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COUNT LUIGI FERDINANDO MARSIGLI AND HIS ESSAY ON TURKISH
COFFEE: COFFEE, COFFEEHOUSES AND CULTURAL LIFE IN THE LATE
17th CENTURY OTTOMAN ISTANBUL

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KONT LUIGI FERDINANDO MARSIGLI VE KAHVE ÜZERİNE
MAKALESİ: 17. YÜZYIL SONU OSMANLI İSTANBUL'UNDA KAHVE,
KAHVEHANELER VE KÜLTÜREL YAŞAM

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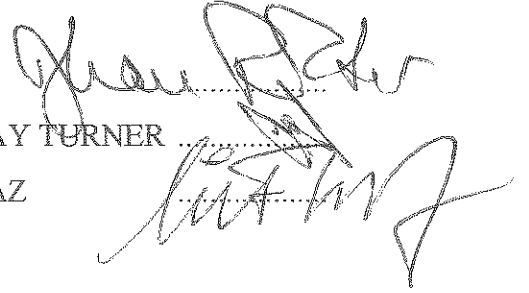
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ABSTRACT

COUNT LUIGI FERDINANDO MARSIGLI AND HIS ESSAY ON TURKISH COFFEE: COFFEE, COFFEEHOUSES AND CULTURAL LIFE IN THE LATE 17th CENTURY OTTOMAN ISTANBUL

This thesis focuses on coffee and coffeehouses at the end of the 17th century, Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's life and his essay on coffee. It examines the social, political, economic and spatial transformation starting with the emergence of coffee and coffeehouses, specific to their occurrence in the Ottoman-Istanbul. It continues with the interesting life of Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli from Bologna. His works on his interaction with Ottoman culture, military, geography and officials are stated in the final chapter. This is not an argumentative but an informative thesis. However, coffee and coffeehouses have never ceased to be a matter of discussion since their first occurrence.

Keywords: Coffee, coffeehouses, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Istanbul in the 17th Century, daily life

ÖZET

KONT LUIGI FERDINANDO MARSIGLI VE TÜRK KAHVESİ ÜZERİNE METNİ: 17. YÜZYIL SONU OSMANLI İSTANBUL’UNDA KAHVE, KAHVEHANELER VE KÜLTÜREL YAŞAM

Bu tez, 17. yüzyıl sonunda kahve ve kahvehaneleri, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli’s hayatını, çalışmalarını ve kahve üzerine yazmış olduğu metni konu edinmektedir. Kahvenin ilk kez ortaya çıkışından başlayarak kahvehanelerin oluşumunu, Osmanlı-Istanbul sınırlarına girmeleriyle birlikte yaşanan sosyal, siyasi, ekonomik ve mekansal dönüşümü inceler. Bologna’dan Kont Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli’nin ilginç yaşamını içeren biyografinin ardından son bölümde Osmanlı kültürü, ordusu, coğrafyası ve yetkilileriyle etkileşimi üzerine çalışmaları belirtilmiştir. Bu, tartışmaya değil, bilgilendirmeye dayanan bir tezdır. Ancak, kahve ve kahvehaneler ilk ortaya çıkışlarından bu yana tartışma konusu olmaktan hiç vazgeçmemişlerdir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kahve, Kahvehane, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, 17. Yüzyılda İstanbul, Gündelik hayat

INTRODUCTION

Kahve (Coffee) has two meanings in Turkish; a beverage and abbreviation of *kahvehane* (coffeehouse or café) and it is not a coincidence that coffee, as a drink and a place, has always been inseparable especially within the scope of the Ottoman History. Coffee entered Istanbul from the Palace during the reign of Sultan Suleiman I (r. 1520-1566) and then to the high-officials' houses. Before long, it has reached the streets and served by peddlers. When the first coffeehouses obtained an official face at the second half of the 16th century, this public institution led to political, socio-economic and occasionally religious sanctions. Due to its hard-to-control social structure, coffeehouse remained on the agenda since its first appearance in the streets of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century and spread hastily in a very short time.

In the first part of this study, in addition to the legends about the emergence of coffee, reliable information was shared in the light of historical sources. The coffeehouses were in a constant transformation from the first day they emerged. The official interventions, upcoming disagreements between the people and political authorities and in this context Ottoman Sultans underlay bans and the public reactions. The discussions about coffee and coffeehouses as exemplified with *fetwas* related to coffee and coffeehouses reflected the significant influence of religion on social life.

In order not to ignore the public-demand and considering the economic benefits, the prohibitions on the consumption of coffee have not been permanent.

Yet, there were four large-scale bans on coffee and coffeehouses in the 16th and 17th century Ottoman History. The coffeehouses became the socialization space of the Muslim majority, at the beginning served for men only, and soon became one of the indispensable meeting places of daily life.

There is a consensus that coffee first appeared in Yemen¹ and its consumption began in Dervish lodges and spread from there to the whole society. The coffee, which became widespread in Istanbul through merchants and dervishes, began to be consumed in many cities of Europe in time. By moving the coffee from street vendors and drinkers to coffeehouses, *Mahalle* Coffeehouses grew rapidly in the Ottoman Empire and turned into a heterogeneous public-space where people from all levels of the society came together for a variety of purposes. The authorities perceived this fluid and difficult-to-manage structure as a threat and recognized it as a center of tensions between the people and the government, as is evident in the example of Janissary Coffeehouses from the 17th century until Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) abolished them at the first half of the 19th century.

Before coffeehouses, the socialization center of Muslims was the mosques and their private homes, which did not prevent them from worshiping. However, with the coffeehouse, people started to 'kill time' which was unacceptable, because that hindered their worship due to the distractions like games and conversations. Besides, there have been unapproved activities like gambling and

¹ Another common belief is that coffee first appeared in Ethiopia then spread to Yemen. However, in Ethiopia, it was eaten but in Yemen, it was drunk and used as a beverage for the first time.

drinking alcoholic beverages. Thus, the *Sheikhes al-Islam* of the period intervened with coffee and coffeehouses via *fetwas*.² These *fetwas* supported or resulted in *fermans* (edicts).

However, coffee and coffeehouses were not limited with Muslim countries and communities. Different religions and different geographies had their share of coffee as it has spread to the various cities of Europe at the end of the 17th century. This expansion resulted in the religious regulations of the Christian and Jewish scholars, as well.

After this general information on coffee and coffeehouses, the second chapter is the biography of Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli who came to Istanbul for the first time with Venice Bailo Pietro Civran. In this official visit, Marsigli stayed in Istanbul for 11 months and had the opportunity to make important observations. This official visit coincides with the occurrence of the coffee and coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire and Count Marsigli's encounter with coffee towards the end of 17th century saved his life, when Tartars captured him during the Second Siege of Vienna (1683) and Marsigli served coffee in the military camp. He recorded all of these observations in his personal notes and in official reports.

During this visit, he met one of the most important scholars of the period Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi (1600-1691) and in his autobiography, Marsigli shared his disappointment and grief on the fact that such a wise man would die as a

² For detailed information about one of the *Sheikh al-Islam Ebusuud Efendi* in the 16th century, see. Mehmet Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebusuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972, 148-149.

Muslim. Hüseyin Efendi gave Marsigli some pages on coffee. Marsigli translated these notes into Italian with the help of his translator, Gabai and dedicated them to Cardinal Buonvisi³. The work entitled *Bevanda Asiatica* (1685) was published in Vienna. The book also includes the healing effect of coffee and additional information about other beverages such as wine and beer from different regions. The five-page receipt given by Hüseyin Efendi was printed on the opposite pages in Italian and Ottoman Turkish. In the translation, Marsigli used the terms in Ottoman Turkish by adapting them to proper pronunciation. The booklet ends with how to serve Turkish coffee and salutations.

In summary, the three key subjects of this thesis are coffeehouses in the late 17th century; Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's life and his essay on Turkish coffee entitled *Bevanda Asiatica*.

³ Cardinal Francesco Buonvisi (1626-1700). Deceased as the Bishop of Lucca. He was elevated to Cardinal in 1681 and when *Bevanda Asiatica* was published, Cardinal Buonvisi was at the service of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I.

CHAPTER 1

1. COFFEE AND COFFEEHOUSES IN THE LATE 17th CENTURY ISTANBUL

1.1. ON COFFEE

The emergence of coffee had a snowball effect on the course of history and there are various legends about the appearance of coffee for the first time. The most popular one is the story of Kaldi and his dancing goats:⁴ Kaldi was a goat herder from Ethiopia who realized the strange behavior (dancing) of his goats after eating red berries (fresh coffee beans); he tried the beans and he rejuvenated. Other two legends are based on the curative function of coffee.⁵ First story is about Prophet Muhammad and Archangel Gabriel in which the Prophet was seriously ill, Gabriel served him a cup of coffee and, the Prophet recovered instantaneously. In the second story:

Solomon was said to have come in his travels to a town whose inhabitants were afflicted with some unspecified disease. On the command of the angel Gabriel, he roasted coffee beans “from the Yemen,” from which he brewed the drink, which when given to the sufferers, cured them of their illness. The report concludes by saying that coffee was then completely forgotten until the beginning of the tenth [A.D. sixteenth] century.⁶

⁴ The legend of Kaldi is a very widespread and universal story. We can see artwork dedicated to this legend. For an example see. “Coffee Legend / series Painting by Ilaamen Pelshaw“, <https://www.saatchiart.com/art/Painting-Coffee-Legend-series/902162/3893343/view>

⁵ For more information about the usage of coffee for medical purposes in Egypt, see. Michel Tuchscherer, “Osmanlı Döneminde Mısır Kahvehaneleri: 16.-18. Yüzyıllar,” in *Doğu’da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 103-104.

⁶ Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1985), 13.

In parallel with legends and stories, historic sources suggested that the motherland of coffee was Yemen.⁷ However, the etymology⁸ of the word *kahve* (coffee) indicated Kaffa region in Ethiopia as the Arabic version of the word, *qahwa* also has the same root. The ambiguity about the appearance and arrival of coffee was probably because merchants from Yemen introduced it to Saudi Arabia and coffee had quite a journey as explained by [Coffee] historian Ralph S. Hattox:

By the first decade of the sixteenth century... coffee had spread from the Yemen to the Hejaz and Cairo... it was another decade or so before it reached Syria, probably via the pilgrimage caravan, and from there it was carried to Istanbul around the middle of the 1500s.⁹

To get back to the meaning of the word *qahwa*, a detailed explanation of coffee terminology is found in Hattox' outstanding and detailed doctoral thesis as follows:

As a general rule, we can say that:

1. In common use the word *qahwa* came to be applied to the beverage made of the fruit of the *coffea arabica*.

⁷ Contrary to what Sir Clausier Du Loir says in his journal, the origin of coffee is Yemen and it was usually transported to Istanbul via Egypt. For the related interpretation see. Sir Clausier Du Loir, *Du Loir Seyahatnamesi: IV Murat Döneminde Bir Fransız Seyyahın Maceraları.*, trans. Mustafa Daş (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2016) 131-133.

⁸ "German doctor Rauwolf mentioned this word 'kaube' as he heard from people of Aleppo. In the news from Cairo in 1591/92, 'kaova' is expressed as a beverage from the grains of a tree. In 1582, two hundred coffeehouse owners walk in a cortege; in 1604, a Christian captive in Budapest mentions drinking of *kahve* (café) in his journal. A British mariner logs that he saw 'cohoo' plantations in Moha desert in Southern Arabia and he took a rest in a 'cohoohowse' (coffeehouse) in his journal. Same year, in a British newspaper the word 'coffee' is used. There are different phonetic pronunciations of the word from 'kava' in Arabic and 'kahve' in Turkish such as *bun, buna, ban* and *bunç*." Ulla Heise, *Kahve ve Kahvehane*, trans. Mustafa Tüzel (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2001), 11.

⁹ "In any event, what Dhabhani saw in Ethiopia, if indeed he went there, and what he did there and on his return to Yemen, are left open to doubt by Ibn 'Abd al- Ghaffar's account. To begin with, he found the people of Ethiopia "using" *qahwa* (*fa-wajada ahlahu yasta'miluna al-qahwa*)." Hattox, *ibid.*, 14.

2. The fruit itself is called *bunn*, while the two parts of the fruit, the kernel and the husk, are called *bunn* (or *habb al-bunn*) and *qishr* respectively.

3. The word *qahwa* is sometimes modified to specify what sort of beverage we are speaking of, since it could be made from either the husks alone (*al-qahwa al-qishrya*) from the kernels (*al-qahwa al-bunniya*), or from a combination of the two, but it is restricted to those things made from the fruit of the coffee plant.”¹⁰

However, the lexical deduction might be problematic on its own because the first expression of coffee (*qahwa*) in the earlier texts of the Muslim world might be referring to an alcoholic beverage or metaphoric usage of wine used by mystics. Historian and Theologian Cornelis van Arendonk stated in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* that, “Originally [coffee] is a name of wine, found in the old poetry...”¹¹

Another ambiguous point about coffee was how to consume it. Coffee was not necessarily a ‘beverage’ at the beginning. In Arabic, they use the verb شرب [šariba] for drinking, consuming and, smoking, which can be confusing. For instance, in some records about the Yemen Sufi circles, we see that some sheiks crushed and ate the berries. As stated by Hattox, “It is not clear from this whether the ‘use’ of coffee by the Ethiopians was as a beverage, as those who took the habit from them later were to do, or whether they were eating the berries, as was

¹⁰ Hattox, *ibid.*, 20.

¹¹ Cornelis van Arendonk, “Kahwa,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. E. van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, 2nd (New) ed., vol. IV (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub., 1997), 449-455. See also. Cornelis van Arendonk, “Kahwa,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, R. Basset, and R. Hartmann, 1st ed., vol. IV (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub., 1913-1936).

(Note: The ‘Kahwa’ article in the first and second editions of *Encyclopedia of Islam* are the same and written by van Arendonk. However, in the third and latest edition, the article about coffee and coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire is entitled “Coffee and Coffeehouses, Ottoman” and written by Michel Tuchscherer. For the third edition, see. Michel Tuchscherer, “Coffee and coffeehouses, Ottoman”, in *Encyclopedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/coffee-and-coffeehouses-ottoman-COM_24410?s.num=2

occasionally seen, even in later times, in the Arabian Peninsula.”¹² In another example from Ethiopia, people were crashing the beans, adding them into the flour and baking bread in the 800s A.D.¹³

The manuscripts by one of the most credible historians, Abdülkadir İbn Muhammed el-Cezîrî¹⁴ and his prominent work *Umdetü's-safve fi hilli'l-kahve* are the basis of information about the first coffee consumption in the dervish lodges. According to Ceziri, drinking coffee was not limited to individual usage and there were collective coffee-drinking sessions. In the ceremony, dervishes sat in a circle and passed one cup of coffee starting from the Sheikh to all the other dervishes and this ceremony was the symbol of unity as well as an oath of alliance as van Arendonk explained, “The pious intention with which it was taken made the drinking of coffee a good work. It received a ceremonial character, being accompanied by the recitation of a so-called *ratib*.”¹⁵

Rejuvenating and delighting qualities of coffee put it in an irreplaceable position in the Sufi circles as well as the Ottoman Palace but its qualities were not limited to awakening and energizing. Coffee has medical and curative functions as

¹² Hattox, *ibid.*, 14.

¹³ Yasin Yıldız, comp., *Tüm Zamanların Hattırına Sarayda Bir Fincan Kahve* (İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı, 2011), 17.

¹⁴ For detailed information and other references to Ceziri see. Hattox, *ibid.*, C. van Arendonk, “Kahwa,” in: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. E. van Donzel, B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat, 2nd (New) ed., vol. IV (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub., 1997); Hélène Desmet-Grégoire and François Georgeon, ed., *Doğu'da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, trans. Meltem Atik and Esra Özdoğan (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999).

¹⁵ While they are circulating the coffee-cup, they repeat *kawi* 116 times. “This usage -apart from the similar in sound between *kahwa* and *kawi*- on the fact that the numerical value of (ebcet hesabı) *khw*, 116 is the same as *kwy* one of the most beautiful names of Allah.” C. van Arendonk, *ibid.*, 450.

well and it was commonly used for therapeutic purposes.¹⁶ Even today, we use coffee as an alternative medicine for the treatment of various diseases:

“Medical historian and deontologist Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Demirhan (Erdemir) gives the following account of the use of coffee in folk medicine: ‘According to first-hand information provided by people from Istanbul, diarrhea is treated by squeezing lemons juice on two spoonful of coffee and swallowing half a teaspoonful of this picture with a little water once every three hours... Coffee is also used in treating animal diseases, which have diarrhea as a symptom... Ground coffee also has a healing effect when applied externally to wounds and cuts, again due to the tannin it contains.

In provincial regions of Turkey, sweet coffee is given to relieve labor pains and coffee with lemon to cure headaches. Another cure for headache is to sprinkle coffee onto slices of potato, press these onto the patient’s forehead and tie them in place the muslin scarf. Descendants of old Istanbul families recall coffee like quinine, being used to treat malaria... In rural areas animals that had eaten poisonous plants were given large amounts of coffee to drink, since coffee is an antidote for substances that numb the nervous system.’ (Demirhan, 89-90)”¹⁷

The therapeutic usage of coffee was not pertained to Turkish folklore. During the first years of coffee in London, they sold it in the pharmacies as a medicine. The healing features of coffee were not limited to these as stated by French Historian Fernand Braudel:

...It [coffee] dries up all cold and damp humors, drives away wind, strengthens the liver, relieves dropsies by its purifying quality; sovereigns equally for scabies and impurity of the blood, it revives the heart and its vital beat relieves those who have stomach ache and have lost their appetite; it is equally good for those who have a cold in the head, streaming or heavy... The vapor which rises from it (helps) watering eyes and noises in the ears, sovereign remedy also for short breath, colds which attack the lungs, pains in the spleen, worms; extraordinary relief after over-eating or over-drinking. Nothing better for those who eat a lot of fruit... However, other doctors, and public humor claimed that coffee was an anti-aphrodisiac and a ‘eunuch’s drink.’¹⁸

¹⁶ About the usage of coffee for medical purposes in Egypt, see. Michel Tuchscherer, *ibid.*,

¹⁷ Sabri M. Koz and Kemalettin Kuzucu, *Turkish Coffee*, trans. Mary P. Işın (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2013), 214-215.

¹⁸ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th - 18th Century*, trans. Siân Reynolds, vol. 1, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), 256-260.

The medical function of coffee is very essential for this dissertation in relation to Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli and his essay on coffee entitled *Bevanda Asiatica* (Asian Beverage). The booklet includes a receipt about the curative function and preparation of coffee. Besides, it is considered one of the earliest scientific books on coffee in the West. The basis of this booklet is the translation of *Sheikh Davut al-Misrî's*¹⁹ receipt that Hezarfen Hüseyn Efendi²⁰ delivered to L. F. Marsigli in Istanbul during his official visit with Venetian Bailo Pietro Civran. Marsigli translated this piece from Ottoman Turkish to Italian, added his personal notes and observations on beverages and presented them to Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I and Cardinal Francesco Buonvisi.

1.1.1 Coffee in Istanbul

According to various historians, the exact date of the arrival and occurrence of coffee in Istanbul is not clear. The first occurrence of coffee in the Ottoman Empire was presumably almost 300 years after the Yemeni Dervish lodges. It was during Sultan Suleiman I (r. 1520-1566)'s reign as van Arendonk stated, "Intercourse with the holy cities and with Egypt brought coffee to Syria, Persia and Turkey. In Istanbul and Rumili, coffee first appeared in the reign of Suleiman I."²¹ Academician Ahmet Yaşar also stated that, "The first coffee service in the Palace was during Sultan Suleiman I's time and towards the end of his reign there

¹⁹ The author of the receipt was noted as *Sheikh Davut al-Misrî* in *Bevanda Asiatica* whereas there are strong evidence that the author was actually *Davud al-Antakî* who was educated in Cairo for a while and treated patience. For detailed information about physician and scholar *Davud al-Antakî*, see. Ayşegül Demirhan Erdemir, "Dâvûd-i Antâkî," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (Istanbul: TDV, 1994), 26-27.

²⁰ For more information about Hezarfen Hüseyn Efendi and his Works, see. Footnote 106.

²¹ van Arendonk, *ibid.*, 451.

were fifty coffeehouses in Istanbul.”²² However, German author and journalist Ulla Heise²³ and French Historian Fernand Braudel²⁴ pointed out that the first occurrence dated back to Sultan Selim I (r.1512-1520) and the records indicated drinking coffee in 1517. Ottoman-Turkish polymath Katib Çelebi dated the arrival of coffee to Turkey as 1543 in his work *The Balance of Truth*²⁵ whereas Turkish Studies Professor and Historian Cemal Kafadar presented a date range in his article:

The earliest mention, found thus far, of coffee in Istanbul —not of coffeehouses but of coffee— occurs in the endowment deed of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha (1473-1546). When the grand admiral endowed his home as one of the properties committed to the family *waqf* that he registered in 1539, the property included a *kahve odası*, a coffee chamber.²⁶

The occurrence of coffee in the Ottoman Empire was directly related to its consumption in major religious Muslim sects such as *Halvetiyye*, *Kalenderi* and *Bektaşî*.²⁷ Sultan Suleiman I affiliated with *Halveti* sect and in the second half of the 16th century, the chief coffee maker (*kahvecibaşı*) was appointed in the Palace

²² Ahmet Yaşar, “Kahvehane,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. Ek-2 (Istanbul: TDV, 2016), 3-5.

²³ Heise, *ibid.*, 21.

²⁴ Braudel, *ibid.*, 256.

²⁵ Katib Çelebi, *The Balance of Truth*, trans. G. L. Lewis (London: Allen and Unwin, 1957), 60.

²⁶ Cemal Kafadar, “How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul,” in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), 247.

Note: Assist. Prof. Dr. Fikret YILMAZ remarked during the defense of this dissertation that Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha’s *Vakfiye* was modified three or four times. He also added that the date of *Vakfiye* was 1534 and these modifications were applied in 1538-1540, 1557, 1585 and 1595-99. As stated by Kafadar, in the *Vakfiye*, there are three coffee rooms in two mansions of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha. However, between the years 1534-1599, when and in which version this information was added to *Vakfiye* cannot be determined. Therefore, according to Yılmaz, the first mention of a place defined as *Kahveodası* (coffee chamber) in mansions becomes controversial. There is no doubt that coffee arrived in Istanbul from North Africa or after the Southern Expeditions in 1517, but *Vakfiye* must be used within the framework of the aforementioned reservations. (23.05.2019)

²⁷ Ayşe Saraçgil, “Kahve’nin İstanbul’a Gelişi,” in *Doğu’da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 30.

to organize the service of coffee. Coffee service had a crucial part in the routine and it was ceremonial. At first, the coffee was served only to the Sultan but it became customary to offer coffee to official visitors. Only the highest rank could enjoy a drink in the table, others had to quench their thirst with water, and after the meal, the guests washed their hands before the coffee was served.²⁸

The high officials started to serve coffee in their private houses as well. Even in the house, coffee service had always been ceremonial and in some cases it was served in the special men-rooms (*selamlık*) of the house as the head of the house had his coffee alone or with his preferred guests. Suraiya Faroqhi noted that, "... in Seyyid Hasan's [1679-1748] diary records he is drinking coffee at the start of the day. This was not always a family occasion, but sometimes took place in the part of the house reserved for men, and guests might also be invited."²⁹

The aforementioned example might give the impression that drinking coffee was limited to men. However, in the 17th century, women also had the privilege to order and offer coffee in the Palace as we see examples of coffee service in the letters and journals of women, noted during their official visits to the Haseki Sultans (wives of the Sultan). They served coffee in a very detailed and formal manner as Faroqhi suggested:

"Lady Mary Wortley Montague... describes an invitation to afternoon coffee which she received from the wife of an eminent official, the grand vizier's kâhya

²⁸ Juanita Vroom, "Cornelis Calkoen Türkiye'de: Bir 18. Yüzyıl Flemenk Diplomatın Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Öğle Yemeği," in *Haydi Sofraya: Mutfak Penceresinden Osmanlı Tarihi*, ed. Amy Singer, (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2015), 153.

²⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, trans. Martin Bott, (London: I.B.Tauris, 2000), 218.

...

Women would gather in the homes of their female friends and acquaintances for meals, music and conversation. For the male inhabitants of the towns there were also public meeting places, among which the cafés (coffee houses) we have just encountered were particularly popular.”³⁰

The children were also familiar with the drink and public areas as we see some references to coffee and coffeehouses in the fairy tales. Coffee service and ceremonies played a great part in cultural transmission of tradition as we see in the stories that the protagonist of the story visits the coffeehouse to unburden his troubles, find solutions, socialize and ask for advice. The examples from the tales would be out of context of this dissertation but we might have some insight about the content of these tales and function of coffee-coffeehouses as explained by Researcher Namık Açıkgöz:

“In fairy tales, we see elements related to coffee in 5 different forms: Coffee (*kahve*), coffeehouse (*kahvehane*), coffee maker (*kahveci*), after-breakfast coffee (*kahve-altı*), coffee utensils.... In addition to palace, mansion, house, cottage, Turkish bath, inn, caravansary, castle, dungeon and caves in the fairy tales, coffeehouses (or *kahve* in brief) have an important place. The protagonist encounters or happens to pass a coffeehouse, which would create a climax in the story... [In some scenarios] coffeehouses are not just a haunt but a shelter as well.”³¹

Once became public, coffee expanded beyond the ruling-class and the expansion of coffee drinking among all levels of society brought up not only coffeehouses in the public sphere, but also the establishment of coffee preparation facilities. The coffee was served in mobile coffee stalls, which were like mussel fillers and for coffee-addicts; there were coffee pots, coffee, sugar and *mangal* (mobile barbeque) to brew their coffee suitable for their tastes. The indication of

³⁰ Faroqhi, *ibid.*, 214

³¹ Namık Açıkgöz, *Kahvenâme* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 1999), 133-137.

the upcoming coffeehouses was the occurrence or transformation of various places like classic shops, which were reminiscent of *kiraathane* (reading-houses). Soon after, coffeehouses emerged and invaded the streets of Istanbul.

1.2. ON COFFEEHOUSES

1.2.1. Coffeehouses as Public Spaces

Coffee and coffeehouses had an essential role in the social-communal life from the second half of 16th century. Coffeehouses existed in a unique environment as places of exhaustion and consumption.³² From the historical perspective stated by Kafadar, “new and immensely popular forms of sociability in the early modern era; secularization of public space; literary activity; novel sites for the formation and manipulation of public opinion; tensions with the authorities”³³ were the general characteristics of the coffeehouses. Besides, the coffeehouses were not illegal and inconvenient like taverns in Muslim societies and they soon obtained a hotel status for international guests.³⁴

With their cosmopolitan and sophisticated structure, the 17th century coffeehouses were different from usual gathering places in the community such as *madrasahs*, bazaars, caravansaries, mosques and others. In this setting, coffeehouses established an intermediary social-public sphere for men, and men only, to bend and stretch the strict norms. This flexible structure provided a legal

³² Desmet-Grégoire and Georgeon, *ibid.*, 10.

³³ Cemal Kafadar, “A History of Coffee,” Paper presented at the XIII Congress of the International Economic History Association (IEHA) (Buenos Aires, Argentina, 22-26 July 2002), 1.

³⁴ Heise, *ibid.*, 21.

gap for both legitimate and illegitimate actions, without detaching people from their social and cultural environment. Hereby, coffeehouses were considered innovative but before long, they became an ordinary part of the social life and a center to satisfy the economic, social and cultural needs of the community while creating their own community.

Starting from their emergence in the second half of the 16th century, the Ottoman coffeehouses became preferable meeting points. There were limitless opportunities as a junction point of locals, travelers, officials, employers, employees, clergy, non-Muslims, hobos, influencers and as van Arendonk mentioned, "The coffee-house met with such approval that it soon attracted civil servants, *kadis* and professors also."³⁵

The interiors of the primary coffeehouses were also transforming due to this heterogeneous flow. It was almost like a sanctuary with the routines, rules, ornaments and ceremonies.³⁶

However, the design and spatial qualities of the coffeehouses differed according to their location and cultural setting;³⁷ the routines of the clientele were almost universal. Both in the West and the East, since the first occurrence of

³⁵ van Arendonk, *ibid.*, 451.

³⁶ Desmet-Grégoire and Georgeon, *ibid.*, 23.

³⁷ A very picturesque example was found in the traditional Iranian coffeehouses, which are ornamented, or actually decorated, with religious and mythical stories of the Iranian culture. The frescos and paintings, calligraphy tables on the walls might have recalled a temple at first glance before the coffee was served. Iranian Artist Wijdan Ali mentioned such example as follows: "The poorer classes remained attached to pictorial folk traditions manifested in qahwa-khaned (coffeehouse) murals and in oil paintings that decorated local coffeehouses. Their themes were taken from stories of the classical Persian epic, *Shahnama*, and the accounts of the sufferings of Shi'ite martyrs." Wijdan Ali, *Modern Islamic Art: Development and Continuity* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 1997.), 78.

coffeehouses in the late 16th century, people gathered in the coffeehouses to kill time, play games, gamble, smoke cigars and pipes and hookah, share the latest news and information, as well as to conspire or quarrel about some issues.³⁸ As stated by History Professor Omar Carlier, “The contradiction between the Eastern Coffeehouse and Western café is not based on a spatial difference. Both Turkish coffeehouse and Cairo coffeehouse had already had many components of the strength of Café Procope.”³⁹ The difference was the licit opinion on the coffeehouse in the Muslim world whereas in the West, the inns and bars were already legitimate public spaces.⁴⁰

1.2.2. The First Coffeehouses in the World

The first examples of coffeehouses occurred in Mecca, Cairo and Damascus at the beginning of the 16th century. The occurrence of coffeehouses in the Arab-Muslim world had two dimensions: First dimension was the direct interaction among the consumers of the beverage who were not necessarily from a closed group but had the privilege to drink coffee in the coffeehouse or even on the streets in a very spontaneous way. The second dimension was vertical and based on a closed group -dervish circles- and expanded in the community by the imitators of the Sufi-religious order in their own social circle.⁴¹

³⁸ van Arendonk, *ibid.*, 451. See also, İbrahim Peçevi, *Peçevi Tarihi*, ed. Murat Uraz (İstanbul: Neşriyat Yurdu, 1968).

³⁹ Omer Carlier, “Magrib Kahvehanesi: Erkek Sosyalliği ve Yurttaşlık Hareketleri” in *Doğu’da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 199.

⁴⁰ For more information see. Omer Carlier, *idem.*, 197-200.

⁴¹ Desmet-Grégoire and Georgeon, *ibid.*, 17.

The emergence of the coffeehouses, which evolved from the peddler coffee servers, provided Muslim male population with a social space not colliding with the Islamic life style and the coffeehouses did not obtain clientele by an effort. On the contrary, the consumption of the beverage was rather self-proclaimed. Correspondingly, there was a rapid and radical expansion of coffeehouses in the Islamic world as the Muslim community did not –or could not– consume alcoholic beverages, at least publicly, and before the coffeehouses, the public spaces for social gatherings were inns or taverns. Coffeehouses were alternatives to inns, in other words they were ‘taverns without wine’.⁴²

However, such a high demand drew attention from the Muslim world in general and at the beginning of the 16th century, a strong reaction in the Muslim world smitten those beautiful days when the coffeehouse became an institution detached from the mosque. This separation paved the way for religiously and politically subversive actions, which resulted in *fetwas* (Islamic religious law/sanctions) from the religious wing and edicts, taxes, prohibitions and even protests from the political wing to restrain these public spheres.

One of the most significant and according to Hattox the first, examples of this opposition towards coffee as a beverage was the prohibition in Mecca, in 1511. This was a great incident of the time and included almost all Muslim clergy, who made detailed interpretations about the *helal* (permissible) status of coffee and gave *fetwas* in parallel with legal sanctions. In direct relation to the status of

⁴² Hattox, *ibid.*, 72

coffee in Muslim community, the public spaces for the consumption of the beverage also became targets and shunned⁴³ due to their similarity to taverns.

Yet, the formal or informal interventions about coffee and spending time in the coffeehouses yield no sustainable results. Coffeehouses adapted to the dynamics of their times and managed to survive to this day.

1.2.3. Coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire

The first occurrence of coffeehouses in the Ottoman history dated back to the 16th century and the first coffeehouses in Tahtakale, Istanbul, as well as the rest of the world, were public spaces and places of entertainment. According to Historian Âlî Mustafa Efendi from that era, the first coffeehouse in Istanbul was established in 1553 whereas according to the 17th century Historian İbrahim Peçevi; Hakem, a merchant from Aleppo and Şems from Damascus opened it in 1554.⁴⁴

The coffeehouses in the second half of the 16th century were ‘Muslim Taverns’ and they first emerged in Tahtakale district of Istanbul.⁴⁵ This location was a prudent choice because Tahtakale was already a metropolitan center for pious Muslim communities. Thus, the emergence of coffeehouses in Tahtakale provided an approved public space for them, which connotes that other minority

⁴³ For an elaborate study on the prohibition of coffee in Mecca, see. Hattox, *ibid.*, 11-29.

⁴⁴ İbrahim Peçevi, *Peçevi Tarihi*. ed. Murat Uraz, (Istanbul: Neşriyat Yurdu, 1968), 196.

⁴⁵ Hattox, *ibid.*, 95.

groups and religious communities under the Ottoman rule were not very common or even absent in the coffeehouses at the beginning.⁴⁶

In accordance with their complex and multi-functional structures, the number of coffeehouses increased very rapidly. Swedish Ambassador Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohsson,⁴⁷ who is known for his work *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, stated that there were fifty coffeehouses in Istanbul at the end of Sultan Suleiman I (r. 1520-1566)'s reign, and in Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-1574)'s and Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-1595)'s reign the number increased to six hundred.⁴⁸ The most prominent traveler of the Ottoman Empire⁴⁹ Evliya Çelebi reported that there were also seventy-five cafés in Bursa in the middle of the seventeenth century, "Small wonders that, by the end of the sixteenth century, there were hundreds of coffeehouses in Istanbul and many more hundreds spread across the empire. The inhabitants of several cities could choose among dozens."⁵⁰

In accordance with this hasty expansion, the coffeehouses in Istanbul evolved from an Islamic inn or tavern to a great actor in the market and an ideological apparatus in politics especially from the 17th century onwards. According to Peçevi, *bon vivant* intellectuals could gather in groups of twenty to thirty people in these coffeehouses. Some were reading manuscripts and books,

⁴⁶ Kafadar, "A History of Coffee," 54.

⁴⁷ Kemal Beydilli, "Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohsson," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (Istanbul: TDV, 1994), 496-497.

⁴⁸ Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, vol. IV, (Paris, 1788-1824), 79.

⁴⁹ Evliya Çelebi has a notable, 10-volume work entitled *Seyahatname*, including this travel notes in the 17th century.

⁵⁰ Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night," 251.

some were playing backgammon or chess, and some were discussing the poems they wrote.⁵¹ Cemal Kafadar stated a general description of the social and historical environment of earlier coffeehouses as follows:

The emergence and spread of coffeehouses in Istanbul (as well as Cairo, Aleppo, and other relevant cities) coincided with various other dynamics and processes of the early modern era, three of which are most important to underline... (1) New levels and forms of urbanization accompanying the rise of a bourgeoisie, or a *Burgertum*; (2) Increasing use of the night-time for socializing, entertainment, and labor, as part of emerging new regimes of temporality that redefined the spheres of work and leisure; (3) The rise of new forms of entertainment or performative arts, primarily of *Karagoz* shadow theatre and *Meddah* story-telling performances.⁵²

In accordance with that the first coffeehouses, adapted very smoothly to the ambient as they have managed to construct their own structure, which have similarities with equivalent social domains in the society, yet with unique characteristics.

The activities and the structure of the first coffeehouses during the reign of Sultan Suleiman I showed that they were intended to be *kıraathane* (reading houses) in which epic books with religious content such as *Muhammediyye*, *Battalnâme* and *Hamzanâme* had become a tradition.⁵³ However, the activities in the coffeehouses were not limited to literary conversations. There were various shows and the coffeehouse was the most important place for *Karagöz-Hacivat* (Shadow Theatre), *Meddah* (Story Teller) and *aşık* (minstrels) performances. Hosting such performances, the 17th century coffeehouses provided entertainment

⁵¹ Peçevi, *ibid.*, 363.

⁵² Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night," 244.

⁵³ Ekrem İşin, "More Than a Beverage: A Social History of Coffee and Coffeehouses," in *Coffee, Pleasures Hidden in a Bean*, ed. Selahattin Özpalabıyıklılar (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat, 2001), 240.

for regulars while implementing cultural transmission. For their instructive and educational functions, coffeehouses were also, and sometimes sarcastically, called *mekteb-i irfan* (school of knowledge) and *medresetü'l-ulemâ* (school of clergy).⁵⁴

The function of coffeehouses was more than a venue for performances. There were various activities such as gambling and backgammon in addition to readings and conversations on variety of topics such as politics, commerce, education and religion. In the Ottoman Empire, the coffeehouses were one of the most important mediums for the establishment and continuation of oral culture, and served as a reading hall for frequent visitors. Thus, from the second half of 16th century, they became a new cultural circle, socialization center and a public space.

The coffeehouse service was not limited to coffee as there were also alcoholic beverages and other substances (opium, tobacco). People were so familiar with the inappropriate practices that in *Hacivat-Karagöz* Shadow Plays there were lines about gambling and substance use.

Some coffeehouses in Istanbul also served as barbershops as stated by Sabri Koz, "... Most coffeehouse proprietors were also barbers, who as well as shaving, undertook minor surgical procedures such as circumcision, tooth pulling and bloodletting."⁵⁵ Between the first bans on coffee during the reign of Sultan Suleiman I to the final prohibition in 1633, the coffeehouses were also closed

⁵⁴ Chelebi, *ibid.*, 535.

⁵⁵ Koz, *ibid.*, 117.

down which resulted in illegal appearance of those places under the cover of barbershops.⁵⁶

1.2.4. The Types of Ottoman Coffeehouses

The coffeehouses were classified according to the location, clientele and owners of the places. The most common examples were Neighborhood, Tradesman, Janissary, Fireman, *Aşık*, *Semai*, and *Meddah* Coffeehouses.

The first and most common type was Neighborhood-Street (*Mahalle*) Coffeehouses. The street is the smallest unit of the city and the coffeehouses in the neighborhood had a self-sufficient and an introvert structure.

The Tradesman Coffeehouses had a guild-like structure. These were very numerous and functioned like an office of the tradesmen. There was a hierarchy amongst the producers and high status tradesmen as they had a special status in the coffeehouse. In addition to this, they were employment agencies and one of the first business network centers. Tradesman Coffeehouses were a gathering place for people from different socio-economic status and created a heterogeneous atmosphere with a harmonious context and they paved the way for specialized coffeehouses.

Not only the clientele but also the owners of the coffeehouses differed in time as we see the emergence of *Yeniçeri* (Janissary) Coffeehouses⁵⁷ in the second

⁵⁶ Koz, *ibidem*.

⁵⁷ The details about Janissary Coffeehouses are found under the title "1.3.2. Janissary Coffeehouses" of this dissertation, p. 36-39.

half of the 17th century and their echoers *Tulumacı* (Fireman) Coffeehouses. As Cem Sökmen pointed out in his book, “Fireman Coffeehouses are the cultural inheritors of Janissary Coffeehouses.”⁵⁸ As the Guild of Janissaries were abolished by Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839), Janissary Coffeehouses were torn down and Fireman Coffeehouses taken over their place.

1.2.5. Ottoman Coffeehouses in Modern Times

In the 19th century, the number of coffeehouses in Istanbul was about ten thousand. The coffeehouses in the form of *kıraathane* (reading-places) occurred after the Tanzimat Period (1839-1876). In this period, some of them, like the clubs and reading halls in Europe, were transformed into cultural venues where traditional performing arts were staged, in addition to newspapers and magazines offered to meet customers’ informational needs on various topics. The first example was *Sarafim Kıraathanesi* opened on Divanyolu in 1857.

In the second half of 19th century, two important innovations were included in the coffeehouses: the emergence of tea as a drink and the interior restoration of the café. The emergence of teahouses toppled coffeehouses from its long lasting throne. The arrival of the Russian and Balkan immigrants who migrated to Istanbul after the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878 affected the widespread consumption of tea. With the emergence of teahouses similar to coffeehouses, the tea became a competitive drink with coffee. On the other hand, the appearance, interior design and decoration of coffeehouses have undergone a

⁵⁸ Cem Sökmen, *Aydınlığın İletişim Ortamı Olarak Eski İstanbul Kahvehaneleri* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat: İstanbul, 2011), 25.

serious transformation as the tables and chairs substituted traditional rostrum (*kerevet*). This transformation could not prevent the growing number and popularity of teahouses and in the long run.

The Istanbul coffeehouses, which had reached thousands in 1922, were divided into seven classes. These were Tavern-Coffeehouses, Coffeehouses near Mosques, *Kıraathane*, Neighborhood, Artisan, Restaurants' and Village coffeehouses. From the 20th century, different occupational and intellectual groups such as journalists and actors participated to the clientele of those places classified according to their locations and situated mostly in the city centers such as Beyoğlu, Beyazıt and Üsküdar. Istanbul of this century turned into a 'large coffeehouse' and the residents of the city preferred the elite *Direklerarası* and Beyazıt coffeehouses, *alafranga* (European) cafes in Galata and Pera, or neighborhood cafes. For instance, a tradesman coffeehouse in 1930 was called "Artist Coffeehouse" as its clientele was actors.

1.2.6. Coffee and Coffeehouses in the World

Turkish ambassadors and merchants introduced coffee to Western Europe in the second half of 17th century. Coffee was introduced to Paris as fashion, Vienna as bounty and London as medicine. It reached Venice in about 1615 and in 1644 when a merchant from Marseilles, de La Roque, brought the first coffee beans to his native city, along with some precious cups and coffeepots. By 1643, the new drug was making its first appearance in Paris, and possibly by 1651 in

London. Nevertheless, all these dates refer to the first clandestine arrivals rather than to the beginning of a popular taste or public consumption.

The arrival of coffee in France and Vienna are two very different and interesting phenomena. In fact, Paris was the first to welcome coffee. In 1669, Turkish Ambassador Müteferrika Suleiman Aga,⁵⁹ a presumptuous but amiable man, officially presented coffee to his Parisian audience. He was the Ottoman Empire Ambassador to French King Louis XIV but due to his unacceptable behavior, his official duty lasted only two years. However, Braudel pointed out that, "The embassy failed but the coffee succeeded. Like tea, coffee was thought to be a marvel remedy."⁶⁰

Vienna, on the other hand, had a different story in relation to Ottoman History. Turks were defeated in the Second Siege of Vienna (1683) and left their coffee beans behind. According to Vienna archives, Turks left 20.000 glorious tents, 20,000 oxen, water buffalos (*manda*), camels and mules, 10.000 sheep, 100.000 weight units of grain, vessels full of butter and honey, rice and 500 sacks of coffee. The Viennese were not familiar with these beans but Georges Kolschitzky, a Polish spy who served in Babıâli (Sublime Porte) for more than 11 years, recognized and rescued them from ending up in the waters of Danube.⁶¹ Kolschitzky used the bounty of coffee beans to establish the first coffeehouse in Vienna but they did not enjoy coffee, as it was too bitter; thus, he served coffee

⁵⁹ Moliere's ballet-comedy *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* is about Müteferrika Suleiman Aga.

⁶⁰ Braudel, *ibid.*, 256.

⁶¹ Taha Toros, *Kahvenin Öyküsü* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1998), 65.

differently from the traditional Turkish coffee and added honey and milk so that it was more soft and sweet.

The coffee occurred in Europe after the Ottoman Empire but soon caught up with it due to ever-growing demand and steady clientele.

1. 3. COFFEEHOUSES AND POLITICS

As a center of rendezvous and meetings, coffeehouses drew attention of political authorities and accused of social and political events from their first appearance. The first example of such intervention was in Mecca with the prohibition of coffee in 1511.⁶² In the Ottoman Empire, there were four major bans on coffee and coffeehouses but none of them lasted due to various political, financial and social reasons.

After the emergence of coffeehouses in Istanbul in the second half of 16th century, there was no constant policy regarding them in the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the rumor and gossip circulation caused the closure and ban of coffeehouses. We see the political intervention via *fermans* to control the consumption of coffee and coffeehouses but none of them had efficiency to eradicate this beverage from the daily lives of community. To legitimize these edicts, Islamic authorities gave *fatwas*.⁶³ Hattox stated that, "... In the seventeenth century, drinking coffee was frequently prohibited by sultans' decrees, forcing cafés to close... [And] the conversation which took place in coffee-houses could

⁶² Hattox, *ibid.*, 11-29.

⁶³ The details of such *fatwas* and *fermans* are presented under the title "1.3.1 Coffeehouse Bans," 28-36.

not easily be monitored by state officials.”⁶⁴ Ottoman Bureaucrat and Historian Mustafa Naima interpreted the situation differently and focused on the ‘leisure time’ in the coffeehouses, barbershops and houses of some men. They were continuously criticizing the government and had a lot of time to gather which might result in a riot in the upcoming days. Naima’s expectations were right and the Janissary Coffeehouses was one of the most distinguished examples, owned by the Janissaries and considered as the base of Janissary revolts.

1.3.1 The Coffeehouse Bans

In the Islamic world, coffee and coffeehouses sparked debates and became visible from the beginning of the 16th century. According to *ulama*(religious scholars), there were four main reasons to forbid coffee: The first was the roasting of the coffee until it became black and carbonized because it was disapproved to consume such beverage according to Islamic sources and interpretations. As stated by van Arendonk:

In religious circles... it was found that the coffeehouse was prejudicial to the mosque and the *ulama* thought the coffee-house even worse than the wine-room. The preachers were especially eager for the prohibition of coffee and the way was paved for them by the muftis with an opinion that (roasted) coffee was to be considered as carbonized and therefore forbidden.⁶⁵

The second reason was about the demand of the scholars and religious/pious leaders, who related it directly to wine as it had a stimulant effect on the consumer. To justify their statement, they exemplified the qualities of coffee such as its dark color and stimulant odor and as stated by Suraiya Faruqi,

⁶⁴ Faruqi, *ibid.*, 217.

⁶⁵ van Arendonk, *ibid.*, 451.

“... For others, the fact that coffee could not be proven to have existed at the time of the Prophet and the first caliphs were enough to persuade them that it was a deplorable innovation.”⁶⁶ It was also addictive which *ulama* did not approve.

