

THE INTRODUCTION OF COFFEE AND TOBACCO TO THE MID-WEST BALKANS

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Based on many sources, the paper makes an attempt to identify the social effects produced by the rising use of coffee and tobacco in the Balkans, and to mark out similarities and differences with respect to associated developments in other parts of the Ottoman Empire and in the European countries. The Balkans was a very interesting contact zone where influences of two civilisations intermingled and where all developments were largely dependent on the attitude of the majority population, the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects.

Key words: coffee, tobacco, social life, Ottoman Empire, Balkans in the 16th–18th centuries.

The invigorating effects of coffee and tobacco were certainly crucial to their rapid rise in worldwide popularity.¹ The use of the two plants had tremendous consequences in social, economic and political life, both in Western Europe and in the Near East. However, the scholarly interest which was aroused elsewhere has somehow passed the Balkans by.² The Balkans were, nevertheless, a very interesting contact zone, where the influences of the two civilisations intermingled and where all developments were largely dependent on the attitude of the majority population, the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects.

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² The topic was elaborated earlier in Elezović (1938); Vinaver (1965); Matkovski (1966; 1969). For a contemporary approach with complete bibliography see Fotić (2005). There is not enough space here to present all earlier bibliographical items concerning the whole empire, especially those concerning the eastern parts. I make exceptions only to two valuable works, one by R. S. Hattox (1988) and the other by R. Matthee (1995).

At first the use of coffee and tobacco met with resistance from religious and secular authorities all over the world: not so much for their chemical properties as for the way they tended to upset established rules of conduct. It was this social dimension that indissolubly linked the two stimulants. This link can be observed at an early date in the East, when tobacco first arrived, and in the West when coffeehouses began to be established. Once tobacco had reached the Ottoman Empire, the notion of *kahve-hane* came to be inextricably associated with tobacco consumption.

After it had conquered Istanbul by the mid-16th century, it took only a few decades for coffee to reach the most remote provinces of Anatolia. The drink became popular among all social classes, both in public and in private space, and its trade widespread and profitable. The lists of the affects of deceased townsmen and peasants of average means from the regions of Ankara and Kayseri show that, during the second half of the 17th century, there were coffee utensils in almost every house (Faroghi 1986, pp. 89–90).

Rare evidence suggests that the popularity of coffee spread in the Balkans at a similar pace. The earliest information about coffee comes from the northern part of the Empire. At about Christmas time, 1579, the Ottoman custom protocol book records that a bale of coffee reached a merchant called Behram in Pest. There follows the first information about coffeehouse. The reliable Ottoman chronicler Ibrahim Peçevi visited a “richly furnished” coffeehouse in Sarajevo in 1591/92. In his *Foundations of the Wisdom of Ordering the World*, completed at Prusac in 1597, Hasan Kafija Pruščak (Akhisari) describes the coffeehouse as a dispensable innovation and a place full of temptations. Another chronicler, Abdülkadir Efendi, notes that, in 1598, the Ottoman army, encamped in the field near Pančevo (across the Danube from Belgrade) was visited for two days by tradesmen from the town’s shops and coffeehouses. A few years later, in 1611, Lefebvre, secretary of French ambassador De Sansy, observed that even small places like Pljevlja (Taşlıca) and Prokuplje (Ürküb) had coffeehouses (*Tarih-i Peçevi* 1283, p. 126; Samardžić 1961, pp. 157, 162; *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda* 1962, p. 721; Pruščak, Hasan Kafija 1983, pp. 108, 112; *Topçular Kâtibi* 2003, Vol. I, p. 213).

In the Serbian language sources, the bean and the drink are referred to as: *kafa*, *kava*, *kahva*, and also *káfe*. The same word was used for the coffeehouse. A shortening of the Ottoman compound noun *kahve-hane*, is the origin of the word *kafana* or *kavana* which is still used today. In areas under other linguistic influences (Montenegro and Vojvodina) the terms *kafeterija*, *kafetarija* were also used (Elezović 1938, pp. 632–637; *Rečnik* 1975).

