

# The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House

**Suraiya Faroghi**  
**Christoph K. Neumann**



Orient-Institut, Istanbul

Beiruter Texte und Studien 73









*The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House* brings together fourteen articles by researchers from Turkey and a number of European countries such as France, Germany and Poland. These articles deal with two of the major aspects of material culture, namely food and drink on the one hand, and housing on the other.

In no society is it indifferent how people eat and drink, dress and dwell; to the contrary these matters are always highly charged on the symbolic level. Ottoman society had achieved a high degree of coherence in many of its aspects, including material culture. Viewed from the opposite angle, this common material culture may count as one of the indicators that made the empire's remarkably uniform social structure apparent even to the casual viewer. From Sarajevo to Damascus, coffee was drunk from the same kinds of cups, while everywhere, people received their friends seated on raised platforms decked out with rugs and cushions.

Moreover the slow and therefore less obvious changes in material culture often had a more profound impact on people's lives than short-term and more 'noisy' political conflicts. The transition of the Ottomans from the world of early modern statehood toward modernity was backed up by multiple transformations in the everyday lives of many men and women. Overall, the urban populations of the empire from the sixteenth century onwards developed an increasing degree of sophistication and differentiation in their ways of living. People found new ways of enjoying their food, putting together their domestic environments or presenting themselves in public.

During the last few decades the various remnants of Ottoman material life have attracted growing public attention. Ottoman cuisine and vernacular architecture are cherished not only by experts, but also by Turkish urban dwellers increasingly proud of their cultural heritage, to say nothing of tourists. But even so, serious research in these matters has been slow to develop. It is the aim of the present volume to show what avenues research has taken to date, point out the numerous unexploited or under-exploited primary sources and thus to advance our understanding of this important aspect of Ottoman history.







# The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House





# BEIRUTER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM  
ORIENT-INSTITUT  
DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT

BAND 73

## TÜRKISCHE WELTEN

BAND 4



# THE ILLUMINATED TABLE, THE PROSPEROUS HOUSE

Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture

edited by

Suraiya Faroqhi & Christoph K. Neumann

WÜRZBURG 2003

---

ERGON VERLAG WÜRZBURG  
IN KOMMISSION





Umschlaggestaltung: Taline Yozgatan

unter Verwendung einer Gravur aus M. d'Ohssons *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*.

Gedruckt mit freundlicher Unterstützung von Çağatay Anadol, Istanbul, der Gesellschaft der Freunde islamischer Kunst und der Türkisch-Deutschen Gesellschaft, beide München

**Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek**

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation  
in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;  
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet  
über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

ISBN 3-89913-323-4

© 2003 Orient-Institut der DMG

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung des Werkes außerhalb des Urheberrechtsgesetzes bedarf der Zustimmung des Orient-Instituts der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen jeder Art, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmung sowie für die Einspeicherung in elektronische Systeme. Gedruckt mit Unterstützung des Orient-Instituts der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, aus Mitteln des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung.

Ergon-Verlag, Dr. H.-J. Dietrich  
Grombühlstr. 7, D-97080 Würzburg

Druck: Graphis  
Printed in the Republic of Turkey



*Soframız nur, kaza, bela, geri dur*  
*Hanemizi cümlemizi eyle mamur*  
(Popular Ottoman Prayer)





## CONTENTS

Introduction Suraiya FAROQHI	9
Sources for our ancient culinary culture Necdet SAKAOĞLU	35
Polish embassies in Istanbul or how to sponge on your host without losing your self-esteem Dariusz KOŁODZIEJCZYK	51
The Chickens of Paradise Official meals in the mid-seventeenth century Ottoman palace Hedda REINDL-KIEL	59
The <i>şehzade's</i> kitchen and its expenditures An account book from <i>Şehzade Mehmed's</i> palace in Manisa, 1594-1595 Feridun M. EMECEN	89
Spices in the Ottoman palace : courtly cookery in the eighteenth century Christoph K. NEUMANN	127
Culinary consumption patterns of the Ottoman elite during the first half of the nineteenth century Özge SAMANCI	161
Cups, plates, and kitchenware in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Damascus Colette ESTABLET & Jean-Paul PASCUAL	185
Coffeehouses as places of conversation Ekrem IŞIN	199
Life in the <i>medrese</i> Mübahat KÜTÜKOĞLU	209
Life in an Istanbul <i>tekke</i> in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries according to a "menakıbnâme" of the Cerrahi dervishes Nathalie CLAYER	219
Pastırmacı Yokuşu No: 7, Balat-Istanbul The story of a mansion during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Emre YALÇIN	237



Representing France in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire A wealthy French dwelling in the Peloponnesus, 1770 Suraiya FAROQHI	255
Dwellings in sixteenth-century Istanbul Stéphane YÉRASIMOS	275
Norms of domestic comfort and luxury in Ottoman metropolises sixteenth to eighteenth centuries Uğur TANYELİ	301
The authors	317
Plates	321
Index	337



# INTRODUCTION

Suraiya Faroghi\*

Food and shelter are part of the elementary needs of every human being, along with clothing, sexual relations and the education of offspring. The work needed to make home-grown or else purchased foods into a meal, or timbers, earth and stones into a dwelling, is part of what is often considered the 'reproduction' sector of human life. Much of it unremunerated even in capitalist societies, 'reproduction', in this context, contrasts with the 'production' of goods and services for the market.

For a long time, this reproduction sector, insofar as it did not concern ruling or at least aristocratic families, was regarded as strictly outside the historian's domain, to be studied, if at all, by sociologists and ethnologists. That women have an indispensable role to play in this field may account at least in part for the disdain of a male-dominated historical establishment. In addition, the European tradition of denying 'noble' status to anything regarded as 'vile and mechanical', in other words, involving physical labor, must have made it even more problematic to study the reproduction sector, just as for a long time these sentiments have inhibited work on the history of the laboring classes. For laborers, cooks and even those who do no more than arrange purchased furniture in order to create a home do not achieve very much without 'getting their hands dirty'.

Yet in the long run, the spread of democracy in the political realm seems to have had repercussions, even among notoriously tradition-bound historians. For a major rationale for denying that the common people, with their cares focused on reproduction, formed a worthwhile subject of study had been the observation that these men and women were powerless and thus without an active role in history. However in a democratic society, the politicians neglect the needs and desires of large groups of ordinary people at their own peril, especially where problems of reproduction are at issue. It would seem that even if these considerations are not always stated in so many words, they have played a role in making studies of food and shelter academically respectable.

---

\* Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich.

*Studies of food in history before 1980*

Research on food and domestic life, after a timid beginning in the later nineteenth century, gained strength among historians of the modern period in Europe, after a lengthy eclipse, during the 1960s and 1970s. Famous in its day was a debate, conducted mainly in Britain, that focused on the problem whether early industrialization had led to a decline in the laboring poor's already modest standard of living.<sup>1</sup> This concern obviously involved the study of meat, fruit and vegetable consumption, which among townspeople is immediately curtailed when income decreases. The recommendations of certain nineteenth-century authors that the poor of southern England give up their bread-based diets in favor of cheaper foods, such as oatmeal porridge, came in for their share of attention in this context.<sup>2</sup>

In France during the 1970s, there was a broadly-based inquiry, conducted by historians associated with the journal *Annales Economies, Sociétés Civilisations* as it was then called, to determine how sailors, prisoners, recipients of public charity and other inmates of institutions were fed in the early modern period. Nutrition was a major concern, as it also was for British historians involved in the 'standard of living' controversy. Was it possible to go beyond Fernand Braudel's sceptical dictum "officiellement, la soupe est toujours bonne"?<sup>3</sup> Moreover the *Annales* investigations occasionally opened up intercultural perspectives, even though this was not their primary objective: Thus a study of southern Spanish records demonstrated that even a whole century after the completion of the Reconquista, Andalusian institutions served more sweet dishes than their northern counterparts.<sup>4</sup>

Responses from Ottomanists to this problems were limited in number, Ömer Lütfi Barkan being almost the only historian to show a serious interest in food. Barkan concerned himself with the publication of the registers of the sultan's kitchens, which survive in large numbers, a project that remained in-

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the many-faceted problems involved, see E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, The Pelican Economic History of Britain, (Harmondsworth, 1969), vol. 3: 154-71.

<sup>2</sup> John Burnett, *A History of the Cost of Living* (Harmondsworth, 1969): 274.

<sup>3</sup> Fernand Braudel, "Officially speaking, the soup is always good," in: *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Paris, 1966), vol. 1: 418

<sup>4</sup> Bernard Vincent, "Consommation alimentaire en Andalousie orientale (Les achats de l'Hôpital Royal de Guadix 1581-1582," in: *Annales: Economies Sociétés Civilisations*, 30, 1 (1975): 445-53.

complete at the time of his death and has not been continued.<sup>5</sup> But for Barkan, the study of foodstuffs was largely a means to an end, as his main interest was in price history. For this purpose, he calculated prices paid in sixteenth-century Istanbul and Edirne, largely on the basis of the accounts kept by the administrators of local pious foundations. This undertaking, as is normal in studies of price history the world over, involved the construction of a 'basket' of presumably necessary consumer goods, mainly foodstuffs. As a next step, the historian then determined the amounts of money that the 'ordinary' purchaser of this or that period would need to spend to acquire this 'basket'. But even in the absence of any special interest in food *per se*, Barkan's work had the great merit of alerting later historians to the fact that Ottoman archival sources do contain a considerable amount of evidence concerning food and drink, and to some degree, even allow us to reconstruct culinary culture.

Nor were ethnological studies of contemporary Turkish food culture absent, but as a focus of scholarship, this aspect of human life did not play a major role. Thus in the village and small-town monographs written by social anthropologists during the 1950s and 1960s, only a few paragraphs were typically devoted to food.<sup>6</sup> This neglect may have been due in part to the fact that in Turkey, social-anthropological studies did not begin until the 1950s, when poverty has yet severely limited choices. But in addition, this evident lack of interest in food and in the practices related to its preparation may have been due to the concerns of social anthropologists working at that time. For quite often, these men and women wanted to find out how the anti-consumerist attitudes expressed in the saying '*bir lokma, bir burka*' had come to characterize a considerable section of Turkish small-town society.<sup>7</sup> Abstinence from consumption, rather than an interest in food and drink, thus constituted the principal focus of research.

<sup>5</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Saray Mutfağının 894-895 (1489-90) Yılına âit Muhasebe Bilânçoları," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* XXII, 1-2, (1962-63): 380-98.

<sup>6</sup> Thus a classic example of the genre, namely Mübeccel Kıray, *Ereğli, Ağır Sanayiden Önce bir Sabil Kasabası* (1964, repr. Istanbul) does not even devote a subsection to food, at least not explicitly. The book does, however, contain a good deal of information on entertainment.

<sup>7</sup> "A bite and a [dervish] cloak [are sufficient to sustain human life]". This issue has interested not only Kıray, but also Sabri Ülgener, *İktisadi Çözülmenin Ahlak ve Zihniyet Dünyası* (Istanbul, 1981).

*Investigating Ottoman houses: the beginnings*

By contrast, interest in the Ottoman habitat goes back much further, to the closing years of the nineteenth century. Presumably this predilection for housing as opposed to food is due to the obvious fact that any generation's need for shelter leaves us with more or less durable structures, while the consumption of food only results in dirty dishes and those garbage heaps so beloved by archeologists investigating prehistoric sites. In any case, the study of the Ottoman habitat arguably began when the army doctor and self-taught archeologist Rifat Osman took it upon himself to explore the ruins of the great palace of Mehmed the Conqueror in Edirne, which had been blown up by a desperate Ottoman general only a few years earlier. As a by-product, Rifat Osman also published evidence on other residential architecture surviving in this town.<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, the series of wars that marked the final breakup of the Ottoman Empire was not conducive to further studies of this kind; on the contrary, many fine residences, especially in the Aegean coastlands, must have perished during those years without any scholar being much interested in their fate. In the early years of the Turkish Republic, the Topkapı Palace became a museum, and the fact that this magnificent and mysterious complex was now open to scholarly investigation, and soon to touristic visits as well, did result in a number of publications. These were meant both to guide the visitor and to provide a summary of research undertaken up to the time of publication.<sup>9</sup> However, most of these books and articles were concerned with the libraries, silk fabrics and other valuables contained in the Palace, actual living conditions, if touched upon at all, usually playing a modest second fiddle.

Interest in houses inhabited by 'ordinary' subjects of the sultans was not revived until the years following World War II, when Istanbul Technical University's department of architectural history, then in its beginnings, sponsored a series of studies of the built environment of provincial towns: Ankara, Kayseri,

<sup>8</sup> Dr Rifat Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*, ed. Süheyl Ünver (Ankara, 1989) and idem, *Edirne Evleri*, ed. Süheyl Ünver (İstanbul, 1983).

<sup>9</sup> N. Penzer, "The Harem," in: *An Account of the Institution as it Existed in the Palace of the Turkish Sultans, with a History of the Grand Seraglio from its Foundation to the Present Time* (London, 1936); Barnette Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror* (Cambridge MA, 1941). This latter author had published on the Ottoman Palace already in late Ottoman times: *Beyond the Sublime Porte: The Grand Seraglio of Stambul* (repr. New York, 1970).

Konya, Kütahya and many others were thus covered more or less efficiently.<sup>10</sup> The authors of the more successful monographs possessed detailed knowledge of the towns they wrote about, and were able to include precious ethnographic detail. Thus for instance Necibe Çakıroğlu, in her work on Kayseri, has included accounts of how people migrated to their gardens and vineyards during the summer, using their urban residences only for the cold season. Obviously this pattern of living had significant repercussions on the arrangement of heating and cooking facilities.<sup>11</sup>

However, Ottomanist historians, apart from a few ‘outsiders’ to the academic establishment such as Ahmet Refik Altınay, Reşat Ekrem Koçu and even İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, were as yet little interested in the urban environment of ‘ordinary’ townsmen.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, many architects of that period tended to be visually oriented to the exclusion of most other interests. Moreover, pre-1928 sources were written in the Arabic script and were therefore not directly accessible to the younger generation of Turkish architects, while the number of transcribed and annotated text editions was infinitely smaller than it is today. All this meant that the 1950s monographs covering the provincial habitat usually placed but limited reliance on written sources, focusing instead on site plans and elevations.

At the same time, the architect and architectural historian Sedad Hakkı Eldem wrote his highly important monograph on the ‘site plans of the Turkish house’, which included examples from the Balkans, Istanbul and Anatolia.<sup>13</sup> Similarly to the historians of provincial architecture, this work of Eldem’s concentrated on surviving buildings. In consequence, for the present-day reader, both Eldem’s study and the monographs sponsored by Istanbul Technical University constitute storehouses of visual information on buildings of which quite

<sup>10</sup> For some good examples, compare Necibe Çakıroğlu, *Kayseri Evleri* (İstanbul, 1951); Eyüp Asım Kömürcüoğlu, *Ankara Evleri* (İstanbul, 1950).

<sup>11</sup> Çakıroğlu, *Kayseri Evleri*: 13, 22, 42.

<sup>12</sup> Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *Türk Mimarları (hazine-i evrak vesikalarına göre)* (repr. İstanbul, 1977), idem, *Onuncu Asr-ı hicride İstanbul Hayatı (1495-1591)* (repr. İstanbul, 1988). Reşat Ekrem Koçu twice began to publish an *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, which in both cases was interrupted because the sponsors ran out of money and perhaps lost interest. Compare idem and Mehmet Ali Akbay, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul, 1965). Among the numerous reference works on Turkish towns authored by İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, see idem, *Abide ve Kitabeleri ile Karaman Tarihi: Ermenek ve Mut Abideleri* (İstanbul, 1967).

<sup>13</sup> Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. İstanbul, s.d.).



a few have since been destroyed or else survive only in a scandalously poor state of preservation.

Eldem was able to show that the typical Istanbul wealthy home of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries consisted of chambers grouped around a central space (*sofa*). There were no doors linking individual rooms, which as a result were accessible only from this hall. As to the *sofa*, it might be positioned in a number of ways, but a widespread arrangement was the variety known as *karniyarik*<sup>14</sup>. This form featured a central hall stretching from the front to the back of the building, and often ending in a balcony or belvedere that allowed the inhabitants a good view of streets, gardens, or even the Bosphorus – without of course, being visible themselves.<sup>15</sup> As for the genesis or ‘pre-history’ of this house form in the sixteenth century, one of the contributors to the present volume has made it his special concern.<sup>16</sup>

At a later stage of his career, Eldem also became interested in houses once noted for their splendor of which little trace remains today, and he authored a monograph on the palace of Sa’adabad, which apparently incorporated features taken from French architecture and whose outlying pavilions were destroyed after the deposing of Sultan Ahmed III in 1730.<sup>17</sup> Those remains still extant today were refashioned so thoroughly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as to be almost unrecognizable. As a result, the author was forced to rely extensively on written sources and eighteenth-century pictures, and the manner in which Eldem used the evidence produced by a Swedish visitor to Sa’dabad makes his study a veritable pioneer.

### *Architects’ perspectives*

As this brief account shows, well into the 1970s, studies concerning Ottoman houses were typically undertaken by architects. In this period, a formalist approach to buildings was dominant, and its adherents tended to explain the genesis of individual architectural forms by the logic inherent in the structure as a

<sup>14</sup> *Karniyarik* is a dish of aubergines sliced open and filled with a meat-vegetable mixture; with a bit of imagination, one may view the *sofa* as the filling inserted after the rooms had been ‘sliced apart’.

<sup>15</sup> For an analysis of the role of the *sofa* in sixteenth-century Istanbul domestic architecture, see the article by Yérasimos in the present volume; for a single nineteenth-century example, compare the work of Yalçın.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the study by Stéphane Yérasimos.

<sup>17</sup> Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Sa’dabad* (Ankara, 1977).

whole. Thus, if the reader will pardon a highly simplistic account, a dome of a certain size obviously calls for a system of supports to balance the outward pressures generated by the cupola. This physical fact could become the starting point for what one might call an 'organicist' interpretation of architectural works. In such a perspective, a central dome could be viewed as 'calling forth' a system of smaller domes and half-domes, which, at least in the imagery used by architectural historians, appeared to develop in the manner of a natural phenomenon, without human interference of any kind.<sup>18</sup> It goes without saying that such an approach made sense mainly when discussing elaborate structures of great geometrical complexity, such as the sixteenth-century mosques of Mimar Sinan, and was much less suitable to the 'vernacular' structures in which ordinary people lived out their lives.

During the 1970s, research on the housing patterns of ordinary people in Ottoman times received a new impetus: this was partly due to the fact that, with the dramatic growth of Turkish cities, older houses were torn down in large numbers to make room for apartment blocks. After a while, architects and preservationists became concerned about the loss of the specific characters of individual towns that this development entailed. Particularly alarming was the observation that measures taken to preserve the 'traditional' habitat often seemed to result in even more rapid destruction, with arson a major problem. On the academic level, training engineers with some esteem for the historical monuments they might encounter in the course of their work, and yet more urgently, architects conscious of the advantages of preserving historical neighborhoods, came to be viewed as a priority. Architects engaged in this latter kind of work were taught to start their projects with a reconstruction of what the historical environment had been at some time in the past, for instance in the 1850s or else the 1890s.

On a more general level, American architects' interest in housing put up by builders who had not necessarily received formal training in professional schools may well have raised the status of comparable Anatolian structures in the eyes of Istanbul or Ankara architects.<sup>19</sup> If building modest houses 'on a

<sup>18</sup> The historian's reservations toward this approach were well formulated by Halil İnalcık in 1986, when discussing a paper read by Aptullah Kuran at a Chicago conference dedicated to Süleyman the Magnificent and his age.

<sup>19</sup> Compare for instance Mete Turan, "Vernacular Architecture and Environmental Influences: An Analytic and Comparative Study," *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* = *Journal of the METU Faculty of Architecture* 1, 2, (1975): 227-46.

human scale' was a virtue in the American South or Midwest, surely the same could be said for similar buildings in Bursa or Safranbolu.

*The contribution of Ottomanist historians to the study of the urban habitat*

Given the limited lifespan of half-timbered dwellings and houses built totally of wood, which were so common in both the Balkans and Anatolia, a reconstruction of a previous state of this or that neighborhood could not be undertaken without consulting written sources and, wherever possible, older drawings and photographs as well. Primary evidence included the travelogues of both European and Ottoman visitors. The former were usually available in print and thus could be accessed directly in Istanbul or Ankara libraries. For many architects with historical interests read English and/or French, and the strictures of Edward Said against European travellers and the 'knowledge' they had produced were either as yet unknown or else not necessarily relevant to the limited concerns of a historian working on a given monument or neighborhood.<sup>20</sup>

By contrast, direct access to Ottoman sources was possible only in exceptional cases, and this was why architects first became interested in the contribution that historians might make. After all, a major source for the historian of Ottoman cities was – and is – doubtless the ten-volume seventeenth-century travel book by Evliya Çelebi, who visited most cities and towns of the Sultans' empire. But apart from the ninth and tenth volumes, this text was available at the time in the Arabic script only. Moreover, professional historians knew well that the first volumes of the series, published under the pre-1908 censorship régime, lacked many sections especially relevant to the urban historian.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, even if an architect concerned with the urban habitat was able to get a hold of Evliya's description of the town he or she was studying in a transliterated version, the realization that Evliya's figures cannot always be relied on had for quite some time been part not only of specialist knowledge, but also of Turkish general culture. Hence, advice from historians was regarded as highly desirable.

It was yet more difficult for architects and architectural historians to obtain access to official Ottoman records. These were – and are – not only for the most part unpublished, but also written in scripts almost illegible to the non-specialist and, it must be admitted, sometimes quite troublesome to the specialist as well. On the other hand, Barkan's study of the records concerning the

<sup>20</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

<sup>21</sup> Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi* (İstanbul, Ankara, 1896/97-1938).

construction of the Süleymaniye and the work of younger scholars such as Rhoads Murphey on other aspects of Ottoman public building had shown that the accounts kept by the supervisors of major construction projects have a great deal to teach us.<sup>22</sup> In sometimes minute detail, these registers reflect the manner in which Ottoman buildings were planned, financed and put up. Admittedly, houses inhabited by ordinary townsmen did not normally form part of such public projects. But as became apparent from the work of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi and others, the layout of the town quarters into which private dwellings had to fit could be studied on the basis of official records, many of them pertaining to pious foundations sponsored by the sultans and members of their court.<sup>23</sup> All these observations resulted in an important change in consciousness, since at least a certain number of scholars came to be aware of the need for cooperation between historians and architects in reconstructing the history of the urban habitat in Turkey.

Once again, trends among architects working in the United States probably also had some influence in this direction. The works of American architectural historians who studied what they called 'vernacular architecture' were widely read by teachers and scholars concerned with this discipline in Turkey.<sup>24</sup> These studies emphasized the diversity of the habitats current in different regions of the US, and the imaginativeness with which their creators and users adapted to environmental constraints. But given the late genesis of much of this habitat, there was almost never a situation in which written records were totally unavailable. As a result, the scission between architects using visual sources and historians dealing with written materials, so typical of the Turkish scene well into the 1970s, probably was less pronounced in the United States.

<sup>22</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Camii ve İmaret-i İnşaatı* (Ankara, 1972-1979); Rhoads Murphey, "The Construction of a Fortress at Mosul in 1631: A Case Study of an Important Facet of Ottoman Military Expenditure," in: *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, ed. Halil İnalcık, Osman Okyar (Ankara, 1980): 163-77.

<sup>23</sup> Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih Devri Sonlarında İstanbul Mahalleleri, Şehrin İskânı ve Nüfusu* (Ankara, 1958).

<sup>24</sup> Compare *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi* = *Journal of the METU Faculty of Architecture* 4, 2 (special issue *Yöre Mimarlığı ve Korunması*).

*After 1980: the history of consumption as a unifying factor*

Already around 1985, intellectuals active in Turkey were coming to the conclusion that a new historical period had recently begun, and, remarkable though this may seem, the growing sense of transformation very soon had repercussions on the ways in which issues such as food and housing were investigated. Part of this sea change was due to a rearrangement of the manner in which the results of academic research could be made public. For the most part, universities and semi-official bodies such as the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* now possessed very limited material means to finance scholarly publications. This meant that the authors of historical books now had to publish abroad, seek un-official sponsors, or produce works that might appeal to a larger group of readers. With a bit of luck, the latter might then be acceptable to commercial publishers or to the educational foundations that sprang out of the ground during just those years.

Other reasons for the modifications in the research concerns of architectural historians, and of historians in general, were linked to the changing socio-economic environment. As the 'mixed system' of state and private ownership of enterprises dominant in Turkey between the 1950s and the 1970s was progressively dismantled, private production for the market acquired a prestige it had not possessed before. As far as 'public opinion' was concerned, this meant a more favorable stance toward consumption. In the previous generation, production, and especially industrial production, had been highly valued, while consumption was more or less regarded as a necessary evil. However, the new orientation towards an economy dominated by the market transactions of firms and individuals made the act of purchasing and/or consuming become socially acceptable. Once again, in this reorientation, scholars studying the Ottoman Empire were by no means alone. Quite to the contrary, the widespread consumption of goods acquired through the market in early modern England or Holland also formed a major research interest among Europeanist historians of the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>25</sup>

In addition, the 1980s were also the time when not only the cultural elites, but also a significant section of an increasingly literate public began to be interested in the culture of a past which often was not so very remote in time, but already quite different in outlook and behavior from the norms of the 1980s. In part the reason for this renewed interest in history was certainly the disillusion-

<sup>25</sup> Compare the contributions by Jan de Vries and others to *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer, Roy Porter (London, New York, 1993).



onment that rapid ‘modernization’ had brought with it, and a more or less facile nostalgia was often the result of this experience. But this was only part of the story. Readers in sizeable numbers now wanted to learn about the imbrication of culture and everyday life, and not really about the ‘king and battle history’ that, in contrast, had come to be the bane of intelligent high school students in Turkey. As a result, research on food and its preparation or on the organization of urban homes stopped being esoteric problems pursued by a few specialists and, to a degree, entered the mainstream of historical culture.

This concern with cultural history was novel because it implied a certain devaluation of the state, which in the early decades of the Republic had assumed a quasi-religious value. While historians of the Ottoman realm continued to be aware of the strong preponderance of the state apparatus over society at large, they, and also the historically-minded public, were willing to accept that other forces had been active as well. Most significant among the latter were doubtless the great households of seventeenth-, eighteenth- and even early nineteenth-century Ottoman grandees. After all, these households possessed political relevance because their younger members were so often groomed to take their places in the state apparatus. And as a household cannot possibly function without a house, the study of the residences of important families was vindicated as a result.<sup>26</sup>

When it comes to research on food, the situation is rather different. A spate of studies on Ottoman cookery began in the 1980s and, linked to the names of Günay Kut and more recently Tülay Artan and Stéphane Yérasimos, continues to the present day. In my estimation, this attraction exercised by food and drink has some connection to the manner in which many historians today perceive the major characteristics of the Ottoman state and society.<sup>27</sup> In recent decades, some Ottomanist historians, including the present author, have attempted to show that the Ottomans’ historical role was *not just* to form the ‘near-perfect

<sup>26</sup> As an example, compare Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Anadolu Derebeyi Ocaklarından Köse Paşa Hanedanı* (Ankara, 1984).

<sup>27</sup> Günay Kut, “Türklerde Yeme-İçme Geleneği ve Kaynakları,” in: *Eskimeyen Tatlar: Türk Mutfak Kültürü*, ed. Semahat Arsel (İstanbul, 1996): 38-71; Tülay Artan, “Aspects of the Ottoman Elite’s Food Consumption: Looking for ‘Staples’, ‘Luxuries’ and ‘Delicacies’ in a Changing Century,” in: *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1912: An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany, 2000): 107-200; Stéphane Yérasimos, *Sultan Sofraları: 15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Saray Mutfakı* (İstanbul, 2002).

military society', even though just this has been insinuated, for a variety of reasons, in a considerable segment of the secondary literature.

In debunking the idea that the sultans were somehow more militaristic than their royal or imperial counterparts in continental Europe, scholars have emphasized that the waging of war was just as central to state formation in early modern Europe as it was to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, historians have dwelt on the political means that the administration devised in order to legitimize the sultans' rule. Art historians have made their own contribution by emphasizing the importance of architecture and the fine arts in creating a public image of the sultans' magnificence, and in this context, the role of the court as an art patron has drawn considerable attention.<sup>29</sup> Evidently the demands of war did not crowd out more peaceful concerns.

Apart from publications directed at an academic readership, this thrust has become especially visible in the catalogues to the series of exhibitions in major European and American cities during the last twenty years that have highlighted the courtly art of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Istanbul.<sup>30</sup> But high art has only been part of the story. In addition, the arts of life, which obviously include cookery, have come in for their share of attention, and Ottoman-Turkish cuisine has taken its place next to the sophisticated culinary traditions of China, the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent, France and Italy. But once again, without the more positive evaluation of consumption that has characterized social history after 1980, this stance would have scarcely been possible, no matter how much individual historians may always have appreciated *dolma* or Circassian-style chicken.

<sup>28</sup> In my view, the relevant classic study is Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making als Organized Crime," in: *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Theda Skocpol (Cambridge, 1985): 169-91.

<sup>29</sup> Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge MA, 1991).

<sup>30</sup> Given the large number of such international exhibitions, with their usually very detailed and informative catalogues, only a tiny sampling of the available publications can be given here: John Michael Rogers, Rachel Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent* (London, 1988); *Topkapı à Versailles: Trésors de la cour ottomane* (Paris, 1999); Tülay Artan, Filiz Çağman, Walter Denny, *Palace of Gold and Light: Treasures from the Topkapı* (Istanbul, 2000); *Padişahın Portresi, Tesavir-i Al-i Osman* (Istanbul, 2000).