The third reason was that the passing of the cup from one another in the Sufi coffee-ceremony which was similar to Christian ceremony of passing the cup of wine.⁶⁷ As stated by Hattox, “A good example of such an objection can be found in the controversy over ‘passing around the cup’ (*idarat al-ka*) when drinking coffee... Such circulation of a common cup is the subject of almost unanimous disapproval, both by Ceziri and by his even more critical contemporaries.”⁶⁸ Based on all this rationale, the first coffee ban was in Mecca, in 1511. The authorities created a committee that took a unanimous verdict based on religious concerns.

The elaborate and religion-based discussions on coffee, affected the consumption of the beverage and the coffeehouses. As the Ottoman Historian Ayşe Saraçgil pointed out in parallel with Naima, one of the problems with coffeehouses was loose living. Idleness was unacceptable according to Muslim authorities. This tendency indicated having similar habits to non-Muslims and coffeehouses were a house of wasting time, inconvenient relations and politically opposing stance.⁶⁹ On this basis, the religious leaders claimed that coffeehouses retained Muslims from going to the mosque and since the customers of the

⁶⁶ Faruqi, *ibid.*, 217.

⁶⁷ Saraçgil, *ibid.*, 28.

⁶⁸ Hattox, *ibid.*, 117

⁶⁹ van Arendonk, *ibid.*, 451.

coffeehouses at the beginning of the 17th century were only men, this statement included only Muslim men. A parallel issue with the coffeehouse environment was gambling or other games played inside, which Islam forbidden, and the enclosed space of the coffeehouse paved the way for such undesirable habits and activities. Accordingly, the coffeehouse was a very problematic institution in the eyes and minds of the *ulama* as we see in the *kadi* reports. For instance, Abdünnebi b. el-Hâc Ahmed's official position in Kefeli Mosque⁷⁰ was inappropriate and one of the underlying reasons was that he created a coffeehouse in the mosque, which withheld Muslims from attending the worship and prayers in the mosque. In addition, the abolishment of coffeehouse had an economic motivation because the conservative middle class started to take place in the social-outdoor life as the coffeehouses became profitable businesses. This motivation was also present in the Ottoman Treasury as the income from the coffee customs revenues was great. The trade of coffee peaked in the 17th century due to high demand in the market. According to Peçevi's history, grand viziers were investing on coffeehouses and made high profit. The account books reveal

⁷⁰ An example related to the decree mentioned above in Turkish:

İSTANBUL18, cilt: 18, sayfa: 130, hüküm 78, sene H.1078/ M.1667-1668

Orijinal metin no: [19b-1] Kefeli Camii müezzini Abdünnebi b. el-Hâc Ahmed'in uygunsuz hareketleri sebebiyle görevinin Mehmed Çelebi'ye verildiğinin tesbit edildiği

"... câmi'-i mezkûrda evkât-ı salâtda ezân ve ikâmet ve sair hizmet-i lâzimesini edâ etmediğinden mâ'adâ mahalle-i mezkûrede kahvehâne ihdâs edip nice müsliminin dahi vaktiyleedâ-i salâtda tekâsülüne bâ'is olup dâimâ tezvîr ve şiddet ve fesâddan hâlî olmadığını sene-i hamsîn ve semânîn ve elf Zilka'desi evâhirinde ahâlî-i mahalle-i mezkûreden cemm-i gafir mahmiye-i mezkûrede mesned-nişin-i şerî'at-i garrâ olan umdetü'l-ulemâ'i'l-izâm Mehmed Efendi huzûrlarında ihbâr ve haberleri hüccet olunup mücebince cihet-i mezkûre bana tevcih olunmak için yedime arz verilmekle... câmi'-i mezkûr[un] her evkât-ı salâtda ezân ve ikâmet ve sair hizmet-i lâzimesini edâ etmeyip ve mahalle-i mezbûrede kahvehâne ihdâs edip dâimâ tezvîr ve şirret ve fesâddan hâlî olmadığı târih-i mezkûrda hâkim-i mûmâ-ileyh hazretlerine i'lâm olunup hüccet-i şer'iyye tahrîr ve yedine arz verilip cihet-i mezkûre merkûm Mehmed Çelebi'ye tevcih olunmuşdur..."

See also, Gelibolulu Ali Mustafa Efendi, *Onaltıncı yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda gelenekler, görenekler ve sosyal hayat*, ed. Cemil Yener (İstanbul: Hünkar Yayınevi, 1975).

the scale of coffee consumption not only in the court but also in the community, which inevitably resulted in the high profited business.⁷¹

... A kadi's register of about 1600 mentions a coffee-house in Ankara... This was probably a state monopoly, since such enterprises were bestowed as tax-farms... At any rate, the owner of a few minor tax privileges in a village in the district of Forum apparently believed that there was money to be made by mortgaging his right to collect taxed and buying coffee with the proceeds.⁷²

From Suleiman's time a tax was levied on coffee which was at a rate of 8 aspers (coins) per okka (a weight unit - 1 okka=1283 gr) for Muslim buyers and 10 for Christians; in 1607 there was added an extra tax of 5 *paras* (money) the okka, which was called *bid'at-i kahve*, for both.⁷³

Based upon the aforementioned reasons and oppositions, there were four major coffee bans and coffeehouse closures in the Ottoman Empire during the 16th century but due to social, political and financial reasons, they did not last very long. The first prohibition was resulted from an objection to drinking coffee and depending on its *helal* (permissible in Islam) or *haram* (forbidden by Islam) status

⁷¹ "A group of Christian jewelers in Galata appears in court. Nothing that from time to time the state imposes certain taxes on them, they indicate that certain guild members refuse to pay. The state now wants to collect a coffee tax, and the group has distributed the tax burden among storeowners according to their financial standing. Yet, some members are refusing to pay their share. The group wants the recalcitrant jewelers instructed and requests a promissory note (*temessük*) documenting the court's decision. The court instructs the guild members to pay their share of the tax. It also gives the jewelers a promissory note documenting the instruction.

Mahmiyye-i Galata'da vaki' kuyumcular hırfetinden Liyo veledi Nikola ve Yorgi veledi Nikola ve Yorgi veledi-i Ferafil nam zimmi ler ve sayirleri meclis-i şer'a gelüp takrir-i meram idüp hızzane-i hü mayun [?] tarafından ba'zı tekalif vaki' oldukda içimizden ba'zı ki mesne bizim ile ma'an [...] 'inad ve muhalefet iderler halen dahi miri kahve teklif olundukda hırfet-i merkumeden ba'zısı zikr olunan kahve'i dükkân başına tevzi' eylediğimizde almakdan imtina' iderler her dükkân başına kudretlerine göre zikr olunan kahve tevzi' olunup birimiz muhalefet itmemek için kibel-i şer'den ten bih olunup yedimize temessük virilmesin taleb ideriz didiklerinde ba'de'l-yevm bu makule tekalif vaki' oldukda her dükkâna kudretlerine göre tevzi' olunup minval-i mezbûr üzre 'inad ve muhalefet olunmamak için tayife-i merkumeye tenbih olundu tahriren fi eva yili Cumadelfıla sene 1013 "

See also. Timur Kuran, ed., *Esnaf ve Loncalar-Hristiyan ve Yahudi -Cemaat İşleri-Yabancılar / Guilds and Guildsmen-Communal Affairs of Christians and Jews- Foreigners*, vol. 1, Mahkeme Kayıtları Işığında 17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Sosyo-Ekonomik Yaşam / Social and Economic Life in the Seventeenth-Century (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2010-2013), 89-90.

⁷² Faroqhi, *ibid.*, 216.

⁷³ van Arendonk, *ibid.*, 452.

and the religious authorities got involved with this edict. *Sheikh al-Islam* Ebusuud Efendi⁷⁴ issued a *fatwa*, or decree, against drinking coffee during the reign of Sultan Suleiman I in 1543. This order was extreme and when the ships arrived filled with coffee, they threw sacks of coffee beans in to the sea. This decree is the only fatwa related to religious background and the following three decrees transformed from the religious realm to politics. *Sheikh al-Islam* Ebusuud Efendi was not the only supreme leader against the consumption of coffee and existence of coffeehouses. Birgili Mehmed Efendi (1522-1573) was another religious leader that followed the Ibn Teymiyye doctrine. He was a fundamentalist and against Sufism and Sufi circles. He suggested to purify Islamic applications from mystics and to forsake every action related to their habits and understandings.⁷⁵

The second prohibition⁷⁶ was between the years 1583-1587, during the reign of Sultan Murat III (r. 1574-1595). It did not last long due to the coffee consumers and traders' reaction. Sultan Ahmed I (r.1603-1617) applied the third ban and it lasted 5 years (1606-1611). This time a political leader, Sadrazam

⁷⁴ In the *fatwa* (Islamic religious law) of Ebusuud Efendi, the issues about coffee are addressed in "Crime and Punishment" section. This classification is very interesting because the other items in this section are stealing, murder, interest (faiz), *boza*, adultery, etc. Except *boza* and coffee, all other articles in Ebusuud Efendi's *fatwas* are actually crimes in Islam but these two beverages are controversial issues mentioned in the book. For Ebusuud's *Fetwas* on coffee and coffeehouses in Turkish, see. Appendix 2.

⁷⁵ Saraçgil, *ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁶ An example of a related decree in Turkish is as follows:

Ankara Şer'iye Sicili 1, hüküm 1110 (991/1583)

1110 – EMR-İ ŞERİF: (Ankara Kadısına). Dedi kodu mahalli olan kahvehane ^{اخراجته}ların kapatılması evvelce de emredilmiş iken Ankara'da tekrar açılmış olduğu ve kahve alış veriş yapıldığı öğrenilmiştir. Bütün kahvehanelerin kapatılması, kahvehane işletenlerin haklarından gelinmesi. Evahir-i Şaban. 991/1583. Be-makam-ı Kostantiniyye.

Source: Halit Ongan, 1 Numaralı Ankara Şer'iye Sicili, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1958), 121.

Derviş Paşa interdicted the ban and it was terminated because of the reaction from the community as well as traders and treasurer.

The fourth and the harshest ban was during the reign of Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623-1640) and this was abolished owing to *Sheikh al-Islam* Bostanzade's⁷⁷ counter-fatwa about the *helal* status of coffee.⁷⁸ He was a very important figure related to the removal of coffee ban because he found it wrong to put such a *fetwa* on coffee, as there was no direct mention of coffee as *haram* (forbidden in Islam) in Qur'an or any other religious regulations. Bostanzade Mehmed Efendi's permission about the consumption of coffee created a positive impact whereas Kadızadeli⁷⁹ was strongly against the gatherings and establishment of coffeehouses. Sultan Murad IV put a ban on all the coffeehouses and forbid the consumption of coffee as well as tobacco in 1633. Afterwards, they tried to find a solution for the surveillance and restraint of the coffeehouses. The permanent ban was applied only in criminal cases. This is important to present the corruption and illegal processes of *kadi* and *müftis* at that time because the ban for coffee was something political rather than religious and the people in charge were bribable.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Bostanzade Mehmed Efendi was *Sheikh al-Islam* from April 1589 to May 1592 and again from July 1593 until his death in April 1598. He wrote verse in Arabic and Turkish.

⁷⁸ Chelebi, *ibid.*, 62.

⁷⁹ Kadızadeli Mehmed Efendi (d. 1635). He was born in Damascus and was the leader of a religious-intellectual movement called "Kadızadeler" in the 17th century the Ottoman Empire. Kadızade Mehmed Efendi and his followers aimed to purify Islam from misinformation, to abolish *bid'at* (innovations in Islam after Prophet Muhammad) by focusing on Qur'an and accurate hadith sources. His opinion about the *helal* status of coffee is notable and he is an official referee on the subject. For details about his life and "Kadızadeli" movements, see. Semiramis Çavuşoğlu, "Kadızadeler," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24, (Istanbul: TDV, 2001), 100-102.

⁸⁰ Gelibolulu, *ibid.*, 76-80. Original title of the book is *Me'aidü'n-nefais fi kavaidi'l-mecalis*.

Such reactions were not pertained to Muslim community. When coffee was introduced to Venice and Rome as a consequence of trade with the Arab world in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Catholic Pope denounced consumption of coffee due to its association with Islam. Because of the common consumption amongst Muslims, they considered it “the drink of Satan.” However, when Pope Clement VII tasted and enjoyed coffee, he baptized some coffee beans and declared, “Why this Satan’s drink is so delicious that it would be a pity to let the infidels have exclusive use of it. We shall fool Satan by baptizing it, and making it a truly Christian beverage.”⁸¹

On the other hand, Judaism responded to the social demand and Rabbis announced regulations in the Jewish community. Kafadar exemplifies an announcement of coffee by a Rabbi in the Ottoman-Jewish community his unpublished essay as follows:

Ottoman-Jewish rabbis were compelled to answer questions such as “whether coffee prepared by gentiles was prohibited not only on the Sabbath but on the remaining days of the week as well.” Rabbi David ibn Abi Zimra who resided in Egypt betw.1513-53, probably the first to face such a question, “saw no problem with the beverage being prepared by a non-Jew. ... Coffeehouses, however, were for him another matter entirely: ‘I do not consent to its being drunk at a meeting place of non-Jews, ... if it is indeed for medicinal purposes one may send for it and have it delivered home.’”⁸²

The clientele and occupants of the coffeehouses were also a matter of discussion in political terms. The Ottoman authorities considered the fluidity of

⁸¹ Suzanne von Drachenfels, *The Art of the Table: A Complete Guide to Table Setting, Table Manners, and Tableware* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 482.

⁸² Kafadar, “History of Coffee” 54. From this citation, we can make two important inferences; Ottoman-Jewish community was not included in the male populace of the coffeehouse and religious regulation on coffee was not specific to Islamic community.

the coffeehouse populace as chaos.⁸³ That act of removing the boundaries was against the relation between the ruler and the ruled and was expected to disrupt the harmonious social order⁸⁴ and resulted in very harsh interventions. For instance, Sultan Murad IV, known to be a blood shedder, sentenced hundreds of men for consuming coffee or tobacco and spending time in the coffeehouse, inns and *bozahane* (*boza-house*). However, his attempts to control with violence and blood were of no use and he was the last Sultan to apply such cruel sanctions on coffee and coffeehouses. As Grégoire and Georgeon stated in their book about coffeehouses in the East, "In the end, the measures taken against coffeehouses are meaningful because they expressed the struggle of the central power to prevent the decline of Ottoman absolutism from the power."⁸⁵ Moreover, Kafadar stated that, "The no-frills language of *muhimme* documents, summary accounts of the decisions made by the divan at the imperial court, makes clear that the state knew exactly what it wanted to prevent when it closed down the coffeehouses."⁸⁶ Regardless of the motives and reasons behind the application of such bans on coffee and coffeehouses, social, political and financial status of coffee made it impossible to wipe them out of the streets.

1.3.2 Janissary Coffeehouses

The presence of Janissaries as the coffeehouse keepers led to a different attitude in the coffeehouses as the Janissary troops were leaving their military

⁸³ Desmet-Grégoire and Georgeon, *ibid.*, 38.

⁸⁴ Cengiz Kırli, "The struggle over space: coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780-1845" (PhD Thesis. State University of New York at Binghamton, 2000), 50.

⁸⁵ Desmet-Grégoire and Georgeon, *ibid.*, 40.

⁸⁶ Kafadar, "How dark is the History of the Night," 253.

mission and tended to become tradesman. The state regulations and the coffeehouses in the 18th century differed from that of the 16th and 17th centuries. Over time, the basic policy shifted from the control of the public sphere by the political power and towards the reconciliation of the state with its subjects. Cengiz Kırılı explained the position of Janissaries in the 17th century as follows:

... One out of two janissaries who were occupied with a trade was running coffeehouses. These figures reflect the scale of the threat posed by the mob, which were able to dethrone the Sultan, choose his successor, and manipulate the opinions of a considerable part of the populace. To some extent the avoidance of total closure of coffeehouses after the 17th century was due to fear of this threat.⁸⁷

The Guild of Janissaries was already in corruption when the coffeehouses emerged in the second half of the 16th century. There was a riot-prone and planning in and outside of the guild. These coffeehouses served as the center for janissaries as well as other people to come together and discuss their concerns and complaints about the government. Concordantly, from the first emergence of Janissary coffeehouses, the State had always intervened in their business. As Kafadar expressed in his article about Janissaries, the interference was very strong at the beginning of the 17th century:

What the so-called experiments with “reform” in the seventeenth century dealt to the Janissaries, in the short run at least, was brutal repression. Under Osman II and Murad IV, kul soldiers found in Istanbul’s coffeehouses were dumped in sacks and thrown into the Bosphorus to drown. Tugji, one of the solaks (a unit within the body of the cavalry of the Porte) who participated in the revolt against Osman and later wrote a narrative account of that violent incident in a touching ambivalence, tells us that the soldiers had been rather unnerved because, among other things, the young Sultan had been engaged in live target practice shooting arrows at them during the campaign of Hotin. They did not fare any better under the reforming vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (1656-61). But the worst was to come under Mahmud II, the most systematic reformer of them all. The so-called

⁸⁷ Kırılı, *ibid.*, 67-68.

Auspicious Incident of 1826 was a true massacre, a bloody annihilation of thousands of men who were literally blasted away by the forces of modernism.⁸⁸

As the Janissary Coffeehouses became the majority in the 17th century, the Ottoman authorities would not dare to close or ban coffeehouses as before because they were collecting some disapproving and opposing groups in their coffeehouses and they were suspected to revolt against the Sultan of that time. However, the guerilla-structure of Janissary coffeehouses had great influence on people and made it almost impossible to impose sustainable sanctions. When they were at the peak of their power and authority, Janissaries were the owners of their districts and they had their own regulations as well as customs Ekrem Koçu expressed the required qualifications and some details to own a Janissary Coffeehouse as follows:

Not every janissary could have owned a coffeehouse, it was a bullying privilege to open a coffeehouse, and even if there was no bullying... the needs couldn't be supplied. Likewise, these ambitious and magnificent Janissary coffeehouses were all opened by their owners without spending money. On the portals of the Janissary Coffeehouses, they hanged their sign; hallmark of the bully that owned the coffeehouse... on the opening day, a magnificent parade came to the coffeehouse and put the hallmark on the door. This was "Coffeehouse Hallmark Parade."⁸⁹

Aside from their political position, the interiors of the Janissary coffeehouses had motifs and ornaments inspired by *Bektaşî* sect, as they were a majority in the *Bektaşî* community. There were mystical elements as well. In time Janissary coffeehouses increased in great numbers and they also had an authority on the neighborhood they were established. The working hours were flexible and they were not open during the day. As stated by Koçu, "...for sitting and chatting,

⁸⁸ Cemal Kafadar, "Janissaries and Other Riff-Raff of Ottoman Istanbul: Rebels Without a Cause" *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13, No. 1&2 (2007), 133.

⁸⁹ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Yeniçeriler* (İstanbul: Koçu Yayınları, 1964), 297- 299.

drinking sherbet and coffee, or smoking a pipe; the coffeehouse was the barracks of the rebel (janissary) and his mob.”⁹⁰

Sultan Mahmud II systematically abolished the Janissary Corps and the inevitable consequence of this crackdown was the closure and destruction of Janissary Coffeehouses. Janissary Coffeehouses were demolished after Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) closed the Guild of Janissaries in 1826.

⁹⁰ Koçu, *ibid.*, 297

CHAPTER 2

2. BIOGRAPHY OF COUNT L. F. MARSIGLI

Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli is a prominent figure in military, science and history. He wrote significant books on Ottoman culture, history, geography, and military and as the members of Bologna Academy underlines, "... Marsigli remains the only man in history, born of a noble family, being researcher, scholar, traveler, observer, physicist, geographer, military officer and strategist that speak with special and personal expertise on coffee."⁹¹

L. F. Marsigli was born in 20 July 1658, in a noble Bolognese family. His parents were Count Carlo Marsigli and Countess Margarita Ercolani. As was mentioned in the book dedicated to the second century of Marsigli's death, "This family soon enjoyed great esteem in Bologna, partly for its antiquity, partly for the distinction of its members and took its place among the most distinguished families of the city."⁹² Especially his father's lineage had been notables in Bologna as his grandfather Ippolito Marsigli was amongst the favorites of Papa Clemente VIII.⁹³ Although there is some information about the family history of Marsigli, not much was included about his siblings even in his autobiography.⁹⁴ He had three brothers and two sisters. His oldest brother Antonio Felice dedicated himself to the ecclesiastical career and he was appointed first as the archdeacon of

⁹¹ Accademia delle Scienza dell'Istituto di Bologna, *Memorie Intorno a Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1930), 381.

⁹² Comitato Ordinatore, ed. *Celebrazione di Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli Nel Secondo Centenario dalla Morte: Relazione Delle Cerimonie e Discorsi* (Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1931), 192.

⁹³ Ibidem.

⁹⁴ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Autobiografia di Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli*, ed. Emilio Lovarini (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1930).

Bologna in 1686 and later the bishop of Perugia in 1702.⁹⁵ His older brother Ippolito died at a young age, his sisters Bibiana Caterina and Silvia Maria took the vows and became nuns, and his younger brother Filippo was the only one that had descendants. In 1677, Marsigli's mother died and in 1681, his father died when he was on his way to visit Luigi Ferdinando in Venice.

The turning point of Marsigli's life was his journeys outside of Bologna. His life changed radically starting from the first journey at the age of fifteen, with his father when they went to Venice and Padua, and then to Rome, to pay a visit to his uncle Alfonso Ercolani. In the aforementioned dedicatory to Marsigli it was stated that during this visit, "...the young count had relations with the astronomer Alfonso Giovanni Borelli and other famous scientists. The *città eternal* (Rome) and its scholar associations had a great influence on the young Count, which he acknowledges in his autobiography."⁹⁶ Marcello Malpighi, the father of microscopic anatomy, physiology, histology and embryology, and Enea Silvio Caprara⁹⁷ had a leading role in Marsigli's scientific career because he followed the example of Caprara, who was also from a noble family and was working at the academy instead of becoming a churchman. Malpighi, on the other hand, was Marsigli's mentor and he sent his scientific discoveries to Malpighi during his journeys.

⁹⁵ John Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe 1680-1730: The Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, Soldier and Virtuoso* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994), 1.

⁹⁶ Comitato Ordinatore, *ibid.*, 194.

⁹⁷ Enea Silvio Caprara was one of the four sons of Niccolò Caprara all of whom served in Habsburg armies and Alberto Caprara was sent to Constantinople with Habsburg Emperor Leopold I and died there in 1691.

Marsigli's interest on science resulted in numerous pages and voluminous books on various topics. He is noted for his works on Danube, Bosphorus and other fields of marine sciences as well as geology, plants⁹⁸ and geography. Even on the battlefield, he never stopped thinking about science and observing as a scientist as Stoye exemplified in his book as follows:

On 15 May 1689... on the point of his departure for the army, he [Marsigli] says, he has collected and sent off to Bologna certain samples of copper acquired during a recent trip to Slovakia. He would like the members of his brother's group of virtuosi to examine them... These minerals offered another field of enquiry, not to be forgotten in spite of the warfare.⁹⁹

In addition to his writings, Marsigli was also a very consistent collector and his personal collection consisted of numerous manuscripts on various subjects and in different languages. Even at the times of war, his bounty was collecting manuscripts and books. For instance, after the great assault in Buda (1686), Hungary in which Turks were defeated, Marsigli was on his way to a former Christian Church, transferred into a mosque, to find some religious texts. Afterwards he visited a Jewish settlement, "entered Jewish houses and synagogues and carried off Hebrew codices to be added to his haul."¹⁰⁰ This haul contained books on Islam, some governmental texts about Turks, Hebrew codices, etc. This is not a coincidental encounter as Marsigli has been making research beforehand on the location of sources and manuscripts as we see in his notes.