If a guild of *lüleci* could be registered in Sofia in 1604, then it is certain that tobacco arrived there some years before. The Frenchman Lefebvre is also the earliest known source on smoking in the Serbian areas. Passing through Prokuplje in August 1611, he saw a few “Turks” sitting in the shade under the eaves of a shop, smoking tobacco and drinking coffee – a picture typical of the Balkans during the following few centuries. At the same time, in Belgrade, Müniri Belgradi, a famous *müderris*, *müfti* and *şeyh*, wrote a short *Poem against the use of coffee, wine, opium and tobacco*, one of the earliest such pamphlets, copied as early as 1617. Although the first bans

were issued between 1604 and 1617, we know that, by the beginning of 1622, when several other bans were issued, tobacco was not only smoked but was also grown in the Balkans (Samardžić 1961, p. 162; Matkovski 1966, pp. 139–148; Stančeva 1975–1976, pp. 129–130; Ždralović 1988, Vol. II, p. 28; Matthee 1999).

The Balkan Slav population called it *duvan*, *duhan*, and *tutun*. In northern regions under Austrian influence it was also called *tabak*.

Coffeeshouses

Coffeeshouses immediately became the focus for the public life of men. Therefore the great number and diversity of coffeeshouses in some towns should not come as a surprise. But the exact number is not so important – widespread opinion is clearly reflected by Kâtib Çelebi's words from 1592: "coffeeshouses have been cropping up in every alley" (Kâtib Çelebi 2001, p. 160).

In the middle of the next century Evliya Çelebi found as many as forty coffeehouses in Bitola, which was counted among the larger towns. In a fire consuming much of Sarajevo in 1788, some 50 or 60 coffeehouses were destroyed, as the trustworthy Sarajevo annalist Mula Mustafa Ševki Bašeskija testifies. In the second half of the 18th century Belgrade had at least 20 coffeehouses (Tričković 1973, pp. 70, 74; Mula Mustafa Ševki Bašeskija 1987², p. 267; *Evliyâ Çelebi* 2001, p. 308). As for central Serbia, reliable information has been left by Austrian agents criss-crossing the area in 1783/84. Noticeably, coffeehouses were most numerous in the areas with larger Muslim communities, and almost always located along major roads, notably the Istanbul Road. Agents Pokorni, Mittesser and Peretić mentioned 9 coffeehouses in Niš, 7 in Užice, 6 in Jagodina, 5 in Smederevo, Kruševac (Alaca Hisar), Kladovo, Hasan Paša Palankası (today Smederevska Palanka), 4 in Čuprija (Köprü), Valjevo, Loznica, 3 in Grocka (Hisarcık), Batočina and Karanovac (today Kraljevo), etc. (Pantelić 1936, pp. 34, 36–39, 47, 53, 57–63, 68, 72–77, 83–84, 90, 104, 106, 111, 116–117, 120–122, 125, 130, 135–140).

In Dubrovnik, the first coffeehouse does not seem to have been opened until the late 17th century. In 1708 a Jew from Istanbul approached the authorities in Dubrovnik for permission to open a coffeehouse. "He is a expert sherbet maker, he bakes cakes and his coffee and chocolate are unmatched!" his reference declares. Just across the Empire's border, in Split, the first *bottega del caffè* was opened rather late, in 1772, while the year associated with Zagreb is 1749 (Vinaver 1965, pp. 337, 340–341; Božić-Bužančić 1982, p. 162).

The proliferation of coffeehouses clearly shows a certain reorganisation of urban public space. In contrast to the Near East, in the mid-west Balkans the reorganisation began only a few decades after most towns had begun to take on their new, Oriental, look. Considering the slow pace at which urban structures change, it may be more precise to say that the Muslim institution of the coffeehouse was brought to the Empire's north-western frontier as an integral part of the new urban cultural baggage.

