

UNDERSTANDING DIFFERENT INTERACTIONS OF COFFEE, TOBACCO
AND OPIUM CULTURE IN THE LANDS OF OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE
LIGHT OF THE PIPES OBTAINED IN EXCAVATIONS

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İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

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Kazılarda Bulunan Lüleler Işığında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Topraklarındaki Kahve, Tütün ve
Afyon Kültürünün Farklı Etkileşimlerini Anlamak

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Title: Understanding Different Interactions of Coffee, Tobacco and Opium Culture in the Lands of Ottoman Empire in the Light of the Pipes Obtained in Excavations

This M.A. thesis mainly focuses on tobacco introduced to the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century and along with tobacco, it questions how pipe making shaped the everyday life in the Empire both socially and culturally. This inventory, better known as Tophane pipe making, came out in a large part of the Ottoman Empire in different ways according to its period, region and production style. In a short span of time, tobacco spread to a large part of the empire, was first consumed as a remedy and soon after as a stimulating substance. The variety in the usage of opium, the consumption of wine despite its being banned, and especially the excessive consumption of coffee by almost everyone paved the way for tobacco. Finally, the fact that coffeeshouses were distinguished as communal areas for the consumption of all those substances led the consumption of stimulating substances to a far different dimension.

When it comes to tobacco consumption, the first thing that comes to mind is chibouk. The biggest differences of chibouk from the western pipe are the specific production style of its flue and the bowl of pipe in which tobacco is placed. Just as tobacco did, the production of pipe spread quickly over the territory of the empire, which led the construction of workshops dealing specifically with pipe making. Several pipes were produced by several artisans using different materials to make them. Pipes found during excavations which were held in different territories of the empire became more of an issue since that Istanbul based elite pipe art finally came out of the border fortresses. And the main concern of the thesis comes into play at

this stage, trying to reveal how this cultural inventory has formed an interaction between different countries.

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nde Tarih Yüksek Lisans derecesi için Ertuğrul Süngü tarafından Eylül 2014'de teslim edilen tezin özeti.

Başlık: Kazılarda Bulunan Lüleler Işığında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Topraklarındaki Kahve, Tütün ve Afyon Kültürünün Farklı Etkileşimlerini Anlamak

Bu tez, 17. Yüzyıl'da Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna giren tütün ve tütün ile birlikte kendisine kültürel anlamda büyük yer bulan lülecilik üzerine bir çalışmadır. En çok Tophane Lüleciliği olarak isim yapan bu envanter Osmanlı topraklarının büyük bir kısmında, dönemlere, bölgelere ve yapım yöntemlerine göre farklı şekillerde gözlemlenmektedir. Tütün kısa sürede imparatorluk topraklarının büyük bir kısmına yayılmış, ilk olarak sağlık alanında, akabinde de keyif verici bir madde olarak tüketilmiştir. Afyonun farklı kullanım şekilleri, şarabın yasak olmasına rağmen tüketimi ve özellikle kahvenin hemen herkes tarafından bağımlılık derecesinde tüketiliyor olması tütün için mükemmel bir zemin hazırlamıştır. Tüm bu maddelerin ortak kullanım alanı olarak kendisini gösteren kahvehanelerse, şüphesiz başta tütün olmak üzere, keyif verici madde kullanımını farklı bir kültürel boyuta taşımıştır.

Konu tütün tüketimi olduğu vakit, akla ilk gelen çubuktur. Çubuğun Batı dünyasına ait olan pipodan en büyük farkı, hem duman yolu olan çubuk kısmının, hem de tütün koyulan kafa kısmı olan lülenin kendilerine has üretim şekilleridir. Lüle üretimi imparatorluk topraklarında tıpkı tütünün yayıldığı gibi çok hızlı bir şekilde yayılmış ve birçok farklı şehirde sadece lüle yapan atölyelerin kendisini göstermesi ile gelişmiştir. Birbirinden farklı lüleler, birbirinden farklı ustalar tarafından ve farklı maddelerden yapılmıştır. İmparatorluk topraklarının farklı noktalarında yapılan yakın zaman kazılarında ortaya çıkan lülelerse, İstanbul merkezli olan üst seviye lüle sanatının sınır kalelerinde ve Payitahta uzak olan bölgelerde gözlemlenmesi açısından büyük önem taşır. Araştırmanın başlıca amacıysa işte bu noktada devreye girmektedir ve farklı bölgelerde ele geçen lüle buluntuları sayesinde bu kültürel

envanterin farklı ülkeler arasında nasıl bir etkileşim yarattığını gözler önüne sermeye çalışmaktır.

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CHAPTER 1: PLEASURE GIVING SUBSTANCES AND THEIR EFFECTS IN OTTOMAN SOCIAL LIFE

Introduction

This thesis examines Turkish pipes, namely lüles¹ from their first appearance until they vanished at the beginning of the 20th century. Its concern is to show the cultural interaction through lüles which were produced between the 17th and the 20th century both for daily life and as a luxury artifact. Starting from Istanbul lüle works, this thesis also presents different regional lüle works.

Pleasure-giving substances have existed for a long time in history and it is also a well-known fact that drugs have been used for a long time. Since tobacco, like coffee, was introduced to the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century it has become an important public consumption material and has been experienced by all individuals. Consumed not by itself but presented with pipe, tobacco consumption became widespread in the Empire very fast and reached all around in a short while.

Tobacco was first introduced to the Ottoman Empire from its beginning and faced many kinds of difficulties to spread out. Tobacco's journey started as a medical raw material and an economic good, individual and social addiction. However, while talking about tobacco, it is impossible to talk about coffee and coffee houses because their route was overlapped during the history. These three pleasure-giving substances had a difficult time, nevertheless, found a way to survive.

According to some data which has been given by some important witnesses, coffee first came in 1543, shipped from Yemen. By order of the then sheikh al-islam Ebussuud Efendi, the ships which were moored alongside the quay at Tophane, were scuppered and sent to the bottom along with their cargoes. It was to no avail, and

¹ Lüle refers to the head part of Chibouk where the tobacco is put. During time period, there have been different types of lüle's has been produced with different materials, such as clay, meerschäum and even steel.

time passed inexorably for the coffee houses to make an appearance. Along with that, a man by the name of Yusuf Sinan Rahiki was manufacturing a concoction called “berşi” which was said to be a mixture of flax leaf and wine that he used to sell in a shop in the vicinity of Mahmutpaşa in Istanbul. The historian Peçevi tells the opening of the first coffeehouse in Istanbul as such.²

Many different types of clay and material of which lüle and pipes were made were recovered during many excavations and all these findings represent cultural heritages. Smoking and smoking pipes date back to the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. On the other hand, there is no certain date when the first lüle or pipes were made in Turkey.³ The coming of tobacco was accompanied by the appearance of pipe. Indeed, it affected not only the economy but also the cultural life of the society. Some travelers mention about how smoking pipes and *çubuks*⁴ differentiate the social strata. At this point we can see the effect of smoking pipe with the understanding of an elitist group.

There are various different sayings about exactly when tobacco entered the Ottoman territory. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi says it was in 1598, while Peçevi puts the date as 1600, Esmarüt-ül tev-arîh believes it was the year 1603 and Ahmet Refik points the year 1606 when Ahmet the 1st was on the throne.⁵ Of course, by looking at these dates, we can easily be confused but the main point was these historians’ view

² Erdinç Bakla, *The pipe-making industry of Tophane*, (Dışbank, İstanbul 2005), p. 17

³ Rebecca C. W. Robinson, *Tobacco Pipes Corinth and Athenian Agora (plates 33-64)*, (Hesperia, 1985), p. 54

⁴ Rather than traditional Wester Pipe, in Ottoman Empire çubuks (Chibouk) were used. Its long part was generally made of specific wood and lüle used to be put at the end.

⁵ Erdinç Bakla, *Tophane Lüleçiliği. Osmanlı Tasarımındaki yaratıcılığı ve Yaşam Keyfi*, (Antik Yayıncılık, 2007), p. 16

about tobacco use in general. For example, Balık Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey gives the year 1678 because he counts the time before it was used as medicine. On the other hand, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi claims that tobacco was brought by the “Rumeli” like later on Peçevi will say it was brought by the Englishmen. So there may be multiple dates but multiple ideas also exist.

With the appearance of coffee houses in the mid-1550s, tobacco found itself a different place. There is no doubt that coffee houses were talking to public space and with the creation of that space; tobacco culture began to play an important role. Different coffee houses offered different drinks and smokable substances, and that situation created a different place for the Ottoman citizen rather than home. Naturally coffee houses created their own culture in a short period of time. While some coffee houses were offering tobaccos, some others offered opium.

While the number of coffee houses was growing and tobacco and opium consumption was increasing, pipe played an important role. Presumably when English merchants introduced tobacco to the Ottoman Empire, they also brought pipe with which tobacco was supposed to be consumed. There is no clear evidence found whether they were with pipe or not but Ottoman craftsmen learned to craft pipe for chibouks. Ottoman ceramic and pot workshops started to produce different kinds of pipes. Those pipes did not look like western style pipes and differently designed ones showed up. In places like Lule Burgas, pipe production was taken seriously and for a long time, one of the greatest types of pipe was produced in that region.

For centuries, opium consumption took place all around the world. Especially in Iran in the Middle East, like in the Ottoman Empire, individuals were no stranger to opium consumption. It was widely used for medical reasons but also consumed for pleasure. Following different forms of pipe production, also opium changed its shape

of consumption and became not only a chewing material but also a smokable substance.

Both with the increasing extent of tobacco consumption and pipe production there was built a new cultural connection between different territories. Ottoman chibouk system was different than traditional western pipes but at the same time, technically, it was similar to them. Like Narghiles⁶, chibouks were also used all around the Empire. Narghile was known in India and it reached Ottoman Empire via Iran. At the end of its journey, it ended up in coffee houses and even in the Ottoman Palace.

Just as narghile came from the Middle Eastern region and the Ottoman Empire, pipe and chibouk consumption and also production reached those places as a result of cultural interaction. Moreover, different places, namely, Iran, Iraq, Jerusalem, Cairo and even Palestine started to produce their own pipes and sold them as merchandise. Nevertheless, pipes did not reach all those places by themselves, but they did so mainly through janissaries who carried their own “imames” and “lüles” with themselves, and smoked tobacco whenever they stopped or presumably during their sentry which used to take long hours.

Apart from Evliya Çelebi’s and some other similar western travel literatures’ explanations, there are few explanations to be found about pipes. However, in the absence of written documents, materials like pipes can be self-explanatory. At this point, this work takes archeological pipe findings as a primary source and tries to

⁶ It is important to mention Nargiles when we talk about Lüles. Because during Nargile consumption, like Çubuks, tobacco is put inside the lüle. Lüles were made both for Nargiles and Çubuks. However, lüle of Nargile was different than that of Çubuk’s because of the way of consumption. In my thesis, I will focus on lüles which used for Çubuk’s but of course, as long as I have the example of Nargile lüle’s, I will explain in with detail.

⁷ Eds. Baram, Uzi. and Carroll, Lynda. *Osmanlı Arkeolojisi*, (Kitap Yayınevi LTD, İstanbul, 2004).

follow cultural interaction through the evidence provided by some specific excavations.

Until 1990s, archeological excavations were commonly used to focus on prehistoric time periods in America and in Europe. Moreover, archeologists who used to work in the Middle East focused rather on the pre-Islamic period and they always chased findings from that era. Of course there were also some Ottoman archeologists but many of them believed that archeological findings could only fill archival based historical vacancy. As a matter of fact, Ottoman archeology had a great deal of research area in the Middle East. So few of research projects were interested with the 20th century area through excavations but Ottoman archeologists had already published many articles and books so that the Ottoman Empire adapted to a modern world more easily.⁷

The Ottoman Empire always shone out with some specific titles like Topkapi Palace, Harem, Istanbul and even with various wars but daily life always remained rather in the background. No wonder that today daily life in the Ottoman Empire awakens great interest of historians Accordingly, At this point, archeological findings play an important part. Many surviving materials form the Empire create a connection between the past and today but archeological findings go one step further and give more information. More importantly, they raise more questions to be answered by historians. In the lack of historical writings, archeological evidence give significant details about Ottoman daily life and bring casual daily social life artifacts to light. Thus, we may understand social dynamics and transformations more easily. Also cultural history shows more of the subjects and their choices. Basically, cultural history always brings new ideas mainly about daily life and answers some questions

at the same time. It should not be forgotten that the Ottoman Empire was very rich in terms of material culture and also these material documents have created confusion, and to reach specific information, many different techniques are required which have been used in different types of archeological examining.

In this case, archeological findings could have shown some distinguishing features in the Ottoman Empire. Chronological control is important and to be able to put all the pipe findings in order is relatively hard. Nevertheless, many different excavation reports enable a road map for researchers. At this point, both archeologists who work on the artifacts; finding, preserving and reading them, and pipe masters who used to put their seal at the relevant century make this chronological control easier. Not all excavation reports showed items in a very detailed way; they did not present clear visuals, but today we may understand when pipe was crafted through its materials, designs, and even time to time, through what kind of a shape it had.

There were many different excavations which were held during the 20th and the 21st century and there are still some existing excavations which continue. Even though in the beginning archeological findings were categorized only as pottery, in the last millennium pottery was also divided into different categories. Pipes always used to take attention but after findings emerged from different excavations from different places, awareness increased. Especially researchers like Uzi Baram put in significant amount of time on those artifacts. His work on Palestine brought different questions and gave courage to following archeologists about their work.

When mentioning about excavations, St. J. Simpson must not be forgotten. Many different publications of him brought new ideas to the field. Simpson mainly focused on the Middle East territories, and reports from Iraq and Jerusalem and his

results have been very well applied to the Ottoman archeology where pottery and pipes took place dramatically. Moreover, data results from these excavations function as an important bridge between past cultural interactions of and around the Ottoman Empire. Simpson, like Baram and other archeologists, examined pipes closely and reported them in his work with every aspect of them.

Furthermore, through “Tophane Lüleçiliği” Prof. Dr. Erdinç Bakla worked on Ottoman daily life based on pleasure giving substances. In two different books, Bakla focuses on pipes; where they come from, where they were produced and their effect on daily life. He even takes one more step and follows pipe makers while examining different types of pipes to reach accurate results. In his books, Bakla shows all of his pipe collection and also points out to other magnificent pipes and chibouks which still exist. What is important in his book is that many pipes still challenge time and their stamps can easily be read, which is vital to work on pipes. In his research, Bakla not only uses pipes but also narghile and inevitably coffee houses.

While talking about coffee houses, opium, tobacco, coffee and wine, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli’s “Görgü ve Toplum Kuralları Üzerine Ziyaret Sofraları” must taking into consideration. He were touch nearly every single aspect what he saw during his time. Based on morality a manner, Mustafa Âli explains many situations where he stands in. What makes his writing significant is that apparently he attended many gatherings where alcohol was served. Besides he has been in many different coffee houses and observed people whom drinking coffee, smoking tobacco and opium.

Bakla’s work generally focuses on Tophane Lüleçiliği which was mainly conducted in Tophane district and around Istanbul. However, to understand different

cultural interactions, the Middle Eastern territory was not enough by itself. To reach different results and points of view, a European collection should also be taken into consideration. The personal collection of Arjan de Haan, who is a member and secretary of Académie Internationale de la Pipe (AIP), includes very useful pipes. His collection is one of a kind and what is important about it is that Turkish pipes & pottery, Egyptian pipes & pottery, Ottoman pipes, Maori pipes and Hungarian pipes are exhibited. Like excavation results and Bakla's work, also this collection has pipes with their descriptions. Besides, many pipes in this collection have their marks and approximate crafting dates.

No matter what, Iran is an important region about pleasure giving substances. Since Narghile reached Ottoman Empire from Iran, workings on this territory should be taken into consideration. In this case, Rudi Matthee's book, "The Pursuit of Pleasure" occupies no doubt an important place. Matthee follows marks of wine, opium, tobacco and coffee in Safavid to Qajar Iran. Detailed information about consumption materials and also tools like Narghile and chibouk is given in this work.

Gregoire Desmet's work on pleasure giving substances contributes significant amount of information to the ones we already possess. Information about coffee, tobacco and opium definitely made that work valuable. Giving information about Coffee and root of the coffee is very well prepared and important source for who interested about coffee and where it came from. Since this topic already discuss by different writers and academics, Desmet's work include gripping information's. Moreover, his book written with Georgeon Francis, "Doğu'da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler" explain coffee and its trade in detail in different regions. Of course, as a substance coffee has its own value but like its acceptance by all around the Empire, it also turn to a money making substance. There is no doubt that coffee plays

important role both for economic and social and following its trade, gives substantially information about its expansion.

To consolidate this information, Andre Raymond's book, "Yeniçerilerin Kahiresi" clarifies coffee trade on a large scale. Since coffee's adventure started from Yemen to Cairo, based on Şeraybi family and track its record, Raymond shows how fast coffee taking into consideration and how it became a profit in a short while.

Coffee and tobacco consumption were a common activity and both consumed in daily life, in different places. In this case, Abdülaziz Bey's notes in "Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tabirleri Âdet ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabirât ve Muamelât-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye" gives significant information's about daily and domestic consumption of coffee and tobacco. He gives different examples about for different excursion spot where Ottoman subjects consume these substances. What makes these information is important is that his examples also points out, coffee and tobacco not only consumed in coffee houses but also in urban spaces.

Since his explanation is quite enough to see that consuming tobacco and coffee did not only belong to Ottoman man and Coffee houses, at this point it is important to remind that this work focuses on coffee houses rather than public and domestic consumption of tobacco. However, I will try to explain in details how these substances were used in different spheres. Nevertheless, this thesis is mainly focused on coffee houses, their shapes and effects in the Ottoman Empire.

To understand daily life in the Ottoman Empire, castles are important places. Many excavations have been located on different castles, some in the Middle East and some in the European territories of the Ottoman Empire. Edited by A. C. S. Peacock, "The Frontiers of the Ottoman World" brings many castles into life. Apparently archeological excavation in some areas has also brought many pipe

findings into life and made strong connections about cultural exchange. Findings and frontier castles like Akarman, Ozi in Hungarian border indicate that Janissary soldiers used to smoke chibouk a lot and also different locations of findings point at common pipe findings in frontier castles which show that merchants carried those items in those castles to sell them. Moreover, some significant Hungarian pipes tell us that they have been crafted by Hungarian pipe makers.

Following traces of pipe usage as a historical event helps to collect information concerning daily life activities and to answer questions like what was the reason for pipes to enter into the Ottoman life in the 17th century and whether there was a transformation or transition period. Furthermore, after three centuries, what was the reason to erase pipes and its culture from the memories of population? Nowadays “lüle”’s definition and special terminologies are only known by people who have specialized on this subject. What are the dynamics at the background of this creation and transformation, formation and deformation?

Written sources generally contain official and political records. In addition to this, how were people who used to live in the Palace and along with them, workers, especially those in the building of “Matbah-ı Amire” or “Hamam of Kum Kasrı” conducting their everyday life activities? Were there any ratios representing the quality differences between pipes used by ruling class and reaya? In order to obtain convenient answers to these questions common items which do not take part in historical records but which were generally used in everyday life and consumption could be used. Based on their area of usage, their consumption and trade values could also be visible. Combination of these points may lead us to have a more general sense concerning the object and its use as well as its associate usage and trade through the global spread of capitalism. Since the rise of capitalism, production

ratios have increased dramatically and in one sense have changed the consumption habits of people by pushing them to consume products far away from their origins and local customs.⁸

Coffee and Wine

Alcohol was consumed both as a pleasure giving substance and a nutrient. In the Middle Ages, people used to serve wine and bear in their outnumbered celebrations where people got drunk. Rest of the days wine and bear was acknowledged as a part of their nutrition habits.

Like many other cultures, Ottomans were also no stranger to wine consumption. Besides, geographical neighbors of Ottomans were in close relations with cultivation and consumption of wine. As in the case of Persia, one of the earliest regions where wine is known to be consumed, samples of jars dating back to 5400 to 5000 B.C.E. contained a substance which is more likely described as wine.

Living in a theocratic Empire obliged Muslims to obey Sharia rules whereas non-Muslims composing Ottoman society did not have to be bound with these law. In relation to that, even though Islamic law were forbidding consumption alcohol, especially wine, people from different religious sects had a routine to get to gather in order to wine drinking. In the middle of 17th century, a European diplomat who came to Empire had witnessed consumption of alcohol despite prohibition. Based on his assumptions, the image of Ottoman rulers would be damaged if they consume wine.⁹

⁸ Cheryl Ward and Uzi Baram, "Global Markets, Local Practice: Ottoman-period Clay Pipes and Smoking Paraphernalia from the Red Sea Shipwreck at Sadana Island, Egypt," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, June 2006. pp. 150.

⁹ Paul Rychaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, (New York: Arno Press, 1971), p. 165.

A wife of an English ambassador who visited Istanbul in the 18th century witnessed her Ottoman host to drink wine.¹⁰ When she asked about his opinion and religious rules about consuming alcohol he respond as “the prohibition of wine was a very wise maxim, but it was meant for the common people and the prophet Muhammad had never designed to confine those who knew how to consume it with moderation.”¹¹ Various Ottoman’s had different views about alcohol. Cem Sultan was assuming that wine with opium could not be categorized as wine. Even though he did not like the taste, he would drink it. Minister of Bitlis, was serving hot wine in his palace. Since alcohol evaporates with heat, there are not any obstacles to drink it. As far as Evliya Çelebi notes, in Izmir, a different kind of alcohol known as “lion’s milk” was available.¹² In addition, he came across with another type of alcohol; unfortunately, giving information about this drink is not possible, since Evliya Çelebi did not mentioned its name.

Bektaşî Dervishes supporting Islamic bands preferred to consume wine with arak. In the 19th century, they had their own vineyards which enabled them to produce their own wine. Evliya Çelebi referred to the consumption of wine and arak as “a clear, colorless, unsweetened, aniseed-flavored distilled alcoholic drink, known as ‘lion’s milk’ in the port city of Izmir, which had a large Greek population.” Arak was not a drink specific to Anatolia but widely consumed in the Balkans and Arab provinces. In addition to arak and wine, Arab “sherbet” which was made of a mixture

¹⁰ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. M. Jack and A. Desai, London: William Pickering & Chatko 1993, p.87

¹¹ Mehrdad Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, (Greenwood, U.S.A., 2011), p. 241.

¹² Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, (I.B. Tauris, London, 2000), p. 215.

pounded grapes and hot water was also consumed. That mixture was put in wooden bowl to ferment. Due to its strong nature, it was compared to wine and banned.¹³

When it came to wine and coffee consumption, a large number of wine and coffee houses were located in Galata district which also became an important point in the eyes of Evliya Çelebi, also reflected in his *Seyahatname*. In Galata, there were around 200 taverns and wine houses were established where people can enjoy with music and alcohol. There were many wines consumed, with special wines coming from Ankona, Saragosa, Mudanya, Edremit and Bozcaada were served. Since there were dance performance by men and women combined with effects with alcohol, could lead people to commit sinful acts.

Even though consumption of coffee and coffee houses were banished, special interest in those, more precisely wonder was created among society regarding coffee and alcohol consumption. Evliya Çelebi was also under influence of his entourage to go, explore and take note of these places in his *Seyahatname*. After doing this he feel the necessity to confess and put down a note in his work.

“May God be my witness; a single drop did not vouchsafe on this humble subject. Nonetheless, I could not help myself to mingle in this alcoholic crowd. I spend great amount of time in wine houses, coffee houses and Bozahane. God knows I only drink boza. Since the day I was born, I did not consume ferment or forbidden substances such as tobacco, tea and coffee. However, I might drink some Athens honey syrup.”¹⁴

Drinking was authorized at homes as a special gathering, but all non-Muslims were prohibited, from public consumption. Central authority announced frequent prohibitions, in order to increase its authority and controlling communal order. Reign of Suleiman the Magnificent and Murad the 4th was famous for their rigid decisions regarding alcohol and its consumption.

¹³ Kia, p. 241.

¹⁴ John Freely, *Evliya Çelebi'nin İstanbul'u*, (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, Şubat 2013), pp. 137-138.

Coffee was found for the first time in Ethiopia¹⁵ or Yemen and was believed that it reached Ottoman Empire in 16th century. However, the exact date for the presence of coffee in the capital is not clear. Merchants coming from different land were introduced for the first time with coffee which was highly consumed in Yemen. Due to their interaction with Sufis and local merchants, was brought this merchant closer to coffee and they purchased a special amount for themselves, in order to carry the substance to their homeland. Common spaces were ideal for general coffee consumption. Fair were most attended and organized events were coffee consumption was in great level. Evliya Çelebi was referring to a special event organized in the name of “Tantalı Ahmet Bedevî”. In order to entertain and feed guests coming from various places 600 coffee tents were underlined.¹⁶

Coffee was commonly used in the Arabian Peninsula way before Ottomans defeated Mamelukes in the wars of 1516 and 1517. The journey of coffee started from Yemen to Egypt then Syria and finally to Istanbul. Once it reached the capital of the Empire, consumption became common in the cities of Anatolia. Besides its origin, the word defining coffee in Arabic “qahwa” was adopted as “kahve.” When Europeans met with coffee, the word changed to “kaffe, caffè, café and coffee.” Historian Mustafa Ali mentions that Cairo had thousands of coffee houses in 16th century. Its consumption was so widespread that in the 16th century, nearly all Anatolian towns had coffee houses. A Syrian merchant, Shems, introduced coffee to Istanbul and returned to his home with a high profit of 5.000 gold pieces.¹⁷

¹⁵ H elene Desmet Gr egoire, *Contributions au theme du et des caf es Dans les Soci etes du Proche- Orient*, (Collection: Les Cahiers de L'Iremam, 1992), pp.4-5 Also see; Mehrdad Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 242.