⁹⁸ An example of his works in other disciplines is on *fungus* (mushroom) written in Latin and titled *Dissertatio de Generatione Fungorum* (1714). Ludovico Ferdinandi Marsilli (Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli), *Dissertatio de generatione fungorum ad illustrissimum et reverendissimum praesulem Joannem Mariam Sancitium Lancisium Clementis XI Pont. Opt. Max. Archiatrum & Cubicularium Intimum... cui accedit ejusdem Responsio una cum dissertatione de Plinianae villae ruderibus atque ostiensis litoris incremento* (Rome: Ex Officina Typographica Francisci Gonzagae, 1714).

⁹⁹ Stoye, *ibid.*, 72.

¹⁰⁰ Stoye, *ibid.*, 45.

After the siege, Marsigli had already planned about visiting Jewish houses in the area, as he knew that after the defeat they would leave their possessions behind. We also understand that in Buda, Marsigli was actually looking for the “Corvinus Collection” (King Mathews Collection) allegedly kept in a mountain but what he found was not the collection as most of its pieces had long been dispersed.¹⁰¹ He was expecting such a great pile of manuscripts that he even ordered for some soldiers to help him carry the bounty; but as a collector, before ordering for help, he examined the books and took some works in Latin for his personal collection before sending them directly to Vienna. His bibliophilic enthusiasm enriched this personal collection and made an extensive contribution to the establishment of *Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna* (Library of the University of Bologna).¹⁰² Today, the manuscripts of Marsigli is still preserved in “Museo Marsili” (Marsili Museum) next to “Aula Magna” (Great Hall) where the rest of his collection is preserved alongside with the contributions of other scholars.

Marsigli’s collection includes a rich compilation of Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Persian and Arabic manuscripts he collected or purchased. There are manuscripts as well as maps, drawings, reports—including intelligence reports—on various subjects from nature to religion, military to geology. As a bibliophile and a collector, Marsigli was collected and preserved texts from the ‘Orient’ and this collection is an invaluable source for oriental studies. He drew and collected hundreds of maps depicting generally and in detail the Balkans; assembled a great

¹⁰¹ Ibidem.

¹⁰² Comitato Marsigliano, ed. “Prefazione al Catalogo Dei Manoscritti Orientali,” in *Scritti Inediti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1930), 167-186.

amount of information on the Ottoman Empire and South Eastern Europe. There are some lists and an online catalogue of Marsigli's works and assemblages but they do not include the whole collection. Among them, Lodovico Frati's catalogue¹⁰³ is an invaluable source including Marsigli's 146 manuscripts.

In 1730, Marsigli died of natural causes in Bologna, at the age of 72. The other aspects of Marsigli's life such as his military career and his interactions with the Ottoman Empire are elaborated in the following pages.

2.1. COUNT MARSIGLI AND CONSTANTINOPLE

The two important points in Marsigli's life within the scope of this dissertation are his essay on coffee, *Bevanda Asiatica* (1685) and his various visits to Istanbul. His first visit to Istanbul was in company with the Bailo (Ambassador)¹⁰⁴ of Venice, Pietro Civran in 1679 and Marsigli stayed in Istanbul for eleven months over the course of which he made contact with high-level officials in the palace. In company with his interpreter Abraham Gabai, he had opportunities to meet the prominent personages such as Müneccimbaşı Ahmet¹⁰⁵,

¹⁰³ Lodovico Frati, *Catalogo dei manoscritti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili conservati nella biblioteca universitaria di Bologna* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1928).

¹⁰⁴ *Bailo* is a Venetians title given to those in service of the government as ambassadors in addition to other official and unofficial duties assigned.

¹⁰⁵ Müneccimbaşı Ahmed b. Lütfullah (Müneccimbaşı Ahmed Dede Efendi)(b.1041/1631-1632 - d.1134/1722): 17th century cradite, mystic and historian. He was born in Thessaloniki in 1631-32 and had his first education in Thessaloniki Mevlevi Lodge. Came to Istanbul in 1065/1654-1655 and joined Galata Mevlevi Lodge . He became *Müneccimbaşı* (Head of Astrologers) in 1078/1667/1668) and his official duty in Istanbul ended when he was expelled to Cairo as Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687) was dethroned and replaced by Sultan Suleiman II (r. 1687-1691). He has books on various topics.

Source: Müneccimbaşı Ahmed b. Lütfullah, *Câmiu'd-Düvel: Selçuklular Tarihi I, Horasan-İrak, Kirman ve Suriye Selçukluları*, edt. Ali Öngül, (İzmir: Akademi Kitapevi, 2000), XI-XLIV.

Ebû Bekir Dîmaşki¹⁰⁶ and Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi.¹⁰⁷ As a man of science and on a visit with high officials from Venice, Marsigli had the chance to spend long

¹⁰⁶ *İmam Takiyyü'd-Din Ebu Bekir b. Muhammed b. Abdü'l-Mümin El-Hüseyinî Ed-Dîmaşkî Eş-Şafîî*: "An Ottoman Geographer and writer. We do not have information about the earlier times of his life but he is known to born in Damascus and of Turkish origin... He studied in Damascus, came to Constantinople during the times of Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmet Paşa, and attended 1663 Austria campaign... In the 17th century, the last representative of Ottoman geography in the 18th century, Ebû Bekir b. Behrâm had played an important role in the translation and adaptation of the Western geography books, which was pioneered by Katip Çelebi... He worked as a *mudarris* (professor) in Constantinople for more than twenty years and died in Aleppo in March, 1691." Fikret Sarıcaoglu, "Ebû Bekir b. Behrâm," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 10, (Istanbul: TDV, 1994), 110-111.

¹⁰⁷ Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi (1600-1691), a well-known historian and thinker of 17th century. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi was knowledgeable in various subjects such as medicine, history, language, geography, state organization, and Sufism. He, was born in İstanköy. His first education started there and he continued his education in Istanbul. He worked as a government official for a short period and he was the history teacher of Mehmet IV (r.1648-1687) for a short notice. Once resigned from public office, he dedicated all his life on his studies.

"Hezarfen" is an adjective derived from "*hezar*" meaning "thousand" in Persian and is an epithet used for extremely knowledgeable personages in that era. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi established a voluminous library including Western sources as he knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He is known to be the second Ottoman Historian after Katib Çelebi to use Western sources.

Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi was acquainted with many of the Western visitors/scholars visiting Istanbul among whom was Count Marsigli (1658-1730), Demetrius Cantemir (1673-1723), François Pétis de la Croix (1653-1713) and Antoine Galland (1646-1718). These encounters left a lasting impression on both sides as we see Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi in many of these personages' journals.

Based on his interaction with Western scholars and his experience in the official service, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi compiled his researches and studies in a great number of books. His world history *Tenkîh-i Tevârih-i Mülûk* is a compilation from many and various history books summarized in Turkish. Hüseyin Efendi prepared this book while tutoring Mehmed IV. The books has nine chapters (*bâb*); the parts about Anatolian Seljuks and Danishmendids are from *Fusûlû'l-hall ve'l-akd usûlû'l harc ve'n-nakd*, the parts about Greek and Rum Emperors ruling Constantinople are from Greek and Latin sources, the parts about the Islamic states are from Islamic sources and the parts about China are from Katib Çelebi's *Cihannuma*.

Another outstanding and the most prominent work by Hüseyin Efendi is *Telhîsü'l-beyan fî kavânîni Âli Osmân*. It is about the history of the Ottoman state organization. The work consists of thirteen chapters on the foundation and historical structures of Istanbul, the palace officials, the meetings of the *Divan-i Hümayun*, the treasury income and expenses, the provincial organization and the provincial authorities, janissaries and other Kapıkulu quarries, *Tersâne-i Âmire* and its officials, Crimean khans, expedition ceremonies, orders related to *ulama*, issues related to *narh* (officially fixed price), porcelain enamel, and salt, wedding ceremonies in the palace. In addition, there is extensive information about the banquets. This work was translated into French by Orientalist François Pétis de la Croix.

Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's wrote and translated some other works as well. While translating, he was assisted with prominent figures of his era. His works are as follows:

1. *Muhtasar Târih-i Umûmî*: A summary of his *Tenkîhü't Tevarih*
2. *Târih-i Devlet-i Rûmîyye*: Translation of various chapters from different Latin, Greek and Islamic history sources. This is actually composed of two or three parts from *Tevârih-i Mülûk*.
3. *Tuhfetü'l Edîbî'n-Nâfi' ale'r-Ruhânî ve't-Tabîb*: Medical work in Turkish.

time with Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi as he acknowledges in his essay on coffee. As Marsigli mentioned in his autobiography, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi was, "...a man, who is esteemed not only amongst Turks because of his position he practiced in the Ottoman Empire and for the precise History he wrote, but also amongst Christians that are in the Court of Constantinople...".¹⁰⁸ Marsigli benefited greatly from the company of Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi and he obtained a receipt coffee written by *Sheikh Dâvud-i Mısri*¹⁰⁹ from Cairo. Marsigli translated

4. *Lisânü'l-Ettiba fî Lûgati'l-Edviye*: A dictionary about medical terminology. It has two chapters; the first chapter is from Arabic to Turkish and the second chapter is from Turkish to Arabic.

5. *Fihrisü'l-Ervâm*: Arabic, Persian, Hebrew and Greek equivalents of medicines. It is an alphabetically ordered medical book in Turkish.

6. *Mehâsinü'l-Kelâm ve'l-Hikem fî Şerhi İsmillâhi'l-A'zam*: A work about Sufism.

7. *Risâle-i Hikemiyye*: A Turkish epistle on wisdom, ethics and caliphate.

8. *Terceme-i Lûgat-ı Hindî*: Translation of Hindu words into Turkish and Persian.

9. *Câmiü'l-Hikâyât*: 38 stories.

10. *Enîsü'l Ârifin ve Mürşidü's-Sâlikin*: A collection of political and moral principles explained in short stories. A copy of this work is found in *Biblioteca Vaticana*.

11. *Şerhü'l-Leme'âti'n-Nûrâniyye fî'l-Evrâdi'r Rabb'aniyye*: A work on Sufism.

12. *Telhîsü'l-Beyân fî Tahlîsi'l-Buldân*: The book is composed of thirty-two chapters on Islamic states and famous rulers.

The date and place of his death are unknown and narrated differently in various sources.

Source: Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-Beyan Fi Kavanin-i Al-i Osman*, ed. Sevim İlgürel, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998); Mücteba İlgürel, "Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi", in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 18, (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1998). See also, Güner Doğan, *Venediklî ile Dahi Sulh Oluna: 17. Ve 18. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı-Venedik İlişkileri*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2017), 54.

¹⁰⁸ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Bevanda asiatica: all'Eminentissimo Bonvisi, Nunzio Apostolico appresso la Maesta dell'Imperatore*, ed. Clemente Mazzotta, (Roma: Salerno, 1998), 8.

¹⁰⁹ *Sheikh Davud Mısri* (from Cairo): This name is not mentioned in primary Islamic Encyclopedias or sources. However, we know that numerous Egyptian scripts or scripts from Egypt were translated into Ottoman Turkish at that time. It is also important to state that, in the 17th century, many scholars went to Egypt to have a formal and comprehensive education in *Al-Ezher*. Among them *Davud-i Kayseri* (d. 1350) had a very prominent place as the first *mudarris* (professor) in the Ottoman Empire. He also was educated in Egypt but as his name stated he was actually from Kayseri (a Province in Turkey). Let us leave it here for now and continue with another topic. For more information about *Davud-i Kayseri* see, Mehmet Bayrakdar, "Davud-i Kayseri" *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (İstanbul: TDV, 1994), 32-35.

Davud-i Antakî (d. 1599) was born in *Antakya* (Antioch) as his name suggested. His masterpiece *Tezkire-i Davud* is a corpus on importance, necessity and learning methods of medical science. *Antakî* included 1712 medical prescriptions in his book and he studied medicine in Cairo while he was also examining patients. Sadrazam Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa (1640-41) obtained his book on his visit to Egypt and requested Muhammed b. Mustafa el-Kûrânî to translate it. Ayşegül

the receipt into Italian, added his observations and researches. In 1685, the book was printed in Vienna entitled *Bevanda asiatica, brindata all'Eminentissimo Borvisi dedicated to nuncio*¹¹⁰. During his visit, Marsigli also got involved with the currents in Bosphorus and published his scientific research results in 1681 that was dedicated to the Queen Cristina of Sweden under the title *Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo Tracio ovvero Canale di Constantiropoli*(1681).¹¹¹ This work qualified him as the first oceanographer and his work as the first written scientific research on the underwater currents.

During Marsigli's second visit to Istanbul in 1691, a diplomatic delegation but from a different State accompanied him. Although he was in service of Emperor Leopold I of Habsburg, he was undercover as the secretary of British Envoy William Hussey. During the visit, he never stopped in one place and travelled around Balkans many times to make contacts. He was supposed to send the same reports to both Habsburg and British Empire but Marsigli found a way to hide information by sending direct messages to Habsburg General Kinsky although the British officials monitored every written text. Historian John Stoye stated this as follows:

Demirhan Erdemir, "Dâvûd-i Antâkî," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (Istanbul: TDV, 1994), 26-27. "Manuscripts of Davud el-Antaki's Works Found in Turkey" can be found in open-access via ISAM Library. <http://ktp2.isam.org.tr/pdfdkm/?blm=dosyabak&MaddeKodu=040182>

¹¹⁰ Nuncio or Papal Nuncio is "... a papal ambassador, i.e. a permanent diplomatic representative of the Holy See to a state or an international organization... in Catholic countries the papal nuncio may rank above other ambassadors in diplomatic protocol." The Vatican's Government, "What Is a Papal Nuncio?" <https://vatican.com/What-is-a-papal-nuncio/> (Accessed 11.03.2019).

¹¹¹ Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Osservazioni Intorno al Bosforo Tracio Overo Canale di Constantinopoli Rappresentate in Lettera Alla Sacra Real Maesta di Cristina Regina di Svezia* Luigi Ferdinando Marsilii (Rome: Nicolo Angelo Tinafsi, 1681).

“... Marsigli deposited in Vienna copies of his own seal, so that it could be recognized. Kinsky wanted his agent to communicate with him, when the need arose, by addressing letters to the English ambassador Lord Paget. It was hoped that, under diplomatic protection, would enjoy immunity from inspection by the Turks; but because they were first marked by Marsigli with an agreed symbol adjoining the seal, they could then be intercepted by alert Habsburg commanders in the course of their transmission through Hungary, and redirected to the relevant chancery in Vienna.”¹¹²

Marsigli benefitted greatly from these two visits to Istanbul. He got in contact with the prominent figures both in the official service and in different disciplines such as astrology, geography, history and language. He was acquainted with coffee and coffee service during his first visit, which would save his life when Tartars in the Second Siege of Vienna (1683) captured him and he served coffee in the military tent. Otherwise, he was just another capture as he was clever not to reveal his real identity and would end up dead before long.

2.2. COUNT MARSIGLI'S CAPTIVITY and COFFEE SERVICE

In 1683, Ottoman and Tartar troops set forth through Hungary and the Second Siege of Vienna (1683) was a great loss on their side. However, this attempt was very important for the life of Count Marsigli because Marsigli was an officer in Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I's army and Tartars captured him near the Austrian border. When he was captured, he managed to stay undercover as a merchant named “Federico”¹¹³ and served coffee in the Tartars military camp by Rabniz River. In his autobiography, he explained his captivity as follows:

¹¹² Stoye, *ibid.*, 104.

¹¹³ *Ibidem.*

He[Tartar] undressed me from head to toe, leaving me the shirt and the socks of white thread and, tying me with a leather rope barbarously and without regard to my wounds bleeding on all sides, led me into their camp to spend the night out of a clear sky, neither without thinking of treating me, nor giving me rest, but more and more to torment me with tightly robed ties and to make me serve as a bolster for two Tartars, who used me to rest their heads and make sure that I could not escape.¹¹⁴

His experience in brewing and serving coffee that he learnt while staying in Istanbul saved him despite these circumstances. Marsigli owed great deal to his Jewish interpreter Abraham Gabai (Kabai or Cubài) because during his first visit to Istanbul Gabai taught Turkish to Marsigli, which would save his life when Tatars captured him during the Siege of Vienna:

“But the strength of the Tartars and the wickedness of the rebels prevented us, attacking us from all sides with an unspeakable fury and passing all to the sword and flicks. From two of which I was wounded, and my horse killed, believing that I was as dead as the others, a Tartar descended from a horse to cut off my head, likewise the one he had done to others. I, in the Turkish language, learned in my journey to Constantinople, told him: Degma! Stop; a word that dumfounded him.¹¹⁵

While serving coffee in the military camp, Marsigli heard about Tartars' plans to execute him—they were discussing it in Turkish but Marsigli understood their conversation thanks to his previous studies on the language— and he had to escape from the camp. That day, two Bosnian equestrians came to the tent and Marsigli served coffee to them. While the equestrians were leaving the tent, Marsigli persuaded them to buy him as a slave so that his acquaintance would pay them much more afterwards. Marsigli, or merchant Federico as they knew him, purchased his freedom from these two Bosnian men (Omer and Gellilo/Bastelli). But Merchant Filippo Bernakovic from Sarajevo, who was supposed to buy

¹¹⁴ Marsigli, *Autobiografia*, 45-49.

¹¹⁵ Emilio Lovarini, *La Schiavitù Del Generale Marsigli: Sotto I Tartari E I Turchi Da Lui Stesso Narrata* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1931), 63.

Marsigli from the horsemen, refused to help although he received his payment and a letter from Ambassador Civran, and Marsigli had to continue his travel with these two Bosnian men until he got in contact with a Franciscan house on the way. One of his nightmares was over because during his captivity, Marsigli had always worried about dying without making a confession to a priest. He visited this Franciscan house, made his confession and revealed his identity.¹¹⁶ The good news was delivered to Venice; great efforts of Pietro Civran saved Marsigli and he returned to Venice first, and then moved to Bologna.

Coffee service that saved Marsigli's life was not based only on the little piece of information given to him by Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi. As a great observer and curious traveler, he unceasingly took notes about coffee service. Adding rewarding conversations with the intelligentsia of the time, he took so many notes on the benefits, service, and grinding, brewing and social effects of coffee. Among his manuscripts, there are drawings of the plant and presentation of coffee. His interest and research on coffee resulted in *Bevanda Asiatica* in 1685-86 as stated by Stoye:

While he was still at the Buda land, he also worked on his leisure and scientific work starting with translation of a piece given by his friend Hezarfen five years earlier. He prepared the original Turkish text and its Italian translation for publishing. "Meninski, a great orientalist in Vienna, advised him. The title was then "A Tipple from Asia drunk to the health of his Excellency Buonvisi, Apostolic Nuncio."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Stoye, *ibid.*, 21.

¹¹⁷ Stoye, *ibid.*, 39.

Although he obtained the receipt on coffee almost 20 years earlier, he had to postpone his translation due to his military career and bureaucratic requirements as an official representative of Vienna.¹¹⁸

2.3. COUNT MARSIGLI'S MILITARY CAREER

Marsigli's military career actually emerged as a result of his plans to escape Bologna. Marsigli, who did not want to be a cleric or political leader, considered his military career as a way out. Stoye expressed it as, "The mould was there in Bologna; the metal escaped."¹¹⁹ Although his first official duty was not military but papal service, Marsigli shared his ambition to become a military officer to Pope Innocent XI and Queen of Sweden in 1681. Because of his failed mission in Venice in 1680s, Marsigli needed to find an opportunity to get on the battlefield and in accordance with this purpose; he strived to work in Habsburg, Austria. His entrance to Vienna and more importantly to Leopold I's court was challenging. He delivered a letter to Spanish ambassador from the governor in Milan; Cardinal Cibo's letter from Rome to Cardinal Buonvisi, apostolic nuncio to Vienna; and from Cardinal Accioulli in Rome to Capuchin Friar¹²⁰ Emmerich Sinelli who was the closest adviser of Leopold I at the time. Finally, Friar Sinelli

¹¹⁸ *idem.*, 23

¹¹⁹ Stoye, *ibid.*, 1.

¹²⁰ Capuchin Friar: They are an order of Friars (Franciscans) within the Catholic Church. In the 16th century, a group of Franciscans was inspired to live the Franciscan lifestyle in a more radical manner, returning to the original emphasis on prayer and poverty. These men broke away from the Franciscans and began a reform movement, which stressed the priority of contemplative prayer and a more rigorous austerity. Wearing habits with large hoods, they soon garnered the name *cappuccio*, the Italian word for "hood." The Capuchins received approval for their way of life and were recognized as an official, independent branch of the Franciscans in 1525, in the papal *Religionis Zellus*. Capuchins.org, "What Is a Capuchin Franciscan?" <https://capuchins.org/who-are-we/> (Accessed 06.04.2019).

introduced him to the Emperor. Habsburg Emperor Leopold I always enjoyed speaking Italian, and this provided Marsigli with an opportunity to continue his contact with him.¹²¹

Once he became an official in the Habsburg Army, Marsigli had the role of determining the routes for the armies, building bridges, creating strategies and providing guidance about the area. His famous maps in addition to long and detailed notes from his travels got him recognition even by the most stubborn generals. Marsigli served to Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I until he was repelled in 1712 and returned to Bologna.

Marsigli's irreplaceable position, profound knowledge and experience were undoubtedly of great use to himself and to his Austrian patrons. His observations, researches, purchases from his two official visits to Istanbul, manuscripts and books obtained from prominent figures such as Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi about the structure, strategies, and tactics of Ottoman Army, and experiences on the battlefield, highlighted every move Marsigli made and every advice he gave. His remarkable performance on the field and the demands of the Emperor to provide more information about the Ottoman Army led to his invaluable book *Stato Militare dell'Imperio Ottomano, Incremento e Decremento del Medesimo* (1732)¹²² published in Amsterdam and reprinted in Graz in 1972.

¹²¹ Stoye, *ibid.*, 32.

¹²² Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno, incremento e decremento del medesimo. Del signore conte di Marsigli dell'Accademia reale delle scienze di Parigi, e di Montpellier, e della Società reale di Londra, e fondatore dell'Istituto di Bologna* (Haya&Amsterdam, 1732).

The winds had changed during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), in which Marsigli was under the command of Italian Commander Count d'Arco. He dropped his guard of the fort earlier than necessary, which resulted in the execution of d'Arco and the end of L. F. Marsigli's military career in the Habsburg army. In 1712, Marsigli was obliged to return to Bologna without any military titles or honors. He was given a position in the Papal Army but this was far from the active presence on the battlefield. Until his death, Marsigli dedicated his time on his studies and scientific work. He donated his collections to the Bologna University and founded the Institute of Science and Art.

CHAPTER 3

3. COUNT MARSIGLI AND HIS CULTURAL INTERACTION WITH TURKS

Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's prominent skills and actions were not limited to military service. He wrote numerous pages about the Turkish civilization and culture, based on his observations and investigations. Despite not being a chronic, Marsigli's travel notes and various reports were based on his official visits to Istanbul and included invaluable information through the perspective of a Westerner visiting the Ottoman land. They are not as detailed and informative as prominent voyager Evliya Çelebi or Eremiya Çelebi, yet are important documents that reflect the 16th and 17th century social and cultural life owing to his exceptional position in official duty and intercourse with Turks.

