

**MATERIAL CULTURE OF COFFEE IN THE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE: THE EMERGENCE OF
"TURKISH COFFEE"**

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MATERIAL CULTURE OF COFFEE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: THE EMERGENCE OF "TURKISH COFFEE"

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MATERIAL CULTURE OF COFFEE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: THE EMERGENCE OF "TURKISH COFFEE"

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis and that this is the true copy of my thesis, including the final revisions, approved by my thesis committee. All data and information have been obtained, produced, and presented in accordance with the rules of research ethics and principles of academic honesty. As required by these rules, to the best of my knowledge I have acknowledged ideas, thoughts, and any copyrighted material in accordance with the standard referencing rules. I certify that any part of this thesis has not been submitted for a degree or diploma in another educational institution.

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ABSTRACT

Despite some recent contributions that mostly came after UNESCO's recognition of "Turkish coffee" as an intangible cultural heritage, the Ottoman material culture of coffee still remains understudied. This study offers a systematic overview of Ottoman coffee objects but puts special emphasis on only two of them, *ibrik* (ewer) and *cezve* (coffee pot). This is related to the research question of this thesis. The thesis tries to find an answer to the emergence of "Turkish coffee" as a distinctive type. Contrary to some widespread notions, "Turkish coffee" was not drunk in the Ottoman Empire when coffee was introduced in the 16th century. Instead, a coffee made with the husks of the coffee fruit (*kışır*) and another made with the kernels (*bun*) were preferred. "Turkish coffee"s difference is that it is served with grounds and froth. This study argues a relationship between the type of coffee and the coffeemakers. The preparation techniques are as important as the form of utensils but the ideal form for "Turkish coffee" is the small, lidless *cezve*. The *ibrik*, on the other hand, is suited to prepare a strong, clear coffee without grounds. Therefore, to ascertain the existence of *cezve* in time means finding evidence as to the existence of "Turkish coffee" as well. This study attempts to find an answer by utilising secondary literature, offering data from primary sources such as the Ottoman probate inventories, using selected visual sources and studying the surviving coffee objects today. It has concluded that "Turkish coffee" indeed came into use in the second half of the 18th century, but co-existed with the ewer coffee until the end of the Empire, confirming the views of some researchers.

Keywords: Material culture of coffee, Turkish coffee, Ottoman coffee objects, *cezve*, coffee ewer

ÖZET

UNESCO’nun “Türk kahvesi”ni somut olmayan kültürel miras olarak kabul etmesinden sonra yapılan bazı katkılara rağmen, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda kahvenin maddi kültürü yeterince çalışılmamıştır. Bu çalışma Osmanlı kahve eşyalarının sistematik olarak gözden geçirilmesini önermekte ama, ikisini, ibrik ve cezveyi özel olarak vurgulamaktadır. Bu, tezin araştırma sorusuyla ilgilidir. Bu tez ayrı bir tür olarak “Türk kahvesinin” ortaya çıkışına cevap aramaktadır. Yaygın bazı görüşlerin aksine, kahve 16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’na ilk getirildiği zamanlarda “Türk kahvesi” içilmemekteydi. Bunun yerine, kahve meyvesinin kabuklarından yapılan bir kahve (kışır) ve kahve çekirdeklerinden (bun) yapılan başka bir kahve tercih edilirdi. “Türk kahvesinin” farkı, telvesi ve köpüğü ile birlikte sunulmasıdır. Bu çalışma kahvenin türü ile pişirme kapları arasında bir ilişki olduğunu tartışmaktadır. Kahve pişirme tekniklerinin, pişirme kaplarının formu kadar önemli olduğu ve “Türk kahvesi” pişirmek için ideal formun küçük, kapaksız cezve olduğu söylenebilir. İbrik ise daha sert, duru ve telvesiz bir kahve yapmaya uygundur. Dolayısıyla, zaman içerisinde cezvenin varlığını saptamak, “Türk kahvesinin” varlığına da bir kanıt olmaktadır. Bu çalışma, ikincil kaynakları, Osmanlı tereke defterleri gibi birincil kaynaklardan verileri, belirli görsel kaynakları kullanarak ve bugüne gelebilmiş kahve eşyalarını çalışarak bu soruya bir cevap bulmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu tez, bazı araştırmacıların görüşlerini de teyit ederek, “Türk kahvesinin” gerçekten de 18.yüzyılın ikinci yarısında kullanıma girdiği, ama İmparatorluğun sonlarına kadar ibrik kahvesi ile beraber mevcut olduğu sonucuna ulaşmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kahvenin maddi kültürü, Türk kahvesi, Osmanlı kahve eşyaları, cezve, ibrik

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Aim and the Scope of the Study

After its discovery in one of the areas where it naturally grows, that is Ethiopia in the late medieval times, coffee spread to Arabia, Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, Europe and the rest of the world. Consumption of coffee quickly became part of our daily lives and as such, it interests hundreds of millions of people today.

There is already a large and growing literature on coffee in general, how it was prepared and consumed, the history of coffee trade, emergence of the coffeehouses as places of social gatherings, prohibitions against coffee or coffeehouses to control social dissent, discussions on the material and medical qualities of coffee, and in the Ottoman-Islamic contexts, a religious debate whether coffee drinking was forbidden or not. However, there are not many studies and a fully developed literature related to the material culture of coffee in the Ottoman Empire. How the coffee objects changed and influenced the coffee culture in general or the type of coffee drunk is yet another question to be addressed.

This is a thesis about the material culture of coffee in the Ottoman contexts and the birth of what we call today the Turkish coffee. After presenting a general background about coffee itself and its spread, we will directly focus on coffee objects and brewing vessels. Two of the coffee objects discussed will be handled in a more detailed manner. The reason for studying these two objects in detail is that they are related to the main research question of this thesis. These two objects are coffee ewer (*ibrik*) and the smaller coffee pot (*cezve*). The objects that make the material culture of coffee were almost exclusively crafted by hand by artisans. In other words, they are not products of mass production and among the many coffee objects, only the open type *cezve* is being used

today. We will try to track the changes in the use of these brewing vessels. We will try to understand why the open type *cezve* of today is the sole survivor of the material culture of coffee of the Ottoman times together with coffee cups. I will be quite selective while studying the coffee objects in this thesis. For example, coffee cups (*fincan*) and cupholders (*zarf*) will not be studied extensively. Compared to other coffee objects, they occupy a much larger place in the literature as they are studied more compared to other items of the material culture. Various objects related to the tobacco culture are presented with the coffee objects in many exhibitions and studies, these items will not be studied also in this thesis. Finally, items like *puşide* (textile cover) and *sitil* (portable brazier) which are part of the material culture of coffee but do not belong in the preparation phase of coffee will not be prioritized.

The studies on the material culture of coffee is limited but not non-existent. I will, of course, be using the previous literature; a good part of my data will come from the secondary sources used in a critical way. One of the main contributions of this study will be the use of archival sources in the shape of the sharia court records (*kadı sicilleri*) that were not used previously by researchers of the material culture of coffee in the Ottoman Empire. Through the study of these records, I will look for data in chronological order and also trace back a single item in time. It will also be possible to learn about a coffee object's existence at a certain time.

Visual sources will support data from other sources. However, I was very selective in choosing the visual material and deliberately I chose visuals that seemed to be pertinent to my research in a direct way. Finally, data from the study of coffee objects themselves or direct observation will also be used in this study.

When we discuss the objects in our family collection, we will offer some numerical data but, again, our approach will be qualitative. In other words, no quantitative analysis will be attempted and no statistical conclusions will be offered. My aim is only to test the prevailing generalizations about coffee objects and learn about them in a way to help me to answer my research question.

1.1.1 Thesis Statement and Research Question

This thesis argues that a radical change occurred in the way coffee was prepared and consumed in the 18th century Ottoman world producing new coffee objects and culminating in a new product, called “Turkish coffee” today.

To understand the emergence and development of coffee equipment that determines the technique of making Turkish coffee, these objects should be examined. To support this claim, research must be conducted on how individual coffee-related objects contributed to the development of the material culture of coffee in Ottoman society.

As mentioned above, the existing literature on the material culture of coffee is limited, and the subject requires further study. With this thesis, I aim to help fill at least part of this gap in the literature. The research question of my thesis is as follows: “From coffee ewer to *cezve*: how, when and why coffee preparation technique and the material culture of coffee has been changed in the Ottoman Empire.” This change in the material culture of coffee constitutes the subject of my research in my thesis.

My research question is in pursuit of the change which involved around ewer and *cezve*. The use of these two instruments in making coffee, dictate the texture and the fluidity of the coffee. The *cezve* holds a central role in the preparation of Turkish coffee, it has a functional role. Its unique shape—with a wide bottom, narrow neck, and long handle—is specifically designed to control heat distribution and foam formation, which

are essential to the characteristic texture and flavor of Turkish coffee. Whereas the characteristic foam that brought fame to Turkish coffee cannot be achieved when using an *ibrik* for its preparation.

Contrary to some claims in the literature, there is no evidence supporting the existence of Turkish coffee prior to the emergence of the *cezve*, the coffee brewing vessel. Objects such as the *ibrik* and *güğü* were not used to prepare Turkish coffee; rather, they were associated with other types of coffee preparation. The fact that the open form *cezve* is the only surviving type among the various Ottoman coffee pots suggests a transition in the design of brewing vessels over time. This observation points to the need for a broader investigation into the material culture of coffee and its associated objects.

I am specifically interested in how Ottoman material culture of coffee has been transformed from the 18th century onwards. The Ottomans learned about coffee consumption from Arabia and well into the 18th century, the way they prepared coffee was mainly in the Arabic way. They cooked coffee in large utensils and drank their coffee without sugar. In other words, what we call today “Turkish coffee” was not around for more than two centuries after coffee was introduced to the central Ottoman Empire.

How and when did exactly this transformation take place? In other words, since when did “Turkish coffee” come into existence? Can we trace this transformation through the coffee objects used by the Ottomans? There is a general agreement in the available literature that the Ottomans began to use the smaller coffee pots (*cezve*) sometime in the 18th century. The older, larger coffee pots (*ibrik*) did not immediately become obsolete and until the early 20th century, the two co-existed together. However, we can say that today the transformation is complete, nobody uses the large pots, and together with this change, coffee culture has been transformed radically.

We can say that, coffeehouses hold the largest space in the coffee related literature. There are books about coffeehouses that mention the material culture of coffee but they do not specifically study them. Many authors work on either the social structure of the coffeehouses or coffeehouses in relation to political events. Many of these books study coffee and coffeehouses but the coffee studied here is not the material culture of coffee. The emergence and the spread of coffee is also studied. Another coffee related subject, which is studied in detail, is the sanctions, bans, prohibitions against the coffeehouses. They were seen as places where opposition may arise. Generally, their customers were intellectual people. However, we may still be able to find information about material culture in these sources about coffeehouses. Additionally, many visual sources depicting the coffeehouses have coffee objects in them. They may give us valuable information; they may even answer a part of my research question.

After conducting a literature review summarizing the key studies on coffee culture and history, this thesis will move on to examine the material culture surrounding coffee consumption in the Ottoman Empire. Before examining coffee-related objects, I will provide some background information on coffee and its introduction to the Ottoman world in the following chapter of this thesis. Chapter three focuses on coffee related objects, particularly in relation to their role in the preparation of coffee. Two of the coffee objects, *ibrik* and *cezve* brewing vessels will be studied in a more detailed way in chapter four where the main research question is addressed. In this chapter, we will use visual material directly related to this thesis and the questions it raises. Basically, we will look for evidence in visual sources to support our arguments.

This thesis ends with appendices. As stated above, coffee objects themselves constitute a valuable source of information. This appendix presents a study of our family

collection. A comprehensive analysis of the entire collection is not intended; rather, only the coffee pots are examined to address the research questions posed in this thesis. I am indebted to Hakan Erdem for generously sharing his insights on individual coffee objects, which greatly contributed to shaping this appendix. All photographs of the selected coffee objects featured in this thesis are drawn from this collection.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Collected Books on Coffee and Coffeehouses

Although there is a wide-ranging literature on coffee and coffeehouses in the Middle East, the literature on the material culture of coffee in the Ottoman Empire or the modern Middle East is not particularly developed or rich. In fact, many of the “coffee books” have nothing to say on the coffee objects or even the preparation methods of the drink itself. The emphasis is mainly on the social impact of coffee and coffeehouses as places of social gatherings, entertainment and political opposition. For example, in a volume edited by Dana Sajdi, *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee*, there is almost nothing concerning the material culture of coffee. Only, Alan Mikhail in his article (Mikhail 2007) makes a simple reference to coffee making equipment and coffee cups stored near the *ocak* without giving any details. Likewise, a book by Kemalettin Kuzucu and M. Sabri Koz, *Türk Kahvesi (Turkish Coffee)*, although covering a wide spectrum of subjects from fortune telling to folk tales about coffee, has very little information concerning the material culture of coffee. (Kuzucu and Koz, 2015)

Likewise, a collected volume edited by Hélène Desmet-Grégoire and François Georgeon *Doğuda Kahve ve Kahvehaneler* 2019 (Coffee and Coffeehouses in the East) has some chapters on coffeehouses that gave information about the material culture of

coffee. We can note that among the many coffee objects the *cezve* is not to be seen at that time in Cairo in the 18th century.

Michel Tuchscherer in his article “Osmanlı Döneminde Mısır Kahvehaneleri (16.-18.Yüzyıllar” [Egyptian Coffeehouses during the Ottoman Period] in *Coffee and Coffeehouses in the East* ask questions such as if the *kısr* coffee was drunk, how coffee was prepared in Egypt and in which ways it was consumed. He points out that the bedouin carried coffee objects with them and prepared a black, muddy coffee. Turchscherer also tells us that there were many shops called *medakku’l-bünn* (*Kurukahveci*) whose sole occupation was to grind coffee and sell it as packaged (Tuchscherer, 1999, p.101). This is long before Kurukahveci Mehmed Efendi began to sell already grounded coffee in Istanbul. His work is holistic and he mentions many different aspects in his work while his important contribution regarding my thesis is that he gives information about the material culture of coffee in Cairo. He gives detailed information about the coffee objects with unique names used in some coffeehouses in Cairo as we shall see in greater detail.

In a similar way, Aladin Goushegir in his article in the same volume “Safeviler’den Günümüze İran’da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler” [Coffee and Coffeehouses in Iran from the Safavids to Our time] makes specific mention to objects to prepare and cook coffee. Under the title, *Araç Gereç Kap Kacak* (Coffee objects, tools and utensils) he explains that although there are many sources related to coffee it is hard to obtain precise information. *Kahve-cûş* is the utensil, which was used for boiling the coffee. *Kahve-rîz* was the utensil, which was used to fill up the coffee cups, presumably a ewer. The *fincan* is also mentioned. *Kahve biryân-kün* is the name for coffee roasters. There is also an object named *kara-âftâbe*, which was used for heating water for multiple beverages including tea, medicine and coffee. The name *Kahve-dan* was used for the utensil, which

was used in serving. The last two items are the *sini* or *çini*, which was the coffee tray, and the *piyâle*, which is a reason for debate, was clearly a coffee cup according to two different Safavid texts. Aladin Goushegir, by giving us information about the material culture of coffee in Iran, enables us to make comparisons with that of the Ottoman Empire. (Goushegir 1999, pp.150-153)

Collected volumes on coffee in general also have some related articles on the material culture of coffee. *Türk Kahvesi Kitabı* [The Book of Turkish Coffee] edited by Emine Gürsoy Naskali, in 2011 and *Kahve Yanında Bir Lokum* [Coffee and Turkish Delight] edited by again Emine Gürsoy Naskali and Salih Mehmet Arçın in 2017 are such volumes. Most of the articles are about the social and oral culture of coffee as well as coffee in literature; however, there are articles related to the material culture of coffee. Another volume, *Kahve Kırk Yıllık Hatırın Kitabı* [Coffee. The Book of Forty Years' Favor] again edited by Naskali in 2011 shares many of the articles with her other edited volume of the same year. However, there are different articles and the book is enriched with a wide variety of visual material.

1.2.2 Exhibition Catalogues

Exhibitions on coffee and coffee culture in the Ottoman Empire also displayed various elements of Ottoman material culture of coffee. They are very helpful for the purposes of this thesis because they are rich in visuality and several articles accompanied these exhibition catalogs. The earliest was an exhibition sponsored by Yapı Kredi Bank. That exhibition produced a Turkish- English catalogue called *Tanede Saklı Keyif Kahve/ Coffee, Pleasures Hidden in a Bean*. (Özpalabıyıklar 2011) We should note that, although this exhibition displayed a great number of Ottoman coffee objects, no specific article accompanied them in the exhibition catalogue.

On the other hand, the catalogue of another exhibition at the Dolmabahçe Palace in 2011, *Tüm Zamanların Hatırına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve* [A Cup of Coffee in the Palace for the Sake of All Times] (Demirli and Öztürk, 2011) has several articles related to Ottoman material culture of coffee. We will cover them below shortly. The most comprehensive exhibition on the material culture of coffee was jointly organized by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Society for Turkish Coffee Culture and Research in 2015. *Bir Taşım Keyif. Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü* 2015 (A Drop of Pleasure. 500 Years of Turkish Coffee) Several of the articles in this exhibition catalogue are directly on the material culture of coffee as we will review.

In this context, we should also mention another exhibition that took place at Bey Konağı-Odunpazarı-Eskişehir between 2-23 September 2013 when Eskişehir was the capital city for UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage. That exhibition also produced a catalogue, *Türk Kahvesi Geçici Müzesi*. (The Interim Museum of Turkish Coffee) No scholarly articles, in fact, not even a text accompanies this catalogue but it is extremely rich in terms of visual material and as such is a valuable source for this thesis.

1.2.3 Works about Material Culture of Coffee

What follows below is a somewhat detailed survey of some of the more important secondary sources I have used in this study. The emphasis is on the material culture of coffee. I have tried to present them in chronological order.

Süheyl Ünver talks about the work of his teacher, Hoca Ali Rıza Efendi, in *İstanbul Risaleleri* [İstanbul Treatises], a book that brings together his articles published after his death (Ünver, 1996). Hoca Ali Rıza left behind a visual record of coffee objects mostly found in the coffee houses at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in and around İstanbul, the Ottoman Capital. He drew

coffee objects at private houses to a much lesser extent. The drawings themselves are “observable” as they can be checked through existing coffee objects today and they are a good source of material culture of coffee. Ünver’s work is especially important for this thesis. His teacher has drawn most of the coffee objects that could be found in late Ottoman society with a few exceptions. There are examples of coffee boxes, cups, coffee pots (*cezve*), coffee coolers, hand mills, coffee cups with saucers.

One of the main aspects of this source is that it was written by Suhey1 Ünver at an early date in 1969 when there was no academic interest so to speak in Ottoman coffee objects. Ünver acts as a bridge between his teacher’s and our own time. Hoca Ali Rıza’s drawings are very much alive while the very coffee objects themselves might have not survived until today. There is no other similar work, which includes many coffee object drawings of that time in a systematic way.

Ralph Hattox is the author of the *Coffee and Coffeehouses. The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Hattox, 1988). His extensive research on the Middle East makes him an influential expert in this area and thanks to this; many other authors quote from him. In his work, Hattox deals with such questions as consumption of the coffee beverage leading to medicinal and religious debates. He also explains different kinds of beverages made from coffee fruit, from coffee fruit’s husk and from coffee beans. According to Hattox, Sufis have a great role in the spread of the coffee beverage.

In his work, Hattox gives a big place to the coffeehouses. He is interested in the social opposition shaped in the coffeehouses as well as sanctions against them by political authorities. Social life around coffeehouses gets his attention and he dedicates a whole chapter on the tavern-like qualities of them.

Hattox's work is not focused exclusively on the material culture of coffee. However, Hattox gives valuable information about the material culture of coffee as well. He explains the coffee preparing process and quotes from Joannes Cotovicus who mentioned a hand mill (*mola trustili*). He also makes quotations from Thévenot who talks about a coffee beverage made in cauldrons. Relying on the French traveler Thévenot, Hattox talks about a certain kind of Turkish coffee, which is not the same with the Turkish Coffee of today. It is made in *ibrik* and is boiled 10 to 12 times. Last but not least, illustrations accompanying this work are useful in debating the objects of coffee. For example, in plate 3 where he reproduces an engraving from the work of Dufour, there is a Turk drawn with coffee objects. He drinks from a large cup with no handles and has an *ibrik* by his side. Another object is described in the original engraving as “*Instrument Pour Torrifier le Café*” indicating that it was a roaster of the closed type. Hattox thinks that it actually is a hand mill and he also thinks its shape resembles the hand mills which are still widely seen in modern Turkey. We shall come back to this point when we discuss the grinders below. Ralph Hattox studies coffee types as well as coffee objects and coffee brewing methods in his work and is a valuable source about coffee altogether.

Hélène Desmet-Grégoire's work *Les objets du café* [Objects of Coffee] (Grégoire 1989) can be considered a holistic work about material culture of coffee in such an early date as 1989. She has information about coffee culture in France and territories that are connected to France as well as the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East. Visuals of a great deal of coffee objects accompany this text. She also tells us how these coffee objects are unique to certain regions and cultures. She effectively shows the differences about the coffee culture between the Near East, Middle East and Europe. Not only does she provide information about coffee objects, she also studies these objects. She carefully

differentiates various versions of the coffee objects, open and closed roasters can be given as an example. Moreover, she explains the form of the brewers and preparation methods and the relations between them. She points out to different coffee preparation techniques such as decoction, infusion, percolation, and filtration and the coffee utensils used in the coffee making process. She gives us the information that decoction for example is used in the Near East with coffee ewer, *ibrik*. Hélène Desmet-Grégoire also explains the *cezve* and the coffee preparation process. Both *ibrik* and *cezve* are key elements of this thesis. An important question in my work was about the emergence of Turkish coffee, in other words, how Turkish coffee came to be. Thus, Desmet Grégoire's work on the brewing vessels are of importance since her descriptions of these items are detailed. She explains the geographical usage of *cezve* from Yemen to Tunisia and Yugoslavia. According to her, the use of *cezve* in these lands implies an adaptation of a preparation method borrowed from the Turks. This can only be Turkish coffee and Grégoire clearly thinks that the *cezve* was originated in the central Ottoman lands, Anatolia and the Balkans. Despite the great contribution of Grégoire in the study of the material culture of coffee and her insights concerning *cezve*, her work is literally unknown to the researchers who study the material culture of coffee in Turkey.

Gülname Turan and Ahmet Zeki Turan in their article published in *Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve* (A Cup of Coffee in the Palace) (Turan and Turan, 2011) make a systematic approach to the coffee objects. They present coffee objects and they give a detailed description of these objects. It is a rich study in terms of the material culture of coffee. They are also interested in Turkish coffee and they indicate that Turkish coffee's contribution to national culture is not limited to cooking methods but also its material culture. They think that *cezve* has an ideal form, in their article they describe this ideal

form. They also include their thoughts directly about this ideal form. According to them *cezve*'s form can be described as “timeless” in terms of design. We do know that there is more to the *cezve* regarding its different forms and there were changes in *cezve*'s design over the time, but we will discuss this later on in this work. They tried to establish a connection between the coffee pot of the past and the coffee pot of today by mentioning the steel *cezves* with plastic handles and also the electrical coffee pot. They also mention the “itinerant” coffee sellers and the coffee which was prepared and sold by them. There will be a discussion about this part further in my work to clarify this point. This article is a first attempt to present a collective picture of the Ottoman coffee objects from the viewpoint of design. As such, the authors did not feel to write a conclusion, perhaps implying that further research should be done.

Müjgan Üçer in her article “Sivas’ta Kahve ile İlgili Sözlü ve Maddi Kültür” [Oral and Material Culture of Coffee in Sivas] in *Türk Kahvesi Kitabı* [The Book of Turkish Coffee], (Üçer, 2011) studies material culture of coffee in the region of Sivas. In her work, we can easily see the effects of regional differences. For example, she describes a different type of coffee object to roast the coffee beans and a pan with handles at both sides. She also talks about known coffee objects such as *soğudan* but with a different name. In her article, she also includes the oral coffee culture in Sivas. She explains several coffee related words.

Under the sub-title “*Sivas’ta Kahve ile İlgili Maddi Kültür*”, [Material Culture Concerning Coffee in Sivas] she gives information about 15 different coffee objects. We are not only learning about local usages but also this part gives useful information about the material culture of coffee generally. With the addition of pictures of several coffee objects, Müjgan Üçer’s work is a good source for the material culture of coffee.

In her article, “Ayaşta Kahve” [Coffee in Ayaş] *Türk Kahvesi Kitabı* [The Book of Turkish Coffee], (Doğruol, 2011) Hatice Doğruol explains the preparation of Turkish coffee step by step in the Ayaş region of Ankara . It is possible to observe the regional differences of these explained items of the material culture of coffee. To give an example a single-handed pot made out of clay for the purpose of roasting can be given. It is an interesting variation when compared to similar coffee objects elsewhere. Like Üçer, she uses a different word for a known coffee object when she names the closed type roaster (tanbur or *dolap*) *kahve kavurga aracı* (literally coffee roasting tool). Doğruol's work is a good source of the material culture of coffee in a provincial setting.

Nihal Bursa in her article “İbrikten Cezveye Türk Kahvesi” [Turkish Coffee from Ewer to Coffee pot] in *Metro Gastro* (Bursa 2014) asks two important questions related to my thesis. When did we start calling coffee “Turkish Coffee” and did Turkish coffee exist ever since coffee was consumed in the Ottoman Lands? She thinks that Turkish coffee has a unique preparation method and the *cezve* is a key factor in this. She wants to see how far she can trace *cezve* back in time. She also mentions *ibrik*, another coffee brewing vessel. She makes clear that *ibrik* is different from *cezve* because she introduces the coffee ewer as an item that makes coffee without grounds. She thinks that there is a transition period between these two types of brewing vessels and she talks about the intermediate forms and cooking techniques that could change because of the change in forms. In this article, Bursa prioritises the brewing vessels over other coffee objects and works on them in a more detailed way.

However in another article of her’s “Bir keyfin âdâbı: Çekirdekten fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü” [The Manners of a Pleasure: The Material Culture of Turkish Coffee from the Bean to the Cup] in *Bir Taşım Keyif* [A Drop of Pleasure]] (Bursa 2015)

she gives detailed information about each coffee object that was part of the material culture of coffee. These objects are well presented together unlike the case in many other sources related to material culture of coffee studies. In these studies, author may sometimes focus on a single coffee object or a small group of coffee objects. She explains these objects by sorting them according to their functions in terms of preparing stages of coffee. She also studies the brewing vessels in this article as well but not as the main or primary theme. Still, it can be said that there is a good amount of work including *cezve* and *ibrik*. One of the important aspects of her article is that we do see a lot of work about the “*ikram*” or the serving process of the cooked coffee and the utensils used while serving. Especially a large space is reserved for coffee cups. However, a very small space is allocated to cupholders. To conclude, we can say that her work regarding the material culture of coffee is one of the most complete and comprehensive ones, if not the most.

In *Kahve Yanında Bir Lokum* [Coffee and Turkish Delight], Raşit Koçak has written under two different titles (Koçak, 2017) The first one is *Türk Kahvesi: Tepsiler* [Turkish Coffee: Coffee Trays]. Under this title, Koçak talks about many different coffee trays. He does not address these items as trays generally but coffee trays specifically. In each example, he has a picture of the coffee tray and explanation of the coffee object. He explains their physical qualities in detail and describes their origins and in which century they belong to. In this article, Raşit Koçak makes a great contribution to the material culture of coffee as he writes about coffee trays for the first time.