It is a widespread view in historiography that the coffeehouse threw the established rules of conduct into disorder enabling the hitherto unimaginable mixing of different social, economic and cultural groups in one place. Many sources confirm such a view (Ibrahim Peçevi, Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, Kâtib Çelebi) (Hattox 1988, pp. 91–95; *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century* 2003, pp. 129–130),³ but it can by no means be considered the rule. The situation was the same in England in the 17th century until the bourgeoisie, growing ever stronger economically, transformed a large number of the coffeehouses into private clubs, not open to ordinary visitors. In many of the German principalities coffeehouses were strictly gathering places for the elite and the working and peasant classes had to wait until the beginning of the 19th century (Pincus Decembar 1995, pp. 814–815; Matthee 1995, pp. 37, 46).

Along the Venetian littoral and in Dubrovnik coffeehouses were gathering places of the nobility and townsmen. There were also certain limitations on persons who could enter. In one coffeehouse in Dubrovnik, at the end of the 18th century the “lower sort”, that is actors and Jews, were not allowed (Vinaver 1965, p. 341).

Non-Muslims were not banned from Muslim coffeehouses, but that does not mean that Christians or Jews frequented them enthusiastically. Their visits were prone to cause trouble with unforeseeable consequences, and it certainly was not a place for them to have fun and relax. Also, one should remember that the order of the day was *non-mixing* and that it was professed by the elites of *all* religious communities (Hattox 1988, pp. 95–96; Kafadar 2002, p. 54).

There were examples of Christians going to Muslim coffeehouses, but they were rare and reveal some very different motivations, the wish to socialise not being among them. The Franciscans of the Kreševo monastery in Bosnia gave Muslims an occasional treat for their own reasons: “It is a custom to play host to the *imam* and the most distinguished of our Turkish neighbours whenever an inspection of our church takes place, so that they should speak well of us. We invite them to a coffeehouse at Kreševo, where each of them is served coffee and given money”, wrote Fra Marijan Bogdanović in 1767, presenting the exact expenses for three coffeehouses (Bogdanović 1984, pp. 78–79).

How and when did the notion of a coffeehouse (*kafana*) in the mid-west Balkans assumed its modern meaning, that of a tavern, restaurant? The answer may be found in the fact that, right from the start, the coffeehouse in the Balkans combined the services offered by other similar establishments. In the winter of 1785/86, the preparation and sale of *halva* in some Sarajevo coffeehouses was characterised by the chronicler Bašeskija as “a niggardly trade”, rather than a bona fide business initiative. Almost every *han* in the Muslim world had a separate room functioning as a coffeehouse. Evliya Çelebi confirmed this with a description of the Novi Pazar *hans* held by Murtaza Aga and *şeyh* Ibrahim Efendi. In the mid-18th century at the entrance to Belgrade a certain (H)aji Dimo kept a coffeehouse, as it was termed in a document, which had 8 rooms and 7 kitchens (Tričković 1973, pp. 70, 74; Mula Mustafa Ševki Bašeskija 1987², p. 243; *Evliyâ Çelebi* 2001, p. 290).

³ The social dimension of coffeehouses was elaborated in Fotić (2005, pp. 273–285).

In Christian *mahalles* or settlements where alcoholic beverages were allowed, coffeehouses, taverns and inns offered combined services. Inns served coffee, and coffeehouses offered meals, all kinds of alcoholic drinks and lodging. Influences from the neighbouring states should be also borne in mind, as well as the effects of Habsburg's twenty-year rule in Serbia (1717–1737). Along the Venetian coast of the Adriatic, in contrast to hostelries, coffeehouses had to be very luxurious places where, in addition to coffee, tea, chocolate, and alcoholic drinks were served, including liqueurs such as maraschino and prosecco (sherry), and cakes and ice cream were on offer, as is recorded in Split and Dubrovnik in the 18th century. In Habsburg Zemun (opposite Ottoman Belgrade) during the second half of the 18th century, as in hostelries, breakfast was served and all other meals and drinks and among the patrons were those who ate there every day (Vinaver 1965, pp. 340–341; Čelap 1967, pp. 58–59; Božić-Bužančić 1982, pp. 162–163). With the removal of the Muslim population of Serbia, during the first half of the 19th century, and the spread of western cultural models, the concept of the *kafana* lost its original meaning and took on the one it has today.

