

THE CONSUMPTION OF PORCELAIN COFFEE CUPS IN THE EIGHTEENTH-
CENTURY OTTOMAN COURT

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

After a long period of aggressive expansion in Asia, North Africa, and Europe, the Ottoman Empire ceased to grow in its territorial scope in the eighteenth century. As it worked to negotiate its new boundaries and provincial relationships, the Ottoman Empire witnessed certain internal problems, corruption, deterioration of institutions, economic difficulties, social unrest, the descension of its military system with defeats, and the lack of a coherent merit rating system in government offices. At the same time, the court initiated social, cultural, military, and economic reforms to regain supremacy over European states, particularly during the period known as the Tulip Age (21 July 1718- 28 September 1730). As the emergence of the Tulip Age coincided with intensive cross-cultural relations with Europe, the Ottoman court, the ruling elites, and even some sectors of the lower strata of the social structure were introduced to the European way of life and its sumptuous consumption by multiple means such as building mansions and collecting fine porcelains and luxury silk textiles.

This dissertation considers the role of Chinese and European porcelain coffee cups at the imperial court as crucial references which can reveal the new Ottoman collective taste. This subject also highlights the intervention of cross-cultural encounters, the trends, and models of a new consumption culture, and the attitudes and behaviors of consumers amongst the imperial court. This object-based analysis of the eighteenth-century imported coffee cups entails two types of inquiries. The first relies upon archival documents such as manuscript paintings, treasury records, and imperial inventories to

understand the social role of porcelain coffee cups at the Ottoman court. The second entails a data analysis of a selected corpus of extant objects, based on their inventories from the Topkapı Palace Museum. Both bodies of evidence will be processed as datasets to create visualizations, which represent patterns in the consumption of porcelain coffee cups. Such an approach considers the relationship between consumers and objects and facilitates the discovery of the consumption sphere of the eighteenth-century Ottoman court in the early modern period of modernization when new tastes were being promoted. It will forge new ground for bringing together the study of textual records with extant objects in an intensive manner.

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	viii
List of Abbreviations.....	xv
Introduction.....	1
I. The Scope of the Study	
II. Methodology of the Research	
III. Overview of Dissertation Chapters	
Chapter 1. Primary Resources of the Research.....	19
Visual Sources	
Archival Documents	
Terminology and Specifications	
Chapter 2. Ottoman Coffee Culture and Its Paraphernalia.....	42
Vernacularizing the Drink: The Dissemination of Coffee into the Ottoman Lands	
Paraphernalia of the Ottoman Coffee Culture	
Chapter 3. Shiny Surfaces: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum Collections.....	56
Arcanum: True Porcelain Recipe from China to Europe	
Topkapı Palace Museum Collections	
Chinese and Japanese Porcelain Collections	
European Porcelain Collection	
<i>Fincans</i> in Collections	
<i>Fincans</i> by the Numbers: The TPM and TPMA Datasets	
The TPM Corpus	
The TPMA Corpus	
A Closer Analysis: Cups, Saucers and <i>Zarfs</i>	
Chapter 4. Narrating <i>Fincans</i>: The Consumption of Coffee Cups in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Court.....	92
Introduction	
Premises and Dynamics of Conspicuous Consumption of <i>Fincans</i>	
Dynamic Actors: Frequent Consumers of Coffee Cups in the Consumption Domains	
Novelty in Pleasures: Consumption Patterns, Trajectories and Preferences of Courtiers	
The Chronology	
Coffee Cups, Saucers and <i>Zarfs</i>	
Groups, Sets and Individual Cups	
Precious Ornamentation	
Handles	
Decorative Programs	

Conclusion.....	149
Bibliography.....	153



List of Figures

Figure Introduction 1. Frequent Terminology and Definitions of Porcelain Coffee Cups in the Archival Documents, Created by the author.

Figure 1.1. Seyyid Vehbi Efendi, Egyptian acrobats performing to the Grand Vizier depicted by Levni, *Surname-i Vehbi*, Istanbul, c.a. 1730. TSMK A. 3593, fol. 38b, Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

Figure 1.2. Seyyid Vehbi Efendi, Detail of an Egyptian acrobat wearing a red fez and yellow dress performs turning a hoop with nine footed blue and white porcelain coffee cups inside depicted by Levni, *Surname-i Vehbi*, Istanbul, c.a. 1730. TSMK A. 3593, fol. 38b, Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library

Figure 1.3. Seyyid Vehbi Efendi, Egyptian acrobats walk on stretched ropes on a platform set in the middle of the field, balancing on their feet with swords depicted by Levni, *Surname-i Vehbi*, Istanbul, c.a. 1730. TSMK A. 3593, fol. 61a, Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library

Figure 1.4. Seyyid Vehbi Efendi, Hacı Şahin, the leader of Egyptian acrobats sits on a basket positioned at the top of a pole and fills two coffee cups from a coffee pot depicted by Levni, *Surname-i Vehbi*, Istanbul, c.a. 1730. TSMK A. 3593, fol. 61a, Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library

Figure 1.5. Anon., Young Chief Coffeemaker in the Ottoman Court, The Habits of the Grand Signor's Court, c.a. 1620. [1928,0323,0.46.98](#), British Museum, Public Domain.

Figure 1.6. A coffee cup with floral decoration, 1740-1780, TSM 15/5755, *h.* 3.8cm and *d.* 7.7 cm., in Ersu Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği and The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey, 2015), 370.

Figure 1.7. The Chief Coffeemaker of the Grand Vizier, Fenerci Mehmed Album, p.20, the courtesy of Rahmi Koç Private Collection.

Figure 1.8. Anon., A Young Coffee Server holding a blue and white cup, 18th century, album, TSMK H 2159, fol. 59b.

Figure 1.9. M. Moreau, an engraving depicts the coffee presentation in the house of a Vizier and the chief coffeemaker waiting with his staff, ca 1787, pl.14, BP160 .M58 Imprint Collection, Library of Congress, in Mouradgea D'Ohsson, Ignatius, Constantin D' Ohsson, and Pre-1801 Imprint Collection. *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane; l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire othoman*. [Paris, Imp. de monsieur Firmin Didot to 1820, 1787]

Figure 1.10. Anon., Sultana with her servants in the Harem, *Le Sérail et divers personnages turcs*, 1720, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Public Domain, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84523871/f13.item>.

Figure 1.11. Anon., Detail of Sultana with her servant who serves coffee, *Le Sérail et divers personnages turcs*, 1720, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Public Domain, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84523871/f13.item>.

Figure 1.12. Antoine Ignace Melling, Interior of the Palace of Hadice Sultan, *Pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives Bosphore*, Published in 1819, Paris, London and Strasbourg, [1995 Folio 11](#), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, Public Domain.

Figure 1.13. Antoine Ignace Melling, Detail of Chief Coffeemaker to Hadice Sultan and her staff behind, Interior of the Palace of Hadice Sultan, *Pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives Bosphore*, Published in 1819, Paris, London and Strasbourg, [1995 Folio 11](#), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, Public Domain.

Figure 1.14. A page from the register with coffee cup entries, with a title “Kahvecibaşıya teslimat” (Allotment to Chief Coffeemaker), 1745, TSMA. D 320, Topkapı Palace Museum Archives.

Figure 1.15. Frequent Terminology and Definitions of Porcelain Coffee Cups in the Archival Documents, Created by the author.

Figure 1.16. A gilded coffee cup, c.a. 1735, Meissen, TSM 26/4916, Topkapı Palace Museum, Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 1.17. A coffee cup with four rosettes and partly gilded, 1720-1740, Jingdezhen, h. 4.7 cm d. 7 cm, TSM 15/5788, Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 2.1. Small [**Lower**] and large [**Upper**] size coffee roasting pans, n.d., TSM 25/2927 [Upper] and TSM 25/3478 [Lower], Topkapı Palace Museum, in Nihal Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatrına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 252.

Figure 2.2. A cylindrical chamber coffee roasting oven with handle, n.d., N-MSB Private Collection, in Nihal Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatrına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 253.

Figure 2.3. A wooden [**Left**] and ceramic [**Right**] coffee cooling cups, n.d., TIEM 4 [**Left**] and IAM 41/342 [**Right**], in Nihal Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana

Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatrına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 255.

Figure 2.4. Various brass coffee grinder mills with handle, n.d., N-MSB Private Collection, in Nihal Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatrına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 259.

Figure 2.5. A coffee mill composed of two cones, joined at the tapered ends face each other Various brass coffee grinder mills with handle, n.d., N-MSB Private Collection, in Nihal Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatrına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 259.

Figure 2.6. Large size coffee grinder with seat.

Figure 2.7. A coffee jug (*kahvedan*), n.d., N-MSB Private Collection, in Nihal Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatrına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 265.

Figure 2.8. Various coffee pots (*cezve*, plural *cezveler*), n.d., N-MSB Private Collection, in Nihal Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatrına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 265.

Figure 2.9. Base cloth for coffee brasier.

Figure 2.10. Silver coffee brasier, n.d., TSM 16/33, in Nihal Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatrına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 235.

Figure 3.1. First porcelain collection in the Topkapı Palace Museum curated by Ernst Zimmermann in 1918, in *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul: a complete catalogue*, v.1, edited by Regina Krahl, John Ayers and Nurdan Erbahar (London: Sotheby's), 24.

Figure 3.2. Aerial view of Topkapı Palace Museum complex.

Figure 3.3. Two Chinese-made partly gilded coffee cups with Quranic inscriptions (One of the seven cups in the sole tableware set in the Chinese Porcelain collection), n.d., TSM 15/4779 [**Above**] and TSM 15/4783 [**Below**], h. 4.7 cm and d. 4.8 cm., in Ersu Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: Türk Kahvesi

Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği and The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey, 2015), 379.

Figure 3.4. A Meissen- made Türkenkoppchen cup, 1756-57, with the inscription of “Haşa`allah, içene afiyet olsun” (God forbid! May it do you [drinker] good!), TSM 26/333, the courtesy of the museum.

Figure 3.5. A blue and white porcelain coffee cup with the genre of landscape (One of the earliest coffee cups in the museum), Jiajing Period (1522-1566), TSM 15/2614, *h.* 8cm and *d.* 8 cm., in Ersu Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği and The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey, 2015), 362.

Figure 3.6. A brown coffee cup (One of the smallest coffee cups in the museum), Jiajing Period (1522-1566), TSM 15/5862, *h.* 3.2 cm and *d.* 5.3 cm., in Ersu Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği and The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey, 2015), 363.

Figure 3.7. A porcelain *zarf* with coffee cup inside, ca 1774-1814, TSM 25/2696, Topkapı Palace Museum, *d.* 5 cm [**Zarf**] and *d.* 6 cm. [**cup**], in Ersu Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği and The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey, 2015), 395.

Figure 3.8. A brass *zarf* with porcelain coffee cup inside, ca 1700s, TSM 25/3907, *h.* 5 cm and *d.* 6 cm., in Ersu Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği and The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey, 2015), 395.

Figure 3.9. The Number of Objects in Topkapı Palace Collections by Percentage

Figure 3.10. Quantities and Percentage of Cups, Zarfs and Saucers by Collections

Figure 4.1. Antoine Ignace Melling, Overview of Pavilion of Neşetabad in foreground and next, the Palace of Hadice Sultan (Sister of Sultan Selim III) at Defterdarburnu (on the western shores of Bosphorus), engraving, c.a. 1800, in Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore / d'apr es les dessins de M. Melling, architecte de l'Empereur Selim III et dessinateur de la Sultane Hadidje sa soeur* (Paris: MM Treuttel et Wurtz, 1819).

Figure 4.2. Antoine Ignace Melling, The seaside kiosk of Sultan Selim III at Bebek, on the European shores of Bosphorus, engraving, c.a. 1800, in Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore / d'apr es les dessins de*

M. Melling, architecte de l'Empereur Selim III et dessinateur de la Sultane Hadidge sa soeur (Paris: MM Treuttel et Wurtz, 1819).

Figure 4.3. Antoine Ignace Melling, View of the western part of Büyükdere, on the European shores of the Bosphorus, engraving, c.a. 1800, in Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore / d'apr es les dessins de M. Melling, architecte de l'Empereur Selim III et dessinateur de la Sultane Hadidge sa soeur* (Paris: MM Treuttel et Wurtz, 1819).

Figure 4.4. Antoine Ignace Melling, View of the summer palace of the Sultan at Beşiktaş, at the place of which the Palace of Dolmabahçe was built in the 19th century, engraving, c.a. 1800, in Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore / d'apr es les dessins de M. Melling, architecte de l'Empereur Selim III et dessinateur de la Sultane Hadidge sa soeur* (Paris: MM Treuttel et Wurtz, 1819).

Figure 4.5. Thomas Allom, View of Sultan Mahmut II's new Çırağan Palace, engraving, c.a. 1840s, in Thomas Walsh and Robert Allom, *Constantinople and the scenery of the seven churches of Asia Minor illustrated. 2. (1840).* (London: Fisher, 1840), 2.

Figure 4.6. A blue and white coffee cup decorated with gold, emerald and jade in the imperial workshops, ca the beginning of 17th century, h. 4 cm d. 6.7 cm, TSM 15/2816, in Ersu Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği and The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey, 2015), 363.

Figure 4.7. A coffee cup with floral genre and partly gilded, 1774-1800, Meissen, d. 6cm TSM 26/2747, the courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 4.8. An intensely gilded coffee cup with handle and saucer, 1750-1775, Meissen, h. 5.2 cm d. 6.4 cm, TSM 26/1653, the courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 4.9. An intensely gilded coffee cup with zarf, 1774-1814, Meissen, h. 5.8 cm d. 6.4 cm [Cup], TSM 26/4603, the courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 4.10. Konstantin Kapıdağlı, Enthronement (Cülüs) Ceremony depicting the enthronement of Selim III, ca 1789, 206x152 cm, Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, 17/163, the courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum,

Figure 4.11. Levni, View of the field of the Circumscision festival for the Sons of Ahmed III, 1720, *Surname-i Vehbi*, Topkapi Palace Museum Library.

Figure 4.12. A coffee furnace in the apartment of Harem Eunuchs in the Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 4.13. Bubble chart demonstrating frequent court Consumers of Coffee Cups by quantity and their court affiliation, Source: TPMA Corpus, created by the author.

Figure 4.14. Elaboration of the Imperial Class Consumers, based on the TPMA Corpus, Created by the author.

Figure 4.15. Comparison of Court- Affiliated Consumers, based on the TPMA Corpus, Created by the Author.

Figure 4.16. A Vienna-made Coffee Cups stamped with a *Bindenschild*, ca 1750, TSM 26/2651, the Courtesy of Topkapi Palace Museum.

Figure 4.17. Coffee Cups by the proposed Dates of Production and Quantity, Source: TPM Corpus, created by the author.

Figure 4.18. Quantities of Coffee cup Accompaniments and Accessories by the Dates of Manufacture and Repository/ Origin, Source: The TPM Corpus, created by the author.

Figure 4.19. Quantities of Singular Coffee Cups, Cups in a Set or Group, Source: the TPM Corpus, created by the author.

Figure 4.20. Cups and Their Paired Zarfs within a Meissen Set, ca. 1774, Meissen, TSM 26/4554, 26/4555, 26/4593 [**Cups**], 26/4546, 26/4547 and 26/4579 [**Zarfs**], Topkapı Palace Museum, Courtesy of the Museum.

Figure 4.21. A cup gilded with silver on body and gold on mouth, ca 1750, Meissen, TSM 26/2782, Topkapi Palace Museum, the courtesy of Museum.

Figure 4.22. Gilded and Ungilded Coffee Cups and *Zarfs* by Their Proposed Dates of Production, Based on the TPM Corpus, created by the author.

Figure 4.23. Handled Coffee Cups and Coffee Cups Without Handle by the Proposed Date of Manufacture, Source: TPM Corpus, created by the author.

Figure 4.24. A Meissen Imitation of Chinese Cup with Floral Decoration, Meissen, ca 1730, TSM 26/2874, Topkapı Palace Museum, Courtesy of the Museum.

Figure 4.25. Genres of coffee cups by quantity and collection, Source: TPM Corpus, created by the author.

Figure 4.26. A Cup with floral decoration, Meissen, ca 1750, TSM 26/2746, Topkapı Palace Museum, Courtesy of the Museum.

Figure 4.27. A Brown Chinese Porcelain Cup with Geometric Border at Rim inside, Jingdezhen, ca 1700, h. 4 cm, d. 5.7cm, TSM 15/8867, in Ersu Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (İstanbul: Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği and The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey, 2015), 365.

Figure 4.28. A Meissen cup depicting a castle, flowers and trees, ca 1774, TSM 25/2695, Topkapı Palace Museum, d. 5 cm **[Zarf]** and d. 6 cm. **[cup]**, Courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 4.29. A French coffee cup and its paired saucer with painted panels, Vincennes, ca 1755, h.7 d. 8.6, TSM 26/4298, Courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 4.30. A Meissen cup with floral genre and inscription, ca 1785, TSM 25/2670, Topkapı Palace Museum, d. 5.9 h. 5.1, Courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 4.31. A *Türkenkoppchen* Cup with Arabic Inscription, Meissen, ca 1755, h. 3.9 cm d. 6.2, TSM 26/4694, Courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum.

List of Abbreviations

AE. SSLM III	Ali Emiri Sultan Selim III (A Subdivision of Ottoman Archives)
BL	The British Library
BNF	The Bibliothèque nationale de France
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
KPM	Königliche Porzellan-Manufaktur
N-MSB	Nihal-Murat Sünbül Bursa Private Collection
TBMM	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Grand National Assembly of Turkey)
T.C.	Republic of Turkey
TDV	Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı (Türkiye Diyanet Foundation)
TSM	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (Topkapı Palace Museum)
TSMA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (Topkapı Palace Museum Archives)
TS.MA.d	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Defter (Topkapı Palace Museum Archives Registers)
TS.MA.e	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Evrak (Topkapı Palace Museum Archives Paper)
TSMK	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (Topkapı Palace Museum Library)
TSMK A	Topkapı Palace Museum Library Ağalar Camii
TSMK EH	Topkapı Palace Museum Library Emanet Hazinesi
TSMK H	Topkapı Palace Museum Library Hazine
TPMAR	Topkapı Palace Museum Archives Roster
TPMR	Topkapı Palace Museum Roster

WWI	World War One
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (the Dutch East India Company)



Introduction

I. The Scope of Study

The eighteenth century was not only a turning point for the modernization of the Ottoman Empire, but it also served as a key moment of reforms in the various loci of the state and its territories. Different internal and external dynamics such as westernization efforts, softening the boundaries between social classes, and increasing imperial and public events prompted the constitution of a new Ottoman consumer culture with remarkable changes in the material environment and the expressions of consumers, trends, attitudes, behaviors, and tastes in different strata of the Ottoman society. At this time, the members of the Ottoman palace, especially the Sultan, imperial family members, and high ruling elites, generated this new consumer culture, which transformed the material environment throughout the court.¹ This dissertation explores consumer behaviors, attitudes, and their profiles, in addition to consumption patterns, and trends through the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the Chinese and European porcelain coffee cups in the eighteenth-century Ottoman court. By dealing with the consumption of

¹ Within this era, the Tulip Age or *Lale Devri* (1718-1730), as it has been termed, has been singled out as one of the most popular subjects of Ottoman studies. The name, the Tulip Age, actually points out the social and cultural developments and extraordinary experimentation of the eighteenth-century Ottoman subjects, mostly the Sultan and the echelons of high elites. The tulip symbolizes both conspicuous consumption and cross- cultural borrowings since this flower was an item of exchange between the Ottoman Empire, Western Europe and East Asia. The Tulip Age's sumptuous consumption was not limited to tulips but also art, cooking, luxury goods, clothing, the building of pleasure palaces, massive social gatherings and festivals. Luxury consumption became industrialized as a way of displaying social status and power which enabled the Sultan and Grand Vizier to control the viziers and ruling elites of Istanbul by establishing themselves at the social center of the city. In other words, their ability to control consumption consolidated their political status and legitimacy. In addition to the role of consumption- as a control mechanism- in the context of the eighteenth century in general and specifically, the Tulip Age crystallized the constitution of a new Ottoman consumer culture inspired by European counterparts throughout the court, and among ruling elites, pashas and royal women. See Fariba Zarinebaf, "Istanbul in the Tulip Age," in *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul 1700-1800*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 11-16.

coffee cups in such a microcosm from an art historical perspective, my study will reveal courtly tendencies highlighting how their interests and commitments subtly transformed over the century. The binary methodology of this research, comprising both a quantitative analysis of coffee cups in the Topkapı Palace Museum collections and an inquiry of archival documents in the Topkapı Palace Museum, one of the subdivisions of the State archives, facilitates this research goal. To put it in a finer point, coffee cups were considered through their extant material exemplars, held today in Istanbul, but also through the textual traces of objects that are retained in archival sources penned in this century. This research draws upon the total number of 1263 extant objects, including Chinese and European porcelain cups and their accessory objects in this important museum collection, and 65 sources in different volumes mostly held within the archives of Turkey.

II. Material Culture and Consumption Studies

The interdisciplinary field of material culture explores the tangible remains of everyday life, drawing attention to daily practices and routines such as food, drink, work, worship, and shelter. As a related arena, but one that is more oriented around economics and quantitative approaches, consumption studies centers on the meticulous inquiry of the consumption of objects and artifacts, consumer behaviors and attitudes, patterns, trends, and models. This project falls under the scope of both material culture studies and consumption studies. My project strives to chart out new ground and contributes to the field of consumption studies by examining coffee cups in the realm of the Ottoman court

where there emerged new consumption patterns, tastes, preferences and consumers in the long span of the eighteenth century under the impacts of internal and external dynamics.

The interdisciplinary hub of consumption studies widely encompasses different disciplines such as history, economy, sociology, anthropology, archaeology, and art history. The focus of the field is based on the discussion of material possessions and practices, in a very general sense, involving the utilization and use of objects. The notion of consumption has gained great attention in social sciences over the few last decades.² Beginning in the 1970s, consumption studies witnessed a surge of great interest from scholars and inspired an engagement with material culture. In the 1980s, the field was fruitfully enriched with the development of new research strategies, methods, and a few theoretical frameworks which are oriented around both the social and symbolic significance of consuming commodities.³

² Prior to its proliferation as a field of study, the notion of consumption was inclined to be parts of debates on economic histories and material evidence through archaeology. That notion was considered to address material possessions as evidence for archaeology and theme for economic histories of commodities. See Michael Dietler, "Consumption," in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. Dan Hicks and Mary Carolyn Beaudry (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

³ Two threads of debates on consumption, in generative sense, dominated the hub of consumption studies. First, it has been broadly theorized as cultural phenomenon and significant domain of social action. For theoretical frameworks which formulate the social and cultural aspects of consumption, see Mary Isherwood Baron C. Douglas, *The world of goods : towards an anthropology of consumption* (London: Routledge, 2010); Grant McCracken, *Culture and consumption* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1990); Daniel Miller, *Consumption and its consequences* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012); Colin Campbell, "The sociology of consumption," *Acknowledging consumption : a review of new studies / edited by Daniel Miller* (1995); Robert Bocock, *Consumption* (2015); Stephen Hetherington Kevin Warde Alan Edgell, *Consumption matters : the production and experience of consumption* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the world of goods*, *Consumption and culture in the 17th and 18th centuries*, (London ;: Routledge, 1994); Thorstein Veblen, *The theory of the leisure class*. 1899, *His Writings*, (New York: A.M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1965); Arjun Appadurai, *The social life of things : commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Secondly, consumption has been theoretically framed in semiotics as it conveys codes and meanings. For such theories, see Marshall Sahlins, "On the culture of material value and the cosmography of riches," *HAU journal of ethnographic theory* 3, no. 2 (2013), <https://doi.org/10.14318/hau3.2.010>; Jean Baudrillard, *The consumer society : myths and structures*, *Theory, culture and society*, (London: Sage

Building on the theoretical foundations offered by Thorstein Veblen⁴, George Simmel⁵, Pierre Bourdieu⁶ and others, scholars in Ottoman studies became interested in consumption around the beginning of the twenty-first century. Early studies followed structuralist and Marxist discourses and frameworks in parallel with counterparts in European studies and were dominated by the fields of history and economic history in particular. Other fields such as archaeology, sociology, anthropology and art history subsequently entered into the realm of Ottoman consumption studies, drawing on the

Publications Ltd., 1998); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction : a social critique of the judgement of taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).

⁴ According to economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen's theory, members of the upper class, defined as the "leisure class", spend their time and possessions predominantly in order to demonstrate their social status and prestige. Conspicuous consumption involves in displaying ostentatious wealth and reputation in society. In brief, the accumulation of wealth and material possessions of the leisure class are based on two objectives: to be recognized by peers and to achieve higher social status in society. According to Veblen, the vicarious leisure class, differing from the general body of the working class, includes wives and servants in a house of lord or notable. *Vicarious consumption* refers to the consumption of food, clothing, dwelling and furniture by women and servants. Veblen's vicarious consumption might account for the consumption patterns of the imperial women and high ruling elites of the Ottoman court in the consumption domains where they imitated the consumption patterns of the Sultan. I will discuss this on last chapter. See Thorstein Veblen, *The theory of the leisure class. 1899*, His Writings, (New York: A.M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1965)

⁵ In Georg Simmel's view, by means of consumption, people become participating and reflective members of society, as it forms the path to cultivation. By means of the interaction with objects, subjects can use human capacity for self-reflection, and this happens to consciously construct identity and social relations. The consumption aids subjects to understand and act upon the world where they used objects. It allows the cultivation of self-reflection and self-recognition in the society. See Sassatelli Roberta, "From Value to Consumption. A Social-Theoretical Perspective on Simmel's 'Philosophie des Geldes'," *actasoci Acta Sociologica* 43, no. 3 (2000).

⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, in his *Distinction: a social critique of the Judgement of Taste*, implements a theory of practice to the field of consumption. According to Bourdieu's theory of consumer taste formation, similar to Veblen's conspicuous consumption, Bourdieu views consumption through the social stratification of society. He is concerned about the ways in which consumer preferences and tastes are distributed in highly patterned ways according to the positions and status of consumers, within fields of social power. His theory considers how consumption mutually echoes such relational positions of consumers. Consumption became embodied through life experience within particular class and status positions by actively straightening power relations. See Bourdieu, *Distinction : a social critique of the judgement of taste*, 169-225; Michael Dietler, "Consumption," in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. Dan Hicks and Mary Carolyn Beaudry (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 213-14.

plentiful visual and textual sources from archives and the important material evidence that can be marshalled from the long Ottoman period.

It is an undeniable fact that the collected volume, edited by Donald Quataert in 2000, awakened great interest to the interdisciplinary field of consumption in Ottoman studies.⁷ He identifies this work as “an initial foray”. Indeed, it can be said that his book founded the sub-discipline of Ottoman consumption studies.⁸ This pioneer study gathers different consumption themes encompassed around the early modern Ottoman society such as food consumption, the Tulip Age, the formation of Ottoman consumer society, inheritance inventories as sources, and dress, and sparked further studies which probed not only consumption in Istanbul, but also in other consumption trajectories of the empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a general sense, Quataert draws three conclusions for overall Ottoman consumption patterns: first, they commenced with the intensive consumption of coffee and tobacco in the seventeenth century. Next, habits of consumption were expanded and deepened with the import of Indian textiles and rising Ottoman manufactories in the long eighteenth century. Finally, consumption boomed by means of local production in the nineteenth century.⁹

The concept of westernization is a popular one which questions the intervention of Western influences and the growing popularity of European objects within the Ottoman consumption culture. Also, it aims to shed light on the transformation of the

⁷ Donald Quataert, *Consumption studies and the history of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922 : an introduction* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2000).

⁸ Quataert, *Consumption studies and the history of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922 : an introduction*, 3.

⁹ Quataert, *Consumption studies and the history of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922 : an introduction*, 3.

material culture environment of Ottoman society, under the growing impact of the west. I identify three different approaches of scholars in Ottoman material culture and consumption. First of all, early studies focused on the study and transcription of inheritance inventories as sources for Ottoman social history.¹⁰ This yielded to some further prosopographic research which centered on material possessions and consumption practices of specific groups of the Ottoman society, such as ruling elites, court servants or governors in the periphery.

The second thread gathers around the concept of westernization, and its effect on the material environment and the consumption culture of the empire. This thread highlights the well-known decline paradigm and tends to be located in the short period of the Tulip Age.¹¹ In this sense, westernization efforts of the Ottoman state have been considered as the direct catalyst for changes of novel material possessions in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Ottomanists who adopted this concept use inventories and archival documents for tracing the consumption of European objects as active agents. The latter thread provides a more nuanced and syncretic view of westernization, by weighing salient external factors with social, economic, political and cultural developments that took place internally. This revisionist approach denies westernization as a sole catalyst for developments in the new Ottoman consumer culture. For supporters

¹⁰ Ömer Lütfi Barkan conducted the earliest studies by transliterating some documents and they revealed social history of Ottoman empire. He delves into the inheritance inventories of Askeri Kassam of the city of Edirne. Askeri Kassam was a secondary judge who apportioned estate of ruling elites in rural to their heirs. See Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamına Ait Tereke Defterleri, 1545-1659", *TTK Belgeler*, No: 3, 1966.

¹¹ Ariel Salzmann, "The age of Tulips: confluence and conflict in early modern consumer culture (1550-1730)," *Consumption studies and the history of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922* (2000); Dana Sajdi, "Ottoman tulips, Ottoman coffee : leisure and lifestyle in the eighteenth century" (2014).

of this approach, internal dynamics are the foundational determinants of consumption tendencies and motivations of consumers, even while they acknowledge the western impact¹². For example, the intense construction of waterfront palaces, *yahılar* (*yalı*, sing.) on the Bosphorus is cast as the result of a synthesis of influences rather than a simple adoption of western building approaches in the span of the eighteenth century.¹³

In my research, I take into consideration these various debates and preoccupations, while concentrating on the relationship between princely possessions of porcelain coffee cups and their ostentatious consumption among the Ottoman court society without assuming the predominance of any single tradition. Hence, I aim to shed light on changes in consumption trends, tastes, patterns and consumer behaviors by means of qualitative and qualitative analysis of the use of porcelain coffee cups in the eighteenth century. Through this approach, I aim to think about the multiple dynamics, internal and external, western, but also East Asian, which were in play in regard to porcelain consumption during this period.

Another significant concept in Ottoman consumption studies is conspicuous consumption, drawing on Veblen's theory of the leisure class. As it is retained in this study, the notion of conspicuous consumption underlines the consumptive behaviors of those who aim to attain status and power across class spheres. This concept mostly highlights the material possession and consumption attitudes of elites and high-ranked class members. Some scholarship in Ottoman consumption studies delve into the concept

¹² Sümeyye Hoşgör Büke, "Changes in the Consumption of Ottomans in the Eighteenth Century" (PhD Middle East Technical University, 2019).

