

The making of the *Smoke – A Tobacco Story* Exhibition

- The paper presents data on the organisation of the Museum tobacco exhibition, i.e. the professional processing of the material from the Smoking Accessories collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, insight into the holdings of other museums, archives, private collections and individuals, and field exploration. Particular emphasis was placed on national references on the cultivation and consumption of tobacco since the topic has hardly been discussed in Croatia from the ethnological aspect. The museological concept and accompanying events at the *Smoke – the Tobacco Story* exhibition (30 January to 28 June 2015) have been presented in greater detail.

Key words: Smoke – the Tobacco Story (exhibition)
tobacco, smoking, smoking accessories, museum exhibition

INTRODUCTION

The *Smoke – the Tobacco Story* Exhibition of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb was held in the Museum between 30 January and 28 June 2015.¹ Nika Pavlinek and Damir Prizmić were the authors of the layout and graphic design, and visual identity. Ethnologist and curator Renata Santo also contributed to the exhibition. The 102 page catalogue in Croatian, with a summary in English, comprised numerous photographs and illustration. Other contributors include ethnologist and curator Tamara Nikolić Đerić (“The female side of tobacco: social&historical aspects of the development of the tobacco industry in Rovinj and its emancipative potential”) and film critic Dean Šoša (“Cigarettes on film”).

The incentive for the exhibition was provided by the objects in the holdings of the Ethnographic Museum and the fact that the tobacco theme, in terms of its economic and

1 The Virovitica City Museum will host the exhibition between 29 January and 15 April 2016. As agreed with the ethnologist and senior curator Jasmina Jurković Petras, the theme will be extended to include the cultivation of tobacco in the Virovitica area.

culturological importance, has almost never been ethnologically considered in Croatia so far. The exhibition concept and its presentation followed after the professional processing of the smoking accessories collection, insight into the holdings of other museums and private collections; and material borrowing, field exploration and perusal of references on the subject.

TOBACCO IN CROATIAN ETHNOLOGY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The research had to start with the examination of data on tobacco growing, consumption and use in popular medicine in the *Collected Papers on Folk Life and Customs of the South Slavs* of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, especially regarding the extensive monograph presentations of places and regions. The material in the monograph is mainly arranged in line with the *Basis for the Collection and Study of Material on Folk Life*, compiled by Antun Radić in 1897. Data on tobacco are found in sections answering questions from the *Basis* and are related to tobacco planting (in the chapter “Activities”, paragraph on “Cultivating land”) and ways of tobacco consumption in terms of the genders and ages of its users (in the chapter “Necessities of life”, paragraph on “Smoking”). One question in the paragraph on “Trade” refers to the sale of tobacco, and rare information on medical treatment with tobacco can be found in the paragraph “Drugs”.

In his monograph on Otok near Vinkovci Josip Lovretić mainly lists data on the tobacco production process (seedling production, soil preparation, planting, puckering, harvesting, drying, cropping and sales). According to the notes, women took part in the cropping and tying of tobacco leaves into bundles, and in its marketing. Lovretić also noted that only the Lovrić cooperative had the licence for the cultivation of tobacco at the time when he wrote his monograph (published in the *Academy Papers* for the period between 1897 and 1899). “They had a soldier who had lost an eye at Mantua and was granted a patent, an annual grant of 48 forints and the licence whereby his cooperative could grow tobacco on 170 sq.m. of land. The right would expire with the death of the patent holder” (Lovretić, 1990: 192-193).

In his monograph on Poljica Frano Ivanišević (1903-1905) also describes the tobacco production process and compares it with interesting past features before the introduction of organised production (in the late 19th century), i.e., with the time when tobacco was grown furtively in small karst valleys on Mount Mosor. The practice was known as contraband (from Lat. *Contra bannum*, against bans) (1987: 229).

