



ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ

Β' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ

ΟΙ ΣΕΡΡΕΣ

ΚΑΙ Η
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ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΗ ΕΠΟΧΗ

Α' ΤΟΜΟΣ

ΣΕΡΡΕΣ 2013

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HISTORY OF TOBACCO CULTIVATION IN SERRES AND ITS PERIPHERY IN THE 18th CENTURY

Introduction

The present paper aims to map out the course of the tobacco cultivation in Serres and its periphery according to tobacco surveys (*tahrir-i duhan*) undertaken at the turn of the 18th century. These surveys are preserved in the Prime ministry's Ottoman Archive of Istanbul. The first survey, dated in 1690, is a centrally-kept ledger and includes the result reports of the inspections carried out by the *mübaşirs* (an agent) and local *kadis* (the judge) in tobacco growing districts¹. The second one, dated in 1697, is also the result report of tobacco surveys sent by local *kadis* of the district of Serres and Sidirokastro to the customs region of Istanbul². Based on the data provided by the examination of these surveys, we will try to trace the conditions of tobacco cultivation in the region in respect to socio-economic characteristics of tobacco growers, yearly tobacco gross yields, and taxes imposed on tobacco.

Introduction of Tobacco in the Ottoman Empire

According to the 17th century Ottoman chronicles, tobacco was introduced in the capital city of the Empire by the first decade of the 17th century, by European sailors during the reign of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-1617)³. Especially, Peçevi, who was one of the famous annalists of the century, vividly describes the introduction and use of tobacco in the capital city of the empire⁴.

The habit and culture of tobacco were spread speedily throughout the Ottoman Empire most probably by tradesmen and soldiers. Moreover, the prevalent existence of coffeehouses in the Empire resulting in intertwining of two stimulants provides suitable conditions for the quick spreading of the

1. Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) MAD. 866.

2. BOA D.MMK.DHN. 1/112.

3. Ottoman chronicles of the period generally refer that tobacco was introduced in the years between 1598 and 1606. For comparison see E. Birnbaum, «Vice Triumphant, the Spread of Coffee and Tobacco in Turkey», *The Durham University Journal*, XLVIII (1955-56) 24-25. S. Zeki, *Türkiye'de Tütün Ziraat, Sanat ve Ticareti*, İstanbul, Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1928, p. 13. R. Matthee, «Tütün», *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd version, X (2003) 753.

4. He describes as follows «About the year 1600/1601 the English infidels brought it and sold it as a cure for some 'wet' disease. Certain lovers of pleasure became addicted to it, saying that it induces pleasure. Gradually people who were not men of pleasure also came to smoke it. Even some of great among 'ulema' and men of wealth fell to that addiction». I. Peçevi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, Vol. I, İstanbul, 1283, pp. 196-197.

new habit in the country. Since the references are insufficient, we are not able to determine neither the first cultivation place nor the way it was spread in the empire. Nonetheless, some Ottoman archival documents dated back in the second decade of the 17th century provide us with some useful information about the first stages of tobacco culture in the Empire⁵. It seems that shortly after the introduction of tobacco into Istanbul, it quickly spread into the other parts of the Empire. As it is reflected in a *firman* issued by Sultan Ahmet I in 1612, the tobacco cultivation and its use as a stimulant appear to have been established in the second decade of the century in the district of Saruhan⁶. It seems that the culture of tobacco began in the Balkan and Asiatic provinces of the Empire almost at the first quarter of 17th century. Though there are not sufficient sources to prove and explain the route it spread in the Ottoman lands, some archival records dated in the first decades of 17th century provide us with some valuable information to trace the earlier phases of tobacco culture⁷.

As in many places around the world, tobacco in the early stage of its introduction in the Ottoman Empire aroused suspicion on the part of cleric circles and the bureaucrats as well⁸. In the empire, tobacco was first proscribed in the reign of Sultan Ahmet I, who issued numerous bans on tobacco and places where it was smoked. His successors Osman II (1618-22), and Murat IV (1623-40) continued to issue bans on it as well. Especially, Murat IV was more vigorous on waging war against smoking. His intent was more politic than it was moralistic. In 1631, using a huge fire that destroyed thousands of houses in Istanbul as a pretext, he attempted to stamp out altogether the consumption of tobacco in the Ottoman realm by ordering the closure of all coffeehouses. The main reason for proscription was his fear of political opposition by Janissaries who were owners of these establishments⁹. The offenders of the

5. BOA M.D. 80/582,82/124 and 85/1040, 254, 110. S. Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam, Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla*, İstanbul, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1997, p. 238. Ö.Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya*, Ankara, Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 1995, p. 70.

