64  
P.L. 0.049, H. 0.048, D. bowl 0.034. Section KK.  
Shank missing; worn. Meerschaum, use-darkened at rim. Thick walls; straight rim; sack-shaped bowl. Rim bordered by band of reverse-S and double line of rouletting; the lower border curves down to a point in front. On sides of bowl, six compass-drawn concentric semicircles. At resting point of bowl, bottom front, a little doughnut-like ring. An X has been scratched on front of rim.  
18th century.

From Grave XXVII, dated 17th to 19th century.

In addition to the 44 inventoried pipes from the Agora, I am aware of at least 35 pipes or fragments of pipes in Agora pottery storage. They either duplicate inventoried pieces or come from unhelpful findspots. They occur in the following pottery storage tins or boxes: E/B 16; K/B 91; KK/T 6, T 62; KK/B 412, B 430, B 439; ΛΛ/B 7; ΛΛ/T 193; ΠΑ/T 201, T 207; P/B 235; MM/S 5; MM/B 6, B 8, B 9, B 10. There may be others which I have not discovered in pottery storage. Narghile heads have been found in the Agora: there is a coarse fragment in KK/B 416, and in KK/T 6 there are five, one of which is stamped ZAKO.KONSTANT-NOYΠOAI; another with the same stamp is in E/B 416.

<sup>93</sup> See footnote 61 above.

## CONCORDANCES

## CORINTH

Inv. MF	Catalogue C	Inv. MF	Catalogue C	Inv. MF	Catalogue C
224	<b>102</b>	10211	<b>30</b>	11942	<b>111</b>
562	<b>98</b>	10212	<b>56</b>	11943	<b>48</b>
563	<b>78</b>	10216	<b>99</b>	11944	<b>33</b>
564	<b>64</b>	10235	<b>69</b>	11945	<b>126</b>
565	<b>104</b>	10236	<b>90</b>	11947	<b>36</b>
576	<b>26</b>	10237	<b>23</b>	11948	<b>27</b>
919	<b>84</b>	10246	<b>55</b>	11949	<b>79</b>
920	<b>88</b>	10247	<b>97</b>	11954	<b>118</b>
1059	<b>32</b>	10250	<b>57</b>	11976	<b>16</b>
1818	<b>54</b>	10253	<b>121</b>	11979	<b>80</b>
1819	<b>89</b>	10261	<b>8</b>	12115	<b>105</b>
2361	<b>134</b>	10262	<b>52</b>	12564	<b>109</b>
2362	<b>133</b>	10270	<b>70</b>	12565	<b>96</b>
2363	<b>137</b>	10279	<b>65</b>	12566	<b>40</b>
2364	<b>18</b>	10298	<b>122</b>	12567	<b>41</b>
2365	<b>95</b>	10303	<b>74</b>	12568	<b>44</b>
2366	<b>130</b>	10974	<b>101</b>	12577	<b>124</b>
2378	<b>83</b>	10985	<b>14</b>	12578	<b>92</b>
2379	<b>4</b>	10986	<b>106</b>	12580	<b>53</b>
2568	<b>39</b>	10987	<b>117</b>	12617	<b>108</b>
2893	<b>87</b>	11115	<b>86</b>	12992	<b>116</b>
2895	<b>61</b>	11120	<b>10</b>	70-232	<b>34</b>
2896	<b>1</b>	11139	<b>47</b>	71-68	<b>59</b>
2897	<b>120</b>	11142	<b>15</b>	71-69	<b>62</b>
2898	<b>43</b>	11203	<b>29</b>	71-70	<b>68</b>
2899	<b>114</b>	11204	<b>72</b>	71-71	<b>76</b>
2900	<b>103</b>	11205	<b>42</b>	71-72	<b>77</b>
2901	<b>81</b>	11206	<b>60</b>	72-172	<b>113</b>
3781	<b>131</b>	11214	<b>28</b>	72-173	<b>94</b>
3826	<b>22</b>	11270	<b>112</b>	74-67	<b>93</b>
5140	<b>136</b>	11380	<b>115</b>	74-68	<b>45</b>
5142	<b>37</b>	11381	<b>11</b>	74-69	<b>21</b>
6133	<b>50</b>	11418	<b>85</b>	74-85	<b>107</b>
6290	<b>119</b>	11419	<b>128</b>	74-88	<b>46</b>
6332	<b>110</b>	11420	<b>7</b>	74-115	<b>13</b>
6346	<b>51</b>	11421	<b>71</b>	74-128	<b>67</b>
6347	<b>3</b>	11422	<b>63</b>	74-140	<b>129</b>
6538	<b>132</b>	11428	<b>58</b>	75-84	<b>12</b>
6694	<b>135</b>	11429	<b>38</b>	75-131	<b>127</b>
8283	<b>9</b>	11431	<b>6</b>	1977-73	<b>66</b>
8686	<b>17</b>	11432	<b>75</b>	1978-61	<b>24</b>
8687	<b>19</b>	11433	<b>100</b>	1978-95	<b>91</b>
8688	<b>20</b>	11434	<b>82</b>	1978-96	<b>25</b>
10067	<b>49</b>	11592	<b>125</b>	1978-98	<b>5</b>
10145	<b>123</b>	11940	<b>73</b>	1978-99	<b>2</b>
10206	<b>35</b>	11941	<b>31</b>		