The most sweeping description of tobacco planting was presented by father Silvestar Kutleša in his monograph on Imotska Krajina, a region which had over time become the major centre of tobacco cultivation in Dalmatia. At Runovići the government permitted the cultivation of tobacco in 1884. “What had been practiced furtively was now done in public” (Kutleša 1993: 176). In that period the crop was again introduced in Dalmatia, and its cultivation was subject to Austro-Hungarian state monopoly rules. The organisation of tobacco cultivation and selling was exclusively under the control of the Ministry of Finance and its Tobacco Administration. This is how Kutleša described

the beginning of tobacco planting: “Initially the people at Runovići and Zmijavci feared tobacco like the devil. But they soon became friends when they saw that the plant was worth its weight in gold. The parishioners scrambled for who would plant more. Who had more land and more hands for cultivation was better off. Tobacco meant progress for Runovići and Zmijavci. With their earnings they built homes, dug drinking water wells and planted vineyards” (Kutleša 1993: 55).

Kutleša collected ethnographic material in the nineteen-thirties. That was a very unfavourable time for tobacco producers. In 1931 the government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes adopted the state monopoly law whereby the tobacco grown in Dalmatia and Herzegovina was classed into a category of lower quality, and that also meant a lower selling price. Another unpropitious factor was the reduced number of licences for cultivation and reduced tobacco prices. That was the result of the Depression because the monopoly administration was burdened with large quantities of unsold tobacco.

“Today you can’t earn anything by planting tobacco... There were times when it supported the house, young men had money to spend all the year long, girls and women bought clothes and robes, and young men could buy clothes, have fun, drink and enjoy life. And look at what is happening today!” During the Austrian administration one could buy 8 kg of wheat for a kilogram of tobacco; “during domestic administration, tobacco was more profitable for the first six years, and you could buy even 12 to 15 kg of wheat. After 1942 the price of tobacco began to drop considerably.” In 1923 you could buy a little more than 2 kg of wheat for the same quantity of tobacco. (Kutleša 1993: 179).

That was a major blow for the peasants whose life was already quite hard. Since selling prices were low, and retail prices of tobacco very high, many people turned to the black market. “Tobacco was smuggled and stolen, unpaid penalties meant jail. Hence the ban on tobacco planting in Runovići in 1934. That was quite a blow for the local population!... Yet, tobacco had to be planted because people needed money and there was no other source of sustenance. There were no factories, no ores, no construction, and the people were left without money or livestock” (Kutleša 1993: 179).

In addition to suppressing reports on part of the yield, and smuggling in areas where tobacco could be grown, a major threat for the state revenues was the cultivation of tobacco in areas where it was banned. Such an example is found in the *Ethnographic records of Gornja Stubica*: “We planted tobacco in the fields, out of sight, although it was forbidden. We planted some rows of tobacco among hemp, and nobody knew anything about it.” (Hanžek 2009: 119).

In preparing the catalogue and exhibition the information in the *Academy Collected Papers* had to be supplemented for a diachronic survey of tobacco growing and processing in various Croatian regions. Since there are few Croatian ethnologic and historiographic studies on the cultivation of tobacco, I was helped even by the modest amount of data in records dealing with the economic activities of certain cities or areas, and in newspaper articles. Here I shall single out integral sources or sources

I found to be the most useful for my research. One of the more extensive works was that by agronomist Ambroz Kapor,² especially his text on *Tobacco Contracting in the Dubrovnik Republic*.³

A very useful book is also *Tobacco in the Socialist Republic of Croatia: production, processing and research* (Tomislav Budin, ed.), published by the Tobacco Institute in Zagreb in 1986 on the thirtieth anniversary of its foundation. The authors of the contributions presented quite a few historical data, however often with no indication of the source(s). Information on the production of tobacco around Požega in the 18th century can be found in the travelogues of F.W.T. Taube in 1777, and Matija Piller and Ljudevit Mitterpacher in 1782. There are worthwhile data on tobacco trade after Rijeka was annexed to the Habsburg Monarchy in the report of the Rijeka merchant J.B. Nayss written after his trip to Hungary in 1787.⁴

Architect Stanko Piplović describes the building of tobacco stations and generally the introduction of tobacco in Dalmatia in the 19th century, and archaeologist Snježana Tonković presents, in the catalogue of the *Tobacco Collection of the Imotski Regional Museum*, data on the cultivation of tobacco in Imotska Krajina. Historian Stipica Grgić published in 2013 a text on tobacco and the tobacco industry in Yugoslavia in the nineteen-thirties.

