

Jacaranda 

# TOBACCIANA



The Art of Southern African Tobacco Culture

Jacaranda 



[jacarandatribal.com](http://jacarandatribal.com) [dori@jacarandatribal.com](mailto:dori@jacarandatribal.com) T +1 646-251-8528  
280 Riverside Drive New York, NY 10025





As a young girl, I vividly remember visits from my father's close friend Joseph. I recall his presence in my childhood home with clarity because he smoked a pipe. As Joseph performed the familiar ritual of preparing to smoke, I would watch him unroll his supple, leather tobacco pouch, pinch and pack the tobacco, and finally light the pipe and draw in the aromatic blend. Although I was not the one partaking, my senses were engaged.

I have the same visceral reaction to the magnificent smoking paraphernalia of 19<sup>th</sup>-century southern Africa. I never cease to be amazed by the beauty of the materials used – horn, bone, wood, metal – and the ways in which they are each so masterfully worked, resulting in functional and extraordinary forms. Beyond their aesthetics, one is always intrigued by what these precious objects held and which customs surrounded their use.

Tobacco was introduced to southern Africa by the Portuguese in the 1500s, and rapidly became an important part of regional life. By the 1800s tobacco was widely used, either smoked or taken as snuff. In the latter instance it was mixed with cannabis, which was already in popular use by the Khoisan and Bantu peoples in South Africa prior to European settlement there in 1652.

In this catalogue you will find objects solely dedicated to the culture of tobacco. There are staffs and kerries with cleverly designed snuff chambers and a rare, superb Zulu container. There are diminutive snuff bottles that convey elegance and refinement and a snuff spoon that represents the pinnacle of abstract anthropomorphism.

What all of these objects have in common is that they were of personal and social significance among many indigenous groups of southern Africa. It was believed that taking snuff and smoking tobacco sharpened the senses, strengthened social ties as a communal act, and allowed degrees of communication with the ancestors.

Many of the objects were worn on the body – snuff spoons in ear lobes and adorning hair, beaded tobacco bags and gourds layered around the neck, staffs and kerries proudly carried in the hands of men. The use of these pieces enriched their history and enhanced their patina.

As these works please us with their visual beauty, they speak to all our senses: the faint but recognizable scent of tobacco, traces of powder remaining at the bottom of a snuff bottle, the smooth surface of cattle horn, the gentle rattle of beads, the grooved carving and glint of meticulous metal inlay in dark wood.

I hope you will enjoy the selection. Perhaps it will conjure a memory of your own.

Dori Rootenberg  
February 2019

# SNUFF KERRIE

Probably Northern Nguni, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

24 1/4" l 5" h

Wood

Provenance: Michel Koenig, Brussels; Kevin Conru, Brussels

Published in *The Art of Southeast Africa*, Kevin Conru, plate 28

Knobkerries, most typically carved as simple, ball-headed clubs, are icons in traditional southern African culture. They were ubiquitously carried by men for personal protection and were important symbols of status and identity. As with many other objects of utility in southern African life, they were at times lavished with considerable artistic modification. This highly unusual kerrie features a partially hollow head, slit open on one side and pierced through its center with an open channel. Two snuff containers, one of which bears a small face, protrude like pouches from either side. A pair of post-shaped arms just below the head allows the kerrie to rest horizontally.