6. BOA M.D. 80/582 and Z. Arıkan, «Coğrafi Keşifler, Yeni Ürünler, Yeni Alışkanlıklar», *500. Yılında Amerika*, (eds., R. Ertürk-H. Tüfekçioğlu), İstanbul, Bağlam Yayınları, 1993, pp. 28-29.

7. A decree issued in 1617/18 by Sultan Ahmet I to ban coffee and tobacco houses in Edirne because tobacco smokers frequented coffee and the tobacco houses were disturbing or annoying the people who lives around these places. For this reason the Sultan asked the Kadi of the town to close all the coffee and tobacco houses in the town. See for details *BAO M.D.*, 82/124.

8. Peçevi describes the popularity of tobacco as follows «...Excessive smoking by the lower classes and the rabble caused the coffee houses to be filled with blue smoke that people in them no longer able to see one another. In the streets and markets too the pipe never left their hands...». See for details Peçevi, *op.cit.*, p. 197. George Sandy who visited Turkey as early as 1610 describes the use of tobacco in Turkey. See Birnbaum, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

9. See R. Murphey, «Tobacco Cultivation in Northern Syria of Its Conditions of Marketing and Distribution in the Late Eighteenth Century», *TURCICA*, VIII (1985) 205, and *BOA D.MMK.DHN.*, 1/12 Special agents were assigned to control the implication of the proscription in the provinces of the Empire. See for details *BAO M.D.*, 85/110.

tobacco prohibition were severely punished during his reign. Nothing could, however, stop the use of tobacco. Faced with growing popularity, Murat IV's successors were more ambivalent to keep the prohibition of tobacco. In 1650, the *Şeyhülislam*¹⁰ Bahaddin Effendi, who was also a tobacco dependent, declared smoking lawful. Though tobacco was forbidden a few more times, Ottoman authorities, both state and clergy, ultimately resigned themselves to its spread¹¹. Finding prevention impossible, the Ottoman government decided to discourage the tobacco culture by imposing heavy taxes, and at the same time, to generate new sources for the imperial treasury¹².

The Culture of Tobacco in the Balkans

Although the definite date and place where tobacco was first introduced in the Balkans are not apparent, presumable it became known in the big towns of the peninsula as early as the first decades of 17th century. Thus, some archival documents and Ottoman chronicles of the period provide us with some clues to trace the earlier stages of its penetration into the Balkan Peninsula¹³. It is suggested that tobacco was brought in the Balkans by Venetian or Austrian merchants, but it was popularized by the Ottoman soldiers engaged in war against Austrians during this period¹⁴.

Even though there are early references about the use of tobacco in the Balkans, its cultivation in the region is not well documented. Nonetheless, it is believed that the first cultivation of tobacco in the Balkans began in Yenice (Genitsa) and Kırcaali¹⁵. Thus, Evliya Çelebi, who visited the region in 1660's, describes how tobacco cultivation and manufacture of tobacco pipes were popular in Yenice. He also gives detailed information about the tobacco grown in the district. As to him, the Yenice type was famous with its aroma and it was named as 'the ears of lamp' because of its shape¹⁶. It is clear that despite the proscription of tobacco, it was cultivated and consumed in the region¹⁷.

The Taxes Imposed on Tobacco

Despite the series of proscription on tobacco and severe punishments of smokers, nothing could stop the marching of tobacco in the Ottoman Empire. Finding prevention impossible, the Ottoman government imposed heavy taxes both to discourage the culture of tobacco and generate new sources for the

10. The chief religious official in the Ottoman Empire.

11. Matthee, p. 754.

12. Birnbaum, p. 27.

13. See the document *BAO M.D.*, 85/254,110. H. Hazerfen Efendi, *Telhistü'l-Beyan fi Kavanin-i Al-i Osman*, Ed., S.İlgürel, Ankara, TTK, 1998, pp. 274-275.

14. Faroqhi, p. 238.

15. Zeki, p. 15.

16. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyhatnamesi*, Vol. VIII, İstanbul, Orhaniye Matbaası, 1928, p. 173.

17. Special agents were appointed by the Sultan to inspect the applications of tobacco ban in the Balkans. See *BOA M.D.* 85/254.

imperial treasury.