More data are available on the ways of tobacco consumption in Croatia in the Academy *Collected Papers on Folk Life and Customs*. Some of the following questions can be found in the *Basis for the Collection and Study of Material on Folk Life*: “Does anyone know anybody that has not ever smoked? When did that start? Who smokes? (When do children start to smoke? Do women smoke?) What kind of pipes are there? What is smoked instead of tobacco? Do people snuff tobacco?” (Radić 1997: 22-25).

All the ethnographers state that their narrators do not remember the time when nobody smoked in their region. The answer to the question “Do women smoke?” was: very rarely. Peasant women in Imotska Krajina did not smoke. There was only one old woman in the Lovreć parish that smoked and earned the nickname of “pipesmoker”. When asked why she smoked, the old woman said: ...”many of my children have died, I was sad and dispirited. People told me to smoke. I did and it helped me. There, I am now 75 and without tobacco I would have died of consumption (tuberculosis). I am now on my deathbed, and I have received the Holy Sacrament, but tobacco still comes to my mind” (Kutleša 1993: 134). At Gornji Dolac there was also an old woman who smoked and said that doctors had told her to smoke because of her health (Ivanišević 1987: 31). According to Milan Lang, “girls and women in Samobor do not smoke, only some spoiled ladies do. Gipsy women also smoke, but not all of them. There are also men that do not smoke” (1992: 154). In Vrbnik, on the island of Krk, it was also a shame to see a woman smoking, and very few of them did (Žic 2001: 178).

2 See: Foretić, Vinko, 1983. „Ambroz Kapor (1904-1983)“. *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, Vol. 7, No. 12.

3 Kapor, Ambroz, 1906. „Apalat duhana u Dubrovačkoj Republici“, *Starine* 51 : 223-266.

4 See Karaman, Igor, 1962. „A new contribution on the development of trade toward the Croatian Littoral in the 18th century“, *Historical Papers* 15 303-307.

In some places a negative attitude towards women smokers was still present even later, in the second half of the 20th century. Thus, Ante Jurić-Arambašić noted: “At Kijevo quite a few things have changed, and one could even meet a girl or young women smoking on the sly. They were usually women who had spent some time at school in the city and saw the ladies smoking cigarettes, so they too became ‘ladies’” (2000: 110). In Lika there were few women that smoked only after the Second World War, and they were usually known under insulting nicknames (Grčević 2000: 136). On the other hand, at Visoko in Bosnia women started smoking in the late 19th century. “At first we were angry seeing them smoke, and then they retorted by saying we were around all the time, building things and smoking, while they had to spend all the time at home. So we let them smoke and did not forbid them to do so any more” (Murgić 1903: 101).

Smoking was fairly widespread among male children. At the turn of the century children began to smoke very early, between eight and twelve. Hiding from their parents, they made small pipes of reed or elder wood, with a walnut stem. At first they filled them with dry walnut or hazel leaves, and when they grew up a little with tobacco. In Imotska Krajina children made pipes from oak-galls, filled them with dried oak leaves or tobacco and smoked “until the tobacco smote them or the leaves burned their tongue; some vomited and all spat” (Kutleša 1993: 134). Parents often punished their children when they caught them smoking. Thus, when the brother of ethnographer Rožić, albeit twenty, was caught smoking, his father slapped him so hard that he knocked both “the cigarette and my teeth out of my mouth” (Rožić 1907: 27).

Although the different ways of enjoying tobacco were often present at the same time, the pipe being the most popular up to the early 20th century, snuffing was still in use throughout the 19th century. Late in the same century only elderly people still snuffed, while young ones preferred smoking.

The pipe was a status symbol for men, as confirmed by a saying from Otok in Slavonia: “For a man it is shame to pass through the village without a pipe, and for a woman without a distaff” (Jurić 1990: 639). Pipes were bought at the city fairs or made at home. Clay and wooden pipes were used most; in Samobor you could see “here and there a ‘merkšam’ [Meerschäum] pipe” (Lang 2009: 154). Clay pipes were of the so-called Eastern type (*chibouk*) and consisted of a clay bowl, wooden stem and mouth-piece. The stems could be up to one and half metres long. At the turn of the century people at Poljica carried short pipes stuck in the waist or in trouser pockets. Pipes with longer stems were used only by elderly people, who carried them stuck in their coat collars. When meeting, acquaintances or friends offered one another tobacco, and the proverb said “a glass of wine and a pipe of tobacco sustain friends”. In Dalmatia smoking became especially popular after tobacco began to be cultivated more extensively in the late 19th century. Formerly, when tobacco had to be bought, “you could hardly see it, let alone smoke it”, but when they started to plant the crop, “you could count on your fingers the youngsters who did not smoke, they all chewed a pipe in their mouth. Few girls smoked before, but now none do” (Ivanišević 1987: 32, 33). At Varoš near Slavonki Brod boys “smoked to smell of tobacco before the wheel dance” (Lukić 1919: 114).