In his second article in the same book *Türk Kahvesi: Kahve Pişirme Kapları* [Turkish Coffee: Coffee Brewing Vessels] (Koçak 2017) Koçak thinks that Ottoman society learned to use coffee cups from the first coffee houses opened in the empire. He also thinks that what he calls “frothy coffee (*köpüklü kahve*)” could not be consumed in

these cups, implying that “Turkish Coffee” as we know today was not drunk at this time and in these coffeehouses. He has a theory that coffeemakers evolved through different periods as required by different preparation methods. He speaks of three different periods, namely the “cauldron or saucer period” (*Kahve Pişirmede Kazan / Bakraç Dönemi*), “The ewer period” (*Kahve İbriği Dönemi*) and the last one as “the cezve period” (*Cezve Dönemi*). These periods are also in chronological order and Koçak thinks that the last period shows a real artisanal mastery. He gives time, location and events that corresponded to his periodisation according to the type of the coffee brewing vessels. He makes distinction between the coffees prepared by different coffee brewing vessels. He emphasises these differences throughout the article. His article is suggestive for me since I discuss coffee brewing vessels in pursuit of Turkish coffee and its emergence.

In *Kahve Kırk Yıllık Hatıran Kitabı* [Coffee. The Book of Forty Years’ Favor] Raşit Koçak works on coffee boxes (Koçak, 2011). Koçak thinks that there were objects, which were used in multiple ways. He draws attention to the fact that some coffee containers closely resembled henna boxes. He is in search for the emergence of coffee boxes and this example might be related to the origin of coffee containers. He explains that Sarajevo coffee containers looked like henna boxes and later on a developed version of these boxes were used for another beverage that was tea.

Koçak explains this because of different reasons; for example to fit the budget of the user of the coffee boxes, different materials were used while crafting the boxes. In this article, he talks about some characteristics of the coffee containers. For example, one of them is about the harmony of the function and the form of the coffee boxes. Finally, in his work Koçak makes room for coffee containers in historical records and proceeds to a detailed work of different coffee containers. These include coffee-sugar containers, which

held both coffee and sugar; they were boxes with two sections. Koçak's article is the only one that I know, specifically concerning the coffee boxes.

Harun Kaygan in his article "Material Semiotics of Form Giving: The Case of the Electric Turkish Coffee Pot" concentrates mainly on the form of the coffee pot. Kaygan not only offers his interpretation but also transmits the designers' point of view. They mainly focus on the curve or the curvilinear profile of the coffeemakers. For them the curve may represent "Turkishness" just like other countries could have their own characteristics in design. For example, Japanese design is regarded as austere. The curve seems to be a part of the idealised coffee pot for the designers, reflecting what they had in mind as the typical Turkish coffee pot: The coffee pot should be curvilinear, its mouth should be narrow and it should not have a lid. Although designers' ideal form does not reflect the variety of the coffee pots of older times, they try to forge a relationship between form and the Turkish coffee and the preparation methods. This article has several points, which can be beneficial for our discussion on Turkish coffee and the form of the coffee pot.

In the article *İstanbul Tahmishanesi (1590-1836)* [The Roasting-House of Istanbul] Eşref Temel (Temel, 2021) deals with roasting and grinding of coffee beans in *İstanbul Tahmishanesi*. In the early years of the *Tahmishane* we can see that *bunn* and *kısr* coffee were taxed. Which shows us that *kısr* coffee was consumed at the end of 16th century in Istanbul. One of the topics Eşref Temel works on in this article is administrative and financial changes at Tahmishane. He also mentions Yemeni coffee (*Yemeni coffee*) which was consumed in early times and Western Coffee (*Frenk Kahvesi*) which was widely imported at the end of the 18th century. Another topic of Temel works is about the order of the *Tahmishane*, mainly the physical condition of the *tahmishane*, the

working system, how the workers were faring, their wages, income and expense of the *tahmishane* throughout the years. To conclude, this source is not directly aligned with my work, however, it is a valuable source that presents information about coffee trade, prices and types of coffee.

In “Early Modern Ottoman Coffeehouse Culture and the Formation of the Consumer Subject”(Karababa and Ger 2011) Karababa and Ger explain that most of their data sources with some exceptions are in Ottoman Turkish. Their visual sources include Ottoman coffeehouses from the late 16th century onward. A famous miniature by an anonymous artist, which is held in Chester Beatty Library, is used by Karababa and Ger. They examine the miniature in detail and talk about the coffeehouse attendants and the coffee objects, for example the blue-white Chinese cups that were used. They narrate the coffee consuming activity as an enjoyable one. The elements of this activity are other than coffee, poems, books, musical instruments and different kinds of games. They also talk about coffee preparation tools such as ewers, coffee grinders and serving coffee objects such as trays, porcelain cups as part of this activity. They also give place to coffee’s medical qualities. It is an important source for coffeehouses and it gives information related to the material culture of coffee too.

Eminegül Karababa in her article “Investigating early modern Ottoman consumer culture in the light of Bursa probate inventories” explains how probate inventories may have shortcomings in some ways, for example, elderly people are over-represented, the poor are under-represented and Bursa is just a part of a big empire. She is interested in statistics such as the wealth of the Ottoman people. Naturally, household belongings, for example kitchenware had a part to play in determining the deceased people’s wealth. In this way, we can observe items belonging to the material culture of coffee such as coffee

ewer (*kahve ibriği*), mortars, coffee cups, *sini* (metal trays). She also makes comparisons between the ruling class and the ruled in terms of consumer culture.

Miniatures can be a source for material culture of coffee. Tülün Değirmenci in her article “Kahve Bahane, Kahvehane Şahane: Bir Osmanlı Kahvehanesinin “Portresi” [Coffee is an Excuse, Coffeehouse is Marvelous: The Portrait of an Ottoman Coffeehouse] questions whether the famous depiction of an Ottoman coffeehouse miniature kept in Chester Beatty Library of Dublin reflected an actual Ottoman coffeehouse or is it a somewhat idealised picture that displayed all the traditional activities typical of the coffeehouses in the same frame. She tends to regard it not as a real coffeehouse on grounds that coffeehouses did not hold all the activities at the same time. Değirmenci compares this miniature with another, perhaps a near contemporary, which displayed a mock coffeehouse, which was part of the show during the circumcision ceremony of Prince Mehmed in 1582. (Değirmenci 2015, p.132) We shall discuss the elements of the material culture of coffee as seen in these two miniatures later.

Filiz Çalışlar Yenişehirlioğlu in her article “Bir fincan kahvenin kırk yıldan fazla hatırı var” [A Cup of Coffee has more than Forty Years’ Favor] starts with early humans and their way of expressing themselves. She explains how they create early paintings and how these visual ways of expression affect them in return. Yenişehirlioğlu mentions sarcophagi in Anatolia in such regions as Adıyaman, Kayseri, and Sivas. She examines the reliefs on the tombstones and makes contributions to the study of the material culture of coffee as there are *ibrik* and *cezve* reliefs on the tombstones. She assumes that both brewing vessels *ibrik* and *cezve* were in use at the same time judging from the fact that they were represented in the same reliefs. She also tries to explain how *cezve* replaced *ibrik*. According to her, coffee sets came into use in the late 18th century. In these coffee

sets, most of the coffee objects were present. Yenişehirlioğlu thinks that the local people were mostly illiterate and they expressed themselves on the sarcophagi, just like the early people, by making reliefs on the tombstones. She concludes her work by drawing attention to this similarity between the Anatolian people and other peoples of the past.

Aslı Sağıroğlu Arslan in her article “Ölüm acısını bir fincan kahve dindirir mi? Kayseri Zamantı Irmağı vadisindeki bezemeli mezar taşları” [Can a Cup of Coffee Lessen the Pain of Death? The Ornated Tombstones in the Valley of Kayseri Zamantı River in *Bir Taşım Keyif* [A Drop of Pleasure], (Arslan 2015), studies the sarcophagi and tombstones in the Kayseri region and talks about the difference of items carved on the tombstones between men and women. On the northern sides of the sarcophagi, there were reliefs of weapons if the deceased was male, and household objects if the deceased was female. However, on the southern sides of the tombs, without paying attention to gender, there were always coffee items. These items were indicators of the generosity and hospitality of the deceased. In these decorations, almost every coffee object was represented, making the sarcophagi a rich visual source of the material culture of coffee. We should note here that the depiction of coffee objects on the gravestones is not a phenomenon confined to Anatolia. Hélène Desmet Grégoire notes that a tomb belonging to a rich family of Bedouins in Qasta al Balqa in Jordan has coffee items carved on the stones such as a ewer, a roaster and a mortar with pestle. (Grégoire 1989, p.13)

Seyit Ali Kahraman’s article “Osmanlı’da Kahve ve Kahvehane” [Coffee and Coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire] in *Bir Taşım Keyif* [A Drop of Pleasure] focuses on the spread of the coffee in the Ottoman Empire, coffeehouses as well as the *fetwas* and bans related to coffeehouses. He uses a wide range of Ottoman sources for example *Hatt-ı Humayunlar*, *Divan-ı Humayun kararları*. He also studies Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyahatname*.

There is a big section in his article reserved to different regions of the Ottoman Empire. One by one, he introduces these regions and the coffeehouses in these regions as well. However, his large article has little information on material culture of coffee. He explains that the coffee houses, despite the sanctions, were on the rise in the time of Evliya Çelebi and afterwards. Both the palace and the houses of the *reaya* had coffee objects. In this article, there is another part, which is important for the material culture where Evliya Çelebi in Samokov, talks about the seated mills made of iron; this mill is an early example which makes it valuable for the history of material culture.

In her article “Osmanlı Devlet Teşrifatında kahve ikramı” [Coffee Service in Ottoman State Ceremonies] in *Bir Taşım Keyif* [A Drop of Pleasure], Zeynep Tarım informs us about coffee serving on different formal occasions in the Ottoman Empire. She notes that it took a while for coffee serving to start to take place in formal ceremonies. It was after the consumption of coffee became widespread in the Ottoman Empire. She also makes use of a picture; it is a picture of a coffee set. She thinks that this coffee set is similar to the ones used for the coffee service for ambassador reception ceremonies.

Tarım tells us how in wealthy households there could be up to seven servants who served the coffee and she describes how each one of them carried objects of material culture of coffee like *zarfs* and coffee cups and also *kahve sitili*, coffee trays, *kahve makremesi* and *güğüm*. She also has something to say about the brewing vessels, she thinks that to prepare coffee, *güğüm* was used in earlier times and the *ibrik* came later. Finally, *cezve* followed them, first in lidded form like *güğüm* and *ibrik*; later on it became open without a lid. *Cezve* was a tool, which came together with a custom that quickened the cooking process. In her article, Tarım studies coffee serving in formal ceremonies in

the Ottoman Empire. The ceremony included coffee objects and she has her own interpretation of the brewing vessels, which makes her article useful for my thesis.

Among other things, Kemalettin Kuzucu and M. Sabri Koz in their book *Türk Kahvesi* [Turkish Coffee] discuss the preparation method of the Turkish coffee (Kuzucu and Koz, 2015) They also discuss the customs of Ottoman-Turkish people revolving around Turkish Coffee. According to them, in the past, the coffee was prepared in *ibrik* and later on Turkish coffee began to be prepared in *cezves* which have a unique form. The *cezve* had a wider bottom, a narrower neck and a long handle. It is clear that, like many other researchers, they thought of the *cezve* as a lidless object. Although they explain the transition from *ibrik* to *cezve*, they do not give any specific information as to what kind of coffee was prepared in *ibrik*.

In *Kahve Kırk Yıllık Hatırın Kitabı* [Coffee. The Book of Forty Years' Favor], Yasemin Özdemir Bulut in her article (Özdemir, 2011) studies coffee grounds left in the cups (*telve*). This article is related to my thesis because Turkish Coffee's sediment is the focus of investigation here. We see today's usage of the word for the first time in *Kamus-ı Türkî*, which was written by Şemsettin Sami in 1899. The fact that earlier sources and dictionaries, for example Evliya Çelebi's account, do not mention *telve* can be an indication that people at that time did not drink Turkish Coffee and there was no sediment in the cups. In short, this article is in pursuit of the etymological meanings of the word *telve*. She uses both local and foreign dictionaries and makes comparisons between them.

Previously in my thesis I made a point that I would not give too much room to coffee cups and *zarfs* even if they were part of the material culture of coffee. My reasoning is that these coffee objects were part of *ikram*, the serving of the coffee and they were not part of the preparation process. Additionally, the coffee serving ceremony and the items

of this ceremony, especially the cups, received more attention when compared to other coffee objects. In a sense, they were display items, which were meant to be seen and appreciated by consumers unlike many other coffee objects whose place was the kitchen only. Therefore, cups and cupholders were often made of fine porcelain and precious metals and jewellery were also used. This aspect might also explain why they were preserved in such places like the Topkapı Palace. This, implying availability, can explain why they were studied relatively better. Although I will not be concentrating on cups and cupholders as I indicated, the related literature merits a brief mention here.

İrem Çalışıcı Pala in her article “Osmanlı Döneminde Sarayda Kahve Sunumunda Kullanılan Pişmiş Toprak Formlar” [Earthenware Forms Used in Coffee Service at Palace during Ottoman Period], (Pala, 2011) studies coffee cups and also cupholders in chronological order in the context of the palace. She specialises in earthenware cups and although cups used in the palace were basically earthenware, they were highly appreciated by the Ottomans, many of them were adorned with jewellery.

Ayşe Erdoğan and Serkan Gedük in their article “Çin Porseleni Fincanlar” [Chinaware Cups] in *Bir Taşım Keyif* [A Drop of Pleasure] study coffee cups in general but also they do not ignore the fact that the second largest Chinese Porcelain cup collection is in Turkey. Again, this fact is highly indicative of the high value attached to the imported Chinese porcelains as items of luxury. They use miniatures showing figures drinking coffee from these coffee cups. (Erdoğan and Gedük, 2015)

Ömür Tufan in his article “Sultanların Topkapı Sarayı’ndaki Kahve Fincanları” [The Sultans’ Coffee Cups at the Topkapı Palace] in *Tüm Zamanların Hatırına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve* [A Cup of Coffee at the Palace] briefly mentions coffee and he gives information on the emergence of the coffee beverage. He concentrates on different kinds

of imported coffee cups, not only from China but also from such European countries as Germany, Austria, France and Russia. He also studies locally produced “Yıldız Porselen” cups as well as the Tophane cups. Tufan is also interested in the type of material used to produce these cups.

Serap Savaş Işıkhani in her article “Türk Kahvesi Geleneği ve Kahve Fincanları” [The Tradition of Turkish Coffee and Coffee Cups] in *Türk Kahvesi Kitabı* [The Book of Turkish Coffee] explains the chronological evolution process of the coffee cups in the Ottoman Empire (Işıkhani, 2011). She gives information about several coffee cup types such as Tophane cups. She is also interested in the coffee objects of the serving process. It is a short but useful article, which is more focused on coffee cups.

Emine Bilirgen in her article “Osmanlı Saray Hazinesi’nden Fincan Zarfları” [Cup holders from the Ottoman Palace Treasury] in *Tüm Zamanların Hatırına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve* [A Cup of Coffee at the Palace] works on cup holders. This is a unique article which has cupholders (*zarf*) as its focus. In the article, she emphasises that the earlier coffee cups in the Ottoman Empire were without handles. Therefore, cupholders were a necessity. She classifies cupholders, which come from the palace according to the material they are made from. She dedicates space to pictures of cupholders, which were used by different Sultans in the time they ruled.

1.2.4 Theses

There are also a number of theses on coffee and related subjects. Most of them are concerned with coffee culture and coffeehouses and only a few of them deal with coffee objects and material culture of coffee. Sema Güral wrote one of the earliest coffee related theses namely “Türk Kültüründe Kahvenin Yeri” [The Place of Coffee in Turkish Culture] in 1999. She dedicates a number of pages to the traditional tools in the

preparation of Turkish coffee. She also maintains, long before Turan and Turan, that the *cezve* could make coffee between one to six people (Güral 1999, p.26). However, she does not seem to be careful enough to identify and differentiate different coffee pots; one of her visuals is about two ewers of the *dalle* type and she presents them as “lidded *cezve* used in serving *mirra*” (Güral 1999, p.13)

Şafak Tunç in his thesis “Osmanlı Payitahtında Kahvehane ve Kahvehane Kültürünün Yeri” [The Place of Coffeehouses and Culture of the Coffeehouses in the Ottoman Capital] (Tunç 2014) works on coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire however he has a few references to material culture of coffee and coffee objects. Likewise, Muhammed Ali Can in his thesis “Osmanlı Toplumunda Kahve ve Kahvehaneler” [Coffee and Coffeehouses in Ottoman Society], (Can 2018) gives information about coffee, describes the spread of coffee in the Middle East, Ottoman Empire and in Europe. The second part of his thesis consists of coffeehouses. He concludes his thesis by mentioning the *fatwas* regarding coffeehouses.

Nuray Şehitoğlu in her thesis “Ankara Etnografya Müzesindeki Kahve Kültürüne Ait Eserler” [Works Concerning Coffee Culture at Ankara Museum of Ethnography], (Şehitoğlu 2019) works on the coffee culture. It is the only thesis to the best of my knowledge that explicitly deals with the coffee objects and she has a sub chapter “Kahvenin Hazırlanması ve Sunumuna Ait Araç/Gereçler” (Tools and Objects for the Preparation and Service of Coffee) where she presents some of the objects which are part of the material culture of coffee. She records that the Ankara Ethnography Museum has 82 coffee items of which 29 are on display. (Şehitoğlu 2019, s.2) Although it is not a deficiency on her behalf, she had to study an extremely limited number of objects in her thesis, for example, the museum had only 3 coffee coolers and 2 roasters and 3 *cezves*

and a single coffee box. Such low numbers do not seem to be sufficient for any analysis. This may not be one of the shortcomings of her thesis directly related to her. However, she never problematizes anything in her study and raises no questions at all and she writes in a way oblivious to the changes of form as far as coffee objects are concerned.

Günay Bayramova in her thesis “Türk Kahvesi Pişirme Yöntemleri ve Tarihsel Gelişiminin Ürün Tasarımı Bağlamında İncelenmesi” [The Methods of Turkish Coffee Preparation and the Historical Development of Product Design] (Bayramova, 2019) deals exclusively with the question how the preparation methods of Turkish coffee influenced product design. She has extensive references not only to the way Turkish coffee was prepared but also to the coffee objects themselves used in the process. However, she has a quite limited understanding of Turkish coffee, and thinks that “*mirra*” was one of the Turkish coffee types although she perfectly describes the method of *mirra* preparation (Bayramova, 2019, p.53). In addition, by preparation methods she means whether the coffee is made on ash or on sand (Bayramova, 2019, pp.61-64). She does not seem to differentiate between *ibrik* and *cezve* and thinks that they are used to prepare “Turkish coffee” (Bayramova, 2019, p.66). Another of her claims is that the modern coffee machines had started their journey in Anatolia (Bayramova 2019, p.88)

1.3 Primary Sources

1.3.1 Archival Sources

The sharia court records of Istanbul turned out to be an extremely important source for my thesis. The probate inventories (*tereke*) recording the estates of the deceased individuals are particularly useful. A number of these court records, to be exact a hundred volumes, are digitized and available online at <https://kadisicilleri.org>. Not only probate

inventories, but also records of actual court cases are available as well. This is a very rich group of sources, producing ultimate evidence as to the dates of some coffee objects; for example, I was able to locate an iron hand mill dateable to 1606, earlier than any other written reference. Likewise, I found a court case that involved the *cezve* makers and the other coppersmiths in the early 19th century.

The archival documents like the sharia court records are a major group of primary sources for this study, as is the case with any study concerning Ottoman material culture they are indispensable. However, it is somewhat surprising to find out that they remain mostly understudied in the literature on the material culture of coffee in the Ottoman contexts. In fact, only one of my secondary sources (Karababa, 2012) uses Ottoman court records.

1.3.2 Visual Sources

Miniatures, engravings, drawings and paintings contemporary with the coffee objects are among the primary sources of this thesis. Visual sources have an advantage over the written sources; by studying them, we can have a definitive idea as to how things looked like. In other words, they can present us solid proofs as to the material culture of coffee. In this sense, they are second only to the actual surviving objects themselves. This is not to say that this source group does not have its shortcomings. Their power of evidence is of course limited by the quality of the observations of the producers. In this study, I do not have an intention to reproduce and discuss each and every visual material concerning coffee and coffee culture in the Ottoman Empire. To the contrary, we shall confine ourselves to the discussion of a very limited number of visuals deliberately chosen in an attempt to find answers for our research question. However, we shall have a time

span as wide as possible in the hope of finding coffee brewing vessels as well as any evidence concerning the coffee preparation methods at different points in time.

1.3.3 Physical Objects as Source

Of course, the surviving physical coffee objects themselves are among the sources of this study. Some of them have short inscriptions, names of the producers and of the owners as well as the dates of production or acquisition. As such, here we have an intersection with the written sources. In this study, we intend to utilise coffee objects from our family collection. As the general emphasis in this thesis is on coffeemakers, we would like to concentrate on the *ibriks* and *cezves* and we will not cover each and every coffee object in the collection.

2. HISTORY OF COFFEE

Nowadays coffee is the second most consumed drink in the world after water. Without doubt there are different reasons making coffee the second most drunk beverage in the world. First, I want to briefly explain about the coffee plant, the qualities of the coffee plant and how the coffee plant was discovered in the first place. For cultural, material and historical reasons, coffee has come to be widely consumed. Other than to convey information about the coffee plant I want to cover the birth and the spread of coffee as a beverage, the legends about coffee, the bans and sanctions. Politics revolving around coffee will be mentioned as well. I will keep this introduction brief and will proceed with coffee as a plant.

2.1 Coffee as a Plant

Coffee is an Ethiopia originated endemic plant. Coffee plant is an evergreen plant, which naturally grows at altitudes from zero to two thousand meters. One could harvest 1.5 kg to 2.5 kg coffee fruit from a single tree. The tree has small red fruits and the coffee seeds are extracted from it. The coffee plant has many sub-species but the most widely used ones are *Coffea Arabica* and *Coffea Robusta*. The important aspect of coffee is its stimulant properties and its reanimating speciality. Probably this aspect more than others has made the beverage used widely around the globe. (Serim, 2015, p.21)

Coffee plant is a plant that grows in warm countries and climates. It is a short plant, which resembles daphne (daefni in Latin). It has oval leaves, which are around 10 to 12 centimeters long, and it has small white flowers, which smell like jasmine. The coffee fruit's shape resembles eggs and olives. When the coffee fruit matures, it takes the red colour. Inside the fruit, there is a pair of coffee beans; five to ten of those weigh one

gram. Rarely a single round coffee bean comes out from the coffee fruit, which in the roasting process preserves flavour a lot more when compared to normal coffee beans. Therefore, this type of coffee bean is sought after. Yellow greenish coffee beans are roasted at 200 degrees for 8 to 12 minutes. The beans lose 20 percent of their weight while in the roasting process and they expand to 15-20 percent of their original size. The caffeine inside the coffee bean is nine per 1000. (Tarih ve Toplum 1984, p.9)

The coffee tree becomes most fertile when it is at the age of 8 to 12. The reason to roast coffee is to make the flavour of the coffee stronger. While in raw form, it does not have the scent and the savour as much as after the roasting process. After roasting the beans must be quickly processed, it should be grinded and prepared. Otherwise, the coffee plant will lose its flavour it had gained after being roasted. (Tarih ve Toplum 1984, p.9)

At present, ninety percent of coffee trade is done in *Coffea Arabica* and *Coffea Liberica*. The *Coffea Arabica* tree is 5 meter to 8 meter tall, its fruits have sphere like shape and have 1, 6-1, 8 cm diameter. *Coffea Arabica*'s homeland is the Ethiopian mountains, and it is still being harvested in the tropical areas of Ethiopia. Whereas, *Coffea Liberica* tree can reach 15 meters, its leaves are 30 cm long, its fruits are oval shaped and can be 2.5 cm long. (Baytop, 2001, p.44)

According to Baytop, *Coffea Liberica* is an important aspect of the worldwide coffee trade while Gül Fatma Koz also mentions *Coffea Arabica* and claims that it makes %70 of the coffee consumed in the world. However, she does not mention *coffea liberica* and mostly continues with *Coffea Robusta*. It seems that there is some confusion here regarding coffee types sold in the market. (Koz, 2001, p.14) On the other hand, Nurten Günal mentions *Coffea Arabica*, *Coffea Robusta* and *Coffea Liberica*. Since I have not covered the *Coffea Robusta* plant so far I will follow it through Günal's account.

According to Günal, *Coffea Robusta* plant mostly lives in areas that have Asia's and Oceania's tropical climate and at altitudes 600 to 800 meters high. It reaches 10-12 meters high, its beans are smaller and rounder than *Coffea Arabica* and they contain a higher quantity of caffeine. Because of its "woody" taste, it is not preferred much by coffee planters. (Günal, 2012, p.177)

2.2 Emergence of Coffee in the Middle East

According to Ralph Hattox, coffee came to the lands of Islam sometime in the mid fifteenth century. After the widespread use of coffee, the Arab writers tried to pinpoint who discovered coffee first. Also, Hattox states that after coffee became a hot topic and piqued the interests of Arab writers, they were aware that there is a gap existing in their knowledge and some authors even tried to fill this gap with "pious legends to supplement their material". (Hattox, 1996, p.12) Different authors came up with different stories, while sometimes two different stories include similar information, while sometimes they are totally different and most likely to be fabrications. Yet in these types of situations, Hattox still gives credit to stories, which are less likely to be true, and conveys them to us. Ralph Hattox also tells us about the legends about the coffee itself, how its physical properties give energy to people who consume it and how this stimulant was discovered. There are different tales about how caffeine's effects were found not only in Hattox's work but also in other sources. Some of them tell similar tales while at the same time there are different versions.

Abu al-Tayyib al Ghazzi tells the story of Solomon as being the first person to make use of coffee in his travels. Solomon arrives in a town in which people were afflicted with some unknown disease "On the command of angel Gabriel, he roasted coffee beans [from Yemen] from which he brewed the drink, which when given to sufferers, cured

them of their illness.” Abu al-Tayyib concludes this passage by stating that coffee was then completely forgotten until the beginning of the A.D 16th century (Hattox, 1996 , pp.12-13) There is a similar story about Prophet Muhammed where angel Gabriel brings him coffee to cure him from his sickness. (Heise, 1996, pp.15-16)

Hattox tells us that Europeans in the 17th century tell a different story about how coffee was first discovered. They speak about a shepherd who notices the change of behavior in his herd. His sheep became full of vigor due to consumption of the coffee plant. Hattox says that he does not know how Europeans came up with such a story, but he states that the Arabian authors do not tell stories similar to this one. (Hattox 1996, pp.12-13)

Hattox points out two important points about coffee as he examines multiple tales, some closer to historic data and some of them more like legends. The first point is that coffee can be traced to Yemen and the second one being that in most stories, coffee is connected to the sufis. Coffee became important for their religious activities. An author named Jaziri uses the work of Abd-Al Gaffar which tells that in Egypt it was heard that a beverage called coffee was spread in Yemen and it was being used by Sufi Shaykhs. At the end of this part where Jaziri tells us about many things. He mentions Al-Dhabhani being the person who introduced coffee. Jaziri also talks about an author named Fakhr Al- Din Abu Bakr Ībn Abi Yazid al- Makki who thought that Al-Shadili was supposedly the actual person who made *qahwa* widespread and popular. Al-Shadili, pupil of the shadhiliyya master who might have introduced *qahwa*. They used a plant known as *qat*; it was neither made from coffee beans nor from its husk yet it had a similar after effect as coffee. Furthermore, it was also named *qahwa*. There is no contradiction, and it can be

said that Al-Dhabhani caused the spread of *qahwa*, the one that is made out of the coffee fruit.