Pro et Contra

The account of the rapid spread of coffee and tobacco necessarily involves periods, sometimes quite long, of severe bans on the use of the two stimulants and on coffeehouses in the European and Near-Eastern worlds. That it was a desperate struggle for the control of public space was obvious even to contemporaries. It transpired that not even the strictest bans had any lasting effect. There are many indications that, even at times of prohibition, tobacco was still smoked and new coffeehouses sprung up faster than the old ones were shut down (Matkovski 1969, pp. 58–69, 85–89; Mathee 1995, p. 36; 1999; Fotić 2005, pp. 286–293). The topic has been well covered, and it is the intention here to draw attention to the attitude of local Muslim and Christian people.

In intellectual Muslim circles tobacco was denounced far more often than coffee, despite the state's eventual abandonment of attempts at prohibition. Some pamphlets continued to do so even after the final lifting of the ban on the use of coffeehouses and tobacco (1688). One of the best-known Sarajevo poets of his time, Hasan Kaimi (d. 1691), wrote a poem in the Bosnian / Serbian language, but in the Arabic script (Balić 1973, pp. 110–111):

“It’s a nasty business,
 Ashamed to smoke, he is,
 For it’s a disgrace,
 Refrain from tobacco.
 [...]
 He taps his pipe on the floor,
 Spitting around,
 Worse than throwing up,
 Refrain from tobacco.
 [...]

We too used to drink it,
 In it's reek we were,
 So, for God's sake,
 Refrain from tobacco."
 [...]

A very personally coloured *Risale* was written by Mustafa ibn Muhammad al-Akhisari (from Prusac, Bosnia) shortly before 1755. While wittily and wholeheartedly arguing in favour of coffee, he listed as many as 17 reasons against the use of tobacco (Krstić 1974, pp. 95–99).

What was the attitude of the Orthodox Christian elite towards the new stimulants? There is no indication that the highest hierarchy had ever officially denounced the use of coffee, or, it seems, of tobacco. On the contrary, the sources suggest that the Christian elites promptly embraced the new beverage, on the model of the Ottoman elites. The lists of expenditures for the palaces of Serbian metropolitans and bishops clearly show that coffee was served on a daily basis, and not in small quantities. Indeed, one gets the impression that the etiquette of an orthodox bishop's palace largely followed the example of the local pasha *kapısı*, which in turn was a copy of the Sultan's saray in miniature. If the pasha had his own *kahveci* (as a servant, not an officer) the metropolitan had one too! Even later, in semiautonomous Serbia, when *Knez* Miloš travelled from Kragujevac to Belgrade in the 1830s, the first servants riding just behind his coach were *čibukdžija* (called also *luledžija*) and *kafedžija*, and then all others (barber, etc.) (Rihter 1984, p. 49). Between 1727 and 1736 the metropolitan's palace in Niš was regularly supplied with coffee, *fincans* and *čubuks*, and this did not include regular purchase of coffee intended as a gift to the local Ottoman dignitaries. Coffee, sometimes *čokolad* (chocolate) and *teh* (tea), were frequent beverages, an almost obligatory item on the menu of the Belgrade metropolitans, Msije Petrović (1717–1730) and Vićentije Jovanović (1731–1737) at the time of Habsburg rule in Belgrade. However, tobacco intended to be smoked in a pipe is not mentioned in; only that intended for medical use or use as snuff (Hadži-Vasiljević 1936; Popović–Bogdanović 1958, pp. 33, 35, 43, 53, 70–71, 77, 91–92, 275, 295).

The metropolitan of Niš had no trouble finding a model. The hierarchy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople acted in exactly the same way. Archimandrite Gerasim Zelić, a Serb from Venetian Dalmatia, left an unforgettable depiction of the truly Oriental atmosphere he found at the reception held by the Constantinopolitan patriarch in May 1784. In the spacious reception hall, the patriarch and his entourage sat cross-legged on beautiful carpets with 5-ell *čubuks* in their mouths, drinking coffee without sugar. As Zelić, “sworn enemy to *lüleci*”, said: “There were more *čibuks* in the hall than rosaries” (Zelić 1988, pp. 79, 102).