## ATHENIAN AGORA

Inv. MC	Catalogue A	Inv. MC	Catalogue A	Inv. MC	Catalogue A
768	<b>16</b>	1286	<b>29</b>	1301	<b>12</b>
1272	<b>10</b>	1287	<b>23</b>	1302	<b>9</b>
1273	<b>18</b>	1288	<b>37</b>	1303	<b>31</b>
1274	<b>38</b>	1289	<b>17</b>	1304	<b>19</b>
1275	<b>26</b>	1290	<b>33</b>	1305	<b>4</b>
1276	<b>24</b>	1291	<b>25</b>	1306	<b>43</b>
1277	<b>1</b>	1292	<b>22</b>	1322	<b>2</b>
1278	<b>6</b>	1293	<b>41</b>	1323	<b>11</b>
1279	<b>14</b>	1294	<b>42</b>	1324	<b>28</b>
1280	<b>7</b>	1295	<b>40</b>	1325	<b>36</b>
1281	<b>44</b>	1296	<b>34</b>	1326	<b>39</b>
1282	<b>32</b>	1297	<b>13</b>	1327	<b>5</b>
1283	<b>30</b>	1298	<b>35</b>	1328	<b>20</b>
1284	<b>27</b>	1299	<b>8</b>	1329	<b>3</b>
1285	<b>21</b>	1300	<b>15</b>		

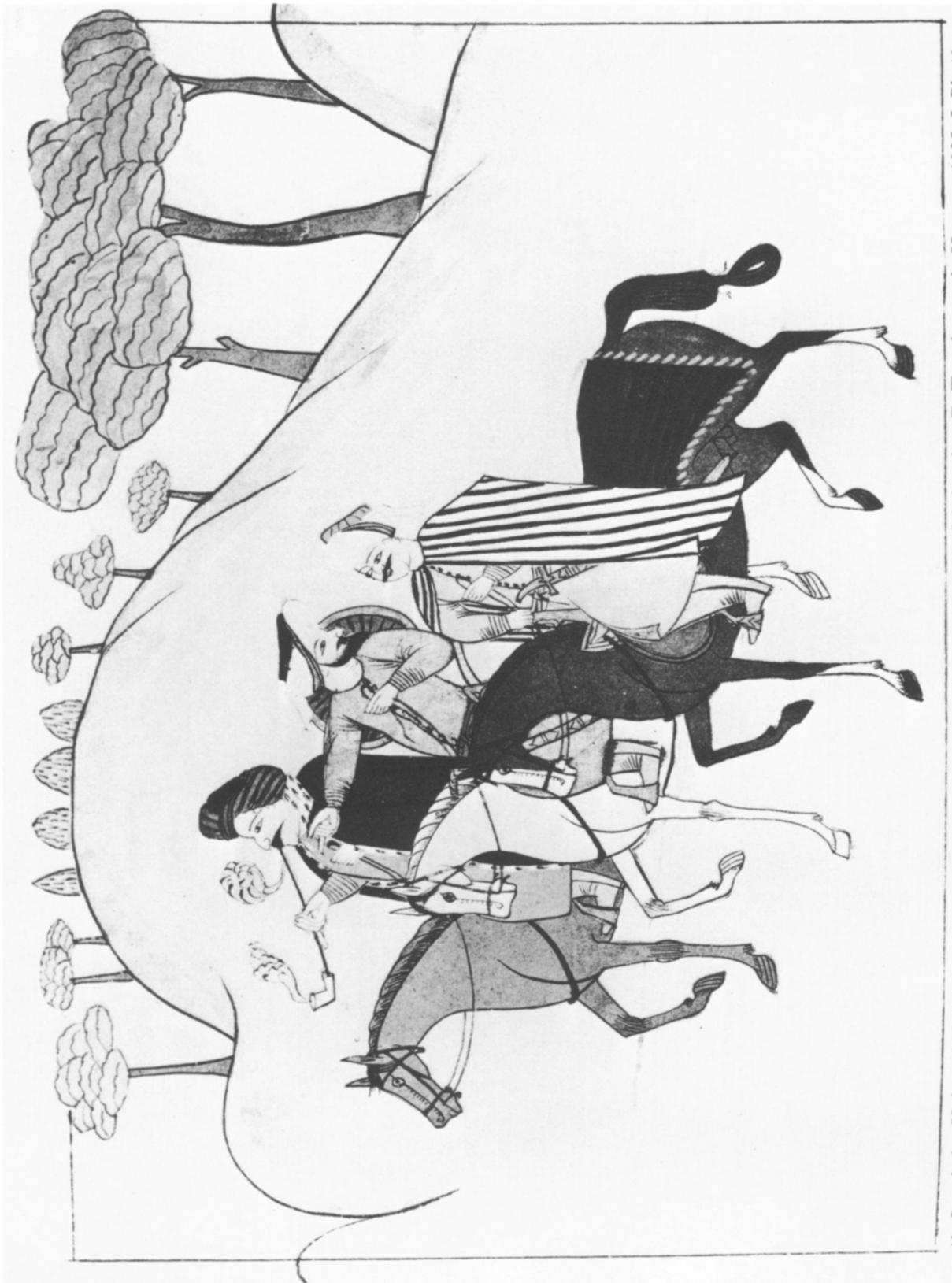
REBECCA C. W. ROBINSON

409 High Street  
 Moorestown, NJ 08057



*Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben. Ein Türkisches Miniaturealbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert, F. Taeschner, ed., Hanover 1925, I. Pl. 36*