Al-Dhabhani died in the year 875 (A.D 1470-71) this gives us a rough idea about when coffee was spread in the Middle east. (Hattox, pp.14-15) Jaziri in another account also tells about Fakhr Al- Din al Makki who said Al-Shadili was supposedly the actual person who made *qahwa* widespread and popular. (Hattox, 1996 p.18)

Ralph Hattox reaches three different conclusions. First, that the word *qahwa* was being used for the drink which was made from the plant called *Coffea Arabica*. The second one is about the fruit. The fruit was called *bunn*. Of the two parts of the fruit, the kernel was called *bunn* and the husk was called *qishr*. The last one is that the word *qahwa* was used both for the drink made from the kernels (*al qahwa al bunnia*) and from the husks (*al qahwa al qishriya*) or from the combination of these two. (Hattox, 1996, p. 20)

Concerning the etymology of coffee, İdris Bostan quotes from a dictionary, “*Kamus Tercümesi*”. It is not known precisely when the word *kahve* (coffee) was used in Arabic. It is understood that its original meaning was wine (*şarap*), and the term derived this meaning from the word *kahy* (interpreted as “that which quenches thirst”). The beverage known today as coffee reportedly received this name from individuals inclined toward leisure and enjoyment (*ehl-i keyf*). Additionally, the word carries meanings such as satisfaction, pure milk, and aroma (Bostan, 2001, p.202) Şafak Tunç in his thesis tells us that *qahwa* is an Arabic word used for coffee, which also means wine. He also tells us the word *bunn* is used for coffee beans. About the origin of the word coffee, he also mentions that its Hebrew originated and meant dark. According to Tunç, Arab linguists thought that the word derived from the verb *qahiya* meaning “to have no appetite”. (Tunç, 2014, pp.3-4)

Later on in his work, Hattox summarises four important pieces of information. The first one is that in the 15th century's first, second or third quarters there was a potion made from a stimulating vegetable that had similar effects in Yemen. Hattox also tells us the use of this potion might have been related to the sufis of the Shadhiliya order. The second statement of Hattox is that in the third quarter of the 15th century the beverage made from coffee beans is attributed to Al-Dhabhani. The third point is that it was first spread in Yemen. Finally, coffee's early use is tied to the Sufi orders. (Hattox, 1996, pp. 22-23)

Hattox also covers how coffee spread to the Hijaz and Egypt and once again he gives credit to sufism. He tells us about their involvement with daily life and explains how they are not a religious group which is isolated, they interact with common people. This aspect of Sufis helped the spread of the coffee beverage. (Hattox, 1996 p.26) Coffee did not only have to be prepared for rituals (*dhikr*) but also in people's homes and workplaces and so on. Hattox thinks that thanks to travelers and traders who were also sufis, coffee reached out from Yemen to different countries. He also has another idea about the spread of coffee. Coffee may be so commonly used in Yemen that anyone who traveled from there could have brought coffee together with him resulting in the spread of the beverage. Hattox quotes from Fakhr al-Din ibn Abdi al Yazid al-Makki: "And as for us, *qishr* reached Rey in Mecca and other places twenty or thirty years ago. But *qahwa* made from it did not spread until the end of the ninth [fifteenth] century." Ibn-al Gaffar gives more precise information about coffee's introduction to Qairo in the first decade of the 10th (16th) century. He tells that it was in the Yemeni quarters of the Azhar complex that the shaykh himself distributed coffee to people who participated in the *dhikr*. Soon it was sold near mosques and drunk openly in Cairo. (Hattox 1996, pp. 27-28)

Just like Hattox, İdris Bostan also mentions the role of sufism in the spread of the coffee beverage. “There are various narratives about who first brought coffee to Yemen, but it is known to have initially been favored in the Sufi circles. These circles particularly emphasized coffee’s property of keeping the body alert and awake during worship and recitation. Due to its growing popularity among different segments of society, discussions arose among Islamic scholars (*ulema*) regarding its religious rulings.” (Bostan, 2001, p.203)

Seyit Ali Kahraman confirms the origins of coffee pointing out that it originated in Ethiopia and was consumed in solid form by Shadili (Şeyh Şazeli) and other dervishes (sufis) who saw their Shaykh consuming coffee as food. (Kahraman, Seyit Ali, p.43) İdris Bostan also tells us that coffee was consumed in a solid form just like Seyit Ali Kahraman (Bostan, 2001, p.203). Hélène Desmet Grégoire notes that in Ethiopia, the coffee berries are sometimes eaten raw, as among the Oromos. (Grégoire, 1989, p.12) Erkan Demir states that coffee as a beverage cannot be traced back earlier than the 14th century. Just as Hattox does, he quotes that it was the Yemeni Sufis who consumed coffee. (Demir, 2011, pp.3-4)

2.3 Coffee in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottomans met coffee through coffeehouses. Multiple coffeehouses were opened after the first one in İstanbul in the 16th century. Therefore, we can say that unlike the slow progress of coffee consumption in the Middle East, coffee spread fast in the Ottoman lands. Coffee came to the Ottoman Empire with the spread of coffeehouses, which were places where people could drink coffee and a location for people to interact. In many resources that I used there are many different opinions about coffeehouses. For example, it is introduced as a new fourth place in addition to the work, mosque, and home

trio. “It provided a ‘fourth place’ in contrast to work, home, and mosque or Sufi lodges.” (Karababa and Ger, 2011, p.745) Other authors oppose this and try to present a more complete picture of the social structure of Ottoman society. This might be so, however, it is pretty much clear that the coffeehouse had a greater appeal as a gathering place. For example, according to Peçevi the men-of-letters preferred coffee houses to homes as meeting places. (Baykal, 1981, pp. 258-259)

Braudel observes that coffee was consumed in Egypt in 1510 and that it was banned twice in Mekka in the years 1510 and 1524. It spread in Damascus, Aleppo and Algeria after 1532 and Istanbul met coffee around similar times. Near the end of the 16th century, coffee was spread to Iran and India as well. (Braudel cited by Kuzucu and Koz, 2015, p.35). In the era when Süleyman the Magnificent ruled, the Ottomans have acquired the control of both sides of the red sea thus they gained access to coffee storage houses and the ports of Ethiopia and Yemen. The Ottomans’ control over the area resulted in solving local problems and coffee production increased along with the profits from it. (Kuzucu and Koz, 2015, p.37)

After arriving in Ottoman lands especially Anatolia, Rumelia, and Istanbul coffee continued to spread. Most of the Ottoman historians agreed as to the time it came to the empire around the 1550's. Seyit Ali Kahraman mentions three important historians who lived in the 17th century who were Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, Peçevi İbrahim Efendi and Katip Çelebi. Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali in his work *Mecalisü'n-nefais fi Kavaidi'l-mecalis* [The Table of Delicacies on the Etiquette of Salons] notes that coffeehouses were in Arab lands for a long time. People from many different social standings have gathered and drunk coffee since 1552 in the Ottoman capital as well. He also describes how people from these different social groups interact with each other. For example, he disapproves

of attendance by the household cavalry and janissaries, telling us that they were in coffeehouses starting from daytime until night. (Kahraman, 2015, pp.43-44)

Peçevi İbrahim Efendi maintains that until 1554 there were no coffeehouses in Istanbul and Anatolia. From Aleppo, a man named Hakem and from Damascus, a man named Şems came to Istanbul and started to sell coffee in a coffeehouse. Intellectuals who read books, played chess and did many other things visited these places. According to Peçevi, coffeehouses became famous in a short time. He then tells us about how coffeehouses were subjected to many different threats as religious authorities were against it for a certain period and how the Sultan himself was against it. He also mentions that after a certain time the fatwas against coffee lost their power. Moreover, even some vezirs established and rented coffeehouses, attracted by high revenues. According to Peçevi, the rent from the coffeehouses reached a golden piece or two per day. This statement of course needs documentary evidence. (Kahraman, 2015, pp.44-45)

Finally, Katip Çelebi informs us about how coffee was used in Yemen. Some people consumed it in solid form while others preferred the liquid form. He says that around 1543 when coffee arrived with ships, it was not welcome. There were fatwas that found coffee harmful. One of the most popular fatwas was the one by Ebusuud Efendi who was against consuming coffee. In the end, the Ottoman people kept opening coffeehouses and they enjoyed coffee. Katip Çelebi observes that the sanctions, fatwas were not effective for long durations. He then proceeds to the era of Murad the fourth who forbade coffeehouses and activities within coffee houses. The Çelebi once more tells us that these bans were short-lived. (Kahraman, 2015, pp.45-46). Seyit Ali Kahraman covers the *fatwas* in detail. However, for the purposes of this study it is sufficient to note

that the fatwas could not hinder either the consumption of coffee or the spread of the coffeehouses in the long run.

İdris Bostan also mentions the sanctions and the fatwas of Ebusuud Efendi and of the others. He informs us about Emir Efendi and Mehmet Efendi conveying their thoughts about coffee in the form of poems. Mehmet Efendi supported the beverage with a fifty two-line poem. We can see that the consumption of coffee was a serious matter that affected almost anyone and it was debated many times over. İştıpli Emir Efendi, a preacher, posed a question in the form of a twelve-line poem. In response, Chief Jurisconsult Bostanzâde Mehmed Efendi provided a detailed justification in support of coffee. The fatwa, dated 1000 AH (1592 CE), argued that coffee was not an intoxicating substance and, on the contrary, a beverage with potential health benefits. This is detailed under the heading; Benefits of Coffee “*fevâid-i kahve*” in the fatwa text. (Bostan, 2001, p.203)

Meryem Nakiboğlu Yılmaz offers similar information about how coffee was spread in the Middle East and how the Ottomans came to be acquainted with it and use it. She says coffee was consumed by both people of the Palace and of common standing. Coffeehouses were opened in places which were most suitable with scenic views and their numbers fastly increased in a short amount of time. According to her, coffeehouses acted as centers of art where good literature was being practiced and good music was being made. (Yılmaz, 2011, pp.590-591)

Prospero Alpino, who was a botanist, during his visit to Egypt, learned about the coffee plant from a certain Halil Bey. He published his work “De Plantis Aegypti Liber” in 1592. Yılmaz quotes that Venice was the first place in Europe where coffee was drunk. Later on the coffeehouses were opened in Venice in 1645 and it spread to Italy as a whole.

In 1644, coffee was known in Marseille. Pierre de la Roque, who came to Istanbul in 1644, took some raw coffee and the tools used to cook it to Marseille and offered this health-friendly drink to his guests. While the drink attracted the attention of doctors, it did not attract much attention at the social level. However, shortly after coffeehouses appeared in Lyon. Coffee consumption spread to France's inner parts afterwards. In Britain coffee arrived in Oxford in 1650 and in 1652 in London. Once again, coffeehouses were places where intellectuals gathered. This notion was not different for Europe and coffeehouses were an important location for intellectual activities. Yılmaz states that Europeans did not get accustomed to coffee quickly. However, both their religious classes and physicians were against it at some point. Another channel through which coffee spread to the European continent was diplomacy and war. The Ottoman Ambassador Suleyman Aga introduced coffee to France's nobles in 1669 and when he came back to the Ottoman Empire; his chief coffee maker stayed in Paris and opened a coffeehouse. It is somewhat customary to maintain that the first coffeehouse opened by George Kolschitzki in 1685 in Vienna thanks to the coffee sacks left by the retreating Ottomans. (Yılmaz, 2011, pp.591-593), (Kuzucu and Koz, 2015, p.101).

3. MATERIAL CULTURE OF COFFEE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Before working on the original content of this chapter, I want to explain that for some of the coffee objects that will be studied below there exists an archival record. It is in the “İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri”. These coffee objects were used by the Ottoman people. Some of them are probate inventories. I will try to show coffee objects in the early years. In the available court records and from the examples I have seen. Hoping that it will give a general idea when the objects were used and other information such as their values.

This chapter deals with the material culture of coffee in the Ottoman Empire and various coffee objects. (see Figure C1 through Figure C39 in Appendix C) Coffee objects were made and used before the industrial revolution and they did not disappear immediately after industrialisation. They were produced by individual artisans and each coffee object as such is an individual piece of work as they were not produced on the factory line. We should note that, of all the coffee objects only the coffee pot of the open type was modernized and is still used today. Before the industrial revolution, each coffee object was individually crafted by an artisan. Although there may be similarities between each of these works, they could be regarded as unique as no two examples are identical. Sometimes some of these items could have entirely different aspects and variations. To explain this better, we can say that in a great amount of coffee objects there are sometimes individual examples that are idiosyncratic. That is to say, there are examples that have such physical features as to enable us to classify them as truly unique.

Among the studies related to coffee, the material culture of coffee studies are limited or at least much less in number when compared to other studies. Coffeehouses can be given as a good example. There are vast amounts of studies on coffeehouses, whether it is about the social sphere of coffeehouses, the kinds of people who visit them

or coffeehouses being a political debate center. The sanctions and the *fatwas* issued on coffee consuming have been studied in detail. Modern and historic coffee trade and the types of coffee and the nature of coffee agriculture, the statistics related to cultivation are among subjects favored by researchers. The literature on such subjects is much more developed and as such, more easily accessible. However, this does not mean that sources and the literature on material culture of coffee is altogether nonexistent. As we have seen in the literature review section, there are museum catalogues, auction catalogues, exhibitions related to the material culture of coffee and written sources as well. In this chapter, I will not include tobacco products or several items such as incense burners (*buhurdan*) even though they might be displayed together with coffee objects in exhibitions as they accompanied consumption of coffee in real life. Therefore, they might have a common history with coffee objects but I will limit my study strictly to coffee objects if only for reasons of feasibility. Moreover, I am interested in the items, which were used in the coffee making process. The roasting, cooling, grinding and cooking processes will be explained and for each process the required coffee object will be explained with it. It is a fairly well-established itinerary or outline that can be seen in the coffee related literature. For example, in the book *Kurukahveci Mehmet Efendi Mahdumları'nın 150 yılı* [The 150th Anniversary of Kurukahveci Mehmet Efendi and his Sons] there is a part that could be called a brief summary of the coffee objects that I want to study in this chapter. It is a short passage where the process of making coffee from coffee beans is explained step by step. (Altan, 2022, pp. 45-48) The preparation of coffee and the objects used, which make up its material culture, can be summarized as follows:

Roasting:

A roasting pan is used to roast the coffee beans, this long handled coffee object is used since it is essential to keep a distance between the user and the fire.

Cooling:

The roasted beans are cooled in a cooler (*soğudan*) often made from wood. The wooden cooler absorbs the extra oil of the coffee beans. Coolers are coffee objects, which have high artistic qualities. Artisans show their carving skills through these coffee objects.

Grinding or Pounding:

The cooled beans were turned into powder with either the help of traditional mortar and pestle or various types of mills or grinders.

Brewing or Cooking: The coffee powder is either brewed in an ewer (*ibrik*) or *cezve* (coffee pot) or utensils with combined features of both.

Serving: Coffee is served using a variety of items such as a coffee-carrier (*sitil*), coffee tray, coffee-cloth (*puşide* which is a textile cover used during serving), and of course, cups and cup holders. (For the specific terms related to the preparation and serving of coffee see Appendix A)

3.1 Roasting Process and Roasters

Roasting process is done with either pans or roasting ladles. In most cases, pans had long handles; this was to create a distance between the user and the fire source, especially when it was an open fire. (see Figure 3.1) There is another coffee object used for roasting called “*tanbur*” or “*dolap*”. (see Figure 3.2)

Figure 3.1 Roaster (Tava) [19th century, Erdem Collection]



Figure 3.2 Roaster (Tambur or Dolap) [19th or 20th century, Erdem Collection]



Hélène Desmet Grégoire differentiated the roasting laddles and *tanbur* as open roasting tools and closed roasters. She describes the closed and open roasters briefly: “Directly placed over the fire, these are containers with strongly flared sides, equipped with a handle that is almost always metallic. They are sometimes accompanied by a metal spatula used to stir the beans arranged at the bottom of the container. In the open pans, simple shaking motions with the handle are enough to move the beans during roasting”. She continues explain the roasting pan:

“The type of roasting tool (*grilloir*) most commonly found in the countries of the Near East and, originally, in Arabia, is the one referred to by travelers as a “pan”. “ In Arabia, even today, this type of roasting tool (*tawah*) is used; often made of copper, it is accompanied by a long-handled spatula (*mihmâs*) and can also be used to bake bread. In Turkey, in villages, this metallic roasting pan is commonly called *tava* when used for other foods besides coffee; when reserved exclusively for roasting coffee, it is called *kahve tavası*.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.22)

The open roaster Grégoire mentions is inherited from Ottomans and even though not in use today, it is still called “*kahve tavası*” or alternatively “*kavurma kepçesi*”. Grégoire talks about form, function and material of the roasters: “More elaborate coffee roasters are equipped with wheels or fork-shaped feet, allowing for better balance of the handle, making it easier to hold and control during the roasting process. Known as *kahve kavurma tepsiği* (*sic*), this is a type of roasting pan found in the kitchens of the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul.” As for the material, she explains in her work: “These open roasting tools could also be made of pottery: examples have been found in Anatolia, where the existence of “pottery plates” is documented from the 19th century (collection 95.62 of the Musée de l’Homme). (Grégoire , 1989, p.22)

Grégoire thinks that modern day tools might have evolved from these roasters. As for closed roasters, she quotes from a work, *Objects civils et domestiques, principes d'analyse scientifique, vocabulaire typologique*: “Containers made of metal shaped as a hermetically sealed sphere, with a long handle and lid, designed to be suspended above a flame; More commonly found in Western Europe, they also spread to certain Mediterranean regions and the Balkans.” She also mentions cylindrical closed coffee roasters “One type of roaster was cylindrical, with a long axis fixed to the container, allowing it to rotate by means of a crank. This type was less common in traditional settings but appeared in more advanced and urbanized forms in Mediterranean regions. (Grégoire, 1989, p.25)

She also explains the roasting process itself; “Coffee roasting is done by first bringing it into contact with air, then by gradually increasing the heat and evenly heating all surfaces. At the time, this was achieved by the use of earthenware, spherical, or cylindrical vessels... ” she ends her statement on this subject by pointing out to the developments in France. “In France roasting techniques evolved significantly during the 17th and 18th centuries, as cooks and gastronomes perfected the process.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.28)

The roasting process causes physical and chemical changes in the coffee bean, which is a factor that determines the flavor of the coffee beverage. (Bursa, 2015, p.252), (Erdem, 2024, p.74). We learn from Thévenot how Ottomans roasted coffee in the 17th century. Thévenot was a French observer of the 17th century. He describes how Ottomans roast coffee “Coffee beans are roasted over a fire in a pan or some other utensil and then pounded in to a fine powder” (quoted in Bursa, 2015, p.252), (Erdem, 2024, p.74)

Also a French writer like Thévenot, Dufour wrote about coffee, tea and chocolate as novel and interesting beverages in his book, which is dated to 1685. There is an engraving of a man with Ottoman clothing sitting. In the lower left corner of the painting, we see a tool, a slender, long, tambour-like object made of tin or brass. In the engraving, it is explained as an instrument to roast coffee (*Instrument Pour Torréfier le Café*) (Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve, 2011, p.16), (Erdem, 2024, p.74). From this engraving, we can deduce that *tanbur* has a long history.

Turan and Turan also confirm that one of the utensils for roasting is *tanbur* which is also known as the coffee wheel (*kahve dolabı*), (Erdem, 2024, p.75). Coffee wheels are based on the principle of a cylindrical chamber rotated by hand over a coal fire. The chambers come in many different shapes and sizes. Different amounts of coffee beans could be placed inside through a sliding lid on the chamber. Constantly stirred coffee beans are roasted evenly this way. Turan and Turan observe that Kuru Kahveci Mehmet Efendi was the first person to roast coffee beans in a tanbour, grinded them in mills and started the mass production of coffee. (Turan and Turan, 2011, p.112), (Erdem, 2024, p.76). Since we know that the coffee wheels can be traced back to at least the late 17th century it can be inferred that Mehmet Efendi's achievement was in selling ground coffee directly to customers as the title "*Kurukahveci*" (meaning seller of roasted and ground coffee) suggests.

One feature of the roasting pan is its foldable handle, which was for putting more distance between the fire and the user. This feature is not special only to roasting pans but can be seen in other coffee objects such as coffee pots with long handles (*cezve*). These foldable handles not only puts distance between fire and the person, but also makes the coffee objects easier to carry while traveling. The handle is folded and the coffee

object can be stored much easier. In addition to this Nihal Bursa states that smaller foldable roasting pans were used for quick coffee preparation in portable stalls, unlike the larger one-piece pans, which probably were used in palaces and mansions. (Erdem, 2024 p.77), (Bursa, 2015, p.253).

Müjgan Üçer, in her study on the oral and material culture of coffee in Sivas, describes the *tanbur* as a cylindrical container, about one meter tall and thirty centimeters in diameter, made of tin. Given the examples of *tanbur* used in homes and coffeehouses were much smaller, this large *tanbur* described by Üçer can be understood as an industrial example. Üçer also describes a different type of coffee pan typically made of metal, mostly iron. Smaller special coffee roasting pans, which were made of thick sheet metal and with handles on both sides, were used in homes and they were stirred with wooden spoons to roast the coffee. (Üçer, 2011, p.146), (Erdem, 2024, p.77). These roasting pans with two handles resembling a shallow pan seem to differ from its more widespread counterparts. This shows us while studying coffee objects and utensils regional differences must also be expected.

In her study of coffee culture in Ayaş, a district of Ankara, Hatice Doğruol notes that roasted coffee was placed in tin containers or glass jars, and roasted using a single handled clay pot produced in the district. The visuals in her article show that these clay pots were single-handed utensils that are similar to coffee pans but they are shorter. From this information, we can conclude that roasting could also have been done in clay pots. (Doğruol, 2011, pp. 469-470), (Erdem, 2024, p.77). Similarly, in 1967 Süheyl Ünver observed that the coffee culture from his teacher Hoca Ali Rıza's time onwards had changed a lot. "Because, half a century ago, coffee beans were sold raw, and they were roasted in special clay pans" (Ünver, 1996 p.48), (Erdem, 2024, p.77).

There are many items in the probate inventories simply called *tabe*, which means tava, and some of them were probably used as coffee roasters. Among many examples, there is one specifically named *kahve tabesi*. In this example, we know for sure that it was used to denote coffee roasters that we debated above. In a court record dated to 1826-1827, there is a reference to a roaster which was explicitly called a coffee roaster (*kahve tabesi*). It belonged to either a person called İsmail Ağa b. İsmail or his ex-wife Şerife Hatice Hatun bt. Ali. We do not know for sure, because it was not an estate inventory of a deceased person but the roaster came into the discussion during a dispute between the former couple in their divorce. (İstanbul Mahkemesi, 2019 p.247).

3.2 Cooling Process and Coffeecoolers (*Soğudan*)

Coffeecoolers are one type of the coffeeware and part of the material culture of coffee, named “*soğudan*” in Turkish. As its name suggests, it was used for cooling the roasted coffee beans. Although other materials were occasionally used; coolers were mostly made of wood and ceramic according to Bursa. She tells us that out of the two, wooden coolers were the ones that reached today in great numbers when compared to the ceramic coolers. Nihal Bursa cites two different reasons as to why most surviving coolers were made of wood: first, because ceramic is more fragile, and second, because wood was preferred thanks to its hydrophilic nature. Bursa quotes this feature of wooden coolers as follows: “ The hydrophilic nature of wood allows it to absorb excess oils released from the coffee beans during roasting, especially when over-roasted to the point where oils become visible on the surface of the beans.” (Bursa, 2015, p.254) (see Figure 3.3)

Figure 3.3 *Coffee Cooler (Soğudan)* [19th century, Erdem Collection]



The size and shape (the circular form) of the cooler is also important, because this form will facilitate shaking and stirring the beans for even cooling. The openings of coolers were shaped for transferring the coffee beans with ease into the mortars or coffee grinders as the case might be. Some *soğudans* were produced with lids, while some of them were not. Nihal Bursa thinks that coolers with lids could store coffee beans for a longer duration of time. (Bursa, 2015, p.255), (Erdem, 2024, p.77)

Gülname Turan and Ahmet Zeki Turan describe *soğudans* as generally circular, though some were oval or paddle-shaped, with some designed to resemble coffee beans. For them the key distinguishing characteristic feature of cooling containers is the “chute-like mouth” [*yolluklu ağız*]. They mention coolers with lids, half-open coolers and coolers

with no lids. They think of lidded coffee cooler's primary function as holding coffee beans inside the cooler, preventing them from spilling out. (Turan and Turan, 2011 p.114), (Erdem, 2024, p.77) However some coffeecoolers were made with irremovable lids; these samples may have been created with the purpose of display rather than being functional as it would be almost impossible to pour the baked coffee beans into the cooler in the first place. Turan and Turan also note that Turkish and Arab communities used coffee coolers made of hard wood to cool roasted coffee beans, and that marble or wooden trays were also used for this purpose in certain regions. As we have mentioned in the coffee roaster section, regional differences are of importance. We can see the similar details here in the discussion on coffeecoolers. In some areas, soğudans were referred to as *soğutucu* again meaning coffeecooler. It is clear that *soğudans* were not always used everywhere, because ordinary wooden trays were used for cooling coffee beans. Nevertheless, many examples of this important coffee utensil, which played a significant role in the material culture of coffee, have reached today. (Turan & Turan, 2011, pp.113-114)

As we have discussed the importance of regional differences in the material culture of coffee, another good example comes from Müjgan Üçer's work. Müjgar Üçer in her study of coffee culture in Sivas refers to a coffee utensil she received as a gift from her neighbor, known locally as a "*sürgeç*". This item, said to be at least 80 to 100 years old, was used to transfer roasted coffee beans easily and directly into the grinder. Üçer provides detailed information about the dimensions and the type of wood used in the production of this item. Although the term *sürgeç* appears in the Turkish Language Association's *Derleme* Dictionary, Üçer notes that it was not used in connection with coffee in that source. (Üçer, 2011, pp. 148-14), (Erdem, 2024, p.79). Based on the visuals in Üçer's article, it is evident that what is known as *sürgeç* in Sivas is nothing else but a

soğudan. Here we can observe that regional differences may lead to differences in an object's name, the same object could be known by different names depending on the region.