¹³ Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 1 (2004).

of conspicuous consumption through material possessions, consumption domains and consumer identities of court members and high- ruling elites in the Ottoman capital.¹⁴ In addition to those studies which explored conspicuous consumption among Ottoman elites in Istanbul, significant research has been conducted to clarify conspicuous consumption activities of ruling elites and even middle-class members in other territories of the empire such as Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Smyrna (İzmir), Beirut, Cyprus and Thrace.¹⁵

The scope of conspicuous consumption of various Ottoman subjects in the palace generally includes luxury commodities such as silk textiles, jewels, porcelain wares and furniture, much of which was confiscated by the state after the death of owner. Vast archival materials such as treasury registers, estate records and court records shed light on material possessions and consumption among the denizens of court society. For my project, I followed this line of study by singling out porcelain cups of court members

¹⁴ Tülay Artan specifically approaches to the food consumption, foodways and kitchen stuff of the eighteenth-century Ottoman court elites with the examination of archival documents including financial ones for the court. She also draws attention of the changing character of the consumption in the Imperial Kitchen by means of a close analysis of kitchen registers. See Tülay Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's Food Consumption: Looking for "Staples," "Luxuries," and "Delicacies" in a Changing Century", *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*, (ed.) Quataert, Donald, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press 2000, pp. 107-200.

¹⁵ Justin Anthony Mann and Benjamin A. Saidel, "Kütahya Ware Coffee Cups in Rural Cyprus and Greece: Peasant Ware It Is Not," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (2019/06/01 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-018-0469-y>, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-018-0469-y>; Uzi Baram, "Material Culture, Commodities and Consumption in Ottoman Palestine 1500-1900" (PhD UMass Amherst, 1996); James Grehan, *Everyday life & consumer culture in 18th-century Damascus*, Publications on the Near East, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007); Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, "A Taste for Home : The Modern Middle Class in Ottoman Beirut," (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503601475>; Aimee C. Saidel Benjamin A. East Carolina University Department of Anthropology Bouzigard, "Archaeological evidence for the consumption of tobacco and coffee in Ottoman Arabia," (2010), <http://hdl.handle.net/10342/2905>. Aimee Bouzigard, "Archaeological Evidence For The Consumption of Tobacco and Coffee in Ottoman Arabia" (PhD East Carolina University, 2010), <http://hdl.handle.net/10342/2905>, <http://worldcat.org>; Colette Estabiet, "Consuming Luxurious and Exotic Goods in Damascus around 1700," (2017).

including the Sultan, imperial women, high ruling elites and other court officials, instead of focusing on the lower class, whose activities are not well documented historically.

Within the literature, a few studies have been key for my own research. For example, Lynda Carroll, in her research, views the ceramic record in Late Ottoman Anatolia, as archaeological evidence of social dimensions of consumption.¹⁶ Carroll examines the ceramic consumption of the non- elite segment of the Ottoman society in early modern Anatolia. As she generally questions several dimensions and scales of non- elite social action through ceramic consumption, she argues that the use of ceramics underlines the creation of symbols which represent elite and non- elite consumption. Moreover, a recent book on consumption, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Elif Akçetin, engaged in a comparative study on consumption themes between China and the Ottoman Empire, which are relevant in regard to export porcelain.¹⁷ In this book, Amanda Phillips` contribution specifically delves into the material possessions of Ali Pasha, a member of the eighteenth-century ruling elite, in his different households. She elaborates such material practices with a qualitative analysis of some extant objects from Ali Pasha`s treasury in the light of estate inventories.¹⁸ In general, Phillips examines how Ottoman subjects, Ali Pasha in particular, utilized material culture to shape their lives. One of the significant findings in her statistical analysis of Ali Pasha`s holdings demonstrates that

¹⁶ Lynda Carroll, "Toward an Archaeology of Non-Elite Consumption in Late Ottoman Anatolia," in *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Uzi Baram (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002).

¹⁷ Elif and Faroqhi Suraiya Akçetin, *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 2018).

¹⁸ Amanda Phillips, "Ali Paşa and His Stuff: An Ottoman Household in Istanbul and Van," in *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Elif Akçetin and Suraiya Faroqhi (Boston: Brill, 2018).

Ali Pasha luxuriously consumed illuminated Qur`ans and porcelains in contrast to non-luxurious stuff including worn shirts and bedding. In the same way, Yıldız Yılmaz`s work is important as she takes a close view of the material possessions and use of kitchen wares, including porcelain, by some distinguished Harem eunuchs of the eighteenth-century Ottoman court.¹⁹ Yılmaz draws attention to the role of porcelains in the competition between Harem Eunuchs who aimed to be more active in court affairs and gain prestige. Another significant study by Selim Karahasanoğlu closely explores the consumer behavior of Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa, a high ranked ruling elite in the Tulip Age, and his household, by balancing qualitative and quantitative analysis. He extracted statistical data from some personal expense registers of Ibrahim Pasha and traces changes of consumer behaviors through food and material consumption.²⁰

Vast archival materials, consisting of treasury registers, estate records, registers of confiscated items (*muhallefat defterleri*), probate inventories (*Tereke*) and single page letters, avail to Ottomanists to explore the various consumption domains of the Empire. As I argue, the most detailed and organized documents are treasury records, which list and sometimes describe inventoried objects in the Ottoman court.

Research into Ottoman consumption is at present far enough advanced with increasing interests of scholars. Even so, the contribution of the discipline of Art History

¹⁹ Yıldız Yılmaz, "Cutting a Fine Figure among Pots and Pans: Aghas of the Sultans Harem in the Eighteenth Century," in *Living the Good Life*, ed. Elif and Suraiya Faroqhi Akçetin (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017).

²⁰ Selim Karahasanoğlu, "Challenging the Paradigm of the Tulip Age: The Consumer Behavior of Nevşehirli Damat İbrahim Paşa and His Household," in *Living the Good Life : Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. and Suraiya Faroqhi Elif Akçetin (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

into the field is still limited, and thus sorely needed. As an example, in her classification of aspects on the Ottoman consumption, Suraiya Faroqhi solely counted social, economic and political aspects, completely overlooking the discipline of art history.²¹ I believe that my dissertation will significantly contribute to the field with an art historical perspective and prompt future studies in the realms of Ottoman consumption and material culture.

Most of the current scholarship on Ottoman consumption culture generalizes consumption to patterns and trends. As a corrective, this study focuses on a view of a group of specific objects, with attention to their material qualities. An art historical view can, thus, develop a better and more nuanced understanding of changes in consumption patterns and tastes of the Ottoman ruling elites. Hence, my art historical perspective on the courtly consumption of Chinese and European porcelain coffee cups, which charts out their quantitative and qualitative definitions, will explore preferences of such a specific group of consumers and changes in their consumption environment. Furthermore, my research will focus on such specific luxurious objects, instead of a generalized view, while defining features and various elements of coffee cups, such as decorative programs, surface treatments, utilitarian additions and colors.

My research crosses boundaries that have frequently delineated and divided up the study of porcelain at the court. The Chinese and Asian porcelain wares in Topkapı, and even coffee cups from the 16th century to 19th century have been well-published in a major three-volume catalogue by Regina Krahl. Unfortunately, such collective research

²¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, "Research on the History of Consumption: A Preliminary Exploration of Sources and Models," in *Consumption Studies and the History of Ottoman Empire, 1550- 1922: An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000), 21-22.

does not apply to wares and cups from the European manufactories. Solely, two exhibition catalogues gather the most representative samples of European cups in a manner which accentuates utilitarian characters of cups.²² As they are more definitive, these two studies neglect the roles of porcelain wares and specifically coffee cups in the consumption network of the Ottoman court. My project is unique in that it collectively amasses cups from the Chinese and European porcelain collections of the museum in a manner which contextualizes them in the scope of consumption and places them in dialogue with each other.

Lastly, my binary methodology, including both archival study and quantitative analysis of extant exemplars, is crucial and significant. This methodology provides an advantage, by taking into consideration objects that have long been lost to time, and by bringing together traces of their presence with those that have been well-preserved at the imperial palace. More importantly, data collected for this research will compel researchers to delve into unearthed aspects of porcelain collections and encourage debates about the consumption of these cups.

III. The Methodology of the Research

As active agents and crucial references of the emerging Ottoman consumer culture in the imperial court of the eighteenth century, porcelain coffee cups from China and European manufactories played significant roles in the daily lives of the denizens of

²² See Regina Krahl, John G Ayers, and Nurdan Erbahar, *Chinese ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul: a complete catalogue*, vol. 1 (London: Sotheby, 1986); Ersu Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği and The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey, 2015).

the Ottoman court society. Different subjects of the court participated in the frequent and highly visible daily routine of ritualistic coffee serving events. Hence, a quantitative and qualitative analysis of such prestigious objects and related archival documents shed light on the social roles of these cups, the dynamics that encouraged court figures to consume, the profiles of consumers, consumer approaches, consumption models, and trends in the alleged age of the westernization. This study utilizes an object-based analysis of porcelain coffee cups, paired with quantitative and qualitative information extracted from objects in the Topkapı Palace Museum and archival documents from its vast archives.

My research is chronologically limited to the eighteenth century and, spatially to the Ottoman court. One of the main tenets of this study is that these limitations highlight the locus of the court as the pioneer of consumption trends and tastes and the eighteenth century as a time span when the Ottoman society witnessed extraordinary alterations and encountered new objects. It is worth saying that collections of the museum clarify the largest material possessions through the court in the eighteenth century. The literature review involved both generalized and specific scholarship on porcelain wares and cups. At this stage, I noticed that further quantitative research for European porcelain cups was required in contrast to those in the Chinese porcelain collection. This brought me to identify a lacuna in the study of Ottoman consumption.

Following the completion of the literature review, my approach to the analysis of porcelain coffee cups essentially entailed two types of inquiries. At first, wide archival research was implemented to better understand the defining features and the nature of consumption of coffee cups in the court as well as the identification of courtly

consumers. The total number of 65 *defter*s (Registers) and *evraks* (Letters) from both the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives and other Ottoman sections of the State Archives were surveyed. All of the surveyed archival documents are accessible in preview format through the document search system of the State Archives upon a simple login. I initially procured the porcelain-related documents which Regina Krahl already enlisted in her large catalogue of the Chinese porcelains in the Palace. Then, my meticulous research through the document search system added new documents which directly address quantitative and qualitative features of porcelain coffee cups, thereby adding to the existing list. Hence, my study explores new archival documents for porcelain coffee cups besides the list arranged by Regina Krahl.²³

On the other hand, I carefully set a chronological limitation and accordingly only selected documents from the time span of the eighteenth century. Soon after, all coffee cup entries were determined and transliterated into modern Turkish from Ottoman Turkish in Arabic script. Also, I manually handpicked various words which refer to the nature of porcelain coffee cups such as color, additions, gilt/ungilded, present conditions, and damage. A unique table that collects all terms in different classifications has been created for this research. (Figure Introduction.1) A detailed discussion of the archival sources as the primary material for this dissertation will be in the next chapter. It is worth noting that the more current scholarship on porcelain coffee cups and the exploration of archival documents on the consumption of porcelain cups have only just begun, there are

²³ Krahl, Ayers, and Erbahar, *Chinese ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul: a complete catalogue*, 72-76.

many more archival documents that have not yet been studied. I believe that my project will prompt future research in this context.

The second inquiry of my project is a data analysis of a selected corpus of extant objects from the museum. Prior to data analysis, I completed a literature review in order to learn how many cups from the museum have been published, which resulted in a very small number, thereby necessitating in-person research in the museum. Even if the COVID pandemic interrupted my research, I carried out onsite study in the Topkapı Palace Museum in Spring 2021. For this, I collected data on 1263 objects including coffee cups and their accompaniments such as cup holders (*zarfs*) and saucers.²⁴ Then, this data yielded the construction of two different datasets, which I named the Topkapı Palace Museum dataset, abbreviated as TPM, and the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives dataset, abbreviated as TPMA. This data was used to present various visualizations, which facilitates better understanding of the consumption of these objects at the Ottoman court. The fourth chapter of this dissertation will elaborate the stages of this inquiry of my research methodology.

IV. Overview of Dissertation Chapters

Chapter 1 presents an overview of the archival documents used for the writing of this dissertation. They include visual illustrations and engravings, and textual sources, large volume registers and single page imperial orders, which were penned in the eighteenth-century Ottoman court. This section involves an extensive survey of existing

²⁴ Throughout the rest of this dissertation, I will address cup holders as *zarf* or plural *Zarfs*.

primary source materials, most of which the Topkapı Palace Museum archives holds, by delving into coffee cup entries and visual descriptions of cups in various documents. A closer look into frequent definitive statements of cup entries will be provided to comprehend the ways that coffee cups were recorded. As a contribution, I have supplemented previously identified archival documents on coffee cups with newer and unacknowledged archival materials.

In the second chapter, I provide a historical view of the introduction of coffee as a drink into the Ottoman territories. This points to the first emergence of this social drink in Istanbul, the hearth of the Empire, and its proliferation into other territories of the empire. Also, in addition to the background of vernacularizing the drink into the Ottoman lands, the second part of this chapter deals with the material practices of the Ottoman coffee culture which remained relatively unchanged during the span of time since it began to disseminate through the court and other segments of the Ottoman society.

In the third chapter, “Shiny Surfaces: Chinese and European Porcelains in Topkapı Palace Museum Collections”, I cover briefly the history of porcelain, ending with the achievement of porcelain production in Europe that finally resulted in the end of the Chinese monopoly on this industry. I zoom in on the porcelain collections of the Topkapı Palace Museum which hold pieces of porcelain from different centuries. Indeed, the museum`s holdings constitute the largest porcelain collections after those in China and Europe. Moving on to coffee cups, I initially elaborate the technical and decorative characteristics of porcelain coffee cups in both collections undergirded by quantitative information. Then, the following section, “Data for the Research: Topkapı Palace

Museum and Topkapı Palace Museum Archives Datasets” presents the details of quantitative material, encompassed in two different datasets, and epitomizes expansive quantitative data extracted from extant objects and archival materials. This section aims to provide a better understanding of the quantities of studied cups by their dates of manufacture and collections.

In the last chapter of this dissertation, I single out various internal and external dynamics which may have triggered changes in the consumption of porcelain cups at the court and preferences of courtly consumers at the outset. My discussion on dynamics of the consumption of cups is followed by a quest to locate the identities of court consumers. Along with the quantitative data harvested from the corpus of archival documents, I track identities of different consumers from various segments of the palace such as the Sultan, imperial women and high ruling elites as well as visitors and servants by exemplifying a few remarkable consumers who obtained large collections of cups in their households. Next, my discussion centers on the interpretation of the consumption sphere of the Ottoman court where significant changes occurred in the conspicuous consumption of cups.



Chapter 1: Primary Resources of the Research

This research draws upon two distinct arrays of primary sources, visual and archival, which support the understanding of Ottoman consumption and shed light on the political, economic, social, and cultural dynamics of the period, the daily routines of courtiers and the events of the state. Even though the quantity of eighteenth-century visual sources depicting coffee drinking and coffee cups are limited, they can contribute to understanding historic coffee consumption patterns. The limited existing visual resources of the period, including illustrations from manuscripts and engravings of illustrated books, add to the understanding of eighteenth-century consumption culture, and more specifically to the use of imported porcelain coffee cups in the court. To be more precise, manuscript illustrations and engravings that illustrate the consumption of coffee cups reveal how coffee cups could have been mobilized in courtly events and daily routines of the members of the Ottoman court. They also shed light on who the primary consumers were, and the imperial activities at which coffee cups were utilized.

1.1. Visual Sources

Illustrated manuscripts produced by Ottoman painters are significant resources that help us to understand aspects of eighteenth-century court life which cannot be conveyed through texts. One of the key manuscripts of the Tulip Era, Levni's *Surname* or *Surname-i Vehbi*, delineates daily events, banquets, presentations, and performances

during the circumcision feast for the 4 princes of Sultan Ahmed III in 1720.²⁵ This lavishly illustrated manuscript includes two illustrations which feature coffee cups.

Folios 38b and 39a depict performances of Egyptian acrobats to the Sultan and his entourage. In folio 38b, an Egyptian acrobat wearing a red fez and yellow striped top performs turning a hoop with nine footed blue and white porcelain coffee cups inside. He faces towards the Sultan, Grand Vizier, and his entourage.²⁶ Herein, Chinese coffee cups were used due to their fragility and featured to display the acrobat's talents at preserving them intact. It is still unknown whether coffee cups from the imperial treasury were allocated for such performances during the festival. It is possible that they were, as the Chinese porcelain collection of the palace holds dozens of footed porcelain coffee cups like those featured in the painting.²⁷ (Figure 1.1 and 1.2)

²⁵ *Surname* is the general name of books written on festivities in a literary manner in the Ottoman Empire. Penned by Vehbi and illustrated by Levni, *Surname-i Vehbi* illuminates the circumcision festival of princes of Sultan Ahmed III that lasted 15 days in the early autumn of the year 1720, with 137 colored paintings and a total of 175 pages. Along with the participation of the Sultan, princes, the Grand Vizier, viziers, and ruling elites, the denizens from all strata of the Ottoman society voluntarily or obligatorily attended this event at different levels of occasions such as contributors, performers, guests, and spectators. Besides four princes, this state-funded event state-funded circumcision of some sons of high-ranked Ottoman officials and thousands of male children of poor citizens in the favor of the Sultan. All organizations comprising princely banquets, performances of acrobats, parades of different occasions, shows, and feasts for lower-class members aimed to entertain all attendants. See Özgen and Sinem Erdoğan İşkorkutan Felek, "Introduction: Ceremonies, Festivals, and Rituals in the Ottoman World," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6, no. 1 (2019).

The earliest copies of this book finished date to 1735. The original copy is in the Library of Topkapı Palace Museum. Other single copies were identified at Vienna National Library, British Library, and at BNF, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. See Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri* (Istanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2009), 23-55.

²⁶ Other performers involve one carrying heavy jars and water-filled vases over his head, one carrying a huge vase over his head, one walking barefoot on sharp swords, and one carrying two men around his waist. See Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 1999), 212.

²⁷ Most of the footed coffee cups accumulated in the Chinese Porcelains Collection of the museum date to the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century. For a footed coffee cup of the seventeenth century, see TSM 15/9673 in Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, 365.

Another illustration from the *Surname*, folio 61a, demonstrates the reception of religious sheiks and performances of acrobats.²⁸ On the afternoon of September 18th, 1720, the imams of the imperial mosques had already been received by Ali Pasha under the surveillance of the Sultan in an open space where the Sultan, seated on the throne, his three sons, the Grand vizier, and his entourage are present. The right page of the illustration displays performances of Egyptian acrobats for the Sultan and his sons. With their leader, named Hacı Şahin, Egyptian acrobats walk along ropes stretched across a field, balancing on their feet with swords. Below, a group of 260 boys, led by surgeons, make their way to the circumcision tents as part of a parade. Hacı Şahin interestingly sits on a basket positioned at the top of a pole. He fills a coffee cup from a coffee pot. It is possibly a blue and white cup. Unlike those coffee cups pictured in the former image, this coffee cup is not a footed one, but rather sit on a flat base. In this scene, the coffee cup is not only part of entertainment but also part of the apparatus of festivity and consumption. (Figure 1.3 and 1.4)

Costume albums which were a widespread genre during this period, feature generic portraits of types of people that could be found in the Ottoman world. *The Habits of the Grand Signor`s Court* is an album of Ottoman costumes used in the court by the Sultan, dignitaries, and court officials, and currently held in the British Museum`s collections.²⁹ (Figure 1.5) The album illustrations highlight their unique costumes and

²⁸ See Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of An Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival*, 222.

²⁹ *Kahveji* or Coffee Maker, *The Habits of the Grand Signor`s Court*, c.a. 1620, inv. no.1928,0323,0.46.98, British Museum.

usually single out their subjects by labels. The album is significant in that it depicts the coffee maker, who was the most important preparer of the coffee drinking rituals that shape the daily routines of the Ottoman Sultan and the court notables. The page of the album inscribed with the label, *kahveci* or coffee maker, at the top. Wearing a blue tunic, red trousers, and a white turban, he holds two coffee cups in his hands and a towel on his shoulder. In this case, we have yet another type of cup. These are footed coffee cups that bear a red floral decoration on the surface. The Topkapı collection has no exact exemplars of cups with red floral decoration scheme. Instead, the Chinese porcelain collection of the Palace has Chinese *Imari* blue and white coffee cups with red enamel in similar floral decoration. For example, a similar cup in the collection has a higher base than standard cups and floral decoration which comprises of two scrolling flowers sprays round the outside. This floral decoration on the cup bear blue underpainted leaves and details added with red enamel.³⁰ (Figure 1.6)

Two eighteenth-century illustrations which stemmed from Ottoman costume albums depict the chief coffeemaker for the Grand vizier while holding coffee cups. In one of these illustrations which was allegedly painted by Fenerci Mehmed, in the album, known as Fenerci Mehmed Album, the coffeemaker of the Grand Vizier is wearing a long blue robe and holds a coffee tray with twelve coffee cups in *zarfs* in his left hand

This illustration is accessible through the British Museum website and published in a source. See Ladan; Porter Venetia; Fahmida Suleman Akbarnia, *The Islamic World a History In Objects* (London: Thames & Hudson/The British Museum, 2018), 173.

³⁰ TS 15/5760

and a coffee pot in his right hand.³¹ (Figure 1.7) A red towel specific for coffee presentation dangles from his right shoulder. He looks like a young boy, similar to the coffeemaker who is abovementioned. Here, coffee cups can hardly be identified, but they were depicted in *zarfs* and might probably have been white cups without decoration. Another illustration from an anonymous album in the Topkapı Palace Museum Manuscript Library, shows a young boy who serves coffee.³² (Figure 1.8) He holds a blue and white coffee cup with a high base in his left hand and a brown towel in his right hand. Similar to other coffeemaker figures, the boy wears a white turban and identical costume.

Turning back to the role of the chief coffee maker, he was one of the most important officials in the Privy Chamber and the offices of the Grand Vizier and other viziers. The chief coffeemaker was the head of the servants and the ultimate person who finally presented coffee in the forefront. While each servant carried some coffee serving paraphernalia such as cups on a tray, a towel and a pot on a brazier, the chief did not handle such items until the presentation began. Depending on the status, three or five people were available to assist the presentation. Crowded events required more staff, as is represented in a late eighteenth-century French engraving. (Figure 1.9) In the palace, there were several coffeemakers in addition to the chief. The others were assigned to other parts of the court such as the Harem, the Imperial Kitchen, and the offices of the Grand Vizier. As the chief coffee maker was selected from experienced men, the other

³¹ This album is in the private collection of Vehbi Koç. See İlhami Turan, Aydın Erkmen and Robert BragnerAtasoy Nurhan Turan İlhami Mehmed, *Osmanlı kıyafetleri : Fenerci Mehmed Albümü* (İstanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 1986).

³² TSMK H 2159, 58b

servants were mostly young boys.³³ He looks like a youth and might be a coffee maker of one of the court offices apart from the Privy Chamber. This illustration of the coffee maker attests to this important role in the court, as an intermediary between consumed and consumer, who handled coffee cups, and interacted with the aficionados of the court.

A painting from another costume album, possibly rendered in the 1720s, provides more details. This album is currently in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and titled “Le serail et divers personnages Turcs”.³⁴ As with the above-mentioned volume, this album consists of a range of paintings that depict Ottoman court servants such as the head of cabinets, the Agha of the Harem, the Halberdier with tresses, the head of the Inner treasury, the falconer, the gardener, and other more generic figures such as a Greek priest, a Bektashi Dervish, a young Muslim, and a porter. The illustration is remarkable in providing a view into the eighteenth-century Harem, its attendants, the serving of coffee in the harem, and the role of coffee cups in this consumption sphere. (Figure 1.10 and 1.11) The Sultana is the main figure, who is depicted with a garment that reveals her cleavage and a gold embroidered turban. She leans on traditional Turkish brocade embroidered pillows without compromising her comfort. The eunuch who wears a pink tunic and white turban, guards the door on the right side of the painting. On the left side, the head of the female servants kneels to serve coffee to the sultana while her three assistants stand by. This painting provides a sense of coffee serving rituals in the Harem.

³³ Zeynep Tarım, "Osmanlı Devlet Teşrifatında Kahve İkramı," in *Bir Yudum Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2016), 199-214.

³⁴ This album was one of the diplomatic gifts which the Ottoman envoy Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi presented to the King Louis XV in 1721. Accessible through BNF Gallica digital archives. Also see Nebahat Avcioğlu and Finbarr Barry Flood, "Introduction: Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 18-19.

More clearly, as seen in this painting, the coffee presentation, which was a part of daily routines in the Ottoman palace and took place in a ritualistic atmosphere, reflects extreme care and respect for the consumer. In addition, the coffee cup used in the presentation is fairly simple and unadorned, unlike its gilded saucer.

As Leslie Peirce has noted, the harem was not a closed universe. Indeed, the women in the palace wielded political power, namely, through their reproductive power, as they played the key role of securing, rearing, and positioning the descendants of the Sultan.³⁵ One of the most important sources about Harem dynamics was left by Lady Mary Montagu, a British woman aristocrat and writer who visited the Ottoman harem between 1716 and 1718 and described this small universe without prejudice. Indeed, in contrast to many of her European counterparts, she feels great sympathy for the institution and the women that she encountered. Montagu's literary expressions³⁶ were

³⁵ Leslie P. Peirce, *The imperial harem : women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, Studies in Middle Eastern history, (New York ;: Oxford University Press, 1993).

³⁶ "I was in my travelling habit, which is a riding dress...there were two hundred women, and yet none of those disdainful smiles or satirical whispers that never fail in our assemblies when anybody appears that is not dressed exactly in fashion....[They] all being in the state of nature, that is, in plain English, stark naked, without any beauty or defect concealed. Yet there was not the least wanton smile or immodest gesture amongst them. They walked and moved with the same majestic grace which Milton describes of our general mother. There were many amongst them as exactly proportioned as ever any goddess was drawn by the pencil of Guido or Titian, and most of their skins shiningly white, only adorned by their beautiful hair divided into many tresses...perfectly representing the figures of the Graces....To tell you the truth, I had wickedness enough to wish secretly that Mr. Gervase could have been there invisible. I fancy it would have very much improved his art to see so many fine women naked, in different postures, some in conversation, some working, others drinking coffee or sherbet...In short, 'tis the women's coffee house, where all the news of the town is told, scandal invented etc....The lady that seemed the most considerable amongst them entreated me to sit by her and would fain have unaddressed me for the bath. I excused myself with some difficulty, they being however all so earnest in persuading me, I was at last forced to open my shirt, and show them my stays, which satisfied them very well, for I saw they believed I was so locked up in that machine, that it was not in my own power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my husband." See Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. Malcolm Jack, with an introduction by Anita Desai (London: William Pickering, 1993), letter XXVII, 58-60.

followed by visual depictions of the Harem and other parts of the palace.³⁷ Thanks to the developing relations with the West, while Ottoman courtiers took delight in the European-style life, some western officials such as Antoine Ignace Melling and Mouradgea D`Ohsson began to work for imperial members in the palace. Melling, a French painter, and architect served both Selim III and his sister Hadice Sultan by leading their architectural programs at the end of the eighteenth century.³⁸ Once he returned to Paris in 1803, he published his book, *Pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives Bosphore*, with engravings of Istanbul. One of the engravings in the book, *Interior d`un Salon du Palais de La Sultana Hadidge*, depicts the consumption culture of the palace elite and of a palace woman who was particularly engaged with collecting porcelain. (Figure 1.12 and 1.13) It should be noted that this was a period of time when the court had moved out of the long-standing Topkapı Palace and built new personal seaside palaces that stretched along the Bosphorus. These new dwellings always involved the newest fashions and trends in the eighteenth century, including imported coffee cups.³⁹ In

³⁷ Kader Konuk, "Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters: Reenacting Lady Mary Wortley Montagu," *Criticism* 46, no. 3 (2004).; Vicki A. Spencer, "'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Women's Coffee House,'" in *Feminist Moments: Reading Feminist Texts*, ed. Katherine and Smits and Susan Bruce (London: Bloomsbury Academics, 2016), 35-42.

³⁸ Melling was responsible for designing and constructing imperial residences and mansions on shoreline of Istanbul. Also, he established contacts between Palace consumers and European merchants. Especially, European furniture were must-haves of Hadice Sultan. See Antoine Ignace Melling, C. Boschma, and Jacques Perot, *Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763-1831) : artiste-voyageur : Musée Carnavalet, 19 mai-19 juillet 1991* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 1991); Frédéric Hitzel, "Correspondence Between Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763-1801) and Hatice Sultan" (paper presented at the The international Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman-World, Istanbul, 12-15 April 1999 1999), 221-23.

³⁹ See Antoine Ignace Melling, 1763-1831, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore / d'apr es les dessins de M. Melling, architecte de l'Empereur Selim III et dessinateur de la Sultane Hadidge sa soeur*, 11: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Paris.

this engraving, Hadice Sultan sits in the central hall of her palace and her entourage stands on. A group of female servants on the left side prepares to serve coffee to the Sultana and other women present. In this scene, the large number of servants highlight the prestige and the sumptuousness of these ritualistic presentations. It is hard to discern the visual details of the coffee cups on the tray, but they might have been covered so that they retained heat as long as kept on the tray.

To put it in a nutshell, even though the above-mentioned contemporary visual resources which depict coffee cups are limited, they are vital and essential to this research. Paintings and engravings fruitfully delineate how and where coffee cups could have been featured in the court life. Some of the depictions are detailed enough to discern the details and ornamental patterns of the individual specimens. It is worth mentioning that all of the above-mentioned images that can be scrutinized closely appear to depict Chinese porcelain cups, with their characteristic designs often executed in blue and white. They do not present any details that would allow us to assign a European identity to them, even while we know that many European cups were being used at this time.

1.2. Archival Resources

By contrast, the archival sources about coffee cups are quite extensive. The vast collection of Ottoman archives includes 300.000 registers and 150 million papers, which are kept in various repositories. These documents are essential for studies of the eighteenth-century Ottoman world along with other resources such as travelogues, letters, historiographies, and literary writings, too. The correspondence and operations between

the institutions and offices of the state were continually being developed. Namely, the expansion of the borders of the state made it important to keep more regular records. Especially in the 18th century, with the effect of westernization, the new administrative methods produced neater and more standardized records and a culture of scribal expertise.

For this research, the archival resources consulted broadly include imperial orders, registers, and papers. This research specifically drew upon a broad range of financial documents such as *muhallefat* registers, sales registers, accounting registers of the Inner Treasury, Incoming and outgoing registers of treasuries of the palace, and single page papers which usually feature imperial orders. Almost all of the archival resources studied for this dissertation are digitized and easily accessed through the website of the Directorate of State Archives.⁴⁰ Except for a few, all the registers and papers consulted are located in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, abbreviated as TSMA D.

65 registers and documents provide vital information on the consumption of porcelains and especially coffee cups in the court as well as the political, economic, and cultural dynamics which had an impact on the consumption culture of Ottoman elites in the eighteenth century. Each of the selected documents mentions at least one or more coffee cups. Such registers and documents reveal the ways in which the court elites consumed porcelain coffee cups, but also which consumers had the highest number of porcelain coffee cups in their collections or confiscated from their collection, in addition

⁴⁰ All archival documents are compiled in three different sub-categories: Republic archives, Ottoman Archives, and Turkish Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For further reading, see Stanford J. Shaw, "Archival Sources for Ottoman History: The Archives of Turkey," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80, no. 1 (1960).

to indicating the locus of porcelain coffee cups within the court. Even though registers and papers provide information about the number of coffee cups available in a specific locus such as a part of the treasury, such numbers are uncertain and cannot be used as definitive quantitative data, because of the possibility that a single coffee cup could be recorded in more than one register at the same time. (Figure 1.14)

Archival documents pertaining to the number of coffee cups or consumption of them in the eighteenth-century Ottoman court adhere to four different types of documents: Treasury records, *muhallefat* documents, gift, and dowry registers, and sales registers. However, especially treasury records and *muhallefat* documents are generalized and they have sub-categorized documents. There are no specific documents which fulfilled the specific role of recording coffee cups. Instead, different types of minor documents record coffee cups in the court, such as expense registers, incoming and outgoing staff records in treasury registers and registers of the pantry of the Imperial Kitchen, *matbah*. On the other side, registers and papers which address coffee cups are not well-ordered chronologically. In other words, those documents were not penned by scribes at regular intervals, even if they appear more frequently in the eighteenth century than in previous periods.