REBECCA C. W. ROBINSON: TOBACCO PIPES OF CORINTH AND OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA



*Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben. Ein Türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert, F. Taeschner, ed., Hanover 1925, I. Pl. 40.*  
The men without pipes appear to be commenting on their companion's smoking as though it were something out of the ordinary



*Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben. Ein Türkisches Miniaturealbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert, F. Taeschner, ed., Hanover 1925, I. Pl. 41.*

REBECCA C. W. ROBINSON: TOBACCO PIPES OF CORINTH AND OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA



C. F. Silvestre, *Differents habillements de Turcs*, [Paris 1700], p. 13, "Capigi ou portier"



*Femme Turque  
qui fume sur le Sopha.*

*G. Sottin del. sculp.*

45.

*Avec Privil. du Roi.*

[J. B. Van Mour], *Recueil de cent estampes* représentant différentes nations du Levant, tirées sur les tableaux peints d'après Nature en 1707 et 1708 par les ordres de M. de Ferriol, Ambassadeur du Roi à la Porte, et gravées en 1712 et 1713 par les soins de Mr. le Hay. Pl. 45



a. Probably second half 18th century. Courtesy, Benaki Museum:  
inv. no. 24034



b. Watercolor, signed and dated: J(ean) B(aptiste) Hilaire 1776.  
Courtesy, Benaki Museum: inv. ΔK 1823 © 12



ALI PACHA OF JANNINA.

J. Cartwright, *Costume Plates*, London 1822, "Ali Pacha of Jannina"

REBECCA C. W. ROBINSON: TOBACCO PIPES OF CORINTH AND OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA



J. Cartwright, *Costume Plates*, London 1822, "An Albanian"



a. L. Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople*, Paris 1825. Pl. X, "Un grec de Janina"



b. Pl. XXV, "Vasili Goula, Aide de Camp de Marco Botzaris"

REBECCA C. W. ROBINSON: TOBACCO PIPES OF CORINTH AND OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA

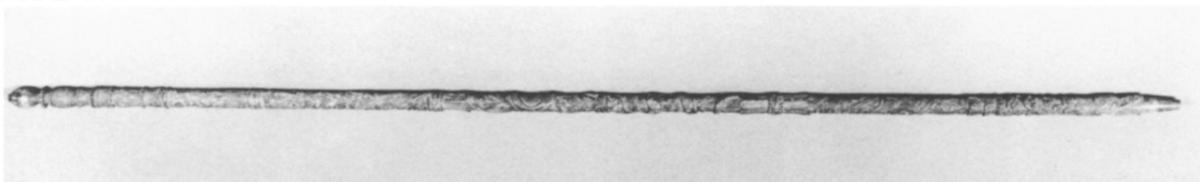


Otto Magnus, Freiherr von Stackelberg, *Costumes et Usages des Peuples de la Grèce Moderne*, Rome 1825.  
Pl. XV, "Habitant de la Thessalie"

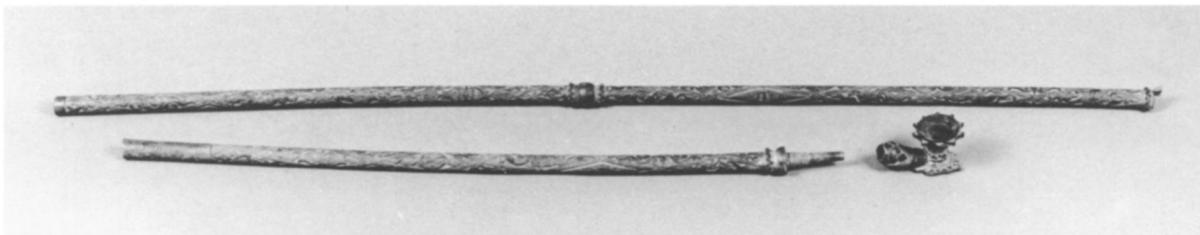


Otto Magnus, Freiherr von Stackelberg, *Costumes et Usages des Peuples de la Grèce Moderne*, Rome 1825. Pl. XXVIII, "Archonte grec"