At the turn of the century cigarettes appeared along with cigars. Cigars were also smoked from cigar-holders. Cigarettes were rolled with cigarette paper, but newspapers would also do. In Imotska Krajina, reported Silvestar Kutleša, “boys prefer to smoke cigarettes rather than pipes; they carry a box of tobacco and cigarette paper, roll a cigarette and ask a friend for a light, or light it themselves with matches and smoke like a steamer” (1993: 135).

In the first half of the 20th century few people in the region of Gornja Stubica could afford buying cigarettes. When they did, “they were gaspers you could buy for the price of an egg”. The men also smoked pipes filled with *drajer* [from German *drei*, three], lowest quality tobacco, but some women also “smoked, though not in public” (Hanžek 2009: 119).

When tobacco was scarce, dried leaves would do – oak, sour cherry, cherry, thistle, lime, sage, spring potato, moss, a plant called *turski duvan* (Turkish tobacco) in Slavonia etc. However incredible from today’s point of view, people also chewed and smoked *baguš*, unburned and partially burned tobacco scraped from the pipe bowl.

Just as everywhere in the world, throughout Croatia tobacco was considered to be a useful drug against various diseases and a preventive agent against infections; data about that can also be found in the *Collected Papers on Folk Life and Customs of the South Slavs*. Tobacco was mainly used locally, inhaled or, less frequently, for enemas. Its most widespread indications for local use were toothache, snake bite and skin diseases. In Otok near Vinkovci boils were strewn with powder from pipes “to get powder bite and dry them”; eruptions on the skin were smeared with tar from the pipe stem, and a tobacco leaf coated with honey was placed on a swollen spleen. For scabby tobacco was boiled, and the liquid used to wash the affected parts (Lovretić 1879: 210). Tobacco was also widely used as an insecticide and, as late as the nineteen-seventies, against moths.

Data on treatment with tobacco can also be found in 18th century medicine books. One of the oldest books on the subject, *Luić’s Medicine Book of 1746* – recommended tobacco for the treatment of catarrh on the head. In the booklet *Ordinary Medicines*, printed in 1775 by the Franciscan friar Luka Vladimirović, tobacco was considered to be good in watery eyes and wheeziness (asthma). In *The Most Excellent Medicines of Doctor Marković* (1784) smoking tobacco was recommended for disinfecting pestilential air during cholera, and especially against the plague. When plague broke out in Srijem in 1795, the authorities issued the following order: “Keep your houses and the things in them clean, washed, and fumigate them often with juniper, tobacco or ploughman’s spikenaard” (Glesinger 1973: 38, 39).

For the other themes covered in this exhibition I have also resorted to many foreign references. The books *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America* (1987) by Johannes Wilber and *Mythologiques 2: From Honey to Ashes* by Claude Lévi-Strauss were especially inspiring as far as tobacco and shamanism are concerned. Historian Jordan Goodman has edited a number of books on tobacco, the more important being *Tobacco in History: the Cultures of Dependence* (2005) and *Tobacco in History and Culture. An Encyclopaedia Vol.1 and 2* (2005). Ian Gately also discusses tobacco extensively in *A Cultural History of How an Exotic Plant Seduced Civilisation* (2007).

THE SMOKE – THE TOBACCO STORY EXHIBITION

The exhibition presented 367 objects, many photographs and videos (Fig. 1/p. 192-193). The objects were mainly from the Smoking Accessories Collection of the Ethnographic Museum⁵. It contains pipes, pipe stems, cigarette holders, tobacco boxes, cigarette boxes, snuff boxes, tobacco pouches, matchboxes, lighters, tongs etc. They were collected continuously since 1921 by museum commissioners, curators, field explorations, citizen donations and purchases. The objects were mainly made in the 19th and 20th centuries in Croatia and neighbouring countries. The oldest object is a 16th century Western type clay pipe.