# SNUFF SPOON

Zulu, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

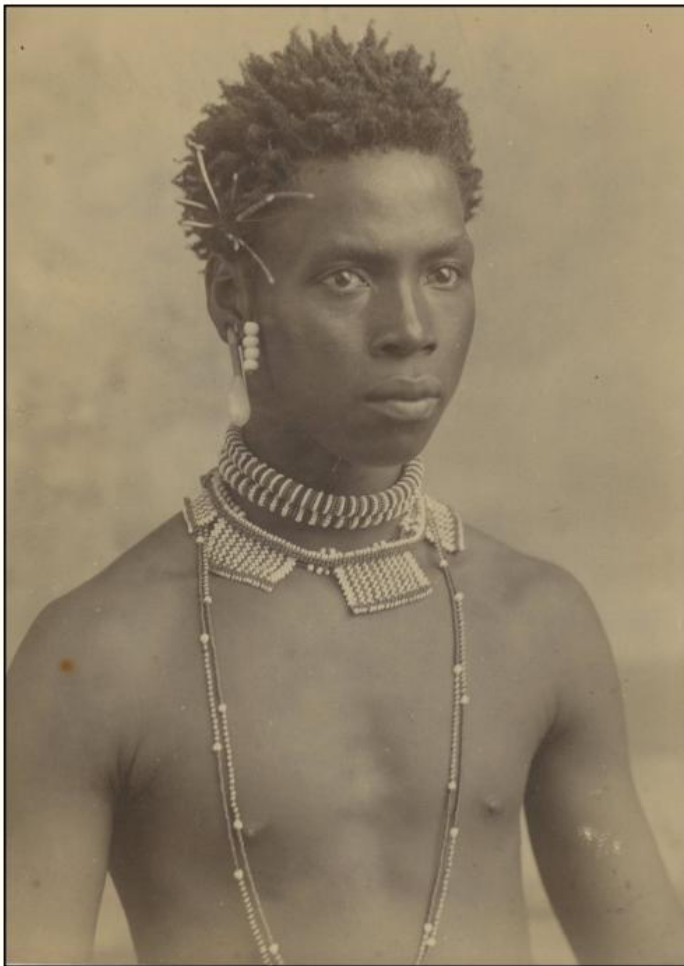
6 1/2" h 3/4" w

Bone

Provenance: Christie's Amsterdam; Kevin Conru, Brussels

Published in *The Art of Southeast Africa*, Kevin Conru, plate 27

With vigorous sculptural vision, the carver of this splendid snuff spoon has infused a classic Nguni form with a full and marvelous sense of three-dimensionality, rippling its rigid body in a striking suggestion of abstract anthropomorphism. Contrasting panels of crosshatched incisions, blackened with soot, adorn the sinuous neck. Snuff spoons, like many types of tobacciana in southern Africa, were often designed as wearable ornaments. While some were worn through the earlobe, this spoon's three graceful tines kept it affixed to the wearer's coiffure, and additionally served as a comb for the moustache and beard.







# PIPE

Xhosa, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

16 1/2" l 4 3/4" h

Wood, metal, bone

Provenance: Saul and Marsha Stanoff, Los Angeles; private European collection

Pipes with slender, elongated stems were commonly found among South African peoples, but the delightful surface decoration seen in this beautifully textured example is more rare. Lead inlay, one of the South African pipe carver's trademark techniques, has been employed here to add vertically oriented sunburst motifs and charming animal figures to the pipe's tall bowl. Small bone details elaborate the mouthpiece, while beneath the bowl is found a tiny foot that allows the pipe to be left sitting upright.



Studio portrait of a Bushman woman  
Albumen print, early 1870s













# TOBACCO BAG

South Nguni, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

17" h (including strap) 7 1/2" w

Glass beads, cloth, fiber, sinew

Provenance: Brant Mackley, Pennsylvania

Means of carrying tobacco were as important in southern Africa as those of sampling it, and gaily beaded purses were widely produced for that purpose. Decorated as vividly as any other example of the region's beadwork, such bags would often be worn as just one element in a larger ensemble of heavily beaded accessories. This example features classic Nguni design with its bold zigzag pattern and bright palette of white, red and blue.



Studio portrait of a South Nguni woman, cabinet card, c. 1880s





# ZOOMORPHIC SNUFF CONTAINER

Cape Nguni, South Africa

Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

5 1/4" l 5" h

Animal skin, clay

Exhibited and published in *Spirit of Africa*, Clayarch Gimhae Museum, Korea, 2007

Provenance: David Lewin, London

This type of zoomorphic container stands among the oldest and rarest extant snuff bottles found in southern Africa. Shaped and hardened from a mixture of hide scrapings, clay, and blood, the very materials used in their manufacture differentiate them as much from other southern African snuff paraphernalia as their remarkable forms. The few known examples that survive depict bulls, as seen here, as well as cows. Very little scholarship about these objects exists, but it has been suggested that they were crafted from the hides of animals that had been sacrificially offered to ancestors, thus endowing them with talismanic properties.



North Nguni men smoking, albumen print, c. 1880s













# PIPE WITH FEMALE FIGURE

Thembu, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

3 ¾" l 4 ½" h

Wood, metal

Provenance: Michael Graham-Stewart, London; Marc and Denyse Ginzberg, New York; private New York collection

Published in *Africa: Relics of the Colonial Era*, Anthony Jack, 1991, p. 23; *The Art of Southeast Africa*, Kevin Conru, plate 44

The inspiration of southern African carvers finds astonishing peaks in pipes incorporating human figures. This magnificent pipe figure, so finely made in every respect, depicts a woman carrying a voluminous water vessel. Stout, strong proportions, bold contours and a focused gaze come together in an outstanding figurine. A slender belt and fine skirt, slung delicately around the waist and across the loins, are rendered in thin lead inlay.

This pipe belongs to a corpus of several known examples carved by a single artist. One example, published in 1938, is in the South African Museum in Cape Town, while another identical pipe is in the Itzikovitz collection in Paris and was formerly in the Pitt-Rivers Collection. The latter example is still on its original base and has the following annotation on the reverse: "This pipe was carved by the head councilor of Ngangaleswe's tribe, paramount chief of the Pembus, and was brought to Queenstown and sold for £1-10. The carver subsequently joined the rebellion and was shot."