If the highest clergy did not dissociate themselves from the use of tobacco, individuals certainly did. The early 18th century saw the first texts disapproving of smoking. “I’m pleading with our girls not to go for pipe smokers”, says a verse in a manuscript from the Monastery of Ostrog (Montenegro). In an apocryphal text *Jesus Christ's Epistle to the Patriarch of Jerusalem*, written at the same time, the author severely castigates smokers, “dammed be he who drinks the devil's seed, he preaches

eternal torment". In Dubrovnik, until as late as the end of the republic in 1808, it was considered immoral to smoke in public. Prohibitions against "shameless pipe smoking", aimed mainly at the nobility, were announced several times from 1780 to the end of the century (Vinaver 1965, pp. 333, 340; Archive of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ms. 387, pp. 95a–95b).

The Way They Were Enjoyed

Every traveller that ever wrote about coffee in the Ottoman Empire emphasised that the custom was to drink it while still almost unbearably hot. As elsewhere in the Empire, in Serbian and Bosnian parts the coffee was served without sugar, as testified to by the Austrian agent Rosić (1783). In Banjaluka sugar did not begin to be added until 1878 (Pantelić 1933, p. 115; Kreševljaković 1991, p. 336).

The European custom of adding milk, although known to the church elite as early as the 18th century, began to take roots in the Balkans only in the late-19th century. "In my time, no one had ever heard of *bela kafa* ["white coffee"] or *krofne* [Krapfen], nor had they heard of that *miliprot* [Milch Brot]", says Mr. Mirko in Stevan Sremac's famous novel *Ivkova slava* (first published in 1895), which is set in a still oriental Niš just beginning to feel the influence of central European manners (Sremac n.d. a, p. 30).

The poor started to search for substitutes for coffee as early as the 17th century. In Bosnia and north of the Sava and Danube rivers, chickpeas and acorns were thought best (Popović 1990², Vol. I, p. 234; Vol. II, p. 249; Kreševljaković 1991, p. 336).

The methods of consuming coffee, the vessels and terminology, were taken over wholesale by the Christian population from the Ottoman cultural model, occasionally with some slight changes in sound (*finčan* – *filđan* for example). Archaeological finds in Belgrade prove that various types of *finčan* were in use; Iznik and Kütahya type, imports from China, Meissen etc.

Coffee drinking played a role in reorganising the interior space of private houses, *selamlık*, though only those of the richest, where a room was set aside for the purpose, *kahve-ocak*. This was another Muslim model that the Christian elites adopted. While comparing, in 1828, the interior of *Knez Jefrem Obrenović's* Šabac residence with mansions of "Hungarian magnates", Joakim Vujić did not fail to observe "that it was fashioned and furnished in the Turkish style rather than the European". A *kafedžaklija* figures in his account of its many rooms (Vujić 1902, Vol. II, pp. 94–96; Kreševljaković 1991, p. 203).⁴

The term coffee soon began to be used to describe a distinctive "coffee colour". In 1730 Joanikije, metropolitan of Niš, ordered a *kafecurk* (*kahve kürk*) intending it as a gift to the local *bölük başı*. The metropolitan's belongings inventoried after his death in 1734 included an "old *kontoš kaferenči*" (*kahve renkli kontoš*). As early

⁴ More on dishes and customs in Fotić (2005, pp. 293–294).

as the beginning of the 18th century, the small spoon began to be referred to as the coffee spoon. One of the items in a bill submitted by the town pharmacist to the metropolitan of Belgrade in 1728 reads, in German: “powder for expelling winds, a coffee spoon [Caffelöfflerl] to be taken with wine” (Hadži-Vasiljević 1936, pp. 46, 58; Popović–Bogdanović 1958, pp. 297, 300).

At first the expression “tobacco drinking” was in common use worldwide. Later on it gave way to “smoking” and “blowing”, though not universally. In Western Europe the expression “tobacco drinking” disappeared in the 17th century, and in the Balkans, although now completely forgotten, it survived well into the 19th century (Mancall 2004, paragraphs 1–4, 17–39, 44; Fotić 2005, p. 297).