An interesting section in the collection consists of pipes, pipe stems, cigarette holders and pipe making tools from Zelovo near Sinj, purchased for the Ethnographic Museum curator Božidar Širola during his field research in 1932.⁶ On the occasion he also recorded the techniques applied in the making of clay pipes and wooden pipe stems, and cigarette holders, published in the first issue of the *Ethnographic Explorations and Material* journal in 1934.⁷ For a long time that was the only professional text dealing with the making of Zelovo pipes,⁸ and the next logical step was the field exploration trip⁹ to Zelovo, where the making of clay pipes started in the 18th century and was until the mid-20th century a source of income for the local population. In the second part of the 20th century production died out, and was renewed in 2010 by Ivan Delaš, who wanted to revive the tradition of pipe making and marketing pipes on the souvenir market. After the visit a video on Zelovo pipes was agreed with Croatian Radio television, i.e., for its “Alps, Danube, Adriatic” telecast¹⁰ in order to promote the revived tradition.

Along with the mentioned objects other collections of the Ethnographic Museum also included objects interesting for display or publication of the exhibition catalogue. Thus, the exhibition presented quite a few objects from the World Cultures Collection: pipes and snuff boxes from Congo, a *kiseru* pipe from Japan, Chinese water pipes and snuff boxes, and pipes from India, Australia and New Guinea. A tobacco cutter was included from the Economy Collection, and ceramic tobacco pots from the Pottery Collection.

Objects and photographs required for the presentation of specific topics were borrowed

5 The Smoking Accessories Collection currently comprises 295 objects. It was set up in 2013 by transformation of the previous collection during the new systematisation of the Ethnographic Museum collections. Marija Živković was appointed head of the collection. In 2012 the objects were cleaned, professionally processed and prepared to for the procedure of determination of cultural property status at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia.

6 Pipes and cigarette holders from Zelovo also arrived in the Museum through other donations and purchases.

7 Širola, Božidar, „Some cottage industry trades in Zelovo“, *Etnografska izraživanja* 1, 27-37.

8 In 2001 archaeologist Luka Bekić published an article on Zelovo pipes, „Introduction to the study of clay pipes in Croatia“; *Journal of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb* 32-33/1; 249-279. In the following period interest in the theme increased, especially among archaeologists. The theme has been covered in the greatest detail by Darija Brkić and Darija Petričević, e.d, in 2013: *Pipes and the beginnings of the tobacco industry in Cetinska Krajina*, catalogue of the exhibition. Sinj, Museum of Cetinska Krajina.

9 The field exploration was carried out in October 2012. I would like to thank my colleagues Darija Brkić and Danijela Petričević from the Museum of Sinjska Krajina for their assistance.

10 Broadcast in 2013.

from other museums, private collectors and individuals. Thus, the exhibition displayed posters from the holdings of the Zagreb City Museum carrying messages like “More tobacco/more money” and “Plant tobacco, you will have wheat and salt”, designed by Zvonimir Faist after the Second World War (1945-1947) when the state endeavoured to revive tobacco production.

A small table with smoking accessories from the second half of the 19th century, shown to present the attitude of social elites toward tobacco, was borrowed from the Šibenik City Museum, and a stand for cigars, snuff boxes and a cigarette holder from the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb.

The Slovenian Ethnographic Museum loaned us a pipe (*calumet*) and a tobacco bag, from the second half of the 19th century, which belonged to the Menominee and Ojibwa people (North America). Two pipes from Western Africa were borrowed from Collection of Drago Muvrin’s African objects of art. The Imotski City Museum loaned us two objects (a pipe, *đuzelača*, and a chibouk), and several photographs for publication. The Rovinj City Museum let us have a number of photographs of the *tabakine*, workers of the Rovinj Tobacco Factory from the early 20th century; from the Zadar City Museum we obtained Ante Brkan’s photographs of the Zadar Tobacco Factory from the nineteen-seventies. We also used, from the Virovitica City Museum, several photographs showing farmers on tobacco fields – the most interesting one was printed on the invitation to the exhibition.