North Nguni women carrying beer vessels, albumen print, c. 1890s











# LINKED SNUFF CONTAINERS

Tsonga, South Africa

Top:

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

10 1/4" l

Wood

Provenance: Marc and Denyse Ginsberg, New York; Sheikh Saud bin Mohammed al-Thani, Qatar and London

Bottom:

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

8" l

Wood

Provenance: Allan Stone, New York

Snuff containers were ubiquitous and honored objects in South Africa, figuring frequently in festive and ceremonial social contexts. Used to heighten the senses and access communion with the ancestors, snuff was also taken to incite celebrants to procreation. This association is possibly reflected in the mammary and phallic suggestions seen in this beautiful pair of dual snuff containers. Linked in the manner of a chain and smoothly formed with extreme care, these multi-part pieces were each carved from a single piece of wood, save for their conical stoppers. This type of linked snuff container is sometimes found attached to headrests, which are likewise regarded as a means of communication with ancestral spirits.



North Nguni men taking snuff, albumen print, c. 1890s



Double headrest with attached snuffs, Tsonga, 19<sup>th</sup> century





# PIPE WITH HAND MOTIF

Cape Nguni/Thembu, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

5 1/8" l 2 1/8" h

Wood, metal

Provenance: Seward Kennedy, London; Kevin Conru, Brussels

Published in *The Art of Southeast Africa*, Kevin Conru, plate 31a

Abundant artistic imagination was employed in the creation of South African tobacco paraphernalia, a tradition perfectly embodied in this beautiful pipe, which is conceived as an extended right arm supporting a decorative vessel. Above the finely and naturalistically modeled hand, three tiered cartouches of delicately and exactingly carved sawtooth motifs flank the bowl. A dark and luxurious patina graces this lovely pipe, highlighting the silvery inlay to magnificent effect.

A pipe's characteristics were dictated by its owner. Size, shape and decoration varied according to the carrier's age, sex and profession. Women's pipes always had longer stems than men's, as well as taller, narrower bowls with a smaller capacity. Pipes with white beads might be used by female diviners, while those with very long stems and colored beads could be used by elderly people of both sexes. With its broad, stout bowl and shorter stem, this pipe almost certainly belonged to a man.



Man smoking a pipe, albumen print, c. 1890s











# ZOOMORPHIC SNUFF CONTAINER

Cape Nguni, South Africa

Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century

5 1/2" l 3 1/2" h

Animal skin, clay

Provenance: Private European collection; Agnes Woliner, Paris; private American collection; Bonhams 2011

This rare and lovely cow-shaped snuff container is one of only a few known examples of its type. Of plainly zoomorphic form and so very unlike other snuff containers of the region, it belongs to the same distinct class as the bull-shaped container illustrated earlier in this catalogue. To create this figure, a special mixture of hide scrapings was first worked over a sculpted core of clay. Allowed to dry to the consistency of leather, the surface was then picked with a sharp implement to produce the pointed protrusions. This raised pattern is reminiscent of the Zulu *amasumpa* motif, which symbolizes herds of cattle – perhaps the ultimate icon of temporal wealth and ancestral influence for the tribes of South Africa. An excellently crafted piece such as this would have carried with it powerful indications of status.



Young South Nguni men, albumen print, c. 1880s











# PIPE

Xhosa, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

5 1/8" l 2 3/8" h

Wood, metal

Provenance: Dave DeRoche, San Francisco; Kevin Conru, Brussels

Published in *The Art of Southeast Africa*, Kevin Conru, plate 31c

Social interaction among the Xhosa, even between complete strangers, was always centered around asking for a pipe of tobacco, or *ingxawa*, and smoking together. Pipes such as this example, masterfully carved and carefully worked with a wealth of refined details, would have given all the more joy and pleasure to such meetings. Magnificent silvery inlay – a rich counterpoint to the warm wood – has been applied in sawtooth panels to emphasize and adorn the pipe's many curved surfaces and focal points, including the small, rounded bosses.







# LIDDED VESSEL

Zulu, South Africa

Third quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century

21" h 14" w

Wood

Provenance: Alvin and Estelle Abrams, Connecticut, acquired before circa 1980;  
Sotheby's 1992; Kevin Conru, Brussels

Of the carved prestige objects produced by traditional South African artists, lavish vessels such as this example certainly rank among the most elaborate. Cut from a single block of wood, they are worked on a larger scale than most other objects from the region and bear an unusually high degree of surface decoration. The taut poise of the angled arms, the clearly demarcated cap, and the belly-like body perched on bent legs together provide an strong impression of abstract anthropomorphism.

Considered icons of African art, Zulu vessels such as this are found in a number of the great museums and private collections worldwide, including the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Their precise function is not known, but the dramatically ridged surface patterning they bear is similar to the carving found on many southern African snuff containers. Thus it has been suggested that this type of vessel may have been used by chiefs as a storage jar for tobacco or snuff. Other scholars have surmised that they were produced as examples of the crafts of Africa for the Great Exhibitions of nineteenth-century Europe.