¹⁶ Derviş Mehmed Zil i, *Evliya  elebi Seyahatnamesi*, (c. 10, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul 2007), p. 326.

¹⁷ Kia, p. 236.

Coffee making was such an important symbol that women in the Harem got special education preparing coffee for their masters. In Ottoman public life people used the ability of making coffee to understand the merits of the bride. Even though there was a specific procedure to prepare coffee, in some regions pistachio grains were added in the coffee.

Coffee was produced from two different kind; “*coffea Arabica*” produced in mountainous areas and tropical climate of Ethiopia and “*coffea liberica*” cultivated in Liberia.¹⁸ Once the product is collected the beans are roasted and then grinded to obtain the final phase of the product before being able to consume it. Milling process of the coffee beans was passed by an instrument composed of two parts made of stone or metal. Starting from the 16th century Ottomans had been using roasters (kahve tavası) to roast the coffee. This model is definitely the same one used by the Arabs since Ottomans had enjoyed coffee, it is expected that forms of coffee roasters might have changed in order to answer high demand. In order to have a place in the urban houses or in the kitchens of the Palace tripods, moveable handles, a full scale oven to roast great amount of coffees were used. Yet, to prepare the coffee roasted activities should be followed by the cooling and milling processes. Objects forming the service of the beverage were composed of *cezve*, *ibrik*, porcelain cups and finally a cover of 80 to 100 meters long generally on silk or satin.¹⁹ Travel literature starting with Evliya Çelebi is underlining the year 1554 whereas historian Mustafa Ali is claiming that coffee houses appeared between 1552 and 1553. On the other hand, Peçevi pointed the years 1554 - 1555. Most probably, coffee was brought from Yemen to Mecca around the 16th century. Thanks to the Ottomans’ defeat of the Mamelukes, their power in the Middle East started to grow and during this time

¹⁸ Bakla, *Tophane Lüleçiliği*, pp. 24-25

¹⁹ Grégoire, p. 5

Ottomans are introduced to the concept of coffee houses which were present way before in these regions. Travel of coffee which started in Yemen, continued up to the Arabian Peninsula to Egypt and Syria than reach Istanbul and rest of the Ottoman Empire. In 18th century, Yemen was the main center for cultivation of coffee, whereas trade was under the guidance of Cairo. The product was imported to Anatolia and Rumelia. Only after the second half of the 17th century, French and Dutch merchants started to be involved in the trade of coffee beans.

Spread of those institutions transformed people's social place quickly into a surrounding of interaction with each other apart from their private spaces. Availability of such opportunities also brought some complains with it, for instance, conservative clergy who were responsible over the moral values of society was blaming coffee for being diabolic. These assumptions supported by Peçevi by referring to the establishment of a coffee house in Tahtakale by Hakan from Aleppo and Şemsi from Damascus in 1555. These places were frequented by people looking for pleasure also including scholars and literates.

Some members of the "Ulema" were claiming that this product has same consequences as wine that is why it should be considers as illicit. As opposition to that idea people brought their own interpretation to Qur'an and religious law and declared that if consuming coffee was not preventing their daily praying activities the product could be consumed easily. Even though there were strong oppositions toward coffee, it was successfully spread all over Anatolia even to farthest towns.²⁰

Following this period coffee became the instrument of people enjoying traditional games in palace and other rural area. The product was so much admired by the palace that special ceremonies were organized for the process preparation of coffee. A

²⁰ Suraiya Faruqi, *Crisis and Change 1590-1699 in Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Ed. Halil İncik, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) pp. 508-9.

special person responsible for the coffee of the sultan, namely “kahvecibaşı,” and 40 other members as assistance were working in the palace. Furthermore, woman in Harem were also trained for preparing most tasteful coffee. Even though the most comprehensive prohibition toward coffee was made by Sultan Murat the fourth; first prohibition toward Turkish coffee was made by Sultan Murad the third. Shaykh al-islam declared it a sin to consume a product which became carbonized. Once such a declaration was made all coffees were spilled in the Bosphorus. Yet, none of these precautions were enough to overcome the desire to consume this beverage.²¹

Despite coffee trade in Cairo started around 1624 - 1630, European merchants get involved in late 17th and early 18th centuries.²² At the beginning of the 18th century, coffee became much more important than spices in various trade routes.²³ Ottomans were in charge of this profitable trade until 1830 by controlling Gulf of Aden especially Red Sea, Arabian Peninsula, Syria and Anatolia.

What is Tobacco?

What we know about ancient times is that Sumerians used to plant and produce “Afyon” (opium) and “Hint Keneviri” (weed); while also applying these in their medicine works. According to Herodotus, Scythian people used to put a kind of weed which could be a “Kendir” into fire and to smell its smoke. During the history of mankind, many different races planted “Afyon.” There are many different works on some “vases” which, as far as we know, belong to the old Scythian. Nevertheless, Turks were the first race who used to know both planting “Afyon” and also to be

²¹ Nermin Taylan, *Osmanlı'da Yasaklar*, (Ekim Yayıncılık. İstanbul, 2014). pp.80–81.

²² Faraoqhi, p. 508

²³ Gran Peter, *Late Eighteenth Early Nineteenth Century Egypt: Merchant Capitalism or Modern Capitalism*, in *The Ottoman Empire and World Economy*, ed. Huri Islamoğlu-Inan, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004), p. 207.

conscious of the fact that it was a drug. “Assyrians” called weed as “kunubu” and called hařař as “irru.” They used it in the 9th century, during the time of “Sardanapals.”

Tobacco belongs to a special kind of plant family which includes 64 different species. This family is known as Solanaceae, also as Nicotiana and includes the well-known plantation leaves Nicotiana tabacum and Nicotiana rustica. These two types have a high economic importance. Nicotiana tabacum has leaves of which length is between 20 and 80 cm and width changes from 10 to 40 cm. It has very small seeds and approximately 10.000 of seeds are equal to 1 gram. After Nicotiana tabacum comes an economically more noticeable and important plant, Nicotiana rustica. It can grow up to a maximum of 0.5-1.5 meters and is found in North America, Russia, India, Pakistan and North Africa. This kind also grows in Syria and Southeastern Anatolia, specifically around cities of Gaziantep, Kahta and Kahramanmarař. Apart from its scientific name, it is also known as “deli tütünü, yabani tütün, Hasankeyf tütünü and tömbeki tütünü”. Apart from these names, because of its way of consumption, many times it is called as “ağız otu, burun otu and Marař out”. Again, a plant which used to grow in the 19th century in Mosul and was called as “řagur” might be the same tobacco.²⁴

Syria and Southeastern Anatolian cities as Gaziantep, Kahta and Kahramanmarař had those types of strong tobacco. They were widely known as “Hasankeyf tütünü” and “Tömbeki tütünü.” Especially tömbeki tütünü has had a great importance since the Ottoman period.

Discovery of Tobacco

²⁴ Yılmaz, F. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Tütün: Sosyal, Siyasi ve Ekonomik Tahlili” (Ph.D. diss., Marmara University, 2005), p. 1

A widespread opinion is that pipes were created with the emergence of tobacco consumption and have been used, according to the latest research, since the 8th century B.C. in the subtropical part of America. There are assumptions that pipes were used in Europe, amongst Celts and Romans and even earlier, in the Neolithic period (5500-3000 B.C) when other aromatic herbs and dried mushrooms were used instead of tobacco. We assume that ancient peoples used some narcotic herbs but we cannot confirm that they used pipes as well. The first written information concerning the usage of narcotic herbs can be found in Herodotus, describing the Scythians who lit some hemp and then inhaled the smoke.²⁵

On the other hand, the Assyrians called hemp as “kunuba” and opium poppy as “irru.” Both were familiar with the opium poppy, which they called as “mekone” and cultivated it. Papyrus lists of drugs from around 1550 B.C make reference to opium. Ancient Greeks seem to have learned about opium from Egyptians. Theophrastus, a Greek philosopher and a naturalist (ca 372 - 287 B.C) made the earliest reference to its cultivation.²⁶

It is assumed that the cultivation of tobacco plant began in Middle and South America. The plant was named “tobacco” after Tabasco area (in the present Mexico). It is presumed that pre-Hispanic peoples from Argentina grew and used tobacco as early as the 8th century B.C. It was originally used for ritual purposes (as an opiate) and was restricted to a single social group of shamans.²⁷

²⁵ Divna Gacic, *The Pipes from Museum Collections of Serbia*, (The City Museum of Novi Sad, Petrovaradin, Novi Sad, 2011), p. 12.

²⁶ Bakla, *The pipe-making industry of Tophane*, p. 13.

²⁷ Daniel Schavelzon, “Argentina” in: *Journal of the Academie Internationale de la Pipe*, vol. 2, 5-8. Liverpool 2009. p. 5.

Apart from an extensive daily product of today, tobacco has been planted in 120 different countries. It appeared eight thousand years ago, in South America and spread out to North America. Until the 15th century, tobacco plantation was only made in America and tobacco was only produced and consumed by American Indians. Until Christopher Columbus had discovered the New World, Europe did not know about the tobacco. There was neither plantation nor consumption of that plant. Among American Indians, the usage of many different types of voluptuous plants was common, since tobacco was more harmless than other plants, American Indians preferred to consume it. They used it in their religious traditions and also in daily life. The very first contact with tobacco took place when Christopher Columbus sent some of his soldiers to explore the territory who later on, met with some American Indians who were smoking some dry leaves. They offered that plant to the exploration group and in this way, tobacco became known to Christopher Columbus.

In the following 50 - 60 years, tobacco spread far and wide to mainly Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, France and England, and even small amount of plantation was started in those countries. By the 16th century, tobacco spread out through the Far East, central Asia, Siberia, India and Africa. Of course, during that evolvement, tobacco was not only planted but also consumed, and it also became a commercial product.

The very first book which has information about tobacco was written by Amerigo Vespucci in 1499, and later on was pressed for the first time in 1505 and the second time in 1570. In that book, Vespucci wrote what he had witnessed firsthand. He pointed out that American Indians used it and that it could be used for healing. First attempt to find out wealth in the New World was started by the King of Spain who was also known as the New World architect King Philip II. Against the important

commercial spice road of Venice and Portugal, he wanted to discover any of useful and different plants in the New World. His main aim was to find plants which could be used to make medicine and to use them in Europe. In order to do that, he sent the monarch doctor Francisco Hernandez with other bunch of scientists to the New World. With the bigger voyage to New World, knowledge about tobacco and the way of its utilization became more predictable and that knowledge led tobacco to be an important commercial plantation.²⁸

The first complete study about tobacco was made by Monardes, a Spanish monarch doctor. It was called “History of Healing Herbs in the New World.” The work was published in 1571 and based on memories of people visiting America and the reports of Francisco Fernandez. A whole chapter was attributed to tobacco. Monardes used to cultivate tobacco in his yard, consume it, use it on patients and make trade of it. In his book, he referred to tobacco cultivation and the way of its consumption. The product was the cure for various matters, varying from tooth ache to cancer, thirst to hunger and more than 20 different illnesses. The book of Monardes was used as a guide by European herbalists and people traveling to America until the early 19th century. Apart from some work, great majority of books and discussions formed around Monardes' data and they were limited to some ideas and theories of him.²⁹

Of course, growing information about tobacco around 1550s, drew the attention of the other European countries' ambassadors in Spain and Portugal. An important figure was the ambassador of France, Jean Nicot who was in Lisbon Palace in 1559 and kept a report about tobacco and also took some amount of

²⁸ Yılmaz, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Tütün: Sosyal, Siyasi ve Ekonomik Tahlili”, p. 3.

²⁹ Yılmaz, p. 4.

tobacco seed to send to the palace in France. When that report and seeds reached the Palace, queen's mother herself took the responsibility of tobacco plantation by herself. In 1572, French Jacques Gohory told in his book named "Tobacco Healing" that since it was a nostrum plant; it had to be named as "Medicée." On the other hand, another France herbalist Liébault says in his work that since Jean Nicot brought it to France, they have to honor him and that they have to call it as "Nicotiane." The first report about tobacco was given to the Pope in 1561 by Toscana ambassador who was his Representative in Prospero di Santa Croce. Meanwhile England found out tobacco when they create their first colony in Roanoke Island in 1585. Thomas Hariot was a well-known scientist and after his first travel to Roanoke Island, he became addicted to tobacco and when he turned back, he told that tobacco was a nostrum and a plant belonging to holly family. Until that, people started to use tobacco all around England.

In the 17th century, tobacco spread out many different continents and its plantation increased dramatically. Nevertheless, in the 18th century many countries started to ban it. In many ways, it was regarded as a needless product. In 1575, churches of Spain and America banned tobacco consumption, later on, in 1603 King of England I. Jacque fought against it, in 1620, tobacco was banned all around Japan. Furthermore, in 1652, consumption of tobacco was banned in Bavaria in Germany and also Saxony banned it 1653. In 1634, Russia banned it and afterwards, in 1557 also Switzerland prevented tobacco consumption. One of the important cases in these ban attempts is that they all took place in churches. Many of the religious officials, however, were addicted to tobacco; they were using tobacco so often, both inside and outside the church. They used tobacco even during the rituals. Not only using but also smoking it and its side effects to priests were disapproved. Sneezing and

coughing, and even from time to time, spitting tobacco was unacceptable and those acts were understood as they were destroying the holiness of rituals.³⁰

Especially in France, not only nobility smoked opium but also clergy used to consume it. In fact, some priests were so keen on worldly materials that they could not stay without smoking or snuffing opium even during religious ceremonies. Nearly every priest was using opium by spitting it out or sneezing. In the end, they consulted to VIII. Pope Urbanus and he forbade opium consumption with an edict in 1642. Even though edict strongly pointed out that opium consumers would be banished from the church forever, that edict did not create the expected reaction because it was only concentrated on Seville and clergy always used to find a gap in Pope's edicts.³¹

However, since tobacco addiction was hard to give up, there was another discussion to legitimize it started in 1636 by France Antonio de Léon Pinelo and his work was called "Question Moral." He propounded that tobacco was not an aliment to do harm to fasting. That idea was discussed in the following years although those discussions were on another idea effecting the consumption of tobacco by religious people. According to that new view, tobacco was presented as an herb preventing lust, so religious people needed to consume it. Even though all those prohibitions and discussions were continuing, religious men, even the Popes went on to consume tobacco and snuff. In 1725, Pope Benedict the 13th who was addicted to snuff liberated its consumption. Approximately 50 years later, the Papacy established the first tobacco manufacturing plant in order to meet the needs of the clergy.

³⁰ Yılmaz, pp. 6 - 7.

³¹ Detlef D. Bluhum, *Colombus'tan Davidorff'a Tütün ve Kültür*, (Dost Kitabevi. Ankara, Eylül 2001), p. 74.

In time, tobacco had different ways of consumption all around Europe. In the beginning it was only used by an elite group of people but in time, since it spread out so fast, it started to be used by everyone. Apart from class differences, for example, South Europeans preferred to use fumeless tobacco which was also known as snuff. In the 17th century, in some countries like Spain and Portugal snuff consumption was quite common and even France can be counted among them. It is important to point out that in 1785, 85 percent of tobacco sales constituted of snuff sales. Moreover, that percentage had continued until the 19th century when cigarette appeared in markets. On the contrary, Western and Central Europe used to prefer smoking tobacco. Especially in the 18th century, people who lived there used snuff without pipes as pipes were very common in peasants and working class. Northern Europeans preferred chewing tobacco. Mainly soldiers, farmers and sailors attempted to consume tobacco in that way since they all used their hands for work and they found it much easier to choose that kind of tobacco consumption. Besides, it is also known that regardless of working conditions, women and also even children used to consume tobacco.³²

Journey of the tobacco, from West to Ottoman Empire

There is limited information about how tobacco reached to the Ottoman Land. However, when we look at the general territories of cities which used to grow tobacco seeds in their continents, they were all in the Mediterranean region. According to Fehmi Yılmaz, it is highly possible that tobacco arrived around 1570. His ideas come from a “tahrir defteri” which includes a note about “Milas.” This

³² Yılmaz, p. 14.

name has never been fully understood so far but it is a well-known type of tobacco which used to grow at the end of the 17th century in Anatolia. Of course this is an uncertain assumption. On the other hand, in his “Nargile” book, Deniz Gürsoy divides the journey of tobacco into two different ways. First one is that tobacco travelled from America to Japan and then reached to the Ottoman continents. Those types of tobacco reached first to India, then Iran and in the end completed its journey in the Ottoman Empire. Secondly, tobacco came to the Ottoman Empire from France and other European countries. It was first produced in America but according to many different sources, its seeds spread out in the Ottoman Empire in 1612. Tobacco had a great deal of commercial expense on it and was an important source of income. It started its own trade route, exchanged channels and, of course, became a phenomenon very fast. So, it used to circulate all around the Empire and like in Europe, it had been questioned by religion. Most importantly, many religious circles insisted that tobacco was “haram”, illicit. There are many different writings published about this topic, there are also many fatwas about this situation. It was totally forbidden during the reign of Murat the 4th and became legal after his death. A very valuable book about that topic was written by Katip Çelebi who joined many campaigns next to Murat the 4th. The name of the book was *Nizâmü'l - Hall fi - İhtiyari'l - Ehakk*. He wrote that book on his own and divided the topic into seven different parts. There were many questions in his writing and he answered them himself as a conclusion. It is very interesting to see his confusion in his own writing because like many others, he also could not decide if it was illicit or not because it gave pleasure but did not contain alcohol.

There are multiple different sayings about exactly when tobacco entered the Ottoman territory. It is strongly believed Tobacco came to Ottoman Empire in 17th

century however the origin is a matter of debate. Dutch, English merchants were suspected. It is believed that tobacco as a production of New World, most probably came to Ottoman lands by Europe or from Italy or Habsburg – Ottoman border. Introduction was made via Janissaries who were fighting there and came across with this new product and helped its spreading process over Ottoman Empire.³³ However, Hazarfen Hüseyin Efendi says it was in 1598. Peçevi says in 1600, Esmarüt-ül tevarih believes it was in 1603 and Ahmet Refik points the year 1606 when Ahmet the first was on the throne.³⁴ Of course, by examining these dates, we can easily be confused but the important point is their points of view about the subject while giving these dates. For example, Balık Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey gives the year 1678 because he counts the time before it was used as a medicine. On the other hand, Hazerfen Hüseyin Efendi says that it was brought by the “Rumeli” like later on Peçevi will say that it was brought by the Englishmen. So there may be various dates but also multiple ideas exist in parallel with them.

Additional information to Ottoman historians’ knowledge comes from one of the Islamic law scholar named el-Lakkânî who lived in the 17th century in Egypt. In his work *Nasilhatü’l- ihvân bi-ictinâbi’ d-duhân*, he says that plants like duhan, tabega, tenbak and tobacco could have appeared at the end of the 10th century and at the beginning of the 11th century in hijri calendar. According to his work, tobacco was brought to the Anatolia territory by an English man named Cil. He also mentions that tobacco came to Egypt through a man from Magrib, Ahmed b. Abdullah el-Haricî and afterwards was carried to the Hejaz, Yemen and India.³⁵

³³ Kia, p. 242.

³⁴ Bakla, p. 16

³⁵ Yılmaz, p. 17

Thanks to tobacco, the Empire gained a new way of revenue. In 1582 a trade agreement was made between the Empire and Holland which allowed the importation of tobacco with a specific rate of taxes known as “bey’iye resmi” ranging from eight to ten akçe per okka. Moreover, British merchants started to bring the American tobacco to various Ottoman cities starting with the capital city, Istanbul.

Production of tobacco was legalized in 1646 and in the following years became wide spread in Ottoman Lands with a proper climate. Leading to differentiate agriculture and production, it also gave chance to specialize the producer. Besides, since it required intense man power and maintenance, the production of that specific good used to strengthen family farming. In contradiction to grapevine, production and importation of tobacco was taxed. Once legalized, coffee and tobacco became the symbols of Ottoman hospitality also by being the first mass consumption items of the Ottoman world.³⁶

With the spread of tobacco consumption, religious debates started which questioned whether the tobacco was illicit or not. Those interrogations resulted in some sanctions including not only the consumption but also the production and trade of that specific product by the Empire. The first prohibitions of tobacco were started in the 17th century by Sultan Ahmad and he was followed by Young Osman. The period of Murad the fourth is the most dramatic one regarding tobacco prohibitions.³⁷

³⁶ Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 158.

³⁷ Alev Gözcü, Fevzi Çakmak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tütün Merkezli Çalışma Alanı: Kolcular ve Ayıngacılar*, inside Ed. H. Vakıf Mercimek, İ. Eren Akçiçek, *Mucieiden Belaya Yolculuk Tütün*, (Tarihçi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2014), p. 220.

Prohibition of Tobacco in Ottoman Empire

Tobacco spread out so fast and affected all around the world in less than a century. When it reached the Ottoman Empire, its effect was the same as that in Europe. Since tobacco was accepted by the Ottomans, it also became a part of daily life. However, consumption of tobacco was restricted in many different countries; sometimes because of similar reasons and sometimes totally different. Nevertheless, in the Ottoman Empire, prohibition period remained long and effective. First prohibition attempt was made by Ahmet the first at the beginning of the 16th century. In his edict, the main aim was tobacco itself. It was represented as a plant which came from England and spread widely among the citizens of the Empire. While mentioning about smoking tobacco in daily life, he wrote that “People are smoking this plantation with chibouk, lüle and different types of reeds. Besides, nearly every village and town makes this seeds plantation and sells it. Because of tobacco, preachers, imams and artisans did not complete their daily duties. They smoke it day to night and the rates of death are increasing due to tobacco consumption. So, in this case, citizens of Ottoman Empire have to focus on their own daily jobs and have to stop smoking. He / she who did violate this rule will be punished violently.”³⁸

Even though tobacco was prohibited in 1609, that decision did not completely take place until 1633. As early as 1610, an English traveler, Geroge Sandys, wrote about seeing “an unfortunate Turk conducted about the streets of Constantinople... mounted backward on an ass with a tobacco-pipe driven through the cartilage of his nose, for the crime of smoking.”³⁹ In 1622 when Osman the second has been killed

³⁸ Yılmaz, p. 18.

³⁹ Willam Frederic Fairholt, *Tobacco: Its History and Associations: including An Acoount of the Plant and its Manufacture; with its Modes of Use in All Ages and Countries*, (Chapman and Hall, London, 1859), p. 79.

by Janissary, Abaza riot has appeared and ruling part of the empire effect dramatically. This weakness in the ruling part of the Empire, make tobacco prohibition nearly impossible to apply. Whenever Murad the fourth became a Padishah and all the visible struggles are vanished, then tobacco prohibition took place. Starting from 1631, ruling provisions came into effect in the Anatolian and European side of the empire. However, real implementation started in 1633 completely. The reason was pointed by Katip Çelebi, in his famous work Fezleke. As he has it in his book, fire of Cibali was the main reason of this prohibition. According to Çelebi's writings, the fire was so big that it exceeded the walls of Istanbul and continued to expand and reach approximately 20.000 houses. Of course, fire was the main reason but what cause this fire was tobacco fire, at least it represented that way. The most comprehensive attempt, in order to stop coffee consumption and closing of coffee houses were made during the reign of Sultan Murad the fourth. The Sultan was famous for his strict prohibitions concerning tobacco products and coffee. Even though consumption of tobacco was prohibited some people still continued to consume it and caused fires. Within time reasons to those fires incident was related with a curse of the Sultan. After hearing this incident the Sultan who once forbade tobacco consumption decided to ban political chats in coffee houses along with destroying several houses.⁴⁰ The repeated reason for this prohibition is the massive fire which burn down two big neighborhood of Istanbul, along with many cultural and artwork. As a result of this fire, people started to express their opinions against the system in various coffee houses. Of course, the Empire had to take some measures to protect general sake of society so decided to close down coffee houses forever. Yet, prohibition attempts toward pleasure giving substances were not

⁴⁰ Taylan, p. 78.

successful. Limited choice of entertainment activities and areas made people pay even more interest to coffee and tobacco which quickly became symbols of modernity.⁴¹ That period took place in Evliya's *Seyahatname* by underlining that the city had 200 coffee houses and 300 workers within.⁴² Fire of Istanbul was an important incident for the prohibition of tobacco consumption but there were also other reasons. As it was suggested, the fire was caused by narghile or chibouk and its consumption was widely spread all over Istanbul through coffee shops (Kahvehane.) The main disturbance of the palace was actually due to the coffee shops. Those shops led to multiple discussions; moreover, the topics were mainly sociological, daily and political. To stop that connection and new network, coffee shops had to be removed.

The spread of tobacco in the Ottoman society raised discussions which were gathered around major topics like whether it can be considered as revolting (mekruh) or there is a necessity of making it illicit. Verse and hadith (hadis) from the Qur'an were shown as evidences, even fake hadith were made. The nature of Allah made all the good things as "halal" and counted bad things as "haram." The smell of tobacco was bad and that made it illicit. For example, Mohammed the prophet declined to eat meal made of onion and garlic due to its bad smell. Tobacco was needless. Besides, spending money on unnecessary expense did not take place in Islam. Wasting money was also considered as illicit. Moreover, tobacco intoxicated people. It was clear that in such a mode, people would not be able to perform an ablution and prey. Again, Islam forbade charred goods to be consumed and since tobacco was charred, it was also counted as illicit. Same group of people also talked against the people who were for the consumption of tobacco that tobacco was torturing people, causing health

⁴¹ Ed. Baram and Carroll. *Osmanlı Arkeolojisi*. pp. 149 - 150.