### *Identity and consumption*

Linked to these changes in research concerns was doubtless the emergence of 'identity' as, at the same time, a political and a scholarly problem. Where Ottoman history was concerned, this constituted something of a novelty, because previous generations had studied the emergence of national movements on the territory of the Ottoman Empire as political matters in the narrow sense of the term. Understandably enough given the contexts of colonialism and later post-colonialism, a strong emphasis was – and is – placed on the interference of the Great Powers of Europe, in what the latter had defined as the 'Eastern Question'. In other words, the dispute over the manner in which the territories ruled by the Sultan were to be divided up once the empire had become defunct was given pride of place.<sup>31</sup> On this kind of an agenda, there was little room for questions of identity, which after all, view the matter from 'below' rather than from 'above'. Only a few historians of education and culture had, already in the 1960s and 1970s, shown an interest in the manner in which individual Ottomans, normally writers and artists, positioned themselves *vis à vis* the 'Ottoman tradition', on the one hand, and the European-style training that more and more of them had received, on the other.<sup>32</sup>

Studied in this fashion, identity and consumption obviously have little to do with one another. But certain factors did promote the linking of the two topics. As we have seen, consumption studies were becoming increasingly 'respectable', and at the same time there emerged a growing research interest in the history of upper-class women, often documented largely in their role as consumers.<sup>33</sup> Thus scholars concerned with late Ottoman culture soon began to ask themselves how their two concerns of consumption and identity could be connected with one another: in other words, how consumption of certain goods and services could be considered markers of identity.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> For a classic account of this type, see Matthew S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923: A Study in International Relations* (London, New York, 1966).

<sup>32</sup> An important example of this approach is Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, 1962).

<sup>33</sup> Nora Şeni, "Symbolische Bedeutung der Frauenkleidung um die Jahrhundertwende, am Beispiel der Istanbul Satire," in: *Aufstand im Haus der Frauen: Frauenforschung aus der Türkei*, transl. and ed. Aylâ Neusel et al. (Berlin, 1991): 49-72; Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the later Ottoman Empire," in: *Consumption Studies*: 201-42.

<sup>34</sup> This issue has been studied by Christoph Neumann in an as yet unpublished article.

Quite surprisingly, the communitarian relevance of consuming or abstaining from certain foods and beverages, which has been a major research concern for historians dealing with, for instance, the Morisco and Jewish presences in Spain, did not generate a great deal of interest in the context of Ottoman history.<sup>35</sup> But the divide between 'modern' and 'traditional', as viewed by members of the late Ottoman elite, certainly has been studied on the basis of consumption patterns. Thus it is surely not without significance, as we learn from the study by Özge Samancı in the present volume, that Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) preferred to eat at a dinner table rather than at a low tray or *sofra*. Equally relevant is the observation that, from the later sixteenth century on, certain urban males preferred the coffeehouse as a locale of sociability to the domestic setting, as apparent from the article by Ekrem Işın.<sup>36</sup>

When it comes to linking the concepts of 'consumption in the housing sector' and 'identity', it is possible to base oneself on older research trends. Architectural historians such as Emel Esin and Ayda Arel have drawn connections between Ottoman residential architecture and nomadic traditions; however, I am not sure that this, by the seventeenth century, rather remote past really was very relevant to Ottoman urban builders.<sup>37</sup> Architectural historians of a romantic bent have also been inclined to view the light and impermanent construction of private housing, as opposed to the solidly monumental character of Ottoman mosques and other religious edifices, as an acknowledgement of the transitoriness of human life, an emphasis with strong religious connotations.<sup>38</sup> But

<sup>35</sup> On the importance of dietical abstention in identifying crypto-Muslims and crypto-Jews in the eyes of the various Inquisitions, see Lucetta Scaraffia, *Rinnegati: per una storia dell'identità occidentale* (Bari, 1993): 57-100.

<sup>36</sup> During recent years, mainly French scholars have done a significant amount of work on Ottoman coffeehouses and coffee consumption. In addition to André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Damascus, 1973-74), compare *Le café en Méditerranée: Histoire, anthropologie, économie, XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Aix-en-Provence, 1980); *Cafés d'Orient revisités*, ed. Hélène Desmet-Grégoire, François Georjeon (Paris, 1997); *Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales*, ed. Michel Tuchscherer (Cairo, 2001).

<sup>37</sup> Emel Esin, "An Eighteenth-century "Yalı" Viewed in the Line of Development of Related Form in Turkic Architecture," in: *Atti del secondo Congresso internazionale di arte turca: Venezia 1963* (Napoli, 1965): 83-112; Ayda Arel, *Osmanlı Konut Geleneginde Tarihsel Sorunlar* (İzmir, 1982).

<sup>38</sup> Anton Bammer, *Wohnen im Vergänglichem: Traditionelle Wohnformen in der Türkei und in Griechenland* (Graz, 1982).

more concrete concerns are possible as well: thus, historians of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Istanbul have stressed the role of seaside villas (*yalıs*) in asserting high socio-political status, a type of conspicuous consumption that had not been of particular importance a century or two earlier.<sup>39</sup> Other links between status and identity, on the one hand, and housing or domestic equipment, on the other, are of course possible. In short, given the increasing importance accorded to ‘identity politics’ in Turkey as elsewhere, the connection now established between consumption and identity strengthens the case for studying not only the latter, but the former as well.

*The contributions: eating and serving food*

As a result of this set of varying but interrelated developments, it has become possible to bring food and the different aspects of domesticity together under the heading of ‘consumption’, and that is what we propose to do in the present volume. Broadly speaking, the period treated here begins with the second half of the sixteenth century and ends around 1850. These limits have been chosen for purely pragmatic reasons: Ottoman archival records, the principal primary source for most of our contributors, only begin to provide answers to at least some of the questions posed by modern historians from the 1540s or 1550s on. As for the lower limit, around 1850, it has been selected because, while we certainly do not want to exclude the problems linked to the Ottoman encounter with European cookery and domestic culture, we have planned this to be one topic among a number of others. Yet if the time limit had been set at a later date, chances are that this topic would have crowded out all problems related to earlier periods. However, we have not been dogmatic about this issue; thus in the case of Emre Yalçın’s study, the biography of a house constructed in the mid-nineteenth century is followed through all the way into the 1960s.

We will begin with the only paper that focuses on the presentation of primary sources, namely Necdet Sakaoğlu’s discussion of a sixteenth-century text that treats food in the context of healing and nutrition. For recipe collections in this period were rarely put together merely as an aid to the practical cook, if only for the simple reason that so many cooks could not have read them. But a

---

<sup>39</sup> Tülay Artan, “Early 20th Century Maps and 18th-19th Century Court Records: Sources for a Combined Reconstruction of Urban Continuity on the Bosphorus,” *Environmental Design* 13-14, (1993-1996). For a unique primary source, see *İkinci Mahmut’un İstanbul’u: Bostancıbaşı Sicilleri*, ed. Cahit Kayra, Erol Üyepazarcı (İstanbul, 1992).

variety of other considerations still might induce certain people to collect and copy recipes. As a recent publication has taught us, a booklet containing medieval Arab recipes might be translated into Ottoman, presumably at least in part with a literary purpose in mind.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, once the translator had become familiar with the notion that cuisine could be a topic of polite literature, he could even be induced to add recipes that did not form part of the original collection, thus taking the first steps as an author on culinary concerns.

The largest coherent group of papers concerns the food served by the kitchens of the Topkapı Sarayı and the successors to this palace on the Bosphorus. That the activities of the sultans' kitchens should be so popular among historians of Ottoman cuisine is by no means a matter of chance; as we have seen, the registers of foodstuffs entering the Topkapı pantries and larders have been astonishingly well preserved and probably will provide material for many future publications. Beginning with the eighteenth century, the sultans admittedly began to spend less time in the Topkapı Palace, which they visited mainly on ceremonial occasions, while summer residences on the Bosphorus and elsewhere came to be preferred. But this 'decentralization' did not prevent the responsible officials from continuing to keep careful records not only of the foods used in the sultanic kitchens, but also of the pots, pans, glassware and flatware purchased for the use of the Ottoman rulers, their families and their servitors.

A further reason for studying palace food is that serving a ceremonial meal was part of the reception of foreign ambassadors at the sultans' court, and many embassy reports contain interesting detail on this feature. As a result, we know not only what was served and how, but also, at least in some instances, how the recipients judged the meal in question. The paper of Dariusz Kolodziejczyk deals with seventeenth-century Polish ambassadors and their retinues, as well as with the feasting that formed a major part of these diplomats' lives. For ambassadors were attended by numerous servitors, who, by their mere presence, were supposed to add 'magnificence' to the envoys' households. In the Polish case, these were usually young noblemen who regarded their stay in Istanbul as a kind of equivalent of the Grand Tour and also as an occasion for eating, drinking and amusement. 'Serious' political historians may regard the preoccupation of the embassy members with food and drink with some disdain; but for the social historian concerned with food, the matter looks quite different. When we try to find out how foreigners reacted to Ottoman palace cuisine, Polish embassy reports are quite unique. After all, we are not

---

<sup>40</sup> Yérasimos, *Sultan Sofraları*.



often able to juxtapose Ottoman and European documentations of one and the same ceremonial event.

Hedda Reindl-Kiel's contribution is concerned with a number of festive meals served in the mid-seventeenth century to the viziers and secretaries who attended meetings of the sultan's council, the famed *divan-ı humayun*. In one of these registers there is also a record of two ceremonial meals served when the ambassador of Transylvania appeared at the Ottoman court. Even though the ambassador's master was only a tributary prince, judging by the banquet organized in the envoy's honor, he was definitely given 'the red carpet'. This observation concerning sultanic favor – or disfavor – shown publicly through ceremonial treatment in general and meals in particular is consonant with contemporary European diplomatic practice, where the jockeying for position among ambassadors accredited to a powerful court was one of the major reasons for sending them out in the first place.<sup>41</sup>

From the records studied by Reindl-Kiel, it appears that the difference in rank between the viziers and the secretaries was clearly reflected in the number of courses served to these two categories of state officials. While a banquet for viziers normally consisted of six courses, lesser folk had to be satisfied with just two. To be offered sherbet in the course of a ceremonial meal apparently indicated high rank, everyone else being expected to content himself with good spring water.

Equally interesting are the author's observations concerning the dishes that formed the almost indispensable components of any palace banquet of the time, namely chicken soup and rice pilaf. Chicken was also served in meat dishes; it was more expensive than mutton and thus demonstrated that even not-so-prominent officials could expect their sovereign to provide them with food appropriate to their standing as the sultan's servitors. While pilaf and chicken soup were normally served at the beginning of a meal, sweet dishes, often placed on the *sofra* in considerable variety within the context of a single course, were followed by a selection of meats. Reindl-Kiel suggests that at such banquets, the ruler meant to offer his followers a foretaste of paradise in the shape of highly valued foods, thus playing out his role as the 'shadow of God on earth'.

Because there was only one sultan in the Ottoman Empire, we have a tendency to view the Palace also as a single unit. But that is an over-simplification, partly induced by the fact that the Eski Saray (Old Palace) in Istanbul was de-

---

<sup>41</sup> William Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach," *The Journal of Modern History* 52, 3, (1980): 452-76.

stroyed piecemeal, while the former residence of the sultans in Bursa collapsed in an earthquake and the great palace in Edirne was destroyed by an Ottoman commander who had lost his nerve. In actuality, in the sixteenth century there were palaces in quite a few Anatolian cities, of which the residence in Amasya was sometimes used even by reigning sultans, including, for example, Süleyman the Magnificent himself.<sup>42</sup> However, records concerning these provincial establishments are extremely rare, probably because they were not continuously inhabited and therefore had no archives that continued to function after the departure of the prince who had given the whole household its *raison d'être*. Thus the single surviving register concerning the palace in Manisa, which covers a one-year period from February 1594 to February 1595, constitutes a most precious find, all the more so because it contains a great deal of information about deliveries made to the palace kitchen.

When this register was completed, Prince Mehmed, the son of Murad III, had already left Manisa to ascend the throne. Even so, there are some striking parallels to the seventeenth-century consumption patterns discussed by Hedda Reindl-Kiel. Noteworthy is the predilection for chicken, more than 11,000 birds being consumed in a single year. By contrast, lamb was reserved for special occasions and was not yet the favored palace food that, as Özge Samancı has shown, it was to become in the early nineteenth century. Butter was the principal cooking fat, but in contrast to what we know about the food served in pious foundations at that time, olive oil also played an important role. Moreover, the prince's taste ran to less common vegetable oils made from linseed, poppyseed or even almonds. Feridun Emecen points out that this was probably a consumption pattern imported from Istanbul, but which, during the many years Prince Mehmed stayed in Manisa, was modified due to contact with the local cuisine. Now we must hope for a stroke of good luck to provide us with evidence of the foods preferred by the better-off inhabitants of late sixteenth-century Manisa; however, things are complicated by the fact that such people may well have tried to imitate palace standards.

Most of the papers in this volume deal with food served on a given date or within a relatively brief period, and since we are still at the very beginning of our investigations, this constitutes a reasonable research strategy. However, it must be kept in mind that even before the nineteenth century, Ottoman cuisine, at least in the palace, was not static. This is especially obvious when it comes to spices, studied in the present context by Christoph Neumann. In the

<sup>42</sup> Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul, 1976).

sixteenth century, people of means living in the Ottoman Empire were as enamored of pepper as early modern Europeans are known to have been; kitchen accounts pertaining to pious foundations of the 1500s show that these institutions, which also functioned as government guesthouses, kept large quantities of pepper in their storehouses. However, by the eighteenth century, fashions had changed; now it was no longer the sharp taste of pepper that was in vogue, but rather the gentle flavor of cinnamon. This latter spice was not only used in sweets and puddings, but also appeared in meat dishes; as Özge Samancı's work in the present volume shows, this custom continued well into the nineteenth century. It was only after 1900 that the pendulum once again swung in the other direction.

Özge Samancı's work on the upper-class cuisine of the period between 1800 and 1850 has been placed next to the papers dealing with the Palace. For while the author in some instances also touches on the manner in which food was consumed in high-status families outside this charmed circle, the focus of her paper is definitely on the Ottoman court. More specifically, she is concerned with the European-style novelties introduced by Mahmud II. As we have seen, in addition to the foods themselves, table service attracted this ruler's particular attention, and Samancı's article thus devotes considerable attention not only to the Dresden and Sèvres porcelains popular at the time, but also to tables and chairs. Quite possibly, Mahmud II soon noticed that tight-fitting uniforms in the European fashion, which he also favored, meant that the wearer was more comfortable sitting upright on a chair than when he tried to place himself elegantly on the ground. Samancı has also focused on the fact that in this period, cookery became an art that might be perfected by observing the activities of cooks in foreign capitals; at a slightly later stage, consulting printed books also became a viable option.

No cook can work without a variety of pots, pans and dishes, and the paper by Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual deals with just this issue. The two authors have chosen Damascus estate inventories from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the basis of their investigations. This choice makes their study a welcome counterweight to the strong emphasis on Istanbul that generally characterizes our volume. Unlike the Palace collections discussed in Samancı's paper, Damascene families had not as yet become interested in exotic novelties. On the other hand, well-to-do families did accumulate large collections of crockery, pots and pans. Most of the latter were made of copper, which provided even heat to the dishes prepared in them. In addition, these receptacles also had the advantage that, if they became damaged, they could easily be melted down and recast. Copper thus being a permanent resource of

some importance, it comes as no surprise that it was often owned by men. Except in the wealthiest families, women did most of the cooking; but their property often consisted of fragile and perhaps dainty dishes, cups and glasses. Presumably it was not or at least not always the responsibility of a young bride's family to provide her with a complete set of kitchen utensils.

Cooking implements can be discussed as adjuncts to food, but also as a necessary part of home furnishings, and thus the paper of Establet and Pascual provides a welcome transition from food to dwellings. Yet another paper that is, in a sense, 'intermediate' between food and domestic culture addresses the consumption of coffee in specialized coffeehouses, which, from the second half of the sixteenth century on, came to be a favorite entertainment especially of younger men living in the Ottoman capital and other large cities. Ekrem İşin has asked himself why conversation, which in present-day Istanbul or Ankara typically takes place over the dinner table, in the pre-nineteenth-century period normally sought other venues. In İşin's perspective, partaking of food in the domestic context was hedged about with a great many prohibitions. First of all, there was the consideration that one must be grateful to God as the provider of all nourishment and not dilute this pious reflection with conversation about human trivia. In addition, families were organized hierarchically, which often precluded sons from engaging in informal conversation with their fathers and even younger brothers from freely talking to their elders.

Of course the mosque and its courtyard provided an alternative venue for socialization, but once again, rules of decorum forbade a lengthy discussion of 'frivolous topics' in such a place. Some people were already piously indignant that men should even feel a need for human contact outside of the rigidly circumscribed contexts of home and mosque; and İşin points out that in Istanbul, the first coffeehouses were situated in the commercial district of Tahtakale, immediately to the south of the Golden Horn. For contact with the outside world, including remote Ottoman provinces such as Egypt and the Yemen, was not limited to Galata, but also took place in the crowded shopping streets just to the west of the Yeni Cami. Thus this area was particularly suitable for less rule-bound and more informal social contacts. In the course of the seventeenth century, coffeehouses were to spread beyond this rather special urban nucleus, for the most part lose their 'dubious' connotations and become part of ordinary city life.

*The contributions: houses and domesticity*

With respect to the urban habitat, we are, as so often happens, confronted with the fact that the poor have left few traces, unless they inhabited an institution. As examples of the latter kind, our collection contains a study of students living in the theological schools (*medreses*), where they also attended lectures, and dervishes whose normal place of residence was a lodge (*tekke*, *zaviye*). The article by Mübahat Küçükoglu on Istanbul *medrese* students of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is based on a relatively ample supply of primary evidence. Ever since the rebellions in which the long-dead predecessors of these young people had engaged during the troubled years before and after 1600, the Ottoman government seems to have been concerned about the potentially subversive activities of students and lower-level men of religion.<sup>43</sup>

Monitoring student progress became more practicable in the eighteenth century, as young men who wished to attract the patronage indispensable for a really successful career now needed to pursue their studies in the Ottoman capital, the older centers of Bursa and Edirne having lost much of their previous importance.<sup>44</sup> With the aim of weeding out unsuccessful and potentially 'disorderly' inhabitants, the Istanbul *medreses* were subjected to inspections, of which some records survive. But as we learn from Mübahat Küçükoglu's article, control was tempered by paternalism. Many Istanbul *medreses* had been founded by members of the Ottoman dynasty, and a special office, under the supervision of the Chief Black Eunuch of the Palace (Kızlar Ağası), was in charge of the upkeep of these sultanic foundations. Thus, when students living in such a *medrese* were adversely affected in their studies by clogged water pipes, leaking roofs or a lack of running water in the neighborhood, they could apply to the ruler for redress. These petitions, which have been preserved in large numbers, form a precious source for the historian concerned with the condition of old-established *medreses*, especially during the nineteenth century.

Dervish 'convents' or lodges constitute another form of institutionalized living for men of religion. However, unlike *medreses*, these lodges (*tekke*, *zaviye*) almost always housed the family of the sheik, whose function normally passed from father to son. In addition, at least in some instances, unmarried dervishes resided in the lodge for longer or shorter periods of time, while others spent several hours a day in this place but slept with their families. Yet other adher-

<sup>43</sup> Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâli İsyânları 1550-1603* (Ankara, 1963): 85-108.

<sup>44</sup> Madeline Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis, 1988): 212.

ents of the order had work and familial obligations permitting only occasional visits to the lodge. Basing her research on the early twentieth-century unpublished history of the Nureddin Cerrahi lodge near Istanbul's Edirne gate, written by a member of the sheik's family, Nathalie Clayer has analyzed the manner in which the *tekke* served as a site for interaction between adherents of the order. Occasions for social contact included the religious services performed every day, but also special occasions such as weddings.

Clayer's contribution highlights the social roles of certain people otherwise rarely mentioned in the literature on dervish lodges, for instance the wives of the sheiks. For at least in this branch of the Halvetiye order, senior women of the sheikly family played a significant role as 'mothers of the dervishes'. This relative prominence may well have been linked to the fact that, in family life, the kitchen constituted a female domain. At the same time, in many dervish lodges, including that of the Cerrahis, providing food to adherents and outsiders was an important pious activity. In *tekkes*, which had to provide for many such guests, it is thus possible that at least some of the food in question was not prepared by the kitchen serving dervishes, but sent over from that of the sheik himself. In other words, it was prepared by the women of the sheik's family, in the *harem* section of his dwelling.

Thus Clayer has shown that the dervish lodge combined features typical of the *medrese* with others more often observed in a large family home, or *konak*. For the most part, life in private households, even those of prominent men, is very little known, and the same thing applies to the physical setting in which people were born, lived and died. However, every now and then there are fortunate exceptions. Thus Emre Yalçın happens to be a member of a family whose mansion in the *intra muros* quarter of Balat was purchased in the 1860s and fortunately has been spared destruction in the numerous Istanbul fires of the time, remaining in the hands of one and the same family down to the present day. Even better, one of the author's ancestors was a photography enthusiast active between the 1910s and the 1950s who not only installed a darkroom in the old mansion, but also documented the major repairs that had become unavoidable by the 1930s.

Thus this monograph on a single house-and-garden complex shows, first of all, what types of conveniences could be found by the mid-nineteenth century in the home of a family that was comfortably off but not really rich. Yalçın also shows systematically how the functions of certain rooms changed and how structural adjustments often became necessary when members of the family, particularly the photography enthusiast Hüsni Bey, decided to introduce other novel technologies. Of particular interest is the story concerning the conversion

of a semi-open hall in the former *harem* section into a closed living room, where friends and acquaintances of the household head were introduced to Hüsnü Bey's latest acquisition, namely the radio.

A second study of an individual mansion concerns a house located in an Ottoman town, albeit not an Ottoman dwelling in the narrow sense of the word. In the Morean uprising of 1770, French merchants and the consul of France suffered serious damages. As a result, the king ordered that those of his subjects who were affected by the disaster should be paid some compensation, financed by a temporary surcharge levied on traders doing business with the Levant. With this in mind, an unknown author, in all likelihood the consul himself, penned a minutely detailed inventory of what must have been the contents of the consular dwelling.

This house was meant to represent France in an outlying province of the Ottoman Empire and was arranged in such a manner as to permit the accommodation of many guests. Furniture and even a considerable number of paintings had been brought in all the way from France and were apparently scheduled to return there once the present resident's term of office was completed. But in the more utilitarian sections of the house, Ottoman goods also made a timid appearance; thus the curtains were of a local fabric, probably one of the imitations of Indian cottons made in Aleppo or Ayntab (Gaziantep), which, down to about 1760, were successfully exported even to France itself.<sup>45</sup> Readers of Suraiya Faroqhi's study are left to wonder whether people who mixed and matched their house furnishings while in the Peloponnesus, after their returns completely 'forgot' about the 'exotic' items they had acquired while on duty in foreign parts. Or were these the timid beginnings of the syncretistic intérieurs which were to become widespread in the mid-nineteenth century?

Residence in mansions was a privilege enjoyed by the wealthy, or at least the comfortably-off, while institutional living was the lot of poor students and dervishes. But the vast majority of townsmen lived in single-family dwellings, and Stéphane Yérasimos has examined the two types of such habitation available in sixteenth-century Istanbul. His innovative article is based on the descriptions of almost three thousand houses documented in the three extant inventories of the Ottoman capital's pious foundations, supplemented by a set of documents related to property transactions and preserved in the archives of the Topkapı Sarayı. Yérasimos has interpreted this material with the visual imagination of the urban planner, and the results are of a kind to change our thinking about the early history of the Ottoman house.

---

<sup>45</sup> Katsumi Fukasawa, *Toilerie et commerce du Levant, d'Alep à Marseille* (Paris, 1987).

First of all, the Istanbul habitation comprised two major types of dwelling. One of them was found mainly in the inner city and often possessed several floors and a large number of rooms. In certain instances, these buildings, which Yérasimos tentatively identifies with the remnants of the pre-conquest housing stock, could be subdivided and let as collective dwellings, especially to the Jewish immigrants arriving in Istanbul after 1492. In the less populous quarters of the city, a different and often smaller house prevailed, in many cases consisting of only a ground floor. Open galleries were frequent in this type, and a courtyard was an absolute 'must'. Yérasimos points out that this type shows affinities to rural houses; with increasing density of habitation, courtyards dwindled and disappeared, making the use of open galleries detrimental to family privacy. As a result, semi-open halls (*sofas*) replaced the open galleries as spaces used during the warm season.

All this means that the 'classical' Istanbul house, with its central or lateral halls, numerous windows on the upper floors and a small or even nonexistent courtyard is a fairly late creation, by no means dominant even in the second half of the sixteenth century. These findings are so exciting to the historian of the Anatolian house because it has long been known that Ankara, whose present-day 'old town' also contains multiple-story houses of the Istanbul type, had a very different habitation in the sixteenth century. Ankara probably acquired housing in the new style when the town was rebuilt after a major earthquake in the late seventeenth century. We can now hypothesize that at the time when the better-off inhabitants of Ankara adopted the Istanbul model, this type of dwelling was itself a fairly new creation.<sup>46</sup>

These points are further developed in the last paper of our collection, by Uğur Tanyeli. Tanyeli's and Yérasimos' papers are connected by their common source base, since Tanyeli has studied some of the descriptions of Istanbul's foundation-owned houses that also figure in Yérasimos' work. Tanyeli approaches the evolution of the Ottoman house in connection with the notions of 'comfort' and 'luxury'. He roundly rejects the notion that 'function' can do much to help us understand what was going on in the minds of middle-income Istanbulers when they put up their houses. In this context, the author points out that, in most sixteenth-century foundation-owned Istanbul houses, no space was set aside for such an elementary function as cooking. He assumes that people avoided cooking in the rooms in which they lived and slept, which is possible, but not proven, so the preparation of food must normally have

<sup>46</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge, 1987): 214.



taken place in the yard. This was not only uncomfortable in winter, but also made the cooking of sophisticated dishes difficult if not impossible, so that Tanyeli perforce assumes a very simple diet. However, it would seem that, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, kitchens increased in number, even though they remained a minority phenomenon. In any event, the notion that a kitchen constitutes a functional necessity in any home was an innovation of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Similar points are made about certain installations forming part of the 'traditional' Ottoman house, such as built-in estrades (*sedir*) for people to sit on. As Emre Yalçın has shown, these were considered essential by older folk in the 1930s, but removed from his family home by a modernizing ancestor, the radio and photography enthusiast Hüsnü Bey.<sup>47</sup> Tanyeli shows that large sets of cushions, needed to furnish a room with an estrade running along three walls, which became customary in later times, were not found in the estate inventories even of well-to-do townsmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This observation tallies perfectly with impressions gained by the present author, namely that a family of better-off townspeople lived much better in the eighteenth century than their ancestors and ancestresses had done around 1500. Kitchens, *sedirs* and many other domestic conveniences were introduced to the houses of Istanbul's and Anatolia's townspeople at a time when the Empire was in profound crisis. In the early modern period, the political strength of a state and even the high-cultural florescence of its elite did not mean that ordinary townsmen lived a comfortable life – far from it.

The editors wish to thank the following friends and colleagues who greatly contributed to the publication of this volume: Mitch Cohen (Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin), Prof. Dr. Selçuk Esenbel, Dr. Meltem Toksöz (both Boğaziçi University Istanbul), Pınar Kesen MA (History Foundation, Istanbul), Dr. habil. Claus Schönig and Dr. Astrid Menz (both Orient-Institut der DMG, Istanbul).

---

<sup>47</sup> Compare the article by Yalçın in the present volume.



# SOURCES FOR OUR ANCIENT CULINARY CULTURE

Necdet Sakaoğlu\*

Social historians of the Ottoman Empire will never be in a position to completely cover the latter's varying cultures of eating, drinking and conversation (*sobbet*), nor even to produce a satisfactory overall picture of this complicated situation. Throughout the long period in which they ruled the Balkans, Anatolia and the Arab world, the Ottomans everywhere left numerous marks of their sovereignty. Yet they neither consciously promoted the diffusion of an 'Ottoman culture' that would have encompassed mundane things such as eating, drinking and conversation; nor did they even consider such a possibility. Furthermore, eating, drinking and conversation are a dimension of culture that is highly variable, changing significantly due to numerous factors, including natural conditions, climate, religious beliefs and in some special cases, even the personal preferences of powerful individuals.

More importantly, before grappling with these questions we have to come to terms with a grievous lack of sources. Our earlier writers wrote woefully little on eating, drinking and conversation; in other words, they did not leave a body of sources commensurable with the subject's central role in human life. If only more of our ancient authors had been an Evliya Çelebi or a Kâtib Çelebi; if they had at least left treatises of the stature of *Mizânü'l-Hak*!<sup>1</sup> Leaving aside lamentations for a moment, let us take a look at some of the sources left to us by the past, and which focus on 'eating and drinking'. Including the sources in Table 1, which are of special value, the number of major Turkish-language

---

\* Former member of the executive board of the Foundation for the Economic and Social History of Turkey, translated by Elisabeth Kendall.