PLATE 44



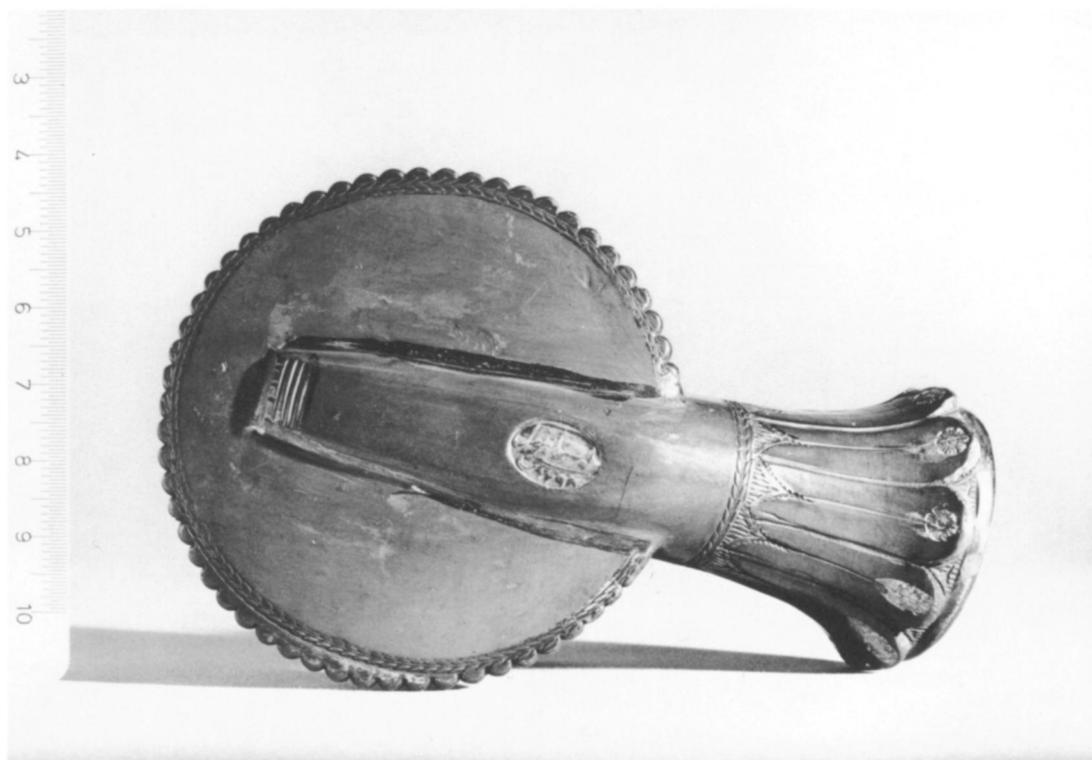
a. Pipestem carved in one piece with mouthpiece, of linden wood. L. 141 m. Probably after 1821. Courtesy, Benaki Museum: inv. no. 8736



b. Three-part pipestem which can be unscrewed for transportation or storage. L. 1.145 m. Carved wooden pipe head, probably not belonging to stem. Courtesy, Benaki Museum: inv. no. 11109



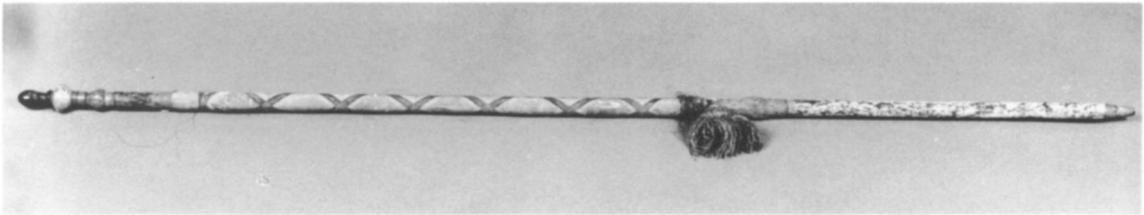
c. Pipe head said to have belonged to Ali Pasha. H. 0.049 m. Detail of front. Courtesy, War Museum of Athens



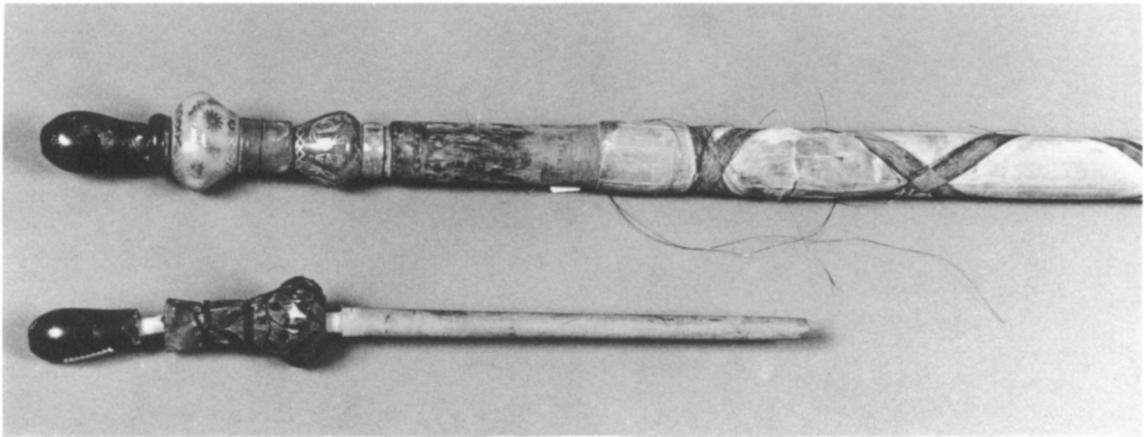
a, b. Pipe head said to have belonged to Ali Pasha. L. 0.018 m., D. disk base 0.068 m., D. shank opening 0.02 m. Courtesy, War Museum of Athens



c. Drawing of a Hellenic by J. Scherrer, dated Athens Dec. 1840. Courtesy Benaki Museum: inv. ΔΚ 1886 ©' 69