Prior to Murat's time, it was grown as a cash crop on state lands assigned to fief holders, and was subject to the payment of *öşr* tax (tithe tax). It was ten percent of the yields of the tobacco land. In 1657, as a result of the financial crises brought on during the war against the Venetians, the Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmet Paşa imposed for the first time customs (*resm-i gümrük*) on tobacco to generate new revenues for the deficits of the treasury¹⁸. After this regulation, the tax imposed on sales of tobacco was included into customs of alcoholic drinks and farmed to the *mültezims* (the tax-farmer) until 1688¹⁹.

In 1690, the tobacco customs was organized as an independent group of revenue and farmed to seven contractors for three years turn²⁰. During the extended military emergency associated with the Habsburg counter-offensive of 1683-97, government financial advisors concurred on the practical advantages to be derived from putting aside the religiously-enjoyed ban on tobacco and opting instead for imposing of a new tax on its cultivation in order to generate urgently needed new sources of revenue for the imperial treasury²¹. Accordingly, in 1690/91 another new tax was assessed at the rate of 50 percent on the land where tobacco was grown. In another word, half of the yearly yields of a tobacco lands were allotted to the state as *resm-i dönüm* (acreage assessment). In this way, 5.331.980 *akçe* (asper) were collected from the tobacco lands in the Empire. Although in 1690/91 the total acreage assessment revenue was 3.702.536 *akçe*, it decreased dramatically in the subsequent years. The tax revenue was 484.835 *akçe* in 1692/93, 869.502 *akçe* in 1693/94 and 470.000 *akçe* in 1694/95²². It seems that the main reason for the decrease was the over taxation assessed on tobacco lands, and difficulties in collection of the taxes due to the war waged against Austria. Owing to the over taxation and war difficulties, tobacco growers inclined to cultivate other crops in their lands²³.

The practice of acreage assessment continued to be levied on tobacco lands at the rate of 50% until 1696/97. In this year, regional tobacco customs districts were reorganized under the name of Istanbul tobacco customs region (*İstanbul ve tevabi Duhan Gümrüğü*), and the collection of tobacco taxes as a monopoly was allotted to it. As a result of reorganization, an *emin* (treasury agent) was appointed as a director of Istanbul tobacco region with the

18. The tobacco tax was between 8 and 10 *akçe* per *vukiyye*. See the document BOA *Kepeci* 4465, p. 30, and İ.Subhi, «Tütünün Tarihi», *Servet-i Funun*, 1040 (1911) 186.

19. The customs imposed on tobacco was 12,5 percent of its total value in *grush* (piaster) until 1688 BOA *MAD* 7587, pp. 45 ff, and also for the rates of the taxes imposed on tobacco see Zeki, *op.cit.*

20. See the document BOA *MAD* 7587, pp. 4-5.

21. Murphey, p. 206.

22. BOA *Kepeci* 465, s. 30, *Kepeci* 466.

23. Tobacco growers tried to hide their cured tobacco or sold them to merchants in secret places away from the control of tax-farms to pay less tax. For details see BOA *D.MMK.DHN.* 2/24.

privileges of collecting tobacco taxes regardless of the status of the lands for three years term²⁴. Since the Istanbul customs district was encompassing all the tobacco lands and regional tobacco customs all over the empire, the right of the collection of dues from sub-customs regions and tobacco growing lands was auctioned to different tax-farmers. These dues were the *resm-i dönüm* (acreage assessments) and *resm-i gümrük* (customs). From 1690 to 1697, the acreage assessment was levied at the rate of 50 percent on tobacco yielded in a *dönüm*²⁵ regardless of the qualities of tobacco grades²⁶. By 1697, it was fixed at 2,5 *guruş* (piaster). However, the customs duties were imposed according to the qualities of tobacco brought in customs warehouses by merchants. The types of tobacco and rate of customs per *okka* (1.288 kg) were as follows: (a) the high grade tobacco (*duhan-ı Yenice Vardar*): 60 *akçe*, (b) the medium grade tobacco (*duhan-ı Kırcaali*): 40 *akçe*, and the common grade (*Kaba duhan*): 20 *akçe*²⁷. The tobacco customs continued to be collected in accordance with the rates given above until 1766. Then, they were reduced at the level of 25 *akçe* in first grade, 15 *akçe* in second grade, and 12 *akçe* in common grade. While the rate of tobacco duties was reduced, the acreage assessment stayed fixed at the level of 2.5 *guruş*²⁸. During this period the price of the cured tobacco in the market places was changing between 60 *akçe* to 2.5 *guruş* with regard to its quality²⁹.