Individuals also loaned us interesting objects: from Ivan Zvjerac we got a rich collection of old cigarette boxes, from Stjepan Kelčec - Suhovac pipe smoking accessories (pipes, tampers and matches) he used at pipe smoking contests, from Domagoj Telišman unique pipes made specifically for the exhibition, and from Krunoslav Plečko the promotional matchbox packaging of the Drava Match Factory.

The exhibition was designed in several integrated sections. The first referred to the American origin of tobacco, its importance in the past and to an extent today as well, in the traditional belief of the American indigenous population, the spreading of tobacco from North and South America throughout the world: the exhibition layout stressed the point with ship planks, associative of overseas tobacco trade and the beginnings of tobacco use in Europe, primarily for therapeutic purposes.

In the past the American indigenous population cultivated two tobacco species – *Nicotiana tabacum* and *Nicotiana rustica*, the only ones still used for commercial purposes. *Nicotiana rustica*, known in South America as *mapacho*, is very strong and its leaves contain a high concentration of nicotine – nine times as much as *Nicotiana tabacum*, and because of its strong effect it is often used in shamanistic rituals. Along with the graphic presentation of the plants visitors could also see two ways of *mapacho* packaging – as cigars and rolled leaves (both acquired in 2014 near Iquitos, Peru).¹¹

The important role of tobacco in the traditional beliefs of the indigenous American is highlighted by the Iranxé or Múnukú myth about the origin of tobacco analysed by

11 The *mapacho* was donated for the exhibition by Miro Tecilazić.

Lévi-Strauss in his *Mythologiques 2: From Honey to Ashes* (2008: 56), and by the graphic presentation of the *Father Heaven* and *Mother Earth*, shown on sand and on rugs, presenting the four sacred Navajo plants, including tobacco.

The *Lakota* ceremony was singled out in order to refer to tradition which became very popular throughout the world, including Croatia, in spite of the endeavours of the *Lakota* people to remain the bearers of the tradition. During the ceremony people are purified in two ways: by hot steaming stones and by tobacco smoke. There are several variants of the ceremony, both based on the belief that smoke is a holy, purifying element which not only cleans the soul and the body but also indulges the *Great Spirit* and other deities by streaming to the sky. The small house in which the ceremony is held is often dome-like and made of natural materials; for exhibition purposes we displayed a reconstruction in order to give the visitors an idea of the atmosphere during the ceremony.

The second section, entitled *Herba fiscalae*¹² highlighted the economic importance of tobacco in Croatia. In order to provide an insight into the historical context of tobacco monopoly introduction in Europe, we provided a diachronic survey of tobacco cultivation and processing between its beginnings in the late 16th century and the present day. Today tobacco is produced on about 1000 family farms in Podravina and Western Slavonia.

In addition to many historical photographs, we also showed those taken in 2014 during field visits to the area of Virovitica and Pitomača, and contributions from the *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* telecast broadcast by Croatian Radio&Television in the nineteen-sixties and showing the various activities in tobacco production and processing.

Because of the enforcement of the state monopoly throughout the area of present-day Croatia, in the mid-19th century state-owned factories replaced the existing workshops for tobacco processing. Most of the labour in the tobacco industry were women, as shown in the group photographs of the workers in the Rovinj and Zadar Tobacco Factories.

The exhibition also covered the topic of smuggling, an inevitable phenomenon accompanying all monopolies, the tobacco monopoly in particular. It appeared immediately after the introduction of the monopoly, and gained particular momentum in the nineteen-thirties, when the number of planting licences was reduced, selling prices were low, and retail prices of tobacco products very high.

One of the larger sections was devoted to the ways of enjoying tobacco, which changed over time, as did smoking accessories which developed into many forms an works of art of sorts, as shown by the 365 displayed objects.

It was announced by an installation, an over-dimensioned pipe, the work of sculptor Marko Gašparić, restorer of the Ethnographic Museum. By hanging above it the inscrip-

12 Soon after the appearance of tobacco, European rulers understood its importance for their finances, and the tobacco industry still feeds the budgets of all national economies. Hence the name of the section („*Herba fiscalae*“).

tion “*Ceci n’est pas une pipe*” (This is not a pipe) the designers alluded to the well-known work of René Magritte, Belgian surrealist painter (Fig. 2/p. 194).