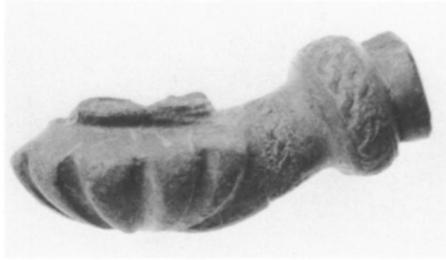
b. Pipestem of Admiral Miaoulis. Courtesy, Benaki Museum: inv. no. 8333



a. Pipestem of Admiral Miaoulis, L. 1.37 m., detail of mouthpiece, and spare mouthpiece, L. 0.124 m. Courtesy, Benaki Museum: inv. no. 8333



C 1



C 2



C 3



C 1 (bottom)



C 2 (bottom)



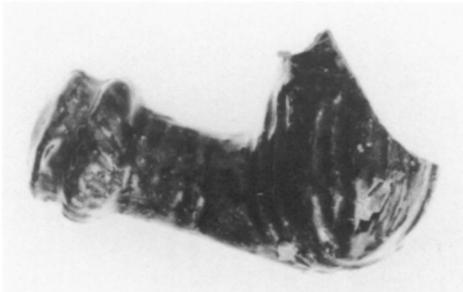
C 3 (bottom)



C 4



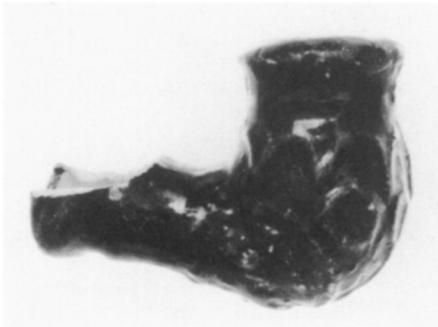
C 5



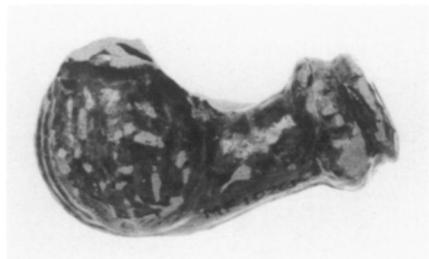
C 6



C 7



C 9



C 8

PLATE 48



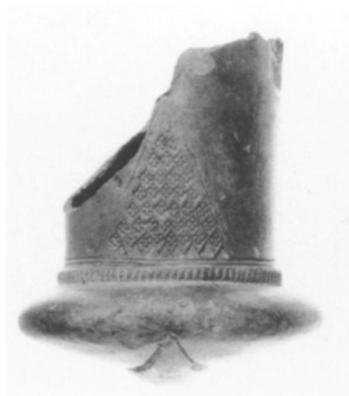
C 10



C 11



C 12



C 13



C 13 (profile)



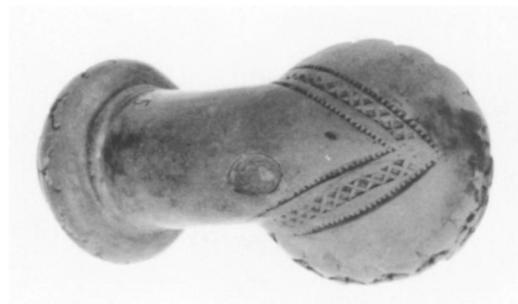
C 16



C 14



C 15



C 14 (bottom)



C 17



C 18



C 19



C 20



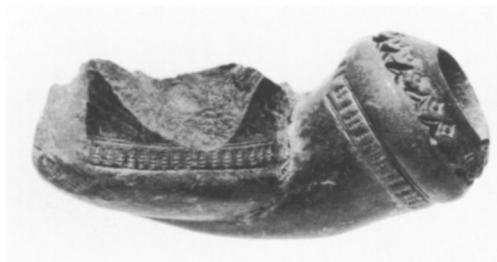
C 21



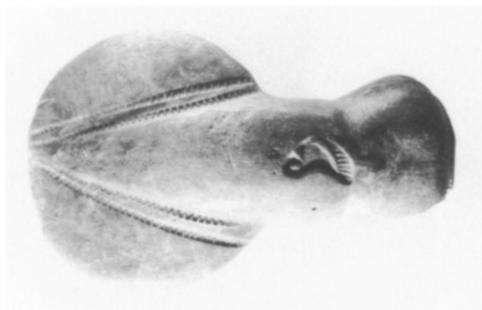
C 22



C 23



C 24



C 23 (bottom)



C 25

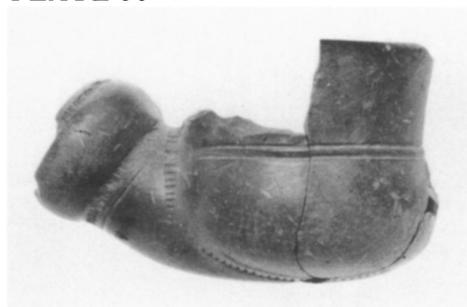


C 27

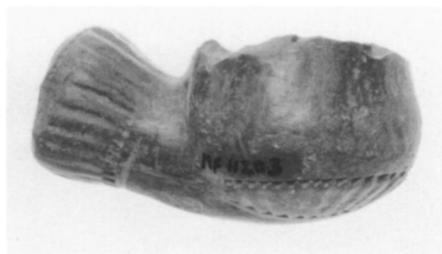


C 26

PLATE 50



C 28



C 29



C 32



C 30



C 31



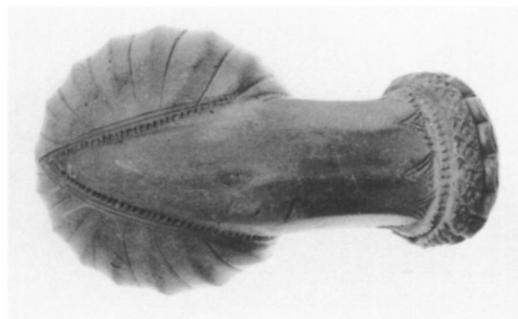
C 33



C 36



C 34



C 36 (bottom)