Süheyl Ünver also refers to the function of *soğudans*, although he does not specifically use the term “*soğudan*”. He describes the process of cooling roasted coffee beans: “Afterward, they were left to cool in wooden coolers before being ground in these mills”. He notes that *soğudans* were made of wood and he includes a drawing made by his teacher, Ali Rıza Efendi, clearly showing what Ünver calls “a simple and elegant coffeecooler” (*kahve soğutucusu*) which is indeed *soğudan*. According to Ünver “once coffee was roasted, it was placed in the cooler and stirred with a spoon or similar tool to ensure even cooling. The beans were then transferred directly to the hand grinder through a covered spout”. (Ünver, 1996, p.48), (Erdem, 2024, p.79)

We have pointed out that coffeecoolers are coffee objects that have artistic qualities. As a matter of fact, the many different carving art examples aside, they come in many different shapes with lids, without lids and with different types of spouts and they were also made from different materials. Some of them had truly a high level of craftsmanship. Nihal Bursa also mentions that coolers were embellished by using various carving techniques, while others incorporated materials like beads, animal bone, horn or metal for decorative purposes (Bursa, 2015, p.256), (Erdem, 2024, p.79). These coffeecoolers regardless of their function were also symbols of their owner’s status. It can be said that this is not a feature unique to the coolers but can be applied to most of the coffee objects. To cite a clear example, the utensils that were used in the palace could be compared to the ones used by common people. Many of the coffee objects used in the palace or in the mansions of the elite were made of valuable material such as gold or

silver or precious stones were used to adorn them. Bursa continues and points out that coffeecoolers were given shapes that resemble natural forms, these natural forms were not just for decoration but at the same time, they had functional elements. (Bursa, 2015, p.256), (Erdem, 2024, p.79)

Hélène Desmet Grégoire also mentions that, in the 19th century, Europeans often failed to recognize how the methods of coffee preparation practiced by the Orientals emphasized care, particularly in roasting. She notes that a greater understanding of the roasting process, especially its scientific basis, became necessary to fully grasp the traditional methods. For example, at the time of their first encounter with coffee, Europeans were unaware of the Turkish *kahve sogutucusu* (coffee cooler), which the Orientals considered essential. According to Grégoire, cooling was crucial as it ensured that caramelization did not go too far, preventing burnt aromas and the dispersion of undesirable oils that could impart a bitter taste. (Grégoire, 1989, p.32)

It is interesting that in my research, I have not come across the coffee object cooler in court records of Istanbul. Is it because the coolers were not used in İstanbul? There are so many examples of coolers that have reached today including the ones used in the imperial palace. Therefore, it is hard to understand their absence in probate inventories. However, Süheyl Ünver while explaining the object used for cooling coffee beans mentions a “*tava-soğutucu*” which was made of clay. It is just possible that this coffee item was used for both roasting and cooling. (Ünver, 1996 p.47) Likewise, Doğruol talks about and presents photographs of roasters made of clay in the Ayaş region. It may be the very same coffee item, which Ünver is talking about. (Doğruol, pp.470-471) This item is called *tava* just like Ünver does. It might have been the reason why the word *soğudan* was not used. However, the Topkapı examples that are on permanent display in the

kitchens area of the palace are clearly made of wood and not clay. Therefore, regardless of the fact that clay roasters were used to cool the coffee beans, the nonexistence of any references to wooden coolers in the probate inventories is bound to remain one unsolved problem.

3.3 Grinding Process: Crushing and Milling

Once the coffee beans have cooled in a *soğudan* (or another cooling tool), they can be ground using either a hand grinder or a floor grinder. (see Figure 3.4. and Figure 3.5.) Alternatively, the beans can be crushed into powder using a *dibek* (traditional mortar) and a pestle (*el*). (see Figure 3.6.)

Figure 3.4 *Hand Mill [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure 3.5 *Floor Mill (Oturak Değirmen)* [1302/1884-1885 Erdem Collection]



Figure 3.6 *Mortar and Pestle [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



In present day Turkey, the method of crushing coffee with a *dibek* is rarely employed, mainly still used in southern regions. Bursa notes that the coffee flavor when crushed in a *dibek* was different from coffee powder made with mills; it was because the crushing process breaks the coffee beans differently, and the wooden material of the mortar can also affect the taste. The *dibek*, which is part of the material culture of coffee, was an old tool, which was also used to crush various other foods. Similar to *soğudans*, the decorations on *dibeks* far exceeded their functional purpose, showcasing the craftsmanship of artisans who created coffee utensils that could also serve as symbols of status (Bursa, 2015, pp.258-259), (Erdem, 2024, p.81)

Müjgan Üçer describes the *dibek* in her study as “A large mortar made from a tree trunk or carved from black stone used for pounding coffee. It has a heavy metal pestle called an [*el*] to pound coffee. Coffee beans roasted in the shops would be left to cool off on a piece of cloth sprinkled with water. Then, they would be either pounded in the *dibeks* or grinded in tools called great grinders (*büyük kahve çekeceği*)”, (Üçer, 2011, p.146) It seems that the coolers were not used when producing coffee powder in the *dibeks* and the cooling function was simply fulfilled by cold water sprinkled. However, this passage has its problems, as it is not clear what exactly the “great grinders” were. The fact that the process described here is about pounding the coffee beans in the mortar rules out the possibility that mills were involved. Similarly, she makes explicit reference to the coffee mills in the same page might indicate that the object in question was different from them.

To learn about mortars and pestles we can also benefit from Hélène Desmet Grégoire. She speaks of regional specific mortars: “In inventories from the 16th century in regions of Hungary occupied by the Turks, there are mentions of various types of mortars: in 1553, 1570, and 1591, references are made to used mortars (*havan-i köhne*),

wooden mortars (*havan-i çöp* or *ağaç havan*), and small mortars (*küçük havan*) possibly intended for coffee preparation.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.36) In addition, she states a time that mortar and mills coexisted together, “There was, in fact, a coexistence of mortars and mills, depending on community habits. In Near Eastern countries, small mills were mainly used for domestic or individual coffee preparation, while mortars were preferred for grinding larger quantities of coffee for sale or communal consumption.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.37) She also talks about an ongoing debate on the coffee grounds, which were made with mortar and that of a hand mill she quotes from the traveler Niebuhr: “We had a coffee mill in Arabia, but in the end, we stopped using it, finding a significant difference between beans that were ground and those that were pounded. I don’t know the reason, except that perhaps pounding better releases the oily particles, which gives the coffee more flavor.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.37)

The primary utensil for grinding coffee was the grinder. There were two main types of coffee grinders: the portable hand grinders commonly found in larger homes and coffeehouses, and the floor grinders. Hand grinders themselves come in various sizes, some of them are small enough to carry and grind just one or two servings of coffee. Hélène Desmet Grégoire describes grinders like this “The grinder mechanism varied across regions from Egypt to France and its form, material, and design reflected local traditions and necessities. Whether made of wood or metal, the purpose remained the same: to grind coffee beans, spices, and other substances. The grinder typically consisted of a horizontally or vertically mounted mechanism with a fixed or removable receptacle to collect the ground coffee. A small notch or locking system ensured stability during use, while ground coffee could be collected in a lower drawer or Compartment.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.41) She separates the coffee grinders as metal coffee grinders and wooden coffee

grinders. Grégoire talks about the form of metal coffee grinders that are cylindrically shaped that were common in the Near East and most of them were made of copper or brass. They were small and suited for limited consumption.

She states that metal coffee grinders have these characteristics and she explains their forms. According to her, the metal coffee grinder was composed of four detachable parts:

A cylindrical box containing a central pivot mechanism, allowing coffee beans to be ground against a metal disk held in place by a screw. This mechanism is fixed to the body of the object by copper rivets. Another cylindrical box with a bottom part serves as a receptacle for ground coffee. A lid with a central hole, often dome-shaped, fits onto the pivot axis. Additionally, a foldable crank handle attaches to the square end of the pivot.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.42) Desmet Grégoire also gives information about the wooden coffee grinders that were widespread in the Near East. In Turkey, there were wooden coffee grinders, which were decorated with the marquetry art. She mentions there are many examples of wooden grinders left from the 19th century but there are much less samples going back to the 16th century. (Grégoire, 1989, p.43) As for wooden grinders, Grégoire gives information about wooden coffee grinder’s characteristics as well. “These grinders were often mounted at the end of panels made of precious woods (ebony, walnut) and decorated with engravings and inlays of pearls or ivory. The upper receptacle, also made of worked copper, was accompanied by a similarly ornate wooden box. The coffee grinders made in the Bursa region were particularly renowned and were often collected by wealthy families. However, by the late 19th

century, the production of these artistic grinders ceased, giving way to more standardized models. (Grégoire, 1989, p.43).

This makes us think about the use area of these coffee objects. We can guess that the said grinder was probably not used in coffeehouses. Even though these portable grinders are often referred to collectively as hand grinders, it is important to note that some of them were very small. Both the floor grinder and the hand grinders worked on the same principle; a steel shaft with cutting surfaces rotated inside a steel housing to grind the coffee. Floor grinders were made with metal handles. The hand mills were made of several different types of metals. They were made from brass, copper or even in rare cases silver were used here. We have mentioned the coffee objects showing the status of their owners before. A silver hand grinder is indeed a good example. (see Figure 3.7)

Figure 3.7 *Silver Hand Mill [1322/1904-1905 Erdem Collection]*



Historical records show that coffee grinders have been in use since at least the 17th century. Ralph Hattox supports this, pointing to the observations of Dutch traveler Joannes Cotovictus, who died in 1629. Cotovictus noted that coffee was ground using a hand grinder or a millstone (“*mola trusatili*”), suggesting that hand grinders were in use earlier than commonly thought (Hattox, 1996, p.85), (Erdem, 2024, p.81) However, it is unclear that what exactly Cotovictus was referring to when he mentioned this tool, as no detailed description of the item survives.

Nihal Bursa maintains that cylindrical brass hand mills were being made as early as the 16th century, and floor grinders have been known to exist since the 18th century (Bursa, 2015, p.257), (Erdem, 2024, p.81) However, there are no surviving examples of these 16th century hand mills in modern museum collections or exhibition catalogs. The earliest extant examples of cylindrical brass grinders on display in the Topkapı Palace collections, as part of the 2013 exhibition *A Drop of Pleasure: Turkish Coffee's 500-Year Journey*, date to the 18th century (*Bir Taşım Keyif*, 2015, p.401) , (Erdem, 2024, p.81) However, written records and inventories suggest that older examples did exist. My own research of İstanbul's *Şer'iyye Sicilleri* (Ottoman court records) revealed references to hand grinders as early as the 17th century. For example, a 1672-1674 record from Galata court mentions a hand grinder with a sieve fetching 110 akçes together with 2 coffee ewers fetching 120 akçes it is possible that this hand grinder was used to grind coffee (Galata Mahkemesi 2019 p.127). The specific mention of coffee ewers suggests that the grinder was used for coffee preparation. However, we do not know whether that grinder was cylindrical or box shaped.

Evliya Çelebi, the renowned 17th century Ottoman traveler, also refers to floor or box grinders in his travel account. During his visit to Samakov, a Bulgarian town known

for its advanced iron industry, he describes metal box grinders as follows: “And from its praised products are the iron-framed, metal fanuses, iron-reinforced and tin-plated dining stools, which can be carried by travelers and are quite useful. There are all kinds of locks, horse reins, and metal lion and bear traps, as well as small metal boxes containing coffee grinders, which in times of need can even grind flour to a fine powder” (*Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 2002, p.67), (Erdem, 2024, p.82).

Seyit Ali Kahraman, the editor of Evliya Çelebi’s *Seyahatname*, confirms that the small box grinder mentioned here refers to a floor grinder. He explains the significance of these portable box grinders, which were likely used by travelers and small households. The description of floor grinders emphasizes their portability and ability to grind coffee in bulk, making them an important part of Ottoman culture.

I was able to locate a reference to a grinder in İstanbul court records. This object in the court records is an exciting one. Dated to 1606-1607 and estimated to fetch 40 *Akçes* (aspers), it is a very early example of hand mills. The record simply reads “*Demir-i biber değirmeni*”. This translates as “iron of pepper mill”. Likely, it has to be read as *demir biber değirmeni* which in turn translates as “iron pepper mill”. It was clearly a pepper mill made of iron. We do know that the same objects were used for different purposes. In our family collection, there are several examples of the very same hand mills used to grind both coffee and pepper. Thus, we can safely assume that this mill could also be used to grind coffee. (Galata Mahkemesi 2012 p 59).

3.4 Coffee Boxes

Once the coffee beans were crushed or ground, they were stored in coffee containers until they were ready to be brewed. Raşit Koçak who writes about coffee objects in *Kahve Yanında bir Lokum*, edited by Emine Gürsoy Naskali, describes the

essential feature of coffee boxes as their tight sealing lid, which prevents air from entering and spoiling the ground coffee. When it was time to brew coffee, a small spoon was used to scoop out the required amount from the container and place it in the coffee pot for brewing. (See Figure 3.8)

Figure 3.8 *Coffee Box [1228/1813-1814, Erdem Collection]*



Koçak theorizes that the first coffee containers may have evolved from containers originally used to store other materials such as powdered henna. Offering an example from his collection, Koçak points to a Bosnian-origin coffee container that closely resembles henna containers. He compares the box in his possession with Jean-Etienne Liotard's painting "Turkish Woman and Her Attendant in the Bath", where the attendant is holding a henna container like Bosnian coffee containers (Koçak, 2011, pp.115-116), (Erdem, 2024, p.82)

Koçak's theory about coffee objects can be supported. Some coffee objects resembled a prior form, and similar objects could be used for other purposes. Previously, in the quotation from Evliya Çelebi we used, we can see how grinders could be used to make not just coffee but flour, they could turn the grains into fine powder. We also have just discussed that the same grinders could be used to grind pepper and coffee.

We have debated that coffee objects also show the social status of the person who was using the said object. Koçak draws attention to the fact that high-quality, well crafted coffee containers were symbols of status. Since coffee containers were used by people from different social classes, the materials and decorations varied greatly. Koçak further mentions that after sugar became widely available, coffee containers with two compartments, one for coffee and the other for sugar, were made. These containers were known as *kahvelik* and *şekerlik* (coffee and sugar holders) (Koçak, 2011, p. 117) (Erdem, 2024, p.82)

Nihal Bursa explains that coffee containers were made from various materials including wood, copper, brass, and *tombak* (gilded copper), as well as ceramics. She notes that the small size of these containers helped ensure that the powdered coffee was used up quickly before it had a chance to become stale (Bursa, 2015, p.260), (Erdem, 2024, p.83)

Süheyl Ünver, in one of his studies, recounts how his teacher Hoca Ali Rıza once drew a coffee container he had seen in a friend's house, emphasizing the compartment used to keep coffee and sugar separate. Ünver recalls, "A century ago, our homes had various types of coffee and sugar containers, from round ones to square ones, many of them highly ornamented", (Ünver, 1996, pp.44-45), (Erdem, 2024, p. 83). Traces of coffee containers can also be found in Ottoman court records, indicating that these objects

were widely used in society. For example, in 1698-1699 record from Istanbul, a coffee container valued at 10 akçes was listed among the belongings of a cook from the New Palace named Mehmed (Kısmet-i Askeriye Court, Register 19, H 1109-1010 / M. 1698-1699, vol. 58 p.549), (Erdem, 2024, p.83)

The sharia court records, as we mentioned previously, are valuable sources for the material culture of coffee as it gives us an estimated idea about the said objects value in Ottoman currency. In addition, it is possible to deduce when a coffee object was started to be used, or at least approximate dates could be suggested. Not just coffee boxes but hand mills, roasters, coffee pots, *puşides*, cups and cup holders can be found in the court records. Not only from the existence of the objects, but also we can learn from the absence of some coffee objects. This might be a problem of recording only. Some objects may have been registered under a different name, but anyhow this still is helpful to locate a certain object in a specific time.

Coffee boxes are one of the most common coffee objects that can be seen in the court records. Citing two examples will suffice here. One of them is recorded with its value while the other one's material is explicitly stated, and the value is given as well. The value in question is 300 *akçes* and the document is dated to 1698-1699. This seems to be an extraordinarily high amount for a coffee box. We can surmise that valuable materials were used to produce this coffee box but unfortunately, the document is silent on this point. (Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 2019 p.955)

The other coffee box is seen in a court record dated 1730-1731. It was made of copper and had a value of 150 Akçes. We should note that the second coffee box fetching 150 akçes seems to be quite valuable as well. However, when we take the factor of

inflation between the two dates into account it becomes clear that the second box was not really worth half the value of the first one. (Kısmet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 2019 p. 490)

3.5 Brewing Vessels

3.5.1 Ewer

One of the brewing vessels was the ewer; many European travelers either describe or tell us something about this coffee object used for preparing coffee. French author Philipe Sylvester Dufour (1622-1687) describes pots named ewers with large bottoms, which allowed them to use fire efficiently; their narrow spouts are needed for preserving the flavor of the prepared coffee. Jean de Thévenot (1633-1667) observed that for every three cups a spoonful of coffee powder was added to the boiling water in the ewer and it was brought to just boiling for ten to twelve times to prevent the coffee from boiling over and spilling. He emphasises that to prevent the coffee from spilling, the ewer or *coquemar* one must take the coffee pot off the fire. Thevenot uses the word *coquemar* and he explains that for this word the Turks used the word “*ibrik*” (ewer). (see Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10)

Figure 3.9 Ewer (Dalle) [19th century, Erdem Collection]



Figure 3.10 Ewer (Gügüm) [19th century, Erdem Collection]



A French noble, François de la Boullaye-le Gouz (1623-69) in his travels to Europe and the east wrote a travel account noting that the Turks, even when traveling with their camels, carried coffee materials with them. He observes that the Turks had a leather bag to hold coffee within and to cook coffee they had a little “*coqmart*”. (Bursa, 2015, p.262) It is notable that both of the travelers use the same word for the coffee object in question. The coffee cooked in the utensil *coqmart*-ewer had perhaps, a resemblance to the coffee made today in South Eastern Anatolia and other places in Arabic speaking lands close to southeastern Anatolia. The coffee consumed there is called “*mirra*”. This coffee, which has a very bitter taste, is without froth and ground. (Bursa, 2015, p.263) However, this point is far from being established. Was it as strong as *mirra*? The truth is that, we may speculate about the taste and intensity of coffee, done in ewers and drunk in Ottoman times, but it is difficult to know for sure.

The Turkish name for *coqmart* / *coquemar* is *ibrik*. Although it is said that its meaning comes from the Arabic word *berk* which means to shine, it is mostly believed that it is the plural form of the Persian word “*âbriz*” which means water pourer. The *ibrik* has a long history. Although never mentioned in an exclusively coffee context, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Foundation for Religious Affairs Encyclopedia of Islam) offers a useful history of the *ibrik*. It describes how certain types of *ibrik* were used in different periods of time. We learn that some *ibriks* were made from rock crystal and glass. Gilded copper was also used. After the Mongolian invasion some craftsmen migrated from Khorassan to the western regions and around Mosul they developed a new form of ewer employing the inlay technique. Many metal objects carrying the “*Mevsîlî*” signature reached today. These signatures signified the craftsman school rather than the name of a city, Mosul. In fact the *ibrik* form was found in earlier dates before Islam and continued to be around much later than the 13th century as well. As to the *ibriks* in Anatolia, we can talk about an Anatolian Seljukid ewer which came from Eskişehir, from the Tomb of Seyyid Battal Gazi. This *ibrik* is housed in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum today, and resembles the Khorassan ewers. Its upper part is missing and at present, it stands at 22 cm. The ewer is hammered and has silver and gold inlays. It is highly decorated by animal and human figures. (Bozkurt and Selda, 2000, pp. 372-376) This presents a contrast with *ibriks* produced during Ottoman times as they rarely had animal figures and no human depictions at all.

Nihal Bursa describes the form and use of *ibrik* in the following words: “Spherical bottom part of the ewer supports the vertical form of the ewer which makes it possible for the ewer to be balanced on the fire.” More importantly, the ewer’s form is suitable for augmenting the area that is in contact with fire, which makes the multiple boiling process

easier. Its round form also is useful and makes it easier to tilt big ewers and pour coffee without totally lifting them from the ground. (Bursa, 2014, p.112). Bursa continues about the form of ewers. Stating that the most characteristic feature of ewers is the sharp beak shaped mouth or spout from which coffee pours. The wide bottoms get narrower while ascending to upper parts and end with a lidded mouth. In many different samples, this coffee object's mouth part starts where the body starts to elongate. The spout is curled and the most conspicuous feature of the *ibrik*. In some samples this spout's form and size, when compared to the body of the ewer, is exaggerated. Bursa thinks that its form is suitable for continuous servings and this specialty of the coffee object almost signifies generosity. (Bursa, 2014, p.112)

In the İstanbul court records there are many references to ewers. As the ewer was one of the most widespread objects used in daily life, this is only too natural and expected. However, the records paid enough attention to ewers used in coffee making and differentiated them from the rest of ewers by specifically naming them “coffee ewers” (*kahve ibriği*). In one of the earliest cases, recorded in a record covering the period between 1591-1617 a coffee ewer was estimated to have a value of 25 akçes. (İstanbul Mahkemesi 2019 s. 63) In another case, the coffee ewer fetched only 10 akçes. The document is located in a court record going back to 1606-1607. (Galata Mahkemesi 2019 p. 89) In neither cases the material used to make these coffee ewers is specified.

3.5.2 Cezve

Bursa notes that the word *cezve* in Arabic means “a piece of fire” or “a stick used to retrieve embers from the fire. “The second meaning is significant, as it reflects the *cezve*'s long handle, which is designed to safely place the pot over the fire”. (Bursa, 2015, p.266), (Erdem, 2024, p.84) Citing the work of Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, Bursa points out

that the earliest known representations of the *cezve* form in Anatolia can be seen, depicted as reliefs on some gravestones in Güzelce village, Kayseri. The oldest of these gravestones with *cezve* reliefs is dated to 1772. The fact that we see the earliest representation of the *cezve* in a village cemetery suggests that the *cezve* may have originated in rural areas (Bursa, 2015, p.266), (Erdem, 2024, p.184) Yenişehirlioğlu mentions the presence of both *ibrik* and *cezve* motifs on these gravestones indicating that these two brewing vessels were in use simultaneously (Yenişehirlioğlu, 2015, p.308), (Erdem, 2024, p.84). (see Figure 3.11 and Figure 3.12)

Figure 3.11 Cezve (Lidded) [18th or 19th century, Erdem Collection]



Figure 3.12 Cezve (Open) [19th century, Erdem Collection]



During the course of my research in the İstanbul court records, I could not locate any reference to *cezve* before the 1820s. This somehow supports Yenişehirlioğlu's idea that the *cezve* might have originated in the rural areas, as the dates are considerably later than the Kayseri examples. However, there may be references to the *cezve* in the earlier court records not digitized and this point is far from being settled.

In a record dated to 1825-1827 there is an open reference to a *cezve*: There is a *cezve* found in Mehmet Said Efendi's probate inventory. (Mahmudpaşa Mahkemesi 2019 p. 468) Likewise, we see *cezve* amongst the inherited items in the years 1826-1827 in İstanbul sharia court records (Mahmudpaşa Mahkemesi 2019 p.83) Many other sharia

records show us that *cezbe* “*cezve*” are present in the year 1825 in different people’s estate inventories.

According to Gül Fatma Koz, the traditional form of the *cezve* has changed very little over time. The long handle makes it easier to place the *cezve* over the fire, while its wide base allows for better heat distribution. The spout, which is shaped like a beak, facilitates pouring the coffee into the cup. Koz also notes that, although not common, some large *cezves* used in coffee houses had wheels on their bases to make it easier to move them over the fire (Koz, 2011, p.31), (Erdem, 2024, p.84).

Turan and Turan argue that the *cezve*’s shape can be described as timeless in the terms of design. They observe, “When we compare *cezves* from the 18th and 19th centuries with those used today, we see great similarities.” They describe the *cezves* as having a wide base that narrows toward the top and sometimes slightly flares again. This unique shape, they explain, is linked to how Turkish coffee is brewed and served. The wide base equals heat distribution, while the narrowing at the top helps preserve the coffee’s aroma and prevents all the grounds from pouring into the first cup. They also highlight that one of the defining characteristics of Turkish coffee is the sediment left at the bottom of the cup, which is controlled by the *cezve*’s design (Turan and Turan, 2011, pp.115-116), (Erdem, 2024, p.85). Nihal Bursa also emphasizes the ideal form of the *cezve* for brewing Turkish coffee. She compares *cezve* to *ibrik*; the *cezve*’s interior is easily visible, allowing the coffee maker to monitor the brewing process. Another key distinction between the *cezve* and *ibrik* is that there is a 90 degree angle between the *cezve*’s handle and the spout which Bursa says is important for ease of use (Bursa, 2015, pp.266-267), (Erdem, 2024, p.85).

Sabri Koz makes a simple comment: “The power that makes Turkish coffee is closely related to the fact that it goes through special processes, from roasting to grinding, blending and especially cooking, and is subjected to a series of ceremonial practices, from drinking alone or in groups.” He then differentiates coffee pot and ewer while describing *cezve*’s form: “Coffee, which used to be cooked in ewers, is now cooked in coffee pots designed for this purpose, with a special spout with a long, thin handle and a body wider at the bottom than the top.” (Kuzucu and Koz, 2015, p.313)

It seems that researchers who study the material culture of Turkish coffee often describe an “ideal” form of the *cezve*. While some Ottoman-era *cezves* do fit this idealized description, there are also numerous other examples that deviate from it. Ottoman *cezves* varied significantly in both design and size. (Erdem, 2024, p.85) For example, *cezves* in our family collection range in size from those that serve one person to those that can serve up to thirty-six people. Many of the *cezves* in the collection have lids, contrary to the common perception that *cezves* are always open (Erdem, 2024, p.85). Additionally, many coffee pot handles are foldable, making them more practical for storage and transport. Even the most frequently cited feature of the *cezve*- the wide base and narrow neck- is not always present in Ottoman examples. Therefore, without conducting a comprehensive study of the surviving Ottoman *cezves* and establishing a typology based on field research, it is difficult to make generalized statements about the *cezve*. Furthermore, as Bursa notes, there are also hybrid vessels that combine the features of both the *cezve* and the *ibrik* (Bursa, 2015, p.267), (Erdem, 2024, p.86)

3.6 Cups and Cupholders (Zarfs)

Compared to other coffee objects, coffee cups survived in greater numbers and in better condition. In addition, cups are considered one of the most prominent status

symbols among coffee objects. This could be attributed to the fact that, unlike other coffeeware like pans or grinders used in preparation, coffee cups were used during the serving stage of coffee, which made them more visible and significant in social settings. (see Figure 3.13)

Figure 3.13 Coffeecups (Tophane-ware) [19th century, Erdem Collection]



This could be attributed to the fact that, unlike other coffeeware like pans or grinders used in preparation, coffee cups were used during the serving stage of coffee, which made them more visible and significant in social settings.