Beginning with his first visit to Istanbul in 1679, with Bailo Pietro Civran, Marsigli had the opportunity to interact with intelligentsia and *crème de la crème* among whom was Encyclopedist Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi.¹²³ The works of Marsigli clearly show that his conversations with Hüseyin Efendi had great contributions to Marsigli's knowledge about Turkish culture and satisfied his curiosity by various written documents including the receipt on curative usage of coffee,¹²⁴ written by *Davut al-Misri*.

¹²³ Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi (1600-1691), a well-known historian and thinker of 17th century. For more information, see. Footnote 106.

¹²⁴ See. *Bevanda Asiatica* (1685) and Appendix 4.

Marsigli's interaction with Ottomans was not limited to people. As he stated in various parts of his autobiography, he entered secret rooms with his Jewish interpreter Kabai (Abraham Gabai):

I entered the Seraglio for a hidden door of a garden, accompanied by my Jewish interpreter Kabai, led into the most secret rooms, where I was awaited by the traitorous cutter of the ugne and by the keeper of the turbans, who showed me very sumptuous ornaments of their ladies, which blew excessive odor of amber. Among joys and jokes, they brought a magnificent breakfast on porcelain plates called *martabani*¹²⁵, which, according to the usual of the Turks, was not seen so commonly while eating; because before the dishes they remove the plates.¹²⁶

In Marsigli's manuscripts and collection, there are various documents about the Turkish cuisine, population, religion, language, etc. in his notes as well as his collections. For instance in "Examination of the Nature of Turks"¹²⁷ (*Esame del naturale de' Turchi*) chapter of *Stato Militare dell'Imperio Ottomano*, has 14 pages on various topics such as climate, table settings, coffee, sherbet, *boza*, to yogurt and also the Ottoman officials, mosques, *masjids*, costumes, etc. Marsigli's manuscripts in "Fondo Marsili" in the University Library of Bologna include not only writings but also drawings and maps about fish and plants of Constantinople, beverages, Holy Month of Ramadan, Turkish food, Galata and Pera district in Istanbul, mosque personnel, Tartars (*Kaam dei Tartari* – Tartar Khans), Turkish women, costumes. Marsigli even tried to practice illuminated manuscripts and the section about turbans or official ceremonies in the Palace are in *Stato Militare dell'Imperio Ottomano*. His essay and translation about coffee, *Bevanda Asiatica* is a short but comprehensive booklet about Ottoman culture in general and

¹²⁵ "Martaban became a generic name given to large stoneware jars which were made in Thailand, China and Myanmar." Tamar Hodos, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group., 2017), 826.

¹²⁶ Marsigli, *Autobiografia*, 21.

¹²⁷ Marsigli, *Stato Militare*, 31-45.

curative function of coffee.

About the Turkish food and beverages, Marsigli's manuscripts are equivalent of travel books from his era. According to his observations, Ottomans prefer red meat to fish; consume abundance of dessert, noted baklava; use a great quantity and variety of seasoning; do not drink during the meals but take their drinks before or after the meal depending on the time of the day; eat fruit and salads. Marsigli also mentioned the coffee service ceremonies or different celebrations on Islamic special occasions. For instance, the 51st volume includes Holy Muslim Month Ramadan, the ceremonies, nightlife in the streets, etc. Marsigli stated that the time of Ramadan changes according to lunar calendar, Muslims could not eat, drink or smoke tobacco during the day.¹²⁸ He also accounted that wine was inconvenient whereas they consumed tea and coffee as well as tobacco regularly.

Marsigli's versatile character and career resulted in voluminous manuscripts on the Ottoman Empire. In his case, curiosity did not kill the cat and created an invaluable collection.

3.1. MARSIGLI'S WORKS ON THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Self-educated scientist and military engineer Count Marsigli's ambition to learn about the culture and acquaint himself with Turks resulted in a wide range of documents as one of the best collection of his period. His works on the Ottoman Empire had various topics and different structures.

¹²⁸ Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna – Sezione Archivio storico, *Manoscritti Marsigliani*.

In accordance with Ottomans, there are four main texts written by Marsigli. First and the most distinguished in terms of the Ottoman Empire is *Stato Militare dell'Imperio Ottomano* (1732) on the military structure of the Ottoman Empire. The second important source on the Ottoman Empire by Marsigli is actually the compilation of his manuscripts in Fondo Marsili, *Biblioteca Universitaria*. The subject and content of these texts are numerous and very diverse and include not only written notes but also maps, pictures, calligraphy, etc. The third work is the most important in terms of this dissertation, *Bevanda Asiatica* (1685), based on five-page receipt on the curative function of coffee. Marsigli broadened the content and wrote a booklet on coffee, different beverages from the region and including the Italian translation of the Ottoman-Turkish receipt, the booklet ends with how to prepare Turkish coffee. The work also includes autobiographic information about his captivity by Tartars and Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's observations about the coffee fruit and the homeland of coffee. The last but not the least work to mention under this title is *Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo Tracio overe Canale di Costantinopoli* (1681) on the currents in Bosphorus. He dedicated the book to the Queen of Sweden with whom Marsigli had long conversations on intellectual and political topics, as he mentioned in his autobiography. There are also other works by Marsigli published in the 1990s but they are some chapters or notes by Marsigli, which he did not intend to compile in books. The books and his works are not presented chronologically but in order of priorities.

3.1.1. Stato Militare dell'Imperio Ottomano, Incremento e Decremento del Medesimo// L'Etat Militarie de L'Empire Ottoman, Ses Progrès et sa décadence (1732)¹²⁹



Figure 3.1.
*L'Etat Militarie de L'Empire Ottoman*¹³⁰ and *Stato Militare dell'Imperio Ottomano*¹³¹

Count Marsigli's masterpiece *Stato Militare dell'Imperio Ottomano, Incremento e Decremento del Medesimo* (1732),¹³² was published in Holland, both in Italian and French¹³³ two years after Marsigli passed away. As indicated by the title, the work is on the military structure of the Ottoman Army, mainly based on his conversations with Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi and his observations as

¹²⁹ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomano*.

¹³⁰ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *L'Etat Militarie de L'Empire Ottoman, Ses Progrès et sa décadence, par mr. Le Comte De Marsigli de l'academie royale des sciences de Paris, et de Montpellier, de la société royale de Londres, et Fondateur de L'institut de Boulogne*. Haye&Amsterdam, 1732.

¹³¹ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomano*.

¹³² For the Turkish Translation of the book see. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Zuhur Ve Terakkisinden İnhitatı Zamanına Kadar Askeri Vaziyeti*, trans. Kaymakam Nazmi Osman (Ankara: Büyük Erkânharbiye Matbaası, 1934).

¹³³ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *L'Etat Militarie de L'Empire Ottoman*.

well as the documents he obtained during his visits to The Ottoman Empire in service to Habsburg Emperor Leopold I. He wrote numerous reports on the military structure and army formation, in addition to war strategies and battlefield locations.¹³⁴

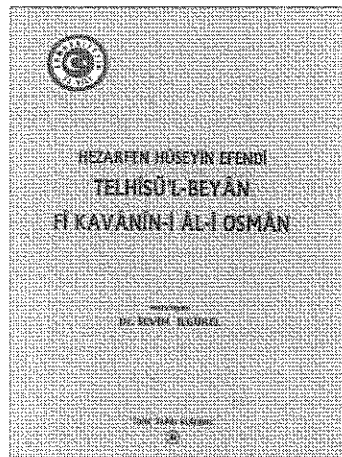


Figure 3.2. *Telhisü'l-beyan fî Kavanin-i Âli Osman*

The first part of this book is the translation and compilation of Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's *Telhisü'l-beyan fî Kavanin-i Âli Osman*¹³⁵ and in the second part Marsigli continues to give information on the Ottoman Empire including kinds of weapons, flags, turbans, titles, etc. This chapter has very detailed descriptions of the camp, defense and formation of the army not only in writing but also with many drawings and maps.

¹³⁴ Count L. F. Marsigli's manuscripts are catalogued by Ludovico Frati *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Marsigli Collected by the Museum* and are preserved in "Museo Marsili" (Museum of Marsigli) in *La Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*.

¹³⁵ For the latest publication of the book see. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-Beyan Fî Kavanin-i Âli Osman*, ed. Sevim İlgürel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998).

In the last part, there is the analysis of Danubian armada and notes on marine. As we see in the "Table of Content" the author gave a general picture of the juridical and economic state of the Ottoman Empire and more importantly the details on the customs, language, religion, trade, measurement units, coins, turbans, beverages, meals and many different aspects of the Ottoman culture based on his observations and studies accompanied by his interpreter Gabai. Spectacularly, Marsigli used almost all of these terms in the original language (Ottoman Turkish) and noted the translations of them. Thus, the work also functions as a glossary for the terms related to the Ottoman Empire culture and army.

3.1.2. *Manoscritti Marsigliani* (Marsigli's Manuscripts)

Impossible to compile in a book, Marsigli's numerous manuscripts cover a multitude of his notes on the Ottoman Empire. These pieces are invaluable sources for oriental studies but only a small amount has been uncovered and studied yet. Located in the Vatican, Venetian, French, Roman, British, Austrian, and Bolognese Archives in the broadest sense, we see the abundance of information in these manuscripts, including some notes underlying the chapters of *Stato Militare dell'Imperio Ottomano*.



Figure 3.3. *Catalogo dei manoscritti di Luigi Ferdinando Marsili conservati nella biblioteca universitaria di Bologna*¹³⁶

The variety of locations and abundance of the manuscripts made it almost impossible to make a complete catalogue but there are so many attempts starting from the 18th century. Among Marsigli's manuscripts listed in Lodovico Frati's *Catalogue in the University Library of Bologna*,¹³⁷ there are his annotations about coffee in which Marsigli shared hand-drawn pictures about the coffee tree and explanation of coffee seeds and fruit in Latin. An invaluable piece amongst these pages is his study of Ottoman Turkish couplets, their Turkish transcription and Latin translation.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Lodovico Frati, *ibid.*

¹³⁷ Lodovico Frati, *ibid.*

¹³⁸ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Manoscritti Marsigli*, Fondo Marsili.

3.1.3. Bevanda Asiatica (1685)

Bevanda Asiatica (1685) has a unique place amongst the manuscripts of Marsigli because it includes a receipt in Ottoman Turkish and translated into Italian by him, dedicated to the Apostolic Nuncio of Vienna, Francesco Buonvisi... In this small but very comprehensive booklet, Marsigli explained the production and usage of coffee. As he was serving coffee during his captivity, Marsigli learnt that the coffee was not only for the officials, but the shop outside the tent was similar to a café where people would gather to exchange information.¹³⁹ From his notes, we can understand that Marsigli not only used the receipt Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi provided him with but also he studied the qualities of the plant and the preparation of the drink.



Figure 3.4. *Bevanda Asiatica*¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Bevanda asiatica: all'Eminentissimo Bonvisi, Nunzio Apostolico appresso la Maestà dell'Imperatore*, ed. Clemente Mazzotta, (Roma: Salerno, 1998), 9.

¹⁴⁰ Marsigli, *Bevanda Asiatica*.

Marsigli also mentioned Hüseyin Efendi in *Bevanda Asiatica* as a scholar esteemed by both the Turks and the Christians of Constantinople, a wise man, full of “talents”¹⁴¹.

3.1.4. Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo Tracio overe Canale di Costantinapoli (1681)

After an unexpected and dramatic conclusion of the military career, from 1705 onwards Marsigli devoted himself completely to his scientific studies. His first published work was an invaluable scientific text entitled *Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo Tracio overe Canale di Costantinapoli* (1681)¹⁴² about his investigations on Bosphorus concerning the currents flowing in the Bosphorus, their speed, the salinity of the waters and the characteristics of the sea species that inhabit them. It was dedicated to Queen Christina of Sweden, who was a prominent female figure of her era as “One of the wittiest and most learned women of her age, Christina is best remembered for her lavish sponsorship of the arts and her influence on European culture.”¹⁴³ Marsigli was constantly communicating with the Queen via letters, also keeping her company, and sharing his knowledge about Turks.

¹⁴¹ Marsigli, *Bevanda Asiatica*, 7.

¹⁴² Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo Tracio overo Canale di Costantinopoli, rappresentate in lettera alla sacra real maestà di Cristina regina di Svezia da Luigi Ferdinando Marsilii* (Roma: Nicolò Angelo Tinassi, 1681).

¹⁴³ “Queen Christina of Sweden (born Dec. 8, 1626, Stockholm, Swed.—died April 19, 1689, Rome [Italy]), queen of Sweden (1644–54) reigned after his father King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, between the years 1632-1654.” Ruth Stephan, “Christina Queen of Sweden,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Christina-queen-of-Sweden> (Accessed 21.04.2019).

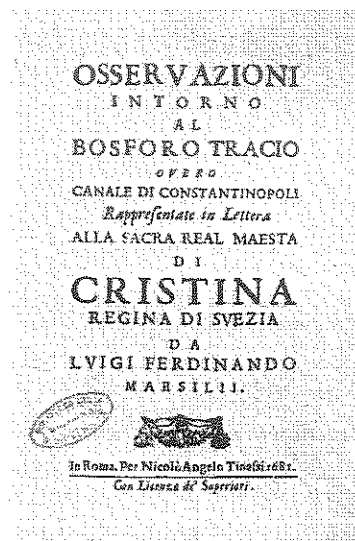


Figure 3.5.

*Osservazioni Intorno al Bosforo Tracio Overo Canale di Constantinopoli*¹⁴⁴

Marsigli sent a copy of *Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo Tracio* to the Queen and another copy to a Dutch physician and botanist Herman Boerhaave. At the time, as a royal member of French Academy of Science in Paris, Marsigli had already written *Hystorie Physique de la Mer* (1725)¹⁴⁵ in French and it was published in Amsterdam. *Hystorie Physique de la Mer* was the first oceanographic work in the modern sense.

Marsigli's works on the marine was not limited to Bosphorus. There are various examples of his scientific acquisitions one of which led him to write about

¹⁴⁴ Luigi Ferdinando Marsili, *Osservazioni Intorno al Bosforo Tracio Overo Canale di Constantinopoli Rappresentate in Lettera Alla Sacra Real Maesta di Cristina Regina di Svezia da Luigi Ferdinando Marsilli* (Rome: Nicolò Angelo Tinetti, 1681).

¹⁴⁵ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Histoire physique de la mer. Ouvrage enrichi de figures dessinées d'après le naturel. Par Louis Ferdinand comte de Marsilli, membre de l'Academie royale des sciences de Paris*, (Amsterdam: aux de'pens de la Compagnie, 1725).

the currents of Danube later on as he also acknowledged in his notes. As Stoye noted, "...he [Marsigli] wrote later, referring to the last weeks of the winter spent by the river [Danube] in 1690: 'there I reached a firm conclusion to develop my idea for a work on the Danube'."¹⁴⁶ This note was after a defeat and, even so, Marsigli was always on the winning side in this sense because he was constantly obtaining information about the area, Danube, military strategies and techniques. His whole career revolved around Danube and Balkans and resulted in two books entitled *Danubialis Operis Prodomos* (1700) and *Danubius Pannonico-Mysticus, observationibus geographicis, astronomicis, hydrographicis, historicis, physicis* (1726) of 6 volumes.¹⁴⁷

3.1.5. Other Works Published in 1900s.

Last but not the least, there are two books published in the 1900s worth mentioning here. *Ragguaglio della schiavitù*¹⁴⁸ (1996) was written by Marsigli and published in Rome, moreover Italian Scholar Emilio Lovarini wrote a comprehensive introduction and published the same material entitled *La schiavitù del generale Marsigli sotto I Tartari e I Turchi da lui stesso narrate* (1931). These two were about Marsigli's captivity during the Second Siege of Vienna (1683) by Tartars and his notes about his experience in the military camps. The book remained unpublished until the 1900s but Marsigli dedicated the initial notes to Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, under whose command Marsigli was on a

¹⁴⁶ Stoye, *ibid.*, 86.

¹⁴⁷ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Danubius Pannonico-Mysticus, observationibus geographicis, astronomicis, hydrographicis, historicis, physicis, perlustratus et in sex tamos digestus* (Amsterdam: Harm. Uytwerf & Franç. Changuion).

¹⁴⁸ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Ragguaglio della schiavitù*, ed. B. Basile (Roma-Salerno, 1996).

mission when Tartars captivated him in a camp undercover as an Italian merchant named Federico.¹⁴⁹ In addition to parallel notes from his diary, this work also includes military strength of the Ottoman army because Marsigli always believed that obtaining the knowledge of the Turkish militia would put warriors of Christianity in a position of strategic advantage. However, the reason why it was not published earlier is unknown.

¹⁴⁹ Marsigli, *Autobiografia*, 58.

CONCLUSION

The emergence of coffee is full of uncertainties but one thing is for sure that it has been an indispensable part of daily life since. Coffee was metaphorically wine in the old poetry, powder to bake bread in the 800s A.D. and a beverage to spread all around the world from Yemen (or Ethiopia as suggested by different sources) at the beginning of the 16th century. From Yemeni Dervish lodges, it arrived at the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Suleiman I (r. 1520-1566).

Coffee's journey from Dervish circles to Ottoman Palace spread to the high officials' houses and there were peddlers in the streets serving coffee at the second quarter of the 16th century. The high demand and mobile coffee servers ended up in coffeehouses. As a center of social life, coffeehouses almost instinctively adapted to the daily life of the community as Cemal Kafadar stated, "Coffeehouses in general did not limit their activities to daytime. The nights of Ramadan were particularly busy times for these establishments."¹⁵⁰

The structure of the 16th and 17th century Ottoman coffeehouses adapted with the social norms of the era as expected. For instance, the predetermined gender roles were directly applied to those public spaces as we see the primary coffeehouses were man-caves and this male dominance in the coffeehouses, corresponded to the "men associations."¹⁵¹ However, this male-dominance in the

¹⁵⁰ Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night," 257.

¹⁵¹ İlyaz Bingöl, *Osmanlı'da Kahvehane ve Toplumsal Hayat Mekanları* (Ankara: Gram Yayınları, 2013), 29.

public space must not mean that women were not enjoying coffee as a beverage as well. The absence of women was not related to the structure of the coffeehouse or the consumption of the beverage¹⁵² but to the fact that the private and public spaces were already divided according to gender. Men socialized in the coffeehouses while the public space of women was bathhouses.¹⁵³ In addition to bathhouses, women would gather in the homes of other women for meals, music and conversations.

The social picture of the coffeehouses in the 17th century was different and problematic in relation to politics. With the establishment of coffeehouses in Istanbul, in the second half of the 16th century, coffee obtained a status in the society. Religious as well as political reactions and interventions accompanied this status. For the next century, the cultural function and structure of coffeehouses has transformed and dissociated according to the political and religious dynamics. The applied sanctions on coffee or coffeehouses became acts of sovereignty and exploited economically, politically, socially and even religiously. The social and political conditions paved the way for various attempts to prohibit the consumption of coffee and liquidate the coffeehouses.

There were four large-scale coffee bans and corresponding coffeehouse abolishment from the second half of the 16th century in the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁵² Actually, the consumption of coffee was more appropriate for women according to Katib Çelebi because "to those of moist temperament, and especially to women, it is highly suited. They should drink a great deal of strong coffee. Excess of it will do them no harm, so long as they are not melancholic." (Chelebi, *ibid.*, 62)

¹⁵³ As stated by Cemal Kafadar in his unpublished essay "A History of Coffee" we see that the absence of women in the coffeehouse was compensated with public bathhouses: "...the public bathhouses, Lady Montague observed, serve as 'women's coffeehouses.'" Kafadar, "A History of Coffee," 54.

Interestingly, Sultan Suleiman I during whose reign coffee entered the Ottoman palace for the first time applied the first coffee ban. An edict was applied in 1543 with the support of Ebusuud Efendi's *fetwa*.¹⁵⁴ The second ban was between the years 1583-1587, by Sultan Murat III (r. 1574-1595) but this was not very long and tight as the other bans. Sultan Ahmet I (r. 1603-1617) applied the third ban between the years 1606-1611. Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623-1640) applied the last and the harshest ban and tobacco was prohibited as well. Despite these four major prohibitions of coffee and closure of coffeehouses, the economic and social contributions of coffee were too great to discard. Besides, coffee was in public demand even in times of bloodstained interventions, thus the coffee and coffeehouse bans were not everlasting.

Despite the *urbanite* appearance of coffeehouses, the coffee service and shops were not limited to the city in the 17th century. The alluring smell of coffee reached not only the public spaces but also the battlefields and garrisons. This expansion had a vital role for Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli (1658-1730) who was a military man, an enthusiastic scientist and almost obsessive collector. During the Second Siege of Vienna (1683), Marsigli was serving in the Habsburg Army. When Tartars captured him, Marsigli managed to survive in the hands of the enemy by serving coffee in the military camp. Presenting himself as a merchant named 'Federico', Count Marsigli made use of the observations and information he knew about Turkish coffee, which he learnt during his first and official visit to Istanbul in 1679 with the Venetian Bailo Pietro Civran. As stated

¹⁵⁴ For examples of Islamic regulations about the consumption of coffee and status of coffeehouses, see. Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

in Marsigli's notes on his captivity in the Tartar military camp, Marsigli learnt some Turkish during his first official visit in Istanbul for eleven months. After almost twenty years of his captivity, he added some notes to a 5-pages receipt on the curative function of coffee fruit, given to him by Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi in the Ottoman Palace. With the Italian translation of the receipt, *Bevanda Asiatica* (1685) was published in Vienna, Austria.

Throughout his life, Count Marsigli accumulated knowledge on Turks and The Ottoman Empire, and same as almost every 17th century intellectual, he put all he learnt on paper. Sometimes these were intelligence reports and sometimes his personal notes on hundreds of pages. In addition to his own writings, Marsigli was an ambitious collector and his collection was a compilation of different types of texts he collected from all of his travels and official duties. Owing to his different duties in the Habsburg Empire and Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, he had great experience and knowledge about the Turks. Marsigli also learnt some Turkish but obviously, it was not enough to read and understand the texts entirely. Yet, he mentioned his interpreter Gabai who accompanied Marsigli during his official visits to the Ottoman Empire.

Count Marsigli's interaction with the Ottoman culture was not limited to military service. He was also a scientist and during his 11 month-long official visit, as well as his other journeys, Marsigli obtained information on different disciplines. His prominent work on the Ottoman military structure was entitled

Stato Militare dell'Imperio Ottomano (1732).¹⁵⁵ This very detailed book included Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi (1600-1691)'s book *Telhisü'l-beyan fî kavânîni Âli Osmân*¹⁵⁶ on the Ottoman Empire, Marsigli's notes on the army in addition to his drawings and maps. This book was published in both Italian and French. It also included notes about the Ottoman social life.

In his works, Marsigli mentioned Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's name in a very positive and respecting manner. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi was a well-known 17th century intellectual and historian in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵⁷ Not only the Muslim scholars but also the Christian clergy respect him as he was using Western sources in his studies and he knew Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Marsigli benefitted greatly from his interactions with Hüseyin Efendi, whose cognomen 'Hezarfen'¹⁵⁸ was used for extremely knowledgeable personages in the 17th century. Marsigli enjoyed Hüseyin Efendi's company and as he mentioned in *Bevanda Asiatica*, "I [Marsigli] cannot help myself to feel sorry for him, as he will die [believing] in the false Mohammedan Religion."¹⁵⁹

Marsigli's other writings on various subjects are compiled in his 'Manuscripts Collection' in Bologna, Italy. Among these manuscripts, there is a small booklet on coffee, which is crucial for this dissertation. This booklet was

¹⁵⁵ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno*

¹⁵⁶ For the latest publication of the book see. Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhisü'l-Beyan Fi Kavanin-i Al-i Osman*, 1998.