The History Tobacco Cultivation in the District of Serres

Although there are no references about the first introduction of tobacco in the region, presumably it was introduced at the beginning of the 17th century. The first reference that mentions about the tobacco in Serres is the chronicle of Papa Synadinos of Serres. In his chronicle, after giving information about the proscription of tobacco by Sultan Murat IV in 1632, he talks about a great fire broke out in a cobbler's shop because of tobacco pipes shaken in the market place of Serres³⁰. His testimony shows that the use of tobacco was popular in Serres as well, despite the prohibitions. Nevertheless, Evliya Çelebi who visited the town in 1660's does not refer to tobacco culture in the district most probably because it was not cultivated extensively. In his travelogue, he only

24. H. V. Aydın, *Osmanlı Maliyesinde Esham Uygunlaması: 1775-1840*, Unpublished Ph. Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, 1998, p. 59. See also BOA D.MMK.DHN., 2/18, 24.

25. One dönüm is about 920 m². See H. İnalcık-D.Quartaert (Eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire: 1300-1914*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 988.

26. BOA MAD 866, pp. 60-71. BOA D.MMK.DHN. 1/112.

27. In Asian provinces of the Empire, there were also three types of tobacco graded as *Cebeliye*, *Amediye* and *Milas*. The customs imposed on the first two grades of tobacco was 10 *akçe*, on *Milas* was 4 *akçe*. See BOA D.MMK.DHN. 1/46, 67 and 1/112.

28. BOA D.MMK.DHN 48/16, 30.

29. BOA D.MMK.DHN 1/35.

30. E. Balta, «History and Histography on Greek Tobacco», Ed. E. Naskali, *Tütün Kitabı*, Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2003, p. 87.

mentions about tobacco culture in district of Yenice as the type of tobacco grown there was well known with its best quality in the Empire³¹. Due to the lack of documents and insufficient sources, our information on the history of tobacco along the 17th century in Serres is superficial as it was case for the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, we are provided with bulky of documents on the course of tobacco in the Ottoman Empire as a consequence of the reorganization of tobacco customs regions at the last decade of the 17th century. These registers constitute rich sources of information on the cultivation and the marketing conditions of tobacco. Among the registers undertaken after 1690/91, especially tobacco surveys of 1690 and 1697 together with year-end balance sheets of tobacco acreage assessments of the years between 1690 and 1695 have great importance as they are the earliest records on the subject and provide us with details to outline the conditions of tobacco cultivation and marketing in the Empire at the turn of the 18th century.

Year-end balance sheets of acreage assessments of the tobacco growing provinces were submitted by tax-farmers to the treasury between 1690 and 1695³². They allow us to figure the yearly tobacco yields and acreage assessments imposed on tobacco growing lands in the empire. The total acreage assessment for the year of 1690/91 was 3.702.536 *akçe*, while the tobacco yields were about 902 tons³³. The tobacco surveys dated in 1690 and 1697 contain details about the extent of tobacco growing lands, tobacco growers and merchants who stored cured tobacco in their stores. They were undertaken by special agents (*mübaşir*) sent by the treasury to the districts where tobacco was grown. These agents were accompanied by the *kadıs* of districts and their clerks to inspect the places where tobacco was grown and stored regardless of any privileges or immunities given by sultans. During the inspection, they were enrolling the tobacco land holders with their yearly yields and tobacco merchants with the quantities of the cured tobacco they had in their stores with respect to the types of tobacco with their weights in *okka*. After approved by the *kadıs* of districts, they were forwarded to the capital to be recorded in the centrally-kept ledgers³⁴.

The first tobacco survey of Serres³⁵ indicates that 388 (*hane*) households engaged both in cultivation and in trade of tobacco in 16 villages with the town of Serres³⁶. The type of tobacco grown in the region was the third

31. Evliya Çelebi, *op.cit.*, p. 183. He names tobacco grown in Yenice as ‘kuzu kulağı’ (lamb’s ear).

32. BOA *Kepeci* 4465, 4466.

33. The gross yield could be roughly should be more than this quantity because in the registry yields of some districts are not included. For details see BOA *MAD* 4465, 466.

34. They were sent with imperial decrees issued only for the survey of tobacco See for details BOA *D.MMK.DHN* 1/112, and BOA *MAD* 866.