C 35



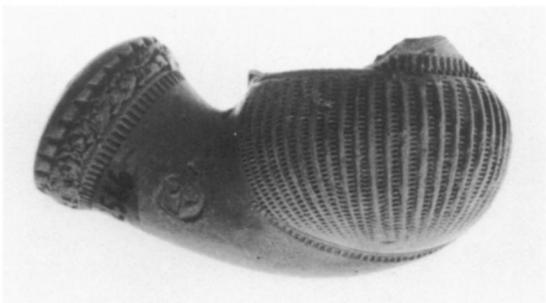
C 37



C 38



C 39



C 40



C 41



C 42



C 44



C 43

PLATE 52



C 45



C 46



C 47



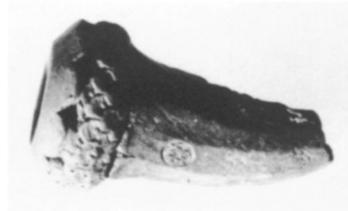
C 48



C 49



C 50



C 55



C 51



C 53



C 52



C 54



C 56



C 57



C 58



C 59



C 60



C 61



C 62



C 63



C 64



C 65



C 66



C 67

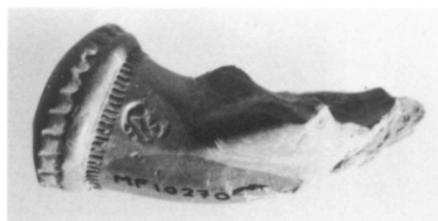
PLATE 54



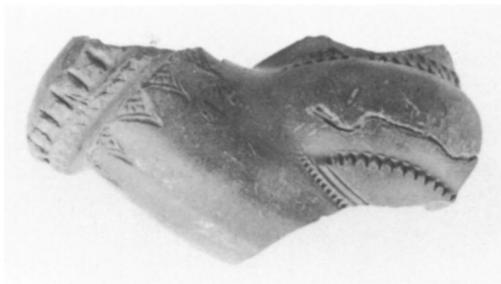
C 68



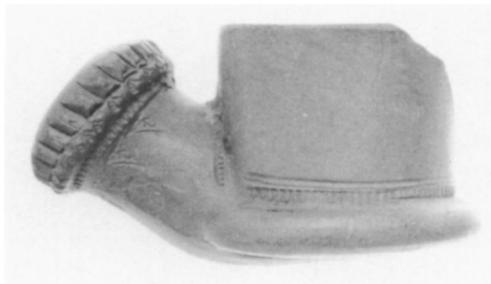
C 69



C 70



C 68 (bottom)



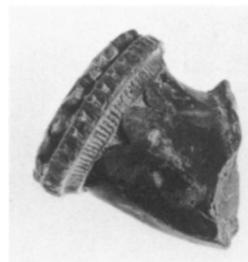
C 71



C 72



C 73



C 74



C 75



C 76



C 77



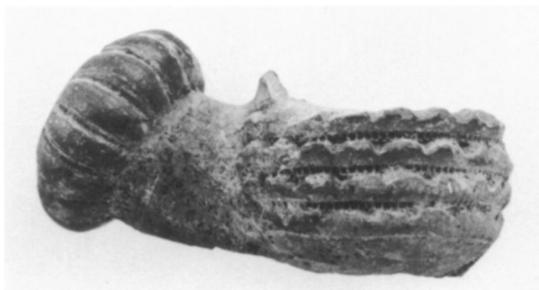
C 78



C 79



C 77 (profile)



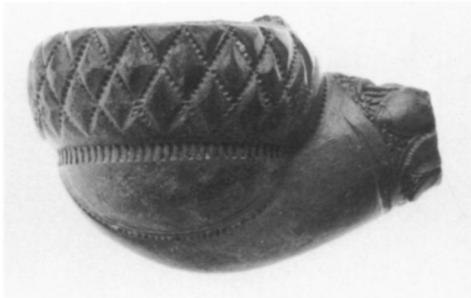
C 80



C 81



C 82



C 83



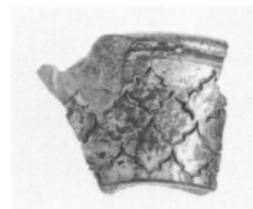
C 89



C 84



C 85



C 88



C 86



C 87



C 91



C 90



C 91 (bottom)