According to Ayşe Erdoğan and Serkan Gedük, in the early periods, cups were imported from China. These early cups were wide-mouthed and had no handles. The Ottoman palace used such cups until the 18th century. In later periods, the palace also had porcelain cups from Germany, France, Russia, and Austria in its collection. Additionally, cups produced in the Ottoman Empire itself, such as those from Yıldız porcelain factory and Tophane, were also part of the palace's collection. The relatively small number of

İznik-style cups in the palace's collection, however, remains a topic of inquiry for Erdoğan and Gedük (Erdoğan and Gedük, 2015, pp.283-284), (Erdem, 2024, p.87)

While porcelain was a common material for cups, they were also made from various other materials. Nihal Bursa notes that the coffee cups throughout history were made from materials like ceramic, clay, silver, wood, tortoise shell and animal bone. However, she emphasizes that unlike other types of coffee, Turkish coffee should be sipped from a cup while sitting and enjoying it calmly. For this reason cups made from delicate porcelain are preferred, as they allow the coffee's foam to be savored between the lips ensuring that all the characteristics of Turkish coffee can be experienced (Bursa, 2015, p.272), (Erdem, 2024, p.87). Coffee cups produced in China are a regular feature of the Ottoman probate inventories. For example, in an inventory dated to 1704 7 pieces of such cups (*fağfuri*) are mentioned together with two coffee ewers. Whether the cups had saucers or not is not possible to learn from the document, as they were not separately mentioned. (Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 2019 p. 394)

In comparison with other coffee utensils, cups have been the subject of more research and documentation. Early handleless coffee cups gave rise to another essential coffee object: the *zarf*, cupholder. Cupholders enabled the drinker to hold the hot cup and protected his or her hands. *Zarfs* were made from a variety of materials and displayed a wide range of decorative styles (Erdem, 2024, p.87) (see Figure 3.14)

Figure 3.14 Cupholders [19th century, Erdem Collection]



Since *zarfs* were used in the serving process just like the cups they, too, were considered symbols of status, much like the cups themselves. Precious metals and other valuable material could be used to produce cupholders. Some of these *zarfs* can be found in the Topkapı Palace's treasury section. Valuable cupholders could be used as prestigious and expensive gifts. For example, Desmet Grégoire mentions that in the year 1792 “a golden cup holder enameled in white and adorned with diamonds was commissioned by the Republic for the Reis Effendi”. (Grégoire, 1989, p.93) *Zarfs* made from more humble materials, such as clay, were still decorated with care and attention to detail, emphasizing their role as status symbols. For instance, İrem Çalışıcı Pala notes that clay *zarfs* were used in conjunction with European porcelain cups as well as local Kütahya and Tophane ceramics. The originality of design in the clay Kütahya *zarfs* is particularly noteworthy. (Pala, 2011, p.377), (Erdem, 2024, p.88)

Emine Bilirgen has also written extensively on *murassa* (jeweled) coffee cup *zarfs* from the Ottoman palace treasury (Bilirgen, 2011, pp.103-109), (Erdem, 2024, p.89). It is important to note that the early wide-mouthed, bowl-like, handleless cups used in the first Ottoman coffeehouses did not require *zarfs*. *Zarfs* were only introduced for use with the much smaller handleless cups that became common later. The shrinking size of coffee cups over time likely coincided with the changes in the type of coffee being served. Small cups, typically used for the bitter coffee known as *murra* which was popular in the Arab world, may have influenced the use of *zarfs* in serving. Hélène Desmet Grégoire points out that the *zarf* was not in use in Europe but she quotes from Galland that it was in use in the Ottoman lands. Galland's testimony (1696) exclusively concerns the Ottoman elite and their customs: "There are Turks who hold their cups in small containers and only hold the bottom of the cup; only the most delicate use them." Desmet Grégoire further explains the place that *zarf* holds in Western countries like this "In contrast, the *zarf*, though well known through certain texts, was not adopted by Westerners who did not consider them indispensable, whether for their protective function or decorative aspect. None of the posthumous inventories consulted for the Marseille region revealed evidence of a single one of these objects." (Grégoire, 1989, p.78)

There are many examples of *zarf* in court records. The earliest I have found is in a record book dated to 1591-1617. There a cupholder is explicitly named as "*zarf-ı fincan*" and estimated to fetch 11 akçes. (İstanbul Mahkemesi 2019 p. 110)

3.7 Alcohol/Spirit Stoves (Caminetto)

Alcohol or spirit stoves, many of which were of the camping or traveling type, began to be used in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. None of the authors who studied the material culture of the "Turkish Coffee" dedicated space to alcohol stoves and

regarded them as part of Ottoman coffee objects. H  lene Desmet-Gr  goire who was the first to study Ottoman coffee objects does not even mention “caminetto”. The same is valid for Turan and Nihal Bursa who made the last and most comprehensive survey on coffee objects. G  nda   Kayao  lu does not have the word “caminetto” in his coffee glossary, (Kayao  lu, 2001). Likewise, Ay  e Erdo  du and her colleagues do not include it in their glossary of coffee objects (Erdo  du et al, 2015).

In fact, the word caminetto cannot be found in old, regular dictionaries like Redhouse whose first edition came out in 1857. The first dictionary that has the word “*kamineto*” is *A Turkish-English Dictionary* by H.C.Hony in 1947. There, “*kamineto*” is described as “Methylated spirit lamp” and not as a spirit stove (Hony 1947, p.171). However, the very comprehensive *  t  ken T  rk  e S  zl  k* has both meanings of the word. According to it, the word came from Italian, meaning “a small fireplace” (*ocak  ık*) and used for a small alcohol stove. Its second meaning concerned a small hand lamp used to clear old paint (  a  bayır 2017, pp. 2965-2966). It is possible that older dictionaries do not have the word, as caminetto were not in use at the time of their writing. However, we should note that S  heyl   nver, too, when he talks of the cupboards in the old houses that housed coffee objects mentions the caminetto as a “spirit lamp” (*ispirto lambası*). By this term, he definitely means a caminetto as he continues to explain how coffee was cooked with this “lamp”. (  nver, 1996 p. 47)

However, we also have conclusive evidence that several types of caminetto were in use in the Ottoman Empire, we afterall, have physical specimens. In an exhibition catalogue, one of them is described as “Silver Stove for Coffee” and the other as “Camineto (Spirit Stove)”. (*Pleasures Hidden in a Bean*, p. 92) It is possible that they were indeed used to make Turkish Coffee. However, these spirit stoves were European

made and they could be used for other purposes, to cook food or to boil water or to simply prepare European type coffee. In other words, in many of the caminetto types, there is nothing to link them to Turkish coffee in a specific way. On the other hand, a certain type of caminetto known as traveling or portable stove can be linked to Turkish coffee culture as it has small coffee pots of the *cezve* type. In the same catalogue, a caminetto of this type is described as “Portable coffee set. Early 20th century. Sealed by the ‘constitution period’ symbol of the Ottoman Empire” (*Pleasures Hidden in a Bean*, p. 93). This caminetto has two *cezves* and the constitutional slogan “Liberty, Justice, Equality and Brotherhood” (*Hürriyet, Adalet, Müsavat, Uhuvvet*) was embossed on the lid together with star and crescent and two flags.

In our family collection in addition to the “constitution caminetto” identical with the one described above, we have a similar caminetto set, displaying the official Ottoman coat of arms and perhaps produced before 1909, that is the year the second constitution was declared. It has a little tank to contain the fuel, a wig, and a trivet, a little lid to turn the fire off after use, two *cezves*, and a little tong. It seems that the European originated alcohol stove was converted into a portable Turkish Coffee set with the addition of the *cezves*. The *cezves* have detachable handles making it possible to put them one inside the other. Here, we should note that none of the caminetto in our collection is handmade objects. They are industrial products, most probably produced in Istanbul. In this sense, they indicate the beginnings of industrialization in the material culture of coffee and as such, they are different from all other coffee objects. (see Figure 3.15)

Figure 3.15 Caminetto [Early 20th century Erdem Collection]



4. COFFEE POTS AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE TURKISH COFFEE

In this chapter, there will be a multitude of questions, and we will try to answer them the best we can. The main question being when and how did Turkish Coffee come to be? Inevitably, this question will lead us to a detailed *ibrik* and *cezve* comparison. There will be questions about the form of these brewing vessels such as how much the physical form influences the nature of the beverage. There are many physical aspects to compare and at the same time, the coffee preparation method also holds great importance. It is safe to say that the physical form of the coffee pot influenced the coffee that was being prepared and the beverage people wanted to drink.

4.1 İbrik versus Cezve

We can say that Turkish coffee is undoubtedly related to the *cezve*, and the *cezve* is a coffee object that is suited to prepare coffee in a fast manner. On the other hand, coffee made in *ibrik* takes much longer than preparing coffee in a *cezve*. The coffee prepared in the *ibrik* must have been like the coffee known as “*mirra*” today or it must have been a quite strong coffee, if not directly *mirra*. Gündag Kayaoğlu notes in his coffee glossary under the entry:

Ewer coffee [*ibrik kahvesi*]: The long-spouted copper containers known as ‘coffee ewers’ or ‘coffee jugs’ in which coffee is mixed with cold water and which are then placed on the hot ashes of a brazier or over a flame and boiled long and slow. Adding a small amount of cold water to the coffee before it is poured into the cups ensures that the grounds precipitate to the bottom of the cup. This coffee, which therefore does not have the traditional foam on top, is extremely strong and

flavorful, **resembling today's instant coffee**. (Kayaoğlu, 2001, p. 164)
(Emphasis added).

This is a valuable insight as to what kind of coffee might be prepared in ewers or what kind of coffee the Ottomans may have consumed before the Turkish coffee. It is important to note here that not all kinds of coffee prepared in a ewer was a *mirra*.

In any case, all sources agree that preparing coffee in a ewer takes a great deal of time. A record in the *Silahdar Tarihi* states that Bosnian Behlül Ağa, a night watchman, had a servant, this servant puts his coffee jug on the burning stove and goes to bed, to enable it to boil for hours. As noted by Tarım, this shows us that coffee was indeed prepared with a more lengthy duration unlike today. (Tarım, 2015, p.213)

Not only that preparing coffee in a *cezve* would take much less, the *cezve* was also more suited to travel compared to *ibrik* which have a bigger size or may even come in larger forms. This is another topic, which will be discussed below. The *cezve* was undoubtedly easier to carry and much faster to cook. The coffee object called “nomad” (*yörük cezve*)” is a good example of this, because the handle is made foldable for the object to be carried easier. It also enabled the *cezve* to stand on its own. There is a discussion in pertinent literature on how in time *cezve* replaced *ibrik*. The *cezve* had many different forms during Ottoman times. Only a single type from these survived until today. We will discuss this fact and try to find an answer to explain it. Finally, we will use our family collection to further examine and understand the brewing vessels which are the ewer (*ibrik*) and coffee pot (*cezve*).

Hélène Desmet Grégoire in her book *Les Objets du Café* is concentrated on the material culture of coffee and the preparation methods of the different types of coffee. A chapter in her book is titled, “*La Cafetière un objet ambigu*”. (Grégoire 1989, p.47)

This title itself gives us hints. She uses the word ambiguous for the coffeemaker. This must have been because there were many different forms of coffee pots. She herself explains the coffee pot and its functions as follows: “It is used both during the preparation phase and at the moment of consumption. It serves not only to prepare coffee but also to preserve it: it acts as a container and sometimes as a cooking utensil, while also being a pouring vessel. This dual function renders it less clearly defined compared to other objects,” (Grégoire, 1989, p.47)

The fact that there was a multitude of coffee pots results in difficulties while classifying existing coffee utensils and understanding their functions. Hélène Desmet defines the characteristics of the brewing vessel as having a beak, two types of different handles and a spout. She is open-minded when assessing the form of the brewing vessels. She defines the variations and uncertainties regarding the form as follows: “general observations are insufficient to differentiate, for instance, a coffee pot from a teapot or a chocolate pot. The morphological study of coffee pots can only be approached through the lens of a correspondence of forms and uses.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.47)

She draws attention to the different forms of coffee pots and says that before classifying the form of coffeeware into groups, the way or method of cooking the coffee should be known. This is important because she links the shape of coffee utensils to the type of coffee which is made. (Grégoire, 1989 p.48) She talks about two different methods of preparing coffee. The name of the first preparation method is infusion. The powder dissolves in water and is not boiled afterwards. She also mentions a coffee pot, a brewing vessel that has two parts used in this method. Percolation and filtering is used with this coffee pot. Grégoire tells us that this technique was used mostly in European lands, and

she tells us the other technique, decoction, was used in the Near East. This technique is the technique of making coffee that resembles *mirra*:

The decoction method involves boiling coffee grounds in water to extract soluble particles. For this purpose, a utensil (*ibrik*) or other containers (already specific to coffee preparation) are used. While decoction enlivens a particular type of coffee culture, it is not mandatory for all coffee types. For example, it contrasts with the infusion method, where hot water is poured over the coffee grounds without boiling them directly in the same vessel, followed by straining. (Grégoire, 1989, p.48)

She explains that from decoction several other methods emerged other than infusion, filtration and percolations were started to be used and another method called *du Belloy method* which was very similar to filtration appeared in France in 1790. Grégoire also mentions that the percolation method has evolved. “The percolation method later evolved, exclusively using steam pressure for coffee preparation”. However, Grégoire has more to tell about decoction technique she tells us that decoction was widely seen in countries of the Middle East and how they make *qishr* beverages through decoction: “Arabs of Yemen roast either the beans or the husks very lightly, take only small quantities, and boil them in a large pot with water. This liquid, once filtered and sun-dried, constitutes the product commonly referred to as “*qishr*” (Grégoire, 1989 p.48). The vessel in which *qishr* is prepared was called *dammas*. Grégoire tells us about the traditional fireplaces (*ocaq*, *kanûn* often in pottery), *mowqod* (Yemen) *kuar* (Saudi Arabia, in metal). According to her, in urban environments in Turkish lands, there is a fireplace (*kahve ocağı*) for coffee stoves with boiling water and coffee ready to be served. This also serves as a gathering place. (Grégoire, 1989, p.49) What is meant here is the

type of coffee before “Turkish Coffee” as the coffee is not made and drunk immediately. Instead, the coffee extract is kept in a jug and served by adding boiling water when desired.

Grégoire explains *dalla*, a type of ewer used in Arabic speaking lands:

In 1901, Landberg noted that the term *dalla*, a copper coffee pot, was used across Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia to describe such an object. Euting, however, distinguished between *dalla* and *ibrik* (from Arabic for jug), which came in different sizes, each serving its unique purpose. These instruments are still found among Bedouins, each carrying their own from Arabia to Syria, as the *ibrik* is better suited for conserving the properties of the coffee. (Grégoire, 1989, p.50)

Euting says that in Arabia there was a series of *dalla* coffee pots of different sizes and different names. He says that the coffee made with these is better than Turkish coffee. There was a specific name for coffee prepared at every stage of preparation. In other words, in each stage the liquid inside has different names. The first stage’s liquid is called *sherbet*, the contents of the second stage coffee was named *kamir*. The third stage’s coffee was named *muphara*. The last one is *bikr*.

Different size containers are used after each other for a reason. While the coffee is transferred from one container to another, the grounds do not pass from one vessel to the other or only very little is transferred, due to the structure of the ewer. The purpose of this process is to get rid of the grounds and make coffee as clear as possible. (Grégoire, 1989 p.51) Using 18th century Egyptian records, Tuchscherer gives detailed information about the coffee objects with unique names corresponding presumably to different stages of coffee preparation. According to him there was a utensil named *gallaye tab* or *tabg*. There were others probably used for different purposes called *betta*, *beledi*, *telkim*, *misab*

or *misfa*. (Tuchscherer 1999, p.105). They seem to be ewers of different sizes and we can note that the *misab* is yet another name used for *rakwa* in the Urfa region of Turkey today (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KCrn3oxAe-w>). Here, we can also note that among the many coffee objects the *cezve* is not to be seen at that time in Cairo.

Hélène Desmet Grégoire gives importance to regional differences between her own country and its colonies or in foreign countries. Are the cultures of the two sides of the Mediterranean mixing with each other? There is a general Arab influence coming from outside. As she thinks that the Turks have their own cultural characteristics and Arabs also have a characteristic of their own, maybe she is thinking of a cultural union as the forms influence each other (Grégoire, 1989 p.58) Desmet Grégoire also maintains that the decoction method has been used with *cezve* as well. As coffee was not boiled for a long time in *cezves* this does not seem to be very suitable. Coffee was boiled over and over again in the larger ewers.

As to the form, the *cezve* came in many different shapes and sizes. There were open types but many of them may have a lid. There were *cezves* with straight long handles but it may have a folding handle making it suitable for people on the move such as soldiers and passengers. They were usually much smaller than the ewers but there are large ones as large as the ewers or even larger than them. The large ones used in the coffee houses may have wheels. The type of coffee cooked in *cezves* at least initially seems to be preferred in the rural areas. This is an important distinction. Making coffee in a *güğüm* or ewer is very detailed and, more importantly, it is a more time-consuming process. It requires at least a few hours to prepare. More importantly, making coffee this way requires a built-in setup, a fully equipped kitchen, as well as a coffee stove and plenty of coffee pots as coffee was transferred from one utensil to the other in the preparation

process. Cezve on the other hand, is a tool used to cook coffee in a very short time even on a makeshift fire outdoors.

The increasing spread of coffee consumption in society and its use outside the cities may have led to the emergence of the type we call Turkish coffee and together with the rise of the container used to brew this coffee and the coffee brewing method. Nomads, villagers working outdoors, soldiers on the move, travelers, caravanners and pilgrims may have preferred the Turkish Coffee, which is prepared very quickly. The most suitable vessel for this is the coffee pot that we call (*cezve*).

While Desmet Grégoire follows a holistic method in her work, she studies different coffee items and studies the places to which these items are connected. Grégoire under a sub title called *Final Section (Turkish Coffee Distinction)* writes: “In order to avoid overly general categorizations, the Turkish example provides an illustrative framework. It reflects a transition in utensil design from Ottoman times to contemporary Mediterranean tastes. The influence of Ottoman culture, particularly within its territories, allowed for significant overlap with local coffee utensils.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.58)

Grégoire writes about *cezve*, “the *cezve* is dedicated solely to “cooking” coffee and for coffee ewer she says, “*kahve ibriği*, is used to keep the coffee warm and to serve it.” She differentiates the roles of the two brewing vessels very clearly. (Grégoire, 1989 p.58) Yet she further explains the coffee pot of the *cezve* type in these words: “Making this coffee pot a simple cooking utensil - rough, confined to the kitchen - results in a limited perspective on its use. In fact, while it is made to be placed on the fire, it is also a container that acts as a measuring device, with its size and the number of cups it serves tailored to individual needs. Finally, it is also a service vessel.” (Grégoire, 1989 p.61)

She offers further information on the coffee pot (*cezve*) and more importantly establishes the relationship between the type of the coffee pot and the kind of coffee prepared in it:

Actually, the *cezve*-type coffee pot is associated with a specific type of beverage. It corresponds to a particular preparation method, a specific consumption method, and a distinct flavor that develops during the specific time between preparation and tasting. The preparation time must remain brief (...) One can observe that “coffee stoves” (*kahve ocakları*), as they were called in the 19th century, were installed near guests, where coffee was prepared and served quickly.

It seems that in this part, where she describes *cezve*, she is also describing exactly the Turkish coffee without explicitly stating its name. The final product described here seems to be Turkish coffee indeed.

As to the geographical distribution of the *cezve*, she has this to say: “The use of the *cezve* from Yemen to Tunisia and Yugoslavia undoubtedly reflects a broad adaptation of a preparation method borrowed from the Turks. However, it also became a banalized vessel, perfectly adapted to a specific type of drink that resulted in different coffees from one group to another.” (Grégoire, 1989 p.66) From here, we understand that the preparation method of the Turks played a role in the spread of a certain type of the coffee object, namely the *cezve*. Desmet Greogoire tells us about the Bosnian and Serbian-style coffee prepared in a coffee pot which was in the form of a truncated cone with a long spout and a copper handle. This is of course nothing but the *cezve*:

They measure an average of 9 centimeters in height and 8 centimeters in diameter at the base. Their capacity is 2.25 deciliters. If you use the *džezva* equivalent to a small coffee cup (*fildžan*), pour 6 times a teaspoon of sugar into the cold water in

the coffee pot, at the rate of one teaspoon per *fildžan*. These proportions will give you Bosnian-style coffee; less sugar would make it Serbian-style coffee. (Grégoire, 1989, p.69)

Clearly, she emphasizes the relationship between the form of the coffee pots and the kinds of coffee, which were made in the coffee pots.

Turan & Turan in their article make some observations. One notable observation they make is about Turkish Coffee. They think that Turkish coffee takes its name from how it is cooked and prepared or the way it was cooked. (Turan and Turan, 2011, p.111) Turan and Turan confined the material culture of coffee only to Turkish coffee. In this article, they give a great deal of information regarding the material culture of coffee and its coffee objects. They however lack information about specific kinds of coffee, which were in existence before Turkish coffee, and they never really posed the question when the Turkish coffee was drunk first. In other words, they were not interested in its emergence. They simply write that after coffee is turned into powder, the *cezve* comes into play. They claim, “The coffee pots are one of the most unique forms in the Turkish coffee system”, (Turan and Turan, 2011, p.115) It is appropriate and remarkable that they think the *cezve*’s form is important.

Turan and Turan proceed to define a certain form of the *cezve* coffee pot. This form is not only important for the physical qualities but also for functional qualities. Turan and Turan maintain that the biggest change from the 18th and 19th century is the material of *cezve* not the form. This claim disregards many important aspects of the *cezve*. The forms of the *cezve* of the 18th and 19th century in fact had many different forms; some of them closely resemble the coffee ewer, which Turan & Turan do not mention in their work. For them, there was a kind of *cezve* that survived until now. It was the open *cezve*,

which had no lid. This *cezve* kind was only one of the many other kinds of *cezves*. Here we may ask the question: why did this form specially survive until today's time and not the others? To be able to ask this question we first need to be aware of the multitude of the *cezve* types. Any kind of generalization is almost always fated to fail when it comes to the form of the *cezve*. Turan and Turan also state that the *cezves* had a capacity to serve one to six people. (Turan and Turan, 2011, pp.115-116) Even this statement needs further qualification. For example, in our family collection, there are much larger *cezves* not conforming to their specifications and the largest of them can serve up to thirty-six people. (See Appendix B)

Harun Kaygan in his article tackles the problem of material semiotics of form giving of the objects and quotes from modern designers to show examples of their approach. The designed object is none other than the electric coffee pot that takes its form after Ottoman models. Many designers were of the opinion that the traditional, hand produced Ottoman *cezves* had a curvilinear form. Even though the designers' approach feels a bit awkward, there is still important material to discuss in this article. The concept of curvilinearity has a central place in this article. Was it as indispensable as it seems? Furthermore, were all Ottoman *cezves* curvilinear? When we study the shape of the surviving coffee pots today, we see that they have invariably different forms and some of them do not display curvilinearity whereas some of them do indeed have this peculiarity.

Kaygan notes that the designers in general, not only in Turkey, attribute national characteristics to various physical forms. For example German design is rational, Italian design is playful and Japanese is austere. Just like these, curvilinearity represents Turkishness. (Kaygan, 2016, p.91) Kaygan quotes from a designer "This product is 600 years old. And it has ended up with such forms as a result of several centuries of

experience. We cook [the coffee] on the brazier, we cook it slowly. It needs to be frothy. They've discovered that, in order for [the coffee] to be frothy, and to preserve the heat, [the pot] requires a narrowing neck." (Kaygan, 2016, p.83). Commenting on this statement by an anonymous designer, Kaygan observes, "The curve has evolved with and as a response to requirements of the coffee making process; therefore, it is not a mere formal element, a curve signifying turkishness, but a functional element the efficacy of which is justified by its history" (Kaygan, 2016, p.83). Here the designer points out to the coffee making process, the preparation of the coffee and how it was essential to have a physical form to answer the needs of Turkish coffee making. Indeed, the described form was closely aligned with the function of the coffee pot. There are of course bits and pieces of anachronism in the statement by this designer. For example, the first coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire dates back to 1554 which means even if the coffee drunk at that time was the coffee which had grounds and froth that characterised the Turkish coffee, it could not still have existed for 600 years.

There is one more thing to mention, the nationality attributed to the forms, at least for *cezve*, was not always precise. Since some of the *cezves* did not have the curvilinear form or the curve can we say that some types of the *cezve* do not necessarily display Turkishness? Finally, the relation between the form of the coffee pot and the way the beverage is prepared is an important subject to discuss and think about for this thesis. During the course of my research, I have realised that the preparation method was more important than I thought it was. That is why I think that the form might have adapted or evolved according to the preparation methods.

Nihal Bursa in her article *İbrikten Cezveye Türk Kahvesi* asks several questions about the emergence of Turkish coffee. For example, since when do we call it Turkish

coffee, using the Turkish adjective in front of the word coffee? She then proceeds to ask another question right after this one. This time, Bursa asks if Turkish coffee had existed since coffee was first drunk in the Ottoman lands. Then she raises the question whether the preparation technique of Turkish Coffee and the form of coffee objects was related and how they mutually affect each other in an historical process. (Bursa, 2014, p.108)

Bursa writes on the rich material culture of coffee objects in a comprehensive way. Only one of these objects is closely related to Turkish coffee; the brewing vessel, *cezve*, among all the other coffee objects is especially important. Turkish coffee has a certain preparation and cooking method, and Bursa asks how far we can go back in time by tracing the *cezve*. From this short passage, we do understand that Bursa connects coffee objects and the preparation methods with each other. Therefore, we have to take both the form and the preparation method into account while tracing Turkish Coffee. A question comes to mind: how would we discern a *cezve*? When going further back in time, the number of different forms of the coffee pots increase and at least some of the *cezves* resemble the coffee ewer “*ibrik*”. We can speak of a time where all three forms coexisted together, the ewer, the “intermediate forms”, and the *cezve*. Bursa, in an effort to establish the right chronological order involving these objects, thinks that the ewer came first, lidded and big spouted *cezves* came second and the open *cezve* was the last. Therefore, if we accept this rough chronology it becomes clear that lidded and big spouted *cezves* were intermediate forms between the ewer and open *cezves*. However, Bursa warns that the emergence and development of a new form may not be linear (Bursa 2014, p.120)

So, in tracing “Turkish coffee”, we need to determine which form of the brewing vessel was used to make it. In theory, it has to be a “*cezve*” and not an *ibrik*. However, so many forms of the *cezve* existed. Which one was better suited to make Turkish coffee?

We can say that at the end only a certain, single type of *cezve* out of the many forms had survived: This is of course the fully open *cezve* without a lid, still used in making Turkish coffee. Therefore, it is safe and quite logical to assume that the open *cezve* was the one better suited to produce Turkish coffee. Nevertheless, when we are trying to see how far back we can go in tracing Turkish coffee we may not automatically be able to ignore other *cezve* types, which were closer to the “intermediate forms”.

Writing on the intermediate forms of coffee pots, Bursa tells us that it does not seem possible for us to make a clear determination at the moment of the change process that can be traced through the relationship between shape and cooking method. Especially so when we consider the fact that different types of coffee pots as well as two different kinds of coffee coexisted simultaneously. She mentions that Turkish coffee and the coffee made with ewer were drunk at the same time period. At first, it can be seen as a contradiction, but Bursa thinks that it reflects the diversity that exists. (Bursa, 2014, p.116)

Nihal Bursa In her article in *Bir Taşım Keyif* talks about Turkish coffee as a whole with its material culture. In Chapter 3, we have covered this part when we discussed the individual coffee objects. We saw processes of cooking coffee and the utensils used for each process, for example the cooling process and “*soğudan*”, the cooler. Nihal Bursa also talks about how the serving of the Turkish coffee becomes something similar to a ceremony. She explains that this ceremonial aspect of Turkish coffee and the whole process of consuming the beverage became something different altogether in the Ottoman Empire and must be studied separately. Just like in her article in 2014, she also tries to trace the origins or the first emergence of Turkish coffee and makes several quotes from several European authors. She starts her article in *Bir Taşım Keyif* by describing the

Turkish coffee as having plenty of froth and grounds. She points out that Turkish coffee because of its preparation process was different from other coffee types. Turkish coffee had particular characteristics. It is interesting how Alfred-Stanislas Langlois Des Essarts (1811-93) in his book *L'Univers Illustré Géographie Vivante* draws people from different nations and races. He chooses to draw an Ottoman while he is drinking coffee. (Bursa, 2015, p.241) It is interesting because this indicates that in European eyes coffee produces a strong image that is etched to Ottoman people.