Records of the treasuries in the palace have been jotted down in three different registers. Firstly, the itemized register of the Inner Treasury, *Enderun Hazinesi Tadaat defteri*, briefly records a variety of high-value goods and eased further inspection for

items that were being recorded for the first time, and then as confirmation for periodical recounting.⁴¹

Specifically, gilded and jeweled porcelain coffee cups which must have been ready for the immediate use of the Sultan and courtiers were inventoried in these Inner treasury registers. The second treasury register is the repertory register, *Tadad defteri*. This register lists objects in secondary treasuries of the court by the number of boxes according to court security protocols. Coffee cups which are less important than other more costly or rare goods, and substitutes were enlisted through this register. Lastly, the Treasury Income and Expense Register records incoming and outgoing porcelain wares and coffee cups, which frequently circulated as gift items.⁴² They provide vital information including the date and provenance of coffee cups. Porcelain coffee cups were allotted as diplomatic gifts, dowries to Ottoman princesses, and those which were temporarily given to high ruling elites. Such bestowals, which involved gifts received and given, were mentioned in this type of register.⁴³ Additionally, coffee cups in the charge of a chief coffeemaker in the court were listed in the sales register of 1748.⁴⁴

⁴¹ In the eighteenth century, Inner treasury of the palace and private treasury of the Sultan, *Hazine-i Hassa*, kept the most valuable and important porcelain wares and coffee cups. See Julian and Ünsal Yücel Raby, "Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court," in *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue*, ed. Regina Krahl (London: Sotheby's, 1986), 39-40.

⁴² Objects listed in these registers simultaneously inventoried in two different documents at the same time: in registers of gifts for incoming objects and gift and dowry registers for outgoing objects.

⁴³ See Julian and Ünsal Yücel Raby, "The Archival Documentation," in *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue*, ed. Regina Krahl (London: Sotheby's, 1986), 30-32.

⁴⁴ TSMA D. 2216/1 fols. 4, 5, 14

Muhallefat records are tallies of objects confiscated from the private treasuries or properties of high ruling elites who dwelt in the center or periphery⁴⁵. Their holdings would often be turned over to the court in the case of their death. Such records provide evidence that porcelain coffee cups were frequently acquired by the court through such elite seizures. These records vary according to the stage of confiscation, for instance there was an official report for fixation (*Muhallefat Tesbit Zaptı*), the list of confiscated items, and the register of confiscated items hold records⁴⁶. In the eighteenth century, thousands of porcelain coffee cups that were confiscated from properties of dignitaries and entered the court were recorded in *muhallefat* registers.⁴⁷

Besides these, coffee cups appear frequently in eighteenth-century Ottoman gift and dowry registers. Coffee cups and other porcelain wares were invaluable parts of gifts bestowed on the occasion of special courtly events such as religious festivals, circumcision festivals, imperial weddings, enthronement ceremonies, and, parades. Also,

⁴⁵ *Muhallefat* was the name of the confiscation method in the Ottoman Empire. It mostly implemented to the group of high ruling elites and high ranked officials, but also limitedly other lower ranked officials and rich merchants in rural territories. The main tenet of this method is that all gatherings of a ruling elite during his appointment or position belongs to the public and upon his death, they must be returned to the treasury of the state. Also, this method aimed to discourage elite's illegal acquisition of commodities and enforce them to rightfully perform their duties. See Yasin Arslantaş, "Making sense of müsadere practice, state confiscation of elite wealth, in the Ottoman Empire, circa 1453–1839," *History compass* 17, no. 6 (2019): 1-11.

⁴⁶ After the imperial order, all objects determined in the property of the deceased elite are penned in the official report for fixation. Then, those which were intended to be taken to the palace treasuries or to use by the sultan are recorded in the list. Upon the approval of the Sultan, the most important items are listed in the register of confiscation as a final step. Sultan put the Arabic letter mim (م) on the entry of most wanted objects addressing "*mühim*" or important. See Raby, "The Archival Documentation," 33.

⁴⁷ See Tülay Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010). Yılmaz, "Cutting a Fine Figure among Pots and Pans: Aghas of the Sultans Harem in the Eighteenth Century."; Amanda Phillips, *Everyday luxuries : art and objects in Ottoman Constantinople, 1600-1800*, Connecting art histories in the museum ; vol. 2, (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2016).

the most prestigious and sumptuous coffee cups were consistently selected from the inner treasury for dowries of Ottoman princesses and collections of mothers of sultans. Coffee cups listed in dowry registers were concurrently recorded as outgoing items in treasury expense registers. Court officials used gift and dowry registers for confirmation of items recorded in the register of Treasury Income and expense. It is important to mention that porcelain wares and coffee cups given for dowries of imperial women had to be returned to the treasuries upon the death of princesses.

Once items were confiscated from the estate of the deceased, they were not automatically directed to the state treasury. Upon the completion of procedures that focused on auctioning unwanted objects and depositing the most valuable ones, they might have been deposited to either the personal treasury of the Sultan, *Hazine-i Enderun* (Inner treasury) or the state-owned *Hazine-i Birun* (Outer Treasury). The division was not exactly distinctive in practice.⁴⁸

Sales (*Mezat*) registers record the sales of unwanted and broken coffee cups which were no longer functional in the consumption network of the court. Sales registers demonstrate that only plain and ordinary coffee cups were taken out for the sales and precious metals and stones were removed from coffee cups before auctions.⁴⁹

It can be said that these archival documents that treat both porcelain wares and coffee cups were partially systematized at this time. Even if the documents do not show

⁴⁸ See Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics: The Range of Fabrics in the Gift Traffic of the Ottomans," in *Inventories of Textiles- Textiles in Inventories: Interdisciplinary Studies on Late Medieval and Early Modern Sources and Material Culture*, ed. Barbara Karl and Thomas Ertl (Wien: V&R Unipress, 2017), 143-64.

⁴⁹ Only selected merchants and buyers from the palace had permission to attend palace auctions. See Raby, "The Archival Documentation," 37-38.

constancy at regular intervals, they provide some elaborate, and relatively consistent information on the consumption of coffee cups. Also, as confiscation became one of the primary acquisition methods of porcelain coffee cups, the number of *muhallefat* records soared up through the course of the eighteenth century. Correspondingly, the sales registers that were oriented around disposal of undesirable or damaged items recorded more coffee cups due to the accumulation of unwanted coffee cups in the palace.

It is important to note the difference between occasional and periodical documents. Occasional documents mostly address imperial orders, intended for the staff of the palace or the imperial council and include shorter documents such as letters, dockets, reports, and receipts. They respond to specific conditions and often inform about events and facts regarding consumer attitudes and consumption of coffee cups. They tend not to yield statistical information. For example, a single-page document, written in 1791 expresses a request by an agha in the court to purchase a coffee cup from a high-ranked elite.⁵⁰ In turn, periodical documents including multipage registers of quantitative treasury information can offer a large amount of data. In turn, they only provide single and superficial entries without further details of coffee cups. For instance, lengthy inner treasury registers present large numbers of entries of porcelain coffee cups delivered to the chief coffeemakers as consignment, confiscated from denizens of the ruling class, given to imperial women as gifts, and dowry.⁵¹

⁵⁰ TS.MA.e 411/2

⁵¹ See Raby, "The Archival Documentation," 37.

In addition to quantitative information, the selected archival documents also offer two other kinds of information pertaining to coffee cups, namely number and location or consumer information. In some cases, documents address both location and consumer information. For example, a register dated 1761 lists 33 Chinese coffee cups owned by the imperial treasurer Süleyman which were confiscated from his mansion in the Soğuk Çeşme district of Istanbul and taken to the Inner Treasury.⁵² Additional particularities of coffee cups such as mountings, additions, decoration, condition, and surface treatment are also sometimes mentioned, but this information often depends on the importance of the documents and the value of cups. However, documents generally do not single out more than two features of a given coffee cup except those with added precious stones. For instance, a register tallied a gilded coffee cup adorned with one jade and 8 diamonds.⁵³

1.2.1 Terminology and Specifications

In related documents, the term *fincan*, (فنجان) or plural *fincanlar*, is generally used to signify a coffee cup. Further clarifying terms are sometimes used to indicate the medium. For instance, the term *fağfur* or *fağfuri* amounts to the medium of porcelain and is broadly meant for Chinese porcelain. (Figure 1.15) Also, *merteban* or *mertebani* was used for celadon wares or cups in the documents.⁵⁴ Some entries additionally refer to the provenance of porcelain coffee cups. Until the emergence of the porcelain trade from

⁵² TS.MA.d. 24, fols. 65

⁵³ “*Danesi bir hurda yakutlu, sekiz hurda elmasli altun fincan, kutu 1*” See; TS.MA. d. 2814, fols.13.

⁵⁴ For Merteban or Martaban, see Julian Raby, “Fağfur, Merteban and Other Terms For Porcelain and Celadon,” in *Chinese Ceramics in Topkapı Saray Museum Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue*, ed. Regina Krahl (London: Sotheby’s Publications, 1986), 82-85.

Europe, scribes recorded porcelain wares from China as *fağfuri*. Nonetheless, some documents address the Chinese origin of coffee cups by adding the word *Çinkari*. Furthermore, *Hindkari* (Indian) and *Arakani* (Rakhine) were used for specific coffee cups, although these terms were likely mobilized to refer to cups that were imported through the Indian Ocean. Neither India nor Burma produced porcelains.⁵⁵

When it comes to European wares, the articulation of the provenance varies. For coffee cups produced in Germany, a general term, *Saksonyakari*, is used. Specific words are not used for special manufactories such as Meissen, Ludwigsburg, or the Königlich Porzellan Manufaktur (KPM) in Berlin. This could be because of the lack of expertise of the scribes in regard to porcelain wares. Also, they used *Fransızkari* or *İfrenj* for French cups, *Pariskari* for cups from Paris and *Beçkari* or *Beç İşi* for Austrian cups.⁵⁶ On the other hand, coffee cups in court registers are sometimes amplified by other coffee-making accessories such as a coffee tray, towels, *zarfs*, and saucers or less frequently other porcelain wares.

Information on measurements or volume of coffee cups does not appear in the archival documents. Coffee cups are basically described with a limited vocabulary depending on their appearance and size. The terms *sağır* or *hurda* are used for small size cups. In addition, the *bülbül* (nightingale) fincan might signify small size coffee cups.

⁵⁵ Actually, it is unclear and unknown whether the Ottomans imported porcelains from India. However, scribes might have referred to “Hindkari” for porcelain and coffee cups which were imported from China by means of the VOC, Dutch East India Company, or Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie, via India. For *Çinkari*, see TSMA D. 2814, fol.11.

⁵⁶ Even though a large European porcelain collection was acquired in the second half of the eighteenth century, descriptive entries with the provenance information of wares and cups are still limited. Scribes did not record cups with further information.

Medium sized cups are described as *vasadca* or *vasad*. Different terms such as *kallavi*, *kebir*, and *kiyyece* indicate large coffee cups.⁵⁷ Also, the *paşa* (Pasha) fincan might have highlighted either the largeness or prestige of coffee cups.

Entries provide information on the condition of coffee cups in the consumption sphere of the court at the time of record, too. One regular coffee cup entry addresses a coffee cup “without any damage.” But generally, they only record their specific conditions if they are not in good shape. *Şikest* or *meksur* are expressions used for broken coffee cups and *direkli* for “cracked”. *Nakis* is the only term used for defective cups which are not suitable for use and repair, although it is hard to say which features would make a cup beyond repair.⁵⁸

Common phrases in entries, *yeni maden*, and *eski maden* respectively mark “new” and “old” body material or products. Interestingly, an entry that records an antique coffee cup is defined with a rare word, *uhudi* (antique). As the words, *ala* or *has* signified the best quality cup, *edna* implies low-quality wares⁵⁹. Additionally, the phrase *daşlıca* is frequently used for cream-colored or khaki coffee cups. Also, it might refer to the low-quality or quasi-stone body of rustic coffee cups, perhaps a coarse example of earthenware rather than porcelain.

⁵⁷ *Kallavi* and *kebir* mean large in the ottoman Turkish. For definition See James W. Redhouse, *Redhouse's Turkish dictionary, in two parts, English and Turkish, and Turkish and English* (London: Quaritch, 1880), 140.

Kiyye was a type of weight measurement currently equal to 1238 gr.

⁵⁸ “*Kırmızı nakis fağfuri fincan, aded 1*” (Red defective porcelain coffee cup, 1 piece) See TS.MA.d 2179, fols. 3.

⁵⁹ Scribes infrequently used the term of *âla*.

Cataloguers did not neglect to record coffee cups which had specific added features such as handles or feet, or if they were paired with other items, namely a *zarf* (raised cup holder) or saucer. *Ayaklı fincan* refers to a footed coffee cup. Even if they did not use any expression for coffee cups without a handle, a coffee cup with a handle was cataloged as “*kulplu*”. Moreover, an addition to a coffee cup such as a *zarf* or saucer is described separately in an entry. For example, they penned “*fağfuri fincan ma tabak*” for a coffee cup with a saucer and “*fağfuri fincan ma zarf*” for a coffee cup with a *zarf*. Even though a saucer of a coffee cup is infrequently recorded as a single object, *zarfs* are usually recorded by themselves. Increasingly, with the use of European porcelain *zarfs* in the second half of the eighteenth century instead of metal *zarfs*, cataloguers started to record coffee cups with *zarfs* in a single entry.⁶⁰

Coffee cups are also defined by their notable surface features, although the vocabulary for such elements was limited. A rare phrase, *çökertme*, in an entry refers to the inlaid surface of a coffee cup.⁶¹ It is noteworthy to mention that palace records always include whether a cup was gilded, as an apparently important feature. It seems that this was one of the strictest cataloging criteria and possibly that gilded cups needed to be considered separately from those that did not include gold embellishment. *Sim*, *simli*, *yaldızlı* or *altun* are frequent and recurring expressions for gilded coffee cups. (Figure 1.16) On the other hand, low-quality cups are described as *kaba* (rough) and *taş* (porous). Furthermore, some coffee cups decorated with dots are identified with the words, *benekli*,

⁶⁰ See TS.MA.d 25/1 fols. 43

⁶¹ This is only sample which addresses an inlaid surface coffee cup. If the palace collections had more identical examples, the lack of knowledge of scribes or cataloguers resulted in no record of them.

noktalı (dotted), or *alaca* (variegated or speckled). All three have the same meanings. Some entries highlight whether cups were decorated on the interior (*derunu*) or exterior (*birunu*).⁶² The term *müzeyyen* was used with the meaning “decorated with,” which is technically different than another word, *murassa*, which was reserved for cups adorned with precious stones.⁶³ Enameled coffee cups are sometimes described in entries by using the terms *mineli* or *minakari*.⁶⁴ In lengthy entries, some coffee cups with similar defining features are successively listed and the following entries after the first starts with “*def`a*” (again) to indicate their shared features. It has also been the case that coffee cups with different decorations and features were grouped together rather than being separated out. *Mütenevva* is used in a single entry that records miscellaneous coffee cups.⁶⁵

Certain entries with details of decoration and color caught the interest and attention of the catalogers. *Çargül* (four-petaled rosette) and *segül* (three-petaled rosette) are the most frequent references to the decoration of coffee cups. (Figure 1.17) In palace records, the colors of coffee cups vary. The main colors mentioned include white (*sefid* or *beyaz*), green (*yeşil*), jasper (*balgami*), blue (*mai*), lapis (*laciverd*), red (*kırmızı*), yellow (*sarı*), light yellow (*samani*), orange (*portakal*), camel-haired (*deve tüyü*), coffee-colored (*kahverengi*), cinnamon (*darçını*) and crimson red/scarlet (*yekran*).

⁶² See TS.MA.d 25/1 fols. 43.

⁶³ A very rare word, *ziba/zibalı*, also was used for defining a decorated coffee cup holder in an entry “*Def`a bir beyaz zibalı fağfuri balgami zarf*” (Again a white adorned jasper colored porcelain cup holder).

⁶⁴ For the description, see Redhouse, *Redhouse's Turkish dictionary, in two parts, English and Turkish, and Turkish and English*, 108. For the entry in the archival records, see TS.MA.d 2821/1 fols. 15.

⁶⁵ TS.MA.d 2211/2 fols. 7.

Besides the direct references to coffee cups held in the treasuries in the palace, archival documents, large volume registers (*defter* or plural *defterler*), and single page letters (*evrak* or plural *evraklar*), also reveal the origin of confiscated or consigned coffee cups and consumers, namely the locus of coffee cups in the courtly consumption sphere. This may highlight the location where cups were stored, the milieu where they were consumed and the locale where the cups were confiscated from. Most coffee cup entries are accompanied by a title that states who played a role in the transfer of cups into the palace, where the coffee cups came from or whom they were given to. For example, a register counts 30 Meissen coffee cups among other items under the title of “*İbrahim Ağa yed`iyle iktisab olunub Harem-i Humayun`a teslim olunan*” (Those obtained by favour of Ibrahim Agha [Possibly a Chief Harem Eunuch] and given to the Imperial Harem.”⁶⁶ Another register highlights a dozen coffee cups given to another consumer under the title of “*Surre Emini Yusuf Efendi zevcesine verilen Sim zarf ma fincan, aded 12*”(Those given to the wife of the Chief Official of the Imperial Hajj Caravan gold *zarf* with coffee cup, 12 pieces).⁶⁷

Archival documents that mention porcelain wares and coffee cups are chronologically and descriptively inconsistent. They reveal a few problems regarding the context of the documents. First of all, the descriptive character of documents varies from one to the next. As *muhallefat* documents provide quick tallies of available items on the property of the deceased, they superficially list items without detail. In contrast, treasury records functioned as a means of verifying the presence of particular items and are

⁶⁶ TS.MA.d 2421/3, fol.1

⁶⁷ TS.MA.d 2418/3, fol.1

generally more elaborate in description than *muhallefat* documents. Second, it is clear that the Ottoman palace did not have a centralized bureau that performed the control of porcelain holdings. So, there was not a singular type of record that was designated to document types of porcelain wares and coffee cups, across the various spaces where they would have been used, such as the inner treasury, the imperial kitchen, and the privy chamber. Third, due to the utilitarian and practical purposes of these records, and the general lack of knowledge and expertise about porcelain, we are left with many undetailed, imprecise and generalized entries. There was no effort to create a centralized and systematized vocabulary to describe items in the palace.⁶⁸ Some words used in the palace records obviously ascribe an uncertainty about the quantitative definition of cups. For example, most of the coffee cups are addressed with their quantities and stated using the word “piece”. However, some registers list coffee cups in “boxes”. It is uncertain how many coffee cups were kept in a box.

⁶⁸ Raby, "The Archival Documentation," 65-71.



Chapter 2: Ottoman Coffee Culture and Its Paraphernalia

Coffee [Arb. *qahwa*, Pers. *qahwa* or Tur. *kahve*] is a drink made by brewing roasted and ground berries of the coffee tree in very hot water.⁶⁹ The etymological origin of the word is uncertain, but the Arabic *qahwa* is the basis for the common use of the word across different languages. There are a variety of assumptions and debates on the origin of the word and beverage.⁷⁰

2.1. Vernacularizing The Drink: Dissemination of Coffee into the Ottoman Lands

By the first decade of the sixteenth century, coffee had spread from Yemen to the Hijaz and Cairo. The following decades witnessed the dissemination of coffee to Syria, probably via the pilgrimage caravans, and from there, it was carried to Istanbul around the middle of the 1500s. Exactly when and by what means coffee was introduced into the Ottoman capital is uncertain and needs further interrogation. As such, we must rely on the existing references to the first consumption of coffee in Istanbul, as conveyed by

⁶⁹ Various alternative coffee preparations were practiced in different areas, however. In addition to brewing methods, different factors such as the levels of grinding of coffee beans and additions to coffee drink like cardamom play roles in the preparation of coffee. For example, specific aroma additions such as ginger, cardamom, cloves and saffron feature in Arabic coffee preparation.

⁷⁰ Sir James Murray, in his *New English Dictionary*, attributes to different etymological uses of the word. *Cahve* is the earliest form of the word coffee and mentioned in travel notes of a Dutch explorer Jan Huyghen Van Linschoten in 1598. Other forms, *coffa*, *caffa* and *capha*, existed in foreign travelers' notes whom they traveled to the Islamic Lands. See James Augustus Henry Bradley Henry Craigie William A. Onions Charles T. Murray, *A new English dictionary on historical principles : founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society* 9,2 9,2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919), 590; C. Van and K. N. Chaudhuri Arendonk, "Kahwa," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. Th. Bianquis P. Bearman, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs (2012).

sixteenth and seventeenth century verbal and written accounts while also understanding that its exact origins are difficult to pin down or settle upon.

The earliest written mention, found thus far, of coffee in Istanbul not of coffeehouses but of coffee occurs in the endowment deed of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha (1473- 1546). When the grand admiral endowed his home as one of the properties committed to the family *waqf* that he registered in 1539, the property included a *kahve odası*, a coffee chamber. If Barbaros is indeed the pioneer of the use of coffee in the Ottoman capital, this would not be surprising, given his long seafaring career in and deep familiarity with the Arab Mediterranean, Muradî, his biographer, writes that “sugary sherbets and musky coffee flowed like rivers in the banquets of his entourage.”⁷¹

Katip Çelebi, a prominent Ottoman polymath, lexicographer, and literary author in the mid-seventeenth century, proposed 1543 as the date of the arrival of coffee in the Ottoman lands, although he refers to the beans, rather than the drink, which arrived as cargo by sea shipment.⁷² According to Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali (1541-1600), the Ottoman historian, bureaucrat, and poet, “existing coffeehouses in the grand lands of Arabia were introduced to the Supreme capital city, Istanbul, in 1552.”⁷³ Taken as a group, one can draw the conclusion that coffee was known and had a following in Istanbul by around

⁷¹ Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love, The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul," *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in East Mediterranean* 20 (2014).

⁷² “It [coffee] came to Asia Minor by sea, about 950/1543, and met with a hostile reception, fatwas being delivered against it. For they said, apart from it being roasted, the fact that it is drunk in gatherings, passed from hand to hand, is suggestive of loose living. It is related to Abu'l-Su'ud Efendi that he had holes bored in the ships that brought it, plunging their cargoes of coffee into the sea.” See Katip Çelebi, *The Balance of Truth*, trans. G. L. Lewis (London: Allen and Unwin, 1957), 60.

⁷³ Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali ve Mevaidün-nefais fi kavaidil-mecalis*, trans. Mehmet Şeker (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997).

1550. More precisely, the Ottoman chronicler İbrahim Peçevi (1574-1649), one of the most important resources on the early consumption of coffee in Istanbul, indicates that coffee and the coffeehouse first appeared in Istanbul in 1554 by virtue of the investment of two Syrians, Hakem from Aleppo and Şems (Shems) from Damascus. They, in partnership, opened two coffeehouses in the Tahtakale district of Istanbul.⁷⁴

Coffee was imported to Istanbul via sea and land via the caravans. Its journey started in Yemen where it was shipped either by sea or land to Jeddah. From there, it was transshipped to Egyptian ports and further around the Mediterranean.⁷⁵ The rapid popularity and increasing consumption of coffee fueled the trade of Yemeni coffee. However, supplies were limited and constrained by the harvest schedule. Both excess demand and limited provision of coffee in Istanbul and other Ottoman territories resulted in overpricing and shortages in the markets. In times of shortage, coffeemakers roasted substitutes, such as chickpeas, dried chestnut, bulgar, almonds, wheat, thistle, and terebinth. In Istanbul, coffee was sold only at authorized warehouses, although there was an underground industry of unauthorized sellers. According to Çelebi, the number of coffee sellers was 500, based in 300 stores in seventeenth-century Istanbul.⁷⁶

Coffeehouses quickly became a social hub of people from different social classes and religions, Muslim and non-Muslim, which provided a necessary substance of daily life of citizens. It is salient that the primary clientele of coffeehouses in Istanbul were

⁷⁴ İbrahim Peçevi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, trans. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1999), 363.

⁷⁵ Jane Hathaway, "The Ottomans and the Yemeni coffee trade," *Oriente moderno*. 86, no. 1 (2006).

⁷⁶ Véronique François, "Èlèments Pour Une Biographie Des Tasses À Càfe Dans L'Empire Ottoman," *Turcica* 39 (2007): 297.

from various strata of the Ottoman society. Coffeehouses were initially frequented by extreme clusters of the population such as religious figures- imams, dervishes from different orders and muezzins-, the *hoi polloi* who had nowhere else to spend time, even all day, with a tight budget, and intellectual literary circles who sought to talk and drink coffee. Also, the members of *askeri* (military) class, *sipahis* (cavalrymen) and janissaries not only enjoyed drinking coffee but also managed their own coffeehouses. In a short while, the clientele of coffeehouses extended through different artisans and occupational groups and so much that even Ottoman clergy members who were apparently opponents to coffeehouses were hooked on drinking coffee in coffeehouses in Istanbul.⁷⁷

Some coffeehouses were based on their clients' occupation and their social status. There was a dedicated Janissary coffeehouse, teachers' coffeehouse, bards' coffeehouse, wrestlers' coffeehouse, firefighters' coffeehouse, artisans' coffeehouses, hashish-addicts' coffeehouses, and early riser's coffeehouse. Besides this, mobile coffeemakers in the streets served those who were in rush or preferred to drink their coffee outside.⁷⁸

Coffeehouses rapidly mushroomed within the urban texture of the Ottoman capital. It seems that consumption started in private environments and then spilled over into public establishments, namely coffeehouses. At the end of the sixteenth century, hundreds of coffeehouses served to aficionados of coffee, and hundreds of them spread across the cities of the Ottoman empire. In his later account, Mouradgea D'Ohsson

⁷⁷ Cengiz Kırılı, "The Struggle Over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780-1845" (PhD Binghamton University, 2000), 112-118.; Cemal Kafadar, "Janissaries and other riffraff of Ottoman Istanbul: rebels without a cause?," *International journal of Turkish studies* 13, no. 1-2 (2007), 113-134.

⁷⁸ Selma Akyazıcı Özkocak, "Coffeehouses: Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul," *Journal of Urban History* 33, no. 6 (2007).

reports that there were fifty coffeehouses in Istanbul before the end of the reign of the Suleyman (1520-66), and it jumped to six hundred before that of his son, Selim II (1566-74).⁷⁹ On the other hand, the popularity of coffee and coffeehouses reached every corner of houses and government offices. Considerable numbers of government offices were equipped with coffee stoves and preparation tools.⁸⁰

Even with its rising popularity, the coffee house was a controversial space from its inception. Selim II (1524-1574) implemented the first significant prohibition against coffeehouses. As a result, the Sultan officially ordered to close or destroy all of the coffeehouses, bozahouses, and taverns in the district of Galata in 1568⁸¹. Based on the proposed dates for the earliest coffeehouses in Istanbul, around 1550, one can see that prohibitions were issued early in their long history in the city. However, this action did not have the desired effect, it was essentially overlooked. In fact, more coffeehouses opened due to their popularity. As religious authorities debated on whether this substance was licit or illicit, and whether it was safe for the consumption of Muslims, government

⁷⁹ It is definitely unknown where the first coffeehouses were opened in other Ottoman cities after Istanbul. Ottoman court records that record every incident that happened in a small town or city are unable to provide the clearest information to detect the first coffeehouses after Istanbul.

⁸⁰ Ebru Fleet Kate Boyar, *A social history of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011), 193.

⁸¹ Boza, a popular drink made from fermented millet, rendered those who drank too much of it prone to dropsy and gout, which affected their ability to walk and left them having to use crutches, this being the reason, according to Evliya Çelebi, why boza addicts were never attacked by dogs, for they always had a stick in their hands. Bozahouses were places which specified for the preparation and presentation of this drink. See Iklil Selçuk, "Boza Consumption in Early-Modern Istanbul As an Energy Drink and a Mood-Altering Substance " *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* 11, no. 1 (2016): 65-66.

officials solely focused on the negative environment of coffeehouses which was often perceived as a potential source of trouble for the regime.⁸²

At the end of the seventeenth century, the level of ulemas' opposition against the consumption of coffee had softened and their fetwas acknowledged the licit nature of coffee consumption, while condemning the illicit environment of coffee houses. For instance, some clergymen preached that going to taverns was better than going to coffeehouses by defining coffeehouses as "sinks of corruption."⁸³ Thus, the Ulema ceased to issue bans on coffee consumption as a personal habit but continued to criticize the coffeehouse as a place of moral decay. In 1592, Şeyhülislam Bostanzâde Mehmed Efendi invalidated the ongoing prohibition of coffee consumption by pointing out "coffee-drinking is not against *sharia*, because coffee beans are not roasted to the point of carbonization."⁸⁴

In the reign of Ahmed I (1590-1617), Grand Viziers Nasuh and Mahmud Pashas ordered the closure of coffeehouses. Because of the Great Fire of 1633, *Harik-i Azim*, Sultan Murad IV took the most serious actions against coffeehouses. Even though a boat caulker in the Cibali neighborhood caused the fire which eventually devastated three neighborhoods in a day, rumors suggested that coffeehouses were the reason for the fire. Hence, Murad IV declared closures of all of the coffeehouses in the Ottoman territories based on suggestions of Kadızade Mehmed Efendi, chief Islamic preacher of the period.

⁸² Ahmet Yaşar, "Coffeehouses in Istanbul," in *From the Coffeehouses in Istanbul*, ed. Savaş Ay; Sabri Dereli; Fatih Yavaş; Ahmet Yaşar; Ömer Osmanoğlu (Istanbul: İlk Basım, 2012), 24-26.

⁸³ Peçevi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, 364.

⁸⁴ Ayşe Saraçgil, "L'Opposition Au Càfé dans L'Empire Ottoman," in *Càfes d'Orient Revisites*, ed. Helene Desmet-Gregoire; François Georgeon (Paris: CNRS Ethnoligie, 1997), 25-26.

He critiqued coffeehouses as *bidat-ı seyyie*, poor innovation. The ongoing ban on coffeehouses was continued in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim (1640-1648) and ended in the period of Mehmed IV (1648- 1687). Additional, but partial closures on coffeehouses, were declared in following years as the concerns of the Ottoman regime on coffeehouses continued.⁸⁵ Coffeehouses were deemed reprehensible for various reasons, which had to do with coffee, but also other social issues. However, these bans on the coffeehouse were rarely effective and usually overlooked by the population. The orders were issued, but they were never fully carried out because of coffee's widespread popularity.