35. BOA *D.MMK.DHN* 1/112.

36. Although we attribute them as a village, some of them were registered as vakif land, *çiftlik* (big farm), *mahalle* (neighborhood) and *mezra* (arable land) or *oba* (a group of

grade tobacco known as *Kaba*. Tobacco growing villages are concentrating in the northern part of the district of Serres and scattering around the Lake of Kerkini³⁷. The analysis of the survey shows that, while 55 percent of the growers were non-Muslims, 45 percent of them were Muslims³⁸. Although tobacco was grown in 16 villages of the district, it was intensively cultivated in four villages. Thus, they were providing almost %45 of the total yields in the district³⁹. It is also interesting to note that most of the production of tobacco was mainly supplied by small scale grower rather than big scale growers⁴⁰. Nonetheless, it seems that the local notables of the district engaged in tobacco trade rather than in its cultivation. They are totally 58 persons and have about 39 tons cured tobacco in their storage places. Since the extent of tobacco lands was not recorded, it is difficult to estimate the extent of the lands devoted to the cultivation of the crop in Serres.

With regard to the survey of the district of Sidirokastro (*Demirhisar*), tobacco was grown in 18 villages with the town⁴¹. They are concentrating on the southern slopes on the Kerkini Mountain and in upper banks of the Strimona River towards today's Bulgarian border. The type of tobacco was also the *kaba* one. In the district, 424 households (hane) were enrolled as growers or merchants. While the non-Muslim tobacco growers consist 67 percent of all households, the Muslim growers only constitute 33 percent of them. Thirty percent of the total yields were supplied by ten *çiftlik* holders who were also active in tobacco trade. The local elites of the district have 66 percent of the total tobacco yields. Furthermore, despite tobacco was grown extensively in the district, it was grown intensively in three villages⁴². They supplied 92 percent of the tobacco yields. The village of Spatova (Kimisi) alone supplied almost the half of the total production. It seems that the local notables also were intensively engaged in tobacco trade and in cultivation in the district in comparison to the district of Serres. The tobacco land surveys of the two districts and the year-end balance sheet of 1690 submitted by tax-farmers to the treasury indicate that the district of Serres together with the district of Sidirocastro 258 tons *kaba* tobacco⁴³. The acreage assessment of the

nomads).

37. They are in the in the northern side of the road between Serres and Thessalonica. In the southern side of the road, tobacco was not cultivated at all during this period.

38. Non-Muslims were consisted of the Orthodox Christians of the district.

39. They were Çayırılı (Kalamies.), Lozişte(Mesolofos), Ernaköy (Potismeno) and Ormanlı (Dasohori).

40. In the village of Predenli (?), three çiftliks yielded 8 tons tobacco.

41. Although we group all of them as a village, some of them were *çiftliks*, *vakıf* lands, *mahalles* and *obas* similar to those of Serres.

42. Spatova (Kimisi), Vetrina (Neo Petritsi) and Hacibeyli (Buronia).

43. 88 tons tobacco was paid in turn of acreage assessments of the districts at the rate of 50 percent to the tax-farmer excluding the %10 *öşr* tax of fief holders.

districts was 1.026.660 *akçe*⁴⁴. There were grown only *kaba* type of tobacco and the taxpayers were levied with 10 or 15 *akçes* per *okka* of *kaba* tobacco⁴⁵. With regard to the year-end balance sheet of 1690, 23 percent of total acreage assessment of the Balkan provinces was provided by the districts of Serres and Sidirokastro. This figure illustrate that, at least, at the turn of the 18th century in these districts, tobacco was cultivated extensively not only by peasants but also by the local notables. Since tobacco was more profitable and not subjected to acreage assessment until 1690, the fief holders and the local magnates were forcing farmers to cultivate tobacco rather than cereals in the region⁴⁶.

Nevertheless, in the following two years, tobacco yields of the two district decrease sharply to the level of 14 tons⁴⁷, and the acreage assessment falls to the level 69.787,5 *akçe* in 1693. In 1695, the acreage assessment of tobacco lands of the district was again at same level with the figure of previous year. It seems that the main reason for the decrease in the tobacco production and in the lands devoted to tobacco cultivation was the imposition of acreage assessment at rate of 50 percent. Another reason for the decline in the tobacco tax revenue was the extended wars waged in three fronts against Austria, Venetia and Russia. In this manner, over taxation on tobacco, war time difficulties and the meteorological phenomena of the period resulted in a decrease in the cultivation of the crop⁴⁸. As a result of this new tax policy, although the treasury managed to collect about 5.3 million *akçe* in 1690 from tobacco taxes, in the subsequent years it was not able to collect them at the same quantity. In 1697, the acreage assessment rate was reduced from 50 percent of yields to the level of 2.5 *guruş* per *dönüm* to encourage the expansion of tobacco cultivation in the Empire⁴⁹. The second the tobacco survey undertaken in the districts of Serres and Sidirokastro in 1697⁵⁰, gives us detailed information to trace the course of tobacco cultivation in comparison to the survey of 1690. It was carried out as a result of the reorganization of tobacco customs regions under the directory of Istanbul tobacco customs region. The annexation of other customs regions and the acreage assessment made the Istanbul customs region one of the biggest *muktaa* (tax-farm) of the Empire.