⁴² Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliya Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, c.1, (hızl. O. Şaik Gökay), (Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul 1996), p. 24.

problems and because of innovation, it could not be considered as allowable (mübah). Although tobacco could be used for psychological diseases and comforted the body while praying, still the main point was to accept that tobacco was harmful and not allowable. Tobacco is consumed by people who are prone to evil deeds and there is a well-known verse about this assumption.⁴³

Those who are for the consumption are criticizing the prohibition of tobacco by describing it as not “habis.” Then they continue with references to fiqh books where even drug-herb is not classified as habis. The mübah one becomes the haram if the person is damaged. In the case of tobacco, unharmed people are many. In case of extensive use, if some is harmed then haram would be result of consumption of these people. In this case, other people consuming a limited amount and unharmed cannot be considered as haram. It is important to note that they said, all goods leading to intoxication are harmful. However, not all the harmful goods are the cause of intoxication. So they defend the consumption of tobacco without a limitation.

After the fatwa of Mehmed Bedai Efendi, there was a mellowing regarding tobacco which increased the cultivation of the plant and different agricultural plantations to this product coming from New World. Another reason of cultivation is quick adaptation of the product climate condition of the Empire. With the wide spread of tobacco production, a new concept of Turkish tobacco came out. Production was made in Macedonia, Syria, and Black Sea region part and contributed as new resource and also as source of taxation to the state economy. The

⁴³ Yılmaz, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Tütün: Sosyal, Siyasi ve Ekonomik Tahlil*, p. 20; El Hadimî, *Risale-i fi'd-duhan*, (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi), Reşid Efendi, no. 1026; El Lakkanî Burhaneddin İbrahim b. İbrahim, *Nasihatu'l ihvan be ictinabi'd-duhan*

taxes were taking twice, first one from producer and the second one from the merchant who bought the tobacco.⁴⁴

Even though the Ottoman Empire tried to put sanctions on tobacco and to declare various edicts as well as to increase the number of places where those edicts were sent in between 1609 - 1649, there were the indicators of the expansion of tobacco plantation. Besides, this expansion of tobacco plantation was made within the Empire, considered as an important factor.

One other important aspect is directly about opium. Consumption of opium and haşhaş and their effect on the human body, take attention the authorities. In fact, it became a part of Muslim man daily life ritual and starting with 17th century, tobacco also join this consumption act. In certain social environments crate a “narcotic culture” result of consumption of psychoactive drugs. Moreover, this new culture had its own social act and behaviors.⁴⁵

Opium, as a Pleasure and Medicine Plant

Although its record does not go back as far as that of wine, opium boasts a respectable history. Originating somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean basin, most likely in Asia Minor, opium was cultivated in lower Mesopotamia in circa 3400 B.C.E. The first real sample of opium has been found in a Pharaoh grave in Egypt dating from approximately 1500 B.C.E. By the end of the second millennium

⁴⁴ A. Gözcü, F. Çakmak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tütün Merkezli Çalışma Alanı: Kolcular ve Ayıngacılar* inside Ed. H. Vakıf Mercimek, İ. Eren Akçiçek. *Mucizeden Belaya Yolculuk Tütün*. (Tarihçi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2014) p. 221.

⁴⁵ Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Osmanlı Tıbbı Tedavi ve Tıbbi Kurumları 1500 – 1700*, (Kitap Yayınevi. İstanbul, Şubat 2014), p. 71.

B.C.E., knowledge of opium was widespread throughout Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa.⁴⁶

In the Middle East, as in Europe, tobacco first attracted the interest of physicians, and was appearing in medical manuals by the last years of the sixteenth century. The most likely channel for this knowledge was non-Muslim who had contacts with Europeans or were capable of translating works from their languages. Facilitating the transfer of ideas and techniques was a common medical framework one end of the Mediterranean to the other: the theory of humors inherited from antiquity. Within this familiar medical scheme, tobacco was hailed as a versatile treatment. Displaying the same unfounded optimism as their European counterparts, Ottoman Physicians were soon applying packs and poultices of tobacco leaves for ailments such as bites and burns. In tribute to its emetic properties, they even recommended drafts of tobacco juice as an antidote for poisons or prescribed as an abortifacient.⁴⁷

If someone is addicted to opium and increases the amount to cheer himself up, this shows persons stupidity, because decreasing the amount of opium, would make the process continue. Likewise, in the case of wine consumption, drinking more than enough would cause headaches. Nevertheless, opium overconsumption will trigger insanity but caution is key to get rid of sins. Opium and opium like narcotics should not be consumed by sane people. On the other side people who take drugs were having day dreams and disturb the society with their irrational actions.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, (New York, 1999), p. 16.

⁴⁷ James Grehan, *Smoking and "Early Modern" Sociability: The Great Tobacco Debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries)*, (Oxford Journals), p. 1354.

⁴⁸ Ed. Orhan Şaik Gökay, Mustafa Gelibolulu, *Âli Görgü ve Toplum Kuralları Üzerine Ziyaret Sofraları (mevâidü'n-nefâis fi kavâidi'l-mecâlis)*, (Tercüman Gazetesi "1001 Temel Eserler" serisi 121. Kitap. İstanbul, Mayıs 1978), p. 84.

Since there is no exact information found, according to Bluhum, the first users of tobacco in Europe were sailors, then aristocracy, while during the 17th century the largest group of smokers could be found among soldiers. Initially considered a universal medicine (against headache, cough, stomach, sickness, wounds, etc.) and only then a means of enjoyment, tobacco was used in numerous ways: by chewing, smoking, and drinking – tobacco prepared as a liquid or sniffing snuff (tobacco turned into powder.) The most popular way of tobacco consumption was smoking it in a pipe, which was first adopted by the members of higher classes. Although the popularization of pipe smoking in Europe is associated with the name of Sir Walter Raleigh,⁴⁹ pipe smoking was already widely in fashion at French courts and in salons of prominent people, as well as in harbor pubs. After the mid-17th century pipe smoking was present among all social layers, mostly as men's privilege, but woman enjoyed it too.

Opium consumption had a special place. Unlike consumption and restriction on wine, coffee and tobacco, Ottomans were surprisingly tolerant towards opium produced in form of paste. Since opium was widely use both in the Palace and even by Sufis and commoners, it is expected to see a high cultivation in Anatolia and Arabia. Based on the information given by Evliya Çelebi, in 17th century, in Afyonkarahisar poppy was cultivated. Evliya Çelebi was showing the link between the agricultural and its effect on everyday life. His assumption was that males were spending a great amount of their time in coffee houses with narcotic's and this situation became a source of debate between man and woman. Yet, around 1878 –

⁴⁹ R.C.W. Robinson, p. 150.

1880, opium was known as an important export product along with weed, barley, raisins, figs, raw silk, raw wool and tobacco.⁵⁰

Opium was not the only popular pleasure giving substance among Ottoman Turks. They would also smoke a green powder made from the dried leaves of wild hemp. It was sold freely and could be found almost everywhere in Istanbul. And pleasure seeking men did not hesitate to smoke it through hookah, a Turkish pipe with the smoke inhaled through water.

Tatula was another narcotic well-liked by the public. Also known as Satan's herb, tatula was a yellow lentil sized seed, looking alike Spanish pepper. Being quite a potent and dangerous substance, tatula was usually obtained from a reliable pharmacist. To Ottomans' belief, to smoke opium along with tatula was the most hazardous form of drug use.⁵¹

Transformation of tobacco was an important issue. Opium existed from the ancient time but with the approach of tobacco and its way of consumption, directly affected the consumption of opium either. Presumably, different types of tobacco affect the way it is consumed. However, it is important to note both opium and its medical importance first before examining pipes.

In 17th century, pipe nearly spread out all around the Europe through England but in 18th century, in France, a new tobacco fashion appeared: Opium consumption. In 1665, Molière first time screened a play, named "Don Juan" and all of the play contains a strong reference of opium consumption. Especially sentences like tributes at the beginning of the play pleased the King because opium consumption had

⁵⁰ Kia, p. 245.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 245.

already reached every part of the French palace and his play legitimated that act in a way.⁵²

Tobacco consumption decreased in the 18th century and even peasants and servants were using pipes to consume tobacco. Yet, valuable opium boxes contained finely smashed opium and turned it to powder opium. Moreover, consumption of opium had its own basic rule. Consumers had to know from how to carry opium box to how to sneeze which create a different life style and ceremonial way of consumption way. In fact, there were a book belong to dated 1750. In this book, opium consumption ritual is divided into 14 steps. One of the major rules was opium box color and shape had to match with dress. It was also showed how high statue the consumer are because more opium box, mean higher statue. So that, opium box become the most loved gift around in aristocracy and many Kings and ruler, award their favorite subjects with opium boxes. Of course, ideas like “opium cleanses the brain” affected its common use a lot. In fact, in 1665 many used to believe that nostrils always stayed open thanks to strong tobaccos or opium so way to brain always stays open. However, this situation generally destroyed olfaction. In the 18th century France, many citizens who regularly used opium lost all their sense of olfaction. Of course, this sounds bad but apparently it was a good occasion. Lack of hygiene was a common problem and smells which spread from human bodies were unacceptable. So, in this case, most probably, losing the ability of smell had to give that era people an amazing experience.⁵³

In Iran, opium was being used in different ways. There have been many opium plantings that existed but it is not clear if Iran at that time was self-sufficient in producing opium for the needs of its own population. It appears that some Iranian

⁵² Bluhum, p. 74.

⁵³ Ibid. p. 76.

opium was taken to India, exported via Hormuz, the principal entrepôt of the Persian Gulf and the western Indian Ocean. But Hormuz in the sixteenth century also served as a conduit for imports, with opium originating in the Red Sea basin, in Egypt and Yemen, being shipped from Cairo and Aden. As was true in Antiquity, in early modern Europe, and especially in India, opium's reputation in Safavid Iran mostly derived from its medicinal status and use. Accordingly, throughout Safavid (and Qajar) times it was taken as a painkillers as well as a remedy for a host of ailments and illnesses. Moreover, like wine, the sources suggest that opium consumption was particularly widespread in court circles and among the governing elite. The shah himself took the lead in this. The mihtar, the shah's chamberlain, who was always a eunuch, at all times could be found at the side of the ruler, both during meetings and during outings, armed with a silk-embroidered purse of a little gold casket in which the monarch's personal items were kept. These included handkerchiefs, nail clippers and files, a watch, perfumes, and various opiates.⁵⁴

From the beginning, tobacco and opium were known as stimulating substance. They generally chewed but time to time smoked. In the end they were using for pleasure. Coffee houses or workplaces were common places for consuming tobacco. However, tobacco and especially opium were greatly used in medical treatments and even as a gastronomical item at the same time. Since gastronomical and medical usage of this essence is very close, it is impossible make a general assumption.

Even though there were detailed lists of hospital item list, we do not know exactly what kind of food or what kind of medication did offer for patients. Since shopping list of hospital storehouses were exist, yet, it is impossible to point that which items were belong to hospital item group and which one for cooking. For

⁵⁴ Rudi Matthee, *The Pursuit of Pleasure. Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500 – 1900*, (Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 99-101.

example,⁵⁵ materials which were obtained including both haşhaş and afyon but they were very well known substance for cooking, human health and at the same time veterinary medicine.

There were different types of medicine existed. One of them is very common and very traditional: diet. Nevertheless, as long as a patient had enough power and money, then many medical treatments were including opium. That substance was generally used on patients in the palace. On the other hand, opium and haşhaş did not found in the general hospitals and there is no doubt that they were not included in the public hospital list. People were only could have reach opium and haşhaş, to pay full cost of them.

Medical treatments had different types. Except spray, Ottoman medicine did create infusions, decoctions, pomades, pills, syrups, pastilles, powder like medicines, emulsions, fuse (both for rectum and oral way) and enemata like products. Medicines were taking while chewing, drinking or swallowing, basically using oral way. On the other hand, there were some which taking by nose or even some incense were smoking. Besides, powdered medicines were also taking by nose and even time to time a pipe were using for opening the nostril. Also, during treatment, most of the patients put into a baths where inside full of smoke of the medicine. Because smoke, had to touch all around the patient in some occasions.⁵⁶

At this point, it is easy to understand that structure of pipe was not using only for pleasure but also used for medical treatment. Whichever comes first is debatable of course but at some point, pipe had great importance in medical treatments, as much as daily life. Opium, on the other hand, using in a different way in medical

⁵⁵ Shefer-Mossensohn, p. 56.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 63.

term and apparently used in many different formulas. Haşhaş and afyon had had an important place in Muslims. They used for entertainment device, for social causes, and even for protect the health. They were definitely important substances for Muslim during the history.⁵⁷ Besides, the most compelling argument for Iranian primacy is the story that the first person said to have passed the smoke of tobacco through a bowl of water was an Iranian poet-cum physician by the name of Abu'l - Fath Gilani.⁵⁸

Palace kitchen grocery lists also show a great amount of opium purchase. Cathartics (müshil) played an important role in the palace and since afyon worked as emollient, it used most of the time for drug making. It was mainly used for pharmacological reason but in Topkapi Place, nevertheless, it was not only belong to high sphere people. Every part of the Ottoman society was using opium based ointments for treatment of any kind of aches. Especially was using for tooth, head ache and cuffing. Additionally, opium was used to calm grumpy kids and also used on kids whom have different kind of aches. Pipes were again was common to use on different ache problems. For example, smoking opium from nose had a way of cure effect on eye illnesses.

When we look at the traditional shadow play (gölge oyunu) in Ottoman Anatolia, there are also some traces available which point at opium and how it was embedded in daily life. Karagöz and Hacivat plays were important in Ottoman daily life. This plays criticize many things, including politics of the Empire. On the other hand, characters of this play also bring daily life into screen by themselves. For example, one of the main characters, Karagöz has a tobacco pouch, while his arch

⁵⁷ Tibi, Selma. *The Medicinal Use of Opium in Ninth Century Baghdad*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

⁵⁸ Matthee, p. 126.

enemy Hacivat, who stays calm after his pranks, was a nice and naïve opium consumer.

Coffee Houses in Ottoman Empire

There is no doubt that Coffee houses take an important place about increasing narghile and chibouk consumptions. However, Saadabad where lies on Kağıthane River shores was also as important as common coffee house structure and effects. Not only coffee houses but Saadabad itself contains narghile consumption. The contemporary visitor Charles Perry (1698-1780) wrote down the following evocative description in his travelogue:

[This] pleasure-house, called Sadabat ... is embellished in a very splendid elegant manner; its Roof is covered all over with Lead, resting upon little Arches, which are sustained by 30 small pillars: The intercolumniations are filled with Shets of green Canvas, which, when stretched out, may serve as umbrellas [sic]. The Entrance is through a Pair of Brass Folding-doors ... between the Pillars in each Space rises a Balustrade about Two Feet from the Ground, upon which was a Sofa of very rich Brocade; in the Middle is a lovely Fountain, which plays its Water through a Cluster of little gilded Pipes, starting out of a Marble Cistern, against a large gilt Wall hung with Tassels: From thence the water is reflected upon a noble Tivan, or ceiling, of gilded Fretwork, which beats it down again in little sprinkling Showers.⁵⁹

Presumably, pipes were a part of any kind of relaxation or entertainment places. What makes pipe more individual was that it was not only used in special places but also in daily life. Pipe and in this sense, tobacco consumption in the palace and daily life have differences but also similarities as much. This points at the fact that different types of coffee houses and their aims are dramatically important.

⁵⁹ Perry, Charles. A View of the Levant: Particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece. London, 1743. pp. 24 - 25.

Coffee houses, by contrast, were in the central areas of the neighborhood and were usually open structures at which one could gaze and out of which one could look. The kahweh [coffee houses] is, generally speaking, a small apartment that has a front facing the street, made of open woodwork in the form of arches. Many café patrons sat outside the built structure of the café on the street in full view of passers-by. Peçevi writes that during the reign of Sultan Murad III at the end of the sixteenth century coffee houses were no longer allowed to spread out on the street. He refers specifically to ‘koltuk kahvesi’ (literally chair coffee houses), which presumably blocked the flow of street traffic with their array of chairs, water pipes and patron. One of the important parts of this description is that, patrons could see outside the coffee house and customers could see inside at the same time. Secondly, water pipes were so widely used and consumed outside the coffee houses which points out the original space of the coffee houses.⁶⁰

General studies about coffee houses were at first about their appearance in the mid-16th century in Istanbul and the attitudes taken by the state and Ulema. Secondly, the 19th century was emphasized with the state’s prevention of cheat chats inside coffee houses which mainly focused on governmental and political issues. Indeed, coffee houses created a new social and communal space apart from home, neighborhood and tekke (Dervish lodge) triangle. Because of its privatized nature, the new communal place was much more desired among people who had easy access to it.⁶¹ Normally, the social space in the empire was composed of Bozahane, Meyhane and Kahvehane but Kahvehanes became distinctive. Long before coffee

⁶⁰ Alan Mikhail, *The Heart’s Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House* in Ed. D. Sajdi, *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee, Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, (Tauris Academic Studies 2007 and imprint of I.B.Tauris &Co Ltd), p. 151.

⁶¹ Uğur Kömeçoğlu, *Homo Ludens ve Homo Sapiens Arasında Kamusal ve Toplumsal: Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri*, inside Ed. A. Yaşar, *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar*, (Kitap Yayınevi, Ekim 2010), p. 20

houses, there were already social places where subjects could interact, spend some time together and have food and drinks apart from grocery and butcher. In that period, the famous gathering places were Bozahanes and Meyhanes. Opening coffee houses created an alternative social life experience; therefore, their location was in town, in collaboration with other commercial institutions most of the time. For Fikret Yılmaz, contrary to popular belief, taverns were not places to drink and chat at first. They acquired this identity through the 16th century gradually. Before this period, taverns acted as warehouses for a long time.⁶² The widest spreading example was the transformation of closed coffee houses into barber shops and continuation of coffee shops in a small corner. The same service was applied in Hamams. However, those public places were remembered with illegal and perturbation act.

On the other hand, according to Mustafa Âli, coffeehouses have been established since 1553 in Istanbul, and the Ottoman state. Coffee houses were gathering centers of both wise and unwise people. In order to chat and to see each other, wise people used to meet in that kind of a place. The purpose was to drink coffee while smoking chibouk and to enjoy the day. In addition to those, there were also homeless people attending those places. However, there are no other places for those people to gather. Since they have no money or goods, coffee house immediately became a common ground. Thus, the only reason they keep going to coffee houses was to rumor and gossip about other people. Apart from poor people, townsmen who were eager to deceive people spent their whole time in those coffee houses. The subjects of, Egypt, Damascus and Bagdad in the Ottoman world was to keep going to coffee houses, sitting on the corner during night and day while smoking, rumoring, gossiping as well as execrating themselves as if they were

⁶² Fikret Yılmaz, *Boş vaktiniz var mı veya 16. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da şarap, eğlence ve suç*, (Tarih Toplum, Issue. 1. 2005), p. 32

significant. Other than this classes who meet up in coffee houses, there were also noble people went to coffee houses just to drink coffee. The reason why coffee houses take this much attention from those people was to be inspired by Şeyh-el Hasen Şezali. There were also people who are eager to chat as well as not taking a break in keep chatting continuously with their friends. Furthermore, there are also vagabonds visit coffee houses just to play chess, backgammon and gable. Because of these, coffee houses were always crowded and it was common to see people who wait their turn to sit inside. However, these people considered as lost who joint among unemployed, weak and lazy ones.⁶³

The absolute definition of meyhane was a place where a product condemned as illicit was sold, and that situation was an eternal repellent one over the eyes of Muslims. Even though sometimes authorities were not against the running of those places, according to Muslims, meyhanes were always places for lowlife. The social position of the owner was considered the same as prostitutes, gays and gypsies.⁶⁴

The first location where coffee houses were opened was “Tahtakale.” The preference of that location was strategic as Tahtakale was one of the first commercially and sociologically important parts of Istanbul where many products including coffee were passed through. So, it was inevitable to open a shop like a coffee house at that location. Starting from 1600, with the increase of commercial ratios, coffee houses started to multiple and spread all around Istanbul. Coffee houses presented a profitable investment. Cerrah Mehmet Paşa was the owner of a Bozahane, in Tahtakale where both sides covered with Hans and one other side with

⁶³ Ed. Orhan Şaik Gökay, Mustafa Âli Gelibolulu, *Görgü ve Toplum Kuralları Üzerine Ziyaret Sofraları*, p. 180.

⁶⁴ Ralph S. Hattox, *Kahve ve Kahvehaneler Bir Toplumsal İçeceğin Yakın Doğudaki Kökenleri*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları. Eylül 1996), p. 69.

the property of Waqf. According to “vakfiye” (endowment) this Bozahane was burned down in 1604 and coffee shops took place instead. The choice of having coffee houses rather than repair the old Bozahane, shows at what rate coffee houses are popular and profitable.⁶⁵

Meyhanes were taking place far from city centers. The reason was related with the prohibition of meyhanes in the old city and between quarters. Demolition and closure was the effects of complaint. Coffee houses started to be described as places where gossip, expression and shaped of dissatisfaction. In two 16th century miniatures, coffee houses take place and represented as a common community ground. In these miniatures, all subjects appearing in the same social place, even though they sit in different places organized according to their social tittle. Sitting apart was not enough to separate the conversations completely. Every one may participate in active or a passive way to different conversations. Coffee houses gained importance and became an alternative social place to mosques. Mosques were no more the places where people get to gather and socialized which took the attention of religious class and Ebussuud Efendi, prepared a fatwa about this issue. Coffee’s entry into the everyday life of Ottoman Woman was made by Hamams as the only social place in their lives. This separation made coffee houses a masculine place. Interactions in coffee houses were much more appreciated than, house conversations. Coffee houses presented and neutral place where different guests may enjoy. The conversation may end at any time or change with when an unexpected contribution of another person. House conversations nature is more selective and organized and guests were aware that going to someone home without permission count as a rude act.

⁶⁵ Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, *Kamusal Alanın Üretim Sürecinde Erken Modern İstanbul Kahvehaneleri*, inside Ed. A. Yaşar, *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar*, (Kitap Yayınevi, Ekim 2010), p. 55.

When we look at the daily life in the Ottoman Empire, visiting a neighbor was important. However, until the coffee shops appeared and became well known and common social places, difference between the concepts of home and coffee house had become much more visible. In houses, people used to avoid communal interactions and there was a strong secrecy. In addition, the places at home special for consumption varied across genders which transformed the social interaction process into an even more repellant period than that in the rest of the society. Common Ottoman houses were divided into two sanctions, “Haremlik ve Selamlık” where only men stayed and talk at one place and only women in the other. This is an important aspect to understand how the location of the privatizing room in the house may reflect the relation between communal and personal places.⁶⁶

Coffee houses of Istanbul not only represented a new environment for people with low income, but also included Ottoman Elites in order to straighten social, political and cultural relations and networks. That new type of socialization not only improved communication levels among different people but also changed the social life of the Ottomans completely. Every passing day increased interactions which were raising chances to create a critical society towards state under the leadership of elites. Coffee houses bridged over to a modern period with social clubs and associations.⁶⁷ Besides the increasing social communication, those new social instruments were also contributing to the profound literary activity. “Conversation of coffee house” was far from being boring; it was more like providing basis for literary forums with poets, sharing their last piece of works with the crowd.⁶⁸ Uniqueness of

⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 31

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 35.

⁶⁸ Hattox, p. 101.

coffee houses was hidden under the fact that social events performed in those places were not limited with cited ones. In fact, each and every shop had different organizations regarding entertainment events and manners. Mankala, puppet show and Meddah were common activities. Moreover, music and even consumption of drugs were widely common. According to Naima, coffee houses talks were usually made around public order, state matters and rulers attitudes.⁶⁹ Moreover, further claims on coffeehouses and their visitors were on the rise especially by pointing out young subjects without any job and time spent sitting in these places. All of the information made coffee houses a new heterogeneous place.

Different Coffee Houses: Types and shapes

As mentioned before, many coffee shops were opened as an extension of former barber shops. Barber shops were more like individual places before the coffee shops invading the Istanbul. After the wide spread of coffee shops and fast expansion of it, made many barber shops stuck inside the coffee shops. In this case, and to some extent it means that, when a coffee shop has been closed, a barber shop also vanished with it. Barber shops move together with coffee shops because it based on the idea of how much people like to chat. Moreover, barber shops inside or next to coffee shops did more than shaving or cutting hair. They also did tooth surgeries and at the same time use leech medications. Working like a health center, when someone operated with leech, they were used a coffee and lemon juice mixed formula on bleeding part of the body. One other key element at this point that, barber shops were used the

⁶⁹ M. Naima, *Naîmâ Târihi*, 3. Cilt. (Z. Danişman Yayınevi, 1968), p. 1221.

same tools as coffee shops more than that, barber shops where also worked as a circumciser.⁷⁰

During the invasion of coffee shops starting from Tahtakale, different places were opened and many different individuals and organizations took that case seriously. Coffee and tobacco proved their economic power in a short term. Some places were transformed from barber shops or some were opened next to a barber shop. However, it is important to point that they were mainly opened in a public sphere and created homogenous places which soon enough led individuals to open specific coffee houses. Even though coffee houses created a different atmosphere where all kinds of people stayed together and talked, before mentioning about this strong argument, we have to look at different types of coffee houses.