# SNUFF CONTAINERS

South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

12 1/4" l, 11 1/2" l

Horn

Provenance: Private UK collection; private New York collection

Cut from two variegated pieces of horn, these gracefully curved snuff containers represent the quintessential fusion of elegance and simplicity found in the sculptural forms of southern Africa. In addition to their ornamental and ritual uses, some snuff paraphernalia were used in more prosaic ways; in this case as sweat scrapers. As such they were highly personal to the owner, and held elements of his or her body that could be used in the creation of potent medicine.



North Nguni women dressing the hair, albumen print, c. 1890s





# PIPE

South Nguni, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

5 1/2" l

Wood, metal

Provenance: Terence Pethica, UK

This disc-shaped pipe is a beautiful example of South African tobacco paraphernalia and an excellent example of the region's imaginative woodworking tradition. The stem merges seamlessly with the large, thin disc that describes a dramatic halo around the bowl. The circularity of composition is echoed in the detailed sunburst motif applied to both sides of the bowl in lead inlay.

Pipes of all shapes and materials were created by the peoples of southern Africa. Many show the clear influence of European design, but enrich that formula with local innovation. To create the delicate inlay motifs seen here, a shallow pattern was painstakingly carved into the surface of the wood, molten lead was poured into the grooves, and the excess was scraped away with a blade.