<sup>1</sup> According to Orhan Şaik Gökyay in his article on Kâtib Çelebi in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition., the *Mizân al-hakke fi khtiyâr al-abakke* by this author is a discussion of issues controversial in mid-seventeenth-century Istanbul, and for which Katib Çelebi proposed solutions. For a translation into English, compare *The Balance of Truth*, transl. Geoffrey Lewis (London, 1957).

cookbooks with recipes taken from the practical work of chefs and printed in Arabic letters comes to about 30-40 items.<sup>2</sup>

Table 1 *Some important primary sources*

Title	Description
Kitabü't-Tabih	a 13th c. work in Arabic on eating. <sup>3</sup>
Divan-i Et'ime / Kenzü'l-İştehâ	a 15th c. Persian work of verse introducing various foods <sup>4</sup>
Tabh-ı Et'ime	Turkish ms., thought to have been translated by Muhammed bin Mahmud from an Arabic work entitled <i>Kitabü't-Tabih</i> <sup>5</sup>
Tercüme-i Kenzü'l-İştehâ	Turkish ms., transl. Ahmed Cavid from the <i>Divan-ı Et'ime</i> in 1803-4. <sup>6</sup>
Ağdiye Risalesi <sup>7</sup>	<i>Et-Terkibat fî Tabbi'l-Hulviyyat</i> , Turkish ms. containing recipes for sweets found in the Yenişir Lighthouse and brought to Istanbul, where it was cleaned up and recopied by Osman Kerim Efendi. <sup>8</sup>
Yemek Risalesi	Turkish ms, author unknown, in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) Library. <sup>9</sup>
Melceü't-Tabbahin	Turkish work, by Medical School instructor Mehmed Kâmil, includes recipes for main courses, sweets, pickles, salads etc. <sup>10</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A. Turgut Kut introduces, in addition to the handwritten works mentioned above, 36 printed books, their authors, contents and particularities, as well as some cook books of lesser importance and further items written in Turkish using the Armenian script. A. Turgut Kut, *Açıklamalı Yemek Kitapları Bibliyografyası (Eski Harfli Yazma ve Basma Eser)* (Ankara, 1985).

<sup>3</sup> The handwritten translation into Turkish is found among the Ayasofya Collection, which forms part of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. It was first brought to my attention by Prof. Dr. Günay Kut. *Kaynaklar* (İstanbul, 1984), vol. 3: 50ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Divan-ı Et'ime-i Mevlânâ Ebu İshak Hallac-ı Şirâzî* (İstanbul, 1302 [1886]).

<sup>5</sup> Ali Emîrî Collection, Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul.

<sup>6</sup> Two copies are found in the Hazine (Treasury Room) section of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

<sup>7</sup> Süheyl Ünver has examined this Turkish manuscript, which was found by Raif Yelkenci, but all trace of which has since disappeared. Compare, Süheyl Ünver, *Tarihçe 50 Türk Yemeği I* (İstanbul, 1948).

<sup>8</sup> *Et-Terkibat fî Tabbi'l-Hulviyyat* (Ankara, 1986).

<sup>9</sup> *Türk Yemekleri*, transl. M. Nejat Sefercioğlu (Ankara, 1985).

<sup>10</sup> Published as a lithograph (İstanbul, 1260 [1844]).

Papers presented at the Symposium on Turkish Cuisine organized by the Culture and Tourism Ministry in Ankara (October 31-November 1, 1981) shed light on post-Seljuk developments in Turkish cuisine and food customs, both of the palaces and among the people.<sup>11</sup> But while these papers are very important, and can be supplemented by a few primary sources still in manuscript, they do not suffice for even the most modest attempt to envisage the true dimensions of the problem: principles, staples, techniques, service at table and protocol characteristic of our bygone culinary culture remain highly obscure. Without generating a large body of written sources, the culinary culture of our Ottoman past reached maturity and went through a series of mutations in cooking and serving practices, by the way, rather similarly to our rich oral tradition linked to music and conversation. Hearths, pots, cauldrons, mortars and clay jars changed or even disappeared from our kitchens; and unfortunately, the flavors and qualities of regional Ottoman cuisine have largely been erased through a process of cultural erosion. But if traces of this culture are to be preserved, much interdisciplinary cooperation will be necessary: social scientists and historians must pool their information with that obtained by doctors, chemists and pharmacists.<sup>12</sup>

### *Seventeenth century food culture*

A seventeenth-century text highly relevant to our topic is the as yet unpublished "Book of Gatherings" by the Celveti dervish Seyyid Hasan Efendi (*Seyyid Hasan Efendi'nin Sohbetnâmesi*), in the Hazine (Treasury) section of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library; it has attracted the attention of the late Orhan Şaik Gökay, and more recently, that of Cemal Kafadar.<sup>13</sup> A few sentences from Gökay's lengthy description will give an idea of the value of this source:

- 
- 11 *Türk Mutfağı Sempozyumu Bildirileri 31 Ekim-1 Kasım 1981* (Ankara, 1982); Cemal Kafadar, "Self and others: The diary of a dervish in seventeenth-century Istanbul and first-person narratives in Ottoman literature", *Studia Islamica* LXIX (1989): 121-50.
  - 12 On the basis of a partial expenditure list for a late nineteenth-century Foreign Minister (1880-1886) I have been able to discuss the meat, bread, vegetables, fruits, fish, sugar and other foodstuffs used in the kitchen of a well-to-do Istanbul family of that period: Necdet Sakaoglu, "Vekilharç Masarifat Pusulaları (1880-1886)," *Toplumsal Tarih* 21 (September 1995): 47-51.
  - 13 This article was published in two places: "Sohbetnâme," *Tarih ve Toplum* 14 (February 1985): 56-64; Orhan Şaik Gökay, *Eski, Yeni ve Ötesi (Seçme Makaleleri I)* (İstanbul, 1995): 275-306.

*“...in this journal we read of a good number of gatherings. Most of these were [held in the course of] evening meals given among friends. Fewer occurred over occasions such as circumcision, wedding and funerary ceremonies. But the principal meals were [simply] dinners. If someone hosted the meal, the author wrote the host’s name first, then, the names of those who attended the banquet, and [finally] of those who [had been invited] but did not come.*  
*Under the heading ‘at’imeyi beyan idelüm’ (let’s list the dishes) [the author] enumerated the dishes, particularly the most exquisite ones (at’ime-i nefise) and the places where the dinners took place (matâim)...The writer referred to the conversations following the meals as ‘drinking parties’ (ışret). He then provided information on who would host these gatherings and on which evenings...”*

Gökyay’s account of the “Book of Gatherings” also highlights terminology.

*“In several places the word ‘feast’ (ziyafet) is used in place of ‘conversation’ (sohbet) and we find the word ‘feaster’(ziyafetçi) in one place not concerned with foods...sometimes the dinner guests are divided over two dinners and the writer explains this by using the Persian expression höneş daded būd (“it was a two-part meal”). Perhaps the most important of these conversations, that give the book its title, concerns the foods ceremoniously served at these festive gatherings... The types of food at these feasts of which we read in the ‘Book of Conversations’ vary in number between six and twenty-four.”*

Table 2 Three meals served to Seyyid Hasan and his friends.

Size of meal	Dishes served
24 dishes	1. kebab, 2. meat and onion stew (yahnı), 3. rice and meat sausage (mumbar), 4. stuffed cabbage (lahana dolması), 5. a Seville orange dish (turuncıye), 6. spinach, 7. spun honey (süzme), 8. chicken, 9. sour (ekşili) chicken, 10. grey mullet soup (kefal şorvası), 11. stuffed mackerel (uskuñru dolması), 12. fried striped goatfish (tekir tabası), 13. flaked pastry, 14. baklava, 15. an almond, honey and sesame oil confection (sabunı), 16. sweet saffron rice (zerde), 17. meat stew with plums (ekşi aşı), 18. tripe (sikenbe), 19. soup (şorva), 20. starch pudding (palıde), 21. grapes, 22. fruit leather (pestil), 23. ? nectar (bağrıbasdı hoşabı), 24. ? (bezarpare) confection

Size of meal	Dishes served
21 dishes	1. lamb and onion stew ( <i>kuzu kapması</i> ), 2. chicken, 3. sweet meat and onion stew ( <i>tatlı yahnı</i> ), 4. stuffed onions ( <i>soğan dolması</i> ), 5. fried meat and dough balls ( <i>kıyma lokması</i> ), 6. spinach, 7. salad, 8. pumpkin flaked pastry, 9. baklava, 10. an apple dish ( <i>üffahiye</i> ), 11. marchpane [sugared bread] ( <i>meymuniye</i> ), 12. sweetened saffron rice pilaf ( <i>pilav zerde</i> ), 13. soup, 14. strained [chicken?] breast (? <i>göğüs süzmesi?</i> ), 15. milk, 16. starch pudding, 17. apricot nectar, 18. red grape nectar, 19. grapes; afterwards 20. coffee and 21. red sugar sherbet ( <i>lohusa şerbeti</i> )
16 dishes	1. grey mullet soup, 2. chicken, 3. sour chicken, 4. soup, 5. stewed kebab ( <i>tencere kebabı</i> ), 6. baklava, 7. starch pudding, 8. apricot nectar ( <i>kayısı hoşafı</i> ), 9. apple nectar ( <i>elma hoşafı</i> ). After dinner: 10-16. scented and sugared sweets ( <i>bulutiyat-ı mümessek ve sükkkerisi</i> ).

After the meal, fragrances were to be applied that resemble the cologne we offer as a courtesy today, and which the author calls *ta'tir* and *tâvid* (scenting and habituating [probably the guests, so that they will return]). At one point we find the expression “feast for the ear”, presumably a recital of some kind. This involved the author, a Celveti dervish (*fakir*) and six [other] persons, along with the host of the banquet (*sahib-i sohbet*): “and they held a feast for the ear in the enclosed bay window (*sehnîşinde*).”<sup>14</sup>

#### *Evliya Çelebi (and others) on foods and food culture*

We believe that if the information on food and drink contained in the travel journal of Evliya Çelebi is scrutinized, enough material will emerge for a book-length study. While this is not our aim at present, the following lines, taken from the description of Kütahya, may serve to indicate the richness of the material. This is what Evliya Çelebi has to say:

“Grapes grow there, but since they do not taste good they do not figure among the [local] products worthy of praise. And the registers record twenty-four types of pears, and there are seven varieties of juicy and kerneled cherries.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 291-96. Because the custom of drinking water with meals did not exist in ancient culinary culture, such beverages as nectars (*hoşaf*), sherbets, syrups, a drink made of grape syrup (*pekmez suyu*), and thinned, salted yoghurt (*ayran*) were generally consumed. They have been little studied, but would definitely repay closer investigation.

Kütahya trotters (*paça*) are known as far as Arabia and Persia, they are white and clear and delicious, similar to bone marrow. And the oven-cooked kebab and that cooked over charcoals (? *gerdesi*) resemble that of Bursa its [i. e. Kütahya's] food and drink is very inexpensive. Even an *okka* (2.8 lb.) of fine white bread [costs] a small, low-standard (? *kuş gözü*) *akçe*, an *okka* of ox meat (*sığır eti*), one *akçe*, but a liver costs three *akçe*.<sup>15</sup>

In his work introducing the foods of the period of Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror, titled *Eski Tıp Kitaplarımızda Yemek İçmek ve Perhiz* ("Food, Drink and Diet in our Ancient Books of Medicine"), the late Prof. Dr. A. Süheyl Ünver says:

*"almost all the surviving adaptations, translations and compilations written by our various physicians from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, that is, up to the first printing of Hekim Şanizâde Ataullah Efendi's three-volume medical treatise titled "Miyarü'l Etibba" ("Medical Standards") remain in manuscript. When studying [these texts], even though there is often no separate, explicit mention of food, drink and diet, it is still possible to encounter rather useful information on these subjects."*

After transmitting the views of Ebubekir Razi concerning the connection between medical treatment on the one hand, and food and drink on the other, the author recalls that we can find works which "absolutely demand to be studied in [the context of] our medical history, on account of their prescriptions for food and drink and the principles of diet regimens." On the basis of the records of the palace kitchen accounts of Mehmed the Conqueror's reign (1451-1481), Prof. Ünver classifies the provisions consumed in the following manner:

Table 3: Foodstuffs used by the palace kitchen of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror.<sup>16</sup>

Type of foodstuff	Foodstuff
pulses and grains	bulgur wheat, rice, flour, lentils, wheat starch, chick peas
vegetables	leek ( <i>pirasa</i> ), cabbage, spinach, chard ( <i>paça</i> ), turnip, cucumber ( <i>bıyar</i> ), onion
fats and oils	olive oil, sheep's tail fat ( <i>kuyruk</i> ), clarified butter ( <i>sade yağ</i> )
herbs and spices ( <i>efavil</i> )	musk, saffron, olives ( <i>zeytin</i> ), parsley ( <i>maydanoz</i> ), mustard ( <i>barda</i> ), garlic ( <i>sarmısak</i> ), coriander ( <i>keşniş</i> ), mint, cumin

15 *Evlîya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671-1672)* (İstanbul, 1935), vol. 9: 25-26.  
16 *Türkiye Gıda Hijyeni Tarihinde Fatih Devri Yemekleri* (İstanbul, 1952): 57, 91.



Type of foodstuff	Foodstuff
	( <i>kinyon</i> ), salt from the province of Wallachia ( <i>Eflâk tuzı</i> ), gum resin ( <i>sakız</i> ), vinegar ( <i>sirke</i> ), pepper ( <i>fülfül</i> ), cinnamon ( <i>tarçın</i> ), cloves ( <i>karanfil</i> ), amber
animal products	eggs ( <i>yumurta</i> ), chicken, cheese, milk, yoghurt, cream, oysters ( <i>istirdiye</i> ), prawns ( <i>karides</i> ), sheep's trotters, geese, ox tripe ( <i>sığır içkembesi</i> ), honey, gamebirds ( <i>av kuşları</i> ) and fish.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> chapters of Ahmed Bican Efendi's work titled "Dürr-i Mecnûn" ("Hidden Pearls"), which I am currently preparing for publication, a good deal of information is found concerning the fifteenth-century culinary culture of our ancestors.<sup>17</sup> In consonance with the assumption that bodily health was due to the harmony of the 'humors' of which the human body was supposed to consist, the writer suggests that those who are hasty in speech and work, and do not husband their strength, should eat "cold-wet" foods, such as cucumber, squash (*kabak*) and watermelon. On the other hand, those who are sensitive and lean, dark or ashen-colored, should eat "hot-wet" things, such as sweet melon (*tatlı keşun*), grapes and eggs. According to Ahmed Bican Efendi, God created various plants, that "each one would be a medicine for every ache, a treatment for every illness," and He informed Lokman Hekim, the primordial physician, of their existence.

Ahmed Bican Efendi emphasizes that 774 of the plants on the face of the earth are for 'man', presumably meaning the inhabitants of the Muslim world, while the rest are for the people of China. At great length he explains the beneficial uses of rhubarb (*revand-ı çini*), lemon balm (*oğul otu*), cubeb (*kebabe*), ginger (*şencefil*), cinnamon (*darçın*), pepper (*fülfül*), nutmeg (*cevş-i bevva*), coconut (*cevş-i Hindî*), galingale (*havlican*), mace of nutmeg (*besbase*), cardamom (*kakule*), cloves (*karanfil*), Indian hyacinth (*sünbül-i Hindî*), ? (*fevkalkarasi*), ? (*yerkana*), violet (*anduz*), ? (*yelmeşlik*), "buy?" (lit: spice or fragrance), gum of galbanum (*kasni*), colocynth (*hançal*), white hellebore (*kar çiçeği*), scammony plant (*mahmudiye*), marshmallow seeds (*hatmi tohumu*), zedoary (*zernebad*), behen root (*behen kızı*), "buzıdan" (green-winged meadow orchis, *Orchis morio*), *Phlomis angustifolia*, *Verbascum lychnitis* (*sığır kuyruğu*), ? (*tudda*), *opapanax* gum (*caşşiran*), wild sesame (*cebel-i hunk*), ? (*cinbane*), saffron, mustard, dried caltrop (*besek kurusu*), a variety of parsley (*resdene*), hartwort/wild carrot (*sakakıl*), "seytreç" (a very acrid and caustic Indian medicine), marjoram (*güveyi otu*), turnip

<sup>17</sup> This work appears in the series *Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları*, published by the Turkish History Foundation.

(*turp*), gum euphorbium (*ferfiyun*), colocynth (*keargı deliği*), cumin, chamomile (*papatya*), Ptyocis ajowan (*nanhun*, probably for *nanhıvâb*), lemon, edible pistachios (*fistık yemişi*), jujube (*unnab*), pine nuts (? *sanaber yemişi*), pistachio nutmeats (*fistık içi*), sweet melons (*kevin tatlısı*), watermelons, cucumbers, apples, pears, figs (*incir*), dates (*hurma*), wild chicory (*hindiba*), grapes, sweet pomegranates (*nar tatlısı*), olives, quince, etc. He also details how these plants are to be used, including directions on the manner of eating or imbibing these items after the addition of honey, milk and vinegar, cooking in oil, or sprinkling on other foods.<sup>18</sup>

*Derviş Nidaî Mehmed Efendi on the medicinal uses of food and drink*

But we have located yet another work that is even more closely connected with the subject of eating, drinking and conversation within the Ottoman social milieu, namely the “Menafiü’n-Nas” of Derviş Nidaî Mehmed Efendi.<sup>19</sup> Nidaî devotes the 44th “chapter” (*bab*) of his work to beverages (including wines) and sweet syrups. He begins with an introduction: “In this chapter let us declare

<sup>18</sup> *Hazâ Kitab-ı Dürr-i Mekkûn* (manuscript in my possession) fols. 68-81. A plant known as *yelmeşik otu* is used both as a pain killer and to get rid of bedbugs: *Derleme Sözlüğü* (Ankara, 1963-82). *Cinbane* may be a misspelling of *cilbane* edible vetch, *lathyrus sativas*.

<sup>19</sup> Adnan Adıvar writes that Derviş Nidaî has been confused with Kaysunî-zade, the physician of Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566). Compare Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim*, ed. A. Kazancıgil, S. Tekeli (4th edition, İstanbul, 1982): 115-16. In the autobiography appended to his work, Nidaî explains that, while he was the instructor of Sahib Giray in Crimea, he came to İstanbul as an ambassador. At this time he was the victim of a slander and thrown in prison, only being released after seven years; he also tells us that a hundred-year old Sufi master (*pir*) taught him medicine. Dr. Osman Şevki claims that Nidaî was under the patronage of Prince Selim (later to become Selim II) and that, coming to İstanbul upon Selim’s ascension to the throne, he was appointed as Chief Physician. Osman Şevki also informs us that, in addition to “Menafiü’n-Nas”, there is another work by Nidaî titled “Tababet-i Beşeriye ve Baytariye” (Human and Veterinary Medicine). Compare Bursalı Dr. Osman Şevki, *Beş Buçuk Asırlık Türk Tababet Tarihi* (İstanbul, 1341 [1925]): 168-69. “Menafiü’n-Nas” was written for Selim II (1566-1574) “in 60 chapters” in 1566-1567. See also Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* (İstanbul, 1961), vol. 1: 570-71.

A large number of handwritten copies of “Menafiü’n-Nas” are to be found in the Medical History Institutes of different universities and in public libraries, particularly Topkapı Palace Museum, İstanbul University, and the Süleymaniye collections.

and report on the acceptable beverages, their effects and uses” (*bu babda makbul şarabların san’atin menfaatın beyan edüb bildirelim*). Beginning with a drink based on pomegranate juice (*şarab-i rummanî*), the author goes on to describe the manner of concocting a series of beverages, along with the latter’s qualities. For example, in discussing reduced wine (*şarab-i müselles*) he gives the following explanation:

*Let it be known that the proper method is to call sweet red wine “ruby” (lâli); those that are yellow in color and those that approach redness are called “emerald wine” (şarab-i zümridî), and those [wines derived] from sweet white grapes are known as “rust-colored wine” (şarab-i reynanî). But their benefit (ifade) is in the chasing away of tears (tasfiye-i derme), in the restoring of the constitution (ıslah-ı mizaç) and in the reinforcing of one’s [sexual] potency (takviye-i cima).<sup>20</sup>*

In the 45th chapter, he describes the sweets (*bulviyyat*) that augment health and strength, and “which are useful for [the increasing of] sexual desire (*sehv*) and for the increasing of potency.” For example, he offers the following specialty, which increases sexual powers to an unbelievable degree:

*Eat the exterior of red carrots, and take the membrane [?] and the essence within, and, after grating it, place it in a scarf and [then] in an earthenware pot, sealing it tightly. Cook in a clay oven or over coals. After it dissolves, strain half [of the amount] with 20 dirhems of purified honey. Afterwards, grind together one dirhem each of ginger, mace of nutmeg, cloves, cinnamon and colocynth, three dirhems of saffron and a half dirhem each of Indian hyacinth and mastic (mastaki). Sift, then add the honey to half of the amount, mixing and integrating thoroughly.<sup>21</sup>*

In the 48th, 49th and 50th chapters, Nidaî describes the “combined and individual foods (*miürekekeb ve müfred gıdalar*) beneficial to the human body.” He

<sup>20</sup> Menafiü’n-Nas’ (my own copy), pp. 64-70.

<sup>21</sup> “Kızıl havucun dışını yuyub zarını ve içindeki özünü giderüb renedenen çeke ve çölmeğe koyub ağzını berkide. Tennurda veya kömür üzerinde pişüre. Şöyle ki hâl ola. Andan, yüz dirhem kefi alınmış bal ile nim kıvam edüb süze. Andan, zencebil ve cevz-i bevâ ve karanfil ve darçın ve havlican birer dirhem ve zafran üç dirhem ve sümbül-i Hindî ve mustaki buçuk dirhem cümleyi sabk edüb cem’ ile andan eleye. Dahi nim kıvama bal kata, tamam karışdura ve alışdura...” *Ibid.*, 70-71.



then states that “it is known that there are both agreement and opposition between the body and the palate. Thus, my friend, it is necessary that a person should employ delicious foods and beverages. Let him eat foods agreeable to his own constitution.”

The author then lists these “combined foods” and, of the ‘individual foods’, he mentions their qualities and gives instructions for preparation. He thus provides an overview over some of the foods known to a well-traveled Ottoman, including, among the starchy items, wheat, wheat starch, rice, barley, millet, chick peas, broad beans, Jerusalem artichokes (*tiiffabii’l-arṣ*), bread baked in an clay oven (*tandır ekmeği*) and okra (*ökre*).<sup>22</sup> Among meats, we find a larger selection: lamb, kid (*oğlak*), billy goat (*teke*), she-goat (*keçi*), rabbit, horse, camel, head and eyes of [livestock] (*baş, göz etleri*), brain (*beyin*), udder (*pistan eti*), liver (*öyken*), kidneys (*böbrek*), heart (*yüregi*), shank bone marrow (*incik iliği*), hen and rooster (*tavuk ve horoz etleri*).

Incidental information is frequently included; thus for instance Nidaî recounts, at length, that rooster meat increases the amount of semen (*döl*). This meat should be cooked in water with salt, chickpeas and *besvayic* (an herbal root similar to pistachio). He also tells his readers that soup made of young chickens (*piliç çorbasi*) strengthens sexual desire and that weak, pale and exhausted persons should, over an entire week, eat good-quality (*pâkize*) bread and the soup made of fat, fleshy chickens. Quail (*bıldırın*) and partridge (*keklik*) are also supposed to increase sexual potency (*kuvvet-i bâhiye*). Fish (*lâhm-i mahi*) should be marinated in vinegar (*sirke ile muamele edilmesi*). Our author also explains the benefits of milk, different types of turnip (*fücül, şalgam*), beets (*pancar*), spinach, eggplant, quince compote, pistachios, almonds, pears and cherries.

### *Derviş Nidaî Mehmed Efendi as a practical cook*

A sampling of the very special recipes provided by Nidaî Efendi have been cited here, as they give an idea about the first-class foods eaten by a well-to-do Ottoman of the sixteenth century:

<sup>22</sup> Given modern Turkish usage, this seems the most probable equivalent. However another plant, not a source of starch, is also known by this name. According to Hayatî zade Mustafa Feyzi Efendi, this word can also be used for chamomile (*Marricaria chamomila* L.) Hayatî zade Mustafa Feyzi Efendi, *Yabani Bitkiler Sözlüğü*, ed. Hadiye Tunçer (Ankara, 1978), vol. 1: 81.

*Pigeon Meat and Onion Stew (Güvercin yahnisi)*

*Slice a quantity of onion into water and add a little sweet olive oil. Cook over a low flame. Several pigeon chicks should be cooked separately. Ladle them over the cooked onion and mix. Finally, grind one dirhem each of cinnamon, colocynth and orchid bulb (salep), sprinkle on and mix. (The author explains that this soup, which he characterizes as the most beneficial food for the human constitution, can increase sexual potency, as well as prevent aging and paralysis; he advises that it be eaten with unleavened (mayasız) bread).*

*Lamb and Onion Stew (Kuzu yahnisi)*

*Cook lamb meat which is neither too lean nor too fatty with white onion and let it stand in its broth overnight. Add one dirhem each of cinnamon and cardamom, a half dirhem of cloves and a pinch (çekirdek) of musk to a portion of the broth and cook. Mix it with the meat and boil it covered so that the steam doesn't escape (this, too, increases potency and calms the body).*

*Young Chicken Kebab*

*After slicing the chicken very thin (yassı yassı yarılp) and salting it, cook it on a hot tile (kızgın kiremit) being careful not to burn it. Grind five dirhem of black cumin (çörek otu), four dirhem of sweet flag (or orris, lisanü'l-asvar), three dirhem of goat's beard (teke sakalı), a half dirhem of coconut (Hindustan cevizi) and sprinkle over the kebab (It is emphasized that chicken kebab is a "night food," unfortunately the exact implications of this particular quality are not spelt out. But in the Ottoman palace, this kebab was prepared in the kitchens of the small aviary (Kuşhane), adjoining the harem, and then sent inside. The author adds that his acquaintance with this dish is due to Plato, and that, among its twenty-seven benefits, the main one is the increasing of sexual potency).*

*Kebab*

*The meat should be hung on a hook and left for one day. Season it with savory salts. Cut some white onions in two, along with their peel. They should be placed in a frying pan, first the meat, then the onion. Cook over a low flame. The juices from the fried onions should be then drizzled over the cooking kebab. Fry enough that no blood remains, but not so much as to dry out the meat. Afterwards, cut into very small pieces and sprinkle with cinnamon, cloves, mint and musk. (One hour after eating this kebab, which should be consumed together with unleavened bread, one must drink*

*honey sherbet boiled with ginger and cloves. It is explained that this will naturally increase one's sexual potency, and that it also works for weariness and exhaustion).*

#### *Meat with Eggs*

*Beat twenty egg yolks with salt. Cook some rump roast (but eti) in a frying pan until the blood is cooked out of it. Pour the beaten egg yolks [over the meat]. Cook. Sprinkle with ginger and remove from heat. (It is also advised that this dish be eaten with unleavened bread, and it is claimed that two hours after ingestion, sexual potency will be increased).*

#### *Chicken and onion stew (Fakume-i tavuk)*

*Boil two young, plump chickens in unsalted water. Remove from water and chop up normally (usulünce doğranır). Mince 15 onions. Cover the bottom of a boureka pan with a layer of onion and sprinkle it with salt, two dirhem of ground cinnamon and a half dirhem of ginger. Then put a layer of the chicken, and cover it with another layer of onion, adding more salt and spices. Finally, cover with a bit of sweet oil. Place the pan [over?] a light flame. Baste when necessary with the water used for boiling the chicken. When the juice is gone, remove from heat.<sup>23</sup>*

#### *Conclusion*

Important though the study of didactic sources such as Nidaî's work may be, and we are only at the beginning of our efforts, yet much more is needed. In addition to oral history, the study of customs, both of those still in existence and those defunct but recorded by reliable twentieth-century witnesses, can supplement the results obtained from literary and didactic texts. This labor is well worth the best efforts of social historians, as our culture of food, drink and conversation has already shown itself to be rich, complex and important.

Through our efforts, narrow in scope as they still are, we have been able to establish a number of factors as especially important in the development of our culinary culture. Medical men were well aware of the healing potentialities of numerous foods and drugs, and used them as treatments for aches and pains, and more generally, for healing the sick. Food was also something to be distributed, and by lavishly entertaining his guests, the host of a banquet held upon the occasion of a wedding, religious holiday or funeral, might display his wealth to all comers.

---

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 79-95.

Religious considerations also played an important role in Ottoman food culture. Thus alcoholic beverages were never imbibed at festive meals; while social groups consuming wine did exist, gatherings over drink and conversation (*içkili muhabbetler*) were kept apart from festive celebrations, which possessed a certain sanctity. After all, congratulatory send-off feasts for pilgrims (*hacı tehniyeleri*), meals combined with religious observances (*tevbid yemekleri*), hospitality, wedding and circumcision feasts (*düğün ve hıtan ziyafetleri*), all were somewhat connected to religious practices.

Certainly the culture we have discussed here was Ottoman in character, but to be precise, it had antecedents in the eating and drinking cultures of central Asia, whose impact might be greater or lesser according to the social milieu. Such reminiscences made for local variety: in addition to the 'standard' dishes found in many Ottoman provinces, special foods were often prepared, using locally available ingredients. Within the centuries-long culture of the Ottoman Turks, there were thus very great differences between the culinary cultures of Anatolian regions, on the one hand, and the very special Istanbul milieu on the other. If, by rough approximation, we estimate that there were some thirty local dishes for each of the roughly one hundred regions into which we may divide up present-day Turkey, that gives us around three thousand varieties of foods. As a telling example, I might list some dishes whose names are still remembered in our day, but rarely if ever served, such as *cilveli tirit* (a dish made of bread soaked in gravy), *pekmezli elma dolması* (stuffed apples in grape syrup), *kabak sarması* (squash or pumpkin-stuffed grape leaves), *kuru et tiridi* (dry meat broth), *incir kavurması* (fried meat with figs), *badıç aşı*, *keloğlanın fesi*, *gendime pilavı* (wheat pilav), *kellecoş* (boiled sheep's head). These and other treats my grandmother, seventy-five years older than myself, still used to prepare during my childhood, back in the 1940s.