PLATE 56



C 92



C 95



C 97



C 93



C 94



C 96



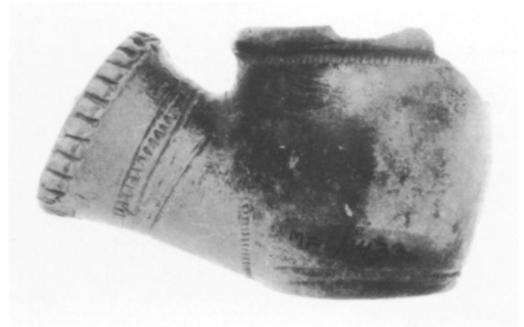
C 98



C 98 (profile)



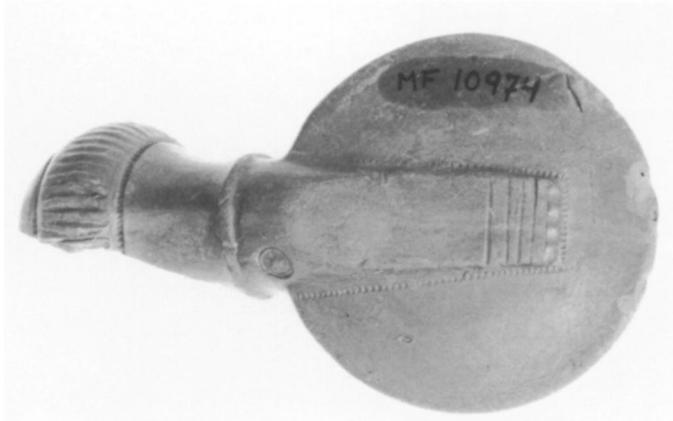
C 99



C 100



C 101



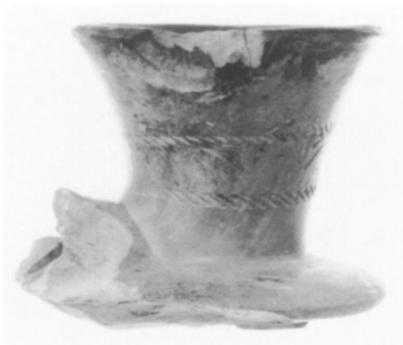
C 101 (bottom)



C 102



C 103



C 104



C 105



C 106



C 107



C 108

PLATE 58



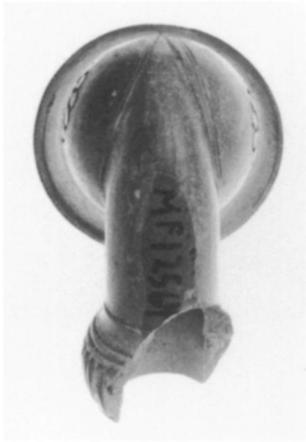
C 109



C 110



C 111



C 109 (bottom)