# SNUFF SPOONS

Zulu, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

14 3/4", 10 1/2" l

Bone, pigment

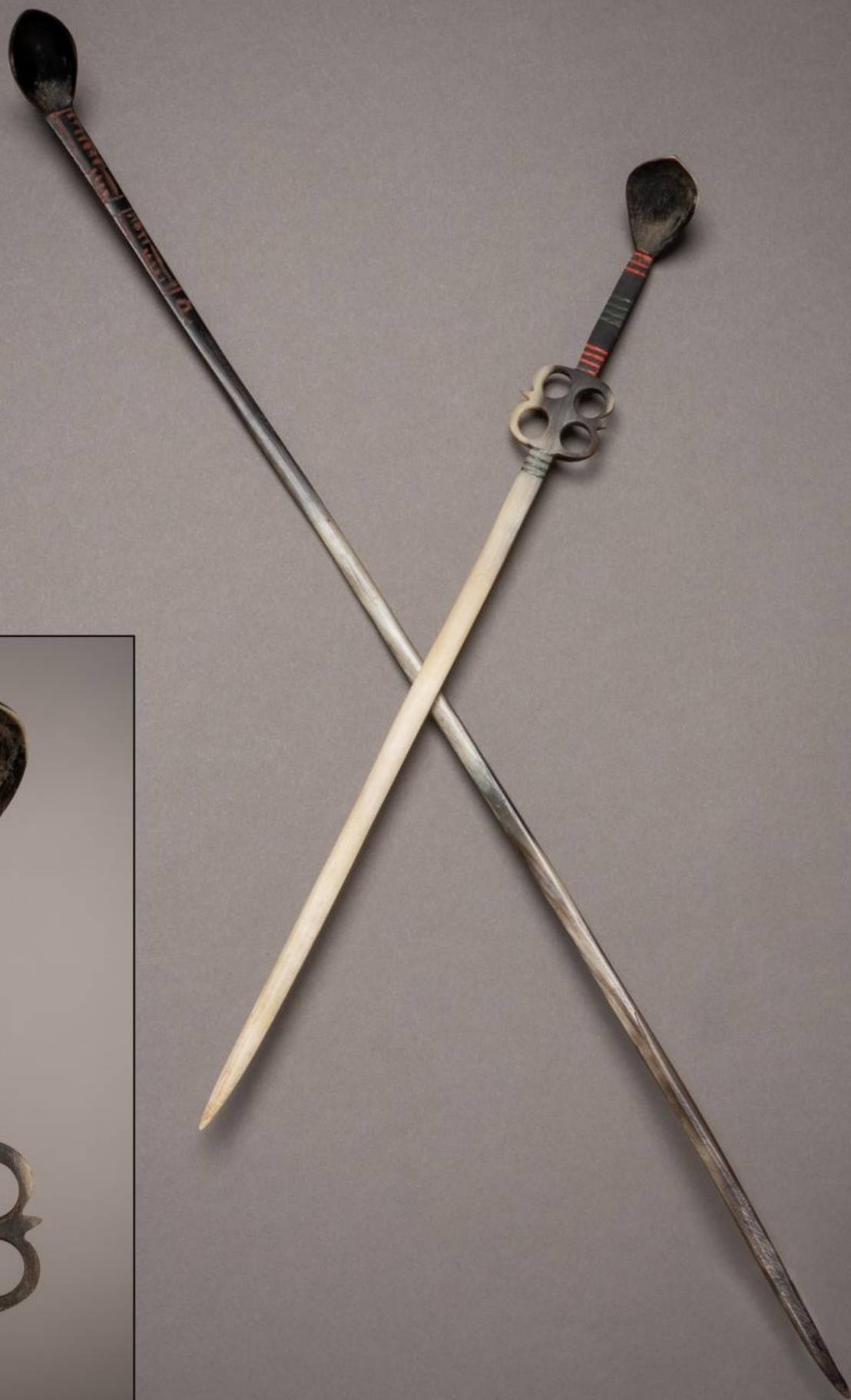
Provenance: Private UK collection

South African artistry, answering the needs of both utility and style, applied its remarkable approach to design in snuff paraphernalia that doubled as eye-catching accessories. These two thin snuff spoons were worn as hairpins, beautifying their owner's coiffure in the manner illustrated below. Horn was often used for the carving of such spoons, and here the artist has incised the durable surface with pigmented notches of red and green. The shorter spoon features an openwork design of four joined rings, a visual enhancement that also renders the spoon more easily grasped.



Studio portrait of a North Nguni woman, albumen print, c. 1890s





# SNUFF CONTAINER

South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

2 3/8" h

Horn

Provenance: Michael Graham Stewart, London; Marc and Denyse Ginzberg, New York; Sheikh bin Mohammed al-Thani, Qatar and London

Published in *Africa: Relics of the Colonial Era*, Anthony Jack, 1991, back cover; *African Forms*, Marc Ginzberg, 2000, p. 117

Designed with a minimalism that belies the great precision with which it was carved, this seed-shaped snuff container shows lustrous, even planes and a strong symmetry in its silhouette. While southern African carving is often marked by playful ingenuity, it is also known for its purity and simplicity of form, as demonstrated so excellently here. Shaped from a thick piece of dark animal horn, a substance traditionally worked exclusively by men, this lovely piece would have been worn suspended by a cord threaded through the tiny aperture shown below.







# PIPE

Thembu, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

11 3/4" l 3" h

Wood, horn, metal

Provenance: Jonathan Lowen, London; Kevin Conru, Brussels

Published in *Africa: The Art of a Continent*, Phillips, 1995

Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts Gallery, London, 1995; Martin Gropius-Bau, Berlin, 1996; Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1996

Pipes were used in a variety of social contexts in southern Africa, and while sometimes tobacco was smoked as part of a simple interpersonal exchange, other moments were more ritualized. Ancestral spirits could be honored and satisfied by offerings of tobacco, as well as entities inhabiting the surrounding natural world. Among the Xhosa pipes were smoked on such occasions as the *Umhlwayelelo* ceremony, when river spirits were appeased. In this way pipes were seen as a means to befriend the spiritual world.

The lovely openwork panel forming the centerpiece of this graceful, elegant pipe features a group of slender bands that, taken together, seem to suggest the image of an eye.



South Nguni woman smoking a pipe, albumen print, c. 1880s











# SNUFF CONTAINER

Zulu, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

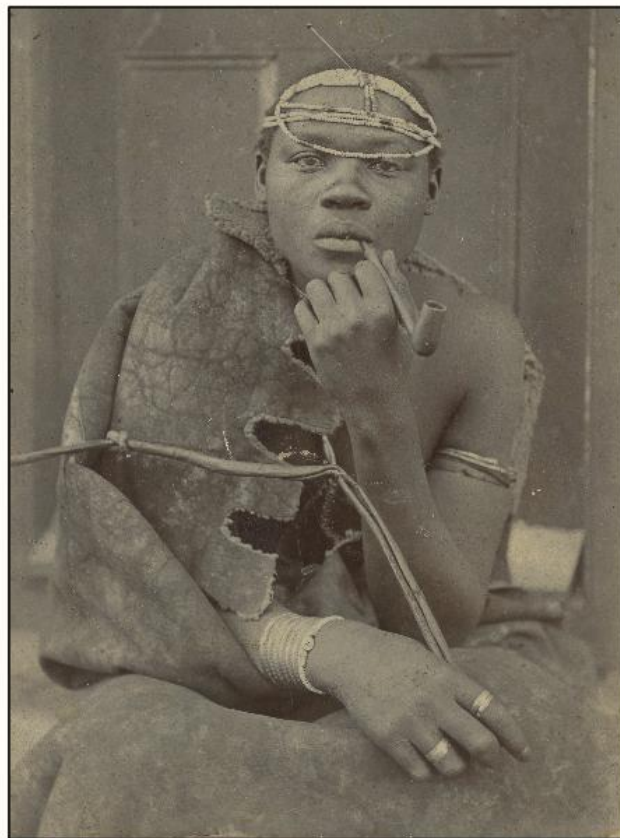
6" h

Horn

Provenance: Alain Guisson, Brussels; Michael Graham-Stewart, London; Terence Pethica Collection, UK

Published in *Africa: Relics of the Colonial Era*, Anthony Jack, 1991, p. 21; *The Art of Southern Africa*, Klopper, Nettleton, Pethica, p. 164

An elaborately carved Zulu snuff container reminiscent of a European perfume bottle. Pipes were just one of many everyday European luxury objects with which the peoples of southern Africa became familiar during the Colonial period, and an appreciation for these new forms naturally informed the work of local artisans. Careful openwork was applied to create the four-legged base upon which the bottle stands upright. A removable, intricately carved stopper, also graced with elegant openwork carving, caps the slender neck. With the exception of the stopper, this snuff was carved from a single piece of horn.