## Appendix

A listing of the foods mentioned in the “Sohbetname” according to Gökyay’s study:

- a) Main courses: stuffed fish (*balık dolması*), Agnus castus (if used as a vegetable? *beşparmak*), grilled meatball kebab (*cızbız kebabı*), calf’s heads, meatballs à la Davutpaşa (*Davutpaşa köftesi*), stuffed grape leaves (*dolma*), meat stew with plums, sour meats with golden oriole and stock dove (*ekşilice, yanında sarı asma ve üveyik*), sour meat and onion stew (*ekşi yabni*), rice with meat (*etli pilav*), pigeon (*güvercin*), sand smelt (*gümüş balığı*), boiled rice pudding (*berise/lapa*), wheat boiled with meat (*etli berise/keşkek*), spinach, stuffed squash (*kabak dolması*), squash potash (*kabak kalyesi*), black hen (*kara tavuk*), goose (*kaş*), kebab, grey mullet, ? (*Keşe kebabı*), celery root (*kereviz*), fried meat and dough balls, lamb, lamb and onion stew, stuffed cabbage (*lahana dolması*), stuffed “bull’s tongue” (orris, or sweet flag) (*lisan-ı sevir dolması*), bluefish (*lişer balığı*), mushrooms (*mantar*), rice (*pilav*), young chicken (*piliç*), boiled chicken (*pişmiş tavuk*), stuffed fish (*semek dolması*), turnip (*şalgam*), stewed and fried turnip (*şalgam boranisi*), stuffed onion, sweet meat and onion stew, chicken, striped goatfish, stuffed striped goatfish, meat and onion stew, egg, eggplant cubes (*yumurta/patlıcan lokması*),
- b) Soups: Fish soup, wheat soup (*buğday çorbası*), soup, tripe soup (*işkenbe çorbası*), gizzard soup (*katı çorbası*), grey mullet soup, vermicelli (*sa’riye*).
- c) Breads: “bundle” flaked pastry (*bohça böreği*), flake pastry, wheat (*bürr*), round flake pastry (*fincan böreği*), spinach flake pastry, squash flake pastry (*kabak böreği*), pancakes, fritters (*pişi*), “ragif” (a thin bread without hard crust), flake pastry sambusa in syrup (*katmer samsa*), hot, fried baklava (*kızartılmış sıcak baklava*), layered flake pastry in milk (*sütlü katmer*), fresh pastry strips cooked in meat and milk (*sütlü tutmaç*), vermicelli (*erişte*), string vermicelli (*tel şehriye*), turnip flake pastry (*şalgam böreği*), ground meat and yoghurt pastry (*tatar böreği*), flake pastry cooked in a saucepan (*tencere böreği*), bite-sized flake pastry (*ufak böreği*), bite-sized squash flake pastry (*ufak kabak böreği*).
- d) Nectars: Pear nectar (*armut hoşabı*), quince nectar (*ayva hoşabı*), ? (*bağrıbasdı hoşabı*), apple nectar, plum nectar (*erik hoşabı*), dried red grape nectar (*mevîz-i sürh hoşabı*), Syrian grape nectar (*Şam üzümü hoşabı*), wild apricot nectar (*zerdalu hoşabı*).
- e) Beverages: honey sherbet (*asel şerbeti*), coffee with fragrance (*amberli kahve*), rose water sherbet (*gülâb şerbeti*), coffee with date flower sherbet (*kâvi*



- kahve*), lemonade (*limon şarabı*), red sugar sherbet (*sükkeri şerbet-i vilâdet/lohusa şerbeti*), milk, sugar sherbet (*şeker şerbeti*), aloe sherbet (*öd şerbeti*).
- f) Fruits: white figs (*ak incir*), green plums (*can eriği*), sour black mulberries (*ekşi karadut*), fox grapes (*dilki kuyruğu üzümü*), sour oranges (*ekşi turunç*), dried grapes (*evenk üzümü*), “ferik” apples (*ferik elması*), watermelon (*karpuz*), melon (*kavun*), cherries (*kıras*), spotted [?] grapes (*kumla üzümü*), “finger” grapes (*parmak üzümü*), white raisin grapes (*razaküüzümü*), silver apples (*sinap elması*), goat grapes [literally: black goat’s udder grapes] (*sıyah keçi memesi üzümü*), sweet oranges (*tatlı turunç*), “seven-fold” grapes (*yediveren üzümü*).
- g) Sweetmeats: white helvah (*ak helva*), baklava, strained apples (*elma süzmesi*), pear confection (*emrudiye*), medicinal musk [?] (*deva-yı misk*), rose jam (*gülbeşeker*), helvah, fragrant sweets and sugar helvah (*bulviyat-ı mümessek ve sükkeri helva*), honey-less *bezarpâre* (*bezarpâre-i bî-aseh*), sweet bread with marzipan (*hurmaiye*), milk and rice flour pudding (*muhallebi*), mint paste (*nane macunu*), starch pudding, fruit leather, almond, honey and sesame oil confection, quince compote (*seferceliye*), sugar baklava, milk, cereal and fruit pudding (*sütlü aşura aşı*), galingale paste (*vec macunu*).
- h) Side dishes: honey (*aseh*), pastrami (*bastırma*), pepper (*biber*), kashkaval cheese (*kaşkaval peyniri*), cream (*kaymak*), pickled mint (*nane turşu*), sausage (*sucuk*), *tulum* cheese, pickles.



POLISH EMBASSIES IN ISTANBUL  
OR  
HOW TO SPONGE ON YOUR HOST WITHOUT  
LOSING YOUR SELF-ESTEEM

Dariusz Kołodziejczyk\*

In seventeenth-century Europe, the Poles and the Ottomans may be considered the most notorious representatives of the 'baroque mentality', notwithstanding the very different socio-political systems in which they happened to live. Every Polish embassy sent to the Ottoman capital provoked a real vanity fair, in which both parties tried to demonstrate their superiority and to eclipse each other in ceremonial glamor. The more pompous and numerous a Polish embassy was, the more ardent were the Ottoman efforts to induce the 'infidels' to prostrate themselves at the Sublime Threshold.

Although considerable suites accompanied certain Polish ambassadors already in the 1500s, the splendor of the great embassies reached its peak in the first half of the seventeenth century. Along with the missions of Jerzy Ossoliński to Rome (1633), and of Krzysztof Opaliński to Paris (1645), the mission of Krzysztof Zbaraski to Istanbul in 1622 aroused considerable comment, both in Istanbul and at Christian courts. When Zbaraski entered the Ottoman capital at the head of a thousand horsemen, his servant was ironically asked by the grand vizier whether his lord had arrived to conquer Constantinople, or just to rob the imperial treasury.<sup>1</sup> This type of humor must have

---

\* Warsaw University.

<sup>1</sup> "Poselstwo Krzysztofa Xięcia Zbaraskiego do Turcyi w roku 1622," *Dziennik Wileński: Historia i literatura* 3 (1827): 3-27, 101-25, 237-73, 339-71, n.b. p. 101; quoted also by Victor Ostapchuk, "The Ottoman Black Sea Frontier and the Relations of the Porte with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy, 1622-1628," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1989), pp. 25-26. According to various reports, the train of Zbaraski consisted of 700 to 1200 men, cf. *ibid.*, n. 5 and *Historia dyplomacji polskiej, 1572-1795*, ed. Zbigniew Wójcik, (Warsaw, 1982), vol. 2: 141.

amused Ottoman dignitaries, as in 1678 another grand vizier, namely Kara Mustafa, was reported to have commented on the embassy of Jan Gniński, consisting of 'merely' 450 men, that if the ambassador "meant to use so numerous a band to take Istanbul, his followers were very few, but if he intended to salute the lofty threshold of the Sublime Porte, he had brought too many with him."<sup>2</sup>

Such embassies resulted in tremendous expenses for both states. While the royal treasury along with the diet of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had to provide the appropriate sums for customary gifts and representation, the Porte usually assigned a certain amount of money – called *ta'yin* – in order to cover the embassy's food and accommodation expenses. Given the large numbers of participants in Polish solemn legations to Istanbul, the latter caused a rising irritation on the Ottoman side, since along with the *ta'yin*, the embassy members were entitled to gifts in kind assigned from the imperial treasury. For instance, during the official audience, all embassy members expected to be dressed in precious caftans, highly valued in Poland.

Participation in a 'Turkish embassy', partly at Ottoman expense, was considered a useful stage in the political education and career of a young Polish nobleman. The numerous Polish magnates and dignitaries who sent their sons to Istanbul as members of ambassador's suites demonstrate the popularity of this assumption. Thus for instance, the future Polish king Jan Sobieski, then aged twenty-four, participated in Mikołaj Bieganowski's embassy to Istanbul in 1654.<sup>3</sup>

The activity of the Poles in Istanbul was by no means limited to political negotiations in the public service. A mission to the Porte was often treated as a kind of financial investment. This had to be made profitable through the commercial activity of the embassy members and their agents. For instance, in 1742 the Polish envoy Paweł Benoe returned to Poland with fifty carts loaded with oriental goods.<sup>4</sup> In spite of a loudly proclaimed contempt towards any commercial activity, Polish noble visitors to Istanbul anticipated the reputation enjoyed by their twentieth-century successors, noble or not. In the royal instruction given to Jan Szczęsny Herburt in May 1598 we read that the envoy

<sup>2</sup> Demetrius Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1734-1735): 287. According to Cantemir the embassy consisted of 700 men. For more precise calculations see *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. Zbigniew Wójcik (Warsaw, 1966): 335.

<sup>3</sup> Zbigniew Wójcik, *Jan Sobieski 1629 – 1696* (Warsaw, 1983): 50-51.

<sup>4</sup> *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI-XVIII wieku*: 415.

“should not buy and trade, like other envoys did before him to the shame of the crown.”<sup>5</sup> Needless to say, the trade was too profitable to be stopped by such reprimands. The registers of the sultans’ council (*mühimme defterleri*) contain numerous orders and private commercial privileges granted by the Porte on request of the Polish envoys.<sup>6</sup> In addition, numerous merchants followed the ambassadors’ trains, hoping to benefit from the tax-exemptions usually granted to embassy members.

No matter how instructive and economically profitable were the ‘Turkish legations,’ their gloomy aspects were not negligible either. Andrzej Kamiński has recently studied the diplomatic relations between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy in the late seventeenth century. According to his conclusions, during their embassies Polish diplomats in Russia were kept courteously but firmly in virtual imprisonment.<sup>7</sup> Although the supervision of foreigners, for which the Russians were to become notorious, never reached the same level in the cosmopolitan Ottoman capital, elements of the Byzantine ceremonial appear to have belonged to the common heritage of Moscow and Constantinople. Foreign diplomats were often subject to deliberate humiliations and psychological pressures. The ceremony of prostration before the imperial throne, in which a foreign envoy was forced to a deep bow by two special officials (*kapıs*), always led to violent recriminations and was resented by the envoys, who in protest, described themselves as free citizens of the Commonwealth.<sup>8</sup> In 1667, one of the richest Polish magnates, Hieronim Radziejowski, already sick, was forced to move, within a few hours, from his temporary residence to a small and smelly caravanserai. This humiliation may have hastened his death.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Kupiami i handlami bawić się nie ma, co snadź inni posłowie i przed nim z niesławą koronną czynili*, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Warsaw), Libri Legationum, sign. 27, fol. 61b.

<sup>6</sup> See Başbakanlık Arşivi BBA-OA (Istanbul), MD 7, p. 643, No. 1791 (privilege for Piotr and Krzysztof Zborowski, 1568); MD 31, p. 64, Nos. 162 – 65 (privileges for Jan Sienieński, 1577, allowing tax-free purchases of wine, wool, and horses); Düvel-i Ecnebiye 55/1 (Leh ecnebi defteri), p. 33, Nos. 36 – 39 (privileges for Stanisław Chomentowski, issued in 1714).

<sup>7</sup> Andrzej Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy: Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686 – 1697* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993): 146.

<sup>8</sup> *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. 2: 290-91.

<sup>9</sup> *Dyplomaci w dawnych czasach. Relacje staropolskie z XVI – XVIII stulecia*, ed. Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski (Cracow, 1959): 334; Adam Kersten, *Hieronim Radziejowski, Studium władzy i opozycji* (Warsaw, 1988): 595-96.

Given such circumstances, it is not surprising that some Polish diplomats took to excessive drinking or reacted to their precarious situation by arrogant behavior. Yet another (and certainly much safer!) way to compensate for the stress and humiliation was to write a heroic or ironical report on the embassy after returning to Warsaw. In 1630 Aleksander Piaseczyński relayed his reply to the Ottoman dignitary Murtaza Paşa in the following terms:

*"I do not come from Diyarbakır or Algiers, but from the great king [of Poland-Lithuania], a lord equal to yours. Talk to me as to a free envoy, and not as to a slave of your master."*<sup>10</sup>

Such proud answers of the Polish envoys were afterwards propagated throughout the Commonwealth and served well to strengthen the self-esteem of the Polish nobility. However, it is not always certain whether the reported phrases were ever voiced (and translated!) in front of Ottoman dignitaries, particularly in the presence of the sultan. Thus after his return from Istanbul in 1634, the Polish ambassador Andrzej Trzebiński boasted of his conversation with Sultan Murad IV, in which he claimed to have informed the Ottoman ruler of his own master's status as a sovereign lord.<sup>11</sup> This conversation was often credulously repeated in the Polish historiography, although there are serious doubts about its authenticity. To anybody familiar with the Ottoman ceremonial of that time, it seems unlikely that a foreign envoy would be allowed to whisper a word in the presence of the 'omnipotent *padişah*', to say nothing about a free dispute with the sultan on an almost equal footing.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański w I połowie XVII w. (Muratowicz, Piaseczyński, Lubienski)*, ed. Adam Walaszek (Cracow, 1980): 79.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by Leszek Podhorodecki, "Wojna polsko-turecka 1633-1634 r." in: *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 20 (1976): 23-72, n.b. pp. 58-59.

<sup>12</sup> On Ottoman ceremonial concerning foreign envoys see Gülrü Necipoglu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991): 96-110. Pál Fodor vividly describes the reforms of palace ceremonial introduced under Süleyman the Magnificent: "In the first decade of his reign, he introduced the practice of remaining seated when receiving ambassadors. During the audiences, he sat on a throne instead of the formerly used sofa, and unlike his predecessors, he either kept silent or only uttered a few words. The latter practice struck such firm roots in the etiquette of the Ottoman rulers that Koçi Bey described secretiveness and little talk as the main attributes of Sultanic dignity," see Pál Fodor, "Sultan, Imperial Council, Grand Vizier: Changes in the Ottoman Ruling

Thus when reading the reports on solemn audiences held in the Topkapı Palace, and on the food served to the Polish envoys, we should keep this context always in mind. The Ottomans treated these ceremonies as yet another tool to underline their sovereign's superiority. Yet no matter how tasty the food served to the Polish envoys, these noblemen's reactions were often quite different from those intended and expected by their hosts. The report of the ambassador Wojciech Miaskowski presented to the king in 1640 shows that the Ottoman efforts to impress the 'infidels' often produced unexpected results. As was often the case when a banquet was offered in the imperial *divan*, the feast, as Miaskowski noted, began after the distribution of pay to janissaries. But although he was seated at an honorable place together with the grand vizier, the Polish ambassador was quite oblivious to his surroundings, for he was completely preoccupied with the lack of knives, describing the whole feast as a "scratching party"<sup>13</sup>

Another member of this embassy, Zbigniew Lubieniecki, gave more details in his diary. Less lucky than the ambassador, Lubieniecki with his fellow nobles was seated outside the *divan* hall and served food in huge bowls. While the meal in the *divan* hall consisted of twenty dishes, the members of the ambassador's suite were offered only five, all listed by Lubieniecki. These were: fried hen with borsch, hen roast, mutton with broth, sweet rice with sugar, and rice porridge. According to the author, nothing was tasty enough for his palate, and in addition, it was too early in the day to be really hungry. This last opinion was not however shared by the janissaries. As soon as the Poles left their place at the *sofra*, the soldiers "grabbed the remaining food like dogs," drowning their head-gear in the soup and arousing the haughty disgust of the Polish gentleman.<sup>14</sup>

Elite and the Formation of the Grand Vizieral telhis," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 47 (1994): 67-85, n.b. p. 80.

<sup>13</sup> "Prędko tam ten bankiet albo raczej drapanina odprawiła się, bo nikomu noża nie dano," ed. Adam Przyboś *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, (Warsaw, 1985): 93.

<sup>14</sup> *My po jednym wstawając ledwośmy ustapili z miejsca, zaraz czansowie, janczarowie po półmiskach, cośmy nie dojedli, jeden drugiego pchali, aż czapki im i zawoje w polewkę, w kaszę upadływały, jak psi i gorzej rwali; see *ibid.*: 145, on the number of dishes served to Miaskowski cf. *ibid.*: 88.*

A few days later, another banquet was organized by the Venetian *bailo*. On this occasion, the food was described as being much better, although Italian table manners once again dissatisfied our noble observer. While modestly silent about

Perhaps the best known of all Polish embassies to Istanbul is the mission of Jan Gniński. His solemn audience in September 1677 was described by the ambassador himself, and later illustrated by the French painter Pierre Sevin. While Gniński dined with the grand vizier, his two sons and a nephew were seated with the *kubbe* viziers, and other prominent embassy members ate with the *kadiaskers* and the remaining Ottoman officials. Apart from these privileged members of the embassy, seated at five tables, other Polish nobles were invited to a garden party. Feeling deeply offended, those not admitted to the hall refused to eat 'from the ground'. According to Gniński, their food was devoured by young attendants and servants.<sup>15</sup>

A diary written by Gniński's secretary gives more details than the ambassador's own report. At the next solemn audience in April 1678, *sorbet* and coffee – highly praised by the Poles – was served along with fruits and chestnuts. Then the normal banquet began. The menu consisted of twelve dishes including turbot (*kalkan balığı*) with cinnamon, roast chicken, rice cakes, and boiled wheat with milk. Again, the author noted that the chicken was divided with bare hands, without using a knife.<sup>16</sup> Though not devoid of petulant comments, this report is much less spiteful than its predecessor from 1640.

The last Polish report to concern us here, incidentally in verse, is linked to the embassy of 1712 - 1714, led by the palatine of Mazovia, Stanisław Chomentowski. The author is Franciszek Gościecki, a Jesuit priest who formed part of the ambassador's train; the text was published in 1732. Gościecki, though impressed by the Chinese porcelain and silver trays used in the Ottoman palace, also found the behavior of the janissaries intolerable, and complained about the lack of forks and knives. In a free English translation, the relevant section of his poem reads as follows:

*"Every janissary, in a crowd as he stood,  
grabbed a çorba, each one happy with what he took;  
Having filled their mugs with their bare hands, what else?  
they stepped back to find retreat and recess (...)*

himself, he reported Italian guests filling their pockets with food sufficient for two weeks: *ibid.*: 151.

<sup>15</sup> Franciszek Pułaski ed., *Źródła do poselstwa Jana Gnińskiego wojewody chełmińskiego do Turcji w latach 1677-1678* (Warsaw, 1907): 38.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*: 141



*No knives, no forks, no spoons and no plates,  
You'll see, everyone eats with his hands!  
If you like, you're welcome, please join in, tear off a piece,  
quickly fill your mouth with your fingers in grease!"*<sup>17</sup>

It is worth noting the unanimity of the Polish reports quoted above, covering the period from 1640 to 1714, in condemning Ottoman eating habits. Especially the lack of knives and forks thoroughly displeased the authors of our reports. This constant complaint is all the more striking as in Europe, the use of the fork also spread only quite late, after a rather long process.<sup>18</sup> In his famous study *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, first published in 1939, Norbert Elias has stressed the importance of Erasmus' work *De civilitate morum puerilium*, in the formation of the European code of behavior at table. Already in 1530, the Dutch humanist wrote: "C'est d'un paysan que de plonger les doigts dans la sauce. On prend ce qu'on desire avec le couteau et la fourchette (...)." <sup>19</sup> Explaining the diffusion of the fork in early modern Europe, Elias has described the newly emergent feelings, first voiced by members of the elites, and gradually reaching the lower classes: "(...) nous éprouvons un sentiment de malaise quand nous salissons nos doigts ou du moins quand on nous aperçoit en société avec des mains crasseuses ou graisseuses."<sup>20</sup>

Although in Renaissance Poland, forks were virtually unknown and table-knives could be found merely at the court and in aristocratic palaces, in the course of the seventeenth century, the new codes of behavior were gradually finding their way into the houses of nobles and merchants.<sup>21</sup> By the late

<sup>17</sup> *Rzucili się janczarzy, tak jak stali w kupie / do czorby i kto żarwał, w swym się ciesząc łupie / zaraz garścią do geby ten frysztyk ładują / a zjadłszy, na swe miejsca się rejterują (...)* / *Ni noży, ni widelec, tyżki, ni talerza / obaczysz każdy z ręką do potrawy zmięcza / kto chce tylko, a z misy udarty kawalec/ do geby skoro niesie utłuszczony palec*, see Franciszek Gościecki, *Poselstwo wielkie Jaśnie Wielmożnego Stanisława Chomentowskiego...przez lata 1712, 1713, 1714 odprawione* (Lwów [today L'viv], 1732): 260, 264.

<sup>18</sup> As far as the spoons are concerned, Gościecki's reproach must be dismissed as a purely rhetorical figure, for other Polish reports and, above all, the material evidence preserved in Turkey show that they were in common use.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted after the French translation: Norbert Elias, *La civilisation des mœurs* (Paris, 1991): 130; a Polish translation exists as well.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*: 180; see also the whole chapter *Comment se tenir à table*: 21-83.

<sup>21</sup> *Histoia kultury materialnej Polski w zarysie*, ed. W. Hensel, J. Pazdur (Wrocław, 1978) vol. 3: *Od XVI do połowy XVII wieku*, p. 318.

eighteenth century, table-knives and forks had come into everyday use among aristocrats and townspeople, although most peasant families had to remain content with wooden spoons.<sup>22</sup> When reading the reports from the Polish embassies to Istanbul, we must remember that their members belonged, or at least pretended to belong, to the upper classes of Polish-Lithuanian society, greatly influenced by Italian and French fashions already by the end of the sixteenth century. It was thus by no means an accident that the idea of soiling one's fingers with grease aroused an equal disgust in the sixteenth-century Dutch humanist and the eighteenth-century Polish Jesuit.

Even if in the seventeenth century, the political role of Poland-Lithuania was constantly on the wane, and already in 1714, the Ottomans treated the Polish king as a Russian puppet, the members of eighteenth-century Polish embassies to Istanbul could reassure themselves and their readers: by using forks and knives, they demonstrated their adherence to European culture, which they fondly imagined to be 'supreme', and thus compensated for their own loss of power and status.

---

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 4 *Od połowy XVII do końca XVIII wieku*: 275, 284.

# THE CHICKENS OF PARADISE OFFICIAL MEALS IN THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN PALACE

Hedda Reindl-Kiel\*

When we see a typical Western palace, such as Versailles or the older Chateau de Vincennes, from a distance, its main architectural features are monumental grandeur, an extremely long frontal axis, and a strongly accentuated central entrance. This contrasts starkly with the Topkapı Sarayı, whose evident lack of such features remains particularly puzzling to many art historians, although, thanks to Gülru Necipoğlu's study, we now know that this palace was conceived as a ceremonial space.<sup>1</sup> Seen in silhouette, two parts of the Saray are architecturally emphasized: when viewed from one side, it is the Tower of Justice (*Adalet Kulesi*), an easily comprehensible symbol of just rule, and from the other, the imperial kitchens with their mighty chimneys. If we interpret this latter feature as a special mode of displaying the royal image, it is reasonable to conclude that supplying food was an integral part of the Ottoman sultans' role.

Despite these architectural hints at the importance of food in the imperial Palace, little research has so far been done on this topic. We are, for the most part, reliant on Ahmed Refik's study, Süheyl Ünver's publications, and Barkan's edition of several *matbah-ı 'amire* account books. Yet, unfortunately, the latter have never been systematically evaluated.<sup>2</sup>

Since, as we all know, the imperial household served as a model throughout the empire, the culinary habits of the Palace should have influenced the practices of the elite and at least indirectly, to a certain extent, even those of the

---

\* Bonn University, Seminar of Oriental Languages

1 Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., London, 1991).

2 Ahmed Refik, "Fatih Devrine ait Vesikalar," *Tarihi 'Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası* 49-62 (1335-1337): 1-58; Süheyl Ünver, *Tarihçe 50 Türk Yemeği* (İstanbul, 1948). Idem, *Fatih Devri Yemekleri* (İstanbul, 1952); Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri," *Belgeler* 9, 13 (1979): 1-380.



'ordinary man'. In this respect, the semi-public meals of the imperial state council, the *divan-ı hümayun*, served as a window to the outside world. They are, therefore, of considerable importance in the development of Ottoman-Turkish culinary traditions.

Research into the culinary habits of the Ottoman Palace is certainly not handicapped by a lack of sources.<sup>3</sup> The difficulty for the researcher lies more in finding the proverbial needle in the haystack of often poorly catalogued material, which can prove a time-consuming task. For a history of prices, account books form a splendid source, but for the most part they list only ingredients, along with their prices, without recording the dish for which the foodstuffs in question were meant to be used. In the *tayinat defterleri*, on the other hand, prices are often omitted, although these registers provide a good overview of the amounts of foodstuffs officially distributed to certain groups or individuals. The latter kind of register, in its detailed (*mufassal*) form, sometimes contains clues to the specific dishes of which the ingredients listed were to form a part.

The source this article is based upon belongs to the *mufassal* type. Five fascicles, each one referring to a single month of the years 1058-60/1648-50, 1072/1661-62 and 1074/1663-64, are preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul.<sup>4</sup> According to the catalogue, this register contains provisions for the imperial hunt. Yet, except for a very few pages, particularly at the end of fascicle V, the food supplied to the hunters is not mentioned at all. The register contains daily lists of victuals used by various sections of the imperial kitchens (*matbah-ı hassa*, *dariüsse'ade*, *harem-i enderun*, *ağayan-ı hassa*, *perhiz-i gılman-ı enderun*, [*matbah-ı*] *gılman-ı enderun*, *şagirdan* etc.) and fifty-two lists of menus served to the viziers and their underlings, the *ehl-i divan*, on days when the sultan's council came together on the grounds of the Palace. Furthermore, we find one banquet for the *divan* on the occasion of the *kurban bayramı* (*ziyafet-i 'id-i şerif*), three feasts, mainly for the members of the Palace, and two banquets (*büyük ziyafet*) for the Transylvanian envoy (*elçi-i Erdel*). Another fascicle of the same series, from Cemazi I 1070/ December 1659-January 1660, lists another eight menus for the viziers and bureaucrats of the Council of State.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Both the *matbah-ı 'amire emini* section of the Bab-ı Defteri and several Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul contain masses of records.

<sup>4</sup> Bab-ı Defteri, registers of the *matbah-ı amire emini*: D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12.

<sup>5</sup> Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi (henceforth: BBA), Kâmil Kepeci 7275.

All normal meals for the viziers, *ta'am-ı paşayan*, were served immediately after the council session and consisted of six dishes.<sup>6</sup> However, as the register never tells us which dishes appeared together, we cannot normally determine whether we are dealing with a single- or a multi-course meal. A late sixteenth-century miniature depicting a feast suggests that, at banquets, all the dishes were arranged and served together at one sitting.<sup>7</sup> This manner of presenting the guest with a lavish choice corresponds to medieval Western customs, and my analysis will show that some of the banquets studied here were probably served in a similar fashion.<sup>8</sup> However, Paul Rychaut, a contemporary witness, explicitly recalled that the dishes at the banquet he attended were served one after another.<sup>9</sup> Thus it is highly probable that this was also sometimes practiced at the formal meals under discussion here.

The starter was always *dane*, mostly a rice dish, which might however, also be made from crushed wheat, *dane-i bulgur*. There were several variations of *dane*: *dane-i sade* (plain rice), *dane-i 'Acem* (Persian rice), *dane* with minced meat, vegetables, raisins, or currants, with pepper alone (*fülfül*), with mulberries (*dutlı*), or sweetened with sugar as *dane-i kırma*, or else with squash and honey (*kabak ma' 'aseh*).<sup>10</sup> The Persian word *dane*, literally “grain”, is used even today in Iran

<sup>6</sup> See Ottaviano Bon, *The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court*, ed. Godfrey Goodwin (London, 1996): 35.

<sup>7</sup> See Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Ali, *Nusretname*, Hazine 1365, fol. 34 b, in the library of the Topkapı Sarayı, from the year 1584 (reproduction: Nurhan Atasoy, Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* Istanbul, 1974, plate 28). Another miniature of the *Surname-i Hümayun*, Hazine 1344, fol. 74 b-75 a, in the library of the Topkapı Sarayı, from the year 1582 (for a reproduction see *Timeless Tastes: Turkish Culinary Culture*, ed. Ersu Pekin, Ayşe Sümer [Istanbul, 1996]: 48), conveys the impression that the banquet was served in several courses, each consisting of one group of dishes, similar to customs in Renaissance Italy, cf. Massimo Montanari, *Der Hunger und der Überfluß: Kulturgeschichte der Ernährung in Europa* (München, 1993): 113.

<sup>8</sup> For example, in England, cf. Madeleine Pelner Cosman, *Fabulous Feasts: Medieval Cookery and Ceremony* (New York, 1976): 18. Cf. also Montanari, *Der Hunger und der Überfluß*: 113.

<sup>9</sup> “...the Dishes are served in by one at a time, which as soon as touched or tasted, are taken off to make room for another”, Paul Rychaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. 1686): 157.