District Coffee Houses were the most general ones after the first coffee house was opened. That was most probably because they made district life more socialized and created a new space for all neighborhoods. District coffee houses are based on mosques, moreover, very first coffee houses became an active by whom waiting for praying time around mosques. During time, district coffee became very useful and also successful apart from home and mosque life. Besides, they were always understood as extension of home and mosque rather than a different place.⁷¹

District coffee shops also created a new way of connection between people. After they became more central in a district, not only families and relatives came to gather under one roof but also many different individuals had a chance to meet with each other. That caused a strong connection within the district and also created an equal place for all neighborhoods. In these places, apart from religious differences,

⁷⁰ M. Cengiz Yıldız, *Kahvehane Kültürü*, (Beyan Yayınları. İstanbul, Aralık 2007), p. 47.

⁷¹ Cem Sökmen, *Aydınların İletişim Ortamı Olarak Eski İstanbul Kahvehaneleri Eklerle 2. Basım*, (Ötüken Neşriyat A.Ş. İstanbul, Ağustos, 2012), p. 42.

language or ethnicity made no difference. People all around the Empire come to gather under one roof and live together according to some rules. Both district mosques and coffee shops became a gathering and struggling place and at the same time a center where public opinion was created.⁷²

Artisan coffee shops showed up in the end of 16th century, following the rise of district coffee houses. They were opened more like shores of the Golden Horn and places where bazaars and taverns existed, like Beyazıt - Aksaray. We may divide them into two categories. One part of artisan coffee shops lay on between Eminönü and Ayvansaray. Coffee shops in this line, more like visit by the building workers, porters, peddlers, laborer and boating workers. During time, artisans coffee shops also shape change according to specific profession expert coffee houses inside themselves where always visit by the same experts. Those types of artisan coffees were ruled by the related guilds. Second type artisan coffees are mainly spot in Beyazıt - Aksaray district. At that time Grand Bazaar was the most important commercial district of the city and many coffee houses were opened in the area surrounding the Grand Bazaar. That type of artisan coffee shops were mainly visited by people from the mid or high class and were used as commercial bureau. When traditional bazaar order damaged and start to shaken during the second part of 19th century, like how some artisan classes disappeared, related coffee houses also vanished at the same time.⁷³

The coffee house concept generally used to take attention of people who were waiting to go to mosque for the next praying time. So, İmaret coffee houses created a district for citizens, and in a way, they were the cause of that creation. “Orta oyunu”,

⁷² İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile*, (Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009), p. 42.

⁷³ Ekrem Işın, *Kahvehaneler inside Düünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, c 4*, (Tarih Vakfı ve Kültür Bakanlığı ortak yayını, 1994), p. 389.

“Karagöz”, and similar conjuror acts used to take place here at first. They were, in a way, rest room of the mosques. In time, their named turn to Kiraathane.⁷⁴

When we talk about coffee houses, maybe one of the important types of them was Janissary coffee houses. They started to be opened in the middle of the 17th century. Those coffee shops created the infrastructure of the 19th century Tulumbacı⁷⁵ coffee shops at the same. In the middle of the 17th century, Janissary guild started to change. Afterwards, Janissary became more visible in Istanbul daily life and even they married and have families. Janissary coffee houses commonly established all around the shores and especially in Bosphorus part of Istanbul.

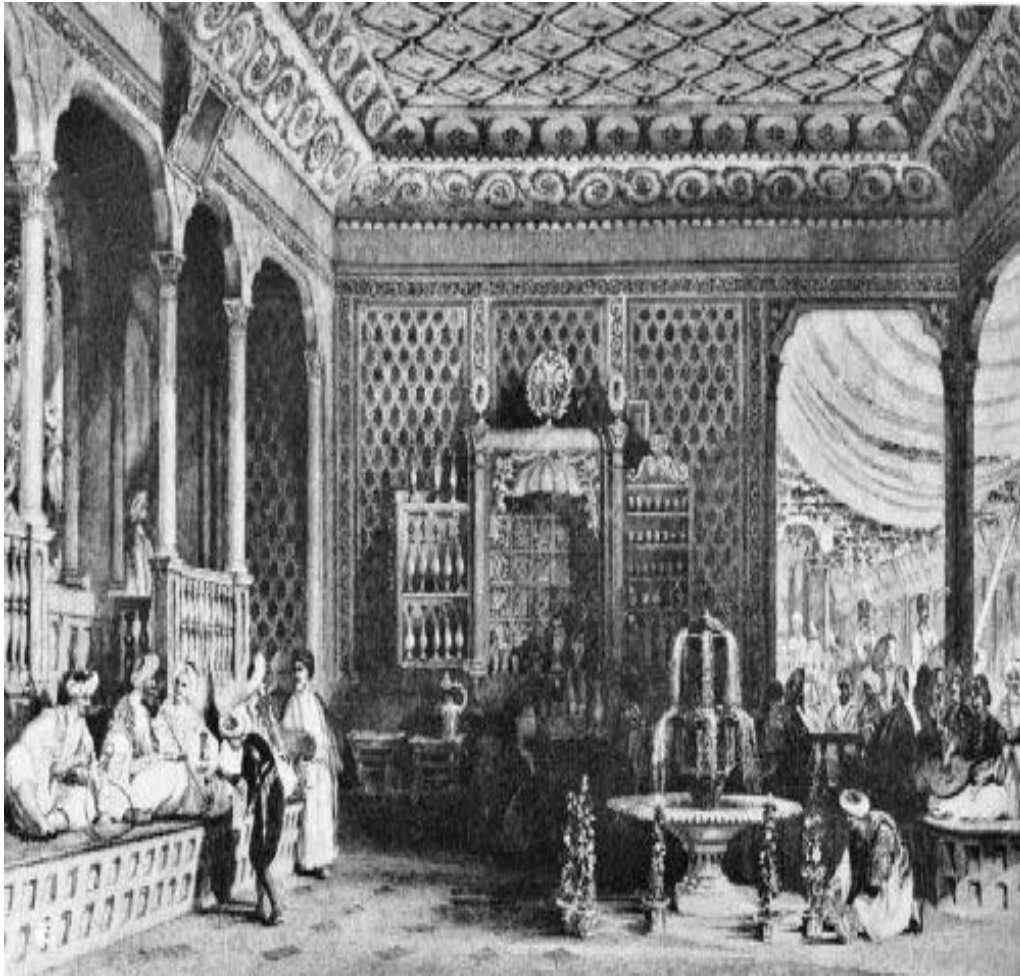
Actually, we can say that Janissaries was always connected with citizens but with disturbance of the whole guild, their effect on daily life, greatly increased. Especially one of the Janissary type which called “Orta” became more visible. They could understand as modern day police officers and they were always present in “Kolluk.” Kolluks were the headquarters of Janissary and they started to open their coffee shops next to those buildings. Of course, after the disturbance of the Janissary’s guild system and also the economic conditions inside the Empire affected Janissary's loans directly. When they started to do trade works, they started to join other artisan guilds and at the same time some other guild member also registered under the Janissaries' guild. Because of this interaction, the number of registered Janissaries reached 200.000 and this increase in number also caused to full places like bed sitter, inns and coffee shops.⁷⁶ When they join the social life and have a right to speech in front of citizens at the same time means that they have right to speak

⁷⁴ Burçak Evren. *Kent Yaşamı ve Kahvehaneler*, (Yeni Türkiye, Issue: 8); *Gazete Pazar*, 15 June 1997.

⁷⁵ Tulumbacı can basically be translated to english as fireworkers. They were created in 1720 and named as “Dergâh-ı Âli Tulumbacı Ocağı”. This “dergah” was connected to the Janissary guild.

⁷⁶ Sökmen, p. 46.

about governmental issues. Janissary coffee houses have all the well-known activities from traditional coffee houses like entertainment, gossip, political struggles, literature and music theories. However, they were also used for ensure security, racketeering, count as Islamic monastery (tekke) and even used as barracks.⁷⁷



Turkish caffinet, early nineteenth century⁷⁸ (drawn by Thomas Allom during his travels in 1836, originally published in 1838, Thomal Allom and Robert Walsh Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches. Fisher, Son & Co., London.

⁷⁷ Ali Çaksu, *18. Yüzyıl Sonu İstanbul Yeniçeri Kahvehaneleri* inside Ed. A. Yaşar, *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri, Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar*, (Kitap Yayınevi, Ekim 2009, İstanbul), p. 85.

⁷⁸ Willam. H Ukers, *All about Coffee*, (The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company. New York, 1935)

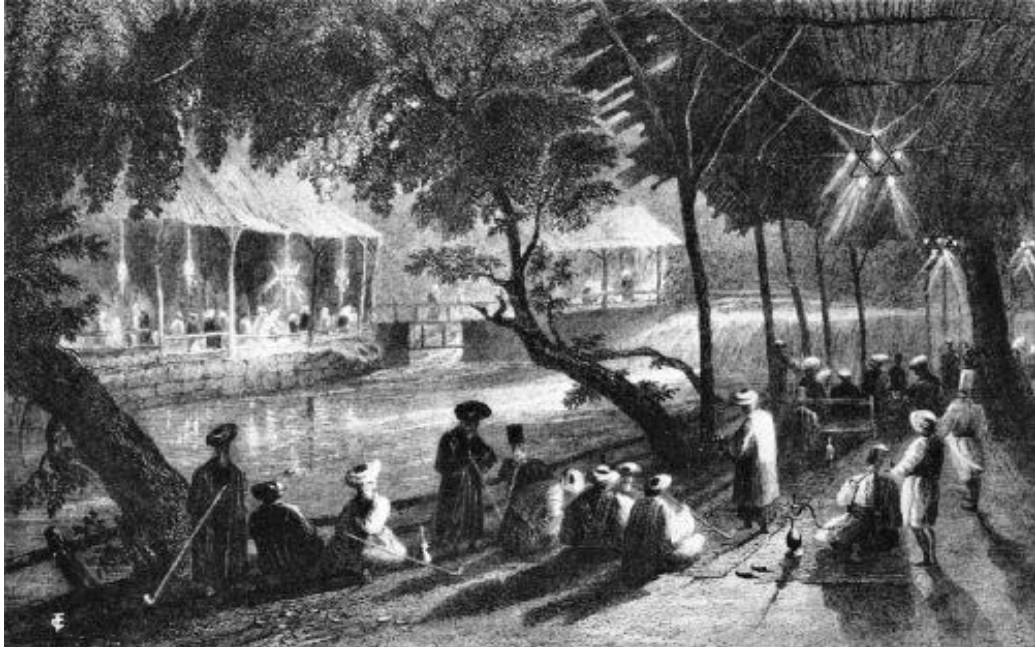
Especially when we look at the prohibition, Janissaries' coffee houses played an important role. They appeared, in time when there were few people exist who can both read and write. Therefore, Janissary's coffee shops immediately became a place where people talk about politics and ruling class problems. Even though these kinds of topics was not only held in Janissary's coffee houses, since Janissary was an armed military unity, this coffee shops immediately became a key point to provocations or potential riot place.⁷⁹

Apparently Janissary became a balance between ruling class and citizens. Starting with opening their own coffee shops, they became a powerful organizations and hard to control. They act as they will and at one side, they represent the concern and demands of the citizens, on the other side they were frighten citizens according to their will. In the end, elite sphere decided to stop them. The reason was simple, Janissary created a political disturbance and there is no place in future modern world like this kind of guild. Thus, in 1826, what Ottomans called Vaka-i Hayriye event has been occurred. In this raid, Janissary guild closed forever. Of course, when guild sealed, everything related with Janissary guild also removed and all the Janissary coffee shops closed.

One other important aspect about Janissary's coffee shops was their places. At the beginning they were just built up next to a barracks but in time, they build up in a magnificent spots. Many of them rise on the city walls and able to see the sea and they made by the famous architects of their times. For example, one of the Janissary Coffee house in Çardak İskelesi, made by a member famous Ottoman Armenian family Balyan. Moreover, some time one "orta" had more than one coffee shops and

⁷⁹ 1730 Riot of "Patrona Halil" started from a Janissary coffee house. In 1807, "Kabakçı Mustafa" riot, there were many coffee shop owners present who were leading the riot. When Jannissary guild was closed down in 1826, coffee shops were used as headquarters.

different kind of rank Janissary could have visited those places. Some of them contained different regulars whom belong to different ethnic or religious groups.⁸⁰



Riverside café in Damascus, nineteenth century (originally published in 1836, John Carne Syria, the Holy Land, Asia Minor, &c. Illustrated. In a Series of Views Drawn from Nature by W.H. Bartlett, William Purser, &c. Fisher, Son & Co., London)⁸¹

Tulumbacı are one of the well know guilds in Ottoman Empire era. They were fire fighters and when we look at the Tulumbacı coffee shops, we can see that they were in a way were continuation of Janissary coffee shops. When Janissary guild and therefore coffee shops closed, oral literature culture which created by Janissary, taking over by Tulumbacı coffee shops and this culture continued until the second constitutionalism. Tulumbacı coffee houses were different then Janissary ones especially about visitor types, since the clientele was not like soldier–artisans types but more like rough (Külhanbeyi) and bullies. Apparently in this coffee shops people

⁸⁰ Çaksu, p. 88.

⁸¹ Ukers, *All about Coffee*.

were playing cura (sparrowhawk), saz, bağlama, bozuk, çığırtma, darbuka and zilli masa kind of instruments, sometimes play games. If there was someone with a nice voice, they started to read koşma, mani, semai, divan and destan. All the readings, generally, were about the Tulumbacı and their bravery. In Ramadan, Tulumbacı coffee houses always had instrument inside. After Teravih, people were start to music and reading and most of the time they were stay under surveillance because these reading generally turn to a massive competition.⁸²

Âşık coffee houses named as âşık because of it is a common ground for âşık poets. These poets were using their “saz” to read poetry all around the Empire. They first appear in 17th century and mainly focus on both oral and written literature. It is influenced by mysticism (Tasavvuf) through tekkes and also by folk literature. They may be understood as poets with music like the bards of the medieval Europe. What is important about âşık was that they were a spokesman for many different spheres around the Empire. After Janissaries coffee houses start to open in 18th century, âşıks and âşık coffee houses take disorder and unhappiness even disturbance talks, carried with them. Furthermore, they were usually visited the Janissary coffee houses and read epics, stumbling and “koşma.” In 1826, with the removal of Janissary coffee houses, âşık literature and âşık coffee houses also changed forever.

Semai Coffee Houses were the successors of âşık coffee houses. After the Tanzimat reforms, they showed up especially during the Abdülaziz and 2nd Abdülhamid era. They replace with âşık coffee houses and continue their heritage in a different form which is also called as “çalgılı kahve.” In the past, âşık coffee houses mainly used “saz” as an instrument but in semai coffee houses artisans were also used harmonica, clarinet, darbuka, çifte nara and also zilli masa and the music

⁸² Sökmen, p. 53

style became more European style. Poets whom read and sing their poems in semai coffee houses called as “square poets.” They were generally running by the Tulumbacıs. Main differences of this type coffee houses were way of different sitting posture. Unlike other coffee houses order, in Semai Coffee houses had a theatrical way of section. People who used to read their manis stood on the raised place in the middle of the coffee house. They were also counted as important places for musical activities.⁸³

Meddah shows have a central place in Ottoman entertainment culture. Before coffee house concept, they were take place in open areas such as squares. However, in time, this traditional show, find a place for itself in a coffee house. Then after they called Meddah coffee houses. They first appear in Tahtakale district and moved to Şehzadebaşı afterwards. Since Meddah is one kind of public narration, it is a very old visual art performance. They were did the same job at a time what was European newspapers did for their citizens and carried all the important events in their shows and directly transport to public.⁸⁴ Their plays and stories carried from the bottom of the public sphere to the palace and contains all kinds of responds. When they start to play in coffee houses, main idea have not been changed, and they continue to play their shows and laugh or think people on specific subjects. Meddah coffee houses generally become crowded at Ramadan and other special holidays (Bayram.) No not that, they did not have a specific coffee houses like Janissary or others but some

⁸³ B. Evren, *Kent Yaşamı ve Kahvehaneler*.

⁸⁴ U. Kömeçoğlu, *Homo Ludens ve Homo Sapiens Arasında Kamusal ve Toplumsal: Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri* inside Ed. A. Yaşar, *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri, Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar*, (Kitap Yayınevi, Ekim 2009, İstanbul), pp. 82-86.

coffee shops, like semai or çalgılı (Taverna) coffee houses did transformed to Meddah coffee houses on some specific time periods of year.⁸⁵

Apart from all of those coffee houses, there were also Esrarkeş (Opium) coffee houses. It is a well-known fact that most of the time, people used opium. Even though they used to smoke pipes, chibouks and narghile with “normal” tobacco, there was a general usage of opium which found itself a specific shop later on. These places generally rooted around Tahtakale, Silivrikapı, Mevlevihanekapı and İshakpaşa districts. All of them were disgusting and repulsing places and people who were residents in those places were always drunk and under the effect of opium.



Arabian coffee house, early twentieth century⁸⁶ “The coffee-houses are filled with people during the whole day; and in front a shed is generally erected, under which persons also sit. The rooms, benches, and small low chairs, are very filthy, and forma contrast to the neatness and elegance observable in the coffee-houses of Damascus.” (Burckhardt⁸⁷; describing a coffeehouse in Jiddah)

⁸⁵ Yıldız, *Kahvehane Kültürü*, p. 44.

⁸⁶ Ukers, *All about Coffee*.

⁸⁷ J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia, comprehending an account of those territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans regard as sacred*, Ed. William Ouseley, (Henry Colburn, New Burlington Street. London, 1829).

Moreover, there also portable coffee houses that emerged at the end of 19th century. They were generally turning around the districts and cities and carried the coffee with themselves. If there were no coffee houses at some specific district, these portable coffee houses immediately reached that place and they generally used to prefer places with stairs. Sometimes they even carried their own chairs for service. Sitting was an important act because many coffee addicts smoked chibouks. Without sitting, it is impossible to smoke it so that it was an important act for coffee seller to find an appropriate place. Moreover, “Koltuk” coffee shops also had a crucial place for surviving coffee, smoke and opium shops. Because they appeared when coffee and coffee houses were banned and opened in secret places. It is also important to put that in some places, inn (meyhane) and coffee houses were the same places. For example, “Sakallı Kosti’nin Kahvesi / Meyhanesi worked as coffee shop in day time and as an inn at night time.”⁸⁸

Coffee and Tobacco in Cairo

In 16th century Egypt coffee was a wide spread beverage. Botanic Prosper Alpini visited Cairo in 1581 – 1584 is one of the first Europeans mentioning this product. He mentions that; “Egyptians just like Arabs are highly consuming a boiling substance instead of wine. This substance is sold inn like places under the name of kahve (Caova).” In the following period, the number of coffee houses took attention of not only Europeans but also eastern travelers. Coffee was consumed both by men and women. All social classes in Cairo consumed coffee. Pooors were generally drank water only but they occasionally had the chance to enjoy some coffee. On the other hand, wealthy people were almost having coffee most of the time. Coffee shops were

⁸⁸ Yıldız, *Kahvehane Kültürü*, p. 46.

important places to gather people from different classes, Turks, Arabs, Christians and Jews were main groups to share the same space. Habit of consuming coffee cross city boundaries and reached peasant populations (Bedevi) living in a desert.⁸⁹

Gonzales was underlining the efficiency and importance of coffee for their travel. “Because of high temperatures we were obliged to travel in night time. The one who drunk two or three cups in the evening just before the trip was able to stay awake all night. If not people were falling asleep during the travel and falling from their horses or mules in addition hurt themselves”⁹⁰

Once the product is collected the beans are roasted and then grinded to obtain the final phase of the product before being able to consume it. Milling process of the coffee beans was managed by an instrument composed of two parts made of stone or metal. Starting from 16th century Ottomans had been using roasters (kahve tavası) to roast the coffee. This model is definitely the same one used by the Arabs.⁹¹ Since Ottomans had enjoyed coffee, it is expected that forms of coffee roasters might have changed in order to answer to high demands. In order to have a place in the urban houses or in the kitchens of the Palace tripods, moveable handles, a full scale oven to roast great amount of coffees were used. Yet to prepare the coffee roasted activities should be followed by the cooling and milling process. Objects forming the service of beverage were composed of *cezve*, *ibrik*, porcelain cups and finally a cover of 80 to 100 meters long generally on silk or satin.

In mid-17th century Cairo had coffeehouses in almost every quarter. According to Gonzales a religious Dutch, annual consumption of coffee were exceeding 30

⁸⁹ Ed. Helene Desmet–Grégoire and François Georgeon, *Doğu'da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, (Yapı Kredi Yayınları. İstanbul, Ekim 1999), p. 101.

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 22.

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 5.

thousand and sometimes even 35 thousands of cases.⁹² Evliya Çelebi, tried to conduct a research and noticed 643 coffeehouses in the area. Chabrol assumes that Cairo had 1200 coffeehouses. However, those statistics coming from the traveler's memoirs may not represent the exact numbers of the time. Yet, they are still very important in order to analyze the place of coffee within society. From all the assumptions, it is obvious that the consumption of the product continued increasingly. The nature of those coffeehouses was composed of Turks, Arabs, Christians and Jews. Merchants and artisans were representing the main numerous group where janissaries were generally looking for trouble and expressing their anger to their superiors.⁹³

Gonzales was underlining the efficiency and importance of coffee for their travel. "Because of high temperatures we were obliged to travel in night time. The one who drank two or three cups in the evening just before the trip was able to stay awake all night, thus did not fall asleep during the travel, fall from their horses or mules and hurt themselves."⁹⁴

Coffee had been used in the medicine to straighten the stomach, help the digestion process and prevent vascular occlusion. Even though coffee could be consumed in any time of the day, travelers were quite surprised by the fact that some moments had their own privileges just like the case of Egyptians, who had their cup of coffee at sunrise in company with some cheese, bread or a small biscuit.⁹⁵ Drinking coffee after each meal was very common. Travelers were not really focusing on or were not willing to give information about night time activities of the

⁹² Ibid. p. 23.

⁹³ Ibid. p. 21.

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 22.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 22.

local people. Only Niebuhr was emphasizing Arabs who were spending their time on coffeehouses drinking coffee, smoking their pipes and listening to the musicians on nights.⁹⁶

Slowly, the habit of smoking while drinking coffee started to spread quickly all over Egypt. Its spread was common and opium and hashish were already had an important place in coffeehouses and were consumed starting from 16th century. Starting from that moment coffee and tobacco was two ingredients that were enjoyed together by the great majority of the society. They had such an importance that even the Consul of France ordered for coffee and tobacco to be served for welcoming the dignitaries of Cairo in the occasion for celebrating the victory of the Sultan against Poland.⁹⁷ In the 18th century smoking tobacco and drinking coffee was described as the best pass time activity.

Coffee Trade in Cairo

Since geographical discoveries direct to new trade routes a new product imported in 1450 from Ethiopia to Yemen then to Egypt to 16th century revived trade activities. This new product was known as coffee and traded in great quantities. Trade of coffee rose to such a level that it became Cairo's most important element of economy.

Once trade of coffee was started in Yemen the product has entered the territory of Ottoman Empire. Following coffee trade, it can be assumed that not only coffee but its culture was slowly introduced to society. As a matter of fact underlining different coffee shops established city, Istanbul were the strongest examples to

⁹⁶ Ibid. pp. 23-24.

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 29.

support the assumption. Afterwards, in time, coffee shops and coffee culture start to spread of in different areas of Ottoman Empire. Yet, in Europe establishment of coffee shops as a symbol of coffee culture was only realized in 17th century. When we mentioned about coffee trade in 17th century, two important cities need to be mentioned as Yemen and Cairo. Half of the coffee which came through Yemen (200.000 quintal) to Cairo was passing through Egypt and a great amount consumed within Egypt as well and the other half was divided among Istanbul, other cities of the Empire and Europe.⁹⁸

In the 18th century Hejaz was importing more than 250 million para which represented one third of Egypt's importation rate. Even though half of Egypt's imports consumed among other Ottoman Cites, Yemen coffee was representing a quarter of Egypt's trade. Based on coffee addiction, trade of the item brought great benefits to Egypt. Taking into consideration Egypt's export both in Ottoman Empire and Europe, it is clear that coffee was the most profitable product to trade.

Coffee traders and coffee merchants were gathered under the leadership of Şehbender as a distinct working group. The most appropriate way to show at what level coffee trade is profitable might be done by focusing on some merchants assets. Between the years 1679 and 1700, properties of 80 different coffee merchants were analyzed and their wealth represented 41.7 million *para* out of 64.7 million *para*. In the late 18th century, that wealth was divided among fewer people, like 28 merchant who were holding % 46.2 of all profit.⁹⁹

Şeraybi family was one of the well know Cairo's coffee merchants. What is important about this family is the fact that their investment to trade is the indicator of

⁹⁸ Andre Raymond, *Yeniçerilerin Kahiresi Abdurrahman Kethüda Zamanında bir Osmanlı Kentinin Yükselişi*, (Yapı Kredi Yayınları. İstanbul, 1999), p. 77.

⁹⁹ Ibid p. 79.

the family's wealth gained again from coffee. Not only the family formed a system of agency to sell their products but they also created storehouses located on the coasts of the Red Sea. Furthermore Muahammed ed- Dâde built a "vekale" which was containing 14 shops on the ground floor. Even though this monument do not represent the most glorious "vekale" ever built in the city, it represent a convenient example in order to underline the wealth gained by the trade of coffee and at what level this family made their trade activities so customized.¹⁰⁰

Starting from the 17th century, coffee merchants were becoming a part of guilds, especially Janissary and Azab Ocağı. From 1681 to 1690, properties of 41 merchants were studied and it was revealed that 24 of them were Janissary and nine members belonged to Azab Ocağı. In 1731 and 1740, this time 29 merchants were analyzed. At that point percentages changed to 19 Janissaries to five Azab Ocağı. This increased Janissary member might be related to the fact that admition to the guild was nearly gain by inheritance. Also Şeraybi family acknowledged the importance of being recognized as Janissary in order to conduct trade activities. That is why after the death of Kasım Şeraybi in 1734; his brother Abdurahman who is the manager became a "çorbacı" in Janissary guild.