Nihal Bursa describes the preparation of Turkish coffee: “Coffee is drunk fresh, properly and without waiting. Beans equal to the amount of coffee to be consumed are roasted, cooled, ground and cooked in a separate coffee pot according to sugar preference. Immediately afterwards, it is divided into cups and served.” (Bursa, 2015, p.247) Bursa mentions Du Loir a French traveler who in his travel account mentions that the coffee, which he describes as a red water, is delicious and has a slightly smoky smell. Bursa asks the question if the coffee mentioned by Du Loir could have been roasted in the kinds of the roaster that Thévenot talks about. She also mentions Bobovius who was employed in the Topkapı Palace close in time to Du Loir’s travel account’s publication date. Because of the colour of this coffee and the date, one might think that it was *qishr* coffee, the coffee that was made from the husk of the coffee fruit and not from the coffee beans. Bursa quotes from D'Ohsson, “To cook ground coffee, while the water in the tin pot begins to boil, and five or six spoons of coffee are added with a small coffee spoon. After this, it is necessary to be careful to remove it from the fire as it foams and swells. When the water and coffee are completely combined as a result of foaming and swelling, the coffee is cooked.” She thinks that this coffee was coffee prepared in coffee ewer. She comes to this conclusion because the coffee is repeatedly boiled. However, the process of

adding cold water to boiled coffee mentioned in other accounts and boiling it again is absent in D'Ohsson's account. (Bursa, 2015, p.263)

Bursa includes the narration of Polish missionary Krusinski right after commenting on D'Ohsson. Here Krusinski gives priority to having high quality water; he says that Turks weigh water and choose the light one. What one must do is to boil the water anyway. After this part, Krusinski mentions the coffee preparation method. "When the water in the ewer starts to bubble, pour one third of it in. When it starts to foam in fine beads, cover it and pour cold water over the ewer or put it in cold water and add a piece of sugar so that the grounds settle to the bottom." Bursa quickly notes that although Krusinski names this coffee as "Turkish Coffee", this coffee boiled in the ewer does not resemble the Turkish coffee of today at all. (Bursa, 2015, p.264)

The shape of the brewing vessel could be a sign for us to determine what type of coffee was cooked in them. Bursa describes the coffee ewer: "Ewer has an ideal shape for foam-free and grounds-free coffee prepared by repeated boiling. The wide, spherical bottom part that houses the coffee liquid allows this vertical container to remain balanced on the glowing fire bed." (Bursa, 2015, p.264) Nihal Bursa comments that the *cezve*'s characteristics of form provides the best conditions for cooking Turkish Coffee in an ideal manner. She writes, "The coffee powder and water mix should never be boiled extensively. Therefore, the cooking process needs to be closely monitored right from the beginning. In this sense, *cezve* as opposed to ewer enables us to see its contents and facilitates our taking the coffee off the fire when it begins to be frothy before it reaches the boiling point at 80-95 degrees " (Bursa 2015, p.266). It is clear from this passage that what Bursa has in mind is only the open type when she talks of the *cezve*, as lidded *cezves* would not suit to this description. More importantly, could we say that Turkish

Coffee as is understood today could not be cooked in the lidded type *cezves*? If such was the case, what kind of coffee was brewed in the lidded type of the *cezves*? This point needs further clarification and research that involves actual experiments.

Raşit Koçak in his article in *Kahve Yanında Bir Lokum* examines brewing vessels in a peculiar way. He talks about different types of brewing vessels in which different types of coffee were made. In addition, he attempts to introduce them in a chronological order. His “periods” in cooking coffee are as follows: “The Cauldron Period” (*Kazan/Bakraç Dönemi*), “Coffee Ewer Period” (*Kahve İbriği Dönemi*) and “The Cezve Period” (*Cezve Dönemi*). (Koçak, 2017, pp.53-70). As can be seen, each of his periods corresponds with a different cooking vessel, implying that the coffee prepared in them would be different too. We understand that in the cauldron period the beverage cooked was not a coffee with grounds and froth. Furthermore, in this part he speaks about a beverage called “*Kışır*”. We mentioned *Kışır* coffee earlier in this work. *Kışır* was made of not the coffee bean but of the dried husk of the coffee fruit and was a very different beverage altogether. In Sharia court records, in the first quarter of the 17th century, to be exact in 1606/1607, I came across a document where this *Kışır* beverage was mentioned 4 times. (Galata Mahkemesi 2019 p. 59) So, we know that *Kışır* beverage was drunk just as Koçak mentions. Eşref Temel who wrote on the Istanbul Tahmishane also mentions *bun* and *kışır*: "As it is known, the fruit of the coffee plant has generally been referred to by the term *bun*. This term has been used to denote the entire fruit but is often specifically employed to refer to the seed kernel, distinguishing it from the outer husks, which are called *kışır*. In this context, it is understood that, at the end of the 16th century, several types of tax about coffee (as *Bun and Kışır Mukataa*, *Kahveler Mukataa*, and *Tahmis Mukataa*) were in operation. It can be inferred that in the 1590s, the *Kahveler* and *Tahmis*

Mukataa were merged under the name *Tahmis-i Kahve Mukataa*, and that, by the early 1600s, the *Bun and Kışır Mukataa* evolved into the *Rüsum-ı Kahve Mukataa*." (Istanbul Tahmishane (1590–1836), Eşref, p. 376, 2021.) As this excerpt indicates, records related to *kışır* are also found in earlier periods.

Koçak tells us that although Mustafa Ali of Gelibolu and İbrahim Efendi of Peçuy wrote about the introduction of coffee to Istanbul, they did not offer information as to how coffee was cooked and in what types of utensils. (Koçak, 2017, p.53) But, we do know from Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali that cauldrons were clearly used. (Câmi‘u’-*Buhûr Der Mecâlis-i Sûr* pp.186-187). Indeed, at the end of the article Koçak himself quotes from Thévenot and Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali that cauldrons were used. According to Koçak, the coffee which was prepared in cauldrons were the *qishr* coffee (Koçak, 2017, p.57).

When he discusses the coffee ewer period Koçak proceeds to quote from European authors of that time. Robert Mantran quotes from Le Boullaye Le Gouz, “To hold coffee a leather bag and for cooking a *cezve* was used”. However, the word *cezve* was used in Mantran’s Turkish translation only and Koçak here corrects that the coffee utensil in this quote was probably a small coffee ewer (*kahve ibriği*) and not a *cezve*. This reinforces his theory of coffee brewing vessels and that each of the vessels were used in certain periods. Here Koçak points out that *cezve* cannot be used in such a period. Koçak quotes the circumcision ceremony that has been held for Sultan Mehmed the fourth’s sons and for the wedding ceremony for his daughter Hatice Sultan in 1675, as there are a lot of *kahve ibriği* (coffee ewer) within the gifts. For example “*Eflak Beginden Sim kahve ibriği; Beş*” It shows the amount of ewers and points out that it is made out of silver. There are also coffee ewers in personal gifts given to his daughter by Mehmed the fourth. “*Altun kahve ibriği ma’a stil: Bir.*” Here we understand the Sultan gifted a golden coffee ewer

to his daughter. Even though we have given two examples of coffee ewer gifts here, many coffee ewers were gifted and is an important passage for material culture of coffee. (Koçak, 2017, pp.63-64)

Koçak quotes from French traveler Jean Thévenot the process of preparing coffee with coffee ewer. In this work, we have quotes from Thevenot while studying ewer so I will not be repeating the quotation here.

In the “Cezve Period” part of his work, Koçak cites from Ignatius Mouradghea D’Ohhson that Moka coffee was preferred since it could be prepared faster. He then explains after the roasting process the mortar was being used, he gives examples of several different materials for mentioned mortar including marble and wood. After this part, he explains how the Turkish coffee was made. According to D’ohhson coffee was better liked when it was fresh and the Turks consumed coffee while it was hot in a simple manner without adding anything to it including cream and sugar. It is an interesting remark by D’ohhson since we do know that Turkish coffee could be drunk with sugar if someone desired it. We may think that the 18th century was still an early date for sugar usage and it became trendy in the later years. (Koçak, 2017, p.70) After citing from D’Ohhson Koçak quotes from H.A.Ubicini from his *1855’te Türkiye (Turkey in 1855)* travel account. Ubicini describes how Turkish coffee was made:

“They put it in a mortar and crush it with a pestle or a stone until it becomes powder. Then they sieve it, put it in boiling water, and cook it. When the coffee rises, they remove the utensil from the fire and repeat again after a few seconds. This process is repeated two to three times. They hit the coffee pot every time so that the coffee grounds sink to the bottom. After that they pour the coffee into the cup.” (Koçak, 2017, p.74)

Koçak's work about coffee brewing vessels is an important contribution to the literature and a good source for this thesis since we are interested in forms of coffee brewing vessels and its relevance to the emergence of Turkish coffee. In *Kahve Yanında Bir Lokum* Raşit Koçak talks about his collection and shares visual sources from his collection, which are valuable for the material culture of coffee. Although Koçak never tackles the question of the emergence of Turkish coffee as such, he does not even mention the "Turkish coffee" as a specific kind or even as a phrase, he is clearly aware of the differences in the types of coffee prepared in different utensils. When he discusses the cauldron or saucers as the coffee utensils of the 16th century, he says, "It seems that it was impossible to cook a frothy coffee as we understand today in this type of utensils." (Koçak, 2017, p.49). Likewise, on the coffee made in *ibrik* he observes: "Because of the fact that coffee was cooked by boiling in a big ewer and then it was transferred to a smaller *ibrik* for service, it seems impossible to drink a frothy coffee as we understand today made in *ibrik*" (Koçak, 2017, pp.49-50). As to the *cezve* Koçak has this to say: "Because of the small size of the *cezve*, coffee could be cooked in a controlled manner, therefore it was suitable for cooking a frothy coffee." (Koçak, 2017, p.51) As can be seen, Koçak does not use the phrase Turkish coffee directly, but his focus is on one of the most important features of the Turkish coffee, namely frothiness. As the *cezve* was the only type of the coffee pot in which "frothy" coffee could be cooked, it becomes clear that for Turkish Coffee one needed to use a *cezve*.

Koçak believed the *cezve* was started to be used in the last quarter of the 18th century. He says that thanks to *cezve*, coffee cooking spread to even the ordinary homesteads. It was also a very suitable cooking utensil for the mobile coffee peddlers and as such, it caused an explosion in the use of coffee drinking. The *cezves* were produced

from tinned copper, brass and silver in varying sizes. Koçak emphasizes that the lidded ones were used to cook coffee under unfavorable situations to prevent ash or dust from entering the beverage and for convenience of storing, *cezves* with foldable handles were produced. (Koçak, 2017, p.51)

There can be no doubt that lidded *cezves* could keep the coffee safe from ash or dust, but can we also say that a “frothy” coffee could be made in them? As we have pointed out above, the question of lidded *cezves* needs to be further investigated. Suffice it, for now, to say that the lid could also serve the purpose of keeping the coffee warm after cooking, especially after the first serving. Here we should note that economic concerns must also have played a role in the widespread diffusion of objects produced with cheap material. For example, Grégoire, although admittedly not writing on *cezves* offers us another example involving cheap material when she comments: “In lower social strata, coffee encouraged the creation of simpler and more utilitarian objects, which gradually spread to rural areas where artisans utilized local materials. For example, metal cups used in the streets of Istanbul or Marseille showcased the economic constraints that limited artisan creativity, making such objects uniform and similar to one another.” (Grégoire, 1989, p.15)

So far, we have seen that many researchers share the same idea that the *cezve* came into use in the second half of the 18th century. The implication is that Turkish coffee, as a distinctive type, could not be encountered before that time. This last point aside, a 19th century Ottoman court record may lend support to the view that the *cezve* was indeed started to be used sometime in the 18th century. In 1841-42, a dispute involving several groups of artisans, namely the *cezve* makers (*cezveci*) and the polishers (*çarhçı*) and the coppersmiths was recorded in the sharia court records. The *cezve* makers who were

located near Süleymaniye mosque in Döğmeciler (Dökmeciler) applied to the court. Complaining that the polishers who were located at the Han-ı Kebir in Çakmakçılar interfered with their work. The polisher group used to do their work with copper ware and wanted to get payment to do the polishing work for the *cezveciler* artisanal group as well. As the polishers were with the coppersmiths, they were represented in the court by the warden and the *yiğitbaşı* of the coppersmiths' guild. The *cezve*-makers were claiming that they did everything related to their products by themselves including the polishing since the very beginning. Interestingly, the coppersmiths and the polishers had in their possession an old imperial decree dated 16 Zilkade 1195 / 3 November 1781 that gave a monopoly for them for polishing in a large area; it was their right to do the polishing work in those lands, which were in and around the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles Straits. However, the decision of the court was positive for the *cezve*-makers pointing out that the old decree was not worthy of attention (*şayan-ı iltifat*). We should note that all the *cezve* makers were Christians, mainly Armenians whereas the polishers and coppersmiths were a mixed group.

The *cezve*-makers were most likely a newly formed artisanal group; otherwise, they too would have been under the control of the coppersmiths' guild and as they would be subject to the internal regulations of this guild like the polishers, no problem would have arisen. The court simply ignored the old edict since they thought that it should not apply to this newly formed group. It is stated explicitly in the document that the *cezve*-makers used “brass tin” (*sarı teneke*) to produce the *cezves*, *ibriks* and other utensils. This might be the reason why the *cezve*-makers were not placed within the coppersmiths' guild as they worked with a different material. In any case, the court decided that they had freedom of action in their occupation and should not be dependent on others. The real

important aspect is that the *cezve* makers as an artisanal group were probably established after 1781, sometime between 1781, the year of the edict and 1824 (the earliest example of a *cezve* I was able to locate). If we recall the gravestone in Kayseri the *cezve* motif was dated back to 1772, the time frame for the emergence of the *cezve* coffee pot after 1781 onwards, looks highly likely and accurate. It seems that the *cezve*, at least initially, was an object of the provinces and of the countryside and it took some time for the *cezve*-makers to organise themselves as an artisanal group in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. (İstanbul Mahkemesi 2019 p.83)

4.2 Coffee Objects in Visual Sources

Visual sources, miniatures, engravings, paintings and drawings related to coffee, coffeehouses and coffee culture in general are quite rich as far as the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East are concerned. In this section, I do not have an intention to reproduce and discuss every visual material concerning coffee and coffee culture in the Ottoman Empire. My emphasis is naturally on the coffee objects as depicted in the visual sources, especially the coffee pots. While discussing them I will be also looking for answers to some of the important questions I have risen in this thesis. For example, can we find any clues as to when the *cezve* began to be used? Can we find any evidence about the methods of preparing coffee? What about the type of coffee drunk?

4.2.1 Ottoman Coffeehouses as Depicted in the 16th Century Miniatures

Tülün Değirmenci in her article “*Kahve bahane, kahvehane şahane: Bir Osmanlı kahvehanesinin “portresi”* [Coffee is an Excuse, Coffeehouse is Marvelous: The Portrait of an Ottoman Coffeehouse] (Değirmenci, 2015) concentrates on two Ottoman miniatures which show coffeehouses and the people inside them. She is mostly interested in the

social sphere of these coffee houses, how they looked, and how people interacted with each other, what was their dress like and not specifically in the material culture of coffee although she makes mention to some coffee objects like the cups without handles. However, we can approach these visual sources in a different way, for our own purposes.

The first of these two miniatures is part of an album preserved in Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL MS T439.9) and is most probably a representation of the first ever Ottoman Coffeehouse opened in Tahtakale in the 1550s according to Değirmenci (Değirmenci, 2015, p.123). There are several Ottomans shown as engaged in a number of activities such as reciting poetry and playing backgammon, they are holding large but handleless cups. In this miniature, we see in a separate space in one corner of the coffeehouse the actual place (*ocak*) in which coffee was prepared. Here, a young person in a yellow shirt, red belt and a dark blue apron fills a cup with coffee. There are large Chinese cups without handles and without *zarfs* on a shelf as well as on the stove itself. However, there is no open fire to be seen anywhere. The “stove” is a cubic structure covered with tiles. There are large, circular openings on the stove. The coffee-maker is shown filling a cup he is holding in his right hand with the help of a ladle in his left hand. When we enlarge the miniature as much as we can, we can even see coffee being poured from the ladle. We can even differentiate the colour of coffee and that of the ladle. On the strength of this observation alone, it is difficult to determine the type of coffee itself. However, the size of cups without handles may be of help at this point. They are too large to be cups for a *murra* type strong coffee. Apart from that, we do not see any ewers, neither of *gügüm* or *dalle* type in which coffee was prepared in this stove area. Indeed, what type of utensils were used to make coffee? Where are they in this miniature? It seems that the

coffee-maker (*kahveci*) takes coffee from one of the openings of the stove. Could they be coffee cauldrons concealed within the cubic stove with tiles? (see Figure 4.1)

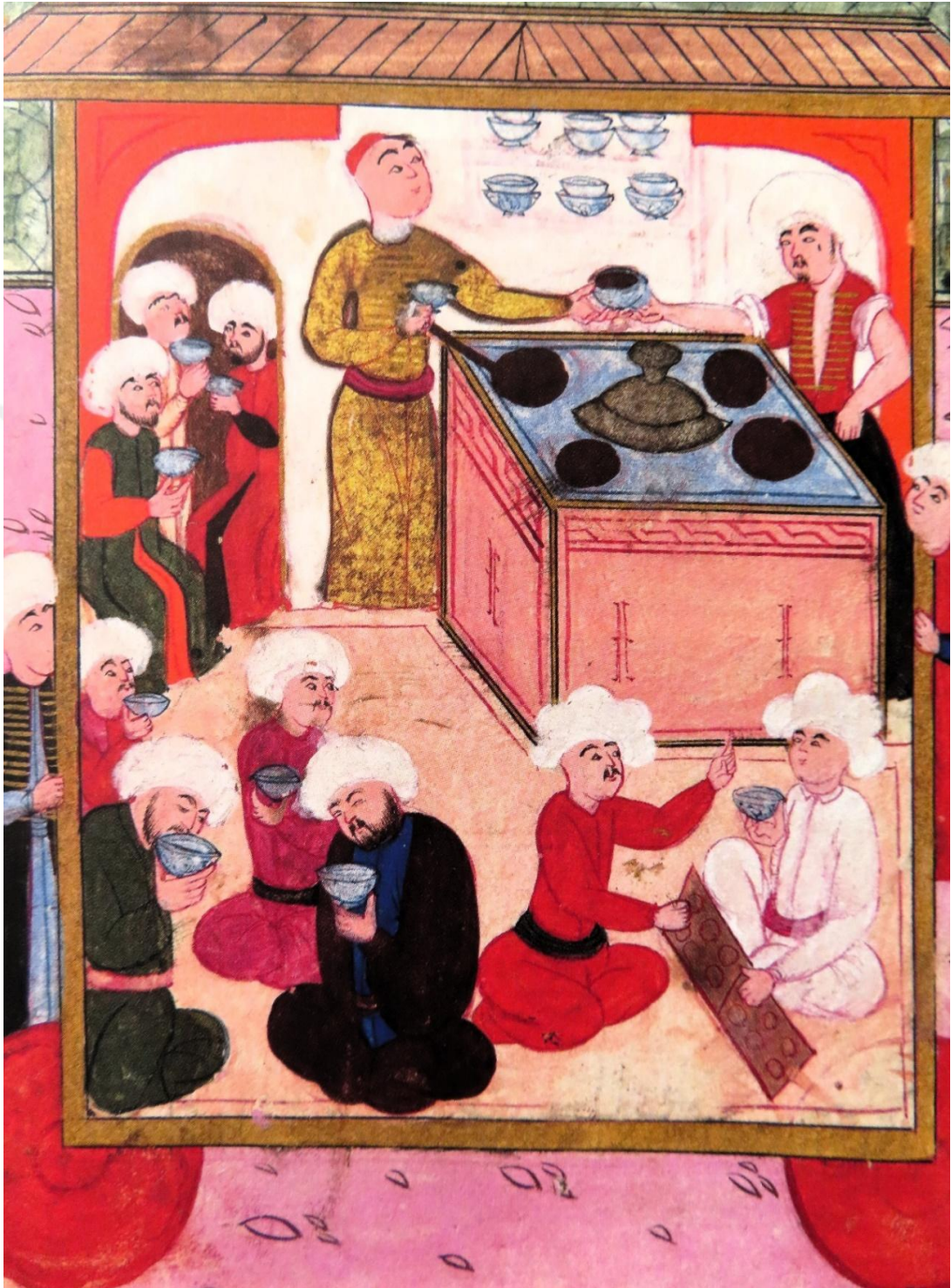
Figure 4.1 Ottoman Coffeehouse. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL MS T439.9)



A second miniature is part of a *sûrnâme*, kept in the Topkapı Palace Library (TSMK H.1344) and also discussed by Değirmenci. It shows a small mock coffeehouse that was placed on the wheels and used in the parade before the Sultan Murad III during the circumcision ceremonies for his prince Mehmed in 1582. A large selection of miniatures from this *sûrnâme* is published by Nurhan Atasoy. (Atasoy, 1997) However, the mock coffeehouse on the wheels is not reproduced in full-page size here but given only as an icon. Therefore, we use its image as published by Değirmenci. This miniature can help us to understand the first one. Here, the coffee stove is again a tiled structure in one corner of the coffeehouse. There are two people near it, one of them, the one with a big head dress, presumably the coffee-maker, is giving a full cup of coffee to another younger figure who is holding yet another coffee cup in his right hand, presumably the waiter.

In this miniature, no open fire is seen in the stove area either. The stove, just like the other miniature, has four openings one of which has a ladle in it. However, there is a big difference, a metallic object much like the lid of a brazier is placed in the center of the stove. We do not see any coffee utensils around like ewers, *cezves*, or serving vessels. We only see cups without handles, the stove with four openings and a ladle in one of them. Could be the “openings” mouths of the coffee cauldrons? Moreover, could be the half seen object a brazier used to keep the coffee in the cauldrons hot? Luckily, as noted by Değirmenci, we have very important written evidence from the Ottoman author Mustafa Ali to support this reconstruction. (see Figure 4.2)

Figure 4.2 Ottoman Coffehouse. Topkapı Palace Library (TSMK H.1344)



Mustafa Ali in *Câmi'ü'-Buhûr Der Mecâlis-i Sûr* [The Gathering of Seas [or Meters] on the Scenes of the Celebration]) tells the whole story behind the show of the

coffee-makers (Öztekin, 1996, pp.186-187) According to this, the coffee-makers prepared a small coffeehouse on the wheels and as part of the procession came near the Sultan. The coffeehouse was an ornamented one complete with coffee-makers, stove and the customers, some of them reciting poetry while drinking their coffee. Nothing was missing, coffee was boiling in the cauldrons, and the brazier (*âteşdân*) kept them hot. Suddenly, this scenery is disrupted, officers (*yasakçı*) raided the coffeehouse, the coffee-makers escaped, the coffee drinkers remained, the cups were broken and cauldrons were emptied. (*Kahveciler kaçdı kaldı kahve-nûş/ Sındı fincânlar kazanlar kaldı boş*). The whole affair was of course staged. The coffeehouse owners and coffee-makers made a point before the Sultan and complained about their sufferings in the hands of the officers. Sultan Murad favored their complaint and accepted their wishes.

From this episode, we learn not only that there was a coffee ban at the time in 1582 but we also learn that in the coffeehouses coffee was prepared in cauldrons and kept hot by the help of a brazier (*âteşdân*). This is a picture consistent with Raşit Koçak's periodisation of coffee making vessels as we have discussed above (see p.106). Although Değirmenci did not mention or concern with the kind of coffee offered in these coffeehouses, in all likelihood it was either *kışr* coffee or a diluted version of black coffee made out of the coffee beans. In any case, it could not be *mirra*, nor could it be Turkish coffee. *Mirra* was not consumed in large cups; Turkish coffee could not be left boiling in a cauldron.

4.2.2 Coffee Objects According to Dufour

The French author Philippe Sylvestre Dufour wrote a book on the newly fashionable drinks of the world namely *Traitez nouveaux & curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate* in 1685. In the second edition of this work dated 1688 (Gallica 8-TC24-11 (A)),

one of the first engravings closely following the title shows a scenery in which three people enjoying their national drinks. The first one is an Ottoman drinking coffee, the second one is a Chinese person drinking tea and the third one is a Native American drinking chocolate. Both the Ottoman and the Chinese are holding large, Chinese cups, the Ottoman has a ewer by his side and the Chinese has a teapot on the table. The Native American is represented holding a fanciful cup with two handles. On the strength of this engraving, we can comment that by this time ewers, not cauldrons, were used to prepare coffee in the Ottoman lands. (see Figure 4.3)

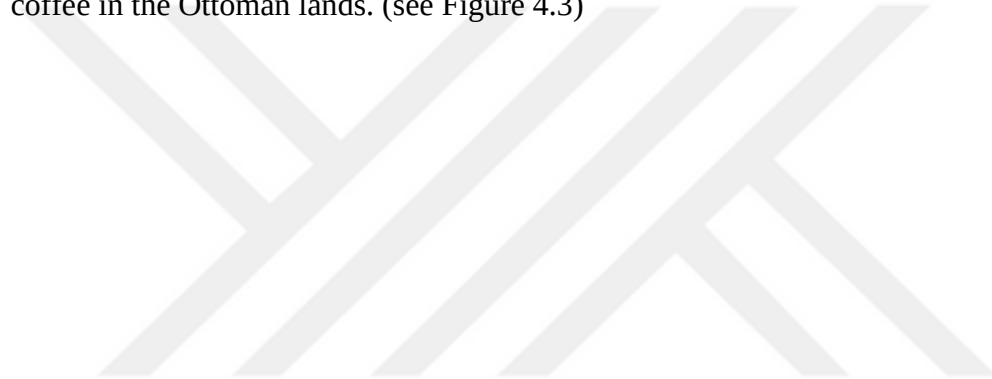


Figure 4.3 Ottoman, Chinese and Native American. Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux & curieux du café, du thé et du chocolat* 1688 (Gallica 8-TC24-11 (A))



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Another engraving accompanying the third edition of Dufour's work in 1693 (Gallica, 8-TC24-11 (B)) is richer in terms of the objects of Ottoman material culture of coffee. Here, we see an Ottoman sitting in crossed-legged fashion drinking a cup of coffee. The coffee cup is again a large one, most probably Chinese, without a handle and without a cup holder. The man has an *ibrik* by his side; it is not the Arabic type *dalle* but clearly a *güğü*. Moreover, it is named as such in the engraving and stated that it was used to make coffee (*Ibriq ou Pot Pour Faire cuire le Café*). There is also a branch of the coffee tree showing the leaves. However, another object also shown is controversial. It is explained as an instrument to roast coffee (*Instrument pour torrefier le Café*). It is in fact, like the closed type coffee roasters (*tanbur* or *dolap*). However, it has a much slimmer form reminiscent of a cylindrical handmill of coffee. Commenting on this instrument, Ralph Hattox thinks that this instrument is actually a coffee mill: "Already used in parts of the Near East in preference to the mortar and pestle, the mill pictured here closely resembles those still widely seen in Turkey today." (Hattox 1988, plate 3) If indeed such is the case, we have the earliest depiction of a cylindrical coffee mill in a visual source. Hattox seems to have been misled by this engraving in the third edition. However, in the second edition we do not have this engraving but another one without the Ottoman sitting but showing all the coffee objects (Gallica 8-TC24-11 (A)). In this version, the object has an axis protruding from the bottom indicating that it was indeed to be used to roast coffee. (see Figure 4.4)

Figure 4.4 Ottoman with Coffee Objects. Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux & curieux du café, du thé et du chocolat* 1693 (Gallica, 8-TC24-11 (B))



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

4.2.3 Vanmour and Turkish Coffee

Jean-Baptiste Vanmour was a French painter who lived in the Ottoman capital from 1699 until his death there in 1737, for almost four decades. He painted a great deal of subjects concerning the Ottomans, from the political events to social gatherings and covering all sorts of people (Seyhun and Pekin, 2003). Among the subjects he painted, we also have coffee related ones. Neşe Arda Onar, in fact, wrote a specific article entitled *Turkish Coffee in Jean-Baptiste Vanmour Paintings*. Onar remarks that Vanmour painted coffee related subjects on three occasions and points out that the coffee served on these occasions was Turkish coffee.