Like most European peoples, the English took over pipe smoking from the people of North America, while the Spanish preferred cigars, chewing and snuff, taken over from the people of Central and South America. Pipe smoking was the prevalent form of enjoying tobacco until the 18th century when, at last as far as Europe is concerned, snuffing became the most popular form of tobacco consumption. The manufacturing of cigarette and cigars started in Spain in the 17th and 18th centuries, respectively. Until the end of the 19th century tobacco was consumed in different ways, pushed in the background in the second half of the 20th century by the large scale production of cigarettes.

Since most pipes used in the West were made of clay, porcelain, *meerscham* or wood, they were grouped accordingly. Specific forms developed in other parts of the world such as the *narghile* (waterpipe), the African and Chinese waterpipes, the Japanese *ki-seru* pipe, Chinese snuff-boxes, the North American *calumet*, were presented depending on their accessibility for display.

The production of pipes at Zelovo near Sinj was displayed as a separate section with an enlarged photograph of a pipe making kiln (taken by Božidar Širola in 1932), material and tools for pipe making, and videos on the revival of production by Croatian Radio-Television and the Sinj Tourist Board.

Modern hand-made pipes were presented with the work of Domagoj Telišman (*Dotterpipes*) and photographs showing his work process, and the pipe smoking clubs by photographs and accessories from international and national pipe smoking contests.

In addition to pipes, the exhibition also displayed smoking accessories such as tobacco pouches, cigarette holders, snuff boxes, lighters, etc. One showcase displays many cigarette boxes made in the 20th century, mainly the property of private collector Ivan Zvjerac and, a small part, of Krunoslav Plečko and from the holdings of the Ethnographic Museum. In addition to their interesting graphic design the boxes attracted the visitors because they reminded them of some other times.

The visitors were also offered interesting reading material – a text by journalist Edi Jurković entitled “How I smoked the lot – inventory of an ex-smoker”, in which the author presents, through cigarette brands, a chronicle of the nineteen-eighties. At that time cigarette consumption in Yugoslavia grew faster than in the world. The reasons are the growth of the population, higher purchasing power and widespread smoking habits. Thus, in 1985 the consumption of cigarettes in Yugoslavia amounted to 2300 per capita, as compared with approximately 1000 in the world (Budin 1986: 44).

The spread of tobacco in history is due partly to the social elites which, by accepting new ways of consumption, dictated new trends, and partly to wars which especially contributed to them. These facts are presented by an enlarged photograph of soldiers in a trench during the First World War, when cigarettes were popularised, and by a conceptualised presentation of smoking salon from the second part of the 19th century, when members of social elites gathered to “enjoy the free male company resembling

the one in the Arab world”. Namely, at the time the custom of men smoking was associated with Turkey, Persia and Northern Africa where tobacco was enjoyed in leisure (Todorova 2006: 32-33).

The advertising of tobacco during the 20th century was covered by marketing expert Ivo Payer. Along with a text following the logic of advertising language visitors could see TV ads from the nineteen-fifties when tobacco could still be advertised on TV, and printed ads with interesting slogans like “Stopping smoking is an advice patients will find it hard to follow. Offer them a *Phillip Morris* instead”, often “pronounced” by dentists, doctors, scientists, pop icons and music and film celebrities.

A very interesting topic – cigarettes in the seventh art – was studied for the exhibition and the catalogue by film critic Dean Šoša. In the history of the media, argued Šoša, the key elements of which are light and movement, few things effectively moved and lit the human face so much as cigarettes and smoke. Visitors could see on the screen many film scenes which he described.

The last section of the exhibition covered a historical survey of bans prohibiting the consumption of tobacco and anti-smoking endeavours, from the death penalty for smokers (17th century) to the final scientific evidence on the harmful effects of tobacco products (20th century). Emphasis was placed on the almost one hundred years of efforts of Croatian health workers (Hygiene Institute and School of Public Health in Zagreb, 1927) focused on the prevention of smoking, especially among children.

ACCOMPANYING EVENTS

Accompanying events included professional lectures, presentations and workshops intended to provide more detailed information on the topics covered by the exhibition and achieve the desired objective – attract visitors of a profile other than that of the regular audience.