The reason behind Şeraybi's action for becoming part of Janissary was only related with desire to protect their products seized by government. What was expected from the guild of Janissary was to be an association which used to protect its members along with giving punishments if needed. Secondary reason for merchants to take part in Janissary guild was to profit from the title of Janissary. Contrary to what is believed, becoming part of Janissary guild was not bringing military responsibilities. In addition, even if Janissaries were not paid or practiced

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. pp. 79-81.

any action to serve the institution they were still considered as one of them and enjoyed their privileges. Further example, contribute to the subject might be Halil, a coffee trader who is also known being “Çorbacı” in Azab Ocağı. Being both a military, meaning taking part in Azab Ocağı and a merchant brought great privileges to Halil who successfully become mültezim of three villages located in Dekahliye area in 1673.¹⁰¹

Coffee Shops and Tobacco in a Middle Eastern Region: Iran

The importance of coffee started to be mentioned in the field of medicine in Iran like it was the case in Egypt. First mention of coffee was made by Emad al-Din Mahnud Sirazi in “Alfaz- e Adviyah” (Discourses on remedies) where he was giving detailed description of the fruit as well as different type of mixes for its consumption.¹⁰² Sirazi, as a medicine had further sources “Resaleh dar pad - zahr” (treatment and antidotes) and “Afyuniyyah” (characteristics of opium).¹⁰³

Like similar products, tobacco brought many changes in lifestyle of early modern age with it; common places which emerged through its usage by public strengthened the imperialist fields of meeting and discussion and thus underlined economic, social and political activities. It called the attention of doctors and clerics from different perspectives; doctors thought it could be used for treatment of various illnesses whereas clerics found it shameful to be used because of its stimulant effects.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 85.

¹⁰² H elene Desmet Gr egoire, *Contributions au theme du et des caf es Dans les Soci etes du Proche- Orient*, (Collection: Les Cahiers de L'Iremam 1992), p. 44.

¹⁰³ Gr egoire, p. 49.

¹⁰⁴ Matthee, p 118.

It was a common belief in the 18th century that Iranian people had been familiar with tobacco before the Americas were discovered. That belief sounds logical when the location of Iran, which is very different than the New World, is taken into consideration. However, with the 19th century it was understood that like the other cultures, Iran was also introduced to tobacco after the discovery of the Americas. There is also a theory that Iranian people encountered with tobacco upon the Safavid-Ottoman war in 1609.

It is for sure that Iranian soldiers who came from the north to make war in Azerbaijan and Anatolia had already been used to tobacco and that fact was long known. Syria may have encountered with tobacco even in 1570 although 1591 should also be kept in mind.¹⁰⁵

When the economy of Near East in the 16th century is examined, it could clearly be seen that both the production and consumption coffee influenced trade in a positive way. Coffee which was produced in the Yemeni mountains used to be transferred to Cairo storehouses in ships. Cairo traders made profit through the trade of spice and coffee. In 17th and 18th century, Europeans found alternative routes and that affected the profit, however, Cairo's commercial success about coffee continued.¹⁰⁶ What is more, Ibn Abdülgaffar states that coffee was more common in Mecca when Medina was taken into consideration. He goes on to say that in Mecca¹⁰⁷, coffee was widely consumed at home.

In mid-17th century, smoking was a common activity in Iran. German traveler Heinrich von Poser who visited Iran in 1621 was underlining “Excessive drinking of

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 119.

¹⁰⁶ Hattox, p. 64.

¹⁰⁷ From his ideas, we can deduce that “the first one” refers to Medina. Further on it is logical to assume that coffee consumption in Medina was still at a privatized level compared to other Ottoman cities.

tobacco”.¹⁰⁸ Based on narratives of Olearius who came to Iran sixteen years later was not only mentioning about severe tobacco consumption in different part of the city, including mosques. In addition, he was insisting on the fact that tobacco was imported from Baghdad and Iranians were not knowledgeable enough for preparing tobacco and also its cultivation was not wide spread at that time. Apparently Iranians were not enjoying consuming strong flowered tobacco which is expensive. Presumably this kind of tobacco is coming from New World, Virginia. In early 17th century, great amount of cheap and less qualified tobacco was carried from the subcontinent in 1630 and loaded by forty camels as witnessed by Herbert.¹⁰⁹ In the mid-17th century, Iranians already started to grow the crop rather than imported from India and Mesopotamia. Local tobacco was exported to subcontinent, Ottoman Empire and Russia. In the exportation list not only tobacco but Iranian water pipes also took their place toward India. In 1700, forty thousand water pipes were sent to Surat. As it can be seen tobacco trade became an important component for Iranian trade. South central and Eastern part of the country was reserved to cultivate a fine tobacco known as Tanbaku which generally used in Water Pipes whereas in the western part Tutun was cultivated which used for regular pipes. Late Safavid times Iran was famous for its tobacco consumption, majorly the city of Qum. Moreover, Kazirun became heart of Tambaku cultivation with having ten different varieties.

The consumption of tobacco was also very important among soldiers. It is quite interesting to know that Iranian soldiers were bringing their personal Water Pipes to the army even to the campaign. According to Tavernier, Iranians were so addicted to tobacco that when a worker was paid, first act would be to buy tobacco where rest of the money would go to bread and foods.

¹⁰⁸ Matthee, p. 127.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 127.

There is a strong connection between tobacco and coffee in Iran. “Smokers metabolized caffeine much faster than nonsmokers and thus require a greater coffee in take to feel the same effect from it.”¹¹⁰ Based on that belief, coffee and tobacco became complementary products of life. In contradiction to tobacco’s calming effect, coffee used to awaken the body. Apart from coffee, wine and tobacco like pleasure giving substances there were also different kind of drugs. Of course, first drug coming to mind was Opium and it was consumed way before introduction of tobacco.

Meanwhile, upon the usage of opium and hem, although the first entrance to the Arabian Peninsula is not for sure, it is frequently mentioned that they were first used in the Orient and then Muslims encountered with those products. Markrizi, an Egyptian writer states that Arabs started to use opium in 1171. Bizarten thinks that opium was first discovered in Persia in the time of Chosroes' reign and then spread out the Peninsula and Yemen.¹¹¹

In the time when Yemeni sufis used to drink coffee regularly, there said to be no places to come together around coffee in a public environment. Drinking coffee was rather a serious religious action done with other purposes than meeting with and talking to friends. That is, sufis used to drink coffee during the process of praying and perhaps that's why the drinking process itself was also different than that of today, it needed to be drunk slowly. So even if coffee had not been a divine liquid, it is certain that it was something religious, almost the main tool of their rituals. It

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p 130.

¹¹¹ Bakla, *The pipe-making industry of Tophane*, p. 16.

created the necessary surroundings for the rituals, and through the consumption of it, the event became more meaningful.¹¹²

As for the Ottomans, they had already started to grow their own tobacco by 1700 especially in Macedonia, Anatolia and northern Syria, and they also used to import that product from Iran which was also producing it on a high level. Because of that abundance in tobacco, its price was steadily decreasing through the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East in the late 17th century, and particularly the markets which were in crowded areas were directly influenced by that positive environment brought along with tobacco. As for Cairo, the first guild of tobacconists emerged in 1650s and two more guilds were founded during the French expedition between 1798 and 1801; and a total of five guilds were in the business of the production of various pipes.¹¹³ After those improvements, tobacco became more widespread even than coffee. As a result, such an environment full of convenience in terms of tobacco and pipes created a special territory for those products through Middle East.

Coffeehouses were the meeting point of poets, writers and protestors. The same mentality which started in 17th century Iran spread to the rest of the world with the spread of coffee and increased the importance of cafés in Europe in 18th and 19th century for becoming a place for self-expression.¹¹⁴ Iran also used to have different types of coffee houses reflecting its own culture like those in Istanbul used to do. The most widespread type of coffee houses in Iran was Road (Yol) coffee house as those were located on roads where travelers may have wanted to have a rest. So it is not surprising to learn that those coffee houses also included places for passengers to

¹¹² Hattox, p. 65.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 65.

¹¹⁴ Grégoire, p. 44.

sleep unlike traditional coffee houses. In addition, Meeting (buluşma) coffee houses were also widespread.¹¹⁵ Another characteristic of the coffeehouses in Iran was the fact that they were places for merchants to come together and talk about their business and each corporation had its own shop. Coffee Qanbar was the meeting point for the bakers. Moreover according to Wilson who visited the area in 1895, tea and the narghile were not expensive and merchants were meeting each other in those cafes (p. 56). In the descriptions of Safavids dating back to 17th century presence of songs, music and dance was taking the attention. These musician and dancers were professional ones composed of young boys who were famous for their beauty and their ability to perform.¹¹⁶

Coffee and Tobacco Consumption in Palace and in Private Homes

In the palace, great importance was given to the ceremony of coffee. It represented such a delicate matter that from the preparation to the service of the product was controlled by Kahvecibaşı or Kahveci Ustası. Serving process was generally realized by a small group of servants composed to three to five person. One of them was responsible for carrying the server containing the coffee while another one was carrying another server this time containing coffee cups, and serving them under the responsibility of the third servant.¹¹⁷ However, outside the Palace, ceremony of coffee was much simpler. Ottoman houses had a versatile sense of design. Just like in the case of the Palace a special room was not designated and arranged in a fix manner to drink coffee. Meaning that, an ensemble of server,

¹¹⁵ Yıldız, p. 46.

¹¹⁶ Grégoire, p. 57

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p. 5

objects of the beverage and the coffee itself was transported to any room in which guests or household wishes to enjoy their coffee from the kitchen. In addition to its service rules, consumption of coffee is very esthetic. Furniture of the room, motifs of carpets were in harmony with the clothes of the person serving the product. Even though the ceremony of coffee does not have a special location within the house, with a small help from different scents and perfumes may transform the room to a special space for coffee. In the palace or in the houses of wealth families, the ceremony of coffee was made servants wearing special clothes generally in violet, lilac or brown. These clothes were shining out for their rich decorations. Gestures needed to be sure but graceful at the same time. They were expected to be in conservative attitude with a smile for welcoming the guests.¹¹⁸ These ceremonies continued until the collapse of the Empire and were seen as an indicator of prestige. Beside private consumption having access to coffee was quite common. Coffee sellers and coffee houses were preferred by people wishing to consume coffee.¹¹⁹ Consuming coffee, alcohol and tobacco was bringing some ground rules to the household. If the guests and the host are consuming alcohol, *meze*, fruits and drinks were brought and placed in an appropriate place in the room. If alcohol is only consumed among the guests in that case alcohol is served in a room next to the main one where they are going to spent time. According to the rules of hostility guests were served chibouk no less than nine spams with diamonds, gold, enamels or amber chibouk were refreshed with the orders of the host.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p. 7

¹¹⁹ Ibid. p. 5

¹²⁰ Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tabirleri Âdet ve Merasim-i Kadime, Tabirât ve Muamelât-ı Kavmiye-i Osmaniye*, (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), pp. 283-284.

Furthermore, since tobacco became one of the indispensable products of daily life, it also became part of famous “seyir” trips. On summer times Ottomans especially Ottoman women were willing to go to promenades. During date time women were spending their time with eating, games, singers and musicians. On the evening, their boats were taking them to a promenade on the sea. Once they return to their mansion coffee and chibouk were already prepared by their maids. Coffee was reached in the streets. In contradiction to coffeeshouses, street hawkers who were porting a stick around their neck containing both a little barbecue and coffee cups as well as couple of tabourets. This service was providing men who wishing to have a quick cup of coffee, rest for a while and go.¹²¹ To unite lovers, one or two friends used to gather especially after dinner for a tour in a boat. For those kinds of trips; water, çubuk, tobacco and a lighter were necessary. All these equipment were placed behind the person known as *başaltı* responsible for paddle. Breakfast was made while listening to music, once its finished coffees and çubuks were served. In order not to wait for people who did not drink any longer, food was served. Then coffee and çubuks are served. For the trip big carpets and if necessary a small oven was taken to war up tambourines. In addition to çubuks and tobacco musicians and singer were ready to join the group and have them a great journey.¹²²

Coffeeshouses were belong Ottoman man for sure but tobacco consumption was also wide spread around woman subjects. Especially hamams created necessary environment for woman consume tobacco apart from their private space, like home. For example, in many hamams provide chibouk both for men and woman. Sernöbet was waiting along the person and was responsible for his service. Standing by the

¹²¹ Ibid. p. 293.

¹²² Ibid. pp. 287-288.

guests side, ask him whether he has already ordered coffee, chibouk and narghile and got outside to inform his ağa. Chibouk was filled with tobacco brought from home and then served by sernöbet. Coffee on the other hand was brought by destgâhtar.¹²³

On the other hand, according to Dr. Madden, Ottoman women were sending notes before their visit to their neighbors so that males of the house would not be present in the harem. During their visits they were enjoying to smoke from their chibouk, eating fruits and sweets. In addition to Julia Pordoe's description of Ottoman women Clara Erskine Clement was mentioning that in the last part of the 19th century Ottoman women were still continuing to smoke tobacco but a slight switch to cigarettes were also made. Lucy Garnett was affirming this assumption but underlining that in early parts of the 20th century chibouk were out of fashion and women were preferring cigarettes. A single change of choice had caused several changes in ceremonies. Due to the fact that chibouks were not consumed, maids were only serving cigarettes in a server, placing them on amber muzzle and finally light them with a brass bowl containing coal.¹²⁴

Tobacco spread out immediately in Ottoman Empire. It is a common knowledge because since it reached Europe, wherever it went, people liked it and immediately became addicted and it was the same for the Ottomans. Like it used by common man inside the Empire, Palace and even Harem people started to use it in their everyday life. Situation was a bit different in the palace then street "kahvehanes." There were a ritual, and it takes an important place in Palace with coffee using. What we know, starting coffee using in the Palace, a new work force has been created; "Kahvecibaşı." He had his own crew and their main responsibility was making and serving coffee. Tobaccos arriving was kind of similar to this

¹²³ Ibid. p. 300.

¹²⁴ Fanny Davis, *Osmanlı Hanımı*, (Yapı Kredi Yayınları İstanbul, 2006), p. 186.

situation but rather than only one person as kahvecibaşı, this time palace take it seriously and create a whole organization. At the head of it there was “Tütüncübaşı” whom responsible about tobacco, pipes, mixture of tobacco, how to make it properly and of course preservation of pipes and “lûles.” After him we see “Çubukçubaşı,” whose responsible from the ceremony itself, if the “ateşçi” (A man who carries the fire for chibouks.) doing his job done or not. Last person but at the same the most important one was Ateşçi, his job was very important because he had to put “köz” (Cinder, coal) an ordinary amount; not too much, not too less. Otherwise tobaccos could have been burned and if it’s one time burned, there is no going back. This is still an important point in nowadays. Ateşçis still exist in one way or other.

Chibouk and opium consumption penetrated the Palace in every aspect. Especially tobacco and coffee were being used in receptions with a ceremonial way and at the same time using regularly in daily life. About daily life experiences, we may learn many details from Ali Ufkî Bey’s memories. He completed his book in 20 May 1665 and gave significant life experience from Topkapı Palace. Lived as a İçoğlanı, Ali Ufkî Bey he nearly explains all the rooms by definition and also some rituals. While he mentions about traditional Bayram visits, he focus on high rank governmental attendant’s life. As for his own room painting and numbering, 16 was belong the highest rank men where “*hadım ağa*”s and “*arz ağa*”s were staying and entertaining. In total, they were nine high ranking officers. Named as silahtar ağa, rikâptar ağa, tûlbent oğlanı etc. men were stay in has oda and hazine kâhyası, doğancıbaşı, has oda başı and kağı ağası stayed in their private rooms. They named as arz ağası because their duty was to give Sultan proclamations and petitions. Every Wednesday night, one of arz ağası used to prepare lunch for the other. In those feasts including lunch, there was always live music. Moreover, in every event, coffee

drinking and chibouk smoking take place. Tobacco smoking were highly addiction act and very common in palace like coffee and opium. So that *odabaşı* always checked *içoğlan*'s drawer if they hide and spices, coffee, tobacco or love letter.¹²⁵

Ali Ufkî Bey also mentions about *içoğlan*'s games and entertainments.

According to him, they were only part of entertainments three day long bayrams, when sultan returned from a successful raid or when the army took control of a castle. In these special days, *içoğlan*s play tura, atlanbaç, backgammon or even playing king and chess. However, in those games there was no bet applied since it was forbidden. Nevertheless, during the games they were drinking coffee and sweetened with honey syrups. Some of them were using Benlik and Hiosciamo which made them high. In every entertainment events, *içoğlan*s were permitted to have access to coffee and all kind of syrup. On the contrary, wine, any alcoholic beverages and smoking tobacco was forbidden. Tobacco was not prohibited by Islamic law but by the *fermans* of the sultan. Severe consequences of smoking tobacco might end with the death of the tobacco consumer. Yet many *içoğlan*s secretly chewed opium so that their minds get blurred and start to have hallucinations.¹²⁶

In the Palace, these work force for tobacco and pipe or *lüle*, had a proceedings and it was an important part for consumption tobacco. It was leaded by *Çubukçubaşı*, and he had ten members in his crew list of *çubukçu*'s. First *çubukçu*'s been on stage and gives pipes to people who want to smoke pipe. They make their moves in front of the smoker and move *çubuks* that it will come to smoker's left hand and wait until he will take it. After that fire had served with great care. When everything had been settled, *çubukçubaşı* and his crew left the room but they always

¹²⁵ Ufkî Bey, A. Bobovius, *Saray-ı Enderun Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam*, (Kitap Yayın Evi. İstanbul, Haziran 2013), pp. 43-45.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 108.

watch his ceremonies. Sometimes different visitors and different people preferred narghile. However, procedure was the same for narghile also. Preferring narghile and to know that is important because I will explain some specific details about narghile in this paper. Pipe consuming and using Çubukçubaşı and his fellow crew was not only belonging to the Palace itself. We know that viziers and many different high statue state workers also had the same ceremonies in some specific residences. It is widely known, in Ottoman Empire, people use tobacco with pipe and narghile but may be the most important part was to see Ottomans offer tobacco for many their visitors. It is interesting to see that they adopt tobacco in a very short time period and make it like it was always one of their cultural roots.

Life in Frontier Castles

During Ottoman expansion, conquering specific locations and especially taking control of the castle was one of the primary concerns. We know that many castles are built in key locations to protect their territory, thus capturing them was an important factor. Some of them were frontier castles which stayed on hills or had advance defense position. On the other hand, since cities were establishing around the castles, some of them were in the middle of the cities. Moreover, some great castles became cities by themselves. By any means, castle life in medieval period is no doubt important to understand daily life.

Depending on castle positions, daily life took place at the bottom of or around castles. Markets, farms, houses and even some times great bazaar locations were established. Castles used to create a shelter and since they had troops, it was always a protection for citizens. In this case, castle also provided a protection for merchants

and any traders. Many “hans” were established sometimes inside and sometimes around the castles. In the Ottoman case, especially frontier castles were contained variety of communities and this cause and great deal of commercial product. Connection Ottoman territories to beyond, trade roots were always crowded and different products were passed through.

On the other hand, port castles were dramatically busy and castle like Akkerman fortress one of the crucial trade rout. When Ottomans took control of the Akkerman fortress, they also took control of one of the trade routes where many merchants pass or sell their goods. Of course that castle also protected the Ottoman borders around Black Sea side which makes it more easy and secure trade route for merchants. Moreover, castle also was important rout for military both for land and sea.

There are many Ottoman documents found about Akkerman castle but they were specifically about castle construction, its plan and repairs. However, during the archeological excavations more historical backgrounds of castle came to light. During those excavations, different daily usage item have been found and listed. They were rather about life and around the castle which historical writing did not mentioned.

By the end of the 2007 excavation season more than 17,000 artifacts had been unearthed in the port yard, consisting of different groups of ceramics (pottery and pipes), metal, glass and others. These artifacts already include both imported and locally made goods. When we look at the ceramic part, it is clearly seen on the report of excavation that 85 percent of them porcelain or some prestige products. Kütahya quartz-fit pottery was 8 percent and Iznik (Nicaea) quartz percent was 3.4. However, in general finding report, smoking pipes were count as 8 percent. Pipe finds were

good examples of Ottoman clay pipes and on the cultural level, there is no doubt that Ottoman presence affected the Akkerman castle life. Based on this castle commercial trade routes and special location, cultural exchange performed with every detail through these findings.

One of the other important frontier castles was Pecigrad castle. Information about this castle was brought to the surface with the Krajina Project. Many items concerning material culture and ethnographic studies were found. Location of the castle was having its own importance for being located in the North West corner of Bosnia-Herzegovina for being the last district conquered by the Ottoman Empire in the late 16th century.

Pecigrad castle occupied a central, strategic location within the Bihacka Krajina at the head of the Kladusa valley, with commanding outlooks to the north and east especially. To the south the modern route towards Cazin and Bihać climbs to the summit of the watershed at the Skokovi Pass. The castle is first documented in the fourteenth century, when it formed part of the demesne of the lordship of Kladusa, hence its name in 1334, Kladuska Pec.¹²⁷

One of the castles conquered by the Ottoman Empire, some additional buildings included late 17th century. A mosque situated on a hill represents Ottomanization of the castle as well as the district in order to provide proper religious intuitions for the troops and represent the major place in religion everyday life. In addition to the mosque four houses take place in the northwest of the mosque. Based on the survey we can deduce that the castle was never assaulted. Generally castles have gun loops or outer bastions.

¹²⁷ Ed. A. Peacock, *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2009), pp. 407-408.

Pecigrad was such a defensive castle both because it was one of the frontier castles and a place of highly military interaction, so we may presume that it was a busy place. During the excavations, large amount of pottery and clay pipe bowls have been found which may reflect high population of the castle or the desire of the soldiers possess several amount of pipes due to their fragile nature of the clay and always have one instrument to smoke tobacco. Of course, these findings did say many things about wide spread tobacco consumption and more importantly as long as there will be no pipe with stamp on it would bring the question of whether these were produce at the area or brought from other production areas of the Empire.

One of the other important castles was established on the Arabian Peninsula, on an island named Suakin. It was conquered by Sultan Selim I in 1517 and stay under Ottoman rule until 19th century. What makes Suakin important is its location where placed on the west coast of the Red Sea. Since Red Sea side was an important trade center, as a port, Suakin also one the key territory. Studies concerning that specific place are rather new. The first discovery was made in 1950 with emphasizing and measurement of standing elements, detailed surveys on the buildings were made. A more developed study, the 2002-7 project started with the aim of providing further information and contribute to the fists search.

Founding large amount of stones and a mosque was representing of the place. The most remarkable part of the castle was the qubba on Condenser Island, a cemetery placed on the southern part of the main channel, and finally, a second qubba on Graham Points.¹²⁸ The caste was located an important port of the Red Sea region where great amount of product taking part of the commercial life. Detailed trade contracts and items between 16th and 19th century were recorded in a detailed

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 476.

manner with take into consideration statistics of various travelers. After examining this data some products such as, gold, ivory and pearls are the major trade items.

While examining the castles, frontier castles and especially port castle, not only normal excavations take consideration. Apart from Graham Points and what have been found in that area is probably come by Indian Ocean trade rout. To make this assumption clearer, we may look for the ship wrecks around the seas. One of the important examples could be Sadana Island Shipwreck. Established in Egypt, Sadana Island had huge effect on Red Sea trade line between Middle East. Of course the discovery of New World affected the trade in the Middle East dramatically, but the trade inside Egypt and their trade with other Muslims never stopped.

According to Haldane, in Northern Red Sea side, there have been twelve ship wrecks dated between fourteen and nineteenth centuries. Six of these wrecks contains high amount of Chinese porcelain which belong to 18th century. Important thing is that sinking was common and provision records for Mecca shows that ten percent of loses was because of the wrecks. Moreover, ship wrecks, generally noted through 17th and 18th century. They were generally describe as a huge but weak ships.

With the report of a ship wreck in 1994, there have been more than 10,000 porcelain objects find. Ship was some 50 m long and contains Chinese export porcelain, coconuts, and earthenware qulal, incense, and coffee. After first repair, this ship wreck reflects amazing Chinese export porcelain as well as, tableware's, cooper kitchen utensils and cooking pots, glass liquor bottles, a wide variety of spices from Indian Ocean lands, foods from the Mediterranean, and more personal items such as

pipes, ornaments, and lamps provide physical evidence for life aboard an indigenous Red Sea trading vessel.¹²⁹

During the research on materials from ship wreck, according to items which have been found, crew member were not European but Muslim Crew instead. 50 different individual findings, like inlaid ivory pommel, a stone mortar, a pair of inlaid cooper bracelets and the smoking-related assemblage show that there were Muslim Crews were on the ship. Moreover, most precise date appeared on cooper findings which carried the date about when they have been made. An Arabic inscription of 1169 [AH]/1755/6 AD on a copper basin and 1178 [AH]/1764 AD on a copper pan places¹³⁰ the ship's final voyage in a time of increased foreign activity in the northern Red Sea during a period of economic transition within Egypt.