¹⁵⁷ For detailed information about Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi and his Works, see footnote. 106

¹⁵⁸ "Hezarfen" is an adjective derived from "hezar" meaning "thousand" in Persian.

¹⁵⁹ *Bevanda asiatica*, 8.

published entitled *Bevanda Asiatica*(1685)¹⁶⁰ almost 20 years after Marsigli obtained a receipt written by *Davud al-Misri* from Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, on the curative function of coffee. Marsigli added some notes on different beverages from the region, the Ottoman-Turkish text of the receipt and its translation into Italian. The work ends with Marsigli's explanation on how to prepare Turkish coffee. Last but not the least, Marsigli's book on Bosphorus entitled *Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo Tracio overe Canale di Costantinopoli* (1681)¹⁶¹ is about the currents and dedicated to the Queen of Sweden. This book is the first published book on the Bosphorus currents.

Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's work and description on Turks in the late 17th century is a unique and remarkable source for the Westerners to have knowledge about the Ottomans as the compilation of his manuscripts in addition to his vast collection of reports, relics, books, texts, maps and drawings throughout his life. Marsigli was suspended from his official military duty in the Habsburg Army because of an erroneous decision during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) and sent back to Bologna, Italy. Marsigli dedicated his time in Italy to his studies and scientific work. In 1730, Marsigli died of natural causes in Bologna.

All in all, the emergence of coffee in the Ottoman Empire happened almost three centuries after the occurrence of coffee in the world. Coffee entered the Ottoman Palace during the reign of Sultan Suleiman I and coffeehouses were opened in the second half of the 16th century. These homogenous and hard-to-

¹⁶⁰ For the English translation of *Bevanda Asiatica* (1685 - Asian Beverage), see. Appendix 4.

¹⁶¹ Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Osservazioni intorno al Bosforo*.

detect socialization centers witnessed political and religious interventions in the Ottoman Empire for a century until the end of the 17th century. Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's path crossed with coffee during his first official visit to Istanbul (1679) which would save his life during the Second Siege of Vienna (1683) when Tartars captured Marsigli and he served coffee in their military camp as a captive. His interactions with the Ottoman Empire and his research resulted in voluminous books and a booklet entitled *Bevanda Asiatica* on Turkish coffee. Through the perspective of a soldier ("*miles sum*"¹⁶² as he defines himself) and servant of science as his motto *nihil mihi*¹⁶³ indicates, Marsigli left almost a whole picture of the Ottoman Empire as he had observed and read it.

¹⁶² *Miles sum*: "I am a soldier."

¹⁶³ *Nihil Mihi*: "Nothing for me" is written on the door of 'Museo Marsili' in the University Library of Bologna.

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APPENDIX 1 - *SHEIKH AL-ISLAM* YENİŞEHİRLİ ABDULLAH
EFENDİ'S *FETWA* ON COFFEE

“Mes’ele

Hâlâ bilâd-ı Islâmiyye’de beyne’l-nâs ve’l müslimin isti’mâli olan
kahvenin şürbi helal midir yohsa değil midir?

El-Cevâb: Helaldir.

Source: *Min Behcetü’l Fetâvâ*¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Koz, *ibid.*, 161. “*Behcetü’l-fetâvâ* is a collection of *Sheikh al-Islam* Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi’s *fetwas*. The work, which is one of the most important fatwa of the Ottomans, was published in the one volume entitled *Behcetü’l-fetâvâ maa’n-nukûl* (Istanbul 1266, 1289)” Ahmet Özcl, “Behcetü’l-Fetâvâ,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: TDV, 1992), 346.

APPENDIX 2 - SHEIKH AL-ISLAM EBUSUUD EFENDI'S FETWAs ON COFFEE

The *fetwa* (Islamic religious law) of Ebusuud Efendi addressed the issues about coffee in "Crime and Punishment" chapter. This classification is very interesting because other issues in this chapter are 'stealing, murder, interest (*faiz*), *boza*, adultery', etc. which except *boza* and coffee, are actual crimes (*haram*) in Islam but the status of these two beverages have been controversial.¹⁶⁵

MADDE 717. Boza Maddesi¹⁶⁶:

BU SÛRETTE: Kezâlik kahvehane olan dahi, muttasıl ehl-i heva cem' olup, ayrı ayrı meclis kurup, satranç, tavla ve bunun emsali mâlâya'nî kelimât edip, bu ettikleri vaz'ın hürmetini hatıra getirmeyip, istihfaf edip, bu makule itikad edenlere dahi şer'an ne lazım olur?

EL CEVAP: Cümlesine, Hak teâlâ hazretinin ve melâike-i kiramın ve cumhûr-i ehl-i islâmın lâ'neti lâhik ve lazım olur. (B. 276 b)

VIII. KAHVE

MADDE 722.

MES'ELE: Zeyd, mütâlâ'aya kuvvet için yâhud hazm-i tamam için kahve içse helâl olur mu?

ELCEVAP: Feseka, âlet-i lehe ü fücûr ile içtikleri mekrûhu adam istimal mi eder? (A. 211 b)

MADDE 723.

¹⁶⁵ Mehmet Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebusuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972, 148-149.

¹⁶⁶ At the end of the 16th century, there were *boza* shops as well as taverns and coffeeshouses. Ottoman Historian Fikret Yılmaz stated in his article about daily life in the 16th century that the *boza* shops (*bozacı*) had a similar function to taverns. They were alternative public places for people to socialize and have fun. Yılmaz added that, "when we talk about *boza*, which is made from barley, it is not necessarily a non-alcoholic beverage. Because the legally sold *boza* was, 'sweet *boza*' and drinking or selling bitter (or sour) *boza* was illicit as mentioned in *fetvas*. The reason for this differentiation is not known, however, it is presumable that bitter *boza* is a beverage closely similar to beer. Hence, there is certainly an important difference between drinking sweet or bitter *boza*." Yılmaz also mentioned that they were secretly selling wine in these *boza* shops. Source: Fikret Yılmaz, "Boş Vaktiniz Var mı? Veya 16. Yüzyılda Şarap, Suç ve Eğlence," *Tarih ve Toplum* 1, (2005): 46-47.

MES'ELE: Kahvehanelere ehl-i heva cem' olup ayrı meclis kurup satranc, tavla ve bunun emsali mâlâya'nî kelimât edip, bu ettikleri vaz'ın hürmetini hatıra getirmeyip, istihfaf edip, bu makule itikad edenlere dahi şer'an ne lazım olur?

EL CEVAP: Cümlesine, Hak teâlâ hazretinin ve melâike-i kiramın ve cumhûr-i ehl-i islâmın lâ'neti lâhik ve lazım olur. (B. 276 b)

c. 724.

MES'ELE: Padişah-i din-penal (zılli zalimi ilah) hazretleri, kahvehaneleri kerrat ve merratla men' etmişler iken, memnu'lar olmayıp, tâife-i evbâştan ba'zı kimseler vech-i ma'âş için kahvehaneler tutup, hengâmeleri germ olmak için yanlarına yalın yüzlü şakirtler alıp, tavla ve satranc gibi ba'zı âlât-i lehv ü taraf müheyyâ ve müretteb edip, şehrin ehl-i heva, siyehkâr ve sâderûy halî-ül-izârları cem' olup, berş afyon ve bengi ma'cûn eki eyleyip, üzerine, kahveler içip, kıvamlarında oyuna ve fûnûn-i ekâzibeye zikrolan fûrûşlara ve kahve-nûşlara ve men' ü define kadir olup men' etmeyen hekime ne lazım olur?

EL CEVAP: Kabâyihi-i mezbûreye mübâşeret ve te'âtî edenler ta'zir-i şedid ve habs-i medîd ile men'ü zecr olunup, zecirlerinde müsahele eden hükkâm azl olunmak lazımdır. (B. 278 b)

APPENDIX 3 - COFFEE IN TRAVEL BOOKS & JOURNALS

“The coffee shrub was once thought to be a native of Persia but more probably came from Ethiopia. In any case coffee shrub and coffee scarcely appeared before 1470. Coffee was being drunk in Aden at that date. It had reached Mecca by 1511 since in that year its consumption was forbidden there; the prohibition was repeated in 1524. It is recorded in Cairo in 1510 and Istanbul in 1517; after this it was forbidden and re-authorized at regular intervals. Meanwhile it spread widely within the Turkish Empire, to Damascus, Aleppo (1532) and Algiers. But the end of the century, it had installed itself virtually throughout the Muslim worlds - though it was still rare in the Islamic regions of India in Tavernier’s time.

It was certainly in Islam that coffee was first encountered by such Western travelers as Prospero Alpini, an Italian doctor, who stayed in Egypt in about 1590, or the swaggering Pietro della Valle, who was in Constantinople in 1615:

“The Turks (wrote della Valle) also have another beverage, black in color, which is very refreshing in summer and very warming in winter, without however changing its nature and always remaining the same during which is swallowed hot... They drink it in long draughts, not during the meal but afterwards, as a sort of delicacy and to convert in comfort in the company of friends. One hardly sees a gathering where it is not drunk. A large fire is kept for this purpose and little porcelain bowls are kept by it, ready to be filled with the mixture; when it is hot enough there are men entrusted with the office who do nothing else but carry

these little bowls to all the company, also giving each person a few melon seeds to chew to pass the time. And with the seeds and this beverage, which they call *kafoue* they amuse themselves while conversing... sometimes for a period of seven or eight hours.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Braudel, *ibid.*, 256.

APPENDIX 4 - *BEVANDA ASIATICA* (ASIAN BEVERAGE)

ASIAN BEVERAGE

TOAST to His Eminence BONVISI¹⁶⁸

Apostolic Nuncio¹⁶⁹ to His Majesty the Emperor¹⁷⁰

From CO. LUIGI FERDINANDO MARSIGLI

That narrates the Medical history of *Cavè*¹⁷¹

VIENNA, AUSTRIA

Published by: VAN GHELEN¹⁷², 1685.

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His Eminence My Lord¹⁷³

The most distinguished, most ethical moral philosophers did not fail to follow and support the purpose of the Banquet,¹⁷⁴ because a sign of a greater fondness could not be given to your Connoisseurs¹⁷⁵ than sharing their food with them.¹ Knowing that Plato¹⁷⁶ had followed such custom celebrating Banquet to made it memorable for posterity, since they were reasons for erudite

¹⁶⁸ Cardinal Francesco Buonvisi (1626-1700). Deceased as the Bishop of Lucca. He was elevated to Cardinal in 1681 and when *Bevanda Asiatica* was published, Cardinal Buonvisi was at the service of Holy Roman Emperor.

¹⁶⁹ *Nuncio* in English. Ecclesiastical Addresses in Italy.

¹⁷⁰ Holy Roman Emperor and Emperor of Habsburg, Leopold Ignaz Joseph Balthasar Felician (Leopold I) (r. 1658-1705).

¹⁷¹ *Cavè* is the Turkish transcription of 'coffee' by L. F. Marsigli.

¹⁷² Johann Peter van Ghelen was the court's printer and owned one of the most important printing houses in Austria in the 17th and 18th centuries with his contemporaries M. Cosmerovius, J. Gerold and J. T. Trattner.

¹⁷³ Italian. *Signore*: This has different religious connotations but in the ecclesiastical addressing, it is either 'My Lord' or 'Jesus Christ'. This text is dedicated to the Cardinal (Bonvisi), thus 'My Lord' is preferred. Albert Battandier, "Ecclesiastical Addresses," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907).

¹⁷⁴ It. *Conviti*: Feast or banquet. Dante's *Convito* is translated as *Banquet* in English thus, banquet is preferred instead of 'feast'. The Divine Banquet is more frequent than The Divine Feast in the documents about Christianity.

¹⁷⁵ It. *Conoscenti*: *Cognoscenti* is more frequent and means Connoisseurs.

¹⁷⁶ L. F. Marsigli added some side notes in Latin. For the interpretation of the side notes, see the related endnotes at the end of this appendix.

conversations,¹⁷⁷ in which the Guests¹⁷⁸ taught with the hilarity that the Table¹⁷⁹ provided precisely;¹⁸⁰

Allo-¹⁸¹

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[This] allowed them not only to reciprocally demonstrate the candor of their hearts to the Guests in the Limpidity of the Beverage; but also thanks to the instability of Liquor, they could reveal the consistency of their friendship, inviting them to the Toasts.¹⁸² Your Eminence (Y. E.),¹⁸³ who has loftiness of the soul, which can only be imitated by Men¹⁸⁴ that have deserved a perpetual gratitude from the Posterity for having made them so much assistance in their precepts¹⁸⁵ and in their actions, cannot help to follow them also in times of giving consolation and amusement to the feeling of continuous fatigue in those who entered the purple door¹⁸⁶ and that character that supports the Benefit of the whole Christian -

P. 5

-World; giving me the opportunity to understand several times that the hour of lunch is not considered only for the time to give the Food required for the

¹⁷⁷ It. *D'eruditi discorsi*: scholarly discourses

¹⁷⁸ It. *Convitato*: This term is sometimes used specifically for 'dinner guests' but here the information about the time of dining is not specific thus 'guest' is preferred.

¹⁷⁹ 'Table' is 'the dinner table' in this context but on the purpose of staying with the original script, 'Table' is preferred. In Turkish, 'Table' is *sofra*.

¹⁸⁰ The conversations in the Table and the ambient enabled and led up to such scholarly discourses to be taught by hilarity.

¹⁸¹ At the end of every page, the first syllable or word of the following page is written in case the pages are lost or replaced. In this example, the last syllable of the 3rd page and the first syllable of the 4th page are "Per-" for "Permettava" and in English, "Allo-" for "Allowed". In this translation, the following examples of sort are not used in every page for the fluency of the text.

¹⁸² It. *Brindisi*: Toast or round of drinks. Both of them are suitable.

¹⁸³ In the original text, "*Vostro Eminenza* (Your Eminence)" is sometimes used in acronym "V. E." In the translation, the preferences in the original the script are followed; the acronym is used only when preferred by the author.

¹⁸⁴ Those great men

¹⁸⁵ Here 'precept' is 'Dogma'. In the ancient Greek, 'Dogma' as the root of the word is "to seem, to think" whereas today, 'Dogma' is absolute and unquestionable. In this context, the Greek meaning is more accurate.

¹⁸⁶ Purple is the color of the Cardinals and here entering the purple door is a connotation of wearing the Purple Cape of Cardinals to become a Cardinal. (*Porpora Cardinalizia* – Cardinal Purple).

sustenance of the materiality of the Body, but also to relieve the mind from the oppression of the commitments and concerns with having the Commensals,¹⁸⁷ who propose discourses founded in a jovial erudition, which gives stimuli to learn to those who listen to them, and awaken the genuine¹⁸⁸ joviality of Y. E., superior to any other both in Gallantry and in gravity. He also aims to greet this toast,¹⁸⁹ which the Guests feel imbued with the essence of so delicate beverages, which [Y. E.] makes them taste; and therefore it is no less -

P. 6

- obligatory on deference than on gratitude to wish to Y. E. that it is useful in itself as it is the proof of His Generosity. And I now have a foreign Beverage to introduce into the Table of Y. E. for its salutary qualities and make a *Toast* by using the words [to the health of Y. E.], since the *Cavè* beverage is full of qualities that, once consumed,¹⁹⁰ You will have relief of temperament from that sometimes disturbs Your perfect health. I know it will seem strange to everyone, that I want to talk about Medical art when it is not my profession, but I hope Y. E. will know that the-

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-explanation I will adduce¹⁹¹ is precisely cited from a person that is extremely notable¹⁹² in medicine. You will also see that a Turk, who spoke of it, complies with explaining the Virtues of *Cavè* to the sentiments of all others. And as You will read about the origin, appreciation, and maturation, and preparation of *Cavé* fruit, [you will see how] to boil it down to the condition that is necessary to form such Beverage. And the reason why one does not find it strange to see, that I narrate the production of said plant in a form so contrary to those up to now have

¹⁸⁷ It. *Commensali*: Dining companion, tablemate, fellow diner

¹⁸⁸ It. *Naturale*: Natural is also appropriate.

¹⁸⁹ 'Cheers' but *salute* can also be used here for "for the health/well-being" which is "Sağlığınız" in Turkish.

¹⁹⁰ Sometimes, the coffee beans are eaten or swallowed therefore instead of using "drink" the verb "consume" was preferred.

¹⁹¹ It. *Adduce*: Put forward, state.

¹⁹² Marsigli refers either to Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi or *Dauid al-Misri*.

written [as] I have decided to clearly put it under the eyes of Y. E. in the Turkish and Italian idioms, the Connection of which was given to me by the Writer, *Cuseim Efendi* (Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi)-

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- a man, who for his official missions in the Ottoman Empire, and for the accurate History¹⁹³ he wrote is esteemed not only among Turks but also the Christians in the Court of Constantinople, just like I have had the opportunity to do. Remembering and knowing that his talent is same as mine, as a rule of good friendship, I cannot help myself to feel sorry for him, as he will die [believing] in the false Mohammedan Religion.¹⁹⁴ In addition to the news I acquired from the mentioned places, the experience¹⁹⁵ grasped from the journeys I had with Bailo Civran¹⁹⁶ in the countries of Turkey, and the practice, which I was supposed to have during my Captivity of Ahmet Pasha¹⁹⁷ (*Amet Bafsa*) of -

¹⁹³ This book is *Telhîsü'l-beyân fî kavânini Âli Osmân* written by Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi. It is about the history of the Ottoman state organization. The work consists of thirteen chapters on the foundation and historical structures of Istanbul, the palace officials, the meetings of the *Divan-i Hümâyûn*, the treasury income and expenses, the provincial organization and the provincial authorities, janissaries and other Kapıkulu quarries, *Tersâne-i Âmire* and its officials, Crimean khans, expedition ceremonies, orders related to *ulama*, issues related to *narh* (officially fixed price), porcelain enamel, and salt, wedding ceremonies in the palace. In addition, there is extensive information about the banquets. For more information about the author and the book, see. Mücteba İlgürel, "Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi," in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 18, (Istanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1998). See also, Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, *Telhîsü'l-Beyan Fî Kavanin-i Al-i Osman*, ed. Sevim İlgürel (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998).

¹⁹⁴ The Religion of Prophet Muhammad is Islam and Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi was a Muslim.

¹⁹⁵ In addition to the knowledge and expertise

¹⁹⁶ Marsigli accompanied Venetian Ambassador Pietro Civran in his first visit to Istanbul in 1679. However, he had to leave with him when there was an order of their repatriation by Gran Vizier Mustafa Pasha dated 1681. For the related document in Ottoman Turkish see. State Archives of Venice, *Miscellanea documenti turchi*, no. 1547.

¹⁹⁷ Marsigli mentioned Ahmet Paşa of Temesvar but he should not be confused with Kara Ahmet Paşa, famous for conquering Temisvar. Kara Ahmet Paşa served Sultan Suleiman I(r. 1520-1566) whereas Temisvar Guardian Ahmed Pasha (Temeşvar Muhafızı Ahmet Paşa) was in charge of an Ottoman garrison during the Second Siege of Vienna(1683). For more information about Temisvar Guardian Ahmet Pasha see his memoirs: Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa, *Bir Osmanlı Askerinin Sıradışı Anıları 1688-1700*, trans. Orhan Sakin (Istanbul: Ekim Yayınları, 2008).

L. F. Marsigli and Ahmet Paşa of Temesvar encountered for the second time during the negotiations after the war. Marsigli was the head of the Habsburg committee and Ahmet Paşa was in the Ottoman committee but due to his lack of experience in diplomacy, he was replaced by İbrahim Paşa, see. Defterdar Sarı Mehmet, *Zübde-i Vekayîât: Tahlil ve Metin (1066-1116/1656-1704)*, ed. Abdulkadir Özcan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1995), 689.

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-Temesvar¹⁹⁸ that in Vienna, to whom poison was given by the Vizier and ended his days; since for my exercise in his Court I had for many days in a fumigated¹⁹⁹ tent to practice the art of Cooking *Cavè*,²⁰⁰ not only for the quantity that was necessary for using in his Domestic Court,²⁰¹ but also for that it was necessary to keep a supplied Shop,²⁰² which could be equated to a Our Taverns.²⁰³ [This was] An employment for which I learnt the Art of preparing *Cavè* and observed many effects, and which gave me life, while by this means I had become acquainted with those Bosnians,²⁰⁴ who bought me at that time precisely I had to surrender before being sabered²⁰⁵ -

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- as a death penalty for an attempt to escape. Therefore, Y. E. will say that the *Cavè* in me has had a great virtue, and that it is right to be grateful to it for exalting its intrinsic qualities. It is known to Y. E. that man does not want by Nature's decree²⁰⁶ to escape from the necessity of food, to sustain himself in life,

¹⁹⁸ A Romanian city and a strategic location in the Second Siege of Vienna

¹⁹⁹ It. *Fumicato*. The literal translation would be fumigated whereas another adjective from the same root "*affimucato*" means "blackened by smoke". In this case, the latter meaning is more meaningful as Marsigli is serving in the tent with a cooker and the tent must be filled with smoke.

²⁰⁰ Eng. *Practice...* *Cavè*: Marsigli was cooking and serving coffee in the garrison during his captivity by Tartars. He calls himself "Cook of Coffee".

²⁰¹ It. *Corte*. It also refers to the entourage in the tent.

²⁰² This Shop is a garrison coffeehouse in which coffee was served.

²⁰³ In coffee and coffeehouse literature, there is always an analogy of 'Coffeehouses' and 'Inns or Taverns'. In these analogies, coffeehouses are considered "Muslim Taverns" in various sources. For an example, see. Ralph S. Hattox, "Taverns without Wine: The Rise of the Coffeehouse," in *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East*, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1985), 72-92.

²⁰⁴ When Marsigli was serving coffee under captivity, two Bosnian men came and owing to their help, Marsigli escaped from captivity as he stated in his autobiography, "Among many Turks who barely came to drink every morning, there were two, called Bastelli, both Omerspelli, natives of Bosnia... who, from that point to the other of my freedom, always took care of me." Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Autobiografia di Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli*, ed. Emilio Lovarini, (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1930), 48.

²⁰⁵ It. *Colpo della spada*: a sudden stroke of a sword, saber. Marsigli heard the Tartars talking about killing him the next day and he understood their conversation thanks to his previous knowledge about Turkish language. Probably he did not understand the conversation fully due to language barrier but he knew would be killed by sword.

²⁰⁶ Marsigli stated the well-known fact that human beings do not deprive themselves of eating or drinking due to their instincts.

by experiencing the incitement of hunger and thirst daily. As he indispensably has established this tribute, he has not yet failed to repay the fertile Land of fodder, of animals, of fruit, of water, so that with industry²⁰⁷ the man recompensed, by making food to eat and beverages to drink. These both appetites,²⁰⁸ cause agitation to Our Body -

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- for so many reasons, in variety of times and in various Nations they have been satiated differently by creating foods and drinks of different tastes. It has been a question among many that whether it is more necessary to overcome thirst, or hunger. However, many examples have made the man know that the thirst is more painful than the hunger. Therefore, it is right to make every effort to compose Beverages compatible with those, the filth itself become pleasing (afterwards).²⁰⁹ Having the case of Darius,ⁱⁱ who, fleeing from Alexander,²¹⁰ [found himself] needed to free himself from the thirst to drink rotten water which the stinking corpses infected; and yet he was grateful that his -

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- appetite for thirst was eradicated, which cannot be as great as the ones caused by an overseer²¹¹ of the nerves, which remain compressed by the dryness of the tunics²¹² due to the lack of humidity in the mouth²¹³ of the throat, and of the Stomach. Moreover, for that bitterness of salts, the aforementioned Tunics torment, and agitate. but the Clement Nature, as I mentioned before, not only

²⁰⁷ It. *Industria*: Human activity directed to the production of goods, in the simplest and least organized forms.