Considering that Vanmour painted in the early 18th century at a time when we do not have any evidence that Turkish coffee as we know today was consumed, this is an interesting claim. Discussing a painting entitled “A visit to a Turkish nursing woman” kept in the Rijksmuseum, Onar observes that “To serve coffee made on the brazier coals and consumed together with the grounds are a custom peculiar to the Turks only in the world” (Onar, 2017, p. 222). Turkish coffee is indeed served with the grounds and braziers, although not the only fire source used to make it, were often used for making Turkish coffee. When we study the painting, we see a large brazier placed on a metal tray and put directly on the carpet. However, the coffee utensil used is not a *cezve* but clearly a ewer of the *güğüüm* type. Therefore, it is safe to assume that no Turkish coffee was being prepared in this representation. In fact there are no cups and cupholders around and none of the visitors are shown drinking coffee. There is just another *ibrik* and a basin next to the brazier and a very large bowl. This *ibrik* is not the type used for coffee making but clearly used for washing. (Seyhun and Pekin, 2003, pp.220-221)

Vanmour painted a hundred pictures that served as models for engravings published in 1714 under the name *Recueil De Cent Estampes Representant Differentes Nations Du Levant*. One of the engravings in this book is also discussed by Onar and entitled “*Fille Turque prenant le Caffé sur le Sopha.*” Here a young woman together with a servant is depicted. The sitting woman has a largish cup without cupholders in her left hand and a small biscuit in her right hand. The attendant holds probably a ewer in her left hand and serves refreshments on a tray. (Vanmour 1714, plate 48) It is all we have concerning coffee in this engraving and although there is no hard evidence the coffee is likely not to be Turkish coffee. (see Figure 4.5)

Figure 4.5 Ottoman Lady, drinking coffee. (Vanmour, 1714) Plate 48



We are on firmer ground that the coffee consumed at the time was prepared in ewers when we look at another engraving in Vanmour's book (Vanmour, 1714, plate 56) which is not discussed by Onar. This engraving depicts a coffee seller in the streets. Here the coffee seller is shown pouring coffee from a ewer into a very large cup, placed within other cups of even larger sizes and held by him in his left hand. The coffee seller has a basket attached to his belly in which there are further cups and a rosewater sprinkler. What is quite enigmatic is a number of round and hollow objects carried by a piece of rope flung from his right shoulder. What are they? They must have something to do with the coffee service. Perhaps they were used instead of cupholders as stands for individual coffee cups. As to the coffee served itself, although there is nothing in the picture concerning making of the coffee itself, judging from the ewer as well as the size of the cups we can assume that it was not the Turkish coffee. They look to be too large for *mirra* as well. Probably, the coffee was either *Kışr* coffee or a coffee made out of the coffee beans but was not as intense as the *mirra*. (see Figure 4.6)

Figure 4.6 Coffee vendor (Vanmour, 1714), Plate. 56



4.2.4 Fenerci Mehmed and the Earliest Representation of the Cezve in the Visual Resources

Throughout this thesis, I strove to ascertain the exact time when the *cezve* was used. The visual resources are a very good source to find evidence towards this end. There are many depictions of the *cezve* in engravings, watercolours, drawings, paintings as well as photographs. Therefore, one has to be very selective to determine the earliest representation meaning that we can immediately eliminate the photographic evidence.

The earliest representation of a *cezve* and that in the hands of a coffee-maker, as far as I could see, is in the Album of Fenerci Mehmed. This is a gouache or watercolour

painting showing a young person in rich dress, carrying a tray in his left hand and a very small *cezve* in the other. On the tray, there are eleven upside down cups in their holders and another one standing up ready to be filled with coffee. There are also two other objects on the tray, one looks like a small spoon and the other is like a small saucer. The picture is signed on the right: “Mehmed”. The explanation in Ottoman reads “Vüzerây-ı İzâm Kahvecibaşısı.”(Coffee-maker in Chief of the Great Viziers). There is an explanation again in Ottoman at the beginning of the album, which gives the information that it was painted and organised by Fenerci Mehmed at Bayezid in the month of Muharrem in the year 1226. This corresponds to January-February 1811. (Fenerci Mehmed, 1986, p.31) (see Figure 4.7)

Figure 4.7 Coffee-maker in chief to the Great Vezirs, Fenerci Mehmed, 1811



This date is consistent with my findings from the other sources and proves beyond any doubt that the *cezve* was used by Ottomans in a coffee context in the early 19th century. Although the precise moment of cooking is not shown and the *cezve* is shown

only as a serving utensil, judging from the extremely small size of the *cezve* that the coffee served in it was also cooked in it. The *cezve*, of an open type, seems to be the smallest kind, sufficient to serve only one cup. Here we have a problem, if it serves only one cup why is the coffee-maker carrying the other eleven cups in his tray? If he serves more than one person why is that he does not use a larger *cezve*? As depicted, we have to think that, to serve more than one person the *kahveci* had to go back to the stove area to get yet another *cezve*. This possibly cannot be. Therefore, we can rule out the possibility that the *cezve* was used exclusively as a serving tool. The fact that only one cup is standing upright indicates that although he carries the other cups as well but upside down, there was one person to serve at the time and the smallest size *cezve* was enough for this purpose. It seems that it was somewhat customary in Ottoman coffee service to keep the unused cups upside down, as we shall see shortly when we discuss Melling's engravings. The purpose is obvious enough, to prevent any dirt or dust from entering the cup as well as enabling the cups a better, more balanced stand, as the mouths were much wider than the cupholders' narrow bottom.

4.2.5 Camille Rogier's Lithographs

Our two other examples from a relatively early date come from two lithographic illustrations by Camille Rogier. Rogier was one of the early French orientalist who spent some time in the Ottoman Empire. He published his lithographic album called *La Turquie* in 1846 (Peltre, *Orientalism*, p.28). In one of these illustrations, a coffee-maker, in a coffeehouse in Üsküdar at the head of a brazier is pouring coffee from an open type small *cezve* into a cup with a cupholder. Two customers are sitting on a bench; they seem to be waiting to be served. However, there is only one cup held by *kahveci* and therefore the service is for one of them only. This way of serving guarantees that the customer,

individually served, gets his full cup of coffee always in the same consistency, for example, the foam does not have to be shared among multiple cups. It is important to note that here, we can be sure that the *cezve* was not only a serving tool but coffee was indeed prepared in it. (see Figure 4.8)

Figure 4.8 *Coffeehouse in Üsküdar. (Camille Rogier, 1846). Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve, p.50*



In another illustration by Rogier, most probably depicting the same coffeehouse, we see a customer sitting on a stone bench and sipping coffee from a small cup, which has no handle and perhaps with a cupholder. Although Rogier's album is dated 1846, the scenes belong to the 1830s when he was in the Ottoman Empire. (see Figure 4.9)

Figure 4.9 *Coffehouse in Üsküdar. (Camille Rogier, 1846). Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve, p.64)*



4.2.6 The Coffehouse in Tophane According to Melling and Coffee Service in Hatice Sultan's Palace

The French author and architect Antoine Ignace Melling who had been to the Ottoman Empire for long years had published his renowned account called *Voyage Pittoresque de Constantinople et Des Rives du Bosphore* in 1819. However, the very detailed engravings of this famous travel account reflects the state of affairs in the Ottoman Empire before 1807 when he had to return to France after the deposition of his patron Selim III. (Benatar, 2012) One of the engravings is a double page representation of one of the largest and richest coffeehouses in Tophane. The coffehouse has a separate

place for the coffee stove, and then there is a slightly raised wooden platform in the middle of which there is a large, octagonal fountain. The coffeehouse has all glass windows on two sides overlooking the Topkapı Palace and the Marmara Sea as well as the Golden Horn. The customers sit on comfortable and raised sofas all round the platform that served as some sort of a courtyard. The customers are being served coffee and smoke their long pipes or hookahs.

This engraving is often reproduced in coffee related literature on the Ottoman Empire. Our emphasis will be on the stove or the kitchen area and how coffee was served. The stove is a two storied one on top of which there is a fire between two bricks. A ewer of the *güğüm* type is on the fire and the coffee-maker is using a bellows to make it stronger. There are many other similar ewers varying in size and hanging from hooks on the wall. Some of them are either standing on the stove and some others are in fact standing on a rim of the stove's chimney. There are also a great number of cups together with their *zarf* placed upside down in the shelves around the stove. A waiter carries a small *güğüm* or *kahvedan* in one hand and a cup together with its cup holder in the other, taking them to a customer. Another waiter on the platform has a number of upside down cups in their holders on a tray. Some of the customers are shown sipping their coffee from these small cups. (see Figure 4.10)

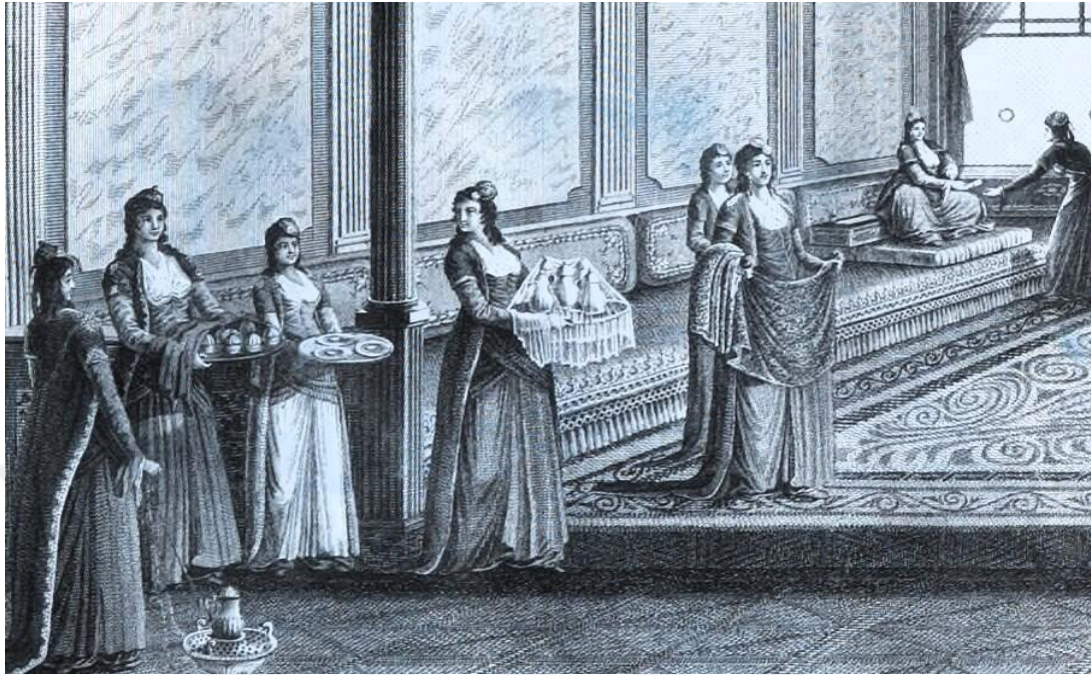
Figure 4.10 *Coffehouse at Tophane. (Melling, 1819)*



No *cezves* are to be seen in this engraving, neither on the stove and around it nor in the hands of the waiters. Therefore, we can argue that no quick, Turkish coffee was served in this coffeehouse at the beginning of the 19th century. The fact that ewers of several sizes were shown might indicate that they were used in coffeemaking. This could be a *mirra* type coffee. Judging from the size of the cups only, we can point out to the fact that they still seem to be too large for *mirra*, even for Turkish coffee. However, the fact that they have cupholders can indicate that, in real life, they were actually smaller than their representation in the engraving as truly large cups did not have cupholders.

Another engraving in Melling's work shows the interior of a very large sitting room in the Palace of Hatice Sultan, sister to Selim III. This room seems to be a reception room and the occasion engraved depicts a coffee service in this room. The room itself is quite like the interior of the Tophane coffeehouse and was perhaps about the same size or slightly smaller. It had a similar high ceiling and all glass fronts on two sides. We do not naturally have a coffee stove in the sitting area but the organisation of the room is otherwise very similar to the Tophane coffeehouse. There is a slightly raised platform on which comfortable sofas were placed on three sides. In one corner, there is a higher, still more raised, quite throne-like structure on which a sitting lady is depicted. There are a number of young ladies queuing before the sitting lady who was most probably Hatice Sultan herself. The first one is about to receive a gift from Hatice Sultan. The occasion described might be a *bayram* reception. In fact, three different groups of ladies who wait for their turn can be identified. (see Figure 4.11)

Figure 4.11 *Coffee Service at Hatice Sultan's Palace (Melling 1819)*



Outside the platform, there are two groups of attendants, facing each other in both corners of the picture. In the left side of the picture, the attendants seem to be preparing for the coffee service. The coffee, already made in the kitchen, was brought to the room. It is contained in a ewer which was placed on a *sitil*. The *sitil* is on the floor. One of the attendants is holding the tripartite chains of *sitil* in a loose way, ready to raise it from the ground any minute. Another attendant is carrying a tray on which upside-down cups in their holders are placed. The tray is half covered with a *puşide*. These can only be coffee cups. However, five ewers carried on a tray by another attendant may be or may not be for the coffee service. The tray, which is covered by a gauze or a tulle, is not as flat as the tray on which cups are carried. It is a deep one, almost like a basin with two handles. It is just possible that this was yet another *sitil* to keep coffee hot. However, it is chainless and as such would be difficult to touch if it carried hot embers. Therefore, it is also possible that the drink served was something else. Yet another attendant in this corner carries a

tray on which three plates perhaps used to serve refreshments. On the opposite side of the room, there are only two attendants, one is holding a *buhurdan* and the other a *gülabdan*.

This engraving, done at the same time with the one showing the Tophane coffeehouse not later than 1807, perhaps even earlier, provides us with definitive evidence that coffee consumed at the time was not Turkish coffee. Turkish coffee is quickly prepared and immediately consumed afterwards, never kept in a *sitil*. Moreover, ewers were not used in making Turkish coffee.

4.2.7 Halil Paşa's Testimony

The Ottoman painter Halil Paşa (1852-1939), among a variety of subjects, painted coffee related ones as well. A painting by him entitled "Preparation for Coffee" was auctioned on 19 December 2020 by the Artam Auction House. The painting has his signature and the date, which is 1899. In this painting, we see a middle-aged woman grinding coffee in a floor mill. The mill, which is directly placed on the floor, is a large example allowing the grinder to actually sit on it during grinding. Apart from the mill, we do not see any particular coffee objects in this painting. There is only a brazier and a washing ewer together with its basin in the background. (see Figure 4.12)

Figure 4.12 Halil Paşa, *Preparation for Coffee*, 1899



On the other hand, in an earlier oil painting by Halil Paşa dated 1891 and entitled “The Old Female Slave” (*Yaşlı Halayık*), we see a variety of coffee objects. In this potent painting, we see a single, old female slave of Caucasian origin most probably manumitted at the time and sitting by a brazier that has ready charcoals in it. A *güğü* is placed on the brazier. However, we should not perhaps be thinking that it was used to make coffee, as it would be too much for a single person. Moreover, there is an open type *cezve* on the carpet, which was more likely to be used by the Halayık to cook Turkish coffee for herself. The other coffee objects are a cylindrical hand mill for coffee, a coffee-sugar box with two sections, probably made of wood, and a large cup with no handles. The cup is called the *kallavi* type, it is probably Chinese made or it is a blue and white local imitation. Despite its size, we can say for sure that it was used to drink Turkish coffee, as the coffee grounds are clearly visible in it. The fact that it is of this size can explain why a cupholder was not used. (see Figure 4.13)

Figure 4.13 *Halil Paşa. Old Female Slave, 1891*



4.2.8 Hoca Ali Rıza as a Visual Recorder of Ottoman Material Culture of Coffee

Hoca Ali Rıza was one of the important painters of his period and was known as a landscape and scenery painter, but he was also known for painting human figures and objects. By depicting the coffeehouses of the period and the coffee objects which were kept by them, (Şerifoğlu, 2015, p. 333) Hoca Ali Rıza ensured that a visual record of this culture was carried from the past to the present. Influenced by his father's artistic calligraphy, Hoca Ali Rıza was interested in painting and writing at a young age, and

when his talent in this field was seen, he was supported by his environment. (Şerifoğlu, 2015, p. 334).

I am naturally more interested in coffee objects painted by Hoca Ali Rıza. He left a visual record behind by depicting these items in particular. It is a matter of curiosity why he painted coffeehouses and the coffee objects inside them. Although I have previously studied coffeeware in this study, I would like to include Hoca Ali Rıza's drawings of coffeeware as they are from that period and shed light on the coffeeware of his lifetime. Most of the coffee items or coffeehouse paintings painted by Hoca Ali Rıza have a story, and these stories are told by Ahmet Süheyl Ünver in his work titled *Ressam Ali Rıza Bey'e Göre Yarım Asır Önce Kahvehanelerimiz ve Eşyası* [Our coffeehouses and their Objects fifty years ago according to the painter Hoca Ali Rıza Bey]. This article, written in 1967 and others are collected in a multivolume work named *İstanbul Risaleleri*.

A drawing titled *Bulgurlu Köyünde Bir Kahve içinde* tells us a lot, such as describing the place and its interior (Ünver, 1996, p.48). There are also examples with more detailed background than this in Ünver's article, but before giving other examples and benefiting from the *Istanbul Risaleleri* book, there is a question I would like to ask: Why did Hoca Ali Rıza draw coffeehouses and why did he choose to draw coffee objects? It was probably because he thought these items of culture would one day cease to exist or become much rarer to encounter. It is possible to support this assumption with an example from Ünver's article. The title of a drawing says it all: "*Bugün Mevcut olmayan Kır kahvesi*" which roughly translates as "Countryside coffeehouse that does not exist today". He must have thought the same way for the coffee objects he drew.

A drawing is dated 4 June 1325 (17 June 1909) Thursday and entitled "*Saraçlar Kahvesi seyyar kahve ocağı*" (Ünver 1996 p.37). In the drawing, we can see the portable

stove in the middle. Süheyl Ünver mentions that Hoca Ali Rıza painted other coffee stoves; a drawing called “*Diğer bir kahve ocağı*” is next on page 39. (Ünver 1996 p.39) And also, in the next page there is a drawing of a coffee stove in Merdivenköy. Also in page 43 there is a portable coffee stove next to the shop of Şekerci İzzet Ağa.

After this part, our topic changes to the drawing of a coffee box which was used for both coffee and sugar. It belonged to Kadri Bey, a friend of Hoca Ali Rıza. Süheyl Ünver describes this coffee box as follows: “He probably saw it at his home and drew it because it caught his attention. He not only drew it, but also drew its details, namely the bottom view of the lid of the box, the compartment that keeps the coffee and sugar separate, and the general outline of the lid, and stated under his signature that he did it in 1325 (1909).” Ünver also interprets what he conveyed with nostalgia: "Up until a century ago, we had such coffee-sugar boxes at our homes, from round to four-cornered, with very ornate exteriors. I remember seeing them at our homes half a century ago." (Ünver, 1996 p.44) It seems that already in the 1960s Ottoman material culture of coffee was already a thing of the past.

Hoca Ali Rıza drew coffeeware with detail, which makes the legacy he left behind even more valuable in terms of the material culture of coffee. Ünver while talking about another coffee box drawing by his teacher observes how the coffee box preserves the nice scent of the coffee. (Ünver, 1996 pp.44-45). Ünver also tells us that the wooden coffee boxes were more commonly used by the Ottomans-Turks. Hoca Ali Rıza also drew some samples which were European made, they were coffee boxes made of porcelain. In the same drawing, there is a local coffee pot, a *cezve*, made of copper. In discussing this particular drawing Ünver notes that his contemporaries paid little attention to where they kept their coffee. People in his times kept coffee in jars, even casually in plastic

containers. Ünver says that his teacher lived in a time when coffee beans were roasted, cooled and ground in a mill. He also points out that now we do not roast, cool and grind coffee beans at our homes. For this reason, we no longer have either a coffee cooler or a grinder at home. (Ünver, 1996, p.47)

Ünver tells us that his teacher also painted a coffee cooler in a village called “Kızılsaray”. He explains the use of a coffee cooler. He continues to talk about coffee coolers, how he himself saw another one in Kayseri Museum once and how there were different sorts of coolers. (Ünver, 1996 p.48) Ünver’s next topic is hand mills and seated mills and he notes that in his teacher’s drawings, we are yet to see the hand mills; he drew only the seated ones. According to Ünver his teacher drew the mills that can only be seen in large mansions and coffeehouses. Here we learn some information about the seated coffee grinders and the places they were used. Ünver continues, “They had wooden boards attached to the bottom in the shape of a tongue. People could put a cushion and sit on them to prevent the grinder from moving.” (Ünver, 1996, p.49) He also talks about certain people who were connoisseurs, who would wait for hours as their coffee was being prepared. There is a drawing of Hoca Ali Rıza, of a seated mill in a coffeehouse at a place called Namazgâh in Bulgurlu village. This is a good example of Hoca Ali Rıza’s drawings showing us objects of coffee in the interior of the coffee houses. Ali Rıza has also drawn several hookahs (*Nargile*), for him; it must have been a part of the coffee culture however as I stated previously in this study, I will not include work on tobacco items which were consumed together with coffee. We should note here that Hoca Ali Rıza did not draw any coffee ewers and *kahvedans*. Was this because at that time ewers were not used at coffeehouses? However, *ibriks* were readily available and around at the time just like the

cylindrical coffee mills, the real reason they were not included among the coffee objects he drew may never be known.

In Merdiven village Hoca Ali Rıza also drew an item called “water tank” (*su küpü*). It is basically a big jar holding quality water for people who attended the coffeehouses. He was intrigued by its placement. The big jar was half-buried inside the soil to keep the water cool. (Ünver, 1996 p.52) Hoca Ali Rıza also drew a cup and its saucer together. Commenting on the quality, Ünver surmises that the coffee items in this drawing must have belonged to wealthy people and were not seen commonly. (Ünver, 1996, p.53) There is another drawing of a cup with its saucer but this time there is a water mug and coffee pot with them. Ünver thinks that it is a drawing from a coffeehouse on grounds that water was served with tinned and clean copper mugs at coffeehouses, and with glasses at homes. We do know that his teacher drew not just the interior of the coffee houses but also drew objects belonging to homes and other places such as governmental offices where he had been to as a guest. Therefore, the picture drawn here might very well have been from a house. In any case, mugs were not exclusively used at coffeehouses but also at homes. (Ünver, 1996, pp.53-54)

The visual record left behind by Hoca Ali Rıza reached the present day. It is a great source for any material culture of coffee related work. Someone who studies coffee objects can benefit from Hoca Ali Rıza's works in many ways. One example could be comparing coffee objects that survived until our time with his drawings. Süheyl Ünver, for one, thought that Hoca Ali Rıza's drawings would be very useful in the future for those people who would revive the Ottoman coffeehouse with its resident objects. In his own words, “In this way all the material necessary for an old Turkish coffeehouse is complete for those who would design it.” (Ünver, 1996, p.44)

5. CONCLUSION

In 2013, UNESCO recognized Turkish coffee culture as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Türkiye. This thesis aims to explore the origins of what is known today as Turkish coffee, whose uniqueness lies in its distinctive preparation technique—leaving the coffee grounds in the cup and creating a rich layer of foam on top. To understand the origins of what is known today as Turkish coffee, it is necessary to trace its development back to the Ottoman period. The thesis also tries to establish a linkage between the type of coffee and the coffeemaker in which it was made. Thus, the coffee objects which were used in Ottoman society are an essential part of this study. They came in many different forms and they were made from different materials. As far as Turkish coffee is concerned, the ideal coffeemaker to make it was *cezve*. Therefore, to ascertain its earliest use in literary and visual sources is important.

Chapter one explains the aims and scope of this thesis and offers a survey of the related literature. In Chapter two of this thesis, we tried to give general information on coffee and its introduction to the Ottoman Empire. Chapter three offers a general survey of the objects of the material culture of coffee. We have attempted to give a complete account as much as possible. However, our focus was on studying the coffee objects, which have something to do with the preparation of coffee on the grounds that the preparation method gave clues as to the type of coffee consumed. We aimed to trace the origins of Turkish coffee.

We studied brewing vessels in chapter four in detail to better understand their role in producing the kind of coffee consumed in the Empire. Specifically, we focused on *ibrik* and *cezve*. The comparison between the two is relevant to important questions we have asked. One prepared a clear and very strong coffee, the other made Turkish coffee with

froth and grounds. Raşit Koçak made clear that in some vessels we could not make the frothy and grounded coffee as we do in the coffee pot (*cezve*). Implying that the type of coffee either made in the cauldrons or in the ewers was not Turkish coffee. This is an important point to think about. We have to make clear that without *cezve* there was no Turkish coffee which also means that in earlier times than the late 18th century the coffee consumed was probably some other coffee. We were looking to uncover the emergence of Turkish Coffee.

One researcher, Nihal Bursa, more than any other, tackles the question of the emergence of Turkish coffee. One of the first researchers on coffee objects, Hélène Desmet Grégoire noted that the *cezve* was used in lands from Yemen to Tunisia and Yugoslavia and she points out that a preparation method in these lands was borrowed from the Turks. According to her, this could only be Turkish coffee, and she clearly thinks that the *cezve* was originated in the central Ottoman lands, Anatolia and Rumelia.

Several times in this thesis, we have debated about the preparation method. Different researchers agree that the preparation method has affected the form of the brewing vessels. Another important detail about the preparing methods is that they are specific to a certain coffee type. We can give Turkish coffee as an example. Most of the writers think that Turkish coffee had a unique preparation method and *cezve* was the sole coffee object that prepares it. If we look for the earliest date for the emergence of *cezve* we have to refer to Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu's study on Kayseri tombs in which a *cezve* relief on a tombstone dated to 1772 is described. However, we should note that it was a lidded *cezve*, not an open one.

In my study of the *kadı* court records, I found supporting evidence indicating that there were no earlier mentions of the *cezve*, at least in the context of İstanbul. Yet there

are many records of *cezves* after the 1820's in the same records. There is even a court record about a dispute that involved the coppersmiths' guild and the *Cezveci Esnafı* (Coffee pot makers) in 1841-42. The coppersmiths had an imperial edict that gave them monopolistic rights. The fact that the *cezvecis* acted independently of the coppersmiths and were not subject to their control indicates that they began producing *cezves* sometime after 1781, the date of the imperial edict.