Until Sadana Island ship wrecks were discovered, there were many different wrecks like the three ships located again in Egyptian waters and other three ships at coast of Saudi Arabia where lots of coffee and pipe examples were found. Nevertheless, Sadana Island findings represent more pleasure items and consumables. As far as report says, there are 24 of these items directly related to smoking. The list of the items includes 21 pipe bowls, a metal tobacco box and two charcoal holders for water pipes. After a long investigations and detailed examination on pipes, many scholars made a consensus that these findings were belong to a madrasa in Cairo and they dated like 17th and 19th century according to their clay color, material and shape as well as typological examination.

However, pipes are tricky and even though at the beginning researchers believe that they were belong to some specific period, after the examination of internal

¹²⁹ Cheryl Ward, *The Sadana Island shipwreck: A mid-eighteenth century treasure trove* in Uzi Baram and L. Carroll, *A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground*, (Kluwer/Plenum, New York, 2000), pp. 185–202

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 142.

design of pipes, more accurate designs has appear. Afterwards, they indicate as cylindrical bowl and chimney or rim like pipe or even a narrower base and flaring rim like. Close examination of these pipes reflects that some of them really similar to each other, even two of them were exact copy one another. Their size, mold and design were similar too and in this, as Ward and Baram also suggest,¹³¹ this pipe manufactured in same workshops and probably by the same craftsman. Nevertheless, Ward also points that there were many diversity in these ship wreck findings.

This ship wreck report and findings gives significant information in the end. Based on findings, we may say that pipe making in Cairo was in high standards because finding an exact copy of same pipe, at one point, nearly impossible because during the production period, all the molds take slightly different color then other. Moreover, apparently pipe findings were located in the same spot and did not kept separately. This information also could lead us that how crew members hooked by pipe consumption and pleasure. Like most commonly known Janissary and also common citizens, they were also carried plenty tobacco and self-pipe for sea journey.

Even though absence of the written materials is hardening the process for reaching absolute data, it seems that archeological excavations are lightening major points starting from everyday life activities to commercial and sociocultural activities as well as areas. Generally speaking, founding of excavations is paying extreme emphasis on production and consumption items used by the subjects of the era. These items are frequent in number and are encountered in nearly all excavations conducted in the Ottoman Empire's territories. Based on the founding of the excavations on Akkerman, Pecigrad Castles and Suakin area, all items found in these locations are the reflection of the kind of material found in the border castles may

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 146.

lead us to have further information concerning the type of items used by the inhabitants of these castles and make guesses concerning their personal and commercial use. No wonder, some findings are reflecting true facts, especially lüles are a reflection of cultural exchange. Excavations are in some way or another are giving responses to bunch of questions. Beside, some travelers are underlining trade activities of the area by giving examples of raw material in their journals.

CHAPTER 2: THE CONSUMPTION OF NARGHILE AND CHIBOUK AS PLEASURE GIVING DEVICES AND THE USAGE OF LÜLES AS ARTEFACTS

IN FRONTIER CASTLES IN CONSIDERATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

Narghile

As far as we know, using coconuts was common in ancient times. Some books told this was common in 15th century Africa, same and most probably older centuries in America and also in 9th Century in Greek. So when we look at the India where Narghile was and still commonly using, the word “narçil” represent the kind of coconuts scab. This scab has been used with two stick to smoke “weed.” Keep this information in mind, later on Egyptians also started to use this method and put it into their own culture. What is important in this culture exchange was language. Because of in Egypt alphabet there were no “ç” voice, they convert it to “g” voice and in conclusion “narçil” for old Indians, became a “nargil.” So it is shows that where the “Nargile” word we use today came from very logically.¹³²

Now I would like to concentrate on Narghile itself in Ottoman Empire and also as a material. Different countries, called Narile with different names in history and many of those name tags are still very common. For example; Greeks called it as “Vasero” in Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and Somalia, they called it as “şişe.” French called as “pipe persane,” Germans called Wasser-pfeife. However in England, it called as “hookah” but it was common used in India and Pakistan as “hukka.” Basically they have transformed this word into hukka like many countries did in past. In history, we see Narghile for first time in Northwest of India which was very primitive. However, primitive it was, principle of Narghile is still the same.

¹³² Bakla, *Tophane Lüleciliği*, p. 16; see also; p 64.

Until the tobacco has found in New World, like lüle, it was used for drugs for 600 years both in Asia and Africa.

The Narghile seems to have been invented in India where it was originally manufactured from a coconut shell. Introduced into Egypt, where it was the custom to smoke hashish in gourds into which straw-like tubes were inserted, the narghile became immediately popular. It passed from there to Persia where the sinuous hose and cap (to hold the burning tobacco) were added and the coconut shell was replaced with a bottle-like vessel of ceramic or glass. Narghiles began to mass-production. Another Persian contribution was the pungent “tömbeki” tobacco used in the narghile. The finest varieties were grown in Esfahan, Sheraz, and Keshan.¹³³

It is well known that they have used in Persia in the early 17th century.¹³⁴ Examining the Narghile of course crates new questions about its origin. However, from the inception of smoking in Iran, the most popular smoking device in Iran has been the water pipe, *qalyan* in Persian, *huqqah* in India, and *nargilah* or *shishah* in Arab lands. All Western visitors to Safavid Iran mention the *qalyan* as a curiosity that did not exist anywhere in the West. Some claim that it was used in India as well. Many Iranians and at the same time scholars believe that Narghile was invented in Iran and after wards spread through Middle East. One of the earliest compendiums on tobacco, the *Tabacologia*, was written by Johann Neander and published in the Netherlands in 1622.¹³⁵

Water pipes also appear in several early 17th century Persian drawings and paintings by Riza Abbasi and his pupil, Muhammad Qasim Tabrizi, respectively.

¹³³ Bakla. *The pipe-making industry of Tophane*. p. 29.

¹³⁴ Ed. Ilbolya Gerelyes, Gyöngyi Kovcas, *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, 2003), p. 39.

¹³⁵ J. Neander, *Tabacologia*, pp. 247-249.

Contrary to what one might expect, however, the conut shells, presumably the first material from which water pipes were constructed, but of highly elaborate and intricate devise. The high quality craftsmanship suggests a relatively long process of technical advancement and aesthetic refinement and appears to corroborate, if not the early poetic reference, at least a relatively long period of gestation. Over time, the water pipe certainly acquired an Iranian connotation. In the 18th century Egypt, the most fashionable pipe was called *Karim Khan*, after the Iranian ruler of the day.

Nevertheless, when one Iranian physician Abu'l-Fath Gilani (1547-89) went to India in 1575 and attend to Sultan Akbar's court, he was most welcomed and attained high rank that the allegedly smoke his first water pipe. The story rather points to Indo-Islamic origins. (In India, water pipes became common in the northern "Muslim" regions, but not in the south.) The first reference to the water pipe in the Subcontinent dates from 1615, long before foreigners noted this type smoking in Iran. On etymological and physiological grounds, it also is more likely that the water pipe was first developed in India, or at least that it came to Iran from or via India.¹³⁶

It has been forbidden during Murat the fourth rein. Unlike much known reasons, he forbids it because of its pleasant conversation environment. He argues that common people talking about serious palace situation while they are drinking wine and smoking narghile. Of course, one another important reason was fire. Narghile cinders cause many different fires. The charcoal used in narghiles was specially prepared from the wood of the mulberry tree or from grapevines. One comes across examples of old narghiles to which as many as three hoses could be attached at one time.¹³⁷ Even though forbidden was long gone, Narghile Café culture

¹³⁶ Matthee, pp. 125-126.

¹³⁷ Bakla, The pipe-making industry of Tophane. p. 17.

lost its interest at the beginning of 20th century. Nevertheless, it is interesting that they are reopened and started widely use with the 21st century.

If we have to look more close to Narghile, we can see a certain differences between Ottoman production and Iranian production. At the beginning of 20th century Iran's Narghile bottles crafted by enamel-coated copper or porcelain whereas Ottoman Narghile were crafted by chipped crystal. Narghile is not similar to traditional smoke. It is not finished in three to five minutes but it took at least one and half hour. We can look at well-known Raki tables to understand this long ritual. While pronounce it, it must not be forgetting that what we smoke is "tömbeki," Narghile is a device which allow us to consume tömbeki where stay inside the lüle. Narghile, by itself a ceremonial and since Ottoman times, there are four ground rule applied to smoke it. They were and still are as follow; tongs, oak, corner and Ayşe. (Maşa, meşe, köşe ve Ayşe.)¹³⁸ First two is well understandable but corner and Ayşe is interesting. Corner means to get a good place to sit and smoke Narghile. Ayşe is the guy who prepares and serves the Narghile.

Anatomy of Narghile

Before doing any analysis on lüles, inspecting Narghiles is more logical. Narghiles could count as an ancestor of lüle because even though they were not made of clay or any other lüle material, their usage was same with lüle at the beginning Narghiles were made from materials found in nature, such as coconut shells. For instance; lüle and chibouk by itself count a devices but Narghile has different parts to

¹³⁸ Gürsoy, p. 56.

become one. In Ottoman period, after Narghile has arrived to the Empire, mass production started very fast. Even today, we are using of typical Ottoman Nargile sets. There are many examples in Topkapi Palace to compare. Although they are several types of narghiles, their construction and the way of smoking are the same. The basic component is a glass bottle or a porcelain bowl, half filled with water. It connects to a hollow part with a bowl, for lighting tobacco on top, through the middle of which two metal tubes are placed. One tube goes into the water while the other is also connected to the bottle but is above the water. On the other side there is a wooden tube to which a long flexible tube is attached, with a mouthpiece on its free end. The smoke travels through water and so cooled and filtered comes to a smoker's mouth. The size of narghile can vary from thirty centimeters to up to one meter.¹³⁹

We can examine Narghile into four parts and it is still has the same four parts like in Ottoman period. First one is "ser." It is the main rod which is made by copper and lie from head to inside of bottle. "Lüle" is the top of the Narghile. It is stand on ser and tobacco put inside of this part. Today in Ankara there is another use for lüle as "sümsü." If we look at nowadays Narghile, we can see aluminum foil which covers lüle and make impossible to see tobacco beneath it. Reason of this is actually because of the different tobacco using. Back then there were only tömbeki tobacco and it was not need covered by anything and of course aluminum was not invented. Besides, if someone wants to smoke tömbeki today, he can see it clearly, they are still serving. Then we see the "Marpuç." It is a hose where allow us to smoke Narghile and from the old time until today good ones made by goat or sheep skin. Head of the marpuç, which made generally by wood called as "imame," and the place which stays under the lüle is called as "table." There is also a mouthpiece and this one called

¹³⁹ Gerelyes and Kovcas, p. 39.

“kehribar.” Ottoman period it was not surprising to see people who had their own kehribar. They were stocking it under their sash both not to smoke someone else kehribar and also to show they are addicted. For last, there is a bottle. It includes a clean water to wash away harsh taste of Narghile tobacco. Back then in Ottoman period they called it “sürahi.” Regardless of traditional Narghile we know, normally smoked by one person only but not always. Not in modern Turkey but in Ottoman period and modern Iran it is very common to see more than one marpuç attached to Narghile. There also for two people and for four person design’s exist for multiple conversations and limited smoke.

Reservoirs were made from glass (which might be clear or colored), from silver, or from tombak. The ceramic bowls were gilded and the burning-stands made of silver and decorated with flowers and fruit. Narghiles of Bohemian crystal were even imported. Later they began to be manufactured at the Beykoz glassworks. In the Treasury section of the Topkapi Sarayı museum there are some exquisite examples of crystal narghiles.¹⁴⁰

Terms of Narghile

Ağızlık: Part of Marpuç which touches mouth without using Sipsi. (Cum handle)

Aromalı tütün: Kind of Narghile tobacco with many different fruit tastes. (Flavored tobacco.)

Ateşdan: Fire braiser made of brass

¹⁴⁰ Bakla, The pipe-making industry of Tophane. PP. 30.

Ayşe: Narghile waiter.

Hortum: Marpuç's close part to bottle which is very thin. (Hose.)

İmame: Closest part of Marpuç to the mouth. (Mouthpiece.)

Köz: Fire itself, putting top on Lüle to smoke Narghile. (Charcoal or cinder.)

Lüle: Where tobacco put inside. (Clay pipe bowl.)

Mangır: Easily flammable and durable special Narghile cinder. Made of oak tree. (Charcoal.)

Marpuç: Carrier part which lies from main body to cum handle. (Smoking Tube.)

Maşa: A tong which waiter or consumer can use for cinders to put down top of lüle or make them any order to prevent Narghile to get burnt. (Tong.)

Pırnav: A kind of oak tree which generally use for producing Narghile coal.

Rüzgarlık: Produced like a cylinder shape to prevent lüle against wind. (Windbreak.)

Ser: Main part of narghile which goes into the bottle. (Tube, shaft.)

Ser boynu: Part of Ser which stays top on the Ser itself.

Sipsi: A plastic part, mostly putting at the head of Marpuç for hygiene. (Reed.)

Tepsi: It is a part which prevents ashes and cinders to fall down, large metal surface.

Tömbeki: A special Narghile tobacco. (Tobacco molasses.)

Yanmak: When tobacco get scorched by over fire. (Burnt.)¹⁴¹

Pipes and Chibouk

¹⁴¹ Gürsoy, pp. 125-127

The first pipes in history, especially the ones found in the areas where Native Americans lived, stand out with their simple and natural shape. They were mostly made from wood or clay and had long tubes pierced in the middle for placing tobacco. Over time, these primary pipes evolved and turned into beautifully crafted and embroidered pieces. Some of them were decorated with special stones and eventually took a special part in the lives of North American tribesmen. The pipes are also called as “calumet” or “pipe pipes” by some historians engaged with the subject. As stated in recent reports, the first pipes almost date back 8th century BC. These extraordinarily large pipes made from various materials such as clay, wood, bone and stone. In the excavations, some strange and different pieces also found embedded with the pipes. The diggings included the objects for inhaling the pipes, chopping the tobacco and other hallucinogenic plants.¹⁴²

Although it is known that Spain brought tobacco plant to Europe in the general sense, tobacco pipe and tradition of smoking were introduced and spread by England in the last quarter of the 16th century. Ralph Lane, governor of Virginia, was the first European smoker. After Lane experienced pipe smoking, he let Sir Walter Raleigh smoke a pipe by giving him one as a gift in 1586. The pipe presented to him was a basic tube. Its one end was bent and enlarged from a bowl. In the meantime, a different type of pipe was about to be introduced to Africa, again by English legation. Being a renowned privateer, adventurer and slaver, Sir John Hawkins was sailing between the Guinea coast of Africa and the Gulf of Mexico in the New World. And thus he brought pipes from Florida and the Mississippi Delta to Africa on his ships.

¹⁴² Daniel Schavelzon, “Argentina,” *Journal of the Academie Internationale de la Pipe*, vol. 2, 5-8. Liverpool 2009, p.5

The pipe introduced in this way was a bowl with a short stem socket in which reed was inserted, through which to draw the smoke.¹⁴³

In terms of introducing pipe smoking, Hawkins might have predated the Portuguese marine in Guinea; however it was most probably the Portuguese marine, sailing from South American ports to the Indian Ocean, carried tobacco and tobacco pipes to the Far East. The smoking pipe and its usage level rapidly increased and spread around eastward. This extraordinary rapidity also took its place around the world in different shapes. While the one-piece pipes became popular in Europe, the bowl with separate stem was adopted by Africans and Eastern Mediterranean's. Finally, the two different trends came together in the northwest borders of the Ottoman Empire. It was no surprise then the establishment of pipe guilds became inevitable. In 1604, the Guild of Pipe makers was established in Sofia and in 1619; London's pipe makers' guild was formed. With the evaluation and popularization of pipes, English pipes sailed back to the New World again, and these English-style pipes were quickly adopted by colonies.

Chibouk

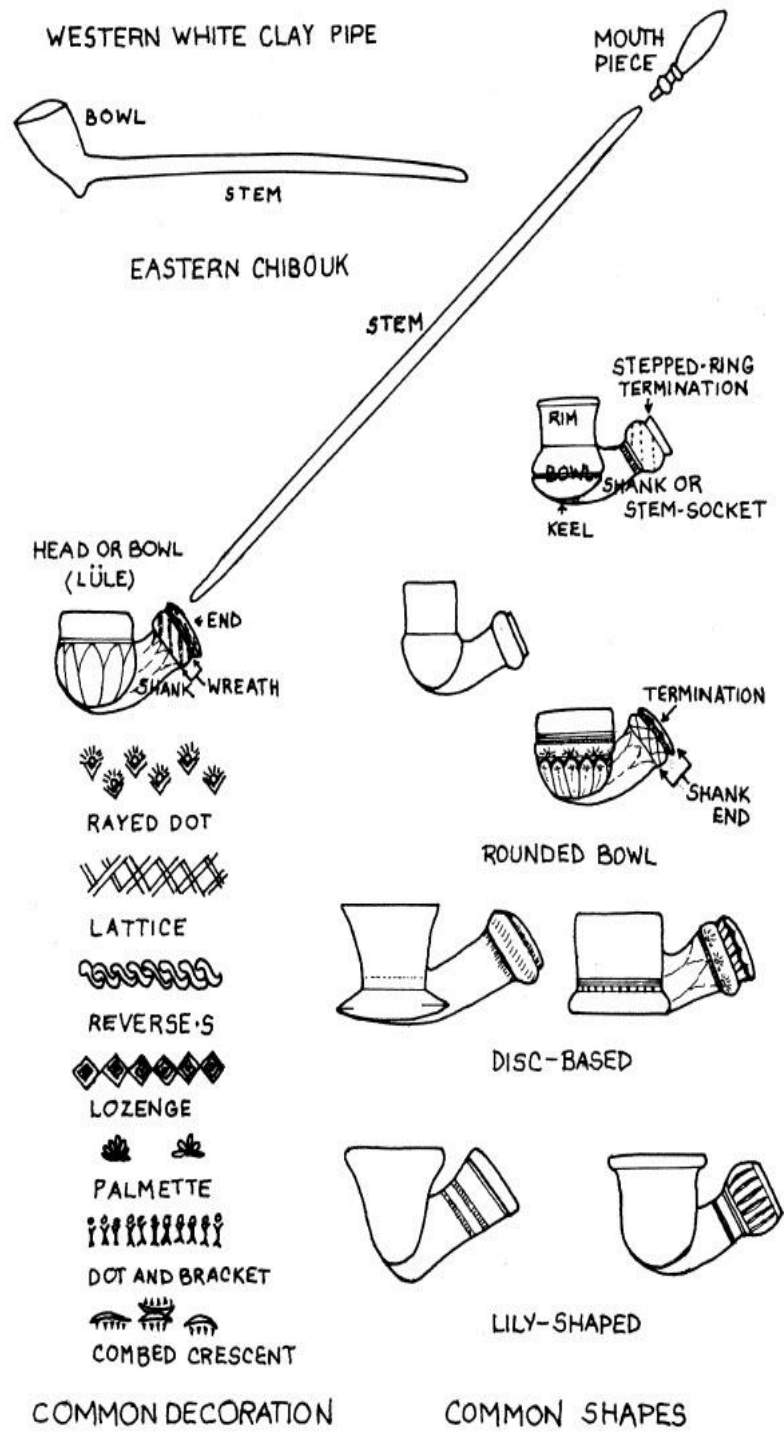
The first and basic chibouks consisted of three parts: the bowl, the stem and the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was made of a solid piece of amber which was imported from the Baltic. Being considerably thick and big in shape, the mouthpieces were different than the European samples in this sense. European smokers used to hold the tips of the mouthpiece between their lips and teeth. However the chibouk mouthpiece was too big for this, then they adopted the custom of using it only with

¹⁴³ Robinson, p. 150.

their lips. The chibouk mouthpieces were much similar to the ones used on Narghiles or huqqas. However, with its detachable form, Narghile smokers had the chance to have their own mouthpieces while the ones on chibouks were attached to the stem.

The stem commonly used to be made of jasmine wood. And the enormous demand for these stems helped people make a living almost only from the production of jasmine. An average stem was around 40 cm. long which was made of a single, straight piece of wood. Although 2 meters long stems were also common at that time, these pieces were made of various parts brought together. The dedicated smokers usually carried their own stems with them by keeping in a carry-case. Although they were also enthusiastic about their pipes' look, only a few of them could afford the stems' ornamentation mostly because it demanded a detailed and professional craftsmanship.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ De Haan, A. R. "19th Century Clay Chibouks made in Tophane" in *The Pipe Year Book*. 2004.



Anatomy of the chibouk: common shapes and decoration. Drawing by Kathleen Donahue Sherwood.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Robinson, PP. 154.

It is known that pipe smoking became common in Egypt in the early 1600's and was no certain data existed when it was introduced to Turkey. However, according to Thomas Dallam's reports, even if it was not commonly used, pipe smoking was at least known as early as 1599. The reports taken from his journal of that year indicates that the ship he was travelling in, came across a Turkish fleet at the Dardanelles. During the exchange of courtesies, English officials presented a small gift to the Turkish admiral:

*“Then the captaine of that gallie demanded a presente for him selfe. Our Mr. answered that he had nothinge. That he desired to have som tobacco and tobackco-pipes, the which in the end he had. And so he sailed to Tnedose, where the Amberall and the reste of the gallis weare come to an Anker.”*¹⁴⁶

Being widely available and easily accessible, pipe smoking kept growing throughout 18th and 19th centuries. It also built its own fashion by smokers. Luxurious equipment's of pipe smoking and private pipes were produced depending on customer's taste. In the 19th century, French factories began to produce both European and oriental style pipes. With the growing cigarette smoking during World War I, clay pipes gradually fell into oblivion and finally gave way to more modernized representatives. Most of the pipe producing factories in France closed down by 1926. In Istanbul, the last master pipe makers established in Tophane went out of business in 1929.¹⁴⁷

In 1750s, with the expansion of the Ottoman regional trade, Ottoman smokers were luckier than Europeans in terms of obtaining tobacco. While Ottomans

¹⁴⁶ Ed. J. Theodore Bent, *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600* in, *F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, (London, 1893), p. 49.

¹⁴⁷ Hüseyin Kocabaş, “Tophane Pipe Making,” *Türk Etnografya Dergisi* 5, pp. 12-14. *Ankara* 1962/63, p.12.

supported and enriched the market with their own cheap and easily accessible supplies, Europeans had to deal with several trade issues such as colonial monopolies and high import taxes. The reason why tobacco smoking gained such popularization and got beyond the limits has several reasons. Naturally, one of the first things coming to mind is the falling price of tobacco. Beyond that, smoking required only basic and simple equipment, making it simpler than drinking coffee. One of the most practical equipment's was the ordinary pipe. It was generally made from wood and accessible to smokers by almost any means. By the 18th century, with the expansion of pipe business, several different models came out in various shape, style and color.

Most known chibouks are made out of organic substances and one of the most preferred substances was jasmine. Its ability to soak nicotine, which was vital to smokers, makes jasmine the most used plant for pipe smoking. It was also acclaimed that special gardens were formed in time only for planting jasmine. Bakla explains these gardens in a very detailed way; "... in order to achieve a very plain jasmine, a galvanized tube passed on jasmine. Thus, the branches grow in it and it grows constantly adding new pipe to end and these process are continues until the jasmine grow in exact length. When they grow enough, long drill pipes are removed and middle of the jasmine drilled and put aside for one and half year. Otherwise chibouk could be bend." Preparing chibouk was a very demanding job and had different stages to prepare. Although jasmine was the most preferable plant several other materials were also in use such as lentisk, harulap, wild roses and fragrant trees as well as ivory and rosewood. Length of the chibouks ranged from 30-40 cm to 2-2.5 m. Imames, mostly made of ivory and amber, used to be adorned with silver, gold or special stones depending on the wealth of the owner.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Bakla, *Tophane Lüleçiliği*, p. 60.

Pipe Making

There is no reliable data about exact starting point of pipe usage. The opinion that miniature bowls with a spout dating from the Neolithic period (5500-3000 B.C.) can be considered the first pipes is unacceptable. We also cannot accept the interpretation of small bronze and iron artifacts found during archaeological excavations at sites in Central Europe as Celtic and Gallo-Roman pipes. Ancient sources offer no data whether ancient nations used pipes.¹⁴⁹

The word “lüle” is coming from Persian and was used for pacifier. Even though in Turkish the word “lüle” had several meanings in this case it would be used in order to describe a special device attached on the stick for smoking tobacco and Persian tobacco (tömbeki). This item was composing from three different parts starting from a little bowl known as “tobacco bowl” generally made of clay or meerschaum, on a side of the bowl a whole was placed for smoke, “smoke conduit” and finally in extension special tube was placed for tobacco stick also known as “steam connector”.¹⁵⁰

There are certainly multiple questions to ask but Erdinç Bakla's assumption on lüle is an important start point. He suggested that cloudy the history of smokable substances and the paraphernalia for smoking them may be however, there is one thing that is incontrovertible: the idea of a ceramic pipe bowl originated with the Turks. Whether these bowls appeared before or after the introduction of tobacco into

¹⁴⁹ Irnak Osskó, *The beginning of Pipe-Smoking in The History of the Hungarian Pipemaker's Craft. Hungarian History through the Pipemaker's Art*, (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2000), p. 13.

¹⁵⁰ A. Cengiz, “Edirne Yeni Saray Kazılarında Ele Geçen Lüleler” (MA Thesis, Gazi University, 2011) pp. 27.