At the opening, during the *Night of Museums* event, musicians Biba and Vlado Benussi from Rovinj performed traditional songs of the *tabakine*, workers in the Rovinj Tobacco Factory. Ivan Delaš followed with four presentations of the making of clay pipes and wooden cigarette holders in Zelovo. The visitors accepted both with great appreciation.

With his lecture on “Tobacco in the ceremonies of the indigenous North American population: the Pipe and the Sweat Lodge ceremonies” Goran Puljko attempted to evoke the value of tobacco in the culture of native Americans on the example of two ceremonies. Puljko owes knowledge of them to Wind Daughter, bearer of the culture and values of the Muscogee Creek ethnic group (Fig. 3/p. 194).

An especially pleasant atmosphere in the Museum was offered by Santiago Andrade Leon, healer and spiritual leader of the Sacred Fire of Itzachilatlan Association, and healer Andrea Calderon from Ecuador, guests of the Croatian branch of the Sacred Fire of Itzachilatlan Association, who presented their knowledge of the holy tobacco plant – and songs of native Americans.

Dean Šoša's professional lecture on "Cigarettes on film" attracted mainly younger visitors who were given the opportunity to learn much about films and the road covered by cigarettes in films, from the social periphery to its centre – until, after the nineteen-sixties, they became the pastime of negative characters or, in the best of cases, maladjusted individuals and rebels.

During the exhibition the authors offered free guided tours for the citizens and for the participants of the SIEF Conference.

The health&educational project "Smoking is out!"¹³ was launched on the initiative of the Ethnographic Museum, and in cooperation with the City Office for Health, the City Office for Education, Culture and Sports, and the *Andrija Štampar* Teaching Institute of Public Health. The project was intended for pupils of the 6th primary school classes in Zagreb, and it included four educational workshops on the harmful effect of tobacco products, after which the participants visited the exhibition with authorial guidance adjusted to their age. An art competition on the same topic was also held for primary school pupils, and about seventy children sent their contributions. The professional jury¹⁴ selected 29 for the art exhibition on the World No Tobacco Day.

CONCLUSION

The advantage of an occasional exhibition lies in the opportunity of covering the same topic in some other time and with some other ideas. Yet, in the words of Ivo Maroević, "a museum exhibition is the result of the expert's wish, of the influence of current time and society, and of available heritage objects actualising the consciously selected part of their museability induced by the co-relation of things" (2003: 17). Thus, the *Smoke – The Tobacco Story* is the result of the ideas of its author and the reflection of current times. In organising the exhibition I was guided by the idea to exhibit objects that had never before "seen the light of day" because, as Siegfried Lenz once said in another context, objects are worthwhile as long as others look at them and thereby find something about themselves. While preparing the exhibition and during it I also learned a lot myself because exhibitions present two forms of knowledge: the knowledge achieved in the preparation of the exhibition and the knowledge which is the result of the attitude of the visitor toward the inter-relation of objects in actual social time (Maroević 2003: 15, 17). This is why actual social time has stimulated many visitors to share their views but also their memories.

Perhaps the shortcoming of a museum exhibition as a medium lies in the limited possibility of presenting specific topics, as, for example, in the topic on tobacco in South American shamanism, which proved to be very interesting for the public and which we tried to deepen through the accompanying programme. As already mentioned, exhibitions are, after all, based on available heritage objects. Another limitation worthy of note is the lack of funding for research and film production. On

13 The authors of the project were Mirjana Drobina of the Ethnographic Museum and Ivana Portolan Pajić from the City Health Department.

14 Marija Živković, Željka Jelavić, Marko Gašparić and Renata Santo.

the other hand, this opens up opportunities for other media, and I am looking forward to the tobacco telecast produced by the department for folk and traditional culture of Croatian Radio&Television.

Tobacco is a very broad topic, still under-explored in Croatia, and that provides room for the work of experts of a variety of profiles but also for the author's efforts. During preparation of the exhibition contacts were established with professionals of many backgrounds, from agronomists and health workers to ethnologists, historians and archaeologists, and interest in the topic appears to be growing. It seems that the time has come at last to speak up about a plant called the queen among plants but also the devil's grass.

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