<sup>10</sup> *'Acem pilavı* is mentioned in a Turkish cookery book of 1862, written in English, compiled by Turabi Efendi, *Mecmu'a-ı eta'me-i 'Osmani: Turkish Cookery Book* (Woolwich, 1862): 42, #122.

In modern Egypt, *ruḫ mufalfal* (from *fulful*, “pepper”), literally “peppered rice”, refers

for the type of rice whose grains remain separate and do not stick together after cooking. In the Palace context, *dane* apparently indicates the type of dish that would elsewhere have been called *pilav*.

The viziers' second course, if indeed the dishes were served one at a time, was normally chicken soup (*şurba-ı makîyan*). Only in one case was chicken soup served as the third course, with stuffed squash (*dolma-ı kabak*) as the second.<sup>11</sup> The pattern of the third, fourth, and fifth courses was less rigid than that of their predecessors. A dish might appear once as the third course, another time as the fourth, and, still another time, as the fifth. There was a general tendency to serve *börek* for the third course, with various fillings: with chicken, cheese (often *dil peyniri*) and *kaymak*, or else as *börek-i paşar*, *fıncan böreği*, *tencere böreği*, as *börek-i tutmaç* (probably today's *makarna böreği*), or as *börek-i çömlek aşı*. Pure *çömlek aşı*, which was presumably a predecessor of today's *çömlek kebabı*, was served a further three times as the third course.<sup>12</sup> Since it is also found in the records concerning festive foods served at the *ziyafet*, where most ingredients are specified dish by dish, we know that it was made from clarified butter (*revgan-ı sade*), onions, sesame (*semsem*), *sumak*, chickpeas, and meat.<sup>13</sup> Yet the lists of ingredients are far from complete; salt, for instance, is never mentioned, and lemon juice only at the feasts in the *divan*. We thus cannot be entirely sure about the composition of this dish.

merely to rice with grains that remain separate and do not stick together. The expression *mısfal* is often understood as analogous to grains of pepper. See Sami Zubaida, "Rice in the Culinary Cultures of the Middle East," in: *Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*, ed. Sami Zubaida, Richard Tapper (London, New York, 1994): 103 f, note 3. In the case of Ottoman Palace meals, however, we should assume that pepper was indeed added to rice, particularly since there was a tendency to use more pepper for the meal when *dane-i fülül* was served.

A few years later, Evliya Çelebi also listed *dud pilavı* among the dishes served at a feast of the Khan of Bitlis for Melek Ahmed Pasha: see Robert Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis* (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, 1990): 116.

<sup>11</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. I, p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> *Çömlek kebabı* already appears in Ali Eşref Dede's nineteenth-century *yemek risalesi*, see *Ali Eşref Dede'nin Yemek Risalesi*, ed. Feyzi Halıcı (Ankara, 1992): 9.

<sup>13</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 69. Meat is not mentioned directly in the records concerning *çömlek aşı*, but a *ta'am-ı çömlek* is listed in one of the accounts which show how much meat was used for different dishes; D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. II, p. 64.

*Börek*s and *çömlək aşs* are not the only dishes to be found as the third course; soups, mainly *şurba-ı sade* (maybe a bouillon?) or *tarhana* soup, as well as vegetable dishes, were offered as well, the latter as *burani-i kabak* or as *dolma-ı lisan-ı sevîr*. *Burani* is, according to Redhouse, a “dish of stewed and fried vegetables”, but according to Ferit Devellioğlu, a dish of spinach or a similar vegetable with rice and yoghurt.<sup>14</sup> We get the same explanation from Şemseddin Sami’s *Kamus-i Türki*.<sup>15</sup> According to Sami, the name goes back to the wife of caliph Ma’mun (786-833), the son of Harun ar-Rashid. This royal woman, named Buran-doht, had in her trousseau a famous green carpet ornamented with pearls, and since the dish resembled the carpet’s green color, it was named in her honor. *Lisan-ı sevîr* (“bull’s tongue”) is *sığirdili* in modern Turkish, a name used for borage as well as for bugloss.<sup>16</sup> It is highly likely, though, that we are dealing here with *borago costantinopolitana*, which is also known as *ıspıt* in Turkish and grows in northern Anatolia.<sup>17</sup> This plant’s leaves are big enough to be stuffed with meat, in this instance for the viziers’ meals.<sup>18</sup> Besides *burani* and *dolma*, the old-fashioned Turkish pasta dish, *tutmaç*, along with yoghurt (*mast*), and *herise-i keşkek*, a kind of wheat gruel with meat, were mentioned as forming the third course. The same thing might apply to sweet dishes such as *baklava* and *me’muniye*, both prepared with sugar.<sup>19</sup> Sweet dishes, for the most part,

<sup>14</sup> We also encounter the form *borani*: *Yeni Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük* (İstanbul, 1968): 190. Compare also *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat* (Ankara, 1970) İlâve, p. 18.

<sup>15</sup> *Derse’adet* 1317/ 1899-1900, p. 308.

<sup>16</sup> Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat*: 661. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, however, calls this plant *eğir* and says that it grows lopsided in water basins and waterlogged areas: Orhan Şaik Gökyay, “Sohbetnâme,” *Tarih ve Toplum* 2, 14, (Şubat 1985): 60. See also Ingeborg Hauenschild, *Türksprachige Volksnamen für Kräuter und Stauden* (Wiesbaden, 1989): 34 # 194 and 18 f # 86 and 88.

<sup>17</sup> For this information, I am indebted to Mr. Oktay Mete, Cologne.

<sup>18</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 61.

<sup>19</sup> On *herise*, see Françoise Aubaile-Sallenave, “Al-Kishk: the Past and Present of a Complex Culinary Practice,” *Culinary Cultures*: 105-139, n.b. 126 f. Further Yusuf Ziya Kavakçı, *Hisbe Teşkilatı: Bir İslam Hukuk ve Tarih Müessesesi Olarak Kuruluş ve Gelişmesi* (Ankara, 1975): 100.

Both *tutmaç* and *herise* are still to be found in some regions of Anatolia.

In the eighteenth century, *me’muniye* was made of honey, ground rice, and clarified butter, cf. M. Nejat Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri (XVIII. Yüzyıla Ait Yazma Bir Yemek Risâlesi)* (Ankara, 1985): 28.

On *tutmaç* compare Besim Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercemesi I* (Ankara, 1985):

formed the fourth course: *baklava*, thought to be an invention of the Ottoman court, *palude*, *me'muniye*, *aşure*, *zerde*, *gözleme*, or *muhallebi*.<sup>20</sup> The entry *sükker* under each name might be seen as an indicator that outside the Palace, these dishes were normally made with honey instead of sugar.

Although sweet dishes were typical for the fourth course, *börek*, *dolma*, soup and *tutmaç* were also to be found. All the dishes mentioned for the third and fourth courses, however, could also turn up as the fifth course, which therefore acquired a rather mixed character. Nevertheless there was a slight tendency to serve something more substantial, such as sheep's trotters with vinegar (*paça-ı hall*), cow's tripe (*işkembe*, in the document: *şikebe-i abkur*), sausage made of gut (*sirden mumbar*), or *çalbur*, poached eggs with yoghurt. Additionally, a kind of pastry (*poğaç*) and, on another occasion, a meat ragout, *yahni-i gust*, are each listed once. The sixth and final course of the viziers' meals was reserved for meat dishes, mostly *kebabs*, sometimes just *kebab-ı sade*, but often also chicken (*piliç/makiyan*), pigeon (*kebuter*), or meat balls, either fried as *köfte* or grilled as *cızlız*. Sometimes we find ragout, *yahni*, and on one occasion ragout was served as the fifth course, and sheep's trotters with vinegar as the sixth.

Only once is *şerbet* mentioned together with *dane*.<sup>21</sup> This does not mean, however, that this beverage was never served. The menus also fail to list *hoşab*, stewed fruits, yet a list specifying the quantities of sugar used in various dishes regularly includes *hoşab-ı divan*. Bread was – and is – also indispensable to any Turkish meal, but our material makes no mention of it. Bread was certainly recorded in the separate registers of the *etmekçi*.<sup>22</sup>

The menu for the Council secretaries, scribes and servants, the *ehl-i divan*, stands in stark contrast to the viziers' food. Not only did these underlings have to be content with just two courses, but the variety of dishes was also rather limited,

452. See also Kerim Yund, "Oğuzların en Eski Yemeklerinden biri Tutmaç Çorbası," *Türk Kültürü* 12, 3, sayı 135 (1974): 204-08.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Perry, "The Taste for Layered Bread among the Nomadic Turks and the Central Asian Origins of Baklava," *Culinary Cultures*: 87-91.

<sup>21</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. IV, p. 27. Ottaviano Bon, however, explicitly mentions *şerbet* for the meal of the viziers: "The *Bashaws*, and other great men, have drink brought unto them (which is *Sherbet*) in great *Porcelain* dishes; but the others do either not drink at all, or, if they do drink, it is fair water brought them from the next fountains." Bon, *The Sultan's Seraglio*: 36.

<sup>22</sup> In a register fragment from 1186-7/1772-74 we see, for instance, that during Muharrem 1186/2.IV.-3.V.1772, between 80 and 110 breads were distributed daily to the *çavuş*es of the *divan*: BBA, D.BŞM. ETB 11775/5, p. 5.



consisting mainly of gruels and stews. The clerks would be served rice soup (*şurba-ı erz*) and wheat soup (*şurba-ı gendüm*) or plain rice (*dane-i sade*) and *ta'am-ı biürri*, again a dish made probably of wheat, or *lapa* and *mastabe*. The *lapa* of the seventeenth century, however, had little in common with today's watery boiled rice that bears the same name. Although it is not completely clear how this dish was prepared, we know from an account book of the Conqueror's time that *lapa* contained eggs.<sup>23</sup> *Mastabe*, a Persian composite word, made up from *mast*, yoghurt, and *-(a)ba*, soup, means "yoghurt soup". From the explanations concerning the banquets for the Transylvanian envoy, where it also crops up, we know that *mastabe* was made of clarified butter (*revgan-ı sade*), meat, onions, chickpeas, yoghurt, and, probably, parsley.<sup>24</sup> We do not know whether rice was added, since dishes in which the latter grain was used have not been recorded in this particular context. In the fifteenth century, *paşu*, chard, also belonged to the ingredients of *mastabe* (*mastave* in the register), but it does not appear in our text.<sup>25</sup> *Mastabe* seems to have been a rather popular dish in the seventeenth century as well, for Evliya Çelebi explicitly mentions it in his description of the banquet given in honor of Melek Ahmed Pasha.<sup>26</sup>

A striking feature of the meals for the *ehl-i divan*, at first glance, is the lack of sweet dishes in the menu. From time to time, however, we find, in the register documenting the use of sugar, entries such as *hoşab-ı ehl-i divan... [kızıye]*.<sup>27</sup> Thus, this kind of sweet, usually made from stewed dried, but sometimes also from fresh fruits, was obviously not considered an independent dish that had to be mentioned separately in the menus.<sup>28</sup> In all likelihood, it was omitted because *hoşab* was recorded in a separate register put together in the *helvabane*. Another document mentions it as *hoşab-ı divan*, but there is no doubt that it was served

<sup>23</sup> Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri," : 193, 197, 203-05.

<sup>24</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. II, pp. 64 and 66 f.

<sup>25</sup> Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri," : 189-91, 193, 196-198, 200, 203, 205, 208.

<sup>26</sup> Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*: 116.

<sup>27</sup> 1 *okka* (= *kızıye*) = 1.2828 kg, see Halil İnalcık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology," *Turcica* 15 (1983): 320.

<sup>28</sup> Even in modern times, *hoşaf* is often not regarded as a separate course, but as a side dish, mainly with "dry" rice and the like. In the *Sohbetnâme*, however, it was apparently considered a dish in itself, cf. Gökyay, "Sohbetnâme": 60. For the *Sohbetnâme*, see also Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121-50.

not only to the clerks, but also to the viziers.<sup>29</sup> As for the lack of other sweets, we should be aware that sweet dishes were not normally a part of everyday food served in *'imarets* either. Outside the Palace, *dane* often appears in the regulations of pious foundations as a holiday dish. Thus we may conclude that the meals served to the clerks were nevertheless an improvement on normal plain food.

Before we try to analyze the social aspects of Palace cuisine and particularly the way in which matters of prestige were expressed, we should take a brief look at three *ziyafets* held in the *divan*. Just like the viziers' normal meals, all three banquets started with *dane* followed by chicken soup. In the case of the *ziyafet-i 'id-i şerif*, *dane* prepared with minced meat (*kıymalı*) was served, perhaps because the Festival of Sacrifice placed greater emphasis on meat, while at both banquets for the Transylvanian envoy, there was a sweet variant, *dane-i kurma* prepared with sugar. At the *bayram* feast at the *divan*, fourteen courses were offered.

At this latter occasion, after the obligatory *dane* and *şurba-ı makîyan*, there came *çömlek aşu* and *kıymalı börek*, followed by four sweet dishes: *manti* with sugar, *sembuse* (a triangular pastry, according to Redhouse), *zerde*, and *baklava*.<sup>30</sup> This order of serving contrasted with the practice at normal meals, where sweets were never served one immediately after the other. Such a heavy attack of sweetness was countered by a hefty serving of meat, certainly superior in calories: by chicken ragout (*yahni-i makîyan*), sheep's rump ragout (*uca yahni*), roasted pigeons (*kebab-ı kebütür*), chickens (*kebab-ı makîyan*), ducks (*kebab-ı ördek*), and geese (*kebab-ı bat*).<sup>31</sup> Those who still had some capacity left could again indulge in sweets: *me'muniye* and finally *muhallebi*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12. A very late document indeed, dated 11 *Rebi'* II 1208/October 16, 1793, informs us that six (obviously gilded) silver *hoşab* bowls with lids were bought for the *divan*. The cost for the silver, gilding, and workmanship is given as 1,376 *guruş*; Cevdet Saray 305. Material and price prove that the vessels were for the viziers and not for the scribes. In the same year, 36 *hoşab* spoons (and 30 normal spoons, *ta'am kaşıkları*) were ordered for the *divan*, most of them with a coral handle and a horn bowl, or the like, see Cevdet Saray 6639. Again the material shows that they were intended for the viziers. For the scribes they would probably have been made of boxwood, cf. Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Die Lippen der Geliebten. Betrachtungen zur Geschichte der türkischen Küche," *Mitteilungen der Deutsch-Türkischen Gesellschaft* 116 (Dezember 1993): 22.

<sup>30</sup> *Yeni Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük*: 998.

<sup>31</sup> *Uca* stands for the part of the spine between the lumbar and the coccygeal vertebra. The old Turkic nomads, having a highly hierarchical social structure, reserved this

Unfortunately, the second-rate menu for the *ehl-i divan* at the *ziyafet* is not as well recorded as the viziers' normal meals. But it is clear from some entries that the clerks, as well as the janissaries and other military men such as the *solaks*, received *dane*, which, judging by the ingredients of clarified butter (*revgan-ı sade*), chickpeas, and onions, was probably *dane-i sade*.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, the scribes had to share *zerde* with the soldiers, which, in contrast to *me'muniye* and *muhallebi*, was not prepared with sugar, but with honey. Chicken soup containing onions, pepper, chickpeas, lemon juice, and parsley was also served to the scribes, but unlike that of the pashas, without cinnamon (*darçın*) and ginger (*zencebîl*). Another sweet dish appearing on the clerks' food trays (*sofra*) was *şırba*, apparently a kind of pudding, made of almonds (*badam*), honey (*asef*), starch (*nişaste*), ginger, figs, apricots (*zerdalu*), and red raisins (*meviz-i sürh*).<sup>34</sup> It is unclear which meat dishes the clerks could count on receiving. Their *şırba-ı makıyan* was prepared with forty chickens, the soup of the pashas containing only fourteen, but the *ehl-i divan* are not mentioned as consumers of any other poultry. Of the 132 pigeons, 90 were reserved for the viziers, 32 for the aghas (*ağayan*) and 10 for the *dariüsse'ade* [*ağaları*], while the 16 geese and the 33 ducks were shared between the "pashas" and one of the other groups, the former always receiving the lion's share. The *şerbet* remains unspecified; we only learn that it contained 48 *kıyye* (ca. 61.6 kg) of sugar and was also served to the bureaucrats.

Only the lists of the *ziyafet-i 'id-i şerif* intended for the Council of State have an entry referring to a custom known as *yağma* ("plundering"), which is obviously, as Ziya Gökalp observed, reminiscent of an old Central Asian Turkic *potlatch*.<sup>35</sup> At important public occasions, especially the circumcision of princes,

part of a horse for those of the highest rank, see Abdülkadir İnan, "'Orun' ve 'Ülüş' Meselesi," *Makaleler ve İncelemeler* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Ankara, 1987): 253.

<sup>32</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 68.

<sup>33</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 69.

<sup>34</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 69. In other documents, the dish's name appears as *şırbaç* or *şırva*, see Süheyl Ünver, *Fatih Devri Yemekleri*: 28; Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, "Kara Ahmed Paşa vakfiyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2, p. 94. The dish is already mentioned as *şırbadj* in Ibn Džazlah's (d. 1100) culinary collection, see Nina Garbutt, "Ibn Jazlah: The Forgotten 'Abbasid Gastronome," in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* XXXIX/1 (1996): 43.

<sup>35</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 69 (*ta'am-ı yağma*). See also Abdülkadir İnan, "'Han-i Yağma' Deyiminin Kökeni," *Makaleler ve İncelemeler*: 645-48. Compare also İnalçık, "Matbakh," in: *EI* (Leiden, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1991), vol. 6: 809. Further: Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Bir Saltanat Düğünü," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* I (1986): 44.



the ordinary man seems sometimes to have been invited to “plunder”.<sup>36</sup> But at feasts within the royal palace the main actors were usually the janissaries.<sup>37</sup>

From a relatively detailed description in the *Surname-i Hazîn* dealing with the circumcision festival of 1720, we know that the *yağma* practice was highly formalized. Only after the grand vizier had asked permission from the sultan could the janissaries rush to the 200 boiled and 300 roasted sheep and the 4,500 trays of *pilav* and *zerde*. Every sheep had in its body a living pigeon, which, once freed, would flutter off, thus contributing to the spectacle.<sup>38</sup> Yet despite the highly sophisticated, dignified ceremony, the old *yağma* ritual still contained some riotous elements that could not always easily be kept under control. A good example is the ceremony of the *‘id-i şerif*<sup>39</sup> celebrated in Edirne in 1128/1715. During the festive *yağma*, the janissaries of the court, the royal tent makers, and other craftsmen had mingled with some gypsies. By the end, not only the food set aside for “plundering”, but also 56 copper bowls (*saban*) had disappeared. This event caused some problems for the administration of the royal kitchens and larders, since forty of these vessels had been hired from local artisans (*esnaf*).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Gökyay, “Bir Saltanat Düğünü”: 43-45. Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları* (Ankara, 1982): 43 f. Günay Kut, “Şehzâde Cihangir ve Bâyezid’in Sünnet Düğünlerindeki Yemekler Üzerine,” *III. Milletlerarası Türk Folklor Kongresi Bildirileri*, V. Cilt: *Maddî Kültür* (Ankara, 1987): 232.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilatı* (Ankara, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1984): 294/ n. 1.

<sup>38</sup> See Mübâccel Kızıltan, “Mehmet Hazîn ve Surnamesi,” *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* IV (1988 [1989]): 89 f. The custom of placing live animals in the bodies of grilled or boiled sheep (or oxen) is recorded for the first time at the circumcision festival of Şehzade Mehmed, later Mehmed III, in 1582, cf. Gökyay, “Bir Saltanat Düğünü”: 44. See also And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde*: 44. It is certain that this peculiarity was no invention of the Ottoman Palace, but was adopted from courtly practices in Italy, cf. Montanari, *Der Hunger und der Überfluß*: 112.

<sup>39</sup> The *yağma* was probably a fixed part of the court’s ceremonial program for holidays such as the Festival of Sacrifices or the Feast of Sugar. Similarly, regular games of *cirid* were organized for the former event, which were attended by the sultan, compare: Cevdet Saray 6726 (10 *Zilhicce* 1135/11.IX.1723), Cevdet Saray 8152 (21 *Zilka’de* 1195/8.XI.1781); for the *şeker bayramı*: Cevdet Saray 8315 (11 *Ramazan* 1190/24.X.1776), Cevdet Saray 5633 (11 *Ramazan* 1211/12.III.1797), Cevdet Saray 8955 (19 *Ramazan* 1220/11.XII.1805).

<sup>40</sup> Cevdet Saray 4902, dated 13 *Zilka’de* 1128/29.X.1715.

The participants of the *yağma* are not named in our register, but since at normal meals only janissaries are mentioned, it is unlikely that other groups benefited from the dishes prepared for this event. From the listed ingredients, we may conclude that this part of the meal consisted of a sweet, probably a pudding like *zırba*, and of a meat dish.<sup>41</sup> For we find 44 *kıyye* (56.4 kg) of clarified butter, the same amount of honey, 15 *kıyye* (19.2 kg) of starch, 3 *kıyye* (3.8 kg) of chickpeas, 44 *kıyye* (56.4 kg) of red raisins, 500 sweet breads (*çörek*), 5 *kıyye* (6.4 kg) of onions, 130 sheep, 100 *miskal* (481.09 g) of saffron, 5 *kıyye* (6.4 kg) of almonds, 3 *kıyye* (3.8 kg) of figs, and the same amount of apricots.<sup>42</sup> On normal *divan* days, the share of the food going to the janissaries usually amounted to 5-10.5 *keyl* (64.1-134.7 kg) of rice, 55-110 *kıyye* (70.5-141.1 kg) of meat, 10-15 *kıyye* (12.8-19.2 kg) of onions, 9-12 *kıyye* (11.5-15.4 kg) of chickpeas, and 90-180 *miskal* (433-866 g) of pepper.<sup>43</sup>

Unfortunately our records contain only a single example of a major feast without foreigners present. While this paucity of information does not permit general conclusions, it is interesting to compare this *bayram* party with the two pompous banquets for the Transylvanian envoy. Both the latter events were clearly classified as more important than the *bayram* celebration, as indicated by the expression *büyük ziyafet*, “great feast”. These two banquets comprised 19 and 18 courses/dishes, but were otherwise similar in character to the *divan*’s *‘id-i şerif* feast. The first meal, on 4 Zilka’de 1059/November 10, 1649, was probably

<sup>41</sup> Almonds, honey, starch, saffron, figs, apricots, and red raisins appear as ingredients of *zırba*, though in differing quantities according to the accounts studied.

<sup>42</sup> Since the entry does not explain whether *kıyye* or *re’s* (head) is intended, it is not entirely clear whether 166.8 kg (the equivalent of 130 *kıyye*) or roughly 1,550-1,700 kg are intended; I have calculated the latter amount by assuming the relatively low average weight of ca. 10 *kıyye* per sheep. Since we do not know how big the *çörek*s were, their number does not allow us to estimate the number of participants. If we can assume one *çörek* per head, it seems more probable that the accounts refer to *kıyyes*, since then the serving of meat per person would amount to ca. 334 g. Evidently this makes more sense than assuming 3.1-3.4 kg per person, the quantity that would result if we took 130 sheep as the basis for our calculations. See also D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> According to İncalcık, “Introduction to Ottoman Metrology”: 339 f, 1 *okka* = 400 *dirhem*, 1 *dirhem* = 3.2072639 g, 1 *miskal* = 1.5 *dirhem* (i.e. 4.81089585 g). 1 *kile* (*keyl*) of rice = 12,828 kg, cf. Walter Hinz, *Islamische Maße und Gewichte, umgerechnet ins Metrische System* (Leiden, 1970).

the welcoming reception for István Sulyok of Lékse.<sup>44</sup> For the first four dishes/courses, the organizers of this gastronomical event followed the pattern of the *bayram* feast; once these had been removed, there came six sweet dishes and two *yahnīs*. These were followed by fried fish (*kavurma-ı mahi*) and fish soup (*surba-ı mahi*). After an intermezzo of *mastabe*, the meal ended with four poultry *kebabs*; once again the guests could chose between pigeon, goose, chicken, and duck.

For the banquet on 18 Zilka'de 1059/November 24, 1649, presumably the farewell party for István Sulyok, almost the same dishes were prepared as for the first reception.<sup>45</sup> Only the sequence was different: this time, the sweets followed upon two ragouts and four poultry *kebabs* (chicken, pigeon, duck and goose). After servings of *börek* and *çömlək aşı*, the banquet (*ziyafet*) ended with fried fish and fish soup.

If we compare the different meals listed in our register, we observe the traces of hierarchical socio-political structures as reflected in banquets. High rank was made visible by the number of dishes served and, of course, by the quantities of expensive and prestigious ingredients employed. It becomes easier to 'place' the meals prepared by the Palace cooks if we compare them with those served on 'normal' days according to the regulations of certain pious foundations. In these institutions, a single dish usually sufficed for a meal, and that was probably good standard fare. Hence an everyday meal with two courses, like the one served to the *ehl-i divan*, would certainly have been superior to what a common townsman of middle income would have consumed. That six separate dishes made up the normal *ta'am-ı paşayan* indicates the extraordi-

<sup>44</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. II, pp. 66 f. For the Transylvanian legations to the Porte, see Vencel Bíró, *Erdély követei a Portán* (Cluj, Kolozsvár, 1921). For this reference, as well as for the following information, I am indebted to Dr Mária Ivanics-Ress, University of Szeged. In 1649, two delegations came to Istanbul (see *ibid.*, p. 126). The first one, however, traveled back during the summer, and this does not tally with the kitchen accounts studied here, while a letter dated January 1, 1650 reports the departure of István Sulyok of Lékse. On the other hand, two Transylvanian residents, Ferenc Gyárfás of Lécfalva and Farkas Jósika of Karánsebes, resided permanently in Istanbul at that time. As the second banquet was on 18 Zilka'de 1059/November 24, 1649, the two *büyük ziyafets* for the *elçi-i Erdel* were separated by an interval of only two weeks. This makes it seem likely that they were arranged in honor of István Sulyok of Lékse.

<sup>45</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. II, pp. 64 f.

nary character of this particular meal.<sup>46</sup> The high status of the meal and its recipients is further emphasized by the inclusion of special dishes. Apart from *dane*, sweets, especially *zerde*, served as status indicators; after all, even today *zerde* is considered a traditional part of a wedding breakfast. *Paça*, once served the day after the wedding, also must have indicated the viziers' high rank.<sup>47</sup> Poultry, particularly pigeon, also was a privilege of the happy few.<sup>48</sup> The diary known as the *Sohbetnâme*, roughly covering the same period as our material, mentions a variety of different dishes served to guests, from a minimum of six to a maximum of twenty-four. These appeared at the dinner parties attended by its author, a prosperous Istanbul dervish sheik.<sup>49</sup> We must not forget, however, that these also were not normal meals, but rather banquets or feasts (*ziyâfet*) given by better-off townsmen.

Fortunately, we have access to some further comparative material. The twenty-four dishes that might be served to well-to-do Istanbul townsmen

<sup>46</sup> An undated *takrîr*, probably from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, contains a decision to reduce the six courses to five and to decrease expenses accordingly, see Cevdet Saray 6111. This step presumably formed part of the economizing measures of Selim III after the disastrous wars with Russia and Austria.

<sup>47</sup> See Melek-Hanum, *Thirty Years in the Harem: Or the Autobiography of Melek Hanum* (New York, 1872): 254. Compare, also Günay Kut, "Turkish Culinary Culture," *Timeless Tastes*: 50 f. Probably due to the prestige of *paça*, the term, and in some cases the whole dish, migrated not only to the Balkans, but also to the northern shores of the Black Sea, the Ukraine, and the ethnically mixed regions of southeastern Poland. (For this and the following information, I am very much indebted to our friend Stephen Lewis, Sofia/ New York.) Immigrants from these areas brought the dish to North America (particularly to New York) during the great immigrations of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

While for Polish Christians, the term means pigs' trotters, the Jewish version is based on calves' feet. Stephen Lewis remembers the latter viand "as a cold dish of boiled calves' feet, hard-boiled eggs and whole cloves of garlic jellied in aspic. The shimmery pacha was cut into cubic portions approximately 10 cm<sup>3</sup> and served with ample slices of black bread." In Bulgaria, Christians prepare *paça* from the shin bones rather than the feet of pigs, and it is served hot as a soup rather than cold as a jellied dish.

<sup>48</sup> With the exception of *tavuk* and *piliç*, no poultry is to be found in the *narh defteri* of 1640, published by Mübahat Küçükoglu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (İstanbul, 1983) probably because the market for this sort of luxury food was too small.

<sup>49</sup> Gökyay, "Sohbetnâme": 60.

roughly correspond to Evliya Çelebi's description of the impressive seventeenth-century feast given in honor of Melek Ahmed Paşa at the court of a provincial magnate in the border town of Bitlis, which, alas, does not list all the dishes served.<sup>50</sup> In any case, it is clear from both the *Sohbetnâme* and from Evliya's account that the number of dishes served was an indication of prestige, although, as the examples from the Ottoman Palace show, it was not the only one. From the limited material at hand, we might conclude that there was a trend outside the Palace to keep pace with the imperial banquets, or even to outdo them, at least in the number of dishes served. On the other hand, the *saray* clearly preferred noble restraint to cheap and showy display, a feature not uncommon in self-conscious aristocratic circles. Furthermore, we must not forget that the *divan* banquets documented in our material by no means represent the full glory of the Ottoman palace kitchen. At the feast for the circumcision of Sultan Süleyman's sons, Cihangir and Bayezid, in 1539, the highest-ranking guests and the ruler himself were served forty different dishes, including partridge and roast peacock.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, in terms of the number of dishes served, even this banquet was completely outclassed by what was on offer at certain seventeenth-century feasts to which only high-ranking members of the Palace were invited.