South Nguni shepherd smoking a pipe, cabinet card, c. 1880s





# DOUBLE-SIDED SNUFF CONTAINER

South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

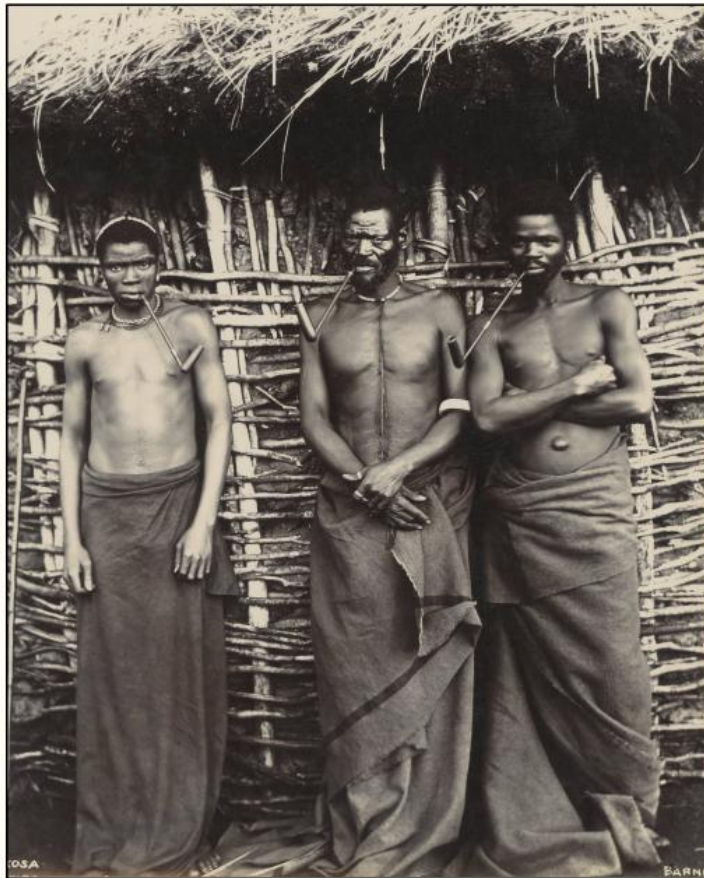
15 1/2" l

Horn, metal, hide, wood

Provenance: Brigadier-General Henry Cecil-Potter; Minneapolis Institute of Art

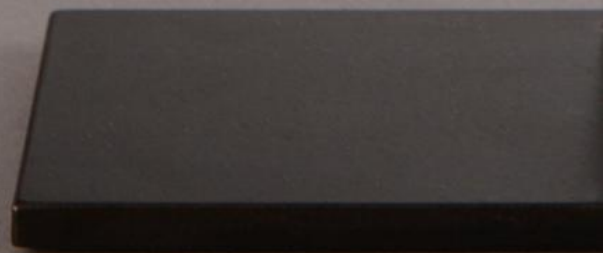
Collected by Brigadier General Henry Cecil-Potter between 1901 and 1913, this is an extremely rare double-sided snuff container, carved in two types of horn and capped by wooden stoppers. The still-attached suspension cord would have allowed this object's owner to wear it as a necklace. Similar examples are housed in the Musée du Quai Branly and at the Johannesburg Art Gallery.

Tobacco was closely associated with men in southern African societies. The crafting of pipes, snuff boxes, and snuff spoons was mostly done by men, and even the cultivation and processing of tobacco itself was entirely in their hands – a conspicuous practice in cultures where women cultivated all other types of crops.













# SNUFF KERRIE

Tsonga, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

Wood

Provenance: Douglas Barrett, London

Exhibited at the Cleveland Museum of Art

Published in *The Art of Daily Life*, Constantine Petridis

Knobkerries were ubiquitously carried by South African men as weapons and symbols of status. While typically designed as utilitarian objects, they were oftentimes crafted with a great aesthetic sensibility, emerging as works of art in their own right.

This magnificent knobkerrie is a masterwork of southern African design. Its remarkably large, gadrooned head – possibly conceived to depict a fruit or gourd – offers a splendid focal point in what must be one of the finest weapons from the region we have ever seen. What may not be obvious upon first glance is that the beautifully carved head of this knobkerrie also doubles as a snuff container, capped with a conical stopper.