C 112



C 113



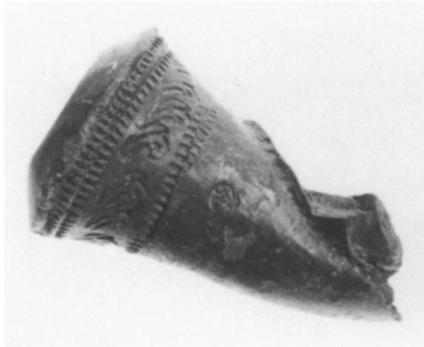
C 114



C 115



C 116



C 117



C 118



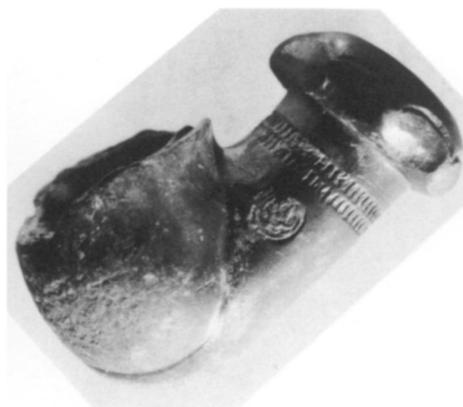
C 120



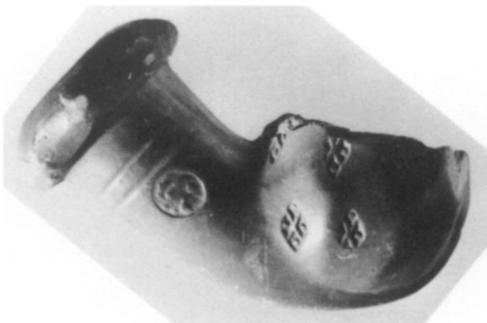
C 119



C 121



C 122



C 123



C 124



C 127



C 125



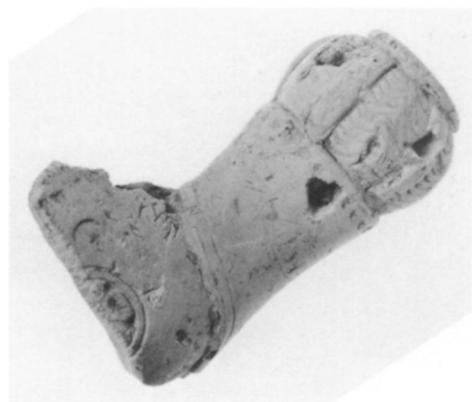
C 126



C 128



C 129



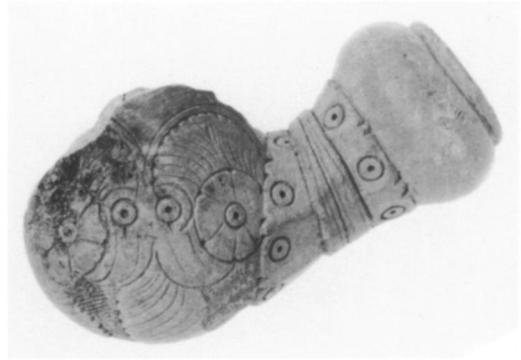
C 131



C 130



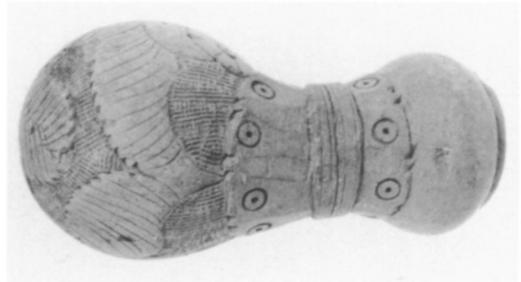
C 132



C 133



C 132 (bottom)



C 133 (bottom)



C 134



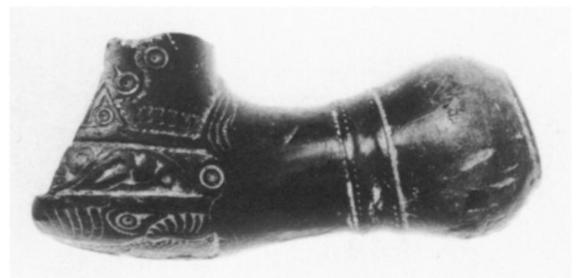
C 135



C 135 (bottom)



C 137



C 136



A 1



A 2



A 4



A 3



A 5



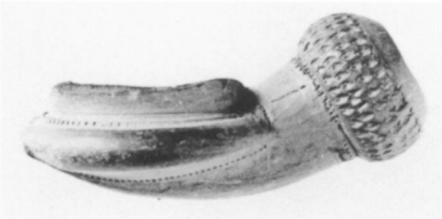
A 9



A 7



A 6



A 8



A 13



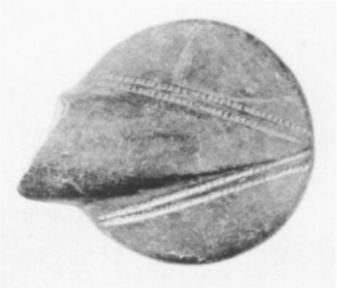
A 10



A 11



A 12



A 11 (bottom)



A 14

PLATE 62



A 15



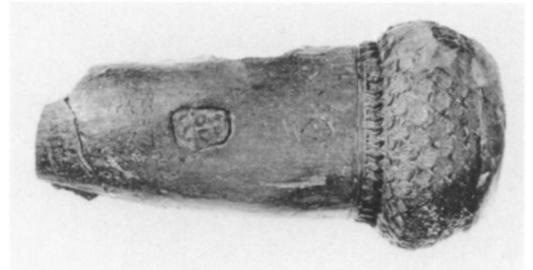
A 16



A 16, circular depression



A 17



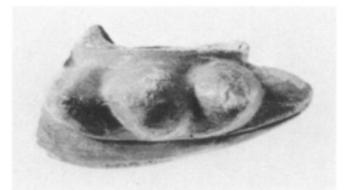
A 16, seal



A 18



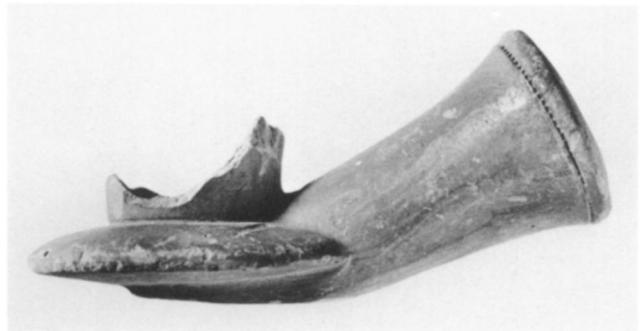
A 19



A 22



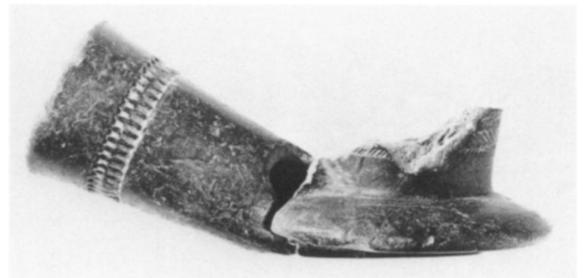
A 20



A 23



A 21



A 24



A 25



A 26



A 28



A 27



A 29



A 30



A 31



A 32



A 33



A 34



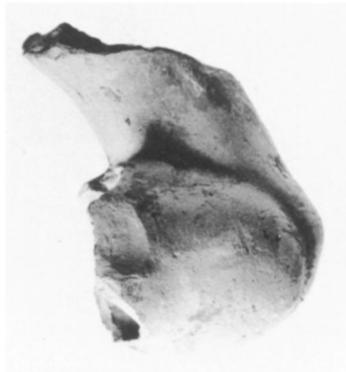
A 35



A 36



A 37



A 38



A 39



A 40



A 44 (MC 1281)



A 43



A 41



A 42