Turkey however is difficult to say. No miniatures or engravings that can be reliably dated to the early 16th century show figures smoking chibouks or narghiles. This is odd because chibouks certainly existed before the introduction of tobacco and the Ottomans are known to have been using them to smoke hashish and opium as early as the reign of Beyazid II. The chibouks used to smoke opium and hemp had a small, flattish ceramic dish at the end. It is likely that, when tobacco was introduced into our country, the equipment for smoking it came along too. The oldest example of pipe bowl in Turkey is stamped with a date corresponding to 1646. This is significant because that is the year in which Sheikulislam Mehmed Behai Efendi's decree partially rescinding the prohibition on tobacco-smoking was issued: there is not a single known example of a pipe bowl dated between then and 1612 (the year tobacco was first banned following its introduction into Turkey). Besides the prohibition however, other reasons may be cited for this: the pipe bowl-making industry was still in its infancy and must have consisted of a few independent – and perhaps surreptitiously-operating-ateliers scattered here and there. So far as we know, there was not even a pipe bowl-makers' guild. Certainly Evliya Çelebi makes no mention of one when he gives a list of tradesmen's and artisans' guilds in the reign of Murad IV. No, the industry was still taking shape and, in addition, it is also conceivable that the makers were even hesitant about putting their names to their work.¹⁵¹

Apparently when tobacco introduced to Ottoman Empire, pipe was also with it. Afterwards, Ottomans took the idea of "Seramik" (Ceramic) and "Çömlek" (jug) as an example and start to do it with their own ways. Ottomans create a different material in their workshops, it was neither ceramic nor jug but clay which transform as a material to lüle later on. They decide on clay because it was kind of similar to

¹⁵¹ Bakla, p. 35.

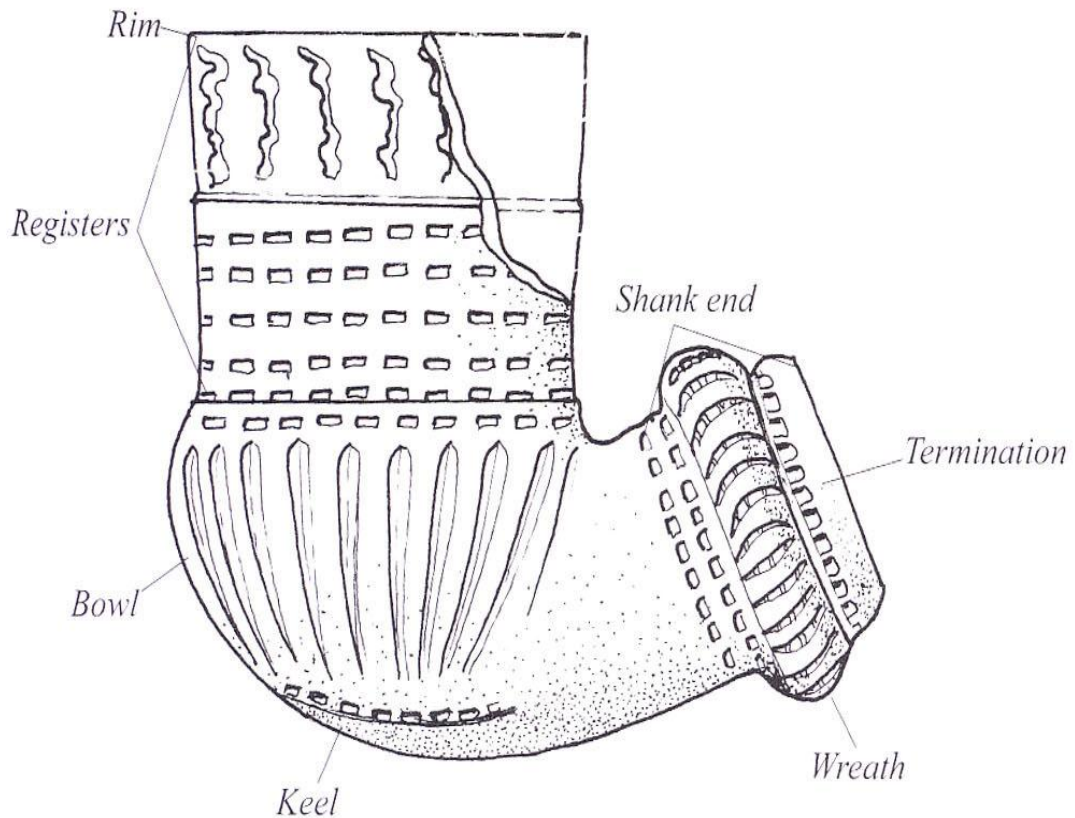
jug making. After 1598, in Istanbul, lüle workshops open one after another and reach a many thousand. First well known establishments in Istanbul were in “Haliç” and “Eyüp.” Moreover, “Lüleburgaz” did an extraordinary job about pipe making and had its name as a city from it. Ottomans understand the lüle material quickly and become masters on hand work. Just in years later, they find a different ways to make it and started to paint some designs.

After Istanbul and Lüleburgaz, Edirne was counted a center for lüle workshops and production. Nevertheless, neither of them was as important as “Rusçuk.” It has long gone after the Ottoman - Russian War during the 1877 between 1878. “Lüleci Seyyid Ali” and “Lüleci İbrahim Ağa” were two important lüle makers. Lüle’s basic ingredient was clay but Ottoman’s make and different procedure on it and did many valuable works on this raw material. Moreover, I have to put one more misunderstanding here... They were valuable of course and they called as “Tophane işi.” Like my lüle example, since many people smoke narghile in Tophane, they also believe that it was the exact same place in centuries ago. Actually, many lüle makers workshops where established more like on Karaköy sides, today we know that road as “Lüleci Hendek Aras” street. When a man goes that place it is easy to see this place one time belongs to pipe makers. Because there are “Marpuççular Caddesi” and “Lüleciler Çıkmazı” lie ahead. Before forget, we also know that there are many different lüle craftsman whom are not present in Tophane so again, we have to understand that “Tophane işi” do not represent where they have created it was the only place for best representing “good work.” If we have to look at other lüle workshops we can see them as follow; “Alacahamam Lülecileri,” Tekkeönü Lülecileri,” “Karagümrük Lülecileri,” “Balıkpazarı Lülecileri,” and “Beyoğlu Lülecileri.” There are multiple kinds of lüle workshops existing in Istanbul. We see

that many of them great and well known, many of their lüle works have reached today and we can see them alive. So, what about the unknown ones? Like many celebrity lüle makers, there were some unknown but it seems that they were as happy as better workshops. Here, we see “Public Pipe Making.” There were six of them, “White, Red, Black, Devetüyü (light brown), on white board with red lines and Sırlı (Vitrified.) Because well-crafted lüles were highly expensive and ordinary people would have been eager to pay limited money for middle quality lüle materials. Making lüle was not an easy task, there are seven steps as much as known for producing one. It goes like this; “Model ve Kalıp,” “Presleme,” “Rötuş ve Parlatma,” “Astarlama,” “Bezeme,” “Fırınlama,” and for last “Yaldızlı Bezeme.”

Anatomy of Lüle

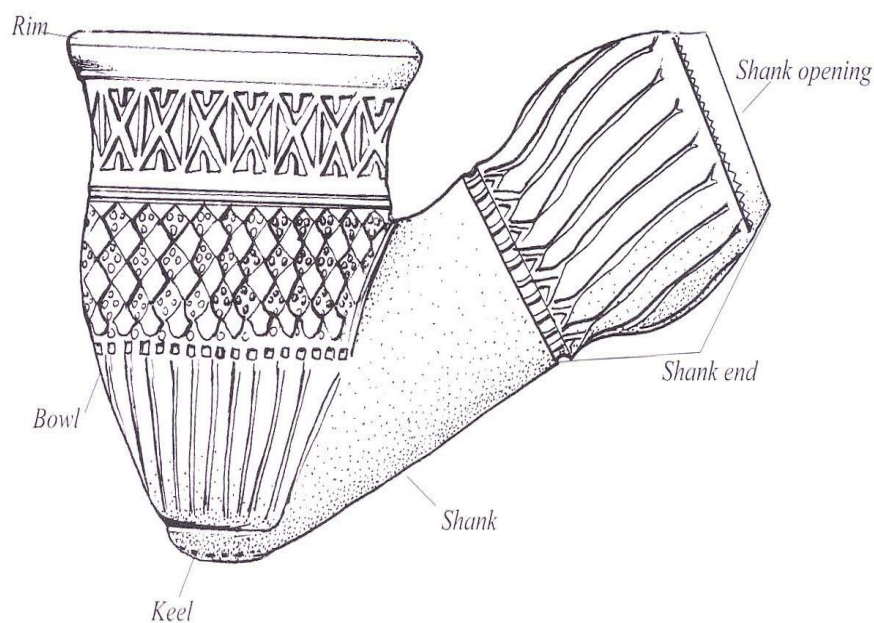
Lüle reached the Ottoman Empire territories both Europe and Africa ways. They were two different types and these two different type lüles used in the Empire capital at the same time. First one, as we mentioned before, bringing by English sailors which was two part and made of light gray clay lüles, which were smaller than African types. At the beginning of 17th century, these lüles were in use. Second group came from Africa and they stand still until the beginning of 20th century. This type lüle was accepted as Ottoman Pipe and they were made of three different parts as; mouth piece, chibouk and lüle (bowl).



Parts of the pipe-bowl.¹⁵²

Made by cooked clay, open on the one side and seem like bowl on top, lüles became a very common daily device very fast. Top of the lüle is a holder of tobacco or tömbeki. Chibouk on the other hand both used for narghile and lüle. There were various types of lüles made in a short while and then they called as Tophane Lülesi since many craftsmen were established in this area. Nevertheless, there are equal important lüle centers were existed like Lüleburgaz, Varna, Sofia, Thebes and Yiannitsa.

¹⁵² Taken from A. Dekkel. *Chapter 4: The Ottoman Clay Pipes*, in *Panreas: Volume II, Small Find and Other Studies*, Vassilios Tzaferis and Shoshana Israeli, (Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem, 2008), p. 115. Not to scale.



Parts of the pipe-bowl .¹⁵³

Pipe bowls made connection of parts like reservoir, flue, and consists of the keel. The dish is placed in tobacco sections were made in various forms. This form is summarized as disc, pedestal, tulips and flattened round dish. In pipe bowls, despite periodic occurrence of various fashion modes has continued over time. Within certain groups, round pedestal bowl twists and curls of disk took place. This bowls have more useful forms and adopted by smokers very fast. So that pipe bowls exist long centuries. Apart from these common shapes, pipe bowl master's crates different type of bowl during time where they reflect their own abilities. In the early 17th century, first lüle samples sizes are quite small. However, the size of lüle increased with the increased tobacco production and affordability of it. When we compare of 19th and 17th century lüles, it is easy to see that 17th century lüles are smaller than 19th century ones. One of the samples in Istanbul city museum, in terms of size, is the

¹⁵³ Ibid. p. 115. Not to scale.

biggest 3 disc pedestal sized example of 19th century. It is interesting that, until today, there were no clue about this big lüle, neither in publications or excavations which shows that presumably those lüles were made to order and probably made for some Janissary.¹⁵⁴ Lüles which started to be produced in the 18th century and to be formed in the early 19th century changed their forms during the 19th century. Main change was established on their color. During 19th century, lüles were produced mainly reddish-brown lining and it was the dominant color. Besides, during this period, round bowl and disc pedestal construction style was widespread and their size increased either.

Smoke path is the road that leads tobacco from the dish to the bar. Smoke path has different types according to forms, as well as the way in proportion to the size of the aperture of the lüle has increased in certain extent. Measurement of smoke path had some stability. Presumably, this measure fixed because of changing both chibouk and lüle itself is expensive. Moreover, this fixed measurement could be fixed to avoid increasing demand. In early period, smoke path was thin and has small openings and these openings never bigger than 1cm. in 17th century examples. However, in 18th century examples this openings reach approximately 1.5 cm and in 19th century examples seen at least 1.5cm or even more. Nevertheless, in some cases in the 19th century lüles, lüles which are smaller than 1.5 cm can also be seen.¹⁵⁵

There are different types of lüles found in different excavations and named according to their production styles. Report from Gökben Ayhan detailed these terms in “Başur Höyük Kazısı Lüle Buluntuları” article.

¹⁵⁴ Gökben Ayhan, *19. Yüzyıla Tarihlenen Bir Grup Osmanlı Lülesi. Kültürel Bellek ve Estetik Yansımalar*, (Ankara, 2011), p. 230.

¹⁵⁵ Ayhan, p. 234.

Conical Based: This type made of receding edge of the dish and this dish with a long-held smoke rising above the path. These type lüles could be dated 19th century since they were bigger both in size and smoke path. Cylindrical bowl lüles define themselves with their solid cylinder type and also with their bulging smoke path which connected to spine. They generally dated between 17th and 18th century. Tulip shaped lüle have a common smoke path but designed with a shape of tulip. Disc based lüles on the other hand, have a round bowl and this part connected to cylindrical smoke path. Moreover, disc based lüles one of the common type and found in different excavations. They generally dated between 18th and 19th century. Filter plate and bowl lüle types consist of a flattened round form. One side of the bowl has a round hole to attach the bars. In this type of lüles there are no smoke paths available and chibouk is directly connected to reservoir.

In Başhur Höyük excavations “Filter plate and bowl” and “Twist flattened round strainer lüle” types have taken a great portion of lüle findings. What makes these two types more than other lüles is probably because they have “strainer bowl” and “high holding edge.” This result also lead us to say that these two types were more preference ones. Besides, “Filter plate and bowl” and “Twist flattened round strainer” lüle versions did not look alike famous Istanbul lüles. Also their dough was also different then classic Istanbul raw material.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Gökben Ayhan, *Başhur Kazısı Lüle Buluntuları* (XIII. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazıları ve Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildiriler 14 - 16 Ekim 2009, Pamukkale Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Sanat Tarihi Bölümü, Biltur, İstanbul, 2009), pp. 52-54.

Anatolian Pipe Making

The pleasure of smoking was introduced in early period of the 16th century Ottoman Empire and spread quickly in various parts. This habit also brought a great amount of small workshops and Lüleburgaz became the most famous city. The clay provided in Lüleburgaz was specifically in good quality for production of pipe bowls. Moreover, Edirne was a second most important city raw material wise for lüle. Rusçuk located in Bulgaria was defined for having the best quality clay for manufacturing these goods and also Iznik not only famous for tiles and pottery but also for their pipe bowls. Avanos which is still vital for all pottery production today was another source of production in smoking pipes, namely lüle. There have been found many different lüles in the excavations conducted around Iskenderun Payas and Diyarbakir. Even though production of lüle was widespread around the Ottoman Empire, perfectly crafted materials were coming from Tophane district, specifically from “Lüleci Hendeği.” In the 18th century, this street was containing more than 60 pipe maker’s workshop. Settlements in Tophane was not related with the quality of clay but because of the guild of pipe makers was established in that special place with the recognition of Sultan Mustafa the 3rd in 1760. The operation system of this guild was to take control over its members and solve any problem within the system of the guild. The prices were high in order to prevent any decrease quality of the product as well as controlling and supporting each other. Since every shop was a reflection of the producer diversity in design of the product, lead to have different model in the market. Some shops were making special offers to their clients by creating pipes for different professions and religious sects specifically stamped.

“A rich man visited a famous pipe-maker’s shop and said that he wanted to purchase the best pipe he had. The pipe-maker sized him up and said ‘Let me offer you a pipe to smoke. That way I can make you a pipe that best suits your smoking style.’ The pipe-maker prepared a pipe and handed it to the customer who smoked it, finished the tobacco. In order to clean out the ashes however he rapped the pipe on the floor rather than on the large ashtray standing on the counter as he should have done. The proprietor immediately intervened saying, ‘I am sorry but I shan’t be able to make you a pipe. Please try another shop.’”

High quality materials were made for the members of the government, generally made of gold and silver plating or with niello which increase their prices to extreme level and distinguished both from other products and cultural level. The products of Tophane were not only sold in Istanbul but spread all around the Empire and exported to Persia.

Different types of Pipes

Countless archeological studies have shown that first pipes of Europe were made of clay. Shapes, sizes and materials used in production of pipes had gone from different steps and transformation over different time periods. General aim would be to talk about different types of pipes and their connection to Turkish ones before deepening the discussion.

Clay Pipes

The history of clay pipes can be traced back in two directions and styles as eastern and western ones. The western type pipe is called One-Piece which is also known as English and Dutch pipe. This specific type of pipe belongs to the category of long necked pipes and was commonly used by natives of Virginia who had come to Western Europe from the Atlantic coast. Based on these models combined with their area of usage, it is possible that the production of European pipe began in 1560 in England. By 1590, pipes were exported to Ireland from Bristol where they were used as gifts in trade with Ottoman sailors. One piece white clay pipe had a small bowl reserved for tobacco and a long hollow stem for inhaling. Small bowl had a flat nature especially at the bottom where its rim was narrow at the top. Back then tobacco was hard to come by, thus it was expensive and that is why early pipes were made in small sizes. Most pipes had plain colors and a stamp that showed their manufacturers. Samples of different stamps will be shown in the following pages.

As mentioned above, Western type pipes were commonly used in some European countries, however, they started to spread to new countries such as Norway, Germany and Holland. In contradiction to Western one piece, Eastern countries preferred to use the same material by composition of two pieces. They had a long wooden stem and a short neck, and the way they were used was different from smoking habits of England and Holland. That type was commonly used by Northern American natives who had arrived Eastern Mediterranean and all the way to Turkey through Africa.¹⁵⁷ Taking into consideration the differences not only in physical shape but also in smoking habits is bringing the question regarding the intermediate

¹⁵⁷ Robinson, p. 153.

force which brought those items to the Ottoman Empire. Presumably it was Portuguese merchants were the one to transport this new consumption item different from English and Dutch preferences to Ottoman Empire along with Northern Africa.¹⁵⁸

Samples dating back to 17th century, representing examples of early pipes of Turkey were created with using white or gray clay with a small touch of red used at the end of the pipe. They were made in smaller sizes and different shapes (i.e. flower shapes, such as tulip, marigold or rose). An original Ottoman clay pipe that was commonly used had a small bowl to put tobacco and a very long stem called *kamish*.

Kamish was generally made from reed; however, occasionally different materials were also used such as jasmine, cherry, maple and chub. Taking into consideration of physical importance the item was decorated with fancy ornaments such as pearls, nacre, silk or precious metals like silver and gold. Kamish represented the most spectacular part with a length from fifteen centimeters to two meters.¹⁵⁹ Another special part was the mouthpiece, known as “takum” made of coral, semi-precious stones or amber, and was placed on top of the long stem.

The meerschaum pipe

Meerschaum, is also known as sepiolite or sea foam, is chemically magnesium silicate and has a gray-white or yellowish color. It's produced during the dissolution of serpentinite under special conditions and found in alluvial deposits. Being a very

¹⁵⁸ St. J. Simpson, *The Archaeology of the Clay Pipe in the Near East*, (AL-RĀFIDĀN Vol. XXX, 2009), pp. 67-68

¹⁵⁹ Gerelyes and Kovcas, p. 28.

rare mineral, meerschaum is light and water absorbent, and because of its porous nature, it becomes soft and soapy when in water, which makes it easy to be cut and carved. Largest amount of meerschaum is obtained from the region of Eskisehir in Turkey, which is considered as the best quality around the world. There are also reserves in Greece, Spain, Paris basin, Crimea and Tanzania. Also Serbia, Zlatibor and Gornji Milanovac basins have meerschaum deposits to a limited extent.¹⁶⁰ Records reflecting first meerschaum pipes of Turkey dates backs to mid-17th century. Evliya Çelebi was emphasizing Thebes, Greece as additional example where production and consumption of meerschaum pipers in 1688.¹⁶¹

In addition to different models mentioned, further styles were also present. Porcelain and Wooden pipes were well – known used and produced items. It is necessary to underline that porcelain made pipes were quite fragile and in order to prevent any damage there were generally used as decoration. Yet, porcelain was also representing a material much more resistant to fire compared to clay. Taking into consideration the complex nature of porcelain, the usage was limited with being the device for special occasions. Wooden pipes on the other hand, were quite preferable due to the resistant nature of wood against fire as well as physical conditions. Usage of wood as a raw material was also contributing to the accessible price and broad use of these wooden pipes.

Turkish Clay Smoking Pipes

¹⁶⁰ Gerelyes and Kovcas, *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, p. 41.

¹⁶¹ Robinson, p. 168.

Tobacco smoking was first introduced into the Ottoman Empire very early in the 17th century, some 150 years after the northeastern Aegean island of Lesbos and its capital, Mytilene, had passed under the control of the Turks. Unlike the western tobacco pipe that was fashioned from clay in a single piece, including bowl, stem, and mouthpiece, the lid typical of the eastern Mediterranean was designed to receive a separate long, wooden stem fitted with an amber mouthpiece, an arrangement that made the pipe cooler to smoke. This ceramic bowl was composed itself of three basic parts: the vertical chimney and lower bowl, the angled shaft, and the socketed nozzle into which the hollow stem was inserted. The texture, size, dimensions, and ornaments were generally changed to create new combinations. An example to that transformation might be the early period small and greyish white clay pipes which modified to large, highly decorated made with reddish-brown clay which was popular from the late 1700s.

“In the 19th century the most popular pipes had a high conical bowl and a disk-shaped base (often the base resembled a yellow daffodil with its petals wide open). Istanbul pipe-makers made a slip that gave the pipes rich ruby tint. The slip was made from the solution of special red clay from the region of Lake Van that was called red ruby. These were high quality pipes (decorated and gilded), known as Tophane pipes, named after the part of Istanbul where they were manufacture.”¹⁶²

Workshops for making pipes were found all around the Ottoman Empire and the most famous were in Istanbul and Burgas, so famous for its fine quality pipes that even today it is known as Lüleburgaz. In Bulgarian Cities of Varna and Sofia pipe manufacturers even formed their own union. Greece could also boast with its famous

¹⁶² Ibid. p. 153.

workshops operating in Thebes and Athens.¹⁶³ In Serbia, there were workshops for making pipes, according to written sources, and the oldest one was Nis.¹⁶⁴ Most craftsmen for making clay pipes were from Turkey. Again in Siegfried Kapper's report shows that there was in Belgrade in the mid-19th century a pipe craftsman Usta-Hassan, whose workshop he used to visit. In the 19th century Bulgarian craftsmen made clay pipes as well, according to epigraphical data. A tombstone in Hresova, a village in Bulgaria, has the image of a pipe, indicating that pipe making was the profession of the deceased 'God's Slave Ivan'.¹⁶⁵ In time local craftsmen and peasants themselves started producing pipes, but of lower quality.

Tophane Pipe Forms

Lüle masters produced amazing and priceless works during the time. However, even though, they were beautiful and unique, this makes some difficulty to identify them for today. From the numerous types of lüles, Erdinç Bakla defines many of them specifically under the "Tophane pipe forms." Both from Museum or private collections, does not matter, it is nearly impossible to find two exact copy of the lüle. Reasons for this are fact of craftsmanship and two; different region production. Bakla categorizes them by color differences and also different types:¹⁶⁶

Red - slip pipes made from red clay

¹⁶³ Ibid. p. 125.

¹⁶⁴ Gacic, p. 29.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. 29.

¹⁶⁶ Bakla, The pipe-making industry of Tophane. PP. 53.

Pipes made from white clay or porcelain

Black pipes made by firing red clay in a reducing atmosphere

Pipes decorated with colored glazes

Despite all the different forms that were used, pipes have three main components:

Bowl

Smoke conduit

Stem connector

In his work, he can only identify the following types of bowls which are used by many academic work and excavation reports:

Conical bowl

Cylindrical bowls

Tulip-shaped bowls

Hemispherical bowls

Hemispherical bowls surmounted by a cylinder

Crater-rimmed bowls

Crater-rimmed bowls on a flower-shaped base

Bowls in the shape of octagonal cylinders

Bowls shaped like a flattened sphere

According to Bakla, any bowls so far he examined can fall easily one this categories and identified as one of them. He also examines the smoke conduit of a

pipe, which is the section connecting the bowl to the chibouk. There are five different types suggested depending on the shape of the joint to bowl:

Triangular

Rectangular

Hand-shaped

Flower-shaped

Conduit attached directly to the bowl

As the name implies, the stem connector is where the long chibouk was attached. It is usually a hole measuring about 10-15 mm but may be smaller (5-8 mm) when smaller chibouks were used. These holes are decorated around in various ways that we can use to classify the wares:

Flat-ringed

Braided

Hexagonal

Curved

Inscribed.

In the Light of Excavations, Pipes around the Ottoman Empire

Turkish pipes reached other countries through trade or as personal property of passengers, soldiers and sailors. They came to Russia as commercial goods, but the possibility those molds were brought as well as that Russians had started their own production cannot be completely ruled out. It is interesting to know that Turkish

pipes were also produced in Paris during the 19th century and were shipped from there to eastern markets.¹⁶⁷

Eastern type clay pipes were also produced in European workshops. There were several major centers of pipe production in Italy, one of which was Chioggia. It is uncertain when the pipe production began here, but it was certainly under way in 1655 (according to a mold which engraved lately.) and it lasted for a very long time, until 1945. For the production of “Chioggia” pipe type the clay from the valley of the Po River was used. Apart from the barrel-shaped bowl decorated with vertical and horizontal ribs, the specifics of these pipes were three connected holes to pass the smoke between the bowl and the stem, while other pipes had only one. Another type of pipe was made in the Po Valley, which is rich in clay deposits. These so called ‘pottery pipes’ were made on potter’s wheel unlike the rest of the pipes made in molds.¹⁶⁸

Local production of eastern type pipes began in border areas of the Austria-Hungarian Empire in the last quarter of the 17th century. A distinctly decorated Hungarian style appeared in the 18th century, with Debrecen becoming the dominant production center. At that time most potters abandoned pottery making and started to make pipes. From the end of the 18th century and during the 19th, new pipe making workshops developed, often based on previous potteries utilizing local clays in Northern and Western Hungary and Transdanubia.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Станчева, М. 1975/76, *О производњи керамичких лула у Бугарској. Зборник музеја примењене уметности*, pp. 19-20, p. 130 in D. Gacic, *The Pipes from Museum Collections of Serbia*, (The City Museum of Novi Sad, Petrovaradin, Novi Sad, 2011)

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 31

¹⁶⁹ Haider, Edit. Angelika Orgona, Anna Ridovics, *The History of the Hungarian Pipemaker’s Craft. Hungarian History through the Pipemaker’s Art*, (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2000), p. 65.