The celebration of the *kurban bayramı* in the *divan* was only one part of a series of festivities given on this occasion. Our register has another entry, namely a list for an enormous banquet with sixty-eight different dishes, recorded under the title '*id-i azha*, the Festival of Sacrifices.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, no commentary is included, so we cannot identify the participants.<sup>53</sup> For the most part, they were

<sup>50</sup> Evliya speaks of "two hundred silver platters, full of culinary delight", but this number is presumably to be understood as meaning merely 'a lot'. He lists fourteen different *pilavs* and three soups, and mentions "various juicy and well-cooked *kebabs*" (Dankoff, *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis*: 116 f).

<sup>51</sup> See Kut, "Şehzâde Cihangir ve Bâyezid'in Sünnet Düğünlerindeki Yemekler," 231.

<sup>52</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 20.

<sup>53</sup> The heading of this section reads: *bera-yı vakti sabah: ta'am sofrası 8, mihman 2; vakt-i 'asır: sofrası 8, mihman 2*. This number, however, seems implausible, because in some of the lists contained in the *şerh* we find huge extra quantities assigned to the guests. For example, 8 *kıyye* (10.3 kg) of sugar, 18 *kıyye* (23.1 kg) of clarified butter, 44 chickens, 80 *kıyye* (102.6 kg) of meat, 20 pigeons, and 4 *keyl* (51.3 kg) of rice were recorded under this heading. Even if we understand the two *mihman* not as individual 'guests', the meaning suggested by the dictionaries, but as two groups of people eating from the same tray or *sofra*, the quantities are puzzling. However we do not



probably members of the royal family along with their entourages, and high dignitaries of the Palace.<sup>54</sup> Although the *dariüsse'ade* section and the *harem* are mentioned separately, albeit without any listing of the dishes served, we cannot exclude the possibility that the female part of the sultan's family also shared in the imperial bounty; of course they were served in a different location.<sup>55</sup> Two small notes in the list of victuals consumed (*şerh*) suggest that the banquet was held in the morning.<sup>56</sup>

The arrangement in the register reveals that the dishes were indeed served in small groups; at least in this particular case, we should not understand the different dishes as courses in the modern sense. The guests were offered a choice, rather similarly to what happens at rich *meze* tables in our own times. Along with the omnipresent starters, there were *dane-i kırma* prepared with sugar and chicken soup (*şurba-ı makıyan*); in addition, we find wheat gruel soup (*şurba-ı bürrî*), partridge (*keklik*), wheat gruel (*ta'am-ı bürrî*), and yoghurt soup (*şurba-ı mastabe*). Thus, the dishes served were identical to those normally consumed by the clerks of the *divan* and the pages (*gılman-ı enderun*), with only the luxury of partridge indicating the real rank of the meal. The next dish, *burani-i isfanac*, introduced a whole range of vegetable and fruit dishes, the vegetables being squash (*kabak*), eggplant (*badıncan*), and fresh cabbage (*kelem-i taze*). The emphasis was clearly on *dolmas* or 'filled things'. These were made not only from the aforementioned vegetables, but could appear in many guises. The scribes recorded stuffed apples (*dolma-ı elma*), melons (*dolma-ı karpuz*), and quinces (*dolma-ı ayva*); the latter dish even today is highly esteemed in some parts of Anatolia.

know how many people were calculated as sitting around one *sofra*; the groups in question may have been quite large.

At the circumcision festival of 1720, between four and ten guests sat at one *sofra*, see Kızıltan, "Mehmet Hazin ve Surnamesi," 65. Under the entry recording the consumption of chicken, D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 20, we find a statement that 175 of these birds were intended for the *ser-bölük*, a title that normally designated the captains of the janissaries; see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları* (Ankara, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1984), vol. 1: 217 ff. In the present case it seems more likely, however, that the term denoted the heads of the different Palace chambers.

<sup>54</sup> The ruler himself, Mehmed IV, was at that time only eight years old.

<sup>55</sup> This assumption does not necessarily contradict the separate reference to the *harem* in our register, since women of lower status, not belonging to the inner family circle, would certainly not have participated in the great banquet.

<sup>56</sup> See below p. 75.

All these dishes should probably be seen as an overture, leading progressively to the main body of the meal, which consisted, as so often, of meats and sweets. Here, after a *kayma*, probably minced meat seasoned with pomegranate syrup (*nardan*), the guests were served two different chicken dishes, one of them a preparation of fried meat known as *kavurma*.<sup>57</sup> There followed fish soup and fried fish (*kavurma-ı mahı*), a soup of young chicken (*sırba-ı piliç*), and sweets like *me'muniye*, *aşure*, *sembuse*, *muhallebi*, *baklava*, and *kafes* (or *kakış*?), all made with sugar, in addition to *mahmudiye* made with honey (*'ase*).<sup>58</sup> After *kesme*, a pastry cut into squares and moistened with syrup (*dibs*), the guests could enjoy another variant of *sembuse*, called *sembuse-i şerif*, probably because it contained the expensive luxury of sugar.<sup>59</sup> In addition there were *dane* with cheese, *kaymak* and sugar, *dane-i bulgur* with spinach and *köfte*, *ta'am-ı çömlek*, rice pudding (*erz-i şir*), *sabuniye*, and another sweet prepared with sugar. Another probably sweet dish was recorded as *'idiye*, here, perhaps, used as a synonym for *zerde*, which appears once in the *şerh* as *zerde-i 'idiye*, but not in the menu list<sup>60</sup>. There followed a selection of pastries (*börek*s), among them *börek-i hurde*, *börek-i bohça*, *börek-i pazar*, *börek-i sini* prepared with chicken (*makiyan*), *börek* with cheese and *kaymak*, and *börek-i dil*.

After these already rather rich offerings, the guests finally reached the most substantial part of the meal, namely the meat dishes, starting with meat ragout (*yahni-i guşt*) and chicken ragout (*yahni-i makiyan*). The series contained twelve different *kebabs*, among them simple roast mutton (*kebab-ı guşt*), roast chicken, pigeon, goose (*bat*), duck (*ördek*), grilled meatballs (*cızbız*), cutlet without bone (*kebab-ı küll basdı*), *kebab-ı şikâr*, *kebab-ı sarma köfte*, *kebab-ı şiş*, and *kebab-ı böbrek sarma*.<sup>61</sup> To liven up the banquet, the official in charge of planning the meal had introduced three short intermezzos; these consisted of a *kavurma-ı çüban*, a pud-

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Ünver, *Fatih Devri Yemekleri*:16.

<sup>58</sup> *Senbuse* is followed by a dish I was unable to identify, mainly because of the sloppy handwriting lacking diacritical points, but also partly because of the insufficiency of the dictionaries at my disposal. I tend to read *teme-i (koma-i?) paça*. This enigmatic word might, however, be only a mistake in writing *lapa-ı paça*.

<sup>59</sup> Redhouse, *Yeni Türkçe-İngilizçe Sözlük*: 644.

<sup>60</sup> Another sweet, listed not in the menu but in the *şerh* where the uses of clarified butter are specified, is called *reşidiye*. In the eighteenth century this was a *helva* made of clarified butter, starch, and sugar or honey, cf. Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri*: 25.

<sup>61</sup> The 'hunters' *kebab* was presumably roast deer; the *şerh* mentions a *kebab-ı ahu*. I was unable to identify one particular kind of *kebab*; maybe it could be read as *kebab-ı ina* (?) *köfte*.

ding (*zırba-ı 'asel*), and a dish made of dried squash.<sup>62</sup> The finale was then composed of sheep's trotters, tripe and sheep's heads, all with vinegar, fading out with sausages encased in gut (*şirden mumbar*), cold mutton (*söğüş-i guşt*), cold chicken slices (*söğüş-i piliç*) and a savory sausage (*sucuk-ı selhçe?*).

The food apportioned to the Palace pages (*gılman-ı enderun*) stood in sharp contrast to this lavish, truly royal feast: *dane-i sade*, *zırba-ı 'asel*, and *zerde-i 'asel*.<sup>63</sup> In a list that specifies how the clarified butter delivered to the Palace had been employed, we read that 104 *kıyye* (133.4 kg) was used for the *dane-i zerde*, while the rather large quantity of 10.5 *kıyye* (13.47 kg) was needed for the evening's [*surba-ı*] *gendüm*. Similarly, under the entry for rice, we find that 41 *keyl* (525.9 kg) were used for the *dane-i zerde*, whereas 5.5 *keyl* (77.5 kg) were employed for the *mastabe* served at supper (*aşşam ta'amına*). It is thus clear that the whole banquet was held in the morning.

Only ten days before the *kurban bayramı*, the palace hosted another banquet.<sup>64</sup> The entry in our register unfortunately gives us no hint as to the reason for the feast or the identities of the attending guests. Under the date *gurre-i Zilhicce* 1060, we find only the entries: *bera-yı matbah-ı hassa*, *vakt-i sabah: sofra 8*, *vakt-i 'asır: sofra 8*, followed by a list of fifty-four dishes. Usually a source of additional information, the *şerh* underneath is not very helpful, since it lists only the victuals and quantities involved, without any additional remarks. Five days later, a similar festivity with fifty-six dishes was recorded, again without any explanation. This makes it difficult to evaluate the information given.

The arrangement of these two banquets is, in principle, similar to that of the great feast held in honor of the *kurban bayramı*. Of course, not all the dishes served at the Festival of Sacrifices also appear in the earlier lists. Partridges, as well as geese and fish soup, are missing; nor do we find any fruit or fruit *dolmas*. Moreover, there were fewer sweets and meat dishes. With poultry other than geese and partridges, however, there is almost no difference, and the same applies to rice, *börek*s, and gruels.

As for the arrangement of the dishes, once again there was little difference between the two smaller banquets. Both started with a series of *dane* variations

<sup>62</sup> *Şüban* being the learned Persian synonym for *çoban*, this *kavurma* is probably related to modern *çoban kebabı*. When referring to the dried squash, the register has only *kabak-ı huşk*, without any hint at how the dish was prepared. This vegetable preparation is still eaten in the region of Adana, mainly as *dolma*.

<sup>63</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 21.

<sup>64</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 2. The whole passage is written in a visibly hurried, sloppy manner without any diacritical points.



and the obligatory chicken soup, followed by several soups and gruels. The next course comprised only vegetable dishes. On 6 Zilhicce, these were followed by three sweets, while on 1 Zilhicce, the guests were offered a sweet, a *börek*, and a stew. These were in turn succeeded by seven meat dishes, separated from the next array of meats by sweets on 1 Zilhicce, or poached eggs and rice pudding on 6 Zilhicce. The participants could then relish sheep's trotters, sheep's head, tripe, all prepared with vinegar, or sausages. Sweets, soups, and *böreks* then paved the way for fried fish and the final assortment of meats and poultry.<sup>65</sup> A striking feature of all three banquets offered exclusively to the Palace members is their culmination in a crescendo of *kebabs* or sweets. However the meal was closed in a variety of ways: on 1 Zilhicce, the diners were offered *aş-ı köfte*, kidneys (*böbrek*), and cold meat, while on 6 Zilhicce, the end of the banquet was announced by the appearance of kidneys, *tarhana* soup, cold meat, *kesme*, and *lapa-ı paça*; the last-named dish may well have been a stew. The Palace pages (*gılman*) obviously did not participate in the banquets of Zilhicce 1st and 6th, since on those dates they only got the usual *dane-i sade* and *mastabe*, supplemented by *ta'am-ı biirri* and lentil soup (*şurba-ı 'ades*).<sup>66</sup>

Since related dishes were usually served together, be it all at once or one after the other, there is no doubt that in certain sections of these banquets, the host intended to offer a rather sophisticated choice. Separation of the various flavors was a guiding principle, and the guests were served *böreks*, sweets, and soups between courses of meat and fish. Although our texts contain no information on this matter, this grouping of dishes in the register would not have made sense if they had all been served at one sitting. On the other hand, if the menu items had been served one by one, we would have expected a sequential list of all the *böreks*, meats, soups, and other dishes. We can therefore conclude that several dishes were combined to form a course.

If we compare the exuberant feasts for the members of the sultan's court with the more modest events that took place in the *divan*, we are somewhat surprised to see that none of the dishes that lent additional prestige to the court banquets were served to the viziers, except for the partridge at the *bayram* re-

<sup>65</sup> For the banquet on 1 Zilhicce, this section of the list starts with *papara*, today a dish made of bread, cheese (or minced meat) and broth. In D.BŞM.MTE 10522/112, fasc. III, p. 3, however, it is registered as made with sugar. Either *papara* at that time was indeed a sweet, or we have here an unusual variation, parallel to the sugared *mantı* of the *divan* banquet in honor of the *kurban bayramı*.

<sup>66</sup> D. BŞM.MTE 10522/112, fasc. III, p. 3 (1 Zilhicce); D.BŞM.MTE 10522/112, fasc. III, p. 13 (6 Zilhicce).

gale. The guests at the court feast had, however, a much broader choice, be it between soups, rice dishes, and *börek*s, or else between sweets and meats. While at the *divan* banquets neither *paça* nor sheeps' heads were served, they do appear, in addition to innards like tripe or kidneys, in the feasts for the Palace members.

The viziers were not, for example, served delicacies such as partridge, stuffed eggplant, stuffed apples, stuffed cabbage, stuffed melon, stuffed quince, *kıyma-ı nardan*, *kesme*, *erç-i şir*, *sabuniye*, *bohça böreği*, *dil böreği*, *kavurma-ı şüban*, *kül basdı*, *kebab-ı sarma köfte*, sheeps' heads, *sucuk*, kidneys, or cold meats (*söğüş*). Nor did their menus contain *papara*, *yahni-i sefid*, *kebab-ı mülayim* and *kebab-ı orman*, a dish still eaten today in all parts of Turkey.<sup>67</sup>

As the documentation covering other great festivities shows, only partridge was so prestigious that by itself, it could add splendor to any meal.<sup>68</sup> No difference in rank can be seen, for instance, between a *kıymalı börek* and a *dil böreği*, or an *uca yahni* and an *orman kebabı*. There is no doubt, therefore, that the rank of a repast or a feast was largely determined by the variety of choices available to the guests, namely the number of courses and/or dishes. In consequence, the organizers of banquets offering a limited number of courses/dishes had to be careful to include something opulent like partridge if they wanted to display visible marks of rank.

A meal cannot, of course, be evaluated solely by the number of dishes served; the ingredients, their prestige, and their quantity have to be taken into account as well. Unfortunately, this issue also causes some problems. First, not all ingredients actually used are listed in our register and, second, the number of guests remains unknown.

<sup>67</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/112, fasc. III, p. 20; *yahni-i sefid* is a kind of *nohutlu yahni*, cf. Sefercioğlu, *Türk Yemekleri*: 49, while *kebab-ı mülayim* unfortunately remains unidentified; on *orman kebabı* compare D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, pp. 2 and 12.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Kut, "Şehzâde Cihangir ve Bâyezid'in Sünnet Düğünlerindeki Yemekler," 231. See also Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Wesirfinger und Frauenschenkel," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 77/1 (1995): 77.

In the case of the *divan* menus, additional information is often provided in the left-hand margin, sometimes even including short explanations, as in the following example from menu no. 10:<sup>69</sup>

12	<i>dane</i>
1,5	<i>sade şurba</i>
3	<i>baklava</i>
1,5	<i>burani</i>
4	<i>ağa</i>
32	<i>divan</i>
<u>3</u>	<u><i>bemabin</i></u>
57	

At first glance, these figures seem to mirror the number of cooked portions, but a closer look suggests that that can hardly be true. Clearly the figure '57' must stand for fairly large groups of people. For the menus of meal no. 10, a total of 55.5 *kıyye* (ca. 71.2 kg) of clarified butter (*revgan-ı sade*) was used, an incredible quantity. However certain figures from the register documenting Prince Cihangir's and Prince Bayezid's circumcision feast provide at least a partial clue. For here we find a section detailing the quantities of ingredients needed for certain main dishes served to the guests of Süleyman the Magnificent. According to this source, three *okka* (3.85 kg) of fat was calculated per *keyl* (12,828 kg) of rice.<sup>70</sup> For 13 *keyl* (166.7 kg) of rice, 39 *kıyye* (ca. 50 kg) of butterfat would thus have been required. At a dinner given to the seventeenth-century viziers and their underlings, 2 *keyl* (ca. 25.6 kg) of rice was allotted to the viziers and 11 *keyl* (141.1 kg) to the *ehl-i divan*. While 71.2 kg of fat to 166.7 kg of rice still does not stand for an acceptable dish by our standards, or even by those of Süleyman the Magnificent's Palace kitchen, by the standards of seventeenth-century festive meals this relationship may be at least partly plausible.

Today, a portion of rice served as a side dish is calculated at approximately 50-70 g. Even if we calculate 200 g per person, 166.7 kg would have been enough to feed 833 people, a figure much higher than that of the viziers and bureaucrats present at council meetings, always a relatively small group. Inter-

<sup>69</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. I, p. 45.

<sup>70</sup> Kut, "Şehzâde Cihangir ve Bâyezid'in Sünnet Düğünlerindeki Yemekler," 234.

estingly enough, another victual is listed in similarly high quantities; for the record of the *divan* repasts contains 40 *kyye* (51.3 kg) of black raisins.<sup>71</sup>

While the figures for meat and poultry at normal *divan* meals are extremely high, though not entirely unreasonable, the quantities of rice, clarified butter, and black raisins are out of all proportion.<sup>72</sup> However in terms of the quantities provided, the remaining ingredients seem more or less normal. The only explanation I can find for this discrepancy is the custom of feeding the council's petitioners.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, it appears that the leftovers from the dignitaries' meals were fed to the court *poursuivants* (*çavuş*), as well as to the retainers and slaves of the dignitaries who were officially invited.<sup>74</sup> For such low-ranking folk, piles of fatty rice with raisins, combined with the leftovers of meat and vegetable dishes that had been served to the viziers, would certainly suffice. The limited amount of leftover meats, *börek*s, and sweets could also explain the observation often made by outsiders, that after every official meal, 'the lower orders' rushed for scraps. A document from the late eighteenth century, which records 496 worn-out copper soup bowls, 50 food trays (*ta'am tepsisi*), and 300 *baklava* platters for the 'feeding of the servitors' (*kul it'amına mahsus*), provides an indication of the number of people eating on such occasions.<sup>75</sup> Since these numbers refer only

<sup>71</sup> The rest of the provisions are given in table III.

<sup>72</sup> 23.1 kg of meat (menu 48) is still too high for the small group of viziers. If we calculate 250 g per person, the total of 74.4 kg of meat reserved for the viziers and the *ehl-i divan* in combination would be sufficient to feed 297 people. On the other hand, high quantities are not unusual in registers of the *matbah-i 'amire*. In a register of Zilka'de 1075, we find under the date of 23 Zilka'de/ 7.VI.1665 an entry specifying the sultan's daily breakfast (*kaşve altı*) during his stay in Dimotika (Didimotichon): 10 chickens, 1 lamb, 6 *kyye* (7.7 kg) of sugar, and 10 *kyye* (12.8 kg) of clarified butter (BBA, Kepeci 7276, p. 50). Even the last king of Egypt, Faruq, would have had some difficulty consuming such a portion for breakfast.

<sup>73</sup> Theodore Spandouyn Cantacasin, *Petit traité de l'origine des Turcs*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1896): 75.

<sup>74</sup> Compare for example Salomon Schweigger, *Eine neue Reißbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (Nuremberg, 1608, reprt. Graz, 1964): 59; or Johann Wild, *Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen: Anno 1604*, ed. Karl Teply (Stuttgart, 1964): 86. Ottaviano Bon speaks of 400-500 people who were fed on this occasion, see Bon, *The Sultan's Seraglio*: 36.

<sup>75</sup> See Cevdet Saray 6332, a *takrir* of 25 Zilhicce 1204/5.IX.1790. These dishes were purchased on 13 Cemazi I 1205/January 18, 1791 for 3 *yük* and 41,220 *akçe* (including the tinning), compare Cevdet Saray 6333. Several years previously, the imperial kitchen had received a consignment of pots and pans for the use of the *divan*.

to those dishes that had to be repaired or replaced, we can imagine how great the total number of diners must have been.

Even more guesswork is involved when we try to calculate the numbers of participants in the three banquets to which only members of the Palace were invited. However, the *şerh* covering the enormous feast given at the Festival of Sacrifices does record the daily allocations (*yevmiye*) of some foodstuffs, separately from the extras intended for the feast. These extras (*‘idiye*) indicate which comestibles counted as luxurious and were therefore normally allotted only in limited quantities, namely sugar, clarified butter, and meat. The daily allocation of meat, for instance, was 450 *kezye* (577.26 kg), but an additional 40 *kezye* (51.3 kg) was provided on account of the festival. For the guests (*mihman*), another 80 *kezye* (102.6 kg) were needed, resulting in a total of 570 *kezye* (731.2 kg). The ‘ordinary’ rice allowance was 17 *keyl* (218 kg) per day, and the portion for the guests 4 *keyl* (51.3 kg), while 2 *keyl* (23.65 kg) were put in the *me’muniye*, adding up to a grand total of 23 *keyl* (295 kg). In proportion to rice and meat, the quantity of clarified butter was considerably lower: on ordinary days, it amounted to 92 *kezye* (118 kg) per day, an extra of 12 *kezye* (15.4 kg) was given out on account of the festival, 18 *kezye* (23 kg) served to the guests, 24 *kezye* (30.8 kg) went into the preparation of the sweet known as *reşidiye*, while 10 *kezye* (12.8 kg) were used for a purpose I have been unable to identify.<sup>76</sup>

Unfortunately, no *yevmiye* for chicken is recorded.<sup>77</sup> But we learn that 175 of the total of 349 chickens delivered were reserved for the heads of the *bölüks* (*ser-bölük*), or chiefs of the Palace chambers, while 130 were used for *kebabs* and 44 assigned to the guests. The total amount of sugar, 85.5 *kezye* (96.2 kg), consisted of the daily allowance of 32.5 *kezye* (41.7 kg), an *‘idiye* of 15 *kezye* (19.2 kg), an assignment of 8 *kezye* (10.26 kg) for the guests, 13 *kezye* (16.7 kg) for the preparation of *zerde*, and 3 *kezye* (3.8 kg) for the seasoning of a roast deer

This delivery included 30 copper dishes ‘on feet’ for rice and *zerde* (*ayaklı pilav-zerde sahanları*), 250 soup bowls, 2 large trays (*kebir sini*), 3 trays for *hoşaf* (*hoşaf sinisi*), 3 filters (*süzge*), 4 platters to arrange rice or *zerde* (*pilav-zerde kotarmak için sini*), 4 large ladles and skimmers, and 1 cauldron to be kept in reserve; Cevdet 7213, from 14 Receb 1197/15.IV.1783.

<sup>76</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p.20. The word (written without any diacritical points) may read *cebeli* (?). Could it stand for *cebeci*?

<sup>77</sup> Presumably the *yevmiye* was 255 birds, since this is the number registered in the *şerhs* of the banquets held on 1 and 6 Zilhicce, compare D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. III, p. 3 and 12. In neither case is any additional information given, but the quantities recorded are commensurable with the *yevmiyes* of the *bayram* feast.



(*kebab-ı ahı*),<sup>78</sup> The number of pigeons was amazingly low: the daily allocation amounted to only 30 birds, with an additional twenty for the guests. No mention was made of partridge in the *şerh*, but 6 geese and 10 ducks were recorded.

Spices such as cinnamon or saffron were likewise not listed, although the latter was certainly used for the *zerde*. We find only 220 *miskal* (1058.4 g) of pepper and 350 *miskal* (1684 g) of *bahar*, apparently a mixture of spices.<sup>79</sup> Rose-water (*ab-ı verd*) must have been an important ingredient, which symbolized not only the Prophet, but also power and rule; in fact, 3 *keyye* (3.8 kg) were consumed.<sup>80</sup> The account for black raisins is interesting: 22 *keyye* (28.2 kg) was reserved for the *ta'am-ı bürrı* and 46 *keyye* (59 kg) for the *zerde-i 'idiye*, while an extra 4 *keyye* (5.1 kg) was added for the benefit of the guests.

On examining the proportions involved, we discover enormous discrepancies: while the quantities of meat, rice, and fat would have been sufficient to feed around 2,000 people, neither sugar nor poultry could match this in any way. We may conclude that only a relatively small, privileged group was supplied with comestibles as luxurious as pigeons, geese, and ducks. The group consuming chicken must have been somewhat larger, but still quite limited in comparison with those who were served only mutton. Thus we have a pattern that resembles our findings concerning the normal *divan* menus.

Some victuals, like rice, meat, often also poultry, clarified butter, and honey, as well as ice and snow (for cooling drinks and *hoşafı*), were apparently thought to be indispensable items for persons of a certain status in society. They were regularly distributed by the court in fixed quantities to princesses and dignitaries according to their respective ranks.<sup>81</sup> These comestibles were of course also to

<sup>78</sup> This dish is mentioned again when detailing the use of onions (*piyaz-ı huşke*). The normal quantity per day was 240 *keyye* (307.9 kg), the guests were allowed 60 *keyye* (76.9 kg), and for the *ahı* another 30 *keyye* (38.5 kg) were needed.

<sup>79</sup> *Bahar* was imported from Egypt (see Hedda Reindl-Kiel and Machiel Kiel, "Kaugummi für den Sultan. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Insel Chios im 17. Jahrhundert," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 11 (1991): 185. In today's Egypt, a mixture mainly of Indian spices, called *baharat*, is still popular. The proportions of this mixture, composed of diverse kinds of pepper, cinnamon, coriander, nutmeg, clove, and saffron, vary according to quality and price. *Baharat* is considered to be a 'noble' spice and is largely used in rice dishes.

<sup>80</sup> Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror's famous portrait by Sinan Bey is a good example for this symbolism.

<sup>81</sup> See Reindl-Kiel, "Wesirfinger und Frauenschenkel": 65 and 68. Melek Hanum writes, referring to her husband's loss of office: "all the ordinary allowances of fuel,

be found regularly among the ingredients of the official Palace meals. There were, however, exceptions: ice and snow were entirely absent from our documents, apparently because they were recorded in separate registers.<sup>82</sup> Honey was rarely to be found, probably because sugar was preferred, owing to the superior prestige linked to its higher price.

Sugar was also to be found among the presents that the governor (*beylerbeyi*) of Egypt sent to Prince Mehmed, the son of Murad III, in 1582 on the occasion of his circumcision, along with a precious sword, costly horse gear and horses.<sup>83</sup> The high prestige of sugar is also apparent from the celebrations of royal weddings or circumcisions, when large numbers of animals and even entire gardens made of sugar were displayed to the public eye in a procession accompanying the ladies of the imperial harem.<sup>84</sup> Sugar, in the Islamic world as well as in the West, symbolized affection and the enjoyable and cherished aspects of life. Thus we may understand the lavish use of sugar, even in combination with meat or fish dishes, as a symbol of the ruler's affection for his most prominent servants. This – to our taste – excessive consumption of sugar was not unique to the Ottoman Palace; the court of Queen Elizabeth I presents a similar picture.<sup>85</sup>

Rice in Turkey is traditionally considered superior to *bulgur*, and in an agrarian society meat is held in great esteem even today. After all, to a farmer or sheep breeder, livestock is part of his capital, which he will not readily reduce by slaughtering. In the lower stratum of urban society, the consumption of meat is symbolic of wealth, owing to its relatively high price. A high regard for fat seems to be widespread in pre-industrial societies, and as we have seen, the inhabitants of the sultanic Palace were no exception to this rule. In idioms such

rice, oats, bread, and other things which constitute the wealth of an officer's household, were stopped." Melek Hanum, *Thirty Years in the Harem*: 47.

<sup>82</sup> From much later documents we know that ice and snow were normally distributed only between June and September, see Cevdet Saray, 5415, (5 Receb 1188/September 11, 1774. See also BBA, Cevdet Adliye 4354, dated 25 Şa'ban 1201/April 12, 1787 and Cevdet Saray 6034 (1212/ 1797-8).

<sup>83</sup> Gökyay, "Bir Saltanat Düğünü": 36 f.

<sup>84</sup> Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* IV, (Pest, 1829): 121. In this context, it should not be overlooked that the symbolism of sugar and sweetness in general has a clearly feminine connotation, as Hammer himself also notes.

<sup>85</sup> I am very grateful to Thurstan Robinson, who brought this to my attention. See A. L. Rowse, *The Elizabethan Renaissance: The Life of the Society* (London, 1971): 131.

as *yağlı ballı günler* (days of fat and honey, that is of prosperity) or *arası yağlı ballı olmak* (to be on very friendly terms), the traditional connotation of a pleasurable life is readily apparent. The meals in our register were prepared exclusively with clarified butter, which had a long tradition in Islamic countries and was already popular in the Middle Ages in the Arab world.<sup>86</sup> Olive oil seems to have still been in the very earliest stage of its later triumphant career in refined Ottoman cuisine, since it is recorded only for use with fish soup and fish.<sup>87</sup>

Although there is no doubt that spices were prestigious ingredients, their role was not as important as in medieval and late-medieval Europe, where incredibly large quantities of exotic spices were the main indicators of wealth and prestige. Nevertheless, the moderate use of certain spices, especially of cinnamon, ginger, and saffron, which even today is very expensive, was, as we have seen, a clear marker of status. Two spices, namely pepper and *bahar*, are found in varying quantities in all meals.