44. It was 1.195.900 *akçe* with the district of Demirhisar. See for details BOA Kepeci 4465, p. 11.

45. While 10 *akçe* was paid in Sidirokastro, it was 15 *akçe* in Serres.

46. See for details the imperial decree sent to the *kadis* of Siroz and Demirhisar. BOA Kepeci 4466, p. 1.

47. In this figure, 6000 *vukiyye* of tobacco was provided by Sidirokastro, and the rest of it by Serres.

48. A document dated to 1697 mentions a hailstorm damaged tobacco plants in Gümülcüne (Komothini). See BOA DMMK.DHN. 2/24. The Habsburgs temporarily occupied Macedonia in 1680.S. Akşin, *Türkiye Tarihi*, Vol.III, İstanbul, Cem Yayınevi, 1988, p. 38.

49. For the problems of collecting taxes and reasons of decrease in tobacco yields see Ottoman Judicial Records of Thessalonica (*Sicilat-ı Selanik*) 15/ 38-41, 71-72.

50. BOA D.MMK.DHN 1/112.

Since this survey also was undertaken in the same way with the first one, we are now able to compare the figures of tobacco surveys and to describe earlier stages of tobacco cultivation in Serres region at the turn of the 18th century. The tobacco growing villages are again in the northern region of the district and scattering around the Kerkini Lake as it was in 1690. They are 18 villages with the town. Although the numbers of villages is the same, half of them are consisted of new ones and are relatively very small villages in contrast to those of the first survey. Even though the type of tobacco grown in the district was again *Kaba* tobacco, the acreage assessment levied per *dönüm* was raised to 20 *akçe*. The numbers of the growers enrolled in the survey are 451 households. It seems that, although the number of growers was approximately at the same level, the rate of the Muslims growers increase to 53 percent while the rate of the non-Muslim falls to the level of 47 percent in comparison to the figures of the first survey. The main reason for the decrease in the rate of non-Muslim tobacco growers was the enrollment of new villages populated mainly with Muslim households. Seven years after the first survey, it seems that still tobacco was intensively cultivated in few villages which supply 60 percent of the total yields in the district⁵¹. During the registration, 11 *çiftlik*s with their storage place and 46 buildings which were supposed to be tobacco storage places were inspected and enrolled by inspectors. These *çiftlik*s and storages places are holdings of 56 notables of the district and they have only 4.5 tons tobacco. Moreover, during the inspection in the town of Serres, only 443 kg cured tobacco was found in 16 persons' shops. The comparison of the two surveys shows that the local elites of the district did not tend to engage in intensive tobacco cultivation and in tobacco trade in 1697.

In the second tobacco survey of the district of Sidirokastro, the number of households enrolled in 24 villages, is 247 while it was 427 in the first survey. In respect to the decrease in the number of the growers in the district the rate of non-Muslims falls to 55 percent as the rate of Muslims rises to 45 percent. The reason for the change of the proportions in the figures of growers is most probably the decrease in the extent of tobacco lands in the district. Eight tobacco growing villages recorded in the first survey are not enlisted in this survey. Moreover, the local elites of the district consist of 12 percent of the households are controlling of 12 percent of total tobacco yields. The figures of the second survey illustrate that tobacco was not cultivated intensively in the district as well. As far as can be determined from the tobacco surveys (*tahrir-i duhan*), though the tobacco cultivation was pursued extensively by the farmers and local elites in Serres and Sidirokastro until 1690, in the following years a great stagnation and decrease both in the tobacco yields and in the extent of tobacco lands has been occurred because of over taxation, wartime conditions

51. The village Çayırılı (Kalamies), Ormanlı (Dasahori), Tuzculu (Thrakiko) and Vetrina (N. Petritsi).

and meteorological factors⁵². The decrease both in the tobacco yields and in the revenues of tobacco taxes has been observed almost in all major tobacco growing district of the Balkan provinces. Thus, the revenue of the acreage assessment from the districts of Yenice Karasu (Genisea), Drama, Kavala and Gümülcüne (Komothini) was 1.508.730 akçe⁵³. The yearly yields of the other Balkan districts in 1697 were as follows: Menlik 5 tons⁵⁴, Nevrekep 38 tons⁵⁵, Pirlepe 700 kg⁵⁶, Vodina 4.5 tons⁵⁷, and Selanik (Thessalonica) 9 tons⁵⁸.