The Christian population of the Balkans took over the terminology connected with the enjoyment of tobacco in its entirety from the Ottoman vocabulary (*čibuk*, *kamiš*, *lula*, *burmut*, *duvankesa*). Only the word *lula* has survived to the present day, meaning a whole pipe. Its original meaning, literally a ceramic hearth, is known to very few.

The smoking of a pipe was the commonest method of tobacco consumption in the West until the 19th century, and in the Near East until the 20th. Pipes, usually made of clay, were replaced often, so often that not even the poor used the same pipe for more than a month. In Belgrade alone, mostly in the Fortress area, archaeologists have found several thousand pieces dating from all periods of Ottoman rule between the 17th and mid-19th centuries (Bikić 2003, pp. 150–153).

In the mid-west Balkans *čubuks* were usually made from the wood of the European wayfaring tree (*Viburnum lantana*), which was the reason the people called it *čibukovina* or *kamišovina*. For those of higher quality, jasmine wood was used. The *čubuk* commonly used, recognisable in many contemporary depictions, had a long stem, usually about a metre and a half in length (Simonović 1959, p. 495; Kreševljaković 1991, pp. 215–217).

Tobacco was carried in small bags made of different materials, usually linen or broadcloth, leather or bovine bladder. At the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, it increasingly came to be carried in metal cases, for which the local Muslims used a word of Italian origin *tabakera* (Ital. *tabacchiera*). *Čubuks* were carried in special bags suspended from the saddle – *čibukluks*, together with an umbrella (Kreševljaković 1991, p. 210).

The pipe was also used as a unit of measurement. In the broadest sense, a thing said “not to be worth a pipe of tobacco” was all but worthless. The same went for people. In Bosnia short distances were expressed in pipes of tobacco, the time it took to smoke a pipe. In Serbia, even in the 19th century, the pipe served as a bowl for measuring tiny cabbage, onion and pepper seeds. The pipe was also a unit for measuring liquids. The gift of the *topçı başı* of Belgrade for the wedding of *Knez Miloš*’s daughter in 1824 was “a glass jar of *gül suyu* [rose water] of 2 *okas* and 20 *lüles*” (Karadžić 1965, Nos 3.300, 3.341; Vlajinac 1968, p. 555).

The long-stemmed *čibuk* had yet another function, from Montenegro to the heart of Anatolia. “Women fight with a *čibuk*, men with a knife or a gun”, reads a Montenegrin saying recorded by Vuk Karadžić. In a village near Konya, in 1660, a man

was beaten on the head with a *duhan çubuğu*. Injured and insulted, the man, Mevlud, the son of Ali, appeared in court, but had to give up the case because he was unable to provide witnesses. Vuk Karadžić wrote (in 1834) that beating with a *çubuk* (he used the term *kamiš*) was considered a major offence in Montenegro, equal to a “kick”. The penalty for such an offence, unbefitting an honourable man, was the huge and virtually unaffordable fine of 50 gold coins and another 50 to the offended party. If the offended happened to kill the offender, he was not held responsible, the same as if he had killed a thief, caught red-handed! (Karadžić 1965, p. 106; 1969, p. 328; *10 Numaralı* 2003, p. 218).

To what extent the smoking of *çubuks* was widespread is perhaps best illustrated by the number of terms derived from the word *çubuk*, to note just a few: “*çibuk bez*” and “*basma na çibuk*” were striped textile fabrics, “*çibuklija*” was a kind of a small sleigh but also a gun, thus called because of strips in or on the barrel (Škaljić 1985⁵, p. 173).