²⁰⁸ Hunger and thirst

²⁰⁹ In very desperate and inescapable situations, those have appreciated even the most repulsive beverages to overcome their thirst. For a historic example stated by Marsigli, sec. Endnote ii.

²¹⁰ Marsigli's side note in Latin is evaluated in details in endnote ii.

²¹¹ Latin. *Vilicazione*: act as an overseer of an estate or public property. In this context, the overseer is protecting the nerves.

²¹² It. *Tuniche*: The layers of the throat.

²¹³ It. *Fauci*: The beginning of the throat.

bursts out such clean waters through the openings of the earth²¹⁴ and created juicy fruits, but also allowed with each one of these liquids to free itself both from such painful agitation and in favor of digestion by soaking indigestible foods in the stomach, and attenuating them for the passage; and because the food that-

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- is so fluid as mentioned in the substances of food, remains in its greasy, thin parts and flows easily through the anguish of lacteal vessels.²¹⁵

In times, our first Fathers, while not having even known the gifts of Nature,ⁱⁱⁱ made use of the waters of the springs and rivers to make various usages of the drinks. Even after having freed the earth from the punishment of the Biblical Flood,²¹⁶ the pious Noah²¹⁷ did Agriculture, who knew well that it was useful for the industry to make the vine grow, foreseeing the advantage that humanity must derive from its fruit, giving the example of Posterity, and also the-

P. 14

- overwhelming taste of its grateful liquor.^{iv} This uncommon plant, which is not suited to all Climates, as we have today the example in the climates of so many Germanic regions, has obliged such People to search for the industry of compositions of such liqueurs, which in part could be used instead of wine.

²¹⁴ These openings and waters are presumably spring waters but they also refer to underground waters that create springs and other clean water sources.

²¹⁵ The lacteal vessels are chyliferous vessels "referring to the tiny vessels on the walls of the small intestine through which chylomicrons are absorbed and released into the lymphatic system." Medical Dictionary, "Lacteal," <https://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/lacteal> (Accessed, 29.04.2019).

²¹⁶ It. *Diluvio Universale*: The Biblical Narrative of Noah's Flood (Noah's Ark) is found in many religious and historic sources. Here the legendary "Noah's Wine" is mentioned. In the Biblical attribution, Noah is considered the inventor of fermentation, thus the production of wine. (For the related verse, see. Genesis, 9:20) After the flood, Noah cultivated the land, created a vineyard and produced wine. The Flood is also mentioned in Qur'an and Torah, but in this context, only Bible is exemplified because our author L. F. Marsigli is a Christian. Marsigli referred to Noah's production of wine and making a clever choice by cultivating a vineyard after the Flood, so that people would benefit from the delicious liquor.

²¹⁷ For more information about Prophet Noah in Islamic sources, see. Ömer Faruk Harman, "Nüh," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 33 (Istanbul: TDV, 2007), 224-227; in Jewish sources see. Mary W. Montgomery, "Noah," *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1971-72), 318-323.

The Jews used various drinks of fruit,^v which were generally included under the name the *Aasis*,²¹⁸ which means juice suitable to be drunk, and squeezed from a moist Nature Body, while the word *Aasas*²¹⁹ means compress, and the most frequent fruits were the wheat, the pear trees, etc. The Egyptians,^{vi} not being able to root the vine because-

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-of the Climate, or due to the nature of the clayey land, they were also obliged to resort to another drink, composing it particularly of barley, which in my opinion could not be dissimilar to beer; so universal a drink, that I remembered the Jews were serving it, thus the invention of the beer practiced at that time was so familiar to the Northern Parts, which is believed to have started in the East.

Many Nations and even the Romans appreciated the delicious drink, pure hot or frozen water, as it can be deduced from many poets. They mixed water and wine, then heated it and instilled myrrh, mastic, saffron, balm,-

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-cardamom, cinnamon, and other aromas of similar nature, which all served no less than to delight the palate,²²⁰ than to awaken the mind.

From now on,^{vii} I do not doubt that Y. E. say that the taste of Beverages is greatly improved, being incessantly confirmed on His Table,^{viii} while the various Nations are competing with the ancients', but still with the one and with the others who have grateful liqueurs, according to the availability of ingredients and their preparations.

Italy,^{ix} which has the gift of nature of abundance of wine, curate a few other drinks, except those originating from the same wine, such as-

²¹⁸ Hebrew. *Asis*: Juice

²¹⁹ Hebrew. *Asas*: Squeeze.

²²⁰ It. *Palato*: These aromas are used for seasoning the beverage.

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-*aquavit*,²²¹ and sometimes more for both luxury and for satisfaction, it enjoys foreign drinks besides wine.

France with universally abundant vines, wants to taste the fruit of them by postponing every other drink, except a large part of Maiden,²²² which, to maintain the whiteness of their cheek equal to that of the heart towards their friends, deprives themselves of this satisfaction neglecting the medical Axiom.^x Just as the people of Normandy who drink the juice^{xi} of pomes,²²³ as such fruits being abundant in that Province.

Kingdom of England, [although] in Nature enriched with so many privileges, due -

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- to the lack of vines, it is necessary to drink various kinds of beer as their own beverage, which is not an ordinary delicacy.

Much of the Germany as well, [for similar] complaints from England against Nature, for not having allowed them sufficient qualities to be able to grow vines, is also obliged to make use of beers.

Hungary, which believes itself glorious to overcome every other nation in the exquisiteness of the wine by celebrating more than anyone else celebrates and

²²¹ It. *Acquavite*: "Aquavit, also spelled Aquavite, or Akvavit, also called Snaps, flavored, distilled liquor, clear pale yellow in color and dry in flavor. It is distilled from a fermented potato or grain mash, redistilled in the presence of flavoring agents, filtered with charcoal, and usually bottled without aging. Various aromatic flavorings are employed, usually including caraway or cumin seed; lemon or orange peel, cardamom, aniseed, and fennel also may be used.

"The beverage, produced in the Scandinavian countries, derives its name from *aqua vitae* (Latin: "water of life"), applied originally to liquor distilled from wine, and was made from imported wine; the product therefore was highly expensive until Swedish soldiers learned to make aquavit from grain. In the 18th century the potato became an important raw material." The Editors of Encyclopedia, "Aquavit," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/aquavit> (Accessed 29.04.2019). Marsigli might also refer to other distilled liquors because another meaning of 'Acquavite' is 'distilled' in Italian and 'plum brandy' in English.

²²² Here "Maid" is the young, maiden girls with red cheeks. However, "French Maid Wines" mean "Made in France" wines as used in wine-expertise literature. Some examples of "French Maid Wines" are Cabernet Sauvignon, Merlot, Chardonnay, Pinot Noir, and Sauvignon Blanc.

²²³ It. *Pomi*: 'Pome' is a general term for juicy fruit with hard seeds in the core such as apple, pear and, quince.

is righteous about its *Tochai*,²²⁴ does not want to admit any other drink, and they add absinth²²⁵ infusion^{xii} to make that wine stronger and healthier.

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Although Poland consumes so much wine, in any case, it must be brought from foreign regions, and they must confess that its proper beverage is beer, and mead.²²⁶

In a climate as hot as Spain the vines are abundant, giving wines of great strength, and its taste is appreciated not only the inhabitants, but also the foreigners; because it surpasses every other nation in composing very refined drinks, and above all chocolate.

Turkey abounds with exquisite wines cultivated by those tributary Christians,²²⁷ who reside there, [but] not allowed to serve them according to a precept of their superstitious Mohammedan law,²²⁸ which prohibits Wine, and in many-

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-parts of the Ottoman Empire this law is unalterably obeyed, and in many others still ridiculed; while the Turks in the Provinces of Europe drink it in great profusion, whereas those from Asia are very abstinent. Inventors of most of those beverages, that the Turks drink today, compensate for the delights of wine, not to always drink the insipidity of the common waters.

²²⁴ *Tokaji Wine*: Tokaji is a region in Hungary, famous for its Tokaji wine. There are legends about the curative function of *Tokaji*: "It has long been claimed that Essencia has curative and medical benefits, and indeed, in the 19th and early 20th century the principle market for it was as a kind of revitalizing tonic, to be given to invalids and the seriously ill by the teaspoonful. Many eminent doctors of the day attested to its remarkable powers, in some cases claiming that a single teaspoon of the elixir had literally restored patients on their deathbed to robust good health." For more information about the history, culture and myths about *Tokaji* see: "<https://www.tokaji.com/>"

²²⁵ Latin. *Absinthies*. Wine flavored with wormwood.

²²⁶ It. *Miod*: Poland Mead is a traditional beverage in Polish culinary. Some sources predicated Mead (Honey Liquor) to Lithuania; nevertheless, today Mead is considered a traditional Polish drink. Mead is "bal likörü" in Turkish.

²²⁷ Christians residing in the Ottoman Empire

²²⁸ According to Islam, drinking alcoholic beverages are not allowed and forbidden (*haram*). For the verse expressing the prohibition of wine, see. Surah al-Baqara: 219

The beverage of Turks as the imitation of those made by the Romans, distinguishes in hotness, and coldness, consumed daily in both ways; and the cold ones at first have the same rationale-

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-with sorbet produced from purified sugar and mixed with a portion of any fruit juice, and odorized with amber or musk; and they still practice drinking that water, in which they boiled, or added Muscat of Alexandria,²²⁹ or raisins, or other dried fruits, such as pear, prune. Much more familiar beverage in the Provinces of Serbia, and Bosnia, so abundant with prune, a fruit that with its substance and the taste gave that water, in which it was boiled, and with that spirit, which was drawn to strength of fire in an alembic, in the same form as the aquavit, the weakness of my body afflicted by the miseries of the -

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-captivity, which in this Country was painful for the lack of food and drink. For a kind of beverage the Turks also consider is frozen and sour milk, named *Yugurt*;²³⁰ the commoners had a habit of another liquor, as compressed millet, which equates to beer, and is called *Boza*.²³¹

For hot drinks they drink *Salep*²³² made with hot water, honey, and dust from the *Satyrium*²³³ root, a plant that they gather with great diligence in Mount

²²⁹ It. *Cibibo/Zibibbo*: 'Muscat of Alexandria' is an ancient kind of grape originated most probably in Alexandria, Egypt as the name suggested. This grape is consumed in France, Spain, Italy, Australia and South Africa both as a fruit and for producing wine. For detailed information about 'Muscat of Alexandria,' see. L. Peter Christensen, "Muscat of Alexandria," <http://iv.ucdavis.edu/files/24342.pdf> (Accessed 29.04.2019).

²³⁰ It. *Yogurt*.

²³¹ 'Boza' is a fermented national beverage still common in Turkey. The *helal* status of *Boza* was contradictory in Muslim community as well, because when *boza* is not consumed freshly, it became alcoholic, which is not permitted in Islam (see, footnote. 166). For more information about the beverage and the most, famous *Boza* Shop in Istanbul, see. "Vefa Bozacısı," <http://www.vefa.com.tr/>.

²³² Tr. *Sahlep*: An essential winter-beverage in Istanbul, *Salep* or *Sahlep* is made with a powder from the orchid flower. It is mixed with hot milk and generally served with cinnamon.

²³³ *Satyrium hircinum* (*Orchis hircina*) is the Latin of the orchid. The Turkish name for the plant is 'sahleb otu' meaning the herb for *Sahlep*. For detailed observations of Marsigli on coffee, sorbet and *Salep*, see. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, *Manoscritti Marsigli*, Fondo Marsili.

Olympus,²³⁴ which at its roots has the City of *Bursia* in the past residence of the Ottoman Emperors, that with the establishment of *Andrianopoli*, and *Constantinople*²³⁵ they left it; and,-

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-in winter, more than any other season, they consume it, saying that it preserves from the cold, and that it incites a few other decent appetites.

Some few great Lords drink a beverage, which we named *Tè*²³⁶, and they named *Ciay*. But more than all, the aforementioned and consumed [drink] in Turkish nation, or the one I claim to Y. E., is that of *Cavè*, introduced not long ago here for the greater part of the Christianity with the occasion of the frequent commerce held with the Ottoman Court, or with the benefit of the quarries made in sea, or on land, as happened to the Armada of H.R.E. ²³⁷ that brought back glorious victories and has recovered a quantity of those seeds.²³⁸ The *Cavè* beverage-

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-prepared, as I will tell Y. E. about, which us the Christians began to savor among ourselves to put in infrequent use, except with You, both for many reasons and in honor of You, who must be persuaded to drink it and not to deprive Your

²³⁴ A mountain in Greece today. In the 17th Century, Mount Olympus was included in Bursa (Capital of The Ottoman Empire), thus Marsigli mentioned the related mountain within the Ottoman borders.

²³⁵ *Bursia* (Bursa/1335-1363), *Adrianopolis* (Edirne/1363-1453) and *Constantinople* (Istanbul/1453-1922) were the capitals of The Ottoman Empire. Söğüt (1299-1335) was also a capital but not mentioned by Marsigli. For detailed information about the great capitals of the Ottoman Empire, see: Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, 2 volumes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

²³⁶ Tea is *Tè* in Italian and *Çay* (*Ciay*) in Turkish. Marsigli always gives the local pronunciation of the beverages and food, which provides the reader with the information about the language of that region.

²³⁷ It. *S.M.C. (Sua Maesta Cesarea – Your Majesty Cesarea)*. This is the title of Holy Roman Emperor in Latin. As this work is dedicated to Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, Marsigli refers to Leopold I and Habsburg Armada in war with The Ottoman Empire.

²³⁸ The Ottoman Army left coffee seeds behind, after the defeat in the Second Siege of Vienna(1683). These seeds were recognized by a Polish spy Franz Georges Kolschitzky, who worked in the Ottoman Empire for more than 11 years and opened the first coffeehouse in Vienna by taking advantage of these coffee seeds, which were very precious at that time and had not reached Vienna yet. Thus, the history of coffeehouses in Vienna was directly related to the Ottoman Empire. According to Vienna Archives, Ottoman Army left 500 sacks of coffee behind.

Commensals of its benefits who will have to listen with Y. E. the one who talks about the virtue, and the origin of such fruit, *Cosain Efendi*²³⁹ (*Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi*), and who in his explanation shows the truth of the origin of this plant compared to the lies of the other Turks, who wrote about it. Not many curious Christians²⁴⁰ spoke of it by simple relativity, and not with any evidence of reality, who had it during the time they were in -

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- *Arabia Felix*²⁴¹ with public Commissions. And to escape from the indignation of those who have printed such different reports as I will give to Y. E. and to make sure that the accuracy, order, talent of the aforementioned Turk, I put under his eyes the same writing he gave me in *Turkish Idioms*, and attached the translation into Italian, the experts of the Turkic language can compare the one with the other; and for those who find themselves in the knowledge of the Turkic language, I think it will suffice to hear, that Signore Cavalier [Franz] Meninski,²⁴²

²³⁹ Marsigli pronounced Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's name differently in two different pages of *Bevanda Asiatica*. In page 7, Marsigli wrote *Cuseim Efendi* whereas in page 23 he wrote *Cosain Efendi*. There are various possible explanations; one of which is that Marsigli wrote these two pages in different times and he used different pronunciations but when his manuscripts were compiled, he did not edit and kept both versions.

²⁴⁰ These 'curious Christians' are Western travelers visiting the Ottoman Empire. Marsigli made a generalization and considered all the travelers in the Ottoman land to be Christians because he actually wanted to refer to the travel notes that arrived in Europe and most probably the Emperor Leopold I, himself.

²⁴¹ It. *Arabia Felice*. 'Arabia Felix' was the Latin name of the ancient Arabian region. "Latin: 'Happy, or Flourishing, Arabia') in ancient geography, the comparatively fertile region in southwestern and southern Arabia (in present-day Asir and Yemen), a region that contrasted with *Arabia Deserta* in barren central and northern Arabia and with *Arabia Petraea* ('Stony Arabia') in northwestern Arabia, which came under the suzerainty of imperial Rome. The Greeks and Romans chose the name because of the area's pleasant climate and reputed riches in agricultural products and in spices. The emperor Augustus (reigned 27 BC–AD 14) sent an expedition under Gaius Aelius Gallus to Arabia Felix, with disastrous results. Partly because of a native guide's treachery, the troops traveled by a circuitous way through waterless regions, so that they reached southern Arabia weakened by disease, heat, and want of water, unable to accomplish much commercially or politically. But the expedition did bring back a considerable knowledge of the country and its products." The Editors of Encyclopedia, "Arabia Felix," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Arabia-Felix> (Accessed 29.04.2019)

²⁴² François à Mesgnien Meninski (1620-1698) was the official representative of Poland in the Ottoman Empire. He had outstanding works on Turkic languages and his grammar books and dictionaries are regarded as the first examples of their sorts. The translation of the manuscript delivered to Marsigli by Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi. It was translated from Ottoman Turkish to Italian and approved by Meninski and he minimized the margin of error afterwards. For detailed

greater interpreter of H.R.E. for the Oriental languages has validated it, approved the translation as faithful and right.

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Cosain Efendi (Hüseyin Efendi)²⁴⁴

Called by the cognomen *Hezarfen*, of a thousand virtues, or sciences, and this is how it speaks:

For having discovered Cavè in the past few centuries, in the treatises on Common and natural formulas described by Ancient Medicine, no characteristics is mentioned or illustrated in any of their books, and many moderns have made more rumors, or speeches concerning the quality, profit, damage, and nature of it.

Many write that its leaf is like that of the fig tree, and that when the fruit is fresh it resembles the red or black grape. Others have written that it resembles the seed of the Daphne,²⁴⁵ and many have wanted to believe that the Daphne is the tree of that land and produces Cavè.

There was a man named Sheikh Davud Misri²⁴⁶(Egyptian),²⁴⁷ or from Cairo, who wrote, that at the beginning of March it begins to come out, and that

information about Meninski in Turkish, see. Muhammet Yelten, "François à Mesgnien Meninski," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 29 (Istanbul: TDV, 2004), 144-145.

²⁴³ Between pages 26-36, even-numbered pages (26-28-30-32-34-36) are the Italian translation of the Ottoman Turkish pages (27-29-31-33-35-37).

²⁴⁴ *Cosain Efendi*: Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi. Tr. *Hezarfen*. "Polymath" The root of the word *Hezarfen* is a combination of Persian "*Hazar*" meaning a thousand and Arabic "*Fann*" meaning ability, skills, art. Thus, *Hezarfen* means the one with thousand skills and erudition.

²⁴⁵ In Latin. *Laurus Nobilis*, is an evergreen tree. Marsigli, in his manuscripts drew many sketches of these plants.

²⁴⁶ *Sheikh Davud Misri* (from Cairo): This name is not mentioned in primary Islamic Encyclopedias or sources. However, we know that numerous Egyptian scripts or scripts from Egypt were translated into Ottoman Turkish at that time. It is also important to state that, in the 17th century, many scholars went to Egypt to have a formal and comprehensive education in *Al-Ezher*. Among them *Davud-i Kayseri* (d. 1350) had a very prominent place as he became the first *mudarris* (professor) in the Ottoman Empire. He also was educated in Egypt but as his name stated he was actually from Kayseri (a Province in Turkey). For more information about *Davud-i Kayseri* see. Mehmet Bayrakdar, "Davud-i Kayseri" *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9 (Istanbul: TDV, 1994), 32-35.

Another prominent figure *Davud-i Antakî* (d. 1599) was born in *Antakya* (Antioch) as his name suggested. His masterpiece *Tezkire-i Davud* is a corpus on importance, necessity and learning methods of medical science. *Antaki* included 1712 medical prescriptions in his book and he studied medicine in Cairo while he was also examining patients. Sadrazam Kemankes Mustafa Paşa (1640-41) obtained his book on his visit to Egypt and requested Muhammed b. Mustafa el-Kûrânî to translate it. Ayşegül Demirhan Erdemir, "Dâvûd-i Antâkî," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9

in August it is collected,²⁴⁸ and that its Tree is not higher than 3 ‘arşın’²⁴⁹ and thicker than a finger,²⁵⁰ and that its flower is white, and that its fruit is all known, and when it is cut its interior has a bunn,²⁵¹ which otherwise is called the heart, and which is of two pieces and the-

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This is the original text in Ottoman Turkish translated in page 26.

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-wonder is, that one of those pieces, or grains, is black, and the other piece is yellow, and the best is yellow. Its nature in the first degree is hot, and in second dry; (As though some others have said that being frigid and dry, they have strayed from the truth;) its rind²⁵² is hot, and the very plant²⁵³ of Cavè is

(Istanbul: TDV, 1994), 26-27. “Manuscripts of Davud el-Antaki’s Works Found in Turkey” can be found in open-access via ISAM Library. <http://ktp2.isam.org.tr/pdfdkm/?blm=dosyabakelMaddeKodu=040182>

²⁴⁷ ‘From Egypt’ in Turkish. *Mısri* means Egyptian. The homeland of people functioned as surnames at that times which also was very functional for historiography.

²⁴⁸ It blossoms in March and is ripe enough to be collected in August, which means coffee beans are ready to be used in approximately 6 months.

²⁴⁹ It. *Palmo*: It is a unit of measurement in Italian and equals to 10.16 cm / 4 inches / 1 *Karış* (Tr.) but due to a change in the measurement system or depending on the Province of Italy, the calculation changes and it sometimes equals to 26 cm / 10.23 inches / 2.5 *Karış*. However, when we look at the original text in Ottoman Turkish, the length of coffee tree is “3 *arşın*” and one *arşın* equals to 68cm / 26.77 inches. If we take the original text and general information about coffee into consideration, 3 *palmo* is not the right measurement unit as it equals to 30,48 cm / 12 inches or 78 cm / 30.7 inches and the length of the coffee tree is 204 cm / 80.31 inches / 3 *arşın*.

For more information about the traditional measurement units in Turkish, see. Cengiz Kallek, “Ölçü,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 34 (Istanbul: TDV, 2007), 28-31; Mehmet Erkal, “Arşın,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: TDV, 1991), 411-413. For detailed information about the traditional measurement units in Italian, see. Maria Giovanna Biga, “I Sistemi di Misura Lineari, Pondreali e di Capacita Vicino-Orientali,” *Treccani*, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gli-strumenti-dello-scambio-i-sistemi-di-misura_%28Il-Mondo-dell%27Archeologia%29/ (Accessed 30.04.2019).

²⁵⁰ It. *Dito*. It is a unit of measurement in Italian and equals to approximately 2 cm / 0.7 inches / 1 *Parmak* (Tr.). For more information about the traditional measurement units in Turkish, see. Cengiz Kallek, “Parmak,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 34 (Istanbul: TDV, 2007), 172-173. For detailed information about the traditional measurement units in Italian, see. Biga, *ibid.*, Treccani.

²⁵¹ Arabic. *Bunn*. “... the fruit of the coffee plant itself is referred to, one more often finds the term *bunn* used, generally for the whole berry.” Hattox, *ibid.*, 16.