# PIPE

Cape Nguni/Thembu, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

5 3/4" l 2" h

Wood, metal

Provenance: Astley Collection, London; Christine Valluet, Paris; private European collection

The basket-shaped bowl of this pipe likely references the form of an *umncedo*, or traditional penis cap. An essential item in the ensemble of a properly dressed male, *umncedo* were made from palm leaves, wood, horn, or gourd. Its appearance here aligns with the abundant symbolism in some southern African cultures connecting tobacco with masculine identity and the male sexual aspect. The strong relation of tobacco to ancestral communion and generative energies is in some cases enough to attach to it a procreative connotation, but for certain peoples the parallel is far more specific. Among the Basotho of Lesotho, for example, the very word for tobacco, *kwae*, is sometimes used as an alternative term for penis.







# DANCE STAFF WITH SNUFFS

Probably Venda, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

31 1/4" l 3 1/8" w

Wood

Provenance: Kevin Conru, Brussels

Published in *The Art of Southeast Africa*, Kevin Conru, plate 52b

The composition of a staff provided ample opportunity for South African woodworkers to express their particular genius – simple and elegant in silhouette, yet allowing for a certain understated flair of imagination. The finial of this beautiful staff binds two circular snuff containers within a curving band that may represent two arms, hands clasped around the upper container. An alternative reading might possibly suggest an abstraction of the female reproductive organs. With its soft and rounded forms, this work exemplifies the delicate, unique sensitivity of South African artisans.

Dance staffs are still used throughout southern Africa on special occasions such as weddings. In some communities, such staffs are paired with shields or drums to provide rhythmic accompaniment to the dance.



North Nguni men and a young boy, albumen print, c. 1890s





# SNUFF CONTAINER

South Africa

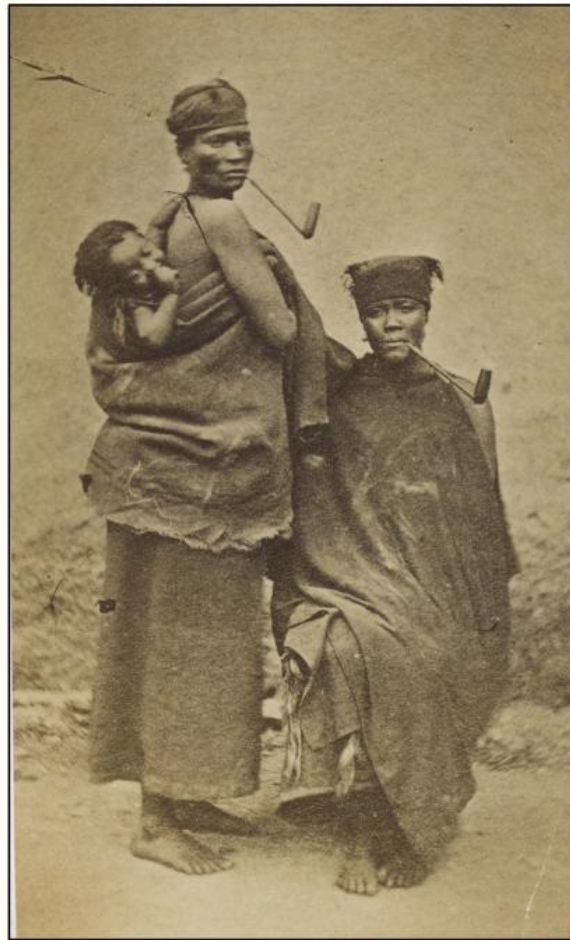
Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

3" h

Horn, fiber

Provenance: Michael Oliver, New York

The soft, feathered play of light and dark over the surface of this snuff container perfectly illustrates the subtle beauty found in horn carvings and the unique effects the medium offers to artisans. A refined horn snuff container such as this would typically have belonged to a person of significant means and social standing. In Zulu society, the most important man at a gathering would be expected to supply the snuff, pouring a large quantity into his left hand and holding it forth for his companions to take without looking at them. When hosting his close retinue, a Zulu chief might call for his snuff box to be brought in a basket, from which he would shake snuff into his servants' hands to be carried round to the assembled company.