2.2. Paraphernalia of Ottoman Coffee Culture

Coffee entered the Ottoman lands from Yemen as a trade commodity and a beverage, immediately gained popularity, and was introduced as a popular commodity and social habit to Europe in the following decades. This beverage inspired a culture comprising ritual practices of its presentation, which hinged on valuable material objects for serving and consumption. In the Ottoman world, the preparation of coffee took on distinct characteristics. For instance, it was topped with foam and the ground coffee was transferred to the cups, although those grounds sunk to the bottom of the cup and were not to be consumed. Today, described as Turkish Coffee, this type of preparation is still consumed. Of course, Turkish coffee was produced using specific tools and methods that

⁸⁵ Nihal Bursa, "Brewing Pots of Revolt: Coffeehouses" (Food and Revolution: Dublin Gastronomy Symposium, Dublin, 2016); Yaşar, "Coffeehouses in Istanbul," 24-26; Cengiz Kırılı, "The Struggle Over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780-1845" (PhD Binghamton University, 2000).62-65.

shaped the journey from the bean to the cup. Traditional Turkish coffee is not only a type of coffee but is also comprised by a culture and etiquette that accompanies it.

The first step of preparation was the roasting process, which was intended to reveal the aroma and acidity of the coffee beans. Coffee was often roasted in batches, using a spoon or a small pan with a long iron handle. Some pans have a foldable handle for mobility. (Figure 2.1) In the traditional hand roasting method, the coffee beans are roasted in equal amounts in a horizontal cylindrical chamber by rotating a handle attached to this chamber. (Figure 2.2) Coal is placed in the rectangular area where the cylindrical chamber sits, and it is turned into a barbecue function. Some travelers to the Ottoman lands stated that the coffee was roasted in the oven.⁸⁶ Roasters with a silty chamber started to be used in Cairo in the 1650s.⁸⁷

Cooling can be described as an intermediate phase between roasting and grinding in the journey from coffee bean to beverage. Undoubtedly, coffee beans must lose their heat and be cooled before they are ground. For this purpose, a tool called *soğudan* was used. Most of the existing samples are produced from wood with ceramic parts. (Figure 2.3) The intensive use of wood is due to the fact that it absorbs the excess oil formed on the core surface after the roasting process. It can be likened to a slightly higher pan with cold sidewalls. They are mostly horizontal elliptical or circular containers. Its circular or

⁸⁶ Nihal Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatrına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 233.

⁸⁷ Helene Desmet-Gregoire, *Les Objets du Café: Dans Les Societies Du Proche, Orient & De La Mediterranee* (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1989), 22-24.

rectangular mouth, which is adjacent to one end, ensures that the coffee beans are easily transferred to the grinding cabinet.⁸⁸

Next, the coffee beans were ground or crushed into powder. Travelers circulating in the Ottoman world, while giving information about the preparation stages of coffee, also inform us about the grinding methods. According to one of them, D'Ohsson, "after the grains were roasted, they were pounded in a marble, bronze or wooden mortar to grind into powder."⁸⁹ In the forging method, coffee beans were thinned and made ready to drink by placing them in cylindrical mortars carved from different materials. Another grinding method is the mill. The origin of the cylindrical-shaped mills made of brass, whose replicas can be seen again today, goes back to the sixteenth century. (Figure 2.4) Various types of mills with very different forms and made of materials are present. One of them is composed of two cones, joined at the tapered ends face each other. (Figure 2.5) A head mill, also called a seat mill, consists of a square prism body, which is placed on a rectangular wooden plate. (Figure 2.6) There is a drawer where the coffee is collected. In the upper part, coffee is ground with the help of a horizontal arm. Mills were used according to the amount of coffee to be brewed and the type of location. While cylindrical coffee grinders are mostly used in homes, the seat grinder is more suitable for mobility. The ground coffee was then placed in wooden, copper, brass, or ceramic

⁸⁸ Desmet-Gregoire, *Les Objets du Caf  : Dans Les Soci  ties Du Proche, Orient & De La M  diterran  e*, 32; Besir Ayvazoglu, *Turkish Coffee Culture: "A cup of Coffee Commits One to Forty Years of Friendship"* (Ankara: The Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications, 2015), 40-41.

⁸⁹ Ohsson Mouradja D, *Tableau G  n  ral de l'empire Othoman: Divis   en Deux Parties, Dont l'une Comprend la l  gislation Mahom  tane ; l'autre, l'histoire de l'empire Othoman* (Paris: de L' Imprimerie de Monsieur, 1788), 50.

storage boxes to be consumed as soon as possible⁹⁰. In addition, as Krusinski mentioned, the coffee was also stored in leather bags.⁹¹

The final stage in the preparation of coffee is brewing. In the early modern Ottoman world, they used a unique cooking method. At this stage, the most important object is the coffee pot. The *kahvedan* or large coffee pot was initially used in the early Ottoman period. (Figure 2.7) In the eighteenth century, it was replaced by a new style of coffee pot with a long handle, the *cezve*, which became widespread. (Figure 2.8) The French writer Philippe Sylvestre Dufour (1622-87) states that the pots called ewers catch fire better thanks to their wide bases while keeping the coffee flavor due to the narrowness of the mouth. In addition, Jean de Thévenot (1633-67), who is known for his trips to the Ottoman world, states that the Turks use a pitcher while making coffee in addition to providing the recipe for making coffee with certain measures. The French Aristocrat François de la Boullaye-le Gouz (1623-1669) in his travel book to Europe and the East, published in 1653, says that Turks carried their objects to prepare coffee even on long journeys with camels. He says that these consist of a leather bag and a pitcher.⁹²

⁹⁰Ayvazoglu, *Turkish Coffee Culture: "A cup of Coffee Commits One to Forty Years of Friendship"*, 43.

⁹¹ Others, for travels, pack mashed coffee in leather bags, and on top they put Turkish or Jerusalem soap so that it will not be aerated and wind it around with string in a bundle because cold does damage to mashed coffee. See Anna Malecka, "How Turks and Persians Drank Coffee: A Little-known Document of Social History by Father J. T. Krusiński," *Turkish Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (2015): 191.

⁹² In addition, D'Ohsson provides information on the brewing process of the coffee:

"...to cook the ground coffee, while the water in the pot made of tinned copper starts to boil, five or six scoops of coffee are poured with a small coffee spoon. After that, it is necessary to be careful to keep it away from the fire as it swells and bubbles in between. When water and coffee are completely destroyed as a result of breaking and swelling, it means that the coffee is completely cooked." See Mouradja D, *Tableau Général de l'empire Othoman: Divisé en Deux Parties, Dont l'une Comprend la législation Mahométane ; l'autre, l'histoire de l'empire Othoman*, 60.

Ottoman coffee-making technique were elaborated in contemporary narratives and depict that water and ground coffee were repeatedly boiled to high temperatures. The form of the ewer is compatible with this technique that requires repeated boiling without froth and grounds. The larger spherical lower part of the pitcher allows it to remain in balance on the fire. One of the most important functional parts of *kahvedan* is the pointed mouthpart where the coffee is poured. In most examples, the outwardly curved rim starts from the point where the spherical body meets the narrowed and closed part. While it is wide at the starting point, it narrows at the very end, making it easier to pour coffee even into small size cups.⁹³

The journey of the drink ends up with its` serving to drinkers. The presentation phase is more ritualistic and meaningful than the other preparation phases. Specially produced for coffee prepared in the above-described manner, Ottoman coffee cups have been made from different materials such as wood, ceramic, silver, crystal, turtle shell, rhino horn, and bone. After the coffee is poured into the cup, it should be sipped calmly. Factors such as the mouth structure of the coffee cup, whether it has a handle or not, and the wall thickness are designed for a drinker or coffee drinker to sips his coffee in the most comfortable way. The shape of the cup defines many experiential aspects of coffee consumption, including the tactile effect of the cup in the hand or ways to control its foam while drinking it. The shape of the lip of the coffee cup enables the perception of the texture unique to Turkish coffee, created by the very fine particles that mix with the water of the coffee and slowly collect at the bottom of the cup. This particle precipitate,

⁹³ Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," 263-66.

called grounds, signifies a new beginning while giving way to the chain of rituals that continues after drinking coffee.⁹⁴

The offering or presentation of coffee is not limited to just the cup. The presentation creates a ritualistic phenomenon with all the coffee items used, the scents emanating from the place, the behavior of the server and the drinker, timing and spatial setups. The ritual drama which is increased to enhance the experience of the drinker exists to make the coffee drinker enjoy every sip. Both Ottoman writers and western travelers talk about these ritualistic practices of coffee serving and the preparation of coffee. Making use of the observations of his predecessors, Abdülaziz Bey, an Ottoman politician, explains the presentation made to the guest at a circumcision event, an important rite of passage for Ottoman youth in the nineteenth century. Dessert is served to those who come first. Next, tobacco pipes were served. After that, it's time for the coffee treat. There are three journeymen in the presentation of coffee. The journeyman, with a double-layered coffee cover on his left shoulder, holds tray covered with velvet, surrounded by silver threads and with cups on it. Known as *kahve sitili örtüsü* or *sitil puşidesi*, this embroidered base cloth is large and made of satin or velvet with brocade embroidery and brocade scalloped edges. (Figure 2.9) The other journeyman holds *sitil* (brazier). (Figure 2.10) It is a footed brazier with a special segment in the center for burning charcoal and chains on three points on it, so that it is easy to carry. The third journeyman, on the other hand, takes the cup and *zarf* or saucer from the tray, pours the coffee from the spout into the cup, and gives it to the guest respectfully with his right

⁹⁴ Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," 269-72.

hand. In addition, Abdulaziz Bey talks about rich people who were sprinkled with rose water from a dedicated vessel called *g labdan*, before being serving coffee.⁹⁵ In addition, the French traveler to the Ottoman lands in the mid- 17th century Jean de Th venot, talks about how coffee was an important feature of welcome and presentation in the Ottoman society. According to him, when Turks want to welcome a visitor, they offer first a cup of coffee, sherbet and then frankincense, and he discusses the way of serving in detail. The servant, or the slave, comes first with a silk cover and puts it over the guest's head.

Another brings a large bowl and places it under the guest's face and beard and covers it.⁹⁶

In sum, coffee turned into a popular drink, and a rich culture which came to constitute its material environment and the practices that surrounded. These practices reached across the territories of the empire. The material culture of Ottoman coffee established an elaborate paraphernalia including porcelain coffee cups.

⁹⁵ Abd laziz Bey, *Osmanlı  det, Merasim ve Tarbirleri  d t ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabir t ve Muamel t-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye*, trans. Kazım and Duygu Arısan G nay Arısan (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 46.

⁹⁶ Ayvazoglu, *Turkish Coffee Culture: "A cup of Coffee Commits One to Forty Years of Friendship"*, 59-61.



Chapter 3: Shiny Surfaces: Chinese and European Porcelains in Topkapı Palace Museum Collections

Even though the exact date of its emergence is not known, porcelain production, which started to develop in China in the Middle Ages, later spread to East Asian civilizations, then to the European continent, and finally to the world.⁹⁷ It is said that the name porcelain is based on the word *porcellana*, an Italian word given by Marco Polo, due to the similarity of texture and color to the tropical sea snail.⁹⁸ The Arabs initially used the word "*fağfur*", referring to the "Chinese Emperor", and then this word became associated with the generic term of porcelain.⁹⁹

For centuries, porcelain has been a laborious and expensive investment and a preoccupation of the nobility, aristocrats, elites, kings, and members of the royal family. It is one of the most important prestige indicators of the rich and royals in the west, as well as the aristocratic Chinese dynasties, who were all passionately interested in collecting and accumulating porcelain. China held the world's porcelain production as a

⁹⁷ Porcelain is a distinct type of ceramic that is distinguished due to its materials, its high firing temperature, and refined appearance. With constituent minerals and components such as kaolin (white clay) and petuntse (a stone composed of feldspar, mica, and quartz), porcelain distinguishes itself from other subsets of ceramics, such as earthenware, thanks to its very smooth surface and translucent white body. It is very durable and has long-term use. Besides, the non-porous structure of glazed porcelain prevents liquid permeability and makes it indispensable for the presentation of hot beverages such as coffee. Porcelain pots, fired in ovens at high temperatures between 1200 and 1400 degrees, are also sensitive to breakage. Peter Wilhelm Reber Horst Meister, *European porcelain of the 18th century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983), 10-13. Jerry E. Cooper-Hewitt Museum Patterson, *Porcelain* ([Washington]: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 9-14.

⁹⁸ John British Museum Carswell, *Blue & White : Chinese Porcelain Around the World* (London: British Museum, 2007); John Maser Edward A. Carswell, *Blue and white : Chinese porcelain and its impact on the Western world* (Chicago: University of Chicago, the David and Alfred Smart Gallery, 1985), 13-14; Raby, "Fağfur, Merteban and Other Terms For Porcelain and Celadon," 82.

⁹⁹ Raby, "Fağfur, Merteban and Other Terms For Porcelain and Celadon," 82-85.

monopoly until Europeans developed porcelain technology locally. Thus, in the middle of the eighteenth century, porcelain production was concentrated in two main areas of the world: Asia and Europe. Both currents have their own characteristics and history.

3.1. Arcanum: The Original Porcelain Recipe from China to Europe

The emergence of pottery-making in China dates to the Neolithic age, when the first workshops and their kilns relied upon a yellow-colored clay called loess. The development of Chinese pottery continued in the Bronze Age with the development of the use of loess. (1700-500 B.C.E). During the Shang dynasty (1400-1027 B.C.E.), they imitated bronze vessels as earthenware, but also began to craft stoneware from kilns that reached higher temperatures and enabled non-porous forms with a thin glaze layer. In this way, products considered as the first "proto porcelain" of China were produced.¹⁰⁰ During the Han Dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD) thanks to the availability of suitable raw materials for ceramics, highly fired, hard and non-porous ceramics began to be achieved. These developments lead up to the emergence of the porcelain type. During the Tang dynasty (618- 905 CE), kaolin clay and China stone (petuntse) were introduced, which lead to the production of a fine- bodied porcelain.¹⁰¹

The developments in porcelain continued during the Song Dynasty (960-1279). White porcelain started to be produced for the first time in this period. Following the development of the white porcelain body, many polychrome glazed porcelains were manufactured in different kilns across the country, undergirded by imperial patronage

¹⁰⁰ Robert Finlay, *The Pilgrim art : cultures of porcelain in world history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 81-83.

¹⁰¹ Finlay, *The Pilgrim art : cultures of porcelain in world history*, 97-99.

which triggered the widespread use of porcelain. These developments enabled porcelain to become the focus of connoisseurship for the first time. In the Song period, porcelain vessels became the sought-after fixtures of tables and decorations, while at the same time they were used as an expression of social rituals, cultural appearance, and a prestigious expression of the elite¹⁰². Porcelain demands of the ruling class and the elites increased, and in this period, when high-quality porcelain was preferred over gold and silver, the use of porcelain on the tables increased.¹⁰³

The city of Jingdezhen, known as Xinping in the Tang period, and later officially declared as a trading city by the emperor Zhengzong (998-1022) under the Song empire in 1004, was named.¹⁰⁴ Subsequently, this place became an official ceramic repository of the empire. Jingdezhen's jadelike white porcelains with glassy surfaces surpassed other production centers. In addition, the expansion of maritime trade together with the imperial patronage transformed Jingdezhen from a medium-sized market and transit center, into a large industrial center.¹⁰⁵

In the middle of the 16th century, the porcelain trade to the west partially started thanks to the Portuguese who settled in Macau and established maritime trade routes from East Asia to the West.¹⁰⁶ In the beginning, porcelain products sent to the west

¹⁰² Finlay, *The Pilgrim art : cultures of porcelain in world history*, 112.

¹⁰³ Finlay, *The Pilgrim art : cultures of porcelain in world history*, 123.

¹⁰⁴ In the Song period, a visitor traveled to the city and was mesmerized with its magnitude by telling “kilns connecting one village to another, kilns firing everywhere”. See Finlay, *The Pilgrim art : cultures of porcelain in world history*, 136.

¹⁰⁵ Finlay, *The Pilgrim art : cultures of porcelain in world history*, 138.

¹⁰⁶ From very early in their relationship, western consumers had impact on Chinese pottery production. To be more precise, wood models, design templates, and even silver examples were sent from Europe to the

covered only a small part of ship cargo with other minor commodities such as silk, painting, lacquerware, metalwork, and ivory. This soared later on as porcelain becomes one of the most sought-after products. In the sixteenth-century, porcelain trade from Asia to the West over the sea was the first established by Portuguese. Then, the Dutch VOC came to dominate the Asian trade to the West over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and played a significant role in porcelain trade, too. Hence, Europe's exposure to Chinese porcelain increased gradually.¹⁰⁷ Porcelain wares, which were first considered as collection or treasured pieces, eventually took their place in daily use as multi-piece tableware with the decrease in the use of silver on tables.

A large amount and variety of Asian porcelains, which were transferred to Europe inspired the taste of the western nobles and prompted them to collect Asian porcelain. Hungry for more, European craftsmen aimed to create porcelain locally. However, they had to experiment to find the recipe to produce porcelain wares, while also understanding how to manage the conditions to produce objects of high quality, such as kiln temperature, shape and process. Before the production of the first porcelain wares in Europe, various trials were carried out in Italy, England, and France mostly focused on the content of porcelain paste.¹⁰⁸

producers in China to be copied or incorporated. Moreover, undecorated porcelain wares were produced at Jingdezhen and transferred to Canton so that western merchants could oversee the exact decoration desired by customers at home. Over time, porcelain wares were produced in a variety of shapes that comprised bowls, plates, and drinking cups. The intensive trade facilitated the differentiation of cups from basic wares to a broad variety including ewers, mugs, tazze, candlesticks, and tureens. See Andrew D. White Carolyn L. Madsen, *Chinese Export Porcelains* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2010), 17-31; Finlay, *The Pilgrim art : cultures of porcelain in world history*, 261-64.

¹⁰⁷ Finlay, *The Pilgrim art : cultures of porcelain in world history*, 253-60.

¹⁰⁸ Yet, at the beginning of the 16th century, Venetian alchemists attributed to manufacturing soft-paste porcelain so that they could have achieved in imitated translucent feature of the Chinese porcelain. In 1560,

The production of hard-paste porcelain was officially achieved for the first time in 1708 by Johann Friedrich Böttger in Meissen, Germany¹⁰⁹. Based on Böttger's clay records, we can determine that on January 15, 1708, Böttger succeeded in manufacturing porcelain with a truly white and transparent body. This is described as the first successful porcelain production in Europe¹¹⁰. These experiments were financed by Augustus the Strong and laid ground for the establishment of the royal Saxony porcelain factory in Albrechtsburg of Meissen in 1710.¹¹¹

Subsequently, many porcelain production workshops and factories were established in France, Austria, England, Poland, the Netherlands, and Russia, many with the royal financing, especially in Germany. Porcelain vessels, various dinnerware, and products were marketed to countries within Europe, both for sale and as diplomatic gifts.

the ceramic workshop funded by the Duke of Florence, *Francesco de' Medici*, aimed to produce porcelain and soon after achieved the production of quasi- soft-paste porcelain. However, this was far away from the true porcelain in terms of appearance and technique. Additionally, their decorations were mostly close to Persian ceramics instead of Chinese porcelains. Even if Medici productions were not actual true porcelains, they represent a successful step in achieving the production of true porcelain. Also, in Rouen of France, Louis Poterat's trials of soft-paste porcelains in the last quarter of the seventeenth century were successful but did not develop. Lastly, unsuccessful trials of the true porcelain happened a factory in St. Cloud, near Paris, and in England by Dr. John Dwight. See Edward Dillon, *Porcelain* (London: Methuen, 1904), 236-40; Patterson, *Porcelain*, 29-30.

¹⁰⁹ Prior to the achievement of the production of true porcelain, wares that resembled porcelain in durability and quality were commonly manufactured in red stoneware.

¹¹⁰ Before the production of the true porcelain in Europe, early European workshops maintained glassy surfaces on earlier wares thanks to the addition of powdered glass to clay before firing. Böttger's trials actually demonstrated that the use of glass is not necessary and the mixture of eight different components can make the production of true white porcelain possible. See Geoffrey Arthur Godden, *Godden's guide to European porcelain* (London; Sydney: Barrie and Jenkins, 1993), 62.

¹¹¹ Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, called the "Strong" (1670-1733) had a large porcelain collection comprising various and salient Asian wares, cups, and vases. In 1699, he appointed Ehrenfried Walter Count von Tschirnhaus for producing imitations of Asian porcelains. German alchemist Böttger was actually responsible for transforming a lead to gold under the tutelage of the King of Prussia. After unfortunate alchemy trials in favor of Augustus, he was exiled to a castle to contribute to Tschirnhaus for porcelain trails in 1703. See Patterson, *Porcelain*, 29-31.

The Ottoman Empire, especially the courtiers, were exposed to these porcelains, both diplomatically and through purchasing. It is important to note that the rise of European porcelain did not stem the interest in Asian products. Even after the early 18th century, Chinese porcelain wares continued to be exported and prized in Europe.

3.2. Topkapı Palace Museum Porcelain Collections

Upon the completion of its first sections in 1478, Topkapı Palace hosted the institutions of the central administration of the Ottoman state and was used until the transfer of the administrative center to the Dolmabahçe Palace in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. This large complex functioned as the official residence of the sultan and his family as well as being a center where the administrative institutions of the Ottoman Empire were located for 400 years. With the sultan's relocation to the Dolmabahçe Palace in the 19th century during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid (r.1839-1861), the palace, which had been closed to the outside world, became the focus of attention of both local and foreign visitors, foreign diplomats, travelers, and foreign enthusiasts, and became more accessible. For example, the British ambassador Strafford Conning, a close friend of Sultan Abdülmecid, was granted permission to access the palace and had the opportunity to see many parts of the palace, especially its` treasuries in 1808.

As Dolmabahçe assumed these royal functions, Topkapı was essentially abandoned, occupied by some of the minor members of the court and maintained, but not modernized. In the following years, visitors wished to view the Topkapı palace and its

contents, and this opportunity was made available although the Harem, which inspired great interest, was only open to a limited number of female visitors. During visitations of privileged visitors such as ambassadors, envoys and travelers, Chinese and European porcelain wares and cups, which were undoubtedly the treasury of the palace, were also used by these visitors in banquets and events.¹¹²

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Sultan Abdulaziz (r. 1861- 1876) ordered that the palace carpenters create display cases to exhibit the collections that attracted a lot of attention during the palace visits.¹¹³ Not all of the pieces remained in Topkapı, however. Known for his interest in art and living in the Yıldız Palace, Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876- 1909) arranged a collection of more than 1000 pieces of porcelain, including porcelain vessels of Chinese, Japanese and European origin in the Yıldız Palace and began exhibiting them in a small museum-like area there. In 1909, Sultan Mehmet Reşat (r. 1909- 1918) returned the collection in Yıldız again to the Topkapı Palace and it was exhibited in the Istanbul Archeology museums separately from the other collections.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Ünsan Yücel, "The Topkapı Palace Museum and Its Chinese Porcelain," in *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue*, ed. Regina Krahl (London: Sothebys, 1986), 23-25.

¹¹³ Recent existing porcelain wares and other porcelain objects in the museum collections do not reflect the actual quantity of objects acquired in their time. A few factors such as political revolts, conflictions in the palace, earthquakes, fires, and other reasons caused the demolition of objects and they failed to arrive today. Additionally, unwanted objects were taken out of the consumption sphere of the palace in different ways such as auctions, separation by parts, or destruction on the site.

¹¹⁴ Halil Edhem Bey, the General Director of Museums of Istanbul, invited Ernst Zimmermann, the curator of the porcelain collection in Dresden for conducting further research on porcelain wares of the Topkapı Palace. Even though his research on the site was short, Zimmermann curated a large porcelain collection in the palace. He was also requested to prepare a catalog of porcelains. However, Zimmermann's probes on porcelains in the collection, two research on the site in 1925 and 1927, ended up with several publications in German. See Yücel, "The Topkapı Palace Museum and Its Chinese Porcelain," 23-24; Von Ernst Zimmermann, "Die Porzellanschätze des kaiserlichen Schatzhauses und des Museums zu Konstantinopel," *Der Cicero* 3 (1911).

Focusing on the major vessels, featuring large vases and plates, the exhibition also yielded to display cases with smaller vessels including cups. (Figure 3.1)

In 1918, during WWI, it was decided to store and display the Chinese porcelains in Seferli Koğuşu (The Barracks of the Campaign Pages), which was restored by the order of Sultan Reşat and adjacent to the treasury. After that, this place began to be known as the Tile Treasury. 3911 porcelain vessels, selected as the rarest examples in the entire collection, were collected and exhibited here. The palace, which was closed with the occupation of Istanbul in 1919, opened as a museum in 1924 after the proclamation of the new Turkish Republic in 1923 and was connected to the Istanbul Archeology Museum.¹¹⁵ (Figure 3.2)

3.2.1. Chinese and Japanese Porcelains Collection

The Chinese and Japanese porcelain collection, which consists of over 10,000 Chinese-origin porcelain vessels of various sizes and functions, is the second-largest Chinese porcelain collection outside East Asia.¹¹⁶ At the same time, the collection of Chinese and Japanese porcelain is the largest single collection area in the Topkapı palace museum. The porcelain collections of the palace, with their high quality and size, are almost like a visual chronology, reflecting an uninterrupted 600-year ceramic history from the 13th century to the beginning of the 20th century.

¹¹⁵ Yücel, "The Topkapı Palace Museum and Its Chinese Porcelain," 24-25.

¹¹⁶ The provenance of porcelain wares in this collection is not limited to China and Japan. The collection has porcelain wares which are attributed to Vietnam, Korea, and Rakhine, albeit in very small quantities. The largest Chinese porcelain collection in the world is in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. However, it differs in content from Topkapı. In contrast to the Taipei collections that mostly comprise local porcelains destined for circulation within East Asia, the Topkapı Collection hinges upon high-quality export porcelains.

Porcelain pieces in the collection were primarily acquired by means of purchase, loot, diplomatic gifts, and confiscation. Due to their important and fragile character, the porcelain wares were kept in the treasuries, the imperial kitchen, and cellars. In parallel with the increase in the palace population during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, new additions were made to the palace kitchen. One of these additions was a tile depot, called *Çinihane* where large quantities of porcelain and ceramic vessels were kept.

Porcelain wares of the collection consist of Chinese export porcelains and even pieces from Japan and Vietnam. Many Chinese export porcelains in the Topkapı collection are close in quality to the porcelains made exclusively for the Chinese imperial palace, but they are stylistically independent.¹¹⁷

The collection is comprised of wares produced during the Yuan (1279-1368), Ming (1368-1644), and Qing (1644-1921) dynasties. The majority of these were manufactured in the imperial furnaces in Longquan and Jingdezhen. The blue and whites, which comprise the majority of the collection, generally came from Jingdezhen and some from Southern kiln sites. In addition, there are celadon and other polychrome large-sized platters in accordance with the consumption trends of the Ottoman palace notables and their eating habits. These major items are adorned with rich ornamental compositions to reflect prestige.¹¹⁸ The porcelains imported from China are of a wide variety with a roster

¹¹⁷ Chinese export porcelains attribute to porcelain wares featured to export to the Western world, especially Islamic Lands and Europe. Additionally, such porcelain vessels were sent to India, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East by sea. See Regina Krah, "Export Porcelain Fit for the Chinese Emperor. Early Chinese Blue-and-White in the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 1 (1986): 68-69.

¹¹⁸ In contrast to daily used and frequent porcelain vessels such as bowls, tureens, trays, plates, ewers, and other kitchen utensils, that were fit for massive commensality of the court people, coffee cups were small in sizes and served to be indispensable parts of small courtly presentation of coffee.

of items such as pitchers, tureen, cups, *zarfs*, vases, rose sprinklers, trays, plates, bowls, washbasins, oil pots, and racks.

The courtly consumers were primarily the sultan and imperial family members, and subsequently high ranked dignitaries such as the Grand vizier, the senior statesmen, the ones assigned to the members of the ruling class sent to the countryside, and to a lesser extent the denizens in the lower group within the palace hierarchy. Most of the pieces allocated to the ruling elite were brought to the palace treasury upon the death of these elite members.¹¹⁹ The existing sources document more than 20,000 pieces of Chinese porcelain vessels that entered the palace in this way, although this number cannot be taken at face value. This does not mean that the porcelains were deposited in the palace treasury with a deliberate and regular collection in the palace. In addition, this data does not seem very conceivable when it is taken into account that some pieces were re-allocated and returned to the palace treasury and registered there more than one time. In addition, some pieces were not recorded at all it seems. The palace witnessed some disasters such as earthquake and fires and human interventions like internal rebellions and misuses and those events might have diminished the quantity of porcelain vessels over time.

The earliest pieces of the collection are the Longquan celadon vessels, dating no earlier than the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368), with the latest dating to the end of the 18th

¹¹⁹ Most of the porcelain wares in the collection were acquired by means of the confiscation method that highlighted the seizure of valuable objects of high ruling elites and palace dignitaries after their execution or death. The most remarkable one was the confiscation of 3098 pieces of porcelain vessels from the Palace of Esad Pasha in Syria during 1757 and 1759. They were recorded as incoming objects in the palace records. See Raby, "Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court," 34-35.

century.¹²⁰ 95% of the celadon group, which consists of 1350 vessels, was produced in Longquan during the Yuan and Ming dynasties in the 14th and 15th centuries. 1060 of the celadon containers consist of different sizes of food containers and 230 of them are bowls. There are no examples of coffee cups in this group, as coffee drinking did not begin until the early 16th century, but larger serving cups are included. In Ottoman sources, celadon wares are distinguished with the name *mertabani*.¹²¹

The blue and white porcelain group, consisting of 5373 pieces, constitutes the widest and most significant group of the Chinese porcelain collection. These pieces constitute a wide historical development process from the 14th to the 19th centuries, especially the blue and whites produced during the Yuan and Early Ming Dynasties. They are among the most important pieces of the collection due to their rarity.¹²² The collection has also large-sized *Kraak* porcelain plates that were exported to the West, especially to the Netherlands, through the VOC from the beginning of the 17th century. There are many examples of these in the palace collection.

After celadons and blue and whites, the other important and last group of the general collection is comprised of monochrome and multicolored porcelains. Most of these were produced during the Jiajing and Wanli periods of the Ming Dynasty, and thus date to the 16th and 17th centuries. They are decorated with underglaze blue and overglaze

¹²⁰ John Ayers, "Introduction," in *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalog*, ed. Regina Krahl (London: Sotheby's, 1986), 17.

¹²¹ The term, Mertebani, originates from Marta ban or Moke Tama, the current city of Burma, a transit port city, where it played significant roles in the trade of export porcelains. Via this port, export porcelains disseminated to India, Near East, Rakhine, Islamic Lands, and Europe. See Nurdan Erbahar, *Çin Porselenleri* (Istanbul: Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi, 1984), 8.

¹²² Nurdan; Tuncay Erbahar, Hülya, *Çin ve Japon Porselenleri* (Istanbul: Sanat Yayınları, 1982), 82.

red, yellow-green and turquoise. Although the production of multicolored porcelain began in the middle of the Ming dynasty, most of the Topkapı collection polychrome wares dates to the Qing dynasty. One of the most important examples of monochromes in the collection is a piece of yellow porcelain, which is undecorated, also from the Qing Dynasty.

In the group of polychrome and multicolored porcelain wares, a few subgroups such as *Famille Verte*, *Famille rose* and Chinese Imari appear. These are named depending on the color techniques used on the wares. Polychrome and multicolored wares in the collection are from the first half of the eighteenth century, as new types of enamel techniques and palettes opened up.