It is important to note that in 17th and 18th century, most of the potters transferred to pipe making and they formed their own union. For example, one of the well-known pipe making center was Debrecen. It was recorded in 1798 that 138 craftsmen with their apprentices and family members annually produced between ten and eleven million pipes for the local and foreign markets like France, England and North America. The pipes were of good quality, red and black, mostly undecorated but with a particular sheen. However, some pipes were decorated while still in a haft –dried state by cutting and engraving the ornament. The rim of the bowl was metal plated and it had a lid made of copper or brass, with embossed decoration, which prevented the embers from spilling out and the content of the pipe from the wind when smoking outdoors. Interesting and similar enough with Ottoman act, these pipes had names, and for instance Street Csapo pipes were named after the street where the 18th century potters lived. When the pipes from Pest and Buda appeared, the number of pipe makers started to decline at the end of the 19th century, and with the last workshop of KISS Gabor, the pipe production in Debrecen died out.¹⁷⁰

Pipes in Hungarian Fortress

From past to present a wide range of excavations have been held to examine post medieval times. Considering lüle's background and development throughout the history, Hungary and more importantly old Hungarian fortresses play crucial part. During the excavations held in Hungarian castles, a wide range of diverse findings have been found. Most of these items have close relation to German, Italian, Hungarian, Southern Slav, and Turkish culture. Within this context, by making

¹⁷⁰ Gacic, p. 30.

analysis of these architectural and artefactual findings, archeology can make a great contribution to help one understand the period better. Among these artifact types rescued from excavations, pottery takes the lead to enlighten archeological analysis of the period.

Many researches relating to this period primarily center upon castles, fortresses, and towns ruled by Ottoman forces. Reports show that pottery found in Ottoman ruled districts is sparse when it comes to the neighbor villages. The Ottoman forces occupied and ruled the mass amount of fortresses in the area belonging to Hungary at the present time. Accordingly, the pottery from this region can be related to Hungarian or Turkish forces after a detailed analysis. Only a small amount of these border fortresses kept constantly under control by the Kingdom of Hungary. Also among these fortresses the pottery findings might be certainly related to German forces deployed there. Findings from the fortresses contain cups, pipes and diverse range of potteries. The excavations held in Hungary show that among the potteries found in the region, pipe is originally associated with Turkish artifacts. The findings from Onod, a small village in northeastern Hungary, also include a pipe with Arabic letters on it. From the same area, another pipe carefully manufactured and ornamented clearly proves Turkish craftsmanship. In Szendro, another village from Borsod County as Onod, it is also possible to find pipes suggest Turkish craft. These lead-glazed pipes are known to belonging to late 17th century. These pipes, especially of which bowls are ornamented with fluting, show great resemblance with Turkish samples in many aspects. However it might be wrong to decide on how these pipes occurred in the region. One might say they were obtained from Ottoman reigned regions and presented in Borsod County while they might also have been developed by Hungarian craftsmen adopting from Turks.

Though some glazed clay pipes' shape and ornamentation bear the trace of Turkish origin, they were most probably produced outside Ottoman Empire. The findings from Onod and Szendro include a pipe of which glazed bowl is ornamented with rosettes on both sides, and its neck enriched with horizontal fluting. While it is possible to witness such ornamentation on the Turkish examples, the shape of the pipe from Onod is notably different from its Turkish counterparts since its bowl bears more of a Western style with its clay stem. Rosettes and small leaves forming its design are not found on Turkish ones. Comparing to the Eger pipes, Szendro models are rather rough, as the petals of the rosette deformed into tiny knobs. In this connection, it can be put that two pipe heads were formed looking up to Turkish models and eventually altered by the pipe makers.

Béla Kovacs has already noted that one variant of the Turkish clay pipes can be regarded as the formal precursor of Hungarian clay pipes. These unornamented and rather coarse pieces mainly have a red fabric and mostly polished. While some kinds of these simple pipes with polygonal necks can be seen on Turkish territories, only one fragment came to light in Onod. Cylindrical pipe necks and a neck-ring decorated with a cogwheel pattern became popular in the late 17th century and it has also occurred in Onod and Szendro. The type with a prismatic neck was presumably manufactured in Ottoman workshops; whereas the pipes with cylindrical stem were belong to Hungarian craft.¹⁷¹

In the light of this information, it is only possible to make an assumption on how these pipes travelled from Ottoman reign to the fortresses of the Kingdom of Hungarian. The fact that they are few in number makes it even harder. It can also be understood that these pipes were not commercial products. Thus the pipe from Onod

¹⁷¹ Gerelyes and Kovacs, *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*. p. 312.

with Arabic letters on it is not its maker's mark, it is rather its owner's mark, showing the pipe was not fundamentally produced for a Hungarian soldier. However some of the pipes might have changed hands by giving them as presents since back then the fortresses of the area were ruled by Turkish vassals. Hungarian landlords from the Ottoman settling and the soldiers deployed at the border fortresses usually claimed Turkish objects as gifts. The gifts included carpets, footwear and so on but pipes also were occasionally accepted as gifts. Eventually, it is also possible to suggest that some of the pipes, especially the personal ones might have been taken as booty by Hungarian soldiers during the conflicts.

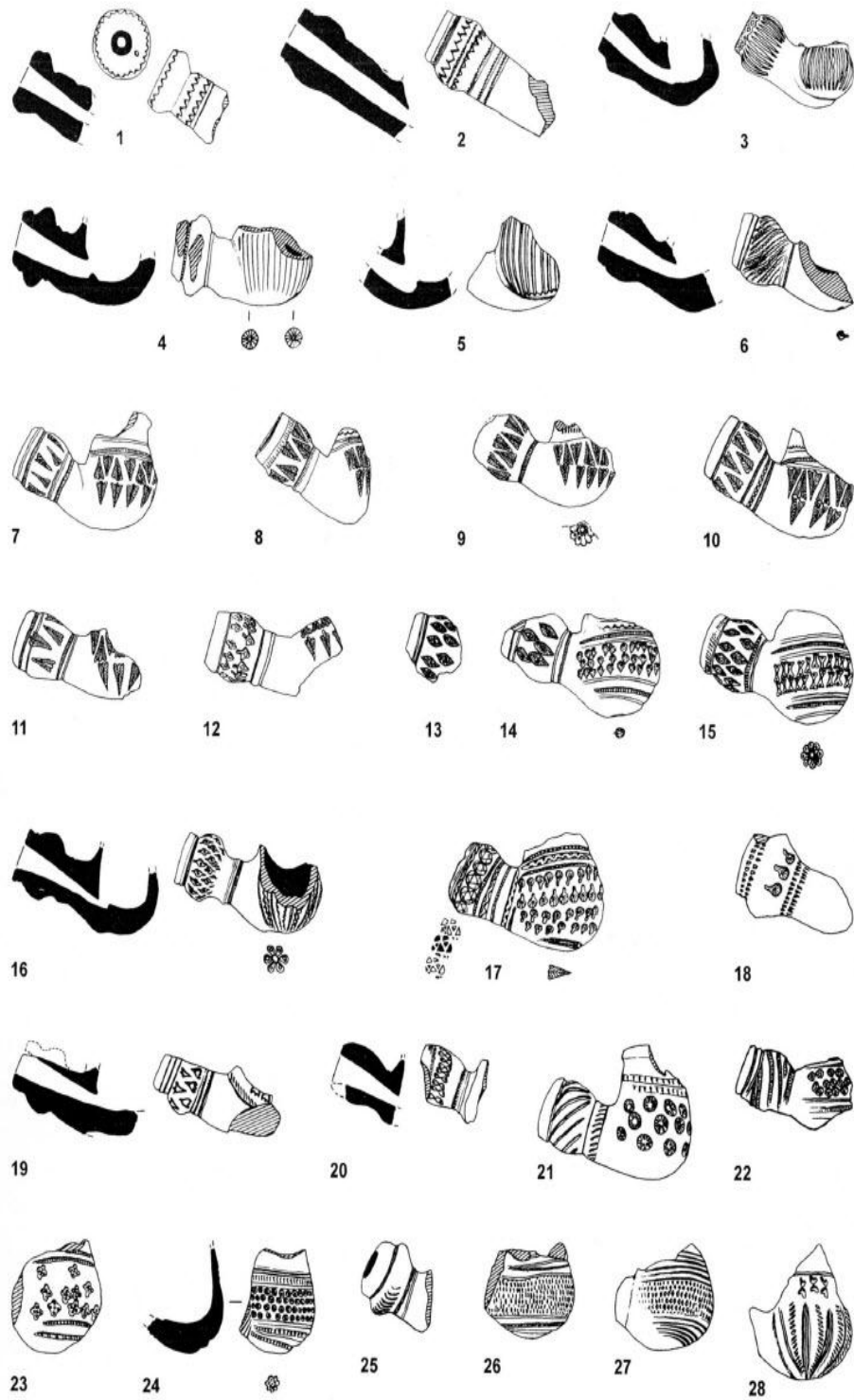
Pipes in Jerusalem

Another excavation conducted in June 1962; July, August and November 1963 in Jerusalem by K.M. Kenyon and Pere de Vaux. Interesting part of this excavation is that there were 72 pipes were found and 49 of them represented unpublished new items of the territory. "These were recovered from the southern edge of the western hill, within the south-east corner of the old city, above the Pool of Siloam, in the Armenian Garden, above Gihon Spring; the find spot of the single remaining pipe is uncertain."¹⁷² In addition to these findings, further 23 artifacts from Damascus Gate excavations conducted by C.M. Bennett and J.B. Hennessy in 1964 - 1966 were added in order to be able to create a territorially inclusive catalogue and to share with modern world, how in 18th and 19th century smoking habits to take place in Middle East. Another interesting point that may be underline was the fact that it is assumed

¹⁷² Simpson, p. 433

that some of these pipes might be produced in Jerusalem. Different kind of pipes were founded, one was them is quite unique to its own for being small, light grey, stamped, molded and decorated are reflections of the 18th century pipe characteristics based on a comparative study made on founding in Greece and Turkey.

While taking into consideration all the founding, special studies made on 7 different items had showed that “cypress- tree” is forming the main element of production based on stamps located on the bowl and on the shank end. Deepening the process had showed that four different types of cypress- tree stamps were applied in various excavations conducted in Belmont, Dor, Shiloh / Tell Sailun, Tell Ti’innik and finally Yoqne’am. Excavations are mainly important in order underline and being able to discuss the nature of the item as well as having an idea concerning trade interactions among different areas. This specific rapport is underlining local production and how widely used a produced in these Ottoman cities.



(1:2) 10cm
 Late Ottoman pipes from Jerusalem¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Ibid. p. 434

Pipes in Iraq

Other parts of Middle East majorly composed of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil and Sulaimaniyah do not contain valuable information about their improvements regarding pipe making. Even though it is known that pipe makers were numerous in those vilayets, information concerning production and may be trade relations is not clear which makes it difficult to visualize position of consuming tobacco. We can only assume that Basra might be the center of export for pipes going to Iran and Persian Gulf. Remarkable point which will be important for growth of Iranian pleasure giving substance culture formed around Basra's tobacco for water pipe (*tumbac*).

Yakub Sarkis who conducted studies on Iraq, its position on culture and cultivation as well as take part in a special archeological survey to bring to light Iraqi clay pipes. As mentioned before, there was an uncertainty regarding the exact date of tobacco coming to Empire its consumption and addiction process. Sarkis was underlining importance of duration and giving special emphasize to the early records of Iraq noting that in 1616 tobacco was taking part of the city. Yet, he is assuming that arrival of tobacco must be realized at the beginning of 17th century. Reflected point shows that even short amount of times like a decade might have great effects over that territory and about its population. This addiction goes even further when soldiers of the army were brought to military campaigns in Baghdad in 1638. According to Katip Çelebi, Sultan Murad the 4th was aware of this addiction among soldiers and called for execution of fifteen or twenty men.

Despite all of these prohibitions, consumption and cultivation of tobacco started to spread all over Iraq. The most famous variety was called abu al-riha which was cultivated in the north and typically scented with perfume; this was followed by

tütün khashnawi, which was smoked without added perfume. Tobacco from the Indian area of southern Iraq was called *al-tütün al-Hindi* (“Indian tobacco”) whereas one northern variety was known as *Shirazi* after the Iranian city of that name. Other names of tobacco include *tütün shattir*, a strong tobacco with a dark color and coarse texture, *bared*, cool soft tobacco with a golden yellow color, and *futtier*, which was stored while damp or sprinkled with water a time of sale.¹⁷⁴

The area was rich based on variety of pipes founded in excavations representing different dates starting from 5th millennium BC to 19th century. Another important note to emphasize would be their shapes and the variety of materials used for their production. Findings were mainly made of clay what is important, there were some pale clay examples were found but the area of Tell al-Zawia contains small numbered reddish slip pipes. These founded items, with their reddish nature and rare amount, may lead us to assume that these items were not produce in Iraq instead they could have been part of commercial activities made between Istanbul and middle east territories. Most probably this reddish pipes were brought via soldiers, merchants who were using in their everyday life. Another pipe found in Assur was quite exceptional for containing the name of its maker “Khidhr” unfortunately, neither items production date, nor is its place certain.

Another important excavation area in Iraq was Khirbet Deir Situn and Khirbet Hatara where most likely findings of 18th 19th and 20th century were collected. Apart from early founding in Iraq, black and pale yellowish “poppy - heads” vertical glyphs were surrounding bowls. Like in different mark position on red-slipped burnished pipes and long-stemmed sebiels examples basically introduced their

¹⁷⁴ St. J. Simpson, *Smoking Across Iraq* in Ed. A. Invernizzi, *Documenti, culture, storia del Mediterraneo e dell’Oriente Antico*, (Edizioni dell’Orso Alessandria, 2013), pp. 258-259.

makers. After analyzing different items and their stamps found in excavations it would be rational to state that these pipes were local products made by various producers.

Pipes in Anatolia Bitlis and Edirne excavations

From Bitlis castle excavations, Aliye Yılmaz worked on 123 lüle findings, categorized under three different types as “tüteklikli”, “tütekliksiz” and “tüteklikli-kaideli” lüles. In the production process of these lüles, usually gray, cream, light cream, white, black, dark tile red was used. Nearly all lüles were prepared in mold in this area. In this excavation, as a raw material, dough plays an important role to way of its oven baking. Seems that additional material was added into the dough such as sand, rocks and lime stone and result of this process cause a confusion about whether they were produced in the same workshop or not.

Lüles founded in the excavation had great similarities found in various excavations especially in Edirne Yeni Saray excavations. Majority of lüles found in Bitlis did not have similarities resemblance. This founding may lead us to assume that those items were coming from different places. Combine with their dough nature and decorations, especially in “tütekli” lüles would confirmed this assumption. Characteristics of Anatolian lüles, is the absence of stamp defining the lüle maker. Lack of such a clue was hardening the process of setting a date. Yet, in the first period of lüle use body size was a great clue in order to approximate date. All findings were dated between 17th and 20th century.

Excavations of Edirne Castle started in 2009 under the supervision of Dr. Mustafa Öz. Composition on lüles is designed in harmony with the shape. Determent ornaments were generally shaped in different geometric plant figures and writing.

During the excavation period 103 lüles were found. Four of them were stamped, 17 were signatures and one was stamp ornamented. “Vize” stamp located on four different lüles might reflect the production place of these artifacts. However another stamp found as” Küllü Vize” meaning all are from Vize was decreasing chances to locate a production location. Besides some stamps were very difficult, even nearly impossible to read which also made the situation even more difficult. Without understanding what is written on items it would be impossible to create meaning whether these are simple names, producers or produced locations.¹⁷⁵

A special lüle was brought to light during these excavations. On one of its side an ever was taking place and on the other side a “teber”¹⁷⁶ was located. What makes this type of lüle interesting is the fact that a special group of “Teberyan” was serving in Palace and by this founding this type of lüle could be used from these palace servants or also by dervishes and became known as a symbolic tool in tekkes.¹⁷⁷

R. Robinson and U. Baram were representing the color of clay as a method to set a date for founding and were classifying all lüles made by white or light gray as 17th century artifacts. However for this process color of clays along would represent an inadequate source. Yet in old Edirne Palace some lüles made with white and light gray assumed to represent 17th century were made with shapes of 18th century.

¹⁷⁵ Cengiz, p. 215.

¹⁷⁶ Special type of Ottoman axe.

¹⁷⁷ Cengiz, p. 216.

CONCLUSION

Conducting a study on lüles may not give all the information on social and daily life of Ottomans but following excavation reports as well as pleasure giving substances in the Empire may lead us to understand at least a part of daily life. From this standpoint, this thesis has attempted to look at the public, cultural and social effects of lüle inside the Empire between the early 17th and the early 20th century.

Introduction of tobacco and pipe to the Empire, in a way, greatly changed social life, and more importantly, created a new social sphere. Coffee houses took major part about that transformation since they ignored some ground rules about Ottoman daily home life. Those places offered a new way of interaction through, presumably at the beginning, coffee and tobacco. With the help of coffee houses, smoking habit spread around so fast that it became a social consumable material. Since coffee houses and tobacco was reachable by any subject of the Empire, hierarchy vanished during the smoking rituals in coffee shops.

However, not only coffee shops but coffee itself carried an important cultural significance. As much its consumption, coffee became one of the important element of profit. Once the coffee houses banned and close down, small traders were harshly affected whereas the wealthy merchants were successfully making great amount of money, thanks to their capital. Even though coffee houses were banned, the Port quickly realized the influence of coffee in trade and its high revenues in treasury. To be able to gain profit, coffee was taxed during the reign of Suleiman the Second. It followed with a second tax for its sale. A final method for the Ottoman government to get profit was giving permission of “farming out the right of coffee – roasting to the highest bidder.” The trade of coffee reached its pick in the late 17th and early 18th century event though there were some coffee dealers in the 16th century. The capture

of Aden by Ottomans in 1830 gave opportunity to Ottoman merchants to have control over the Red Sea area, Western Arabia, Syria and Anatolia. Having the general power over the area by Ottomans pushed Europeans wishing to have coffee trade to create new plantation areas in the Caribbean. In the 18th and 19th century new coffee houses in Rococo style were built. Not only they were made of timber and decorated with paintings, they also had a stove to heat the coffee, coal for pipes and Narghile and finally small fountains to cool the room. The environment created the perfect atmosphere to drink coffee while shaving, listening to music or story tellers, smoking their pipes, relaxing or looking for company. Yet, the major danger for coffee houses and for the city in which they were established was fires. Since they were generally made of wood this danger was always present.¹⁷⁸

In the Ottoman culture conversation must be interpreted as a tool of education and as a way of transmitting knowledge as well as learning how a conversation should be organized. It should not be forgotten that conversation became one of the most important accessory to the process of coffee drinking. Even though consumption of coffee and conversation first started among dervishes and it quickly spread to the rest of the society especially with coffeehouses. With the spread of coffeehouses among the ordinary people, a new social place was also created. Majority of coffeehouses mostly located in Tahtakale region of Istanbul were generally described as disturbing, frequented by adventurous people as well as foreigners. With late 16th century janissaries also started to play an important role in coffeehouses by becoming artisans. A new sector is created in order to entertain all customers coming to these social spaces. “During the summer season, Tahtakale was full of acrobats, tightrope walkers, and people who performed the strangest tricks

¹⁷⁸ Kia, p. 237.

with wild animals, and these outsiders all contributed to the semi- obscure history of this part of Istanbul”.¹⁷⁹

In time, different coffee shops have been established with different styles and these are reflecting the social change dramatically. By offering popular types of expressions which are sometimes political and from time to time theatrical, coffeehouses create a new social ground where everybody sit, drink and smoke to gather.

As it is reflected coffeehouses represents the first institutions to give people a new space to escape the real world as well as giving them an area of distraction with breaking the thigh daily life circles in houses and town quarters. In the 16th century Ottoman towns were planed around some institutions which played an important role in individual’s life. This complex was composed of house, markets, and the mosque or dervish convent which all requires different levels of responsibility.¹⁸⁰ Turning point of coffeehouses and their reflections over the Ottoman society starts at this point. Once the coffeehouses started to be frequented, the male population did enter a new space free from domestic, work and religious responsibilities.

There is no doubt that coffee houses were bringing different kind of people come together, having a good time and making new friendships. For Christians, going to a coffee house was not a matter of prestige. In the 18th century serving a coffee to a guest became indispensable moral rule. Sonnini underlines that coffee is the most desirable product to serve to guest and even people who do not have usually coffee in their houses, prefer to serve coffee for their guest.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, Christoph K. Neumann, *The Illuminated Table, The Prosperous House Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, (Orient - Institut der DMG, 2003), p. 205.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 205.

¹⁸¹ Grégoire and Georgeon, p. 102.

Tobacco was consumed all around the world and being defined as a cultural object, it created diversities in the process of its consumption. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, a special tool called “lüle” would be used with distinct decorations and colors. It was so widespread that the item became a part of Ottoman culture and smoking habits. However, the device which was introduced by for the first time by English merchants took as much attention as tobacco itself. In a short period of time, Ottoman potters and some other craftsmen started to produce their own pipes in a different form which ended as a Chibouk. Nevertheless, an important part was lüle since craftsmen used their skills on it and showed their talents on pottery making. Moreover, like tobacco, lüle also became an essential item for all the individuals in the Empire. More detailed and exceptional lüles were crafted for Palace while simpler ones were crafted for public. Since smoking habit also spread around janissary soldiers and became a valuable trade element for merchants, they carried lüles with them all around the Empire.

Different types of lüles had been produced from the 17th to the early 20th century all around the Empire but many of them were produced in Istanbul. Tophane district was one the places which already became famous in the early 19th century but it was not the only one. Following excavation reports both from the Balkans frontier castles and the Middle Eastern castles show that lüle production was not only belonging to Ottomans. Cairo, Iran, Iraq, Hungary and Serbia also produced their own lüles. However, as I have argued in my thesis, it is important to understand whether those lüles were produced in those places or were carried with soldiers and merchants. In this case, some excavation reports clearly show that, some Tophane lüles travelled through Hungary to Cario which shows the cultural exchange clearly. Besides, some findings around the Empire also indicate that some craftsmen learned

lüle making from lüle makers who lived in Istanbul because shapes, raw material and designs on lüles look alike in many occasions.

Of course, to reach some ideas about similarities and differences, thanks to Ottoman lüle makers, stamps and raw materials point out the production date and place roughly. In order to follow lüle's details, excavation reports give significant amount of details. Following chronological typologies of R. Robinson's and U. Baram also give a different point of view to reach some conclusion where shapes and raw materials offer a great deal of result.

On the other hand, Erdinç Bakla's collection which he published in his book consists of different types of lüles with stamps and different styles. There is no doubt that his work enlightens the subject and makes it easier to work on it like Arjan de Haan's private collection also reflects various kinds of lüles and chibouks.

Excavations in Anatolia and specific excavations aimed at Ottoman Archeology have already presented cultural interactions in the Empire. Edirne, being the old capital as well as a close location to Istanbul, was far away from having qualified lüles. Rather, samples were in great resemblance with "commoner's lüles" and some "white lüles". Majority of these goods were found in Matbah-ı Amire where social hierarchy became visible only by looking to quality differences between common and high quality lüles. Yet, as a unique type, glazed lüle was also discovered.

In order to discuss social changes, archeology offers useful information. However, based on a few number of researches made by archeologists, neither relevant assumptions nor any interesting findings were made, in addition, nothing was brought up for discussion. Taking into consideration excavation dates, regarding Ottoman period, it would not be wrong to assume that research on Ottoman period

archeology has started to develop recently. Studies conducted in this short period of time have revealed great information, however, in order to understand Ottoman culture, especially concerning tobacco, further research and further excavations should be conducted.

There is no doubt that material culture plays an important role in defining everyday life of Ottoman subjects. Besides, in order to develop data concerning this field, material culture needs archeology. More archeological excavation reports will enlighten further information about different materials, their consumption, trade and their contribution to social structure.

At this point, this thesis also attempts to reveal the past experiences of tobacco consumers and lüles themselves. Following lüle as a cultural device, we may get some answers about at least a part of the Ottoman Palace and daily life. However, with so much in the dark, it is impossible to reach some certain conclusions whether lüle makers moved through the Empire to practice this craftsmanship or whether Hungarian lüle makers learned this work only after they saw janissary soldiers while smoking it.

Lastly, this thesis focuses on smokable and pleasure giving substances. To accomplish lüle's cultural interaction, tobacco and opium were inevitable substances. Some travelogue's information enlightened some questions dramatically. In this case, with the result of excavation reports I have attempted to accomplish only a closer understanding of lüles and their importance as a cultural material.

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