Vegetable consumption at all the meals studied was amazingly low. Only onions and small quantities of chickpeas appear with any frequency, presumably because they were required to flavor certain dishes and to improve texture. Other vegetables consumed in moderate quantities were squash, *lisan-ı sevîr*, and spinach. However, our findings on this point are not necessarily significant, since except for a single fascicule our sources refer only to meals served in winter, when the range of vegetables available was limited. Nevertheless, I have the impression that during this period, vegetables did not play an important part in official meals. When comparing the banquets documented, we see that vegetable dishes appeared mainly in the most lavish feasts. The shorter ones seem to consist mainly of meats and poultry. At the three elaborate banquets for court members, the quantities of spinach (410.5 kg on 1 Zilhicce, 423.3 kg on 6 Zilhicce, and 500.3 kg on *kurban bayramı*) and fresh cabbage (230.9 kg on both 1 and 6 Zilhicce, and 333.5 kg for the *bayram* banquet) indicate that these vegetables in particular were intended for the rather large group of less privileged participants. Hence we may conclude that, in general, vegetables were simply not prestigious enough to figure as centerpieces

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Peter Heine, *Kulinarische Studien: Untersuchungen zur Kochkunst im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter mit Rezepten* (Wiesbaden, 1988): 36.

<sup>87</sup> That times and tastes could change quite dramatically is demonstrated by a document dated 28 Rebi' II 1258/May 28, 1842. For the preceding year 1257/1841-42, the imperial kitchens had bought, in the *kaza* of Ayvalık and the island of Yund ("Yunda" in the document), no less than 55,000 *unkekiye* (70,554 kg) of olive oil. Compare Cevdet Saray 6639.



of formal meals.<sup>88</sup> If many different foods were served, they might appear as side dishes, but that was all.

Our information on fresh fruit is also limited by the circumstance that most of the banquets involved took place in winter. Only at the *bayram* feast for the members of the court does fruit play a certain role. The relevant list specifies only 10.26 kg of quince, 89.8 kg of apples, and not more than 30 melons. Apples, in contrast to quince and melons, were readily available even in winter and therefore probably less prestigious at a banquet taking place in December. In general, fruit must have been held in great esteem at the Ottoman court, otherwise it would not have made sense, for example, to send the sultan strawberries as a present.<sup>89</sup> We have evidence from later times that, during the month of Ramadan, the grand vizier sent fruit and flowers to the imperial Palace every day.<sup>90</sup> Hence it is very likely indeed that fruit served uncooked was simply omitted from our register. It was probably listed in the records kept by the chief purveyor or *paşarî başı*.

Dried fruits, however, especially raisins, currants, apricots, and figs, were widely used, sometimes together with the fresh varieties. Thus the *kıymalı börek* served at the banquet for the Transylvanian envoy was filled not only with minced meat and onions, but also with dried apricots, currants, dates, chestnuts, and apples. Chestnuts, as well as almonds in small quantities, raisins, and currants seem to have popular ingredients for *dane* as well. But in this case, they probably were added mainly for additional flavoring, which leads us to the question of taste.

<sup>88</sup> General availability and popularity of a food among the lower strata of society often makes it appear as being of low prestige. This circumstance at times made chestnuts, for example, an outcast from Western aristocratic tables, cf. Montanari, *Der Hunger und der Überfluß*: 110. We must not forget that a major aspect of all meals studied here was to project the Palace's image to the outside world. In kitchen registers covering 'domestic' Palace consumption on 'ordinary' days, vegetables were not scarce at all.

<sup>89</sup> Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri," 296 # 1 a (1503). At the tables of Western aristocracies, tree fruit was very popular, due to a rather simple symbolism, such foods being grown in the heights. On the other hand, vegetables, tubers, roots, and common herbs were considered boorish food, cf. Montanari, *Der Hunger und der Überfluß*: 110.

<sup>90</sup> Cevdet Saray 2354, dated *selh-i Ramazan* 1158/October 26, 1745. During the eighteenth century, at least, fruit and flowers seem to have become an obsession at the Ottoman court.

Ottoman culinary taste of the seventeenth century showed a preference for mixed flavors. This becomes apparent from the combination of ingredients in the fish soup and the fish *kavurma* served to the Transylvanian envoy; unfortunately, the register jumbles the two dishes together. In both cases, 150 grey mullet (*kefal*) were used. In addition, the fish dishes contained onions, pepper, *bahar*, parsley, saffron, vinegar, olive oil (3 *kezye*/3.8 kg), clarified butter (7 *kezye*/9 kg), honey (6 *kezye*/7.7 kg), sugar (4 *kezye*/5.1 kg), and almonds (2 *kezye*/2.5 kg).

Although different kinds of fish were found in the account books of Mehmed the Conqueror's Palace kitchen, this food was apparently not too popular in later periods.<sup>91</sup> Since it was served at the feasts for the Transylvanian ambassador, as well as at banquets given to the members of the Palace, we should view it as simply an addition to the variety of foods on offer, with no special meanings attached. Fresh fish, although eaten in all Christian societies for cultic reasons, never became a real favorite for Western demonstrative consumption either. As a light food, it was regarded as a poor substitute for meat.<sup>92</sup> There may be similar reasons why, for many Ottomans as well, fish remained a food destined for the further enrichment of luxury fare, but could never compete with meat and poultry in terms of prestige.

One important part of all official meals has so far been left undiscussed, namely chickens and poultry. In fact, there is not a single viziers' meal without chicken, at least in the form of *şurba-ı makiyan*, sometimes called *perhiz-i paşayan* in the supplementary lists (*şerh*). Furthermore, exactly 50 percent of the *kebabs* and *yahnis* in the normal menus served to the viziers were prepared with chicken or pigeon; and in the *divan* meals, poultry had an even greater part to play. At minor banquets, chickens and other fowl provided the lion's share of all dishes containing meat. According to a list in our register covering the month of Receb 1074/January 29-February 27, 1664, 13,516 chickens were consumed by the court; that is more than 450 a day, 346 being assigned to the *divan* viziers.<sup>93</sup> A later document supports these figures, for it records 155,059 chickens being purchased annually by the Palace, which once again, means an average of almost 425 chickens a day.<sup>94</sup> It seems that during the eighteenth and

<sup>91</sup> Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri," 238 f. 244, 256, 261, 274, 276, 278.

<sup>92</sup> Compare Montanari, *Der Hunger und der Überfluß*: 100.

<sup>93</sup> D.BŞM.MTE 10522/12, fasc. V, p. 66.

<sup>94</sup> Cevdet Saray 5908: this is a petition (*arz*) of 1228/1813, in very poor condition, in parts barely legible. The number of 155,059 chickens refers to the previous year,

nineteenth centuries, the consumption of poultry, in particular chicken, became almost an obsession.<sup>95</sup> Of course, this food was a little more expensive than other meat and as a result, more prestigious.<sup>96</sup>

This preference for chicken probably already existed at the Abbasid court and might be understood as an old Islamic and perhaps even pre-Islamic Palace tradition. When looking at the older kitchen registers, we discover that, at least since Mehmed II's time, poultry had been favored by Ottoman rulers and their entourages. Almost a century later, according to the account book of 981/1573-74, this preference for fowl extended to partridge (*keklik*), wild duck (*añıt*), and grouse (*bedenos*).<sup>97</sup> This is rather surprising if we consider that, in spite of the prestige of hunting as the royal sport *par excellence*, deer and other sorts of game hardly appear in the imperial kitchen documents. But, in the register of 981, even peacock (*tavus*) is listed among the poultry consumed.<sup>98</sup> At late medieval feasts in the West, roast peacock was also very much in fashion.<sup>99</sup> In the Islamic world, however, particularly in the fine arts, the peacock usually symbolised paradise, and thus to find it in a saucepan seems rather bizarre.<sup>100</sup>

Apart from a certain predilection during Mehmed II's time for fish, caviar, and shrimps, and, in the second half of the sixteenth century, for the less common varieties of poultry, the culinary habits of the Palace did not change fun-

while for 1813, in addition to 64,429 fowl assigned in lieu of taxes, 112,188 chickens, 36 turkeys and 10 ducks had to be purchased.

<sup>95</sup> In Muharrem 1188/March 14-April 12, 1774, we find a *takirir* stating that 10 chickens per person per day should be distributed to the 'guests' in Yedikule, see Cevdet Saray 5426. This should refer to the Russian ambassador and his suite, imprisoned for the duration of the Russo-Ottoman war.

<sup>96</sup> Compare Kütükoğlu, *Narh Defteri*: 91, 93.

<sup>97</sup> Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri,": 110 f and 130.

<sup>98</sup> Barkan, "İstanbul Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri,": 110.

<sup>99</sup> Joop Witteveen, "The Great Birds: Part 4, Peacocks in History," *Petits Propos Culinaires* 32 (June 1989): 23-34, especially n.b. 27-28; see also idem, "The Great Birds, Part 5, Preparation of the Peacock for the Table," *Petits Propos Culinaires* 36 (November 1990): 10-20 and Gerhard Fouquet, "Das Festmahl in den oberdeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters. Zur Form, Funktion und Bedeutung öffentlichen Konsums," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 74/1 (1992): 97 f.

<sup>100</sup> For the symbolic meaning of peacocks, see Abbas Daneshvari, *Medieval Tomb Towers of Iran: An Iconographical Study* (Lexington, 1986): 46-64 and idem, "A Preliminary Study of the Iconography of the Peacock in Medieval Islam," in: *The Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (California, 1994): 192-200.

damentally between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is, however, a slight tendency toward greater diversification and, so it seems, toward the consumption of greater quantities of food. One indicator of the court's rather conservative culinary inclinations is the lack of interest in turkeys, which appear neither on the viziers' menus nor at the festive banquets, although in the seventeenth century this fowl was known and valued by Istanbul's middle-classes.<sup>101</sup>

Fowl was also very popular in the West. Like fruit growing high up in the trees, birds and poultry were seen as a symbol of loftiness, and therefore regarded as an appropriate food for the aristocracy.<sup>102</sup> In the Ottoman context, we might consider the popularity of poultry and wild birds simply as a demonstration of wealth and prestige. The roast peacocks we can understand as an expression of exoticism. This might be a fitting end to our reflections, but I think that another layer of significance can be detected when we take a closer look at the ceremonies of the Ottoman court as they developed, especially during the sixteenth century.

As Gülru Necipoğlu has shown, the ceremonies elaborated during this period endeavored to present the monarch in a mystical aura, almost as an idol, exalted over the banalities of this world.<sup>103</sup> This development was apparently paralleled, especially during the reign of Süleyman, by the emergence of an imperial ideology that endowed the ruler with Messianic traits.<sup>104</sup> This image was projected through splendor, the widely visible administration of justice, rare public appearances, and an elaborate titulature, including the well-known *zill Allah fi'l-arṣ* ('the shadow of God on earth'), or *sahib-kiran* ('universal ruler').<sup>105</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Gökyay, "Sohbetnâme," 60.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Montanari, *Der Hunger und der Überfluß*, 109 f.

<sup>103</sup> Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, 22-30. See also idem, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 305 f.

<sup>104</sup> Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman," in: *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1992): 159-77.

<sup>105</sup> Fleischer, "The Lawgiver," 162. See also Joseph Matuz, *Das Kanzleivesen Sultan Süleymans des Prächtigen* (Wiesbaden, 1974): 122. The use of *zill Allah fi'l-arṣ* in the titulature, however, gains its significance only in combination with other features. For we find this title sometimes used by ambitious petty princelings; thus, one of the Aydınoğlus, Hamza Beg, brother of Cüneyd, apparently found the title "God's shadow on earth" appropriate to his position and claims, as apparent from the in-

When, in this context, we observe the sultan distributing robes of honor as gifts to dignitaries and note that these robes were normally made of silks and brocades, materials worn in Paradise (Kuran XXII/23 and LXXVI/12), the peacocks, as well as the birds and poultry at Palace dinners, gain a new dimension. According to Kuran LVI, the true believers will obtain in Paradise: "(20) And with fruit of their own choice, (21) And bird's flesh, of what they desire; ... (23) A recompense for what they have been doing."<sup>106</sup> Hence the universal ruler, God's shadow on earth, affords to the deserving a shadow of Paradise already in this life, and allows them to taste in this world the anticipated joys of the world to come.<sup>107</sup>

Against this background, we are better able to understand why the kitchens in the imperial Palace were accorded such an architectural prominence. Something similar was practiced in certain dervish lodges of an earlier period, such as Seyyid Gazi and Sultan Şücaeddin near Eskişehir in Anatolia. This parallelism may of course be accidental, but it can also be understood as enhancing the Palace's image as a spiritual center providing food to its devotees and thus comparable to a sanctuary.

scription of his monumental Mosque in Stara Zagora (Eski Zağra) in Bulgaria dated 1408; compare Machiel Kiel, "Some Early Ottoman Monuments in Bulgarian Thrace. Stara Zagora (Eski Zağra), Jambol and Nova Zagora (Zağra Yenicesi)," *Belleten* 38 (1974) (reprint idem, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans* (Aldershot, 1990): 640. Compare also Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah," 162-71.

<sup>106</sup> *The Qur'an*, transl. Richard Bell (Edinburgh, 1937), vol. 2: 555.

<sup>107</sup> There is no doubt that the Ottoman tradition had its roots in much older Islamic and partly pre-Islamic predecessors. The linkage between food and Paradise was made in the West as well. Pepper, for example, consumed in incredible quantities, was believed to grow on a plain near Paradise, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York, 1993): 6.



THE ŞEHZADE'S KITCHEN AND ITS  
EXPENDITURES  
AN ACCOUNT BOOK FROM ŞEHZADE  
MEHMED'S PALACE IN MANISA, 1594-1595

Feridun M. Emecen\*\*

We know that under the Ottomans, Istanbul and the imperial palace (*saray*) were generally supported by the *iāşe* policy, that is, producers were obliged to supply what was needed either against payment of an administratively determined price (*narh*), or else against an exemption from certain taxes, particularly the *avarız*. As a result, a multitude of food items from all over the Empire arrived at the sultan's palace.<sup>1</sup> The Empire's subjects viewed the imperial capital in its entirety as a special, sacred space, as it was the residence of the sultan and his family. Thus, the palace, as the 'threshold of felicity' (*südde-i sa'adet*), and the city came to be identified with each other.

However, it is safe to say that it was only from the early seventeenth century onwards that Istanbul gained the unrivalled position of a paramount center. For until the late sixteenth century, a number of provincial cities, to which royal princes as representatives of the dynasty were sent to acquire administrative experience, acted as 'partners' of the capital not only at the political, but also at the economic and cultural levels. From time to time, these towns even entered into a competition with Istanbul that, predictably, they could not win. Nevertheless, the miniature replications of Istanbul-style palace life style in the Anatolian provinces strike us as an interesting, paradoxical aspect of this competition. In fact, these cities that, for longer or shorter periods, assumed the role of

---

\* In 1595 he was to ascend the throne as Mehmed III [T.K.].

\*\* University of Istanbul; translated by Ruhdan Gönüllü and Thomas Kühn.

<sup>1</sup> See Feridun M. Emecen, "XVI. Asrın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul ve Sarayın İaşesi için Batı Anadolu'dan Yapılan Sevkiyat," *Tarih Boyunca İstanbul Semineri*, Bildiriler (İstanbul, 1989): 197-230; Arif Bilgin, *Osmanlı Sarayının İaşesi 1489-1650* (Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Istanbul, 2000).



secondary capitals, gradually formed strong ties with the principal center. Moreover Bursa and Edirne as former residences of the dynasty, and within easy distance from Istanbul, but also more remote places like Amasya, Konya, Kastamonu, Kütahya and Manisa as former centers of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Turkmen principalities, boasted an established cultural heritage with an affinity to court life. Until Istanbul emerged as the undisputed capital, it absorbed the experiences and customs of these cities, which, once they had ceased to function as centers of the old *beyliks*, often became residences of imperial princes. While to some extent, these provincial centers clearly influenced one another, in time Istanbul made its paramount position felt.

Among the provincial residences of the princes, it was particularly Manisa that housed the heir-apparent and thus could claim the rank of a second capital. Manisa assumed this role after the decline of Amasya, during the reign of Selim II (1566-1574).<sup>2</sup> As a result, the town became the site of some remarkable developments, not only in the sphere of high politics, but also in local social life. For palace customs were reflected on the provincial level, and connections forged between the inhabitants of Manisa and members of the dynasty. However, very little is known about this form of provincial palace life, and even less about the infrastructure by which the princes and their retinues obtained the foodstuffs consumed at their courts. As the only known example of its kind, a register that records the expenses incurred by the palace kitchen of Manisa therefore merits particular attention.

The register (*defter*) with which we are concerned here is an account book covering a period of about twelve months. More specifically, it details the expenses incurred by the Manisa palace and its kitchen between the end of Cemazilahir 1002 and the first week of Cemazilahir 1003 (March 21<sup>st</sup>, 1594-February 21<sup>st</sup>, 1595), that is the period immediately before Şehzade Mehmed's enthronization. Appended is a list of expenditures that covers a further period of 53 days, till the month of Receb.<sup>3</sup> However, Mehmed III left Manisa in the second week of Cemadelula 1003 (January 1595). Expenses continued to be recorded for a period of about three months following his departure, probably the time needed by the palace residents and the harem to prepare their departure and leave for Istanbul.

The *defter* includes very detailed lists of the various goods purchased for the princely residence. While it was common to compile such registers for the Istanbul palaces, it is noteworthy that the Manisa *saray* was not directly adminis-

<sup>2</sup> Feridun M. Emecen, XVI. Asırda Manisa Kazası (Ankara, 1989): 26.

<sup>3</sup> For this *defter* see Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [BA], Kepeci [KK], no. 7101.

tered by the Ottoman center. That an account book exists for a such a provincial palace is a piece of good fortune, for it sheds light on the rather different kind of life that members of the dynasty led when outside the capital. Our register also documents which ingredients were used by the kitchen, the localities from which they were supplied, the kinds of purchases made in the area, the organization of food provisioning and finally the elements of the local cuisine that might be adopted to provide culinary enrichment. Before exploring the palace kitchen on the basis of the *defter* entries, I shall attempt to describe the region's customs in food preparation, in order to better delineate the specific culinary characteristics of the palace itself.

Not much is known about the food customs of Manisa's population. Nevertheless, evidence from various sources allows us to infer what was being cooked in kitchens for the poor (*imaret*) and food stalls (*aşçı dükkânları*) catering for the public.<sup>4</sup> The food that was cooked daily at the *imarets* served mostly travelers, the poor, *medrese* students and servitors of various types. In the second half of the sixteenth century, there were two large *imarets* in Manisa. These formed part of the Hatuniye and Sultaniye foundation complexes (*külliyes*) respectively, and were closely associated with high-ranking female members of the dynasty.<sup>5</sup> In these institutions, the largest expenditures were for meat and bread, and regular beneficiaries were served rice soup, wheat-based dishes and bread, which was baked both mornings and evenings. Guests were offered a greater variety of dishes and were provided with special meals. Occasionally, however, regular visitors, too, might have the opportunity to taste more elaborate food at the *imarets*. On Friday nights, and particularly during the nights of Ramadan and of the Feast of Sacrifices (*Kurban Bayramı*), they could enjoy fancy dishes like rice and meat, *zerde* (a sweet, saffron-colored rice dish), and various other sweets.

It is in the relevant regulations (*nizâmnâmeler*) that we can find some information about the operation of the bakeries and food stalls catering for the civilian population of Manisa. Detailed rules specified how to prepare various

<sup>4</sup> For the *imarets* see Ömer L. Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sirelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23/1-2 (1963): 239-96; idem, "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmaret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilançoları," *Belgeler* 1/2 (1965): 235-377.

<sup>5</sup> The Hatuniye and the Sultaniye were foundation complexes (*külliye*) commissioned by Hüsnişah Sultan, the mother of Şehzade Şehinşah, and by Hafsa Sultan, the mother of Sultan Süleyman Kanuni, respectively. Their *imarets* handed out food on a regular basis.



types of bread, including sweet buns (*çörek*) and flat bread (*girdi*). In some *kanunnames* from the early sixteenth century it is stipulated that a *çörek* should consist of “seven *okka* of fat to one *mud* of flour” (*bir mud una yedi okka yağ*).<sup>6</sup> At the food stalls, however, dishes were more often prepared on the basis of meat and offal. Probably people but rarely cooked these types of food at home, whereas they were available at the food stalls that could be found in almost every city. As apparent from the relevant regulations, certain types of kebab and meat stews, such as *tava buryanı*, *yahni*, or *tennur buryanı* were very much part of the regular fare available at these places. Only meat from sheep and lamb was used, while beef was not in demand at all. The most detailed regulations concerned the preparation of offal dishes, particularly sheeps’ heads, trotters, tripe, liver, and intestines. Food stalls were required to cook tripe in clean water and to make sure that all hair was cleaned off the heads and trotters, that vinegar and garlic were used as appropriate, that only a certain part of the intestines was used, and that livers were cooked separately without being mixed with other kinds of offal. There were two types of filled pastry (*börek*) – *şorbalı* and *yapraklı börek* – that were made with lamb meat. An appropriate amount of onions was to be added to the meat, and the use of offal fat was particularly prohibited. Sellers of pickles (*turşu*), halva, and lemonades (*şerbet*) formed another group of food vendors. They too were required to abide by a number of regulations: no starch was to be added to cream and cheese, the almonds used in halva should not be burned and sugar candies (*akide*) were to be made from pure grape syrup. The sellers of *şerbet* had to use the proper ingredients, such as grapes, rose water, and musk. Moreover, the *şerbet* had to be iced and not sour or watery.

In general, culinary practices adopted by broader segments of the population reflect a kind of taste that has first developed outside of people’s homes, preferably in centers of power and prestige. In the context of the urban population, culinary tastes can also be regarded as the pickiness of people who have enough to eat in the first place. However, data based on sources covering the varieties of food that were consumed at home, and particularly by the rural population, remain inaccessible. Yet one could say that among the better-off population of the cities, a culinary taste existed that was both copied from Istanbul and enriched by local elements, and that the ensuing combination was directly related to the level of affluence and of course, to supply and demand.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, the general prescriptions found in the *kanunnames* ascribed to Selim I were often repeated in later periods.

It is noteworthy that we have found this phenomenon reflected, at a high socio-political level, in the kitchen of a provincial palace. The princely residence in Manisa had been fully established during the reign of Murad II, who had restructured and organized the palace where he had chosen to live after abdicating in favor of his son. On and off for about a hundred and fifty years, Manisa was inhabited by members of the Ottoman dynasty, Prince Mehmed, later Mehmed III, being the last resident, and also the last son of a sultan entrusted with the administration of a province (*sancak*). Until his departure, the palace was an influential political center, but after 1595, it remained empty. This must have been the reason why it slowly decayed, even though it was repaired several times in later periods.<sup>7</sup> The miniature in Talikizade's work shows the condition of the palace with all its component parts towards the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Among the buildings depicted, it is possible to identify the kitchen. However cooking was not limited to the palace building. We know that the kitchen personnel migrated during the summer, to serve the prince at his camp up country, where he moved to escape the sweltering heat of the city.

When Prince Mehmed arrived at the palace in January 1584, he was sixteen years old and had just undergone a circumcision ceremony which had been celebrated with great pomp. He was to stay in Manisa for twelve years. Part of his entourage was a small army of administrators, organized very much along the lines of the central bureaucracy. According to Peçuyllu, some two thousand servants, including cooks and their aides, accompanied this official staff.<sup>9</sup> A man named Cerrahzade Mehmed served as chief taster (*çeşnicibaşı*).<sup>10</sup> We can assume that these servitors of the sultan brought to Manisa the culinary customs of the imperial palace in Istanbul. Yet there can be little doubt that in time new tastes were formed, that also reflected elements of local food culture.

It is in this context that we will now study the register itself. It is divided into two sections, one of them dealing with revenues and the other with expenses. There are no formal characteristics that could serve to distinguish our register from other records of its kind. In the opening section, cumulative

<sup>7</sup> Çağatay Ulucay, *Manisa'daki Saray-i Amire ve Şehzade Türbesi* (İstanbul, 1941). The only part of the palace that has survived to the present day is a tower known as Fatih Köşkü. For the condition of the palace see also İhsan Bilgin, "Manisa Sarayı", *9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi I* (1995): 369-73.

<sup>8</sup> *Şemailname*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, III. Ahmed kısmı, no. 3592, fols. 10b-11a.

<sup>9</sup> *Tarih* (İstanbul, 1283): II, 89.

<sup>10</sup> Emecen, *Manisa Kazası*: 37-38.

summations precede detailed breakdowns, followed by the listing of individual items of revenue and expense. Revenues came from the imperial Treasury (*hazine*), the prince's tax-farms (*mukataa*), and the sale of goods, which the palace had been assigned but could not use. The cash equivalents of *mukataa* revenues collected in kind are also recorded. Part of the annual tribute from Egypt (*irsaliye*) appears under the heading of 'allocations made in kind'. This reflects the close ties of Prince Mehmed's household to the imperial palace in Istanbul, for, as is well known, the annual tribute from Egypt was part of the sultan's personal revenue, the *ceyb-i humayun*.<sup>11</sup> The allocation of parts of the *ceyb-i humayun* to the heir-apparent is yet another facet of the dynasty's projection into the provinces. The equivalent of 315,809 *akçes* was assigned to the Manisa palace from the *ceyb-i humayun* and constituted the third largest portion of revenue recorded in the *defter*. Some 1,124,995 *akçes* came from the central Treasury, while the cash equivalent of the *mukataa* revenues totaled 412,068 *akçes*. The sale of surplus food and spices brought in another 206,682 *akçes*. There were also some miscellaneous revenue items, including the transit duty (*ubur bacı*) worth 27,000 *akçes*, which was levied on the flocks of sheep brought in from Rumelia. The rollover of 334,954 *akçes* from the previous year was also recorded as revenue.

Among other matters, the breakdown of expenditures illuminates where and how the palace obtained the foodstuffs its inhabitants consumed. Cereals, especially wheat, which accounted for the most substantial purchases, were brought in not only from Manisa itself and the surrounding area, but also from Menemen, Sart, Nif, (Kemalpaşa), Alaçehir, Borlu, Gördek, and even from Bergama. On average, the going rate for a load of wheat was 40 *akçes* per *kile*. However, in purchases made in Nif, Ilica, Menemen and the Manisa region, prices could amount to 70 *akçes* per *kile*. The difference must have been due to either the quality of the wheat or else to the fact that in this case, we are dealing with a local *kile* larger than that used in the remainder of the accounts. At the same time, we should bear in mind that two other factors also may account for this price difference. First, purchases may have been made during different seasons, and even administrators decreeing prices by official fiat conceded that they must be higher before than after the harvest. Secondly, at certain times but not at others, there may have been competition among suppliers; when few suppliers were available, the palace administrators may have been obliged to pay

<sup>11</sup> See Seyyid Muhammed, *XVII. Asırda Mısır Eyaleti* (İstanbul, 1990): 115-24; Halil Sahillioğlu, "Ceyb-i Hümayun," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* [=TDVİA], VII, pp. 465-67.

more.<sup>12</sup> In addition, it is interesting to note that the palace regularly made a profit on its sales, that is, it sold at prices far higher than those at which it had purchased.

Various types of meat listed together formed the second largest expenditure item listed in the register, with mutton and lamb the most important types of red meat. These were followed by various kinds of offal such as heads, trotters, intestines, lungs, and liver. In this category we also find poultry, such as chicken, pigeons and geese, of which large quantities were consumed. The list also shows expenses for the by-products of livestock, fowl and bees, such as milk, cheese, cream, yoghurt, eggs, and honey. Once again, beef was almost never eaten, and red meat consumption limited to mutton and lamb. Within a period of 11 months, 7344 sheep, 27 lambs, and 37 sheep destined for sacrifice were consumed. A total of nearly 7500 sheep meant that on an average, around twenty-five were slaughtered daily. The number of animals was recorded, or else their weight in *okkas* (1.28 kg) noted. The total weight of the meat recorded amounts to 117,832 *okka* (about 140 tons). This manner of record keeping suggests that most sheep entering the kitchen were slaughtered immediately. On the other hand, the separate entry for animals destined for sacrifice indicates that these were fed for a certain time. Presumably they were more expensive (195 *akşes* apiece) because they had to meet the ritually required criteria. In other words, these were good quality sheep selected specifically for sacrifice. The low number of lambs slaughtered must have been linked to the limited demand for this kind of meat, and also to the officials' intention of protecting the meat supply of the future. Most probably, lamb was consumed but rarely, i.e., on special occasions. On the other hand figures like 11,526 chickens and 32,147 eggs show that poultry must have been an ingredient in many favorite dishes. In addition, 484 pigeons – but no more than 3 geese – were purchased, while 4,584 buckets of milk and 322 buckets of yoghurt also figure on the list of purchases.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> At the same time, the Palace also might profit from price fluctuations. Thus the wheat itemized as surplus (*mebi'at*) was sold for 140 *akşes*, which implies a very considerable profit margin. The wheat bought for the palace amounted to 2771 *kile* or about 207 tons, as the *kile* employed was that of Manisa which equaled approximately 75 kg.

<sup>13</sup> In 1573-74, 34,877 sheep, 50,545 chickens, 154,761 eggs, 3,331 pigeons, 6,454 buckets of milk, and 5,876 buckets of yoghurt were consumed at the palace in Istanbul; see Ö. L. Barkan, "İstanbul Sarayları," *Belgeler* 9, 13 (1979): 147 and passim.

It is worth noting that the unit price of milk was higher than that of yoghurt. While a bucket of milk cost 4-6 *akçe*s, 2 *akçe*s were paid for the same amount of yoghurt. This probably can be explained by the higher demand for milk, which was much harder to preserve than yoghurt. A significant amount of milk must have been used in cheese production; yeast used for this purpose also appeared in the list of expenditures. We know very well that during this period, a balanced diet was not an issue and people ate what they found tasty, as long as they could afford it. Yet the consumption of large quantities of milk and milk products indicates a healthy eating regime – even if the consumers themselves were not aware of it.