A large quantity of porcelain wares in the collection were used as parts of table servings and banquets in the Ottoman palace. For example, large porcelain platters appeared with other metal utensils in the circumcision festival of 1720, where crowds of guests were fed in banquets in the honor of Sultan Ahmed III and his sons. Such porcelain wares might be from the stores of the Imperial Kitchen. As such, the collection has a considerable amount of porcelain coffee cups that were featured in coffee serving and rituals. Although there were no porcelain coffee cups in the group of celadons, a large number of coffee cups are blue-whites and there are multi-colored or Chinese *Imari* exemplars. Blue-white coffee cups have a variety of familiar design programs, including dragons, animals, birds, landscapes, rocks, clouds, flowers, vegetation, architecture, and geometric motifs. The coffee cups in the collection may also show the customization of

coffee cups upon the request of Ottoman court members, although this is limited to a few coffee cups including Arabic inscription.¹²³ (Figure 3.3)

3.2.2 European Porcelains Collection

Since the 9th century, Asia, the Middle East and Islamic lands had served as eager markets for Chinese ceramics. Conversely, European courts and customers had relatively limited access to Asian ceramics and porcelain wares before the 16th century. The Ottoman court was experienced with the intensive flow of porcelains from the Chinese production centers, particularly Jingdezhen, since its founding. Immediately after the first successful production trial of hard-paste porcelain in Meissen by Böttger in the early 18th century, mass production launched in Germany and disseminated through other courtly-funded centers such as Vienna and Vincennes in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. This new production added a new vector of porcelain's movements. Ottoman court customers welcomed these wares, especially from Meissen. European producers gladly sought to gain privileges in the Ottoman market.

The European Porcelain Collection in the Topkapı Palace Museum hosts a variety of types of tableware in addition to small figurines. As a group, it is smaller than the Chinese collection with a selection of over five hundred pieces.¹²⁴ Hence, it holds one of

¹²³ These customized porcelain wares and cups are in the complete catalog of Chinese Porcelains at Topkapı Palace Museum by Regina Krah. For coffee cups, actual museum inventory numbers are TSM 15/4783-87, 15/9544-45. See Regina Krah, *Chinese ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul 3*, 3 (London: Sotheby, 1986), 1292.

¹²⁴ This amount does not present the number of each object. It must be known that some porcelain sets, or groups of wares have been registered with one inventory number. Thus, if we look at each object, the collection can have more than the deceptive amount.

the most important collections of European porcelain. The acquisition of porcelain objects was made possible by means of purchases, diplomatic gifts, and confiscation of estates of Ottoman ruling elites upon their deaths. Also, the collection includes tiles, glass, and crystals imported from Europe.

Porcelain wares that entered the Ottoman Palace from European manufactories were acquired in the different forms mentioned above and have been recorded in different archival documents such as registers of *Ceyb-i Hûmayun*, the specific budget or treasury allocated to the Sultan, and of the storage of porcelains in the Imperial kitchen.¹²⁵ The wares from the collection fruitfully represent the pleasures and tastes of the Sultan, Ottoman dignitaries, and other denizens of the court. A large corpus of the collection consists of bowls, plates, tureens, washbowls, ewers, fruit-stew set, rosewater sprinklers, incense burners, coffee cup sets, tea sets, sweet wares, wares for hors d'oeuvre, sugar bowls, mugs, pitchers, service trays, teaspoons, sweet spoons, spices containers, wares for rice pudding, sherbet cups, and other functional wares. Additionally, a few small figurines that were common in 18th-century table services in European courts and manufactured for the Ottoman court are available in the collection. In contrast to its contemporaries in Europe, Ottoman courtiers consumed fewer tableware sets that incorporate different kinds of functional wares such as plates, bowls, drinking cups and, coffee cups, all following the same decorative program. This is directly related to the everyday foodways and table manners of Ottoman dignitaries. Objects in the collection

¹²⁵ *Ceyb-i Humayun* is known as one of the special financial sources drawn upon inner treasury and allocated to directly use for expenses of Sultan and his family members. See Ayhan Doğan, "R.1286-1288/M.1870-1872 Tarihli Ceyb-i Hümayun Defterleri'ne Göre Sultan Abdülaziz'in Özel Hazinesi'nin Durumu," *Turkish Studies - International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 9, no. 7 (2014): 289.

were imported from different major manufactories from France (Vincennes, Sevres, Paris), Germany (Meissen, Berlin KPM, Furstenberg, Hoscht, Nymphenburg, Limbach, Frankenthal and Tettau), Austria (Vienna), and Russia (St. Petersburg).¹²⁶

The flow of European porcelain wares to the court had not started until soon after the success of Meissen during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703- 1730). The number of acquisitions gradually soared during the eighteenth century.

Objects in the collection of the palace differ from those which were produced for European courts in terms of form, decoration, and colors. To be more precise, European porcelain wares reflect traces of the Ottoman taste and cravings of the Ottoman consumers in the context of customization. Two examples can strengthen our understanding of how Ottoman customers customized productions according to their pleasures and also religious dynamics. First of all, the crossed-sword production mark, which was used as a standard identifier in the porcelains produced in the Meissen factory would not be appreciated by the Ottomans, because it could have been perceived as a Christian symbol of the cross. Thus, it was replaced with a snake around a scepter or a whip, used expressly for import porcelain wares destined for the Ottoman Empire. Tülay Artan also emphasizes that Meissen-made special cups for the Ottoman market, *Türkenbecher* or *Türkenkoppchen*, were not stamped.¹²⁷ (Figure 3.4.) For an exemption, some cups for the Ottoman market were marked with Chinese symbols. Secondly, just as the Europeans provided models to the Chinese factories so that they could copy them in

¹²⁶ Ömür Tufan, "Avrupa Porselenleri Koleksiyonu," in *Topkapı Sarayını Anlatmak*, ed. Ayşe Erdoğan (Istanbul: Nev, 2018).

¹²⁷ Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum."

porcelain, the Ottomans probably also provided scaled models for European craftspeople.¹²⁸

In the second half of the 18th century, so many pieces and sets reflecting Ottoman tastes were produced in European porcelain production centers, especially in Meissen, that they became known as *Türkenbecher* or *Türkenkoppchen* (Turks cups).¹²⁹ The earliest examples in the palace collection are the eating and drinking vessels that were produced in the 1730s and presented as diplomatic gifts. It is notable that these wares were associated with the Ottomans, but were decorated with Chinoiserie motifs, which hearkened back to porcelain's early roots and designs. So, in the 18th century, the European porcelain culture was aimed at an outside audience, but still heavily under the cultural sway of China. However, these Turks cups were not all going to the Ottoman world. Surely, they were transported to different trajectories in the Middle East, North Africa and even Europe as well.¹³⁰

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, European-style dinnerware, such as those manufactured in Sevres increasingly attracted the attention of the Ottoman palace elites and began to enter the palace. The first European- style tableware sets were

¹²⁸ Mukaddes Pazı, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'nde Avrupa Porselenleri Koleksiyonu," in *Kemal Çiğ'a Armağan*, ed. Kemal Çiğ (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Müdürlüğü, 1984); Tufan, "Avrupa Porselenleri Koleksiyonu."; Nazan and Hadiye Can Gökçe Ölçer, *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2005).

¹²⁹ In the 1730s, Meissen and other German manufactories and workshops supplied coffee cups to the markets in the Middle East and Near East. Because of the standardized high-volume production of such coffee cups, they were known as *Türkenbecher* or *Türkenkoppchen* (Turks' Cups or Coffee Cups for the Turkish Market). Even though they specialized for export to the Ottoman Market, other consumers in North Africa and even Europe consumed such coffee cups. See Bursa, "Bir Keyfin Adabi: Çekirdekten Fincana Türk Kahvesinin Maddi Kültürü," 276-77.

¹³⁰ Anette Loesch, "Zum Einfluß der Türkenmode auf das Meißner Porzellan," in *Im Lichte des Halbmonds. Das Abendland und der türkische Orient* (Leipzig: Peter Lang, 1995), 272-4.

acquired in the reign of Abdulhamid I. This tableware set manufactured in Warsaw with the stamp of *Varsovie* and decorated with Ottoman inscriptions that address the favor of Abdulhamid I (r. 1774- 1789), were diplomatic gifts sent by the Polish King Stanislaus Poniatowski in 1778.¹³¹ This trend increased at the beginning of the 19th century. In order for the Sultan and his entourage in the Ottoman palace to keep up with the western- style table settings, they required the import and intensive use of European-style dinnerware sets consisting of hundreds of pieces.¹³²

3.3 *Fincans* in the Collections

The *fincan* used mostly for serving and drinking hot beverages such as coffee, and less often for sherbet, boza, and gum mastic, was the general name for the cups made of ceramic, earthenware, or porcelain in the Ottoman Empire. As coffee became a part of the daily routine, first in the Ottoman palace and then among the subjects of the sultan outside the palace, the coffee cup became the most important tool for coffee presentation to the sultan and his retinue in the palace where it quickly turned into a daily sublime ritual, and for the presentation and drinking of coffee in homes and coffee houses. Reflecting the prestige and power of the court, courtiers preferred to sumptuously consume imported porcelain coffee cups of high quality, especially from China and

¹³¹ Hatice Adıgüzel, "In Search of Diplomatic Gifts: On A Group of the 18th Century Polish Porcelain in The Topkapı Palace collection," *Art of the Orient* 6 (2017): 169-72.

¹³² It is certainly known that for the first time in the Ottoman Empire, eating at the European-style table setting was started in the Dolmabahçe Palace during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid.

Europe, instead of local productions from İznik and Kütahya.¹³³ It is probable that soon after early consumption of coffee started in the court in the mid- sixteenth century, ceramic or porcelain cups were used for drinking. The earliest coffee cups in the Topkapı Collections are without a handle, unglazed, large in size, named *Kallavi*, and from China. (Figure 3.5) Large, unglazed coffee cups without a handle eventually were abandoned for those that were into more decorative, smaller, and with handles, over the course of the eighteenth century.

In the collections of Topkapı Palace, there are many imported coffee cups, saucers, and *zarfs*, demonstrating a broad chronological spectrum from the 16th century to the late 19th century.¹³⁴ In the light of archival documents, visual resources, and large data corpus extracted from museum inventories, generally speaking, the broad consumption of porcelain coffee cups and its accompaniments from the Chinese market in the Ottoman court lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century, when European- made cups posed a significant challenge to those from China.

Along with the variety of coffee cups in terms of form, decoration, size, and technique, cups which differ in use and functionality are also available in the collections. Apart from the porcelain coffee cups examined in this study, the collections hold different types such as salep cups, pickle cups, sherbet cups, mastic cups, footed cups,

¹³³ Even though mass production of ceramic coffee cups was achieved in Kütahya, a local major production center and a subcontractor for İznik ceramics, Ottoman court customers preferred to use only tiles from İznik but not wares. Kütahya products were probably believed not suitable for courtly consumption and prestige of high ruling elites. This obviously explains why Topkapı collections have a few wares in existing collections from İznik. See Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Fincanınızda ne var? Osmanlı Döneminde Günlük Yaşam, Sosyal Değişimler ve Fincan Tipleri," in *Yemekte Tarih Var*, ed. Ayşegül Avcı and Seda Erkoç (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012), 76.

¹³⁴ Almost all of the porcelain coffee cups, holders, and saucers have been transmitted from treasuries and storages of the Ottoman palace.

and cups with saucers.¹³⁵ Even if the form of cups which featured in consuming such foodstuff is similar to those associated with coffee consumption, they differ, especially in size from coffee cups. For example, sherbet was always a popular drink in the palace and the court society used small bowl-sized cups for consuming this drink.¹³⁶

The oldest coffee cup in the palace collections is a 16th-century Chinese porcelain cup, almost twice the size of a standard coffee cup, with a diameter of around 10 cm.¹³⁷ The size of a standard coffee cup has a diameter of 5 cm and a height of 6 cm. The smallest coffee cup in the collections is also China-made and has only a 25 ml capacity.¹³⁸ (Figure 3.6)

The way of storing coffee cups within the extensive domain of the palace was significantly different than the other porcelain wares which were used in imperial banquets. The latter were kept with the other kitchen utensils and wares in the storage of the Imperial Kitchen. By contrast, porcelain coffee cups were spread through different points in the palace, according to where they would have been used such as cabinets in the Privy Chamber, the administration offices and the Harem in addition to the treasuries including the inner treasury. Coffee cups were very active agents of consumption in the daily routines of courtiers and were in the limelight because of the intensive practice of

¹³⁵ *Salep*, *sahlab*, or *sahleb*, is a powder made from tubers of the orchid genus. Salep mixed with sugar and milk was a popular drink in the Ottoman Empire. For cups, see İrem Çalışıcı Pala, "Osmanlı Döneminde Sarayda Kahve Sunumunda Kullanılan Pişmiş Toprak Formları," in *Kahve: Kırk Yıllık Hatırın Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy Naskali (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 82.

¹³⁶ Serkan Gedük, "Osmanlı Saray Geleneğinde Şerbet ve Şerbet Kapları" (SAĞLIK TARİHİ VE MÜZECİLİĞİ SEMPOZYUMU 2, İstanbul, Seçil, 2016).

¹³⁷ TSM 15/2614

¹³⁸ TSM 15/8866

ritualistic coffee serving. Coffee cups that court consumers did not often use were accumulated in the storage of wares in the Imperial Kitchen.

According to archival documents and court records, the head coffeemaker, one of the highest-ranked officials of the Privy Chamber, was in charge of securely keeping coffee cups and other accessories and serving coffee to the Sultan and dignitaries in the expected manner. Coffee cups and sets allocated to the consumption by Sultan were available in two important group of people: *dolap halifesi* or *dolap ağası* (the head of cabinets) and mobile coffeemakers *biniş kahvecileri*¹³⁹ at the Sultan`s service.¹⁴⁰ For example, the treasury register of 1718 inventoried several coffee cups and other related accessories which were available in the cabinets of the privy chamber, owned by the Sultan and his mother. The register also significantly stated that the responsibility to protect these cups was under the head of cabinets.¹⁴¹

The porcelain collections of the museum have almost 1300 porcelain coffee cups and 260 saucers, dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Approximately 719 Chinese and 544 European cups were produced or recorded in the eighteenth century.

¹³⁹ Both positions were significant servants in the service of the Sultan. The head of cabinets was a person who was charged with controlling access to the cabinets which valuable objects and even foods were kept for the Sultan. Other parts of the palace such as Harem and offices had their own the head of cabinets. Mobile coffeemakers were responsible for serving coffee to the Sultan and court- affiliated ruling elites when they attended events out of the palace. Mobile coffeemakers used easy-to-use accessories such as foldable pans for mobility.

¹⁴⁰ In a receipt of confiscated objects in 1767, twenty coffee cups, two small cups, eleven saucers, four jeweled coffee cups, and forty-eight Kabe- i Şerif (for drinking *zemzem*, holy water from the Holy Lands) cups were recorded in the charge of the head of the coffeemaker. See TSMA D.6875

¹⁴¹ In the register, coffee cup tray, silver cup holders, enameled and gilded cup holders, gold cup holder, silver sugar bowl and spoon, Chinese porcelain coffee cups (brown and dark brown), saucers, coffee cup with saucer in a box, tablecloth and four satin covers for coffee cup tray were recorded under the title of “it is the coffee cup cabinet of our dear late master. See TSMA D.6059

The earliest coffee cups are from the period of Emperor Jiajing (1522-1566). They are larger than the standard coffee cup size and probably, are suitable for the original coffee drinking method in Yemen and other Islamic lands, in which each of the drinkers passed the coffee cup from one person to another after a sip.¹⁴² Blue and white porcelain coffee cups in the collection were acquired in the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. Given the small numbers that were acquired in the nineteenth century, it seems that the taste of the Ottoman court had decisively shifted to European wares from Chinese ones by that time. In addition, monochrome yellow glazed coffee cups were used as a substitute to gilded ones and consumed in special events by imperial family members. It is probable that these yellow glazed coffee cups were received as diplomatic gifts or as booty objects.¹⁴³ Also, monochrome brown glazed coffee cups of the first half of eighteenth-century were popular in courtly consumption and the collection has 107 of them.¹⁴⁴

The collection has 182 polychrome coffee cups from the period starting from the mid-seventeenth century to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. They show that monochrome glazed cups were very popular in the consumption of courtiers in that period. On the other hand, polychrome coffee cups display a limited color scale and these begin to appear in the Qing dynasty, but they were unable to compete with European

¹⁴² This way of drinking has never been implemented in either the court or the Ottoman society. They must be coffee cups produced for Islamic lands. See Serkan and Ayşe Erdoğan Gedük, "Çin Porseleni Fincanlar," in *Bir Taşım Keyif : Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*, ed. Ersu Pekin (İstanbul: Türk Kahvesi Kültürü ve Araştırmaları Derneği : T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2015), 289.

¹⁴³ TSM 15/8841

¹⁴⁴ TSM 15/9740

cups. *Famille Verte* coffee cups were decorated with the main color range of green and others such as red, yellow, blue, black, and gold. *Famille Rose*, dominated by rose pink tones, coffee cups are another group of polychrome cups in the collection. The collection has 151 *Famille rose* coffee cups dated between 1730 and 1765. Moreover, Chinese *Imari* presents broad examples of polychrome coffee cups in the collection. 70 cups of the collection which imitate Japanese *Imari* style are products of the eighteenth century in Jingdezhen. A tableware set with 130 pieces of wares with gilding, the star and crescent, and verses of the Quran is of the most precious sets. This set contains seven coffee cups with Qur'anic inscriptions and another seven without inscriptions (See Figure 3.3).

The European porcelain collection has more than 500 coffee cups, saucers and *zarfs* dated to the eighteenth century, all included in this study. Coffee cups and other accessories in the collection generally display a chronological timeframe from the 1730s to the 1890s when the first imperial manufactory professionally initiated porcelain production.¹⁴⁵ The earliest European porcelain coffee cups that entered the Ottoman court are Vienna-made cups in 1733 and Meissen products in 1735. Such early coffee cups are considered examples of Chinoiserie, which imitated the appearance and motifs of Chinese wares, painted with blue, white, red and, gilding. In the middle of the eighteenth century, once European factories succeeded in creating their own genuine array of colors and corpus of decoration, they became privileged preferences of the Ottoman denizens of

¹⁴⁵ In fact, the first indigenous porcelain production in the Ottoman Empire started in small workshops around districts of Istanbul, Eyüp, Galata, and Beykoz. Next, in order to collect them together and manufacture better quality porcelains, Fodorizade Ahmet Fethi Paşa opened a small porcelain manufactory, Eser-i Istanbul, in the district of Beykoz in 1845. Such productions imitated high-quality porcelains from Meissen, Sevres, and Vienna. See Nedret Bayraktar, *Istanbul cam ve porselenleri* (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi, 1982), 3-4.

the court. Such coffee cups have a variety of decorative programs with flowers, figures, even framed landscapes executed with a range of polychrome painting.

Another shift in the Ottoman preferences in the court was coffee cups with handles. The addition of handles to coffee cups was made possible with the proliferation of European cups, especially in the period between 1730 and 1755.¹⁴⁶ This shift was delimited by time. Both Chinese and European porcelain cups without handle continued to be used in the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the emergence of handle addition, coffee cups were used primarily with the *zarf*, a raised cup holder into which the cup could be placed. (Figure 3.7) The second half of the seventeenth century introduced metal *zarfs* and porcelain *zarf* later in the eighteenth century. Initially, Ottoman court consumers preferred metal *zarfs* until porcelain *zarfs* became available.¹⁴⁷ (Figure 3.8.) *Zarfs* protected the drinkers' fingers from the extreme temperature of the beverage that was often conveyed through the porcelain cup's body.

As an alternative to the *zarf*, a coffee cup could be accompanied by a handle or a saucer.¹⁴⁸ European factories met the needs of court customers by manufacturing both porcelain *zarfs* and saucers. Aficionados in the court immediately started to use them because of the ease of handling. Most of the coffee cups in the European porcelain

¹⁴⁶ This claim depends on my observation and quantitative analysis of cups. Basing on the extant objects from the museum, there is China- made porcelain cups with handle. Prior to the emergence of handle to cups, cups were added with metal handles, to Chinese cups and probably cups were used with *zarfs*. 74 cups with handle are only European- made.

¹⁴⁷ M. Zeki Kuşoğlu, "Osmanlı Fincan Zarfları," *Antika*, 1987, 27-31.

¹⁴⁸ Archival documents reveal that along with the gradual abandonment of metal coffee cup holders, valuable holders, especially those with gold, were sent to the head of goldsmiths in *Ehl-i Hiref*, the organization of imperial craftsmen in the court so that they could have been used after melting. Mostly, gold and silver were reused for making new weapons, daggers, and other needs of the sultan and his entourage.

collection are accompanied by a *zarf* or saucer in contrast to those of the Chinese collection where a limited number of such cups can be encountered.

The precise European provenance of coffee cups in the collection varies. Almost 90 percent of coffee cups created in the eighteenth century and included in this research derive from Meissen, Vincennes/Sevres, and Vienna.¹⁴⁹ A small amount of coffee cups is from minor factories such as Nymphenburg, Nederville, St. Petersburg and Warsaw. It is important to mention that the intensive flow of porcelain wares to the Ottoman palace from the Meissen manufactory at first and then other German factories, later on, started after the 1730s. Coffee cups are a major group in such porcelains. Led by Meissen, German factories exactly comprehended the needs of court customers and developed a standard of coffee cups known as *Türkenkoppchen* or *Türkenbecher* which focused on Ottoman pleasures and the needs of aficionados. Such coffee cups were not only for the Ottoman market, but there was also some limited export to European and North African markets. The form of cups, without a handle, is their prominent feature and is also indicative of the Ottoman taste. The reason why German manufactories avoid adding a handle to coffee cups might underlay an observation of a European traveler to Ottoman Lands who narrates “While drinking coffee, the Turks refrain from the habit of touching the coffee cup with their hands, but first, they put it in a protective container made of gold or silver.”¹⁵⁰ As a matter of fact, European production centers managed to impress the Ottoman palace by producing porcelain *zarfs*, with the decor and form in harmony

¹⁴⁹ Meissen was not directly addressed but the name of *Saksonyakari*, Saxony-made, in porcelain entries in the court records ascribes porcelain wares from Germany. This is a generic term that addresses all German-made porcelains. Entries with such term might be because of the lack of expertise of ottoman court scribes on the provenance of porcelain wares.

¹⁵⁰

with the cups, in accordance with the pleasures of the Ottomans around the middle of the eighteenth century.

The decoration is another defining feature of *Türkenkoppchen* porcelain coffee cups. Ottoman court elites could possibly have dynamic relations with producers to gain more control over the customization of coffee cups through production and decoration processes. Unfortunately, Ottoman records do not reveal any of these negotiations. One imagines that Ottoman envoys and officials who were based in European capitals in the age of westernization may have served as intermediaries, however, conveying some of the dominant trends and preferences. The Ottoman palace dwellers, who may have become bored with the Chinese porcelain coffee cups with a very limited color scale such as blue, white, red, brown, and gold gilding, must have been fascinated by the cups decorated with unusual and extraordinary colors such as pink, teal, purple and orange. Along with an enhanced color palette, decorative elements, including birds, flowers, stars, and crescents, and even Arabic inscriptions were specialized for the Ottoman market.

Around the middle of the century, coffee cups with handles were disseminated. Saucers with handled coffee cups became more popular than handleless cups placed on *zarfs*. In addition, in contrast to using a group of porcelain coffee cups with the same decoration, the Sultan and his entourage started to consume exclusively made sets of coffee cups or extensive table services including coffee cup sets.

3.4 *Fincans* By the Numbers: The TPM and TPMA Datasets

3.4.1 The TPM Corpus

This section aims to present the findings constituted by the analysis of the two datasets obtained from the eighteenth-century porcelain coffee cups of Chinese and European origin, which were created as a result of the field research completed in the porcelain and archival collections of the Topkapı Palace Museum, in Spring 2021. It rests on two datasets, referred to as the TPM and the TPMA datasets. Each demonstrates different characteristics of the studied objects and archival documents. The following section describes how the data was gathered.

This study aims to improve our understanding of the consumption sphere of the eighteenth-century Ottoman court, where consumers of coffee cups included the Sultan, imperial family members, court elites, and denizens of the lower strata of the court hierarchy, by exploring the changes in consumption trends and patterns, and contextualizing consumer behaviors with a close study of objects. Toward this goal, I contend that we will benefit from a fuller understanding of the imported coffee cups which entered the palace collections during the eighteenth century. Although it is not exhaustive, the Topkapı Palace Museum collections of porcelain coffee cups provide a useful window into such practices of consumption and acquisition. This study does not examine other coffee cups from different museums and collections even if they were known to be consumed at or circulated through the court. To be more precise, the treated corpus is represented solely by the physical inventory of coffee cups in the current

collection, as one index of consumption practices at the Ottoman court. Surely, its results can be fruitfully extended and correlated with other relevant objects in future studies.

The first dataset, hereafter referred to as the TPM dataset, is based on entries provided by inventories of the Topkapı porcelain collections, often extended through information garnered from published catalogs. It encapsulates extant objects. The TPM dataset gathers various characteristics of extant objects including the date of manufacture, provenance information, quantitative data, decorative features, colors, additions such as a handle, and production marks. Also, this dataset records inventory numbers of objects and if they have already been published.

In 2021, I transcribed the data from the Topkapı Palace Museum roster including all of the eighteenth-century coffee cups and their material accompaniments in both the Chinese and European porcelains collections. For the creation of the TPM dataset, I utilized resources from the museum itself, but then publications were used to further verify or add information to the dataset. It is noteworthy to mention that in contrast to the porcelain coffee cups in the Chinese collection, coffee cups in the European collection have mostly remained unpublished except for a few outstanding coffee cups, which were exhibited and published in a catalog in 2011.¹⁵¹ Aside from that publication, scholars have not taken a systematic look at European cups from this period.

After the data was compiled, it was constructed, cleaned, tidied, and finally analyzed. The corpus of data was transcribed in Microsoft Excel, and then further processed using the data analysis software, Tableau, to generate the following

¹⁵¹ Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*.

visualizations which display preliminary findings and results. Henceforth, the following visualizations may occasion us to understand certain patterns and the role porcelain coffee cups played in the daily court routine and network of consumption.

I followed a standard methodology for recording the items. All singular coffee cups, *zarfs* and saucers which were not paired with their accessories were listed as single entry. I believe that porcelain coffee cups cannot be separated from accompanying coffee serving accessories, such as such their *zarfs*, and saucers. Hence, I also recorded coffee cups with their dedicated *zarfs* and saucers, each as a single entry and noted matching objects. Except for one set in the Chinese porcelain collection, all of the coffee sets in the museum are European imports, and they are generally provisioned with *zarfs*. The classification of coffee cups as “in a group or set” must be further explained. There is a very slight nuance between these two classifications in the TPM dataset. Coffee cups “in a set” are those that consist of exactly the same cup, in form and decoration, and are accompanied with other accessories, such as trays, saucers, sugar bowls, spoons and creamers. By contrast, cups “in a group” refer to coffee cups that were produced in multiples, indeed also echoing the same form and decoration, but without the additional functional accessories of the sets mentioned above. Cups “in a group” are sometimes paired with their saucers or *zarfs*. The Chinese porcelain collection includes a large number of saucers without matching coffee cups. European cups of the museum highlights some cups “in a group” paired with *zarfs*.

For the Topkapı Palace Museum dataset, a single-entry was devoted to each coffee cup, *zarf*, coffee cup and *zarf* set, or coffee cup and saucer set, each listed in its

own row. In the tabular format of the dataset, columns represent different variables such as current repository, manufactory if known or discernible, modern country of manufacture if known or discernible, geographical data for its production, creator if known, the period as defined by the Sultan enthroned in the Ottoman court at that time, whether it carries a production mark (y/n), whether it has an attached handle (y/n), acquisition number, measurements in height and diameter as expressed through cm, surface treatment, whether it is paired with a saucer or *zarf* (y/n), gilding (gilded/ungilded), location of gilding (outside, inside, mouth and rim) if gilded, genre, frequent colors and whether it carries an inscription (y/n).

Dates were broken into two columns, as begin and end, to account for possible spans and ranges. Chronological data signifies the dates of manufacture of extant objects. Geolocational data, latitude and longitude, of manufactory has been taken from Google Maps. For the existence of gilding on surfaces, I addressed gilded or ungilded. An exception, which includes a group of cups gilded with silver and gold, is remarked upon in the TPM dataset. On the other hand, I recorded genres of cups and accessories that vary as floral, figural, geometric and landscape. Several cups have more than one genre. Also, a few cups without decoration were marked as plain. Frequent colors of objects include the colors used on both the inside and outside surfaces. Instead of identifying subtle tones of colors, I listed most generic color names except for a few distinctive examples. For instance, some cups have decoration in cobalt blue or iron red and these colors differentiate from generic examples due to their distinct tones. For measurements of cups and their accessories in diameter and height, I use centimeters. Design was

further described as relief or engraved to note surface treatments on several cups. Finally, I listed sources of images and texts for extant objects in the TPM dataset, usually from a publication or from my own photo archive taken while I was at the museum or from my own observations.

3.4.2. The TPMA Corpus

As a salient point of contrast, the archival records, described in Chapter 1, provide further context to the extant exemplars in the collection and can also be mobilized for quantitative analysis. In addition to the dataset of objects in The Topkapı Palace Museum (TPM), I constructed a second dataset, hereafter referred to as the TPMA dataset, drawing from entries that appear in the archival documents of the Topkapı Palace Museum. Unlike the corpus treated above, this dataset draws only from textual sources. It has 65 unique entries, one for each document that mentions coffee cups. Each document is represented as a single entry that has been listed in its own row. In the tabular format of the dataset, columns represent different variables such as inventory number of the document, type of document, the purpose of the document, the date the document was penned in two columns to account for the date ranges and spans, the quantity of cups recorded in the document, names of consumers recorded in the document, the quantity of cups owned by each consumer, and lastly, notes on the document.

Each column variable is devoted to different characteristics of the document. Under inventory number, I listed the genuine document identification number taken from the database of the State Archives of Turkey. Most of the documents, including registers

and papers, are held under the archives of the Topkapı Palace Museum, and some are kept in different subsections such as AE.SMST.II., IE.BH., C.DH., MAD., and AE.SSLMIII. The types of document include *muhallefat* registers, expense registers, Imperial Kitchen expense registers, registers of valuable items, registers of private expenses of the Sultan, supply receipts, repertory registers of the Inner treasury, and receipt and consignment slips. In parallel with document type, I recorded the purpose of each document such as treasury records of income, outgoing expense or incoming revenue, confiscation records, gifts, dowries, and allotments. Dates address the chronological data of document and were broken into two columns, as begin and end, to account for possible spans. As some documents were penned within a specific time, others, especially large-sized registers, were recorded during a span of time. However, the dates of documents are mostly exact dates, associated with the document, although they were not penned in regular intervals.¹⁵² Another variable is devoted to entering the quantity of cups which were counted in each document, with a range between 1 and 1681. When the names of courtly owners of cups were associated with a specific number of cups, these were also in two columns. I believe that this part of the dataset is the most significant one which prompted an elaborated quantitative and qualitative analysis of cups and their owners. Lastly, I noted specific information and summarized the nature of document, if necessary.

Moreover, data about consumers were extracted from the archival sources and transcribed in the dataset. A total of 84 consumers, whether a specific named individual

Pekin, *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü*.