South Nguni women smoking pipes, carte de visite, c. 1880s





# SNUFF GOURD

Zulu, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

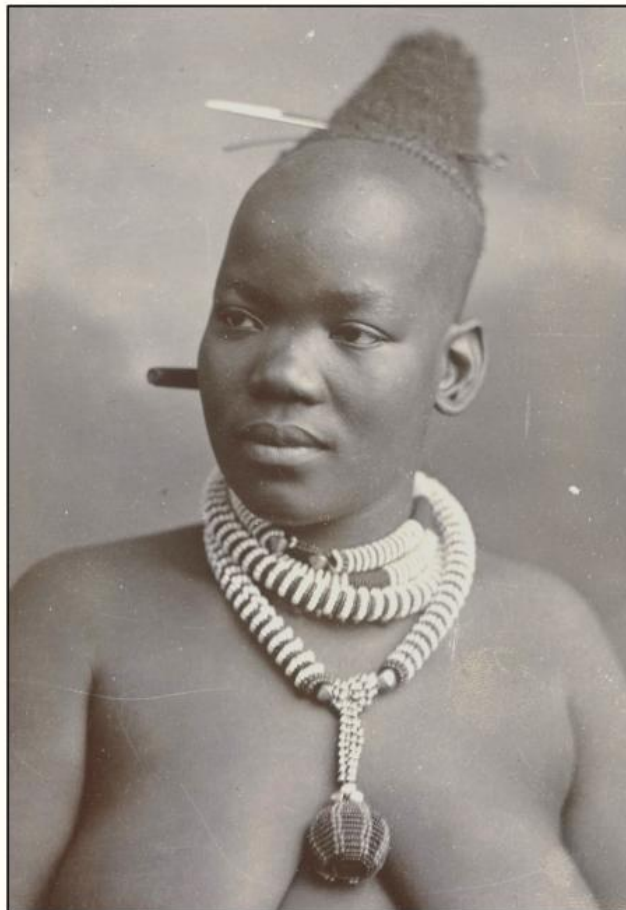
6" h (gourd) 13" l (necklace)

Gourd, glass beads, sinew

Provenance: Private UK collection

Gourds were a favored item among southern African tribes, carried by both men and women and decorated with a wide variety of methods, whether incised, inlaid with detailed wire patterns, or sheathed in elaborate beadwork. Calabashes, such as the example seen here, have connotations of birth and gestation, and among the Sotho beaded gourds were worn around the neck by brides-to-be to indicate their betrothal.

Beadworking was itself a feminine practice, and was used here to wrap the calabash in a dazzling checkboard pattern with blue accents. With its attached necklace of bright blue beads, this gourd would have been worn as just one element in an ensemble of other striking beadwork pieces.







# PIPE

Cape Nguni, Thembu, South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

8 1/4" l 2 2/3" h

Wood, metal

Provenance: Merton Simpson, New York; Kevin Conru, Brussels

Published in *The Art of Southeast Africa*, Kevin Conru, plate 31g

Originating from simple cylinders of bone and stone, tobacco pipes in Africa rapidly evolved in form after the introduction of European designs, which local artists first copied, then made their own. Southern African pipes became more and more elaborate over time, giving rise to a profusion of imaginative figural and openwork compositions, exemplified by the pipe presented here. By the early twentieth century the region boasted one of the most sophisticated pipe carving traditions on the continent. The rapid march of change during that era may be read in the many rings worked into the body of this pipe, which recall the wheels of trains and wagons brought by the encroachment of Europeans.







# SNUFF CONTAINER

South Africa

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century

3 1/8" h

Horn, glass beads

Provenance: Anthony Jack; Michael Graham-Stewart, London; Marc and Denyse Ginzberg, New York; Sheikh bin Mohammed al-Thani, Qatar and London

Published in *Africa: Relics of the Colonial Era*, Anthony Jack, 1991, back cover; *African Forms*, Marc Ginzberg, 2000, p. 117

The silhouette of this lovely, diminutive snuff container suggests the form of a seed pod or flower bud. Its disc-shaped foot would have allowed for suspension from an earlobe or cord. The pair of tiny, bicolored beads kept inside are thought to be a method to keep the snuff within from caking.

Though small in size, the paraphernalia of tobacco supported and fueled powerful social forces across southern Africa for centuries. Through the rich symbolism of tobacco and the etiquette surrounding its use, communities were held in balance, in both the temporal world of the here and now and the eternal homes of the ancestors.



South Nguni women smoking a pipe, albumen print, c. 1890s





## SELECTED REFERENCES

*Africa: Relics of the Colonial Era*, Anthony Jack, 1991

*Africa: The Art of a Continent*, Tom Phillips, 1995

*African Forms*, Marc Ginzberg, Museum for African Art, 2000

*The Art of Daily Life*, Constantine Petridis & Karel Nel, Cleveland Museum of Art, 2011

*The Art of Southeast Africa*, Kevin Conru, Sandra Klopper & Karel Nel, 2002

*The Art of Southern Africa*, Sandra Klopper, Anitra Nettleton, Terence Pethica, 2007

“Native Pipes and Smoking in South Africa,” Ella Margaret Shaw, from *Annals of the South African Museum*, Vol. 24, Cape Town, 1938

“Public Pleasures: Smoking and Snuff Taking in Southern Africa,” Ann Wanless, from *Art and Ambiguity*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, 1991

*Tobacco and Its Use in Africa*, Laufer, Hambly & Linton, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1930

*Ubuntu Arts et Cultures d'Afrique du Sud*, Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie, Paris, 2002







Jacaranda 

[jacarandatribal.com](http://jacarandatribal.com)  
[dori@jacarandatribal.com](mailto:dori@jacarandatribal.com)  
T +1 646-251-8528  
280 Riverside Drive  
New York City, NY 10025