On the strength of the visual resources, we were able to establish that, contrary to some researchers' ideas, there was no evidence as to the existence of Turkish coffee in Istanbul before the early 19th century. To start with, there is no depiction of *cezve* in the visual records. The coffee utensils shown are either cauldrons or ewers. Some of the ewers are placed on *sitil*, clearly indicating that the coffee contained by them was not the regular Turkish coffee as it was freshly brewed and immediately consumed. Similarly, the size of the coffee cups especially, in early 16th century miniatures indicated that they were not used for Turkish coffee. The earliest depiction of a *cezve*, which was an open type *cezve* is seen in a watercolour picture by a folk artist named Fenerci Mehmed dated of 1811.

This thesis, focusing on the material culture of coffee in the Ottoman Empire, seeks to pinpoint the emergence of what is known today as Turkish coffee. At this point, a few words on the term 'Turkish coffee' are in order. Although it was acknowledged as an intangible cultural heritage, and despite its widespread use, the name Turkish coffee itself is not very old. No one knows when exactly it began to be used in Turkish, and I have not conducted independent specific research on this point. However, older people still remember times when the term Turkish coffee was not used. The possibility is that it came into use as late as the 1980s. When imported instant coffee brands entered the

market in Turkey, a need to differentiate locally brewed coffee and the instant coffee types arose, the term “Turkish coffee” began to be used. The Ottomans themselves never used the name “Turkish coffee”. However, terminology aside, what we call today Turkish coffee, complete with froth and ground was definitely prepared in Ottoman times. This much, is beyond any doubt as we have narrative, visual and archival evidence.

This thesis has found out that, in confirmation of the already established ideas that Turkish coffee came into existence, sometime, perhaps in the second half of the 18th century. It has also established that no coffee that could be called Turkish coffee was consumed in earlier times, say, the 16th or 17th centuries. The coffee drunk in İstanbul’s first ever coffeehouses was *kışır* coffee which was made with the coffee husks and not the beans. This point is almost universally overlooked at the popular and to some extent academic levels. One can easily see examples of coffee related literature that freely talks of five hundred years of Turkish coffee. This clearly was not the case. Turkish coffee was a much later development. Judging from the physical form of the coffee pots (*cezve*) we can also maintain that Turkish coffee was the equivalent of “quick service coffee” of the time. Many of the earlier *cezves* are lidded and they have foldable handles to facilitate their use in open fires rather than in established mansions or great urban coffeehouses. They were also easier to carry around. They were convenient.

As such, Turkish coffee, of course, together with the suitable coffee utensils to prepare it seems to have been preferred by working people in the fields, traveling people like soldiers, pilgrims, merchants, camel or mule drivers and of course by nomads. However, the spread of Turkish coffee from rural areas to the cities was also a matter of fact as shown by the existence of *cezve* makers in early 19th, possibly late 18th century İstanbul. Big urban homes and great coffeehouses which had the necessary equipment

and objects, on the other hand, continued to prepare coffee in ewers in the old style. The two very different types of coffee, one made in *ibrik* the other in *cezve*, co-existed together for a very long time.

One characteristic of Turkish coffee enhanced its appeal against the coffee made in ewers: It could be made with sugar. To this day, Turkish coffee offers a choice for the consumers, it is consumed as “plain” (*sade*), “with a little sugar” (*az şekerli*), “medium” (*orta*) and “sugary” (*şekerli*). It is just possible that the use of Turkish coffee in society may have increased with sugar becoming a more widespread and accessible commodity, reaching even distant rural areas. More research is needed to support this point; however, we also have evidence in the form of coffee boxes. Earlier coffee boxes had only one, single chamber, whereas later coffee boxes had two compartments, one for coffee and the other for sugar.

This thesis explores the emergence of Turkish coffee through the study of coffeemakers. During my research, I have realized that the preparation method was as important as the form of the utensil. In other words, coffeemakers on their own do not produce the desired product, in this case, Turkish coffee. After repeated trials, we have established that even in ewers, not to mention the lidded *cezves*, it is quite possible to make a coffee fairly close to the Turkish coffee. One has to bring the contents to boil only once, and not to add cold water at intervals. On the other hand, it seems quite possible to produce a coffee akin to the strong and clear ewer type coffee without grounds in the largest of the *cezves*. Only, one has to wait for hours to produce a bad quality ewer coffee and this defeats the purpose. Therefore, we can conclude that although different kinds of coffee can be made in the same coffemaker thanks to different preparation methods, one ideal form as far as the coffeemakers are concerned is extremely helpful to produce the

perfect end product. This ideal form to make Turkish coffee is the open type or lidless *cezve*. This can explain why it was the only coffeemaker out of many Ottoman types that survived until today and still used to make Turkish coffee.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. GLOSSARY OF COFFEE OBJECTS

- Al-qahwa al-bunniya:** Coffee drink made from the kernels or beans
- Al- qahwa al-qishriya:** Coffee drink made from the husks of the coffee fruit. See *Kışr Kahvesi*
- Âteşdân:** Brazier. See *Mangal*
- Bikr:** The last product in the preparation process of *mirra*.
- Cezve:** Coffee pot or coffeemaker with a long handle. There are both open type and lidded versions.
- Cezveci:** An artisan who produced *cezves*.
- Dalle:** Ewer with a long spout used to prepare *mirra*
- Dibek:** Mortar used to pound coffee beans
- Dolap:** Closed type coffee roaster. See *Tambur*
- El (Dibek eli):** Pestle used with mortar
- El Değirmeni:** Cylindrical shaped hand mill
- Fincan:** Coffee cup
- Kahve Güğümü:** Coffee ewer with a short and wide spout.
- Kahve İbriği:** Coffee ewer
- Kahve Kutusu:** Coffee box. See *Kahvelik*
- Kahve Makremesi:** Embroidery used in coffee service
- Kahve Ocağı:** Coffee Stove
- Kahve Soğutucusu:** A coffee cooler to cool newly roasted coffee beans. See *Soğudan* and *Sürgeç*
- Kahve Tavası:** An open type coffee roaster. See *Kavurma Kepçesi*
- Kahve Tepsisi:** Coffee tray
- Kahveci:** Person who keeps a coffeehouse or person who is employed as a coffee-maker
- Kahvedan:** Serving utensil for coffee.
- Kahvehane:** Coffeehouse
- Kahvelik:** Coffee box
- Kallavi Fincan:** A big coffee cup without handle
- Kamineto:** Spirit stove, Caminetto.
- Kapaklı Cezve:** Lidded coffee pot
- Kamir:** The second product in the preparation process of *mirra*
- Kavurma Kepçesi:** An open type coffee roaster. See *Kahve Tavası*
- Kışr Kahvesi:** Coffee drink made from the husks of the coffee fruit. See *Al- qahwa al-qishriya*
- Kurukahveci:** Shop or person who sells already grounded or pounded coffee
- Mangal:** Brazier. See *Âteşdân*
- Mirra:** A bitter and dense type of coffee, drunk in South East Turkey and Arabic lands.
- Misab:** Another name for *rakwa*, Serving utensil for *mirra* coffee. See *Rakwa*
- Muphara:** The third product in the preparation process of *mirra*
- Oturak Değirmen:** Coffee mill with a seat.
- Puşide:** Heavily embroidered covers used during coffee service.
- Sherbet/Şerbet:** The first product in the process of making *mirra* coffee
- Rakwa:** Serving utensil for *mirra* coffee. See *Misab*
- Sitil:** A portable brazier suspended on chains, carried by *kahveci*, on which the ewer is placed.

Soğudan: A coffee cooler to cool newly roasted coffee beans. See *kahve soğutucusu* and **Sürgeç**
Sürgeç: The name used for coffee cooler in Sivas region
Tahmis: Roasting coffee
Tahmishane: Public establishment where coffee was roasted
Tambur: Closed type coffee roaster. See **Dolap**
Telve: Coffee grounds or sediment left in the cup.
Yörük Cezve: Literally “nomadic cezve”, kind of coffee pot whose handle is foldable.
Zarf: Cupholder, used with coffee cups without handles.



APPENDIX B. INTERPRETING COFFEE POTS THROUGH A COLLECTION¹

Our family collection has many different coffee objects. This will be a section where a number of questions about the physical collection will be asked. Other than the coffee brewing vessels, the rest of the objects of material culture of coffee will not be studied here. Some of the questions will be easy to answer but even then these questions will still be necessary. On the other hand, some of them will be very hard or impossible to answer as of now but they will again be required. The variations in the physical form will make us raise these questions. However, sometimes similarity or unity between examples will also help us determine and examine a certain style.

There was a multiplicity of form of as far as *cezves* were concerned during the Ottoman times, however, only one of them survived down to this day. The open, lidless *cezve* has literally become the only *cezve* type. This surviving form reflects the ideal *cezve* type for many authors who study coffee objects and the coffee pots. How did this idealised form emerge? What happened to other forms? One important difference in form is between the lidded and open *cezves*. About one third of the *cezves* in our family collection are coffee pots with lids. However, researchers often ignore this form of *cezves* and very rarely make them part of their analysis.

Why did coffee pots with lids exist in the first place? Was there a relationship between the form and the coffee made? If so, was the coffee cooked in lidded *cezves* and open *cezves* different? Was it possible to prepare Turkish Coffee in the lidded form as well? Beyond that, could we say that the *cezve* always and automatically prepares Turkish Coffee and the *ibrik/güğüm* always cooks *murra* or its derivatives? We do know that sometimes the coffee brewing vessels were actually used for holding water or used just for serving and not in the cooking process.

The needs of the consumer might have given shape to the beverage itself. In a society or culture where people on the move had to spend much more time on the road, in comparison to today, people who traveled often on foot or animals; soldiers, caravan drivers, pilgrims probably sought after a fast prepared coffee with a simple coffeemaker on a makeshift fire. It is easy to imagine that one of the smaller lidded coffee pots with a foldable handle (*yörük cezve*) in our collection could have been used by such people in the open air.

Another question to be asked could be that can we put our collection items in a chronological order? We can even raise the question such as why the Ottomans did not use wooden handles in coffee pots. We happen to have some forgeries in our collection, as we shall discuss in due course. We want to offer satisfactory answers for these questions and for the questions that we did not specifically ask in this introductory section.

Form

As of today (5 March 2025) we have over 200 coffeemakers and some servers in our collection, to be exact 218. Of this total, 190 are coffee pots of both types, without and with lid. The remainder, 28 of them are ewers and *kahvedans*. The ewers are basically two types, the southern Turkish and Arabian *dalles* and the coffee *güğüms* used in Rumelia, İstanbul and the rest of Anatolia. The two types of ewers are quite similar to each other, the main difference being their spouts. The Arabian type has narrower and long spouts in comparison to the body, whereas the Anatolian coffee *güğüms* have much

¹ This appendix was prepared with the help of Hakan Erdem

shorter and smaller, however wider spouts. Some coffee vessels of both types were not used to cook coffee but to present it. The *rakwa* was the serving vessel for the Arabic type coffee or *murra* and no coffee was cooked in it. Similarly, although somewhat similar to *güğüms* in design, but much more elegant and smaller, the *kahvedans* were not coffeemakers but were used to serve the final product. As such, the *kahvedans*, in addition to the usual copper or brass, were produced by using other materials such as porcelain, rhinoceros horn, and ceramics.

The real richness in terms of form comes with the *cezve* type of coffeemakers. In our own day, the *cezve* is a small utensil without lid in both the eyes of popular public and most of the researchers. The main division among *cezves* in terms of form is arising from the fact that some of them have lids and some of them not. References to the lidded *cezves* are rare and discussion on them is even rarer. For example, Nihal Bursa when differentiating the *cezve* from the *ibrik* points out that the inside can easily be seen while cooking the coffee. (Bursa 2015, p.266) Needless to say, this statement is valid for lidless or open type *cezves* or we have to assume that coffee was cooked in the lidded ones while the lids were not on. On the other hand, Bursa clearly accepts the lidded ones as *cezves* as she draws our attention to the description of a lidded *cezve* in Kayseri on a sarcophagus, citing Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu. (Bursa, 2015, p.266) However, Bursa does not comment on the kind of coffee cooked in the lidded *cezves*, nor she tries to find an answer for the reason for this *cezves* to be lidded.

Despite a general silence on the lidded *cezves* in the concerned literature a sizeable part of our collection is composed of this type of *cezves*, to be exact we have 63 lidded *cezves*, the remainder, 127, are open type *cezves*. According to Gülfatma Koz, the wheeled version of big, lidded *cezves* were used during the service (Koz, 2011, p.31) Can we extend this statement to all lidded *cezves* as Nuray Şehitoğlu did? (Şehitoğlu 2019, p. 28) Probably not, because we have evidence from visual sources such as the painting album by Fenerci Mehmed that open type *cezves* were also used during the service. (Fenerci Mehmed, 1986, plate 20) Raşit Koçak has a better explanation for the lidded *cezves*. He thinks that lids were added when coffee was cooked in “disfavorable conditions” to prevent ash and dust from entering the contents of the *cezve*. (Koçak, 2017, p.51) Although, he does not specify what exactly he means by “disfavorable conditions”, we can suppose that such conditions were valid for the open air and not for the closed spaces like homes or coffeehouses. The fact that the great majority of the lidded *cezves* had foldable handles and were known as the *yörük* type can be an indication that this type of *cezves* were used in the open air and in open fires by mobile people who were on the move. However, we should note that some of the lidded *cezves* had straight, unfoldable handles. Of the 63 lidded *cezves* in our collection 16 fall into this category. The remainder, 47, have foldable and often extendable handles. Finally, as a result of several experiments at home we were able to see that Turkish coffee could indeed be prepared in the lidded type of *cezves* provided that the lid is not on. Several trials to cook coffee when lids were on made the cooking process almost impossible as it always resulted in some spillage.

This brings us to another major point of division within the *cezve* category. This is related to the handles as we can also categorise the *cezves* according to the design and shape of their handles. As we have just touched upon above, some of them had long straight handles while the others had foldable and some of them additionally had extendable handles. *Cezves* with foldable and straight handles belong to both open and closed (lidded) *cezves*. In other words, handles are either straight or foldable regardless of the fact that the *cezve* is an open or lidded one. Thus, of the 190 *cezves*, 138 have

straight handles. Of this total (138), 122 are open *cezves* with straight handles and 16 are lidded *cezves* with straight handles. Of the 52 foldable *cezves*, 47 are lidded and 5 without lid.

If we are to mention other main characteristics of form; the *cezves* whether lidded or not have spouts of greatly varying sizes. Only two of them have fully closed cylindrical spouts like a pipe, which is more typical of ewers used not in coffee making but in hand washing. We should also note that the coffee serving vessels, *rakwa*, too have completely closed spouts but of a more angular shape. It is clearly impossible here to cover the spouts of all the *cezves* in the collection. However, as a general observation we can say that Ottoman era *cezves* on the whole have larger spouts than modern ones. In some extreme cases, the spout is quite disproportionate to the body and can well be compared to the ewers of the *dalle* type.

As to the body itself, again we have great variations. In modern literature, there is almost a consensus that the *cezve* has a wider bottom, a narrowing neck and again a widening mouth although the mouth's diameter is somewhat smaller than the diameter of the bottom. Some modern designers in Turkey think that the curvilinear outline of the *cezve* is an indispensable feature of the vessels used in making Turkish coffee as we have seen above (see, p.100) Indeed, it is very possible to find a great deal of Ottoman *cezves* confirming to this generalised picture of the body. However, on the strength of the actual *cezves* in our collection, there are many examples completely violating this convention. Some *cezves* although wider at bottom and narrower at the mouth lack curvilinearity altogether meaning that they do not have a narrowing belly. They rather present a conical profile, and not like an hourglass at all. There are also *cezves* where it is impossible to observe a difference of diameters at the bottom and the mouth, and lacking any curvilinearity in between. In other words, this type of *cezves* have a straight profile from the bottom to the mouth.

Dates

Unlike some other coffee objects, for example coffee mills or grinders, ewers and *cezves* are not usually marked by their artisans nor they are dated. Although ewers tend to sport producer's marks more often in comparison to *cezves* none of them is dated. On the other hand, a few of the *cezves* have dates, mostly inscribed by owners not by the producers. As they are only a handful, we can afford to review all the dated *cezves* in our collection. The earliest dated *cezve* in our collection is an open type coming from the island of Mytilini and it is inscribed and dated as "Kairois 29". In all likelihood, this should be 1829 and not 1929 as another *cezve* in very similar form and design and again coming from Mytilini is inscribed "Gso 1832."

A *cezve* of the open type has the date 277 (1277/1860/61) as part of the producer's mark. Strictly speaking, this is not the production date of *cezve* but the date of the producer's mark or seal. However, it gives an idea as to the date of production as well. In a similar case, the producer's mark carries the date 1307 (1889/1890). This time the *cezve* is a lidded one with a foldable handle. An open *cezve* has an inscription bearing the owner's name and a date: "Ömer Hikmet Efendi 1314" (1896/1897) Another lidded *cezve* has an inscription in the latin script on it's lid: "*Genek hatırası*" (souvenir of Genek). Genek is a town in western Anatolia and the fact that the short inscription is in the Latin script indicates that it was written after the alphabet reform in Turkey in 1928. However, the *cezve* has an Ottoman producer's mark as well which reads as "Ali 17". This must be the producer's name and the date 1317 (1899/1900) unless we accept that 17 denotes not 1317 but 1217 (1802/1803). It seems that an Ottoman era *cezve* is inscribed in the new

script during the republican times. This is not the only case. There is another *cezve* of the open type with a foldable handle. Clearly, an Ottoman era product by the look of it but without original mark or date, it was inscribed in 1961. Somebody dated it, wrote a name, “H.Ercan” presumably his own, and the word “*Kave*”.

We also have two *cezves*, one open, the other lidded type, the open *cezve* has a date inscribed on its handle: 1330 (1911/1912). The lidded *cezve*, which is missing its lid today, has a slightly later date 1333 (1914/1915). This date on the handle again, is given as part of the official warning mark “*nuhas*” meaning copper. It should be noted that in Ottoman times the metal used to produce utensils was often declared in a specific mark on the product. So far, we were able to see “*pirinç*” (brass), “*nuhas*” (copper) marks. The purpose of declaring the type of metal was to prevent any possible confusion with gold on the part of the buyer as some people could think that the vessels were golden. If we return to the last example, the date as part of the metalmark reads as “*nuhas 33*”. Again, this must be accepted as 1333 and not as 1233.

Two *cezves* of the open type, made by the same artisan but varying in size have the name of the producer and the date. The producer’s seal reads as “Bakırcı Osman 1946” in both Ottoman as well as the Latin alphabet. It seems that Osman the coppersmith wanted to address both the old people who could read only Ottoman and those who could read the new Turkish alphabet. In its own time, this could be regarded as a violation of the Alphabet Reform of 1928 and the coppersmith could be prosecuted due to the Republican laws that required that only the Latin based Turkish alphabet used in all transactions.

Last but not least, we have the problem of forgeries. In our collection, there are two *cezves*, one is an open one with a foldable handle and the other is a lidded one again with a foldable handle. Alongside some illegible producer’s marks, the first one has an ownership statement and date, the inscription is meant to be read as “Sahib Hafız Ağa 1212”. If it were genuine, this would be corresponding to 1797-1798 and as such the earliest *cezve* not only in our collection but also in all the records. The Ottoman inscription is very faulty, misspelling the words Hafız and Ağa and additionally the *cezve* is in pristine condition. Whoever wrote the inscription clearly did not know Ottoman, the word Hafız has an additional letter and can be read as Hafızr and the word Ağa reads as Aa, making not much sense.

The other forgery has also producer’s marks again illegible and an inscription which reads as “Sahib Halil Ağa 1213”. This is only a year later than the first forgery and corresponds to 1798-1799. This time, there are no suspicious spelling mistakes and the *cezve* is made look persuasively older. However, the seller did not sell it and its likes as genuine Ottoman era objects but as “decorative” items. Moreover, he provided information that it was produced in Kavaklıdere-Muğla by modern coppersmiths for “tourists”.

While discussing dates on individual utensils we can touch on the question of chronologically arranging our collection. Nihal Bursa assumes that the ewers were oldest, the *cezves* were the latest and the lidded *cezves* were in between (Bursa, 2014, pp.119-120). This very well be the case. The ewers were used long before *cezves* as attested by all sources and today in the kitchens, we only have the open type *cezve*, the only survivor of the Ottoman coffee brewing vessels. Therefore, from a theoretical point of view we can assume that all other forms fall into between the earliest and the latest examples. However, we should point out that on the strength of individual dated *cezves* it is impossible to make such a straight and chronological ordering as we have very early dates

on open type *cezves* and later dates on closed type *cezves*. This somewhat inevitable confusion comes from the fact that the open and closed type of *cezves*, as well as *ibriks* continued to coexist at the same time for a very long time.

Size

There is literally no discussion in the related literature on the size of coffee brewing vessels. There is only a statement by Turan and Turan that the *cezves* could serve 1 to 6 people. They also maintain that the handles of the *cezves* could reach up to 80-90 centimeters according to the size of the braziers used to prepare coffee. (Turan and Turan, 2011, pp.115-116) In our collection we do not have any *cezves* with handles reaching this length, the longest measures only 31 centimeters. Naturally, we do not rule out the possibility that there might be some *cezves* with such long handles; simply they do not exist in our collection of 190 *cezves*. As to the capacity, the smallest *cezve* in the collection has a capacity of 50 cc, which is barely sufficient to fill a single Turkish coffee cup. It has a bottom diameter of 5, 1 cm and a mouth diameter of 4 cm and has a height of 4, 7 cm. We should immediately point out that this is not a unique specimen as there are many others having a similar size.

The largest *cezve* on the other hand, has a bottom diameter of 16, 5 cm and a mouth diameter of 9 cm, has also a capacity of 1800 cubic centimeters, standing 21 cm tall. This, however, is a unique specimen that could fill up to 36 cups. There are no other *cezves* equaling this *cezve* in the collection. However, there are many other sizable *cezves* that could serve way beyond 6 people in one sitting. For example, a very simple *cezve* without any ornamentation, having a bottom diameter of 14, 5 cm and a mouth diameter of 11, 8 cm standing at 14, 5 cm tall, has a capacity of 1150 cc. A Bosnian *cezve* of open type which has a bottom diameter of 14 centimeters and a mouth diameter of 10 centimeters, and a height of 14.2 centimeters has a capacity of 1000 cc. This could serve up to 20 people. A lidded *cezve* with a foldable handle in our collection, probably made in Siirt has a capacity of 750 cc, it has a bottom diameter of 13 cm and a mouth diameter of 9,5 cm and excluding the lid has a height of 10,5 centimeters, and 16 cm including the lid. To emphasize that our Siirt *cezve* is not unique or an exception, we should note here that a very similar *cezve* made also in Siirt and housed in Sadberk Hanım Museum has a height of 15 centimeters and a bottom diameter of 12 cm. (Atasoy, 2013, p.242)

Thus, the smallest and largest *cezve* in our collection are both open ones with straight handles. In fact, excluding the size of course, they are very similar to each other in terms of design. Another observation is that the smallest size of the *cezves* are always the open type. In other words, the smallest size *cezves* are never lidded. Even the smallest lidded *cezve* is much larger than the smallest open type *cezves*. To be exact, the smallest lidded *cezve* in our collection, made in Bergama, has a bottom diameter of 7, 5 cm and its mouth diameter is 5 cm. It stands 8 cm tall excluding the lid and with the lid, we reach 12 cm. It seems that the most suitable *cezve* type to make Turkish coffee are the small ones without lid, they could make Turkish coffee in a few minutes only.

We have a problem precisely at this point: Why do we have the oversize variety of the lidless or open *cezves*? If the main advantage of the small, open type *cezves* is practicality and time saving, what was the point of producing oversize open *cezves*? It simply beats the purpose. Another reason to prefer the *cezve* to the *ibrik* is the need to cater to different individual preferences; some people preferred their coffee with sugar and some others with less sugar or no sugar at all. Imagine, the largest *cezve* in our collection was used to cook coffee, it automatically follows that all the 36 people had to

drink the same kind of Turkish coffee. Again, not taking the individual preferences into consideration, using these oversized *cezves* seems to beat the purpose.

Therefore, we can always maintain the possibility that these oversized *cezves* were used for a coffee other than the Turkish coffee. However, we do not have any evidence, not even an indication that such was the case. Furthermore, why should there be such a need while the ewers were readily available? A better explanation is that they were used to make Turkish coffee for crowded groups. The Turkish coffee was most probably born outside the coffeehouse. People in their houses or people on the move could easily prepare Turkish coffee for themselves in a quick way according to their individual tastes. Can we speculate that once people were accustomed to this new type of coffee, with grounds and froth, they demanded the same when they were in the coffeehouses? The coffeehouses, for their part grouped the coffee orders according to preference and prepared coffee, for example, coffee with sugar in the same, big *cezve* for all people who had this preference. There was of course a trade off; those people who wanted to drink Turkish coffee in a communal place had to wait longer. In other words, it was a back development. People in the Ottoman Empire have learnt coffee drinking from the coffeehouses and only later they developed the coffee preparing methods outside the coffee house and when they demanded the same coffee that is Turkish coffee from the coffeehouses, the coffeehouses had to resort to the *cezves* and gradually gave up their ewers. Such indeed might be the case, in the traditional *kahvehanes* today in Turkey only *cezves* are used and the ewers are completely forgotten except for the Southeastern Anatolia.

However, it is difficult to think that the largest of *cezves* were used even in *kahvehanes* as this requires imagining also a ready crowd willing to drink the same coffee, in our case 36 people. Therefore, there is a distinct possibility that such large *cezves* were used to serve even more crowded people who came together for a specific purpose like a banquet or a funeral meal, not the regular coffeehouse customers.

APPENDIX C. COFFEE OBJECTS FROM THE ERDEM COLLECTION

Figure C1 Roaster (Tava) [19th century, Erdem Collection]



Figure C2 Roaster (Tava) [19th century, Erdem Collection]



Figure C3 Coffeecoolers [18th-20th centuries, Erdem Collection]



Figure C4 Coffeecooler (Meerschaum) [20th century, Erdem Collection]



Figure C5 *Coffeecooler [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C6 *Coffeecooler [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C7 *Coffeecooler [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C8 *Coffeecooler [1324/1906-1907, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C9 *Hand Mills [19th Century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C10 *Hand Mill [18th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C11 *Hand Mill [18th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C12 *Coffee Box [19th or 20th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C13 *Coffee Box [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C14 *Coffee Box [20th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C15 *Coffee Box [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C16 *Coffee Box [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C17 *Coffee Box [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C18 *Mortar and Pestle [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C19 *Floor Mill [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C20 *Cupholders [19th and 20th centuries, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C21 *Coffee Set [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C22 *Conical Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C23 *Conical Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C24 *Cylindrical Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C25 *Cylindrical Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C26 *Big Spouted Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C27 *Open Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C28 *Open Cezves [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C29 *Open Type Cezve [1277/1860-1861, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C30 *Open Type Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C31 *Lidded Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C32 *Lidded Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C33 *Lidded Cezve [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C34 *Rakwa [19th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C35 *Kahvedan* [19th century, Erdem Collection]



Figure C36 *Ewer (Güğü)* [19th century, Erdem Collection]



Figure C37 *Mirra Set [19th or 20th century, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C38 *Cezve, Inscribed "Kairois 29" [1829, Erdem Collection]*



Figure C39 *Cezve, Inscribed “GSO 1832” [1832, Erdem Collection]*