¹⁵² As some were penned in a timeframe, other, especially high-volume registers were jotted down during a period of a few years.

and simply an office, are present in the dataset. Lastly, a brief summary of the content of each document is from the metadata which has already been recorded in the database of the Directorate of State Archives of Turkey. This archival dataset will be referred as the TPMA corpus and serves as a salient comparison to the information gleaned from the extant objects constituted by the TPM dataset.

3.4.3. An Overview: Cups, Saucers and *Zarfs*

Beyond the cups, there are 16,107 pieces of various porcelain wares in total, 10,358 of which are in the Chinese porcelain collection and 5,749 in the European porcelain collections in the Topkapı Palace. These objects were often recorded using different standards. Each of the objects in the Chinese Porcelain collection was recorded with a separate inventory number, on the contrary, some sets consisting of more than one piece in the European porcelain collection received a single inventory number.¹⁵³ For example, coffee cups with saucers are listed together with an inventory number. From this point of view, there are more porcelains in the collection than the total number that is represented by the inventory numbers. On the other hand, all-porcelain vessels belonging to the late 17th and 18th centuries, among the pieces in the Chinese porcelain collection, cover 53.1% of the Chinese porcelain collection, and European porcelains from the 18th century cover 84% of the collection. As the scope of this study is limited to eighteenth-century porcelain cups and their companions, it can be concluded that the findings present a useful window into the larger porcelain collection. Further study will need to be

¹⁵³ Also, all porcelain cups and wares in both collections have different numerical identification. While inventory numbers of those in Chinese porcelain collection start with TSM 15, European cups and wares have the initial of TSM 26. For example, TSM 15/2681 and TSM 26/3256.

carried out on those cups that date from other centuries and periods. A total of 1263 objects, eighteenth-century coffee cups and their companions, were recorded in the TPM dataset which covers 7.84% of the total of both collections of Asian and European porcelain. The decision to focus only on coffee cups from the eighteenth century stems from my meticulous inquiry of both existing catalogues and following investigation of museum inventories of extant objects.

As discussed in previous chapters, the eighteenth century witnessed changing patterns in regard to the use of coffee cups with their various accompaniments, such as *zarfs* and saucers, which became increasingly popular over the course of the century. Consequently, some of the cups are considered to be singular, likely acquired without any associated *zarf* or saucer. Those that were strongly associated with an accompaniment as part of a dedicated set were recorded as such. Plotted by the number of coffee cups and their material accompaniments, saucers and *zarfs*, in both collections of the museum, the figure 3.9 indicates that the collection is dominated by singular coffee cups; there are 965 coffee cups without any dedicated accompaniments. (Figure 3.9) This means that 76.41% of studied objects in the porcelain cup collections are merely singular coffee cups. This is the largest portion on the pie chart. The collections also have 156 singular saucers, namely 12.35% of the studied corpus, the second largest group. Coffee cups with accompanying saucers generate 6.74% of the TPM corpus with a total number of 85. There were only 33 lone cup *zarfs* (without a dedicated and matching cup) in the collections, which represent the fourth group by size. The smallest group of the studied

objects is constituted by coffee cups with a *zarf* accompaniment. There were only 24 cup and *zarf* sets, which constitutes a mere 1.90% of the roster.

Figure 3.10 cuts across the same question but shows some of the differences between the Asian and European collections, further delineated by object type. (Figure 3.10) As described above, the largest group of the studied corpus is comprised by singular coffee cups. Approximately more than half of the singular coffee cups, 564 or 88.33% of the corpus are in the Chinese Porcelain collection. In the European porcelain collection, there are only 401 singular coffee cups, constituting 73.85% of the corpus. However, we begin to see differences when we turn to the sets. The European collection has 83 coffee cups with saucers, 15.29% of the entire collection of the eighteenth-century porcelain coffee cups, while the Chinese porcelain collection has only two coffee cups with saucers, which equals only 0.28% of the collection.

Differences can also be observed when it comes to singular saucers. There are 154 singular saucers in the Chinese collection, while the European collection has only 2 singular saucers. Saucers are the second- largest group of objects within the TPM corpus. Furthermore, the Chinese porcelain collection does not have any coffee cups with a *zarf* or any singular *zarfs*. The European collection has 24 coffee cups with *zarfs* and 33 singular *zarfs*, which amount to 4.42% and 6.08% of the collection, respectively. Basing on the quantitative data which the figure 4.2 shows, one can see that European producers were much more invested in the form of the *zarf* for Ottoman consumption than Chinese potters were. This finding indicates the European the European willingness to cater local tastes of the court consumers. Last but not least, as abovementioned, the distribution of

objects by quantity is not even and the European collection is more diversified than the Chinese in terms of the variety of objects included.





Chapter 4. Narrating *Fincans*: The Consumption of Coffee Cups in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Court

4.1. Introduction

The eighteenth century represents a period in which shocking changes were witnessed for the Ottoman Empire. After long-lasting wars and conflicts in the East and West, the empire attempted to recover itself economically, politically, and socially by establishing permanent relations through diplomacy. To be more precise, during this century, the empire was in close communication with European neighbors and had the interest and the agency to draw from some of their fashions, trends, and habits. In fact, until recently, while the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire has been studied in fields such as art history, history and sociology, this century has been scrutinized through the concept of “westernization”. However, some recent studies have argued that this century is not just an age in which the Ottomans embarked on military, political, social, and cultural developments with a complete Western orientation, nor did this century signal a total decline for the Ottoman Empire, when it was overpowered by the supremacy of Europe. The new and updated arguments that have emerged are based on the fact that the eighteenth-century Westernization phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire was accompanied by a variety of internal dynamics which shaped the state and its institutions.¹⁵⁴

Consumption is a useful sphere to explore these westernization efforts. Along with a passion for novelty, certain tangible changes occurred in Ottoman consumers`

¹⁵⁴ Selim Karahasanoglu, "A Tulip Age Legend: Consumer Behavior and Material Culture in the Ottoman Empire (1718-1730)" (PhD Binghamton University, 2009); Selim Karahasanoglu, "Challenging the Paradigm of the Tulip Age: The Consumer Behavior of Nevsehirli Damad Ibrahim Pasa and His Household," in *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Elif and Suraiya Faruqi Akçetin (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

profiles, consumption styles, trends, and patterns throughout all strata of society.

Westernization efforts in various realms of the Ottoman Empire encouraged the introduction of new objects and the differentiation in consumption habits of the eighteenth century, including books generated from the newly introduced printing press and the consumption of imported European-origin commodities such as porcelains and textiles. Particularly, French fashion began to be felt in Istanbul in the middle of the 18th century. French-style gardens, furniture, and architecture widely mesmerized the denizens of Ottoman society.¹⁵⁵

These changes in Ottoman consumption culture and of the Ottoman consumer profiles in the early modern period were present throughout the social classes. However, it was undoubtedly the Ottoman ruler and his court that served as the ultimate authorities that determined such trends. In other words, the Ottoman palace was at the center of different trajectories for the proliferation and dissemination of consumption trends or consumption patterns among the other layers of the Ottoman society. Thus, while the main area of our study, which examines the Ottoman consumption culture through porcelain coffee cups in the eighteenth century, is contextually and geographically limited to the Ottoman court of the eighteenth century, it has bearing on the various strata of Ottoman society.

Before the successful production of hard-paste porcelain in eighteenth-century Europe, Asian porcelains, in particular, occupied a large place in the daily consumption cycle of royal family members and court nobles in European palaces. Afterward, with the

¹⁵⁵ Shirine Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque: Modern Constructions of the Eighteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 24, no. 1 (2007).

establishment of royal-supported factories in Europe, locally-made porcelains, which became inseparable parts of both tables and collections of European palace nobles, were readily adopted in the Ottoman palace. In the eighteenth century, the intense porcelain record indicates a reoriented consumption away from Chinese porcelains and toward European porcelain wares after the middle of the century. Of course, these changes in the consumption trends in the court can be articulated by certain internal and external dynamics that the Ottoman court and the Sultan were involved in during the century. In this chapter, I provide quantitative and qualitative analysis of coffee cups from both the archival sources and existing objects in the libraries and collections of the Topkapı Palace Museum. These analyses reveal that Ottoman court consumers, imperial family members, high dignitaries, and ruling class members, appeased their cravings for novelty by the ostentatious consumption of coffee cups and by transforming preferences from Chinese coffee cups to European cups which carried salient and novel features, in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The existence of coffee cups in the material environment and the consumption sphere of the eighteenth-century Ottoman court is undeniably vital. The data obtained from the TPM and TPMA corpora for qualitative and quantitative analyses are useful and can deepen our understanding of the role coffee cups played in the consumption culture in the eighteenth-century Ottoman court. In contrast to scholarship which probes the consumption culture of the period by dealing with a wide roster of consumed goods of

Ottoman elites and lower-class members, this study will focus on the coffee cups as a specific commodity with an art-historical discourse.¹⁵⁶

4.2. Premises and Dynamics of Conspicuous Consumption of *Fincans*

Several motives and dynamics affected the Ottoman consumption culture and preferences of consumers during the eighteenth century, on a broader scope. One of the motivations that had an impact on the consumption of porcelain coffee cups in the court are westernization efforts, albeit a general term, which emerged as a major facet in the century, with political, military, economic, social, and cultural effects. The main issue that we will deal with here is the expansion of the consumption environment of the Ottoman palace, which was shaped by westernization efforts and the adaptation of new objects to this courtly material environment, a topic treated by scholars such as Fatma Müge Göçek, Eminegül Karababa and Shirine Hamadeh.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ For example, Sümeyye Büke examines the changes in the consumption of commodities including textiles, garments, decorative items, kitchen utensils home textiles and jewelry during the eighteenth century. She draws upon large pile of estate inventories and court records from the records of Galata district court. She specifically focuses on the consumption preferences of population of ordinary people. Close examination has gone through both internal dynamics and westernization efforts. See Hoşgör Büke, "Changes in the Consumption of Ottomans in the Eighteenth Century".

Tülay Artan's wide inquiry of Ottoman elite's food consumption deals luxury preferences on foodstuff. She examines price and expense registers of households of Ottoman ruling elites. Her focus includes delicacies, luxuries and everything edible mentioned in such registers. The roster of consumed foodstuff is quite large and wide. She usually delves into some food stories and cases from the imperial kitchen. See T. lay Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman elite's food consumption: looking for "staples", "luxuries", and "delicacies" in a changing Century," *Consumption studies and the history of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922* (2000).

¹⁵⁷ Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque: Modern Constructions of the Eighteenth Century."; Sajdi, "Ottoman tulips, Ottoman coffee : leisure and lifestyle in the eighteenth century"; M. ge G. ek Fatma, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Müge Göçek Fatma, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

The most significant moment in the concept of Westernization is the Tulip Age (1718- 1730), a short period of just over one decade, which was associated with this drive toward novelty. It must be admitted that the Tulip Era was an important introductory milestone in the evolution of the Ottoman consumption culture and the adaptation of Western innovations, and after that break, new habits and consumption preferences boomed. Ottoman royal family members and high ruling elites played significant roles in the ever-expanding milieu of such preferences.¹⁵⁸ A key factor was the assignment of permanent Ottoman envoys into European capitals. As one of those, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, appointed as ambassador to Paris in 1720, carried out one of the first sustained cultural encounters of the Ottomans with the Western states. In addition to bringing various new objects from France, Mehmed Efendi, upon his return from France, jotted down a report and presented his experiences and observations to the Sultan.¹⁵⁹

The paintings, sketches, drawings, and reports brought by Mehmed Çelebi, who played a leading role in introducing European influences into the Ottoman world, sparked the ever-growing interest in European goods and changes to a new taste in the Ottoman Empire, in architecture and other fields. The palace elite might have possibly seen novel household objects, such as silver candlesticks, a dining table, rare carpets, organs, and French furniture, and new instruments, such as a microscope, that Mehmet Çelebi

¹⁵⁸ Ottoman ruling elites played critical roles in the dissemination of novelties of Westernization through all strata of the Ottoman society.

¹⁵⁹ Fatma Müge Göçek, "Interaction Between Two Societies Through an Embassy," in *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Fatma Müge Göçek (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 5-6; Fatma Müge Göçek, "Encountering the West: French Embassy of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi: 1720-1721" (paper presented at the IIIrd Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Princeton University, 1983), 79-83; Hüner Tuncer Yılmaz, "Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi'nin Fransa Sefaretnamesi," *Belleten* 51, no. 199 (1987): 131-32.

brought from his visit to France. In turn, the court elites tried to acquire these items and increased their admiration for them.¹⁶⁰

The new objects brought to the Ottoman Empire by Mehmed Çelebi created an interest in Western products around the palace at first including court dignitaries, and then expanding among more widely. Even if porcelain coffee cups, from China and other parts of East Asia, were not new to the Ottoman market, European porcelain coffee cups invited new interests and investments. It is probable that the early visits of Ottoman envoys to European capitals created opportunities to bring direct connections between Ottoman consumers and merchants, and even porcelain merchants in Europe.¹⁶¹ Fatma Müge Göçek draws attention to the formation of the Ottoman merchant bourgeoisie who tried to gain commercial privileges and financial advantages in the trade between the empire and the West. As Göçek shown, developing commercial connections between the Ottoman empire and Europe were redesigned by the interactions which were established by visiting envoys in the eighteenth century.¹⁶² For example, the abovementioned Ottoman Greek merchant Manasses Athanos established porcelain trades from Meissen in

¹⁶⁰ The most significant outcome of this visit to France was the first initiation and investment of printing in the Ottoman Lands. Said Mehmet, the son of Embassy Mehmet Efendi, accompanied his father during the visit and was interested in the technical innovations of France. Upon his return, he jointly started the first printing press in the Ottoman Lands with Ibrahim Müteferrika. I do not believe that Mehmet Çelebi encountered French porcelains or had been presented with them. Because French porcelain production started in 1745 and Mehmet Çelebi's visit was earlier than the beginning of the porcelain production in France. It is probable that he saw early Meissen and Chinese porcelain wares.

¹⁶¹ Eighteenth century witnessed a cross-cultural and reciprocatively shift of positions of merchants. They turned into active agents as envoys in affairs between Ottoman and West in the eighteenth century, in comparison with their position as official economic representatives before this century. See Fatma M. ge G????ek, *East encounters West : France and the Ottoman empire in the eighteenth century* (New York; Washington: Oxford Univ. Press : Inst. of Turkish Studies, 1987).

¹⁶² Fatma, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 87-91.

1730s. This study provides evidence for how these new objects positively affected the demand for Western-made cups from Europe in the following years that had been sourced through regular commercial connections. Although there are no narrative sources about this topic, this perspective can be gleaned through the datasets under consideration, providing more dimension to our understanding of Ottomans' commercial ties with European merchants in terms of the import of porcelain wares.

Under the influence of Çelebi's sketches and architectural plans from France, the Ottoman court elites and imperial members rushed to erect waterfront palaces and mansions that imitated the architecture of the French palaces and the landscape design of the Iranian palaces.¹⁶³ (Figure 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4) The construction of many of these coastal palaces was financed by members of the dynasty and the ruling elite. According to Shirine Hamadeh, the Ottoman idiom was not a mere invention of Western influence but rather a product of a more complex Western and Ottoman/ Eastern synthesis. As evidence, she elucidates the architectural boom that emerged with the construction of these palaces by the Ottoman ruling elites, for example, Damat İbrahim Pasha (1718-1730), one of the most ambitious of them, and the Ottoman Princesses. More than 300 imperial palaces, numerous palatial gardens, pavilions, fountains, bridges, water infrastructures, and roads that expanded from this Topkapı Palace to the waterfront were financed especially by the members of the Ottoman dynasty and the palace elite as part of

¹⁶³ Waterfront palaces and landscapes of Ottoman elites and imperial family members do not merely echo either an absolute impact of Westernization or the effect of the Orient. However, it is ensured that this was the very first reaction of the Ottomans to Western. Palaces seem like the synthesis of both spheres. See Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization," 32-34.

this robust building program. As examples, Sa`adabad, Hürremabad, Hümayunabad, and Çırağan are some of these important palaces. (Figure 4.5)

At one point, these magnificent palaces of the dynasty and the ruling elite optimized Ottoman grandeur and a public display of power and prestige. For example, members of the royal family made the journey from the Topkapı Palace to these palaces with ceremonial processions. Banquets, festivals, celebrations and weddings were organized on numerous occasions. These intense construction and opulent activities drew the negative reaction of Istanbulites among the middle and lower classes, and as a result, many of these coastal palaces were burned down with the Patrona Halil revolt in 1730.¹⁶⁴

I assert that especially in the first half of this century, the residents of these new palaces who moved out of the aged Topkapı Palace, imitated the consumption patterns of the Ottoman palace, thus developing small consumption domains where they were not excluded but became parts of the court in a network. This assertion mainly relies upon archival documents that recorded frequent circulation of objects between the palace and these waterfront mansions. A clear example is demonstrated by the highly visible circulation of porcelain wares and coffee cups between the palace and waterfront palaces of royal women such as Hadice Sultan, other sisters and mothers of the Sultan. A large porcelain collection of Hadice Sultan was confiscated from her palace in the district of Beşiktaş and transferred to the palace treasury after her death. Following, these porcelain vessels were ready to be transferred to the households of other imperial women or to be temporarily allotted to high- ruling elites or court servants. Of course, the expansion of

¹⁶⁴ Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization," 40.

residencies of royal women and high ruling elites to out of Topkapı palace created a new environment where each of them represented a unique consumption domain. It is quite interesting that the connections between such domains and the palace were unexpectedly strong and ever growing in the eighteenth century. Members of the household did not hesitate to show their power and prestige with luxury and spectacle at occasions which they organized in the waterfront palaces. New European goods become indispensable parts of newly adopted European-style daily activities. Dispersed collection of porcelain coffee cups from China and Europe were accumulated in these personal palaces as mobilized commodities. This research shows that the consumption of coffee cups increased significantly in such an expanded consumption domain formed by the eighteenth-century royal members and the palace elites.

Another important changing dynamic that contributed to the ostentatious consumption of the coffee cup through the palace consumer society in this century is the palace elite and dynasty members' efforts to display power and prestige with sumptuous consumption of commodities such as textiles, silk, porcelain, and precious stones. In fact, the biggest competitors in this realm were not the sultan or court officials in the palace hierarchy. In the 18th century, the members of the ruling class and imperial women vied for power and prestige in the world of palace consumption. The class differences and social hierarchies among the Ottoman members and the boundaries determining their affiliations were more apparent than the non-palace society. Consumption trends and preferences are important indicators that determine the boundaries between the various classes of the court society. Thus, different court consumers tried to distinguish

themselves from one another by way of displaying their political power and prestige. The clothes which they wore, the food that they ate, what kind of animals which they rode, what kind of utensils they consumed were some of the ways that they made themselves more visible in the palace society.¹⁶⁵

This consumption existed in all the daily routines of the palace in an unlimited cycle. They would never hesitate to display their power and prestige in a flamboyant way, as long as their income allowed. Especially the acquisition and consumption of diamonds and valuable porcelains through high ranked court members such as viziers and eunuchs exemplify their tendencies for maintaining social status and prestige in front of counterparts.¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, it is vital to consider that two factors may have defined ostentatious consumption of courtly consumers. First, several sumptuary laws could have limited consumers to invest in luxurious ways of consumption.¹⁶⁷ Beyond those which publicly targeted consumption ways of ordinary people, some were directly issued for officials. For example, in 1788, a decree aimed to ban the consumption of luxury commodities by officials and also, targeted those who imitated such trends. The

¹⁶⁵ See Yılmaz, "Cutting a Fine Figure among Pots and Pans: Aghas of the Sultans Harem in the Eighteenth Century," 113-14.

¹⁶⁶ See Yılmaz, "Cutting a Fine Figure among Pots and Pans: Aghas of the Sultans Harem in the Eighteenth Century," 113-14. Tülay Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 83 (1999).; Hedda Reindel- Kiel, "Diamonds Are a Vizier's Best Friends or: Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa's Jewelry Assets," in *Living the Good Life: Consumption in the Qing and Ottoman Empires of the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018).

¹⁶⁷ Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 39.

decree specified that “such consumption had become the source of oppression”.¹⁶⁸

Another imperial decree, issued in 1792, also banned the presentation of luxury objects to the palace and their exchange between court officials. As another possible issue, courtiers could have also been concerned about the confiscation of valuable items from their households, particularly if they flaunted their wealth too visibly.¹⁶⁹

European court nobles had also consumed and collected Asian porcelain wares in the 17th century and European products in the following one, but the rise of local hard-paste porcelain production in Europe opened up new channels for displaying power and prestige.¹⁷⁰ The Ottoman palace society also densely consumed porcelain wares and utensils in the eighteenth century, viewing porcelain as one the most truly and spontaneously expressive ways of craving novelty and love of luxury. They became frequent belongings of Ottoman imperial women who desired to display their dynastic power and legitimacy of ruling, in addition to their class prestige and ability to act independently without interventions of their husbands or brothers.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Another reason for the prohibition of luxurious consumption in the decree was stated by the Sultan. He set forward that the decree was going to make a decrease of trade deficit that triggered the poverty among society. See Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 39.

¹⁶⁹ Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 39.

¹⁷⁰ Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, *Fragile diplomacy : Meissen porcelain for European courts ca. 1710-63* (New Haven: Published for the Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture, New York, by Yale University Press, 2007).

¹⁷¹ Tülay Artan, "Royal Weddings and the Grand Vezirate: Institutional and Symbolic Change in the Early Eighteenth Century," in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, ed. Jeroen Duindam Ibrahim Metin Kunt, Tülay Artan (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 339-400; Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı."

Royal marriages, banquets, public displays of bridal gifts, trousseaus, and different special state occasions, as regular events in the daily life of people in the palace and outside of the palace, provided opportunities to show what royal women collected and consumed. As Tülay Artan has shown, women were some of the key figures in these events. Artan argues that Ottoman royal ladies consumed and collected in a manner to express the power and legitimacy of the dynasty. Even these displays occasioned a general interest in acquiring luxury objects among people in the capital. For example, the sister of Mustafa II and Ahmed III, Hadice Sultan, had the opportunity to show her porcelain collection to her brothers, court dignitaries and the Grand Vizier at a banquet held at the Üsküdar Palace on the Bosphorus, on the eve of the 1730 rebellion.¹⁷²

Apart from the daily coffee serving rituals, coffee cups performed duties at courtly events, official ceremonies, weddings, and festivities directly organized and specially invited by the Empire. Based on my research, which builds upon previous studies, the eighteenth-century archival documents, palace records, and *muhallefat* registers reveal that the palace elites and dynastic women consumed a large variety of different coffee cups in their massive porcelain collections. For example, the Chief Harem Eunuchs of the eighteenth-century Ottoman palace, such as Küçük Beşir, Hacı Beşir, and Muhasip Beşir, who tried to imitate the daily routines and lives of the palace in their mansions, also have many valuable coffee cups, which were registered in their estate inventories after their death. In general, these cups are decorated with precious stones and gilded with precious metals such as gold and silver, to show the dignity and

¹⁷² Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum," 125.

power of their owners, and they were consumed in pairs or sets with handles and saucers, unlike ordinary objects. For example, a cup owned by Chief Harem Eunuch Ebukuf Ahmed Agha was particularly lavish, encrusted with 130 diamonds.¹⁷³ This coffee cup was referenced in a document but is no longer extant.

The cups, which constantly and visibly showed up at the daily palace routines, are gilded with gold and silver and sometimes decorated with precious stones so that they met the needs of court elites in the way of displaying power and prestige. In this way, a few cups were added with various precious stones such as jade, diamond and emerald in the seventeenth-century court workshops. (Figure 4.6) However, the eighteenth century saw a difference in that such precious stones were removed from the surfaces of these cups so that court craftsmen could decorate other prestigious objects for the Sultan such as dagger and weapons. For example, the expense register of the palace of 1774 listed some valuable items encrusted with precious stones and gold such as necklaces, rings, daggers, knives, coffee cups and *zarfs*, in order to be transferred to a jeweler named Düzoğlu¹⁷⁴ for creating gold daggers.¹⁷⁵ Instead, gilding was a common method for the decoration of cups in the court, which seemed to be more popular as ornamentation than those that had added precious stones. (Figure 4.7, figure 4.8 and figure 4.9)

¹⁷³ Yılmaz, "Cutting a Fine Figure among Pots and Pans: Aghas of the Sultans Harem in the Eighteenth Century," 219.

¹⁷⁴ This figure is frequently addressed for the creation of valuable objects which made of gold and precious stones, in several documents penned in a span of time. It is unknown whether he was imperial jeweler or contracted jeweler from out of palace.

¹⁷⁵ TS. MA. d 1104

Finally, one of the main motivations that shaped the consumption of porcelain coffee cups by the members of the Ottoman palace in the century was the diversification of court protocols and processions in courtly routines, which were designed and transformed in parallel with the very active political, social, cultural and economic advancements of this century. The eighteenth century witnessed a boom and diversification of daily events and court protocols. Circumcision festivals, *Mir`ac* or *Mir`aj* ceremonies,¹⁷⁶ religious processions, Friday prayer greetings, weddings for princesses and beloved women of the court, sword-girding (*cülüs*) processions, royal banquets, expeditions, hunting events, visits to tombs and mosques, and feasts held by the Grand Vizier and other viziers are the most frequent events and occasions which occupied the daily life of residents of court. (Figure 4.10) In most of these ceremonies, the Sultan, his family, high-ranked ruling elites, and significant attendants were served coffee with the most remarkable and visible coffee cups which were probably selected from the Inner Treasury or Private treasury of the Sultan in accordance with the Ottoman palace protocols. Registers of court protocols specifically address such events as “the official ceremony of coffee and incense burning” (*kahve ve buhur resmi*).¹⁷⁷ It reveals that coffee presentation was accompanied with a practice of incense burning¹⁷⁸. Textual

¹⁷⁶ *Mir`ac* or *Mir`aj* is the miracle of the ascension of Prophet Muhammed. This miracle was celebrated with religious practices in a specific time. See Christiane J. Colby Frederick Stephen Gruber, *The Prophet's ascension : cross-cultural encounters with the Islamic mi'raj tales* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

¹⁷⁷ Tarım, "Osmanlı Devlet Teşrifatında Kahve İkramı."

¹⁷⁸ In daily routines of the palace, rosewater sprinkling, and incense burning were very common practices. These practices aimed to get rid of smells after banquets and maintain a balmy atmosphere. For these practices, identical objects, rosewater sprinkler (*gülabdan*) and incense burner (*buhurdan*), were used. See

resources shed light on both court protocols and specifically, events in which the sultan was served coffee. In contrast to the abundance of visual resources for the presentation of coffee inside of palace, the evidence for the presentation of coffee outside of the palace are anecdotal. For example, the Ruzname records that Sultan Mustafa III (r. 1757- 1774) was served coffee in his various visits outside of the palace.¹⁷⁹ On one occasion, he embarked on the imperial boat and went to Göksu Creek, where he drank coffee before his visits to Hünkâr İskelesi (the Imperial Pier) and listened to music in another location.¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, one illustration from the Surname-i Vehbi displays a general view of the field where the circumcision festival for the three sons of Sultan Ahmed III were held and Vehbi, scribe of the festival book, states that one of tents around the imperial tent was for the chief coffeemaker of the Sultan and his servants. Vehbi's narration was further enhanced by the illustration of the festival field painted by Levni. (Figure 4.11) Unfortunately, there is no further visual evidence which depicts the coffee presentation to the Sultan outside of palace.

As previously mentioned, the material environment and consumption atmosphere extended beyond the palace in the eighteenth century, where members of the dynasty and

Serkan Gedük, "Osmanlı Saray Kültüründe Buhur ve Gülsuyu Geleneği," in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık*, ed. Haluk Dursun (Istanbul: Fromat, 2013).

¹⁷⁹ Ruzname is a kind of agenda which recorded daily events and protocols of Ottoman Sultans.

¹⁸⁰ *Fi 26 Ş Ruz-i Penç- şenbih biniş ile sandala süvar, Göksu`ya, bir kahve nuş, andan Hünkâr İskelesine, andan Tokat ta`bir olan mahall-i ferah- fezaya teşrif, fasl-ı musiki, tenavül-i ta`am, itare-i kurşum mecmu`u Orduy-i Humayun halkına altun ihsan, asrı eda ve avdet.*

In 26 Shawwal (A month in the Islamic lunar calendar) Thursday [he, the Sultan Mustafa III] rode on a boat, went to Goksu creek, drunk coffee, then docked at Hunkar Pier [the Royal Pier], then went to a scenic place called as Tokat, played music, bestowed food and money, bestowed gold coins to all members of the imperial guards, performed the afternoon prayer and returned [to palace]. See Abdullah Efendi, *Rûzname-i Sultân Mustafa Hân- ı Sâlis, 1757-1763*, TSMA, nr. E. 12359, 1b-40b: 19, Topkapı Palace Museum Archives, Istanbul.

ruling elites built waterfront palaces. It simultaneously raised the novelty in consumption patterns, preferences, and consumers profiles. Members of these palaces designed their daily routines with the hierarchy and order that the sultan practiced in his palace. For example, one or more men or women were appointed as coffeemakers who were only in charge of serving coffee to them and their guests.¹⁸¹ It is probable that stewards of coffee making in waterfront palaces were inspired by the court organization which was only incumbent on serving coffee to the Sultan and high-ranked dignitaries in the court. In addition, in contrast to previous centuries when the sultan was largely sequestered because of security, in the eighteenth century, the sultan went out to participate in very large state-organized ceremonies, circumcision festival ceremonies, royal weddings, the inauguration of reigns, and celebrations of military campaigns. Also, the Sultan and his entourage watched sports and competitions and even attended hunting events out of the palace.

Additionally, thanks to the intense diplomatic relations established between the Ottoman and European states in the eighteenth century, many ambassadors came to the Ottoman capital. They first went to the palace and presented letters of trust to the Sultan. In this century, the ritual presentation of coffee to the ambassadors was essential to the court protocols, in a way that would show the power and prestige of the empire and the dignity of the Sultan. In this environment, of course, fine coffee cups, which were

¹⁸¹ Felek, "Introduction: Ceremonies, Festivals, and Rituals in the Ottoman World."; Bey, *Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tarbirleri Âdât ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabirât ve Muamelât-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye*; Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, "Osmanlı İstanbulunda Merasim ve Teşrifata Dair Kaynaklar," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8, no. 16 (2010). Hakan T. Karateke, *An Ottoman protocol register : Containing ceremonies from 1736 to 1808: Beo Sadaret Defterleri 350 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul* (Istanbul: The Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre, 2007).

indispensable actors of coffee presentations, are also one of the main means of displaying this magnificence, and probably, the most remarkable ones from the palace treasury were consumed for this purpose (See Figure 4.8 and 4.9).