The examination of the survey of 1690 determines that tobacco was intensively grown in the districts of Serres and Genitsa in comparison to the other districts of the Balkans. The merchants and the local elites of these districts were very active in tobacco trade and in its cultivation⁵⁹. Thus, the figures of the Genitsa survey show that the majority of local elites and artisans of the town engaged in tobacco cultivation both in their own *çiftlik*s and in the villages of the district with the method of share-cropping⁶⁰. By the year of 1752, they started to show interest in the cultivation and trade of cotton in their farms. Therefore, they forced the farmers in the region to grow cotton in tobacco lands. Cotton cultivation in the tobacco lands caused to decrease in the revenues of tobacco taxes farmed to the contractors⁶¹.

In so far as we observed from the documents, the greater parts of tobacco grown in the districts of Serres and Sidirokastro were destined for international markets through out the 18th century. Serres and Sidorokastro were in the region of tobacco customs of Thessalonica. The tax-farmer of the customs was responsible for the collection of customs excised on the trade of cured tobacco. In accordance with the established rules of the tobacco customs of Thessalonica, tobacco merchants or the growers were obliged to bring the cured tobacco in the customs warehouses to pay duties according to the qualities of the commodity before they sold in the markets. In return of the dues they paid, they were given a patent to sell their tobacco in the markets⁶². The cured

52. According to a document dated to 1701, especially, *çiftlik* and fief holders tried to not to give the acreage taxes because of decrease over taxation and the decrease in the tobacco yields in their lands. See *Sicilat-ı Selanik* 8/161.

53. BOA D. MMK.DHN. 2/28.

54. BOA D. MMK.DHN. 1/95.

55. BOA D. MMK.DHN.1/112.

56. BOA D. MMK DHN.1/75.

57. BOA D. MMK DHN. 1/87.

58. BOA D. MMK DHN 1/119.

59. Especially the merchant of Vetrina (N.Petritsi) and Demirhisar (Sidirokastro) were active in local and long range tobacco trade. See BOA *Kepeci* 4467.

60. The number of households engaged in both cultivation and trade of tobacco was 1144, and the extent of the tobacco land was about 320 dönüm. For details see BOA *MAD* 866, pp. 72-102.

61. During this period in Yenice Vardar, 1500 dönüm tobacco lands devoted to cotton production. See *Sicilat-ı Selanik* 81/ 60-62.

62. For the details of tobacco customs regions' rules see BOA D. MMK.DHN 23260, p.

tobacco produced in the districts of the Balkans was brought to the main ports of the regional tobacco customs of Thessalonica by merchants or growers. From there, the commodity stored in the warehouses of the customs was destined to Istanbul, Egypt and to some European countries by the merchants⁶³. The figures extracted from year-end balance sheets of the tobacco customs region of Thessalonica indicates that, tobacco cultivation began to extend after the second half 18th century, mainly because of the increasing demand for the qualified tobacco of the Macedonia. Thus, according to a document dated in 1760, the acreage assessment collected by the tax-farmers was 75.000 *guruş* for the tobacco customs region of Thessalonica. According to this figure we may estimate that the land devoted for the tobacco cultivation was about 30.000 *dönüm* in the customs region⁶⁴. In Serres, roughly 2500 *dönüm* lands were devoted to the cultivation of tobacco in this period⁶⁵. It seems that the extent of the tobacco lands from 1697 until the second half the 18th century stayed at the level of 2000-2500 *dönüm* in the district of Serres.

In the second half of the 18th century, especially the villages of Vetrina and the district of Petrichi played important role in the cultivation and marketing of tobacco in the region. There were new types of tobacco named as *Vetrina*, *Petrichi*, *Stanchi* and *Karadağ* apart from the earlier types. The best qualities of common tobacco were exported to Venice, Livorna, Malta, Alexandria, and in small quantities to Marseilles. The best quality was consumed in the Ottoman Empire. The annual crop of Macedonia was about 100.000 balls (1000 tons). While 40 percent of the crop consumed in the region, the rest of them were exported to Egypt, Italy, Germany, and Austria. The annual tobacco production in Macedonia was one million balls (10 tons)⁶⁶.

Conclusion

As we outlined above, at the turn of the 18th century, tobacco was intensively cultivated in the villages of Serres, and it was one of the profitable cash crops of the district. For this reason, the majority of local notables engaged in its cultivation and the trade. Most of the arable lands were devoted to the tobacco cultivation in the northern region of the district around the Lake of Kerkini and along the upper bank of the River of Strimona. However, government

26, BOA MAD 7577, p. 45.