However in the Italian translation, *osso* (bone) is used which most probably was confused with the word *bunn* in Arabic as we see in the description “*is otherwise called a heart (Tr. Kalb)*” which refers to heart-shaped coffee-bean.

²⁵² Crust of the coffee bean is also hot.

temperate, or it could be called cold, and in fact it can be frigid, while it is a little sour, the part that is indicative of frigidity. And here is the end of Sheikh Davud's commentary.

However I, as Hezarfen, (that is, of a thousand virtues or sciences) Hüseyin say I have resided more than two and half years in Hadhramaut,²⁵⁴ of Arabia Felix,²⁵⁵ and travelled all of its borders, lands, mountains, Castles, to have found that only in two Kadi,²⁵⁶ or County, the tree grows, which is Cavè, [and among these two regions] one is called the County of Usab,²⁵⁷ which includes the Mountains, around Zubeit,²⁵⁸ in respect of the place called Beitulfachiè,²⁵⁹ and the other County is called Nahari²⁶⁰ near the opposite of Gezan Bender.²⁶¹ The air-

²⁵³ "The very plant" of coffee is *bunn*.

²⁵⁴ *Hadhramaut*, is a region in Arabian Peninsula within the borders of Yemen. It is also called *Hadramaut*, *Hadramawt* or *Hadramut*. The Ottoman Empire conquered Yemen at the beginning of 16th century and *Hadhramaut* was conquered during that period. The name of the region is mentioned in very early historic texts, therefore was home to many religions, nations and historical events. For more information about Hadramaut in Turkish, see. Hüseyin Algül, "Hadramut," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 15 (İstanbul: TDV, 1997), 65-68; in English, see. The Editors of Encyclopedia, "Hadhramaut," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/aquavit> (Accessed 30.04.2019).

²⁵⁵ For more information about Arabia Felix, see. Footnote 241.

²⁵⁶ It. *Cadellieis*. (Tr. *Kadi* or *Nahiye*). It means district in Ottoman Turkish. For more information about the place names in the Ottoman Empire, see. Tahir Sezen, *Osmanlı Yer Adları*, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2017).

On the other hand in the Ottoman Empire *Kadi* was a state official appointed to a region temporarily, responsible for administrative jurisprudence. For Marsigli's comments and detailed information about state official *Kadi* and *Kadiaskeri*, see. Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, "Parte Prima: Capitolo V. Idea Generale dello Stato legale, Economico, e Militare di questo Imperio," in *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomanno, incremento e decremento del medesimo. Del signore conte di Marsigli dell'Accademia reale delle scienze di Parigi, e di Monpelieri, e della Società reale di Londra, e fondatore dell'Istituto di Bologna* (HayaetAmsterdam, 1732).

²⁵⁷ *Sab*. صاب An ancient district on the land of *al-Hudaydah* district of Yemen. For the list of place names in the Ottoman Empire and within this context Yemen, see. Sezen, *ibid.*,

²⁵⁸ *Zubeit*. زبيد (Tr. *Zebid*, Eng. *Zabid*) Zabid is one of the coastal towns in Tehama area in the west of Yemen, above the river junction and the fertile flood plain. It has also been in UNESCO World Heritage List since 1993. For more information on *Zabid*, see. "Historic Town of Zabid," UNESCO World Heritage, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/611>

²⁵⁹ *Bayt al-Faqih* (Beytülfakih-i Kebir) الفقيه بيت (Tr. *Beytülfakiye*) A city in *al-Hudaydah* district of Yemen. *Al-Hudaydah* has a very strategic location as a very large port by Red Sea and has a very cosmopolite structure due to its geopolitical position.

²⁶⁰ *Dayr an Nahari*. A city in *al-Hudaydah* district of Yemen. According to Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi's notes on the region, the coffee tree grew in one of the two districts. Today it is a small settlement.

²⁶¹ *Gezan Bender* جيزان (Tr. *Cizan Benadir*). This place name is a combination of *Cizan* (Eng. Jizan or Jazan) district of Yemen and *Bender* (or *Benadir*) meaning "Commercial place, busy trade

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This is the original text in Ottoman Turkish translated in page 28.

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-and the water of the aforementioned places are extremely good, and there are many vineyards, and vegetable gardens, their viscid land full of ditches,²⁶² created embankments in places by which these trees are planted in a straight line.

The Cavè tree resembles that of the whole of the Cherry²⁶³ tree, having darker leaves than those of Cherry, and even bolder. Its height will vary between 8 to ten arms²⁶⁴ and there are trees of twenty, and thirty years. It has white flowers and has the peduncles joined together in two or three, and long as those of the Cherry, and in all resembles to the Cherry.

When the fruit is green, its taste is neither bitter, nor sour, and in Turkish it is called ghiegremsi,²⁶⁵ or rather unripe, and afterwards it turns red like a Cherry, and has a little bitterness, and after it has achieved its perfect maturity becomes dark red like sour cherry, and sweet like it; and if these fruits were picked up by the peduncles, and mixed with the sour cherries of the Villages,²⁶⁶ apart from eating them, and by the smell, and by the two grains, which they have inside,-

pier, large pier". Today, *Cizan* is a port city under Saudi Arabia governance. There is a PETROMIN (Petroleum and Mineral Organization) private pier and filling facilities supplying oil to the region and neighboring countries on the Southern part of the city. For detailed information about *Cizan*, see. Mustafa L. Bilge, "Cizân," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8 (Istanbul: TDV, 1993), 35-36.

²⁶² This is a description of very fruitful valley (It. *Uadi*, Tr. *Vadi*) which are the dry bed of ancient waterways, typical of African desert areas, flooded by rainwater only at certain times of the year. (*Uadi* in Corriere Dictionary, https://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/U/uadi.shtml)

²⁶³ It. *Cirase*. (Tr. *Kiraz*, Eng. *Cherry*). The literal translation of 'cherry' in Italian is 'ciliegia' but Marsigli preferred *cirase* as in the original text we have *kiraz*. In addition, the Latin term for cherry is 'Prunus/Cerasus avium'.

²⁶⁴ It. *Braccia*. This is a traditional Ottoman measure called *zira*, which is an architectural measurement equivalent of *arşın* (see. Footnote 249).

²⁶⁵ *Ghiegremsi*. Turkish word *kekremsi* (somewhat acrid). Marsigli used this term without translating and adapting the letters to Italian for legibility.

²⁶⁶ Latin. *Castelli*. Villages and towns. Here, it is a reference to aforementioned villages of Yemen.

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This is the original text in Ottoman Turkish translated in page 30.

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- *they would not be distinguished from the Cherry, indeed one can say, that they are sweeter than Cherry.*

When these fruits are reddish, they are harvested and placed to dry on the houses' terrace;²⁶⁷ those fruits, which are not well ripe, soon dry out, and become black, and Cavè of these are called wild, raw, and natural, and when dried they take it to the mills, to break it, and separate it from the grains; but if they are left on the tree to get ripe it is not necessary to use the Mill, as it can be done by hand, which by pressing the rind lets out the grains, shaking the whole, the broken rind is separated, and the grain remains on the net; and this is the Cavè, which they bring to the Ottoman Empire, and elsewhere.

They serve in those countries the dry rind like raisins, because they boil it in water, which in summer they drink as humidifying and refreshing, and for that sweetness all those who drink it believe they are sugar, and they do not send them to our Countries because they do not pay as the grains do: and this is what I can say of the shape, and quality, and the plant of Cavè, which I have seen, the usage [of Cavè], and the taste of its fruit, which I have eaten.

About-

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This is the original text in Ottoman Turkish translated in page 32.

P. 34

-*[About] its quality I will tell you that the best Cavè is big, and greenish whose rind is warm and moist in the first degree, according to the experts, who*

²⁶⁷ It. *Terazze Plane*. These terraces are very common in the villages. People used these flat roofs to dry their harvest. In hot days of summer, they also sleep on those roofs to freshen.

The house terraces in this text were covered with a unique mortar, *Khorasan Mortar* (Horasan Harcı) which is used in the construction of Hagia Sophia and is a very durable plaster.

say that if you only drink the water of those rinds, it would refresh the temperament, and drive away the bile, and would rejoice the heart, reaching its steam to the brain.

The nature of the grains of Cavè is moist and frigid, [that is to say] frigid in the first degree, and some have the opinion that in the second degree it is dry, deducing it from its quality, it is to cheer spirits, and particularly in the Winter to the man it will be very useful; because drinking it in the morning is very healthy for the stomach, and also in the highest degree it applies to those who were taken by drunkenness, and especially to the opium smokers, called Teriachi,²⁶⁸ to travelers and, to the very tired.

The rind as the grains must not be burnt too much because if they are carbonized they are harmful to health, given that carbonized foods provoke melancholy, and phlegm.

If after the meal it is drunk for a small quantity, it does not harm, but if it is drunk too much-

p. 35

This is the original text in Ottoman Turkish translated in page 34.

P. 36

- it blocks the digestion, and it is better to drink an hour after the meal, whereas in general it helps the digestion, dissipating the humidity, and superfluity in the stomach. It is something already experimented and known that it has the virtue of taking away sleep, and it is no wonder, that it is equal in nature to some warm medicaments, which have the virtue of rejoicing the spirits and taking away the sleep of the man, according to the degree of their nature, and repeating that it is the property of Cavè to take away sleep, while it has dry parts in itself, and exactly equal to other desiccant medicines.

One will be more grateful to the taste when he mixes them with the saffron, musk, amber, or agarwood, or clove, which he will do very much in the

²⁶⁸ Tr. Tiryaki, addicted.

winter, just like sugar. If it is cooked longer, it will be beneficial to those who suffer from congestion of blood, and it is undoubtedly true that if a man drinks *Cavè* ten, twelve times a day, he will become drowsy, and melancholic, and on the contrary drinking moderately he will not know melancholy, and he will be rejoiced.

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This is the original text in Ottoman Turkish translated in page 36.²⁶⁹

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To such an exact relationship made by the name, Turkish touch²⁷⁰ in the origin, and development of the plant, and fruit, and usage, it is appropriate that I proceed by telling to Y. E. what more is necessary to me, and which I learned from the Chains of Slavery,²⁷¹ which condemned me for many days as I was to profess the art of cooking this fruit, which in order to be reduced to its proper state to form the promised drink, is necessary to reverse many particularities, which in exposing them to you I now also come to appease those of them to know every detail practiced by Turks for such preparation, for which here I expose to Y. E. what I have practiced-

P. 39

-and seen, and I have intended to say to make the drink in its greatest exquisiteness; and therefore I hope that everyone will leave me in peace with these requests.

Therefore [I humbly request] Y. E. to allow me to address to his Wine maker, that when he wants to prepare the drink, he chooses first of all the grains

²⁶⁹ Here the receipt Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi gave Marsigli ends.

²⁷⁰ *Cavè* is Turkish coffee.

²⁷¹ During the Second Siege of Vienna(1683), Count Marsigli was kept in captivity in the Tartar military camp and served coffee. His knowledge about the preparation and service of coffee saved him from execution. For detailed information about his captivity, see. Emilio Lovarini, *La Schiavitù Del Generale Marsigli: Sotto I Tartari E I Turchi Da Lui Stesso Narrata* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1931), 63.

of *Cavè* that have the yellowish color, and then put them in a copper pan, which must be placed over high heat; he will keep it in motion continuously so that they are toasted uniformly, which will happen more quickly if the quantity of coffee placed in the copper pan is not be excessive. The-

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-wine maker will understand when it is toasted to the state of perfection, manifested by the color which must be close to that of dark brown, and when it passes beyond the black it would be a sign that the grains were to become like coals, changing the strength, and taste, and properties of the drink; and likewise you will not have to trust in simply seeing the surface, since at the cost of many lashes I have learned that it is easy to be deceived, that the roasting has not exceeded the surface of the grains and that these have remained still raw inside, and this causes damage to the flavor by reducing it to dust; and to make sure of this he will have to eat two or three of those-

P. 41

- grains, and feel if the cooking is evenly penetrated, otherwise he will still be able to ensure by crushing some of those grains between two fingers, and see if for such compression he will equally crack until center.

When the grains are cooked in the aforementioned perfection, he can put them in a metal vase, and with a large pestle of iron or bronze pound them in powder, which in many occasions will pass through the finest sieve as possible and maybe some remain too large to pass and in this case put it back in the said bronze vase and pound it as long as necessary so that it passes through the sieve, which will -

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- easily succeed when the grains have been well cooked.

This powder, which will indeed be similar to the Spanish tobacco,²⁷² will have to be diligently preserved in a leather bag, and from time to time moistened with a few drops of hot water from where you have boiled little of this powder, thus its volatile parts easy to evaporate remain compressed, and mixed with the mentioned humidity for viscosity; the aforesaid smell is not very long lasting and in a short time remains without its strength.

In order to prepare the beverage, the Wine maker must place it in a silver vase, which must first be closed to boil that amount of water [the coffee] will deem -

P. 43

- necessary, and everyone can also drink *Cavè*, and suppose that you need to have ten of those bowls, in which such beverage is usually drunk; you will have to prepare enough amount of the said powder, which is about the one-tenth of the quantity of water, this being the most adjusted proportion to make the drink properly grateful, and substantial; and I will warn you to throw it in the water when it begins to boil up; and closing the lid well, it will be left in the high fire until it is seen, that the foam tries to pass through the cracks of the lid, and at that time you will have to lower fire to prevent vehement boiling; and-

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-leave it on moderate heat until the water impregnates itself with the whole substance of *Cavè*, which take as long as four Pater,²⁷³ and out of the fire also before pouring the liquor into the Cups, you will have to leave it so quiet for three other Pater, so that the coffee grounds²⁷⁴ sink, and purges the water of every

²⁷² It. *Tabaco di Spanga*. (Eng. Snuff Tobacco, Tr. *Enfiye*). Snuff tobacco is 'non smoking tobacco', which is 'snuffed' through the nose. It was prepared from the pulverized tobacco leaves. Marsigli must have encountered such consumption of tobacco in Spain, thus named it Spanish tobacco and here he gave this example to explain the size of coffee particles.

²⁷³ It. *Pater Noster*. This is a very short prayer in Christianity. It has 10 verses in Latin and reciting this prayer would not be longer than a minute. Here, Marsigli used the time to recite this prayer as a unit of time. Four Pater equals approximately to 3.5 minutes.

²⁷⁴ Tr. *Telve*. It is the special term used only for Turkish coffee grounds. The coffee drinker waits for *Telve* to sink for a few minutes before drinking the coffee. The coffee grounds also have various functions. For instance, it can be used as fertilizer or for cleaning metal pans. *Telve* has different traditional functions such as tassology (reading the future from the coffee grounds or

solid residue, which would disturb the palate of those who drink, when it had not been separated from the liquid, which will have to remain purely imbued with the spirit of *Cavè*.

Observing all the aforementioned particularities in order to prepare the beverage well, Y. E. would order the Winemaker to bring the same vase to the table, where the *Cavè* is boiling.

And-

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-since they order us to diligently pour same coffee in the cups, or bowls of Majolica, or Porcelain, or *Martabani*,²⁷⁵ a land so esteemed by Turks, in the belief that it has the power to reveal the poisons added to the drinks or foods, as it immediately cracks into so many pieces; and in the bottom of the cups, those who love delicacy, can put some drops of sugar syrup with essence of amber, cedar and jasmine or with similar essences, which liquefied by the heat of the drink will be sweet, and scent substance; but when it is to wait, the boiling strength of *Cavè* is mitigated.

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I deem it appropriate not only to put to mind the quality that Hüseyin Efendi presented in his report, in addition the opinions published by [Thomas] Villis²⁷⁶ and Enrico Tencke,²⁷⁷ both famous in medicine, and uniform in seeing,

tealeaves). For more information about *telve*, see. Yasemin Özdemir Bulut, "Telve," in *Kahve: Kırk Yıllık Hatırlar Kitabı*, ed. Emine Gürsoy Naskalı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011), 147-165.

²⁷⁵ "Martaban became a generic name given to large stoneware jars which were made in Thailand, China and Myanmar." Tamar Hodos, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group., 2017), 826.

²⁷⁶ Thomas Willis (1621- 1675) was a British physician known as the "Father of Neuroscience" and fellow founder of Royal Society, and Marsigli became a member in 1691. For more information on Thomas Willis, see. The Editors of Encyclopedia, "Thomas Willis," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-Willis> (Accessed 30.04.2019)

²⁷⁷ Jérôme Tencke was a French Doctor and Professor in *Faculté de médecine de Montpellier* (Montpellier Faculty of Medicine) and he wrote *Instrumenta curationis morborum deprompta* on treatments of various deceases. This work was written in Latin and published in Montpellier. It was republished in 2012, see. Jerome Tencke,

that the drinking *Cavè* lighten the mind, eliminate hypochondriac vapors and intestinal gases and absorb harmful moods, permeating with its evaporable essences the excess of humidity that usually stagnates in the brain regions. And after so many other considerations that the two illustrious doctors put forward in favor of the use of coffee, and which I omit for the sake of brevity, conclude my favor, that to the humid temperaments, like that of Y. E. using the *Cavè* will be extremely helpful, as authorized -

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-by the experience, and the opinions of such men, it is quite right that I gave them the example by drinking, having in the heart, and in the mouth the saying: "to the health [honor] of Y. E." the desire, that I must nourish to see the excellent services of Y. E. to the Church of Innocent XI and to the Emperor Leopold I. to continue, who insofar as are desirous of the public good they have chosen in the present important circumstances, to avail themselves of your prudence, and zealous work, not only beneficial to our times, but also to the future, which by reading your political and diplomatic activities will understand how much Y. E. has worked, and has set an example by Himself.

FIN.

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ⁱ Side note in Latin. (p.3) "*n Platonis Convivio Agathon, Aristophanes, et Socrates ex magna Phiala ad dexteram biberunt*: in the Symposium of Plato, Agathon, Aristophanes, and Socrates, drank from a large bowl passing from left to right.." This refers to "Agathon's Speech" in Plato's *Symposium*. Marsigli uses this reference to draw an analogy between the banquet and gathering for drinks. Agathon's speech is also an important element and he gives a rhetorically complex acclamation of 'Love' in many aspects. For detailed information, see. David Sedley, "The Speech of Agathon in Plato's Symposium," in *The Virtuous Life in Greek Ethics*, ed. Burkhard Reis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 47–69.

ⁱⁱ Side note in Latin. (p.11) Marsigli referred to Gaugamela War (also known as Arbela War, 331 BC) between Alexander the Great and the Persian King Darius III. The war was in Gaugamela region of Syria. This battle change the course of history and confirmed the "invincible" position of Alexander the Great as he defeated an outnumbered Persian army and put an end to the Persian dominance. For more information about Gaugamela (Arbela) War, see. Rupert Matthews, "Battle of Gaugamela," **Encyclopedia Britannica**, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Gaugamela>. The reference in Latin "*Unde Dario Persarum regi, bis ab Alexandro Magno acie superato, ex fuga defesso atque sitiendi, legimus turbulentem e cadaveribus inquinatam suavissimam fuisse*." This citation in Latin refers to two defeats by Alexander the Great. There were so many deaths in the battle that, the blood of the deceased contaminated the rivers.

ⁱⁱⁱ Side note in Latin.(p.13) *Boet. De prima aetate: Somnos dabat umbra salubres, Potum quoque lubricus amnis*. Marsigli quoted this line from a philosopher and Roman senator Boethius (Anicio Manlio Severino Boezio – AD 477). Boethius wrote his masterpiece *The Consolation of Philosophy* (*Consolazione della Filosofia*) during his imprisonment due to political reasons and included his meditations on the transience of the world and the superiority of spirituality and mind. This is considered one of the most prominent works of the Medieval Times and Early Renaissance Period, especially for Christianity. For the English translation of the book, see. Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. Richard H. Green, ed. Douglas C. Langston, (New York: WW Norton et Co, 2009).

^{iv} Side Note in Latin, 1 (p. 14): "*Docet Noavus enim ut Gen. scriptum est cum ogressus ex Arca terram studiosè coluit, vine and manu sua sevit*" This citation is directly related to the previous citation in Latin in endnote iii about Prophet Noah and winemaking. Marsigli again uses a citation from Genesis.

^v Side note in Latin, 2. (p.14): "*Ioan. 1. Ose. 4. Consiciebantur enim apud Hebraeos ex frumentis, piris, malis, punicis, cornis, mespilis, sorbis, moris, nucleis, pineis*." In this side note, Marsigli explains the Hebrew meanings of the words *asis* (Juice) and *asas* (squeeze) as well as the fruits and other plants that Jews make juice of such as apple, pomegranate, etc.

^{vi} Side note in Latin. (p.15): "*Egyptii, inquit Erodotos lib. 2 in Euterpe, vino utuntur facto ex ordeo: desunt enim in ea regione Vites*." The Egyptians also used barley/wheat to make a beverage like beer.

^{vii} Side note in Latin, 1. (p. 16): "*Juvenalis: Quando vocatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister, Calidam poscis aquam sed non frigida venit*." This quote is from Roman poet Juvenal (Decimus Iunius Juvenalis) whose prominent work *Saturae* is a collection of satirical poems of the author. Juvenal is "most powerful of all Roman satiric poets. Many of his phrases and epigrams have entered common parlance—for example, 'bread and circuses' and 'who will guard the guards themselves?'" Gilbert Highet, "Juvenal: Roman Poet," **Encyclopedia Britannica**, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Juvenal> (Accessed 29.04.2019). For more information about Juvenal's masterpiece *Saturae*, see. *ibidem*.

^{viii} Side note in Latin, 2. (p. 16): "*Alexius Poëta Comicus: Ad bibendum nives nos accingimus*." Greek playwright Alessi lived in Athens, composed plays first in "middle comedy" and towards the end of his life, he was influenced by the "new" comedy. His masterpiece is *Menandro*. "Alëssi," **Treccani**, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alessi_res-1e2daa10-86d4-11dc-9a1b-0016357eee51/ (Accessed 29.04.2019). For more information about the era and 'Middle Comedy', see. The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Middle Comedy: Greek Drama,"

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^{ix} Side note in Latin, 3. (p. 16): "*vini potio nutriens*" The nutrition of wine has been a matter of discussion since its first invention. For instance, Greek physician Hippocrates considered wine as a medicine. Wine also takes place in Religious scripts. Within the context of this work, Marsigli also mentioned the nutritious qualities of wine. For detailed information about the nutritious and curative function of wine, see. Jacques Jouanna, "Chapter 10: Wine and Medicine in Ancient Greece," in *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 173-193.

^x Side note in Latin, 1. (p. 17): "*Acqua potio non nutriens*" Whether water is nutritious or not is a matter of substance and since water does not include proteins, carbohydrates, fats, etc. in some sources it is not considered nutrient.

^{xi} Side note in Latin, 2. (p. 17): "*Succus pomorum appellatus, Sydera.*" In the side note, Marsigli refers to Normandy wines made from the pomes such as apple, pear and quince, which are abundant in the region.

^{xii} Side note in Latin. (p. 18): "*Vinum absinthites nutriend simul alterans.*" Absinthites Wine (*Vinum Absinthites*) means wine made flavored with wormwood in Latin. For more information about the alcoholic beverage, see. David Nathan-Maister, "The Absinthe Encyclopedia: A Guide to the Lost World of Absinthe and La Fée Verte," *Absinthes*, <https://www.absinthes.com/en/absinthe-encyclopedia/> (Accessed 29.04.2019)