The ceremony for the reception of foreign ambassadors and envoys into the Ottoman empire was one of the most remarkable moments in the court. For serving in these events, the most visible porcelain wares and cups were probably preferred. The cups consumed for serving coffee in official events or banquets which Sultan, imperial women or high ruling elites were certainly under the responsibility of their chief coffeemakers. Thanks to these events, the cups, which were held in the boxes of the mobile coffeemakers, *biniş kahvecileri*, of the Sultan during his outside visits, were perhaps shown to the outside world. Also, Ottoman envoys to the west were loaded with some luxurious objects including cups. For example, a 1791 register records that before arrival for his duty, Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, the secretary of Janissaries, who was assigned as an envoy to Vienna was given 2 coffee cups with *zarfs* which were adorned with 102 precious stones.¹⁸²

4.3. Dynamic Actors: Frequent Consumers of Coffee Cups in Consumption Domains

The population of the Topkapı Palace in the eighteenth century presumably exceeded five thousand people. The number of people and officials present at the site on some special days such as days for service pay and enthronement of the new Sultan

¹⁸² This document sits in the different section of the State Archives. See AE. SSLM III 268/5513

would have reached 15,000.¹⁸³ Both the needs of eating and drinking of such a crowd in this quantity were met from the Imperial Kitchen, *Matbah-ı Amire*. At this point, although coffee is a beverage, it was prepared and served outside of the Imperial Kitchen.¹⁸⁴ The ritual of serving coffee was held in the presence of the sultan's family and other high-ranking elites if the person desired his or her coffee to be served in their presence. Lower class courtiers and palace servants used to pick up their coffee from the nearest fireplaces which were specifically employed for making coffee to their offices.¹⁸⁵ For example, one of the existing examples of a historic coffee furnace is in the apartment of the Harem Eunuchs in the Topkapı Palace. This furnace was covered Iznik tiles. (Figure 4.12)

In the eighteenth-century Ottoman court, the people who acquired, consumed and collected porcelain coffee cups and the members of the palace to whom coffee cups were allocated, were a broad community comprising the Ottoman princesses, princes, ruling elites, members of the ruling class, the coffeemakers and outside people who visited the court such as Crimean Khans. Imperial women are the most significant consumers, and they had a mass collection of coffee cups that were taken out of the court treasuries in their trousseau. In addition to them, members of the ruling elite class such as the Grand vizier, the Chief Imperial Harem Eunuchs, and the members of the palace's executive

¹⁸³ İlber Ortaylı, *Private and Royal Life in the Ottoman Palace* (New York: Blue Dome Press, 2013), 35.

¹⁸⁴ Different multifunctional fireplaces spread among both imperial private residences and state institutions in the palace. As they were specifically featured for coffee making, others occasioned in multifunctional uses in addition to provide red burning charcoal for portable coffee brazier. See Ömür Tufan, "Topkapı Sarayında ve Haremde Kahve," in *Tüm Zamanların Hatırına: Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve*, ed. Kemal Kahraman (Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2011), 222-25.

¹⁸⁵ Tarım, "Osmanlı Devlet Teşrifatında Kahve İkramı," 208-09.

class such as the imperial treasurer, jeweler, governors, sealer and scribes are also included in this consumer roster.

The consumer profile of the palace, which we learned about through investigation of palace records, treasury registers of income and expenses, census books, and dowry and gift registers, broadly vary. Another noteworthy point is that, apart from important statesmen and women of the palace, lower-ranked state officials were in no way included in the eighteenth-century records as consumers. Even if such a mass was included in the consumption network, we do not encounter them in the archival sources, since the cups they consumed would be less elegant and would not have been registered.

The Sultan is not directly identified as a consumer, except in a few examples, or it may have been thought that it would be disrespectful to refer to the Sultan in this way. Instead, scribes mostly recorded coffee cups which were allotted to the use of the Sultan by the location of cups or as a whole collection. For example, one of the most frequent locations for storing the cups of the Sultan is the cabinets of cups in the Sultan`s residency. Also, cups were observed as an entire collection in the private treasury of the Sultan. In most cases, the chief coffeemaker of the Sultan was charged with the control and use of cups. In the records of the Privy Chamber Treasury, he appears with general expressions, such as “*Sultanın fincanlığı olur* [This is the cabinet of coffee cups for our Dear Sultan]”¹⁸⁶, “*Zat-ı Hümayunun fincanlığında bulunanlar* [Those in the personal cabinet of coffee cups of the Sultan] or “*Kahvecibaşı kullarında mevcut olunan Şevketli Efendimizin Tuafı*” [Stuff of our Powerful Sultan which is available by the Chief

¹⁸⁶ TS.MA.d 3228/2 fols.55

Coffeemaker].¹⁸⁷ As a unique example, a number of coffee cup entries associated with the Sultan appear in a large size register dating from 1738. These are quite remarkable in their details, some of which indicate the rarity of the items that he used.¹⁸⁸ Unique entries comprise 1 Rhino horn cup, 3 brown coffee cups, 6 Rakhine coffee cups, 28 yellow coffee cups, 14 Chinese coffee cups, 1 gilded coffee cup, 1 coffee cup with a handle, and 5 Chinese small coffee cups. The cups to be used in the service of the sultan, which were usually taken under protection in his Privy Chamber, are usually recorded in the documents as being entrusted to the control of the coffeemaker.

Figure 4.13 identifies a total of 83 coffee cup consumers in the data set compiled from 65 registers and documents examined in the TPMA corpus. (Figure 4.13) These are the people to whom the cups were allocated or after their death, from whom the coffee cups were confiscated and taken into the palace treasuries. The number of coffee cups acquired by princely consumers oscillates between 1 and 1599. Figure 4.13 includes only those consumers that were associated with at least 20 or more cups. In the table that ranks the consumers from the highest number of cups to the least, the names of the members of the imperial family, the palace elite, those from the ruling class, the son of the Persian Prince who came to the palace from outside, and the khans of Crimea are mentioned. According to the table, Hadice Sultan the Elder (the daughter of Sultan Ahmed III, 1658-1743) is at the top of the list as the primary consumer who acquired the largest number of coffee cups, according to archival records. This reveals that Hadice Sultan the elder was

¹⁸⁷ TS.MA.d 6560, fols.1

¹⁸⁸ This register records some objects which had been existed in treasury room, and palace apartments of imperial family members, too. It was penned in 1738. See TS. MA.d 3228/2 fol.55

by far the most avid, ardent, and eager consumer of the Ottoman palace with her massive collection of coffee cups. Different kinds of porcelain coffee cups were recorded in dowry and treasury registers where the belongings of Hadice Sultan the Elder were listed.

In her article which questions the roles of Ottoman princesses as consumers and collectors in the eighteenth-century Ottoman court, Tülay Artan highlights the intense porcelain acquisitions of Ottoman princesses, especially of Hadice Sultan the Elder.¹⁸⁹ Hadice Sultan was one of the most important representatives of the order established by the Ottoman princesses in the eighteenth century, which is the expression of the desire for sumptuous consumption and novelty, by adopting a more independent character and by getting away from traditions of the past in her own custom built waterfront palace. The porcelain collection of Hadice Sultan today constitutes a large part of the wares in the Chinese and Japanese Porcelains Collection of Topkapı Palace dated between 1725 and 1750.¹⁹⁰ Regina Krahll determines the total number of Hadice Sultan's porcelain wares, beyond coffee cups, as being comprised by 2,377 different porcelain wares. In addition to being a big fan of Asian porcelain, Hadice Sultan had acquired European porcelains at the time when they first came to the Ottoman lands.

Miscellaneous cups among the belongings of Hadice Sultan the Elder were recorded after her belongings were confiscated and transferred to the Palace. For instance, a very general description appears with the expression " *Kebir ve sagir*

¹⁸⁹ Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum,"

¹⁹⁰ Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum," 124-25.

mütenevva fincan, aded 1569 [Large and small assorted coffee cups, 1569 pieces]” and the remainder is described simply as *fağfuri* coffee cups.¹⁹¹

Following Hadice Sultan, Sultan Mustafa III (r.1757- 74) sits in the second place as the most avid consumer of coffee cups. A total of 873 cups appears in the Privy Chamber cabinets of Sultan Mustafa III, in the treasury record of 1761. This is one of the rare appearances of the Sultan himself on the roster.

It is quite interesting that the quantity of cups acquired by a sultan was so far surpassed by the sister of a sultan. Also, unexpected court figures such as servants had larger collections than high- ruling elites. At this point, my interpretation derives from Fatma Müge Göçek`’s study of the rise of the Ottoman bourgeois around the immediate palace household. According to Göçek, members of the court utilized valuable items in order to maintain social ties and commitments within the immediate household of the sultan. Gift exchange provided advancements of promotion in appointment and training in the palace. Courtiers usually presented valuable gifts to the Sultan and their counterparts during accessions, holidays, festivals and marriages. The size and value of gifts given to the Sultan were critically important for approval of a member for a promotion of assignment or maintaining social ties. For example, a ceremonial fur coat and golden purses were the most demanded gifts to the Sultan and they could have guaranteed a positional promotion by the Sultan.¹⁹² The eighteenth century saw an intense consumption and exchange of valuable items such as porcelain, fur, silk, robes

¹⁹¹ This is a treasury income register and records different gatherings which consisted of confiscated items of Hadice Sultan. For cups, see TS.MA.d 23, fols. 16 and 18.

¹⁹² Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 26.

and weapons among court members who aimed to publicly be visible and gain promotions for their assignments. Such material investments were highly popular among high-ranked court members. To gain higher status, one might have to present valuable items to another member from the upper class who had a close relationship to holders of the authority. In contrast to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the Sultan was the ultimate authority for advancement of court members, high-ruling elites in the palace took the control of power relations within the eighteenth-century court, as the delegation and authority of the Sultan were being questioned.

Along similar lines, Tülay Artan significantly delves into the quest of the Viziers for power through strategic marriages with imperial women. In these endeavors, gift giving played important roles in royal marriages for both parties and festivities, which were key to the Vizier's goals.¹⁹³ Based on this textual and archival evidence, I assert that the concern of court members for being visible and gaining promotions in their assignments occasioned their amassing of quite large collections of porcelain which sometimes surpassed that of the Sultan.

Returning to the quantitative information, Sultan Mustafa III is followed by Hacı (*el- Hajj*) Beşir Agha (*d.* 1746), one of the well-known names of his period, with his role as Chief Harem Eunuch.¹⁹⁴ He was associated with a total of 505 coffee cups. Here, too,

¹⁹³ Artan, "Royal Weddings and the Grand Vizirate: Institutional and Symbolic Change in the Early Eighteenth Century," 361- 62.

¹⁹⁴ Hacı Beşir Agha was the most powerful Chief harem eunuch in the history of the empire. He was born in Ethiopia and then castrated in Egypt. He became Harem treasurer in 1707. See Jane Hathaway, *Beshir Agha : chief eunuch of the Ottoman imperial harem* (Oxford: Oneworld Publ., 2006).

it is necessary to provide more details about the role of the chief Harem eunuch and about Hacı Beşir in particular.

The *Darüssaade Ağaları*, Chief Harem Eunuchs, held the highest position guarding the harem and served as the cornerstone of access to the Imperial Harem while providing the connection between this sphere and the *Enderun*, the male dominated inner service of the court. It is remarkable that in the eighteenth century, the eunuch used the palace kitchen as a site to exercise their power and dignity. More precisely, they apparently consumed the kitchen and table utensils of the Imperial Kitchen competitively, with the goal of achieving status and sovereignty through this rich material environment. Besides, the eunuchs consumed porcelain in order to express their personal preferences and tastes, too.¹⁹⁵ The chief Harem Eunuch Hacı Beşir was undoubtedly one of the most important patrons of this competition. He consumed a large collection of both Chinese and European porcelains, which reflect his personal tastes and preferences, like his namesake Küçük Beşir (d.1752).¹⁹⁶ Küçük Beşir was one of the significant harem eunuchs in the century and was the successor of Hacı Beşir.¹⁹⁷ Ostentatious consumption of coffee utensils and coffee cups were used to show respect to guests in their mansions and to entertain them, in addition to their daily use. This large collection of porcelain

¹⁹⁵ See Yılmaz, "Cutting a Fine Figure among Pots and Pans: Aghas of the Sultans Harem in the Eighteenth Century," 113-25.; Artan, "18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Yönetici Elitin Saltanatın Meşruiyet Arayışına Katılımı."; Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman elite's food consumption: looking for "staples", "luxuries", and "delicacies" in a changing Century."

¹⁹⁶ Yılmaz, "Cutting a Fine Figure among Pots and Pans: Aghas of the Sultans Harem in the Eighteenth Century," 113-25.

¹⁹⁷ Because of his close slavery position to provincial trasurer Ahmed Pasha in Ottoman Peloponese of Grece, He was known as Moralı Beşir. Because of overcontrol, malpractices and illegal acquition of money, he was executed in 1752. See Abdülkadir Özcan, "Beşir Ağa, Moralı," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, V, (Istanbul: TDV İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1995).

coffee cups of Hacı Beşir, of course, besides reflecting his personal tastes, also served as a means of displaying a political body or as a stage for him to take better positions on the path of the legitimacy of power. Although not all of these 505 cups were described, some were of Chinese origin, as well as French and Viennese cups defined as *Ifrenj-Frahi* and *Beşkari* in palace records. In contrast to his namesake Küçük Beşir, who only acquired Chinese porcelains, Hacı Beşir 's acquisition of French and Viennese origin coffee cups sets him apart. Moreover, this great collection of Hacı Beşir distinguishes it from the one acquired by Ebukuf Ahmed Agha, another eighteenth-century eunuch who has only five metal coffee cup *zarfs* and one coffee cup in his inventory.¹⁹⁸

It is clear that Hadice Sultan, Sultan Mustafa III and Harem Eunuch Beşir Agha are the three main and major consumers that appear in these archival records. After these major consumers, the remainder of consumers are much more minor and the scope of their holdings considerably narrower. Within this more minor consumption sphere, we find Sultan Selim III. In 1800, 208 cups were registered in a tally of the Privy Chamber of Sultan Selim, who was on the throne between 1789-1807. These cups are not directly drawn up in the name of the Sultan, and are, instead, in the charge of his chief coffeemaker. The quantity of coffee cups in his collection represents a much smaller amount than the coffee cups found in Mustafa III's Privy Chamber cabinets (1757-1774). It should be mentioned here that the porcelain vessels and cups in the special chamber treasury, where the money, goods, and belongings dedicated to the Sultan himself and his service are kept, were allocated to the Sultan at certain times to be put in the dowry of the

¹⁹⁸ TS.MA.d 23 fol.144

palace women, as we can come across in palace records of the eighteenth century. This might explain the quantitative shortage in the Privy Chamber of Selim III in contrast to those of Mustafa III. A similar case could have been occasioned because of the consumption of coffee cups for the trousseau of imperial women. According to the table, Ahmed III is recorded with 78 coffee cups between the years 1715-1718. As his sister Hatice Sultan and his daughters Fatma Sultan and Saliha Sultan had many times more coffee cups than him, this cannot be explained for any other reason that the sultan kept this amount in his private room.

The number of coffee cups registered by Fatma Sultan, another important consumer, in 1733 is 195. It can be seen throughout the table that in the consumption domains of the eighteenth-century Ottoman palace, the sultan's mother, wife, sisters, daughters and even some courtiers who were under the supervision of the sultan and highly valued in the palace were important actors in the consumption of porcelain coffee cups. Besides Hadice Sultan, imperial women were significant porcelain coffee cup consumers such as Emetullah Gülnuş Sultan, Ümmügülsüm Sultan, Ayşe Sultan, Saliha Sultan, Refia Sultan, Haseki Rabia Sultan. A certain Daye Kadın, the trainer responsible for educating the women in the Harem, called the Master Woman, also appears in the consumption sphere of the court in the eighteenth century.

Another version of figure 4.13 breaks down the category of imperial class consumers into familial ties. (Figure 4.14) This bubble chart demonstrates that most of the imperial consumers of coffee cups by evidence in the TPMA corpus are royal women. At the top, Hadice Sultan appears with her large collection in comparison to other

imperial family members. The quantity of Sultan Mustafa III's collection, including 873 cups, follows that of Hadice Sultan. Third, Selim III sits with 208, far behind Sultan Mustafa III's collection. Following, it is interesting to see that two daughters of Ahmed III, Fatma and Saliha Sultans, owned a considerable number of cups, 195 and 175 respectively. The daughter of Mustafa III, Ayşe Sultan's collection with 127 cups, comes after them. Another remarkable finding shows that cups in the Privy Chamber of Ahmed III and for Sultan Ahmed, 92 and 78 cups respectively, were separately recorded in the documents. It is quite interesting, but, we do not know whether these indicate different collections of Sultan Ahmed III, one for the general use of the Privy Chamber and another for the specific use of the Sultan himself, or are actually the same collection which was rerecorded in different documents later on. On the other hand, figure 4.14 confirms that Sultan Ahmed III and his relatives, especially his daughters, are dominant consumers. According to the diagram sourced from the TPMA corpus, Sultan Ahmed III and his close relatives acquired 2257 cups in total. This quantity is 63% of the total quantity of cups collected by the imperial class consumers in the eighteenth century. At the bottom of diagram, Safiye Sultan, the daughter of Mustafa II (r. 1695- 1703) shows up with only one cup.

Returning back to the larger bubble chart (Figure 4.13), it is surprising and unusual that the top ranked officials in the court hierarchy, the Grand Vizier and viziers do not frequently appear in this list as top consumers of coffee cups. Actually, they would be expected to consume as many coffee cups as the Sultan or the imperial women, as they were positioned just under the Sultan in the court hierarchy. In the table, there is only 1

grand vizier and 1 vizier, each with 20 or more coffee cups. Vizier Hüseyin Pasha, whose name was recorded with 21 cups in 1715, and Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, who recorded 22 cups on the same date, are at the bottom of the list. Others at these ranks appear in archival records, but all are associated with just a few cups, and thus they do not appear in figure 4.13. The fact that the grand vizier and viziers, who are the most prominent dignitaries in the state hierarchy after the Sultan, are not at the forefront of such consumption trends is important. It may have been because they did not have time for such a habit due to the demands of their positions working intensively with state affairs, or that they had already attained the highest position in the sultanate which did not allow for any further promotion. In another view, perhaps they were consuming the coffee cups they needed in ritualistic coffee ceremonies inside the palace from the cabinets of the Privy Chamber and thus did not invest in their own personal supplies. Although such a distribution is not mentioned in the documents, the personally-owned coffee cups of the grand viziers and viziers were likely confiscated by the palace at death. Such a supply-demand relationship within the palace is highly probable.

In contrast to the relative absence of executive elites such as the grand vizier and viziers, in this grouping, other members of the ruling class such as the sealer, treasurer, chief coffeemaker, or the chief officers of the palace, also came to the forefront in the consumption of porcelain coffee cups. In the table, Treasurer Suleyman shows up as a consumer of 182 coffee cups and the imperial jeweler Yakub with 131 coffee cups. Undoubtedly, their positions, which were implicitly associated with control of valuable goods in the court might have affected such acquisitions.

An unknown woman consumer from the Harem is remarkable. Gonca Kum Hanım owned a high quantity of coffee cups, 92. Unfortunately, archival documents do not address this woman and no information came across about her. These archival documents opened up an important aspect of the imperial collection of porcelain. It seems that most of these officials were allocated and supplied coffee cups from the palace treasuries as long as they were on duty in the palace. However, upon their death, the coffee cups personally acquired by these officials and the ones assigned to them by the palace were returned to the palace treasury by means of confiscation, in proportion to their value.

As can be seen in figure 4.13, there are a few consumers other than the members of the palace ruling elite, who were temporally visible in the court. Kaplan Giray and Selamet Giray, the khans of the Crimea, which is a feudal structure connected to the Ottoman Empire, are found in the records.¹⁹⁹ Once a Crimean khan was enthroned, he was supposed to visit to the Ottoman palace for the approval by the Sultan. These visits were carried out at the request of the Sultan, but not at regular intervals. During their accommodations in the palace during the eighteenth century, a variety of porcelain coffee cups were allocated for their use. Unfortunately, there is no record of whether these coffee cups were returned to the palace treasuries after the departure of the khans. Figure

¹⁹⁹ The khanate of Crimea was a vassal tributary principality of the Ottoman Empire. It became around 17th century and lasted until the Russian occupation of Crimea around 1784. The khanate was ruled in semi-independent dominion. Crimean khans or autochthonous princes had to travel to Istanbul in order to be granted with their titles at the beginning of their tenure and participate state occasions. They were received in extraordinary ceremonial pomp of the court protocols and temporarily resided in the city. They were exceptionally entered to the palace as the rulers or imperial family members in opposed to others from sovereign states who were not allowed until the nineteenth century. See Hakan T. Karateke, "The Peculiar Status of the Crimean Khans in Ottoman Protocol," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6, no. 1 (2019).

4.13 shows that Selamet Giray had 41 various coffee cups and Kaplan Giray was assigned 36 coffee cups. Another similar example is the allocation of 22 cups from the palace treasury to Prince Safi, son of the Persian Shah, who visited the Ottoman Palace in 1746. These cases indicate that visitors to the court were brought into the life in the palace in ways that were materially significant, even on a short-term basis. It is unfortunately not known whether these coffee cups were permanently given to these visitors, to take outside of the palace after their visit concluded. While these archival records are useful in understanding such patterns, regrettably, they often only show one transaction, without indicating the whole cycle of circulation.

Undoubtedly, the most remarkable consumer group among those who appear in figure 4.13 is constituted by the palace-affiliated women. Another version of figure 4.13 demonstrates number of consumers and coffee cups by gender. (Figure 4.15) In contrast to figure 4.13 which involves consumers with at least 20 coffee cups, this diagram counts all court consumers who were mentioned in relation to at least one coffee cup or more. According to this gender-based diagram drawn from the studied archival sources, 78 consumers from the palace appear. 61 of them are men and 17 are women. The overall quantity of cups acquired by each group differs. Male consumers owned 3059 cups in total and female consumers 2436 cups. Based on these numbers, it is important to emphasize that even though the overall number of cups associated with female consumers is lower than those associated with male consumers, each one of these female consumers acquired considerable quantities of cups, amassing individual collections that were much larger than their male counterparts.

Palace women also acquired porcelain wares over the course of the seventeenth century. Based upon studied documents, female consumers seemed to gradually acquire and consume porcelain coffee cups as well as other types of porcelain wares. Additionally, the number of court-privileged women soared in the eighteenth century in comparison with their seventeenth-century counterparts. Regina Krahel previously generated the list of frequent consumers of porcelain wares by three centuries, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and this list, which contains 64 consumers reveals that only six women consumers were recorded with their small porcelain collections in the seventeenth century. They were mostly mothers of sultans. The eighteenth century saw a jump in the quantity of both porcelain collections and women consumers in the consumption domains of the court.²⁰⁰ Several factors influenced such gender-related changes over the court the eighteenth century. One of these factors is that royal women in the palace were given more control and power over the legitimacy of the Sultan in the eighteenth century. A crowded field of competitors, including daughters, sisters, mothers, and wives of Sultans, sought control over the Sultan's authority. They intervened actively in the order of the state within their circumscribed political trajectories. In parallel with their positions, high ruling elites competed to marry royal or court women so that they could establish strong ties with the palace and maintain political advancements.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Krahel, Ayers, and Erbahar, *Chinese ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul: a complete catalogue*. V.1, 86-89.

²⁰¹ Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, 25-26; Artan, "Royal Weddings and the Grand Vezirate: Institutional and Symbolic Change in the Early Eighteenth Century."

The increasing power of royal women was accompanied by growing financial privileges. They were allocated their own budget which derived from palace treasuries. They invested in building their own palaces on the waterfront of the Bosphorus, buying European furniture and collecting porcelains. As their material possessions which included uncommon goods and commodities were broadly differentiated in the century, palace women surprisingly owned the mass of precious and valuable porcelain coffee cups and wares with a large fortune. Such consumption of porcelain wares was apparently a *sine qua non* for revealing their relative position within the court hierarchy. Tülay Artan specifically traces collecting practices of two Ottoman princesses from the eighteenth century court and she identifies their practices of collection as a pursuit for intervention into the legitimacy of the state and fitted to their status within the court hierarchy.²⁰² Also, court-affiliated women had more objects than other women from outside of the palace such as wives of the high dignitaries in provinces.²⁰³

From a material perspective, the defining characteristics of the cups that they acquired also changed in the second half of the century. For example, if we look at a register for a treasury in 1759, a Harem-affiliated consumer, Usta Kadın, was recorded with only 32 French porcelain cups. In comparison to other consumers and other women consumers, it seems that she was probably one of the earliest adopters of French cups.²⁰⁴ Also, coffee cup entries in the documents reveal that palace women immediately reacted

²⁰² Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum."

²⁰³ Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Life After the Harem: Female Palace Slaves, Patronage and the Imperial Ottoman Court* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 180-85.

²⁰⁴ TS. MA. d 24, fol. 62

to the flood of European porcelain coffee cups as well as other vessels with a splendid interest. More coffee cup entries with the definition of *beçkari*, *saksonyakari*, *fransızkari*, and *pariskari* appeared in the documents penned by the second half of the century. On the other hand, some court-affiliated women who supported the imperial women such as princesses and mothers of Sultans, like Gonca Kum Hanım and Daye Kadın were included among the frequent consumers of coffee cups. Like the royal women, they acquired and consumed a variety of Chinese and European porcelain coffee cups as ostentatious objects. There are two possible ways in which the court's women servants obtained luxurious porcelain wares and cups that they were probably unable to afford. First, they were granted a collection of items in their dowry by Imperial women. Another way is by means of the apportionment and bestowal of some valuable objects of the deceased imperial women to their female slaves or entourage.²⁰⁵

In sum, this section concludes with three significant points. First, various consumer groups emerged in the different segments of the Ottoman palace hierarchy. Secondly, they were highly interested in gathering porcelain coffee cups in the long eighteenth century. Third, their tendencies through intensive acquisition and consumption of coffee cups and other porcelain wares are probably linked to their aims for seeking prestige, power, and legacy over the state by means of such luxurious objects. The highly diversified consumer group, unlike the seventeenth century, mostly consists of the

²⁰⁵ For example, upon her death, some luxurious clothing and money of Rabia Gülnuş Sultan (d. 1715), mother of Mustafa II and Ahmed III, were bestowed on her forty slaves. See Argıt, *Life After the Harem: Female Palace Slaves, Patronage and the Imperial Ottoman Court*, 171.

imperial family members and non-royal women such as wives of court dignitaries, Harem servants and women trainers.

4.4. Novelty in Pleasures: Consumption Patterns, Trajectories, and Preferences of Courtiers

Coffee cups with various characteristics, forms, colors, ornaments, decoration and utilitarian additions came in and out of fashion during this era. An inquiry of proposed dates of manufacture of coffee cups and their accompaniments such as saucers and cup *zarfs* are a prerequisite in order to comprehend periodical trends. For this, chronological data of extant objects was analyzed based on the TPM dataset, which is drawn from extant objects, while consulting both existing catalogues and museum registers. Also, production marks for European-made cups aided in determining chronological information of the cups. In the case of chronology and dating, the TPMA data, analyzed above, is much less useful than the TPM dataset. Even while the TPMA corpus indicates the dates when certain items were acquired, surrendered, or recorded, those dates cannot be correlated with the date of production of the items described therein.

To be more precise, the Topkapı Palace Museum's inventories and catalogues are grounded on the classification and dating of porcelains in the Chinese and Japanese Porcelain Collection, as published by Regina Krahl.²⁰⁶ For European porcelain cups, curators have proposed dates, based largely on production marks, which can be

²⁰⁶ Krahl's dating of Chinese porcelain wares and cups of the eighteenth century largely bases on the analysis of periodical characteristics of vessels such as forms and ornaments. In some part, she utilizes production mark at the bottom of wares and cups to identify dates.

associated with specific periods and particular manufactories.²⁰⁷ For example, the quasi-shield production mark, known as *Bindenschild*, was used consistently by the Vienna Porcelain Factory in the Early State Period (1763- 1774). Thus, a Vienna-made cup in the museum`s collection can be identified with both its manufactory and the period due to this single mark on its base. (Figure 4.16)

Due to the general uncertainties that exist around the dating of such objects, the chronological data drawn from the TPM corpus works with date ranges, which usually cover a number of years or decades. The average range between the start and end dates is 20 to 25 years. In this analysis, I use the proposed start date as the date. However, the TPM dataset also includes proposed end date for each object, but those have not been used, in order to remain consistent. Some cups do carry certain dates of production and in those cases the start and end dates are identical. The dates of manufacture of European-made cups tend to be more accurate than those made in China, namely due to the production marks which identify the period with more precision. Consequently, chronological ranges of European cups tend to be shorter than those for Chinese cups.

²⁰⁷ Unfortunately, the administration of the Topkapı Palace Museum does neither grant publicly access to museum inventories and records, or digitally publish them with actual images of wares. Access to museum records of ceramics in the museum`s collections is strictly limited and required for a permission procedure for researchers.

4.4.1 The Chronology

Figure 4.17, which visualizes the proposed chronological data of the TPM corpus, includes singular coffee cups, *zarfs*, and saucers, and combinations of a coffee cup with a saucer and a coffee cup with a *zarf*.²⁰⁸ Side-by-side analysis of the Chinese and European collections will facilitate a comparison of the objects in these two repositories. I filtered for certainty of chronological data, thereby excluding those with undetermined dates. This left me with a total of 958 cups, both singular cups and their accessories, which can be dated with relative confidence and can be used for quantitative analysis of extant objects according to their proposed or attributed dates of manufacture.

An overall view of figure 4.17 indicates a predominance of cups that were produced in the first half of the century, namely between 1700 and 1750. Among this group, the cups that were made in China dating from the early eighteenth century are present in larger numbers than those that date to the second half of the century. A large number date to the 1720s and 1730s and were probably acquired around the time when they were made. By contrast, Chinese cups produced after the year 1750 are few in number. This strongly suggests that acquisition trends moved away from China and toward Europe over the course of the century.

Figure 4.17 also indicates that European porcelain coffee cups produced around 1720 may be the earliest western cups that are still extant in the Topkapı Palace Museum collection. A large number were also acquired in the 1730s. On the other side, the acquisition of Chinese cups slowed down in the second half of the century but did not

²⁰⁸ Hereafter, all data visualizations were created based upon the TPM corpus.

come to a complete halt. Chinese cups that were made in the second half of the eighteenth century were still being acquired, again likely soon after they were produced. They never totally lost favor at the court, even if European wares increased in popularity.

The bar chart indicates certain spike years of production. Approximately one third of the cups are attributed to the year 1730. This year 1730 represents a peak in terms of the quantity of China-made cups, 164, as well as western cups, which numbered 112. On the other side, the quantity of European porcelain cups attributed to 1774 attains a peak, with 149 cups associated with that year. Figure 4.17 also shows that cups produced from both places were acquired concomitantly. For instance, the museum has 84 Chinese and 19 European cups which were produced around 1750.

Admittedly, as this chart is based on proposed dates of production, the data is notably inconsistent. Even so, two general periods are worthy of notice. One of them is between 1720 and 1731. The total quantity of cups from this period is relatively higher than other periods throughout the period and indicates a high point of consumption of cups in the Ottoman court. Of course, this moment coincides with the Tulip Age (1718-1730), a short period when both consumers and consumption culture of the early modern Ottomans in the capital was in the process of transformation. It is worthy of note that the current TPM corpus, a reflection of the museum's holdings, verifies the consumption patterns of that period so starkly.

One more aspect of this period should be highlighted. One of the most significant state events in the eighteenth century was the circumcision festival of 1720, organized for the sons of Ahmed III. This festival acted as a platform for displaying court investments

through forms of consumption and cultural innovation. Some illustrations from the book of festivals, painted by the leading painter of the period Levni, depict the use of porcelain wares in banquets that were specifically managed to serve the Grand Vizier, viziers and other court dignitaries. It is possible that the intensive use of porcelain wares required during the festival is evidenced by the rising numbers of porcelain cups that appear in figure 4.17 as well.