Smoking tobacco from water pipes was also widespread. Until the mid-19th century smoking tobacco from a *nargile* was part of the image of the elites, both Muslim and Christian. Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović (1815–1839) was a passionate smoker and among various other smoking utensils, his *ağzlıks* (called *takum*) for *nargile* are preserved. Not even at the very beginning of the 20th century was the use of a *nargile* unfamiliar to Balkan non-Muslims. Daydreaming lovingly of the Muslim girl Šerifa, Aleksa Šantić, a Serbian poet from Mostar, sits “on a marble fountain” and drinking coffee, with “a *nargile* gurgling in front of him”. A Jew Kir Moša, the hero of a story by Šantić’s contemporary Stevan Sremac, amuses himself by “listening to the water burbling in a *nargile*” in a Niš coffeeshouse (Belgrade City Museum, I–1, 2135; Šantić n.d; Sremac n.d. b, p. 306).

Cigars, which conquered the European west in the 19th century, were hardly ever smoked in the Near East and the Ottoman Balkans, except, as part of an imported fashion, by the pro-Western elites. Short cigars, used by Serbian Prince Mihailo Obrenović (1860–1868) were preserved in Belgrade City Museum. R. Matthee wrote that Europeans did not adopt cigarettes until the 1880s, while the Ottomans only included it in the repertoire in the 20th century. A drawing of 1878, by Vladislav Titelbah, depicting a beautiful Jewish girl from Niš holding a cigarette, is one of the earliest, if not the first, depiction of cigarette smoking in Serbia (Belgrade City Museum, I–1, 2.689–2.692; Titelbah 1931, p. 15; Matthee 1999).

In the Ottoman Empire the taking of snuff never achieved the same popularity as pipe smoking. This method was mentioned by the Englishman Brown, in 1669. Snuffing only became particularly popular in the 18th century. Tobacco specially prepared for snuffing was known by the Arabic word *enfiye*. The term *burnut*, or *burnut* came into use in the Balkans in the 18th century and is a corruption of the Turkish phrase *burun otu*, meaning “nose grass”. Among the Ottomans, the taking of snuff did not have the social connotations characteristic of Western Europe. The rich and the poor took snuff and the difference lay only in the quality of the tobacco, the snuffbox and the ritual. *Burnut* was also used at the court of the Belgrade metropolitan in 1726, but only, it seems, in very small amounts. Later, the Empress Maria Theresa generously

presented the Serbian metropolitans with golden snuffboxes. To this should be added the observations of Vuk Karadžić on snuff taking in Montenegro. He says that in Serbia it was a “habit only of monks and, in the towns, of Turks and Greeks. Among the people in Serbia it is, even now [1834] a great rarity”. The Montenegrins made their own snuff individually and kept it in leather pouches rather than in boxes (Popović–Bogdanović 1958, p. 36; Karadžić 1969, p. 328; Matkovski 1969, pp. 80–84; Brown 1975, pp. 79–80; Matthee 1999).

A lot more may be said about the use of coffee and tobacco in the Balkans at the dawn of the modern age. Passed over here are the shaping of new customs, both in private homes and in public spaces (coffee as a guest’s gift or a token of gratitude), the emergence of new trades and occupations, the cultivation, types and prices of coffee and tobacco, state monopolies, smuggling, varied ways of preparing coffee, recipes, the introduction of new words into the vocabulary, the forging of sayings, proverbs, echoes in literature etc. Obviously one of the most extensive subjects neglected here, for lack of space, is the use of coffee and tobacco in human and veterinary medicine, both official and popular, including charms and divination.

The emergence and spread of coffee and tobacco in the mid-west Balkans generally ran parallel with such developments in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. The region’s distinguishing features were geography-related. As the westernmost Ottoman territory, the Balkans was exposed to the powerful influence of the cultural patterns of neighbouring countries. It should be emphasised that the diffusion of those influences was made much easier by the fact that, on both sides of the border, lived Slavic populations speaking the same language. Nevertheless, it turned out that the Christian elites in the mid-west Balkans, even towards the end of Ottoman rule, largely followed the most obvious cultural model, that offered by the Ottoman elites. The subject is inexhaustible and extremely challenging. One cannot help being amazed by the magnitude and number of changes in society and economy initiated by the introduction of coffee and tobacco. Some are still evident, sometimes ubiquitously, despite different cultural layers deposited in different parts of the world over the centuries.

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