Numerous were the varieties of oil and fat forming part of the palace cuisine, and manifold the ways in which they were used. But especially in this sector, Ottoman food culture was highly selective, a characteristic it shared with other, more intensively studied cuisines. Thus for instance, it is well known that in southern Europe, the use of olive oil was widespread, while in the north, butter was preferred; moreover in Catholic countries during the numerous prescribed fasts, animal fat was prohibited.<sup>14</sup> Probably different types of food demanded special kinds of oil or fat. Vegetable oils were derived from olives, almonds, sesame, poppy-seed and linseed, while animal fats included suet, fat rendered down from the tail of the fat-tailed sheep and, finally, butter. The latter was the most popular, followed by olive oil, suet and sheep's tail fat. This hierarchy of desirable fats is important evidence of the structure of eating habits long since established at the palace.

Vegetables, legumes and fruit also had an important role to play, summer and winter varieties being listed side by side. A total of 20,500 eggplants, a typical summer vegetable, were consumed. Spinach, broad beans, cowpeas, celery roots, turnips, zucchini and carrots also were frequently eaten. Thus 3412 *okeka* of zucchini were purchased and used, in addition to 1294 pieces of Egyptian squash. Apart from citrus fruit of various kinds, the palace also acquired apples, pears, quinces, cherries, cornelian cherries, wild cherries, black and white mulberries, fresh grapes, figs, plums, pomegranates, peaches, wild apricots, melons, watermelons, and olives. Among dry fruits and sweeteners, there were raisins and dried figs, almonds, hazelnuts, pistachios, walnuts, chestnuts and grape syrup (*pekmez*). Taste enhancers included parsley, mint, starch, sumac, cumin, onion seeds, poppy-seeds, lemon, lemon juice, mustard, vinegar (around 7 tons), rose water, saffron, pomegranate syrup (*nardeng*), and *boza*, a beverage

<sup>14</sup> See Mario Montanari, *Avrupa'da Yemeğin Tarihi*, transl. M. Önen, B. Hinginar (İstanbul, 1995): 136 passim.



made of fermented millet. Among the taste enhancers, mint, parsley, cucumbers, and Seville oranges were used most often, in addition to dried onion and garlic. While mint and parsley were added to a variety of dishes, it is unclear for what purpose the 18,660 bitter (Seville) oranges appearing in our register were used, possibly for the manufacture of marmalade (*reçel*). But most probably the oranges on record were not really of the bitter variety, but rather edible types similar to those available today (*portakal*).

Among the items forming part of the culinary culture of the palace, spices were most obviously associated with more or less remote regions.<sup>15</sup> Quantities of spices came from Egypt as part of the annual tribute (*irsaliye*). These included both well-known varieties, such as black pepper, cloves, cinnamon, ginger and nutmeg, and others that were used less often, such as *kakule*, *hubbeyz*, *kust*, *kabili*, *terbid*, *helilce*, *terencübin*, and *emec*.<sup>16</sup> As part of Ahmed Paşa's tribute, 378 *okka* of black pepper, perhaps the most frequently used among these spices, entered the palace storerooms, while merchants in the ruler's service (*bassa*) delivered another 200 *okka*. Thus we arrive at a total of 578 *okka* or, roughly, 750-800 kilogram, a quantity that probably could not be used up in one year. Although pepper consumption in the palace may have been high, a significant amount was stored for later sale. After purchasers had been found, 470 *okka* of black pepper were in fact recorded in the revenue section of the *defter*. While this pepper fetched the price of 80-100 *akçes* per *okka* and that delivered by the *bassa* merchants cost 80 *akçes*, the pepper from Ahmed Paşa's tribute was worth only 60 *akçes* per *okka*. Cloves, cinnamon, ginger and nutmeg were also sold from surplus stocks and entered as sources of revenue, in addition to other surplus foodstuffs such as red grapes, lentils and wheat. While the quantities of spices received through the Egyptian *irsaliye* were 31 *okka* of ginger, 36 *okka* of

<sup>15</sup> For spices see Fernand Braudel, *Akdeniz ve Akdeniz Dünyası*, transl. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay (İstanbul, 1989), vol. 1: 367 ss.; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Coffee and Spices: Official Ottoman Reaction to Egyptian Trade in the Later Sixteenth Century," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986): 87-93.

<sup>16</sup> In quantitative terms however, Egypt was mainly important as a provider of rice and sugar. The plants mentioned here have been identified with the aid of James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople, 1890) and Hayati Zade Mustafa Feyzi Efendi, *Yabani Bitkiler Sözlüğü* and *Yabani Bitkilerin Tıbbi İlaç Olarak Kullanılışları*, ed. Hadiye Tunçer (Ankara, 1978): *kakule*, *elettaria cardamomum*, *hubbeyz*, mallow, *Malva sylvestris*, *kust*: *Kostus arabicus*, *kabili* – if read *kabuli* --: *Embellia ribes*, *terbid*: if read *türbit*: *Ipomoea turpethum*, *helilce*: if read *belile*: *Terminalia chebula*, *terencübin*: manna, and *emlec*: *mycelium*, *phyllanthus emblica*.



cloves, and 36 *okka* of cinnamon, the quantities sold amounted to 31 *okka* of ginger, 45.5 *okka* of cloves and 40 *okka* of cinnamon. This meant that quite substantial quantities of spices were left over from the previous year, to be sold as soon as fresh goods were delivered.

In general, the Ottoman market depended on sugar from Egypt and Syria.<sup>17</sup> Yet while in Europe the use of sugar spread among the lower strata of society from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, it remained a rarity on Ottoman markets.<sup>18</sup> A large segment of the population used various fruits such as dried raisins, figs, apricots and certain fruit derivatives as sweeteners. Differently from his subjects, Prince Mehmed doubtless had no trouble in acquiring all the sugar he desired. From Egypt, a total of 5623 *okka*, or nearly seven tons, reached the Manisa princely residence. Another 1693 *okka* were purchased from *hassa* merchants and must have been largely imported from Europe. It is interesting to see that sales of surplus sugar and flour were recorded jointly; together they amounted to three tons. Apparently sugar was consumed in large quantities and mixed together with various spices, particularly in that section of the kitchen where halva was prepared. Some entries show that baklava, a luxurious sweet, also could be made with sugar; but in this context, the consumption of around 11 tons of honey is also noteworthy. A significant portion of this latter foodstuff was probably also used to make halva and *macun*, a sweet honey paste flavored with many different herbs and spices.

Rice appears to have been a luxury item of sorts for members of the Ottoman subject population. While it was in considerable demand in public *imarets*, the beneficiaries tasted it mainly in the shape of soups, where, as the thrifty housewife well knows, 'a little goes a long way.' Yet in the Manisa palace, rice was but another staple eaten in large quantities, 3000 *kile* being consumed in the period covered by our register.<sup>19</sup> If we take as the basis of our calculation the *kile* current in Istanbul, this equaled roughly 75 tons.<sup>20</sup> Rice was produced on a large scale in the Manisa region and, at a price, it was readily available on local markets. However, Egyptian rice probably was of better quality, and reflecting the palace's more refined culinary taste, the imported product was preferred.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Mantran, *XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında İstanbul*, transl. M. Ali Kılıçbay, E. Özcan (Ankara 1986): 195-96.

<sup>18</sup> Montanari, *Yemeğin Tarihi*: 139.

<sup>19</sup> For rice see Feridun Emecen, "Çeltik," *TDVİA*, VIII, pp. 265-66.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, in 1573-74 a total of 1000 *müd* (1000x20 = 20 000 *kile* = 200 tons) of rice from Egypt was delivered to the palace in Istanbul; see Barkan, "İstanbul Sarayları," 147.



Thus it emerges that on a daily basis, foodstuffs like meat, wheat, and rice were distributed in a balanced fashion to feed an army of almost two thousand servants. Just to give an idea of the quantities involved, I have calculated the daily ration per person, which amounted to 200-250 grams of meat, 1 kilogram of rice, and three kilograms of wheat. A rough comparison between these figures and the data available for the Sultaniye and Hatuniye *imarets* shows that the people fed by the palace kitchen were highly privileged; they consumed between three and four times as much as the beneficiaries of local pious foundations.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, expenditures made for the transportation, preparation and storage of foodstuffs used by Prince Mehmed's kitchen provide us with information just as important as that concerning the goods themselves. Our document records the transport of cereals by camel, the grinding of grain at the local mills, the threshing of wheat, and the manufacture of crushed wheat (*bulgur*) and the dried soup base known as *tarhana*. We also find information on payments made to the crews of ships, and our register also covers purchases of birdcages and other containers, such as sacks, barrels, buckets, sheepskin bags, jars, felt, and cloth. Ice was packed in pieces of felt, bakers used utensils such as coarse woolen cloth (*aba*), shovels, pokers, sacks, and square wrappers (*bohça*) for bread-baking and packaging. Jars and paper were needed in the *helvahane*, and linens in that section of the kitchen where sheep's heads and trotters were cooked (*başhane*). Straw mats could be used to spread out rice, while fat, honey, olive and linseed oil were stored in jars, which needed to be protected with straw. No explanation whatsoever is given about the size and quality of five porcelain plates, that were also purchased, for 15 *akçe*s apiece. Other utensils bought for the palace included porcelain inkpots, oil lamps and stands on which to place them, cords, earthen jars, firewood, kindling wood, iron nails, large copper trays, cauldrons, copper jugs with handles, spouts and lids, table candles, silver ingots, brooms, water jugs, kitchen tables, spoons and fruit trays. Money was also spent on the tinning of cauldrons and other pots and pans. Moreover, there are records that probably refer to the purchase of charcoal, both for the coppersmiths and for the kitchen itself.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For instance, in 1531, 23 *okka* of meat and 49 *okka* of bread were distributed at the Hatuniye *imaret*. At the Sultaniye, however, 13 920 *okka* (ca 17 tons) of meat and 1627 *kile* (ca 122 tons) of wheat were consumed in 1575; see Emecen, *Manisa Kazası*: 94-95.

<sup>22</sup> This section of the *defter* also records expenditures related to the construction of a *hamam* at the Susendiraz summer pasture. In this connection, sand and mortar made



Equally noteworthy is the entry for 'bowls for the distribution of food, in form of a *yağma*' (*kase-i yağma ve sebu*). This old Turkish tradition involved the setting out of the leftovers of a palace meal, along with perhaps a specially prepared rice dish, in little bowls placed on a street or open square: normally it was the janissaries who benefited from the rulers' bounty, but in special cases, the populace as a whole might also be allowed to participate.<sup>23</sup> Presumably keeping alive this symbol of sultanic bounty at the Manisa palace helped to legitimize the dynasty in the provinces, particular importance being attached to those *yağmas* held after the night-time banquets which marked the major holidays. For this purpose, 390 bowls and buckets were recorded under the heading of expenses. Moreover, halva and *pide* were prepared and handed out during these night-time entertainments.

Under the heading of 'miscellaneous expenses', we also find the rent paid for a depot in Izmir. This was probably used for storing items imported from abroad, or else for goods arriving from Istanbul and Egypt and destined for Manisa. Moreover the palace sometimes also passed on local specialties to the capital. Thus dried fruits might be sent to Istanbul, and these were stored in the depot before shipping. There was even an entry for the freight paid for a shipment of olives intended for Istanbul.

In connection with the purchases mentioned earlier, the names of those persons are recorded who owed goods or cash to the palace (*der-zimmet*). These records are important in that they show by whom and from where goods were provided to Prince Mehmed's residence. According to the entries in the *defter*, most of the people involved were palace personnel, such as messengers (*çavuş*), cavalrymen (*sipahis*) and members of the elite *müteferrika* corps. But other staff could also be found, such as makers of halva, bakers, water carriers, financial clerks (*rużnameci*), and wardens of markets (*pazarbaşı*). As usual for this period, butchers had the highest obligations of all. There was an obvious risk involved in the purchase of meat in large quantities, an undertaking which took butchers to places as remote as the central Anatolian province of Karaman. In spite of the priority usually accorded to the capital, in one instance, parts of a flock of sheep originally allocated to Istanbul ultimately wound up in Manisa.

of brick dust and lime were procured, and over a period of 100 days, a daily wage of 8 *akçes* was paid to 36 construction workers.

<sup>23</sup> Compare the article by Hedda Reindl-Kiel in the present volume.



*In conclusion*

All in all, the number of goods recorded in the *defter* appears limited when compared to those acquired and distributed at the palace in Istanbul, as apparent from the relevant records as published by Barkan.<sup>24</sup> The same holds true for the wherewithal needed by the diners and kitchen staff. This difference, however, is only to be expected. Located in the provinces, the Prince's kitchen adopted a selection of foodstuffs and dishes that was typical of the dynasty's central seat in Istanbul, but realized under local conditions, within the limitations of Manisa's food supply.

At the same time, Prince Mehmed's palace was not given to pompousness or, for that matter, to wasteful expenditure, as the regular sale of surpluses amply demonstrates. Nevertheless, public banquets were organized as manifestations of the dynasty's image and legitimacy, food was distributed to soldiers and perhaps townsmen in form of the *yağma*, various dishes were prepared specifically for the major holidays, and foods such as halva or pitta bread doled out to significant numbers of people. All this shows that cost-consciousness, however important, was only part of the picture: the dynasty also presented itself to its provincial subjects as a provider of nourishment. In addition, the local population was involved in the purchasing process, and thus the business generated by the Palace helped the craftsmen, merchants and peasant producers of the Manisa region to support themselves. In a way, a significant portion of what was taken from the region in the shape of taxes was thus returned.

It is also worth noting that while there was a significant gap between the culinary practices of the palace and those of the population, this difference was not expressed in an ideology that might be summarized by the dictum "a person's social position is reflected in the food he/ she eats." Things could have developed along rather different lines, and "the pickiness of people who have enough to eat" in the Prince's palace might have created a culinary culture totally at variance with that of ordinary people. Yet as we have seen, at least under festive circumstances, the contrary was true, and the presence of the court allowed local people to experience new tastes. Depending on circumstances, these latter opportunities might be broad or else quite limited; but in any case, an ideology of separateness on the level of food consumption has not been encountered anywhere. Other problems could be formulated on the basis of our register, for instance which types of food were prepared with the ingredients documented, or whether the Ottoman palace followed a particular nutri-

---

<sup>24</sup> Barkan, "İstanbul Sarayları," 110 passim.

tional model. But at the present stage of our research, these questions – and others – must remain unanswered.

## *Appendix*

### *Explanations Concerning the Edition of the Defter*

The *defter* as published here contains the bookkeeping for a period of ten months and ten days; this corresponds to the period immediately before Prince Mehmed's accession to the throne. In its opening section, there are two lists summarizing the contents of the entire register. Except for the different dates, the second list, which covers the period after Mehmed III had become the Ottoman sultan, is identical with the first. Only in the second list, travel allowances are included for the period when the court moved from Manisa to Istanbul. Yet no separate breakdown was made for these travel expenses.

Within the 10 months and 10 days covered, total revenue reached 2,491,127 *akçes*, of which 1,811,049 were allocated to meet various expenses. Of the remaining 879,469 *akçes*, 158,730 *akçes* were paid to the Jewish merchants Mayer, Karakaş, and Yasef who belonged to the *bassa* merchants bringing goods to the storerooms of the palace, 234,993 *akçes* served to pay debts incurred during the previous year and 315,809 *akçes* were recorded as payment (*pişkeş*) to Ahmed Paşa (this last payment figures both among the income and the expenditures). These three posts amount to 709,532 *akçes* that were deducted from the principal fund (*asl-ı mah*). Of the remaining 169,937 *akçes*, 168,937 were recorded as unpaid debts owed by various persons. The remainder (*bakiye*) amounted to 10,384 *akçes*.

In the general breakdowns, the figures have been written in the *divani* style, an officiousness which probably accounts for the numerous calculation mistakes. When preparing the *defter* for publication, these mistakes have been noted in parenthesis in the margins of the text. The absentmindedness of the clerks, or mistakes made in the course of writing the *divani* numbers, have necessitated a later revision of some of the larger items of expenditure. There are entries in the *defter* that reflect these corrections.

The register also contains a second set of accounts pertaining to the palace. This covers a period of one month between 10 Cumadelula 1003 and 4 Receb 1003. Out of the total sum available, namely 74,407 *akçes*, 62,144 *akçes* have been derived from the sale of various goods. This sale may have taken place at the time when the court finally left Manisa, spices being most prominent among the items sold.

In addition, commodities such as dates, figs, dry fruits, *tarhana*, rice, and lentils also found buyers. Rice fetched a relatively high price (240-280 *akçes*) and more of it was sold than of any other item (147 *kile*). Wheat and meat topped the list of purchased foodstuffs. Since at this time, winter had set in, seasonal vegetables such as cabbage, turnips, spinach, celery roots, carrots, and Egyptian squash were bought, and more remarkably, vinegar and *boza* also appeared on the list. It is impossible to determine whether all these expenditures relate to the journey to Istanbul. However, the list contains some irregularities. For instance, while the actual value of the goods purchased amounted to 74,407 *akçes*, the value of the goods shown in the register was only 54,412 *akçes*, while expenditures reached 180,000. This may have been due to the fact that the bookkeeping of the kitchen was only half-completed, and the account was therefore not closed.

Finally, the data were somewhat reorganized when preparing the text for publication: preference was given to a transcription which includes most of the peculiarities of sixteenth-century Ottoman Turkish, but is still comprehensible to readers who are not philologists.

*BA, KK, Masraf-ı Şebriyârî, nr. 7101*

İcmâl-i muhâsebe-i ihrâcât-ı Matbah-ı Âmire-i Hazret-i Sultan Mehemmed Hân tâbe-serâhu der-Manisa, an-evvel-i nevrûz el-vâki' fî 29 Cumâdelâhire sene isnâ ve elf ilâ 10 Cumâdelûlâ sene selâse ve elf bi-ma'rifeti Mustafa emîn ve Ahmed kâtib-i Matbah-ı Âmire-i mezbûre ber-mûceb-i muhâsebe hod-şân.

I- Asl-ı mâl, ma'a bakıyye-i muhâsebe-i mâziyye, fî 10 eşhur ve 10 yevmen:	2,491,127
an-bakıyye-i muhâsebe-i mâziyye:	334,954
an-hızâne-i âmire, bi'd-defe'ât:	1,124,995
ani'l-mukata'ât:	417,468
an-emvâl-i müteferrika:	613,710
II- Vuzı'a min-zâlike:	1,811,049
resid:	1,611,658
bâkı duyûn:	199,391
Be-cihet-i bahâ-i gûşt-i bere ve gendüm ve ba'zı mühimmât-ı havâyic-i Kilâr:	1,689,110
resid:	1,489,719
bâkı duyûn:	199,391
Be-cihet-i kirâye-i gendüm ve navlun-ı sefine ve ücret-i ba'zı meremmât-ı kazgan ve gayrihu:	117,619
Be-cihet-i âdet-i baklava bahâ-i zevvâkîn ve müezzinân ve gayrihu:	4,230
III- El-bâkı:	879,469
IV- Min-zâlike'l-bâkı:	709,532
Et-teslîmât-ı mezkûrîn, an-bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr:	158,730
Be-cihet-i edâ-i duyûn ki, der-muhâsebe-i mâziyye bâkı mânde:	234,993
Be-cihet-i bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr-ı âmire ki an-cânib-i Mısır âmed ve bahâ-i takdîr-şud:	315,809
V- El-bâkı:	169,937
VI- Ez-ziyâde, ani'l-asl:	10,384

*Muhâsebe-i icmâl-i sene-i mezbûre*

I- Asl-ı mâl, fî 11 eşhur ve 26 yevmen ma'a harc-ı râh-ı Dârüs's-sa'âde-i Manisa ilâ-İstanbul el-mahrûse ve bakıyye-i muhâsebe-i mâziyye:	2,491,127
An-bakıyye-i muhâsebe-i mâziyye:	334,954
An-hızâne-i âmire, bi'd-defe'ât:	1,124,995
Ani'l-mukata'ât an-tahvîlât-ı emîn ve ummâl:	417,468
An-emvâl-i müteferrika:	613,710
Ani'l-meb'i'at an-bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr:	270,901
An-resm-i ubûr-ı ağnâm-ı Rumili:	27,000



An-şişkeş-i Mısır:	315,809
II- Vuzia 'min-zâlike:	1,811,049
resîd:	1,611,658
bâkı duyûn:	199,391
El-mubâya'at:	1,689,110
resîd:	1,489,719
bâkı duyûn:	199,391
Bi'l-icârât	117,619
Bahâ-i âdet-i baklava bahâ-i zevvâkin ve müezzînân	4,320
III-El-bâkı:	879,469
IV-Mîn-zâlike'l-bâkı:	709,532
Et-teslîm be-mezkûrîn an-bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr:	158,730
Teslîm be-Mayer ve Karakaş Yahudi an-tâcirân-i Manisa an-bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr-ı âmire*:	145,730
Teslîm be-Yasef Yahudi an-tâcirân-ı hâssa an-bahâ-i yapağı:	13,000
Be-cihet-i edâ-i duyûn ki der-muhâsebe-i mâziyye bâkı-mânde:	234,993
Be-cihet-i bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr-ı âmire ki an-cânib-i Mısır âmed ve bahâ-i takdîr şude:	315,809
V- El-bâkı:	169,937
VI- Minhâ	
Der-zimmet-i mezkûrîn an-bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr-ı âmire der-zamân-ı umenâ-i mezkûrîn ki bâkı-mânde:	166,883
Der-zamân-ı Sinan, emîn-i sâbık:	8,199
Der-zamân-ı Mustafa Çelebi, bi'l-emîn ve Tayyib Çavuş kaimmakam-ı mezbûr:	5,228
Der-zamân-ı İbrahim Çelebi, bi'l-emîn ve Bekir Ağa kaimmakam-ı mezbûr:	43,443
Der-zamân-ı Behram Ağa, bi'l-emîn:	45,059
Der-zamân-ı Mustafa Ağa, emîn-i sâbık:	3,994
Der-zamân-ı Mustafa Çelebi, emîn-i lâhık:	60,960
VII-Sahhü'l-bâkı:	3,054
Ez-ziyâde an-tefâvût-i kîse ve gayrîhu:	7,330
Yekûn:	10,384

Muhâsebe-i vâridât ve ihrâcât-ı Matbâh-ı âmire-i nûr-ı hadîka-i devlet ve mihr-i sipîhr-i saltanat-ı şehzâde-i gerdûn-azamet Hazret-i Sultan Mehmed tâle-

\* Mahsûb, an-bahâ-i akmişe-i mütenevvi'a ve cukahâ-i Milone berây-i huzâne-i âmire an-yed-i Yahudiân-ı mezbûrân dâde, ber-mûceb-i sûret-i rûznâmçe-i humâyûn an 11 Cumâdelâhîre sene selâse ve elf ilâ şehîrî Muharrem sene-i m. temâmen.

bekahu ve nâle-menâhu an-evvel-i Nevruz el-vâkı' fî 29 Cumâdelâhıre sene isnâ ve elf ilâ 10 Cumâdelulâ sene selâse ve elf be-mübâşeret-i Mustafa Çelebi, bi'l-emîn ve Ahmed bi'l-kâtib

I- Asl-ı mâl, fî 10 eşhur ve 10 yevmen:	2,421,508
An-bakiyye-i muhâsebe-i mâziyye ma'a bakiyye-i ümenâ-i sâbık:	334,954
An-hızâne-i âmire:	1,124,995
An-mukata'ât:	412,068
Ani'l-mebi'at:	206,682
Ani'l-emvâl-i müteferrika:	27,000
An-pişkeş-i Ahmed Paşa mirimîrân-ı vilâyet-i Mısır:	315,809
An-hızâne-i âmire:	1,124,995
def'a, fî 26 Receb sene isnâ ve elf ki, bahâ-i ağnâm-ı Rumili:	100,000
def'a 6 Şa'ban sene minhu:	6,000
def'a 24 minhu ve sene minhu:	1,400
def'a 25 Ramazan sene minhu:	4,000
def'a 29 minhu ki, ağnâm-ı Rumili:	37,465
def'a 16 Şevvâl ki bahâ-i ağnâm-ı m.:	50,000
def'a 29 Ramazan sene minhu:	2,000
def'a 28 Şevvâl sene minhu:	5,327
def'a gurre-i Zilka'de sene minhu:	2,000
def'a 13 minhu:	3,000
def'a 25 minhu ki, bahâ-i ağnâm-ı Rumili:	96,483
def'a 29 minhu ki ağnâm-ı m.:	43,277
def'a 3 Muharrem sene selâse ve elf ki bahâ-i ağnâm-ı Rumili ve ihrâcât:	128,012
be-cihet-i ihrâcât:	4,159
def'a be-ağnâm-ı Rumili:	124,653
def'a fî 9 minhu ki, ağnâm-ı Rumeli:	279,000
def'a:	250,000
def'a fî 19 minhu:	8,000
def'a fî minhu:	21,000
def'a ki, bahâ-i ağnâm-ı Karaman:	367,029
def'a fî 11 Zilhicce sene minhu:	210,130
def'a fî 25 Zilhicce sene minhu:	156,899
Ani'l-mukata'ât:	412,068
An-tahvîl-i mezkûrîn an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i niyâbet-i nefis-i Manisa:	98,754
an-tahvîl-i Divâne Mustafa an-kıst:	56,720
an-tahvîl-i Bozacı Yusuf an-kıst-ı şem'hane:	11,784
an-tahvîl-i Osman an-kıst-ı serhâne-i kebîr:	11,100

an-tahvîl-i Veli an-kıst-ı ihzâriyye:	14,600
an-tahvîl-i Bayram an-kıst-ı serhâne-i sagîr:	4,550
An-tahvîl-i mezkûrîn an-kıst-ı mukata'a-ı Tarhaniyat:	25,000
an-tahvîl-i Hacı Nebi ve Mehemed emînân-ı mültezimân	
an-kıst-ı atik:	17,000
def'a ber-vech-i nakd:	7,000
def'a an-bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr:	10,000
an-tahvîl-i Hacı Veli an-bahâ-i gendüm-i Güzelcehisâr:	8,000
An-tahvîl-i Durmuş emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i nevâhi-i	
Tire, ber-vech-i nakd:	2,000
An-tahvîl-i Mehemed emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Gelen	
Baba ber-vech-i nakd bi'd-defe'at:	3,600
def'a:	1,100
def'a:	2,500
An-tahvîl-i Ramazan ve Ali emînân-ı mültezimân an-kıst-ı	
mukata'a-i nefsi-i Demirci:	2,000
an-tahvîl-i Ramazan:	1,000
an-tahvîl-i Ali:	1,000
An-tahvîl-i Hızır Çavuş ve Süleyman emînân-ı mültezimân	
an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i yörükân-ı Demirci:	770
An-tahvîl-i Mustafa ve Osman emînân-ı mültezimân an-kıst-ı	
mukata'a-i bâd-i hevâ-i Ezine, ber-vech-i nakd:	3,000
An-tahvîl-i Sinan emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i bâzdârân	
an-bahâ-i revgan-ı sâde:	7,000
An-tahvîl-i [ ] an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i nehr-i Selman	
an-bahâ-i asel ve şem'-i asel:	34,400 [24,400]
def'a:	4,000
def'a:	20,000
An-tahvîl-i mezkûrîn an-kıst-ı mukata'a, nısf-ı bâd-i hevâ:	3,600
An-tahvîl-i Emrullah, ber-vech-i nakd:	1,500
An-tahvîl-i Durmuş, an-bahâ-i tarhana ve bulgur:	2,100
An-tahvîl-i Ahmed emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i	
Sovucak koru ber-vech-i nakd:	500
An-tahvîl-i İlyas Çavuş emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i	
ze'âmet-i Hüseyin Ağa:	1,000
An-tahvîl-i mezkûrîn an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Adala:	39,600
an-tahvîl-i İbrahim Çavuş, mültezim-i atik:	22,000
def'a revgan-ı Adala:	8,000
def'a gendüm-i Sart:	7,200
def'a gendüm-i Alaşehir:	6,800



an-tahvîl-i Mehmed Çavuş an-bahâ-i gendüm-i kazâ-i Adala ve Mendeorya:	17,600
An-tahvîl-i Hacı Lütfullah emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Foçalar:	2,900
def'a ber-vech-i nakd:	900
def'a bahâ-i mevîz-i sürh:	2,000
An-tahvîl-i Seydi Ali emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i perâkende-i Liva-i Aydın, ber-vech-i nakd:	1,000
An-tahvîl-i Mehmed Çavuş, emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Bozdoğan, ber-vech-i nakd:	3,800
An-tahvîl-i Hacı Mehmed emîn-i mültezim, an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Burunâbâd:	21,000
def'a bahâ-i asel ve şem'-i asel-i kazâ-i İzmir:	10,000
def'a bahâ-i revgan-ı zeyt ve badem-i kazâ-i mezbur:	11,000
An-tahvîl-i Veli emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Marmara:	15,350
def'a an-bahâ-i revgan-ı Balya ve Ezine:	9,000
def'a an-bahâ-i mevîz-i sürh:	6,350
An-tahvîl-i Hacı Hudâdâd, emîn-i mültezim, an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i hâşhâ-i Döğürlü:	46,500
def'a bahâ-i revgan-ı Beyşehir:	13,000
def'a bahâ-i revgan-ı sâde-i Gölhisar ve Karaağaç:	6,700
def'a revgan-ı Barçınlı ve gayruhu:	6,000
def'a revgan-ı vilâyet-i Karaman:	20,800
An-tahvîl-i Ömer ve Osman emînân-ı mültezimân an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Seferihisar an-bahâ-i revgan-ı zeyt ve badem:	12,550
An-tahvîl-i Ali emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i cezîre-i Midilli, an-bahâ-i revgan-