One can also correlate these findings with those based on the TPMA corpus. For instance, the bubble chart which highlighted consumers of porcelain coffee cups. (Figure 4.14), reveals that Sultan Ahmed III and his family members were top consumers. It seems that the Sultan himself and his sisters had broad collection of coffee cups. In line with Tülay Artan`s research, I echo the significance of Hadice Sultan, the sister of Ahmed III, with her massive collection of 1599 cups recorded in the studied documents. His reign, in which he established strong familial ties, coincided with this soaring quantity of cups in the period between 1700 and 1730.

The overall quantity of Chinese porcelain cups is larger than European porcelain cups. As 564 singular cups appear in the Chinese porcelain collection, European collection has 401 single cups. In the middle of the century, the tendency of the palace people to acquire Chinese porcelain cups was still high. In the period between 1770 and 1775, Chinese porcelain coffee cups lost their popularity and ceded their place to porcelain cups from European manufactories. This shift was represented starkly in or around the year 1774, when 103 European cups were made and acquired. At this time, we can see that European porcelains decisively outweighed cups of Chinese origin. But, even

if Chinese porcelain cups had fallen out of fashion in the fourth quarter of the century, they were still acquired until the end of the century. Figure 4.17 also shows the relatively quick rise of European porcelain in the palace, which first entered in or around the year 1720 and took a leading role by 1774.

The period between 1753 and 1773 is also remarkable as it represents the lowest quantities of cups produced and acquired throughout the century, even if the quantity of cups that directly precede and follow this period, is considerably higher. I have identified that the reign of Mustafa III coincided with the quantitative drop. Mustafa III had issued several decrees which delimited luxurious consumption of court dignitaries. He was also opponent of western goods, especially French furniture, as exemplified by his order to have European goods in the palace burnt in the courtyard and his ban on the pompous apparel of courtiers. According to his order, servants were supposed to dissuade people from wearing gold daggers, dress with floral decoration and fur coats in the palace.²⁰⁹ Mustafa III's sumptuary laws and decrees were generally targeted at western goods and were sustained throughout his reign.²¹⁰ By extension, I claim that his belief against western commodities might have had an impact on the drop of quantity of porcelain cups in that later period.

²⁰⁹ Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 39-40, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/164587>; Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*.

²¹⁰ This claim depends on the continuity of several decrees and sumptuary laws during the reign of Sultan Mustafa III.

4.4.2. Coffee Cups, Saucers, *Zarfs* and Their Pairings

Based upon the extant objects in the museum's collections, one can see some changes in consumption in regard to the cup's accompaniments. Figure 4.18 divides the coffee cups according to their standard accompaniments and according to proposed dates of manufacture, again drawing on the TPM corpus. (Figure 4.18) Among the chart, 85 cups with saucers, 24 cups with matching *zarfs*, 152 saucers and 33 *zarfs* were included. Single cups were excluded in this visualization. In addition, this bar chart divides the extant objects by their current repositories. Hence, a comparison of the origins of coffee cups with their accessories and the accessories on their own possible through the chart. Figure 4.18 indicates that cups in sets and accessories demonstrate irregular distributions over the course of the century. For example, as coffee cups with *zarfs* entered into the court for a short time, in or around 1774, singular saucers were acquired across the long period between 1700 and 1780, even if their number dropped over the course of that century. By contrast, coffee sets with saucers or *zarfs*, and singular *zarfs* appear more sporadically, but almost exclusively from European manufactories.

Coffee cups paired with a saucer date between 1730 and 1774, the middle of the century, and are generally European in origin, with just a couple China-made exceptions. The earliest examples of cups with their paired saucers may have been acquired around the 1730s in small quantities but saw a rise in popularity in the middle of the century. From this group of extant objects, it is inferred that Ottoman court consumers preferred to consume European coffee cups with paired saucers over those from China.

The museum holds only 24 European-made cups with paired porcelain *zarfs* which were produced in the last quarter of the century. There are no coffee cups with porcelain *zarfs* from China. All examples of coffee cups with porcelain *zarfs* are in the European porcelain collection. It should be noted here that *zarfs* first entered the palace around the middle of the seventeenth century. The earliest porcelain *zarf* in the museum collection has been dated to 1732.²¹¹ Before that time, precious metal *zarfs* were used extensively in the consumption domains by the members of the palace. They probably met the needs of the court dignitaries` seeking luxury and prestige in addition to practical use and convenience during coffee drinking. Many gold and silver cup *zarfs* were recorded in the documents, specifically in inventories, treasury records and estate records. Such valuable objects were assiduously recorded as they were made of valuable metals as well as precious stones such as jade, diamond and emerald. For example, a gold *zarf* adorned with ruby and jade was recorded in a register in 1740.²¹² Chinese porcelain cups were most likely used with these metal *zarfs*, and cups could be matched to a metal *zarf* regardless of its design. In other words, these were not necessarily designated pairings. Whereas, the year 1774 registers 24 sets of porcelain coffee cups with porcelain *zarfs*, there are groups of singular porcelain *zarfs* dating between 1765 and 1774 as well. Together the singular *zarfs* and cups with *zarfs* were consumed in the Ottoman court during the short period around the last quarter of the century. the eighteenth-century

²¹¹ Kuşoğlu, "Osmanlı Fincan Zarfları," 27-29.

²¹² TS. MA. d 19/1

archival documents which recorded significant quantity of metal *zarfs* indicate that metal *zarfs* were still used through the eighteenth century.

The figure 4.18 also demonstrates the quantity of singular saucers, another remarkable group of extant objects in the museum, based on their dates of production. Interestingly, 154 singular saucers originate from Chinese manufactories and only two are from the European porcelain collection. Single saucers of Chinese origin entered the palace treasuries in the period between 1700 and 1780, with the quantities ranging from 1 to 33 in any given year. One can see that court consumers continued to use saucers throughout a stretch of 80 years during this period. One wonders if the fall in the number of singular saucers in the second half of the century was due to the rise in popularity of the *zarf*. In the second half of the century, one can perceive the rise of the use of singular *zarfs* and of coffee cups with a paired porcelain *zarf*, as well as the decrease of saucers in quantity. Also, it is quite remarkable that approximately all of the singular saucers were imported from China. Conversely, the acquisition of coffee cups with a paired saucer by court consumers was largely from European manufactories. It is vital to bring up the point that these Chinese saucers may have originally had been paired with cups and some factors such as errors in transportation or use may have caused the breakage or loss of their matched cups. It is impossible to claim that these China-made singular saucers were originally purchased as single items.

4.4.3. Groups, Sets and Individual Cups

The TPM dataset categorizes cups and their accessories according to whether they were singular, in a set or in a group. Again, a set is distinguished from a group in that a set is comprised of several matching coffee-related objects, such as a saucer, tray, sugar bowl, creamer, coffee pot, and spoon. A group consists of two or more cups of the same type and form, but it does not include any other type of vessels. It seems that the earliest coffee cups were acquired as individual or single items. Then, over the course of the century, sets and groups became popular through the consumption domain of the Ottoman court.

As sourced from the TPM corpus, the line area chart, figure 4.19, indicates how many singular coffee cups appear in the dataset by year, juxtaposed against those objects that were acquired in designated sets or groups. (Figure 4.19) A total of 1074 cups are included in the analysis. This quantity is based on my selection of singular coffee cups and cups with their paired accessories from the TPM corpus. I excluded singular *zarfs* and saucers. Because they are not related to individual cups or cups in sets or groups. The category of singular cups includes 137 cups total, 82 from China and 55 from Europe. In terms of coffee cups in a set, the European collection has 132 coffee cups in a set, compared to only 17 in the Chinese porcelain collection. Coffee cups in a group represent the largest accumulation, with 467 coffee cups of Chinese origin and 344 European coffee cups.

As indicated in figure 4.19, singular cups indicate a consistent trend, and it appears that these individual items were acquired throughout the century, albeit in

relatively small quantities. Based on the chart, one can observe that there is no remarkable change in the consumption of singular cups in the Ottoman court and these cups were being consistently acquired for the court. The number of coffee cups in a group is less regular, represented by marked spikes that are consistent with the fact that they were acquired in bulk. Each group could consist of between 3 and 102 number of cups. When viewed in this chart, it can be observed that coffee cups in groups were frequently acquired by the Ottoman palace elite over cups which were offered in sets or as singular items.

In terms of coffee cups in a set, all 109 are from European manufactories except for two sets from China comprising 17 coffee cups. By extension, they are all later acquisitions, from 1730 to 1774. So, the earliest coffee cups in sets are from China and afterward, European coffee cups in sets became popular in the court. The larger context to these shifts is related to the changing habits at the Ottoman court, namely the adoption of European-style table manners and the emergence of European style-tableware in the Ottoman palace around the same time. The adoption of coffee sets is important because it can be linked to this general shift toward, European tableware among the courtly elite, following the importation of such goods. Here, I do not mean a quick and entire shift of table manners of the court, but the early appearance of a European way of dining.

The earliest coffee cup sets were acquired in the period starting from 1730 when the Ottoman court established permanent relations with European states. Most likely, the first samples came to the palace in the form of diplomatic gifts. Later, towards the end of the century, the palace must have attracted attention by presenting full coffee sets,

equipped with sugar bowls, milk cups, spoons, and saucers in porcelain together with the European-style porcelain dinner sets that became popular towards the end of the century. According to figure 4.19, these early sets were made in or around 1730 and likely acquired around that time. Many other coffee cups in sets were made and acquired in or around 1774, which is exemplified by 58 gilded objects made in Meissen that were included in a single set.²¹³ (Figure 4.20) But it can be clearly concluded that the fluid customer profile consisting of Ottoman palace dynasty members, the ruling elite, and members of the ruling class experienced a new tendency to be open to innovations in this century, and thus became accustomed to consuming from cups and other objects in sets.

4.4.4. Precious Ornamentation

Coffee cups and their accompaniments were often decorated with gold and silver. Court consumers were highly interested in consuming gilded cups in the eighteenth century and their quantity dominates over ungilded examples. More than half of the 1263 objects examined from the palace collections were adorned with gold (776) and a small quantity with silver. Of the 776 gilded coffee cups and other accessories, 318 of them are from Chinese manufactories and the remainder of them, 458, are of European origin. 20 coffee cups of European origin are gilded with both gold and silver. (Figure 4.21) 267 objects of Chinese origin and 85 of European origin do not have any gilded decoration.

The gilding is carried out on the main body for the cups and in some examples, it is also on the inside. Also, gilding is common on the trim and base of many coffee cups in the collections. In most of the examples, gilding accompanies the main decoration,

²¹³ This set is from the Meissen factory. It includes porcelain coffee pot, sugar bowl, cups with zarfs and even a porcelain spoon.

applied in underglaze pigment or overglaze enamel. In a few examples, the gilding is the only decoration.

Based on the extant specimens in the Topkapı Palace Museum, one can also view changes in the consumption of gilded wares. Among the museum's holdings, gilded wares appear to be prevalent in the later period, becoming quite dominant over the course of the century. According to figure 4.22, quantities of gilded and ungilded porcelain cups are approximately equal, 79 ungilded and 82 gilded, in the first quarter of the century. (Figure 4.22) Furthermore, the first half of the century represents a gradual increase of the acquisition of gilded cups. At the same time, we see a steep growth in terms of gilded coffee cups and related items in 1730. In 1730 and 1774, gilded coffee cups and accompaniments reach a quantitative ceiling, accounting for 228 and 159 objects respectively. Additionally, silver and gold gilded coffee cups represent only a limited corpus of a group that were made and acquired around 1750. Clearly, they were quite rare.

Starting around 1725, gilded objects incrementally gained popularity among court consumers. I speculate that this rise in quantity of gilded cups is correlated with two significant developments around 1725. First is the excessive consumption of luxury items in the Tulip Age (1718- 1730). The craving for luxurious objects among court elites may have possibly played a role in such a quantitative rise. Secondly, as Yücel and Raby point out, in the period around 1730 experienced goods were confiscated from an unusually large number of elite households.²¹⁴ So we can surmise, by extension, this large number

²¹⁴ Raby, "The Archival Documentation."

of the items, now in the TPM corpus, came into the collection at that time due to those confiscations.

In addition to looking at such valuable objects, it is necessary to discuss the restrictions on precious metals in Islam, more specifically gold, on eating and drinking bowls. In Islam, it is condemned for Muslims to eat or drink from containers made of gold or other precious metals even though there is no such direct prohibition in the Qur'an. On the contrary, it is said that drinks from golden goblets will be served in order to promote Muslims in good deeds.²¹⁵ The most appropriate expression for a direct prohibition is in a hadith or one of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad: "Whosoever drinks from a cup of silver imbibes the fire of the Hell".²¹⁶ This is thus a case in which there was a vivid contradiction between religious principles and secular practices. The wide presence of such valuable porcelain cups proves that Ottoman court consumers disregarded such prohibition and were aficionados of gilded porcelain coffee cups and coffee-related items. Estate records and treasury documents also prove such consumption patterns.

Regina Krahl provided the explanation for this discrepancy by noting that the food and drinks do not come into contact with the applied precious metals, using gold and silver ornamented trays and covers as examples. However, this does not adequately explain the problem because many eating and drinking vessels in the Topkapı Palace porcelain collections are gilded not only on the outside but also on the inside. This is the

²¹⁵ To them will be passed round, dishes and goblets of gold: there will be there all that the souls could desire, all that their eyes could delight in and ye shall abide therein (for the eye). See Quran 43:71

²¹⁶ Raby, "Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court."

case for many cups examined in the European porcelain collections. The rims of some cups, which would undoubtedly be touched by the mouth, are also gilded. Even though this is not the subject of this study, I would like to present a more plausible solution to the problem, at least, in regard to gilding on courtly objects. While a sharp statement of prohibition of the use of precious metals on eating and drinking wares does not exist in the Qur'an, the condemnation or prohibition in the hadith should address situations where the primary medium of wares for eating and drinking is of precious metals such as gold or silver. From this perspective, the palace elite's use of gilded porcelain instead of eating and drinking from containers made of gold or silver should be seen as one solution towards not violating Islamic principles, even if such materials were used as decorative elements.

To return to the changing preferences and tendencies of Ottoman court consumers towards the consumption of gilded cups, the sixteenth century and especially, the seventeenth-century porcelain coffee cups in the palace collections differ from the examined coffee cups from the eighteenth century. Chinese porcelain cups of previous centuries, which were mostly used by the sultan and his family, were commonly blue and whites. These vessels were then redesigned by the craftsmen's organization of the palace, *Ehli Hiref*, which mounted precious stones on their exteriors. Also, they added gold flower decorations and metal handles. Examples of cups that were originally gilded at their point of manufacture were not encountered until the end of the 17th century. Until that point, such applied mountings and additions fulfilled the desire of the palace consumer for gold embellishment. The gilding, which started in some Chinese porcelains

in the early years of the eighteenth century, is more evident on porcelain cups of European origin. There are even such cups that are only ornamented with gold.²¹⁷

As a result, the chart shows clearly how the Ottoman palace elite and other members, took a rising interest in gilded cups over the course of this century. The fact that gilded cups were acquired and consumed in high numbers since the second quarter of the century clearly shows a tendency in this direction. Unlike the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in this period, the palace consumer craved novel trends through luxurious consumption of goods including porcelain coffee cups. Religious principles were set aside, secular consumption practices of gilded coffee cups and related items show us how the self-ordained Ottoman palace elite neglected religious condemnation of gilded objects. The examined coffee cups, and other gilded objects, clearly shows the change of consumption patterns and consumers' behaviors with different motivations in this century.

4.4.5. Handles

Another novelty was the handled coffee cup, which also emerged as a new trend in the eighteenth century. In the Ottoman court, soon after the emergence and dissemination of coffee, the ritualistic way of coffee serving began to take shape with large cups and bowls which were suitable for drinking coffee communally. Then, small bowls suitable for the purpose of drinking coffee individually were imported in the seventeenth century. These small cups were mostly presented in metal cup *zarfs* or with

²¹⁷ Some early Meissen coffee cups or *Türkenkoppchen* cups have been decorated with only gilding. European Porcelain Collection has significant examples. See TSM 16/1245 and TSM 16/1246

saucers. The purpose for such accompaniments was to protect the fingers of coffee aficionados from the high temperatures of the cup`s surface.

In the eighteenth century, handles became common additions to coffee cups as a way of protecting their hands from high temperatures and also, maintaining a comfortable coffee drinking position. Adding handles onto coffee cups probably provided utilitarian and practical ease for consumers in the court. The emergence of this novel practice owed largely to the quick dissemination of European porcelains. Because, European porcelain manufactories, indeed, in the middle of the eighteenth century, created their unique practical porcelain objects by introducing new forms that were not influenced by Asian porcelain production. Handled coffee cups were incompatible with the *zarf*, however, as their shape precluded the ability to nest them within another object. Thus, the handled cup eventually led to the demise of the *zarf* tradition.

The search for novelty, a way of comfort, and luxury may have led court consumers to use coffee cups with handles as a new trend.²¹⁸ Perhaps they perceived that the handle offered a more practical and effective use than the cup *zarf*. It must be noted that handleless cups were the norm until around the middle of the eighteenth century around the world. They were eventually edged out by handled cups over the course of that century. For the quantitative analysis of cups with and without handles, I selected singular cups and cups with a paired saucer. I excluded cups with a *zarf*, singular *zarfs* and saucers because they are not related to this new trend.

²¹⁸ Aylin Öney; Bursa Tan, Nihal, "Turkish Coffee: *arte & factum*, Paraphernalia of a Ritual from Ember to Cup" (paper presented at the Food and Material Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2013, Oxford, 2014 2013), 322.

None of the porcelain coffee cups in the Chinese collection of the Topkapı Palace have handles, even though Chinese porcelain producers did produce handled cups, generally to cater to Europeans. All of the cups with handles appear in the European porcelain collection. In addition, most of the cups with handles are paired with saucers (71). There are only 2 singular cups with handles, but without saucers in the European porcelain collection. In fact, the saucer and handle seemed to have been tightly linked together. Of all of the cups with saucers, there are only 2 Chinese and 12 European examples that do not have a handle. Of the remaining cups without handles, 564 of them are of Chinese origin and 398 of them are of European origin.

Figure 4.23 provides more details about this new trend in the consumption sphere of the eighteenth-century Ottoman court. (Figure 4.23). According to the graph, the handled coffee cups and sets of coffee cups with saucers markedly appeared in a short time between 1730 and 1774. It seems that they initially sustained an entry to the court in or around the year 1730, with 6 coffee cups with handles. This is followed by several entries from the 1750s. Then, after a 20-year interruption, in 1774, 22 cups and saucers with handles were acquired. Further to that, there are no coffee cups with handles. Figure 4.23 also shows that handled cups make up a fairly negligible part of both overall collections. Overall, the distribution of cups with handle is very scattered throughout the chart.

In the light of these values shown in the table, it is possible to infer that in the eighteenth century, around the 1730s, the Ottoman palace consumer was introduced to coffee cups with handles parallel to the first appearance of European porcelain cups. It is

likely that Ottoman court consumers saw these as novel appearances and alternatives to the metal cup *zarfs* which were also used during the same period. However, this new trend was not very long-lasting, and this is a surprising result. Indeed, the handleless cup with *zarf* was a much more enduring tradition, which continued until the end of the eighteenth century. Lastly, although a high-level consumer group such as the palace elite did not totally adopt this new trend, at least it can be argued that a new consumption preference or trend had been tried.

4.4.6. Decorative Programs

Genres of decorative programs on porcelain coffee cups in both collections vary. Decorative ornaments in various and different themes were applied on the outer surfaces, inner surfaces, or the bases of the cups. In addition to showing the characteristics of the period and the standardized defining features of manufactories where coffee cups were produced and decorated, there are also examples of coffee cups that reflect the traces of Ottoman tastes where the consumer intervenes directly in the customization of decorations. For example, some cups are decorated with personalized or generalized Arabic inscriptions. These inscriptional decorations, especially seen on a set of Chinese origin and some set cups in the European porcelain collection, give the clue that the Ottoman palace consumer might have had direct contact with manufactories.²¹⁹ Furthermore, early Meissen coffee cups and other porcelain wares were marked with the original Meissen production mark and exported to the Ottoman market. Because of the nature of the mark which looked like a cross, the Ottoman court consumers asked them to

²¹⁹ For European porcelain coffee cups, see TSM 26/2670 and TSM 26/2671, 26/5064, 26/5068

remove such production marks from porcelain wares that were destined for the Ottoman market.²²⁰

Based on unique entries about coffee cups in the archival documents of the eighteenth century, it is unfortunately impossible to find detailed information about genres of decorations except for a few general features. This is probably due to the lack of expertise of the scribes or the office of records in the palace on imported porcelains. A generic and limited vocabulary in textual documents gives scant clues on genres of cups at the court. The most frequent definitive expression in archival documents which were discussed previously, *çargül*, ascribes a floral genre with the decoration of quatrefoil flowers. There are many floral genres of coffee cups with single flower decorations in the Topkapı Palace collections and most of them are blue and white Chinese porcelain cups and a few are ornamented with Chinoiserie design characteristics of early Meissen production. (Figure 4.24)

Moreover, another expression, *ile müzeyyen*, is a generic concept and means “adorned with”. It is most often used to address the adornment of coffee cups with precious stones, but it is also a generic term for decoration. The term, *çiçekli*, is used for a floral genre. Cups described as “plain or mediocre” were probably undecorated. Rarely, the two terms, *benekli* or *noktalı*, address coffee cups with a dotted decoration.

In contrast, extant objects from the museum obviously shed light on decorative genres. For this reason, the TPM dataset must be used to explore decorative programs, rather than the less informative TPMA dataset. A comparison of genres of coffee cups

²²⁰ Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum."

distinguished by repositories vividly reveals a great diversity in design program. For the quantitative analysis, I selected singular cups and cups with a *zarf* or a saucer. Hence, 1074 cups were included in this analysis. In my classification system, I identify various genres in decorative programs of cups. Some cups feature one of these genres, and others group multiple genres together. A bubble graphic displays the ranges of genres on the cups in both collections. According to figure 4.25, the most common and frequent singular genre in both Chinese and European cups is floral. (Figure 4.25) Most of the imported coffee cups from China and other European imitations of Far Eastern products to the Ottoman court until the middle of the century were of the floral genre, with 409 Chinese and 326 European examples. Both represent quantitative ceilings of both repositories. In addition to Chinese cups, early imports from the Meissen manufactory, which imitated decorative programs of Chinese porcelains, are reflective of this floral genre. (Figure 4.26)

The bubble graph also reflects a combination of the floral genre with other genres, such as figural, geometric, and landscape scenes. Based on the graph, one can view that the floral genre is quantitatively dominant over other genres and combinations. It is interesting that this genre was so dominant regardless of other changes of consumer preferences and trends, especially toward the consumption of European coffee cups and the eventual abandonment of Chinese cups in the second half of the century. Despite that shift, court consumers did not forsake their interest in the floral genre.

After the floral genre, the most preferred singular design program is geometric. Geometric programs include dotted designs and borders, bands or panels filled with lines,

circles, diamonds, curves and triangles. It is worth noting that this design program is seen at a high rate, especially in European porcelains. In porcelain cups, the geometric decoration usually appears as a part of a decoration program that surrounds the outer or inner surface of the cup as a border. As such, it is commonly connected with other design schemes, such as floral and landscape schemes. Several Chinese and European cups present remarkable decorative programs that combine geometric patterns with other motifs. (Figure 4.27)

Both Chinese and European-made cups present a very rich corpus of landscape scenes on the surfaces of the cups. The featured landscapes are often Asian inspired, even if they were produced in Europe. Especially early Meissen and Vienna cups imitated Chinese decorative programs including landscapes, flowers and animals. However, there are some examples of distinctly European settings. For example, a castle and a tower, with a pink flag in the wind, are depicted behind brightly colored trees and flowers on a small cup and *zarf* made at Meissen.²²¹ (Figure 4.28) Such a scene is distinct from those that are drawn from the lexicon of Asian landscapes. Additionally, French cups feature landscapes that often adhered to concepts of single-point perspective or carried a great deal of detail that relates to the European print tradition. (Figure 4.29)

Apart from these, there are some examples of European produced cups that were expressly made for the Ottoman market. Some clearly involved an Ottoman scribe in the production and design process, as can be detected from the sometimes personalized Arabic inscriptions attached to the cups. 11 cups are decorated with an Arabic inscription.

²²¹ TSM 25/2695

One of these, which was produced by the Paris factory has a floral genre and the expression of “Bon Appetit” on it, written in Arabic script. The inscription appears legibly and was inscribed capably, which suggests that this was not a mere amateur’s contribution.²²² (Figure 4.30) Another example carries an Ottoman inscription across its top edge, along with pastel fields with dotted ornament on the body of the cup.²²³ (Figure 4.31) Made in Meissen, this is a repertoire of the *Türkenkoppchen* style. The cup is inscribed with a generic statement: *hâşa-Allah, içene âfiyet olsun* [God forbid! May it do you [drinker] good!].

In addition to decorated cups, 42 European origin and 65 Chinese origin porcelain cups from the collections do not have any added decoration. Undecorated cups include monochrome glazed bodies such as yellow, brown, or blue as well as white body wares. This small number confirms that decorated cups were preferred by court consumers. Yet, it seems that undecorated cups might have also played specific roles in the consumption domain of the eighteenth-century Ottoman court. For example, consumers in the Ottoman Harem chose to use undecorated monochrome yellow glazed cups in the holy month of *Ramadan* instead of those with decoration.²²⁴ Thus, religious and cultural factors also shaped consumption models in the court. Additionally, undecorated cups were probably used with precious metal *zarfs*. One of the illustrations in the first chapter shows the chief coffeemaker of the Grand Vizier holding a coffee tray with twelve coffee cups which were placed in gold *zarfs*. (See Figure 1.7) In addition, it should be considered that such

²²² TSM 26/2670

²²³ TSM 26/4694

²²⁴ Tufan, "Topkapı Sarayında ve Hareminde Kahve," 222-26.

objects could be used in private rooms or in the presence of the executive elite, as well as in coffee presentations in the offices of the palace. Thus, they may have played a less public role.

Based on the TPM corpus, the bubble chart which visualizes the decorative programs and genres on porcelain coffee cups consumed by Ottoman court dignitaries in the eighteenth century demonstrates that dominant trend is floral genre on coffee cups and even some combinations of genres follow floral genre. Each repository presents coffee cups with combinations of genres and decorative programs. It is vital to express that European-made cups inherited from the very rich decorative program of Chinese cups for a span of time until European manufactories created their own unique designs. Based on the chart, one can consider that Ottoman court consumers enjoyed consuming cups with single floral decorations or floral programs combined with other genres. Also, landscape scenes appeared in both collections, drawing from both Asian and western pictorial traditions. Finally, court consumers consumed some cups with Arabic inscriptions which generally address good wishes.

Conclusion

After the rapid expansion of the empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries, the Ottoman state first began to witness considerable geographic contraction in the eighteenth century. Along with this regression, various internal and external problems including corruption, deterioration of institutions, economic difficulties, social unrest, the descension of its military system with defeats and the lack of a coherent merit rating system in government offices afflicted the realm of the state. At the same time, the state inaugurated various significant cultural, economic, social and military reforms to stop troubles and regain its supremacy over European states. The long eighteenth century saw intensive efforts of the Ottoman empire to establish cross-cultural relationships and diplomatic ties with the west so that its buareaucrats could decipher how the European states improved in cultural, social, economic and military trajectories.

The Tulip Age, a cultural phenomenon in the changing century of the empire, highlights the emergence and proliferation of a variety of reforms and cross-cultural relationship with European courts. The craving for novelty among the court elites first and other members of the different strata of Ottoman society caused for widespread ostentatious consumption. Ottoman imperial family members and court dignitaries were introduced to the European way of life and they competed to erect their own mansions and gardens on long seaside of the Bosphorus. Also, they tended to consume novel objects from Europe such as watches, binoculars, furniture, silk textiles and even porcelain wares. This kind of consumption among both court society and others who

lived in out of the Ottoman palace was not limited to the short time span of the Tulip Age and expanded through the century.

Chinese and European porcelains of the eighteenth century in the Topkapı Palace Museum collections shed light on the changes in consumption. Particularly, Chinese and European-made porcelain coffee cups served as active agents in the daily routine of coffee serving in both the Sultan`s section and other segments of the Ottoman court. When explored as material items, we gain a better understanding of consumption preferences, tastes, patterns, tendencies and identities of courtly consumers, and also how such factors witnessed changes in this long century.

This dissertation explores the consumptionscape of the eighteenth-century Ottoman court through the collections of European and Chinese porcelain coffee cups. Corpora drawn from 1263 extant objects from the collections of the Topkapı Palace Museum and 64 various archival resources including visual sources and textual documents from the State Archives provide a broad array information on the consumption of porcelain coffee cups. As extant objects from the museum show the diversification of characteristics of porcelain cups such as handle additions, decorative program, lavishly decoration with gold and silver, genres and colors, various archival sources present a wide portray of both consumers and objects. Coffee cup entries from textual sources and visual sources which depicts coffee cups set generic views to the identities of frequent court consumers, the nature of consumption of coffee cups in the eighteenth century Ottoman court and changes in tastes.

It is a much better way to discuss the future lines of this research, what it will trigger, and how this dissertation will prompt further studies with two corpora. At first, I want to draw attentions to some problems in on-site research. The Topkapı Palace Museum is one of the most visited landmarks in the world and offer very enriched musuem experiences for visitors. However, in comparison to other famous museums around the world such as Louvre, British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and others, the Topkapı Palace Museum has several issues with accessibility to its archives and exhibitions via online and on-site. The museum does not have an official website which allow visitors to entirely or partly reach to museum collections. As many museums across the worlds have opened their doors and allowed visitors to access exhitons, especially during the COVID pandemic, the Topkapı museum neglected this. Also, reseachers, scholars and students might have some troubles in the proceures of research permission. Policies and procedures are not objective and some scholars might be denied for further research in the museum collections. Museum officials do not appropriately approach to research requests of outsiders. On the other side, unlike to the easily accesible nature of the Ottoman Archives via in-person or online, the access to archives of the museum is very strict to those who want to do their researches in the parts of archives. Researchers have to consult with limited sources on the archives of the museum. Several factors such as organization of the museum, constuction, and the pandemic have had impact on these issues with the museum.

I want to switch to an optimistic way and discuss the future lines of this research.

I hope this research will broaden new horizons and prompt further research on porcelain collections of the Topkapi Palace Museum and broadly, different collections. Large corpora of the extant objects from the museum can be improved and extended with different objects. At the same time, recent datasets will contribute to extended studies on porcelain coffee cups of the museum in different trajectories and encourage various perspectives. They can open up different quantitative and qualitative researches on cups such as their colours, measures, manufactories, creators and even dynastic periods in the time of consumption. Two datasets which were created for this research can enable to further researches on cups and broadly, other porcelain wares which were acquired in the court through centuries. Also, I hope that my methodology with quantitative and qualitative analysis of the extant objects would encourage significant quests associated with similar methodologies. During my onsite research, I noticed that both the concept of consumption and the quantitative analysis have been neglected in the field of art history in Turkey. My desire is to impel scholars to focus on the scope of consumption studies that are mostly associated with quantitative and qualitative analysis of what people consumed.

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