63. *Sicilat-ı Selanik* 16/248, and also for the details of tobacco exportation see N. Svoronos, *Le commerce de Salonique au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1956, p. 264.

64. According to the customs regulations the acreage assessment was 2.5 *guruş* per *dönüm*. By applying the conversion of 2.5 we are able to estimate the extent of the land employed for tobacco cultivation. Naturally, these figures are rough approximations. See for details *Sicilat-ı Selanik* 96/71-72 and BOA D.MMK.DHN 48/16.

65. *Sicilat-ı Selanik* 2/235.

66. Svoronos, pp. 261-64. E. Tchemepoulou, *Selanique, 1800-1875: Conjecture Economique et Mouvement Commercial*, These de Doctorate, L'universite de Paris, Tome II, 1994. pp. 525-526.

interference both in cultivation and marketing, motivated by desire to maximize treasury revenues cause to restrict the extent of tobacco cultivation in the region until the last quarter of the 18th century.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

HACI VELI AYDIN

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΠΝΟΚΑΛΛΙΕΡΓΕΙΑΣ ΣΤΙΣ ΣΕΡΡΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ 18^ο ΑΙΩΝΑ

Λίγο μετά την ανακάλυψη της Αμερικανικής ηπείρου, ο καπνός πρωτοεμφανίζεται σε διαφορετικά σημεία του κόσμου και καλλιέργειες ως βοτανολογική πανάκεια, αλλά και ως βασικό καταναλωτικό αγαθό με τη βοήθεια Πορτογάλων και Βρετανών ναυτών που, λόγω της δουλειάς τους, πήγαιναν σε διάφορα μέρη του κόσμου. Μετά την καθιέρωση του καπνού ως δημοφιλούς καταναλωτικού αγαθού, δημιουργήθηκε μία συνεχώς αυξανόμενη ζήτηση για την κατανάλωση, αλλά και την καλλιέργειά του ως εμπορευματικό είδος σε διάφορα σημεία του κόσμου, όπου το κλίμα και το υψόμετρο ήταν κατάλληλα για την καλλιέργειά του.

Η επικερδής αγορά που προέκυψε από την εγχώρια και τη διεθνή ζήτηση του καπνού έδωσε ώθηση για εντατική καλλιέργεια του φυτού σε ορισμένες περιοχές της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας με την έναρξη του 17^{ου} αιώνα. Ανάμεσα στις περιοχές που καλλιεργούσαν καπνό, η Μακεδονία έπαιξε πρωταρχικό ρόλο στην καλλιέργεια και το εμπόριό του. Τα Γιαννιτσά-Αξιού, το Κίρτσαλι, η Δράμα, η Καβάλα, η Ξάνθη, η Κομοτηνή, η Θεσσαλονίκη, η Βέροια, το Σιδηρόκαστρο και οι Σέρρες αποτελούσαν τις κυριότερες περιοχές, όπου η εντατική καλλιέργεια του καπνού συνεχίστηκε μετά το δεύτερο μισό του 17^{ου} αιώνα. Ιδιαίτερα η περιοχή των Γιαννιτσών-Αξιού έγινε γνωστή για τον εκλεκτής ποιότητας καπνό που καλλιεργούσε.

Σε αυτή την παρουσίαση, κατ' αρχήν, θα αναφέρουμε συνοπτικά τις πληροφορίες για την ένταξη και διάδοση του καπνού στη Μακεδονία, όπως αυτές εκφράζονται μέσα από τις οθωμανικές πηγές. Στη συνέχεια, σύμφωνα με τρία διαφορετικά φορολογικά μητρώα της περιοχής των Σερρών, που χρονολογούνται στη δεκαετία του 1690, θα προσπαθήσουμε να παρουσιάσουμε επιπλέον πληροφορίες συγκρίνοντας και άλλες περιοχές καλλιέργειας του καπνού: α) χωριά εντατικής καπνοκαλλιέργειας, β) είδη καπνού που καλλιεργούνται στην περιοχή, γ) κοινωνικοοικονομικά χαρακτηριστικά των καπνοκαλλιεργητών, δ) καπνεμπόριο και δραστηριότητες των εμπόρων, ε) ετήσια μικτή απόδοση του καπνού, στ) έκταση των χωραφιών του καπνού, ζ) φορολογία που του επιβαλλόταν.



ΧΟΡΗΓΟΙ:



ISBN: 978-960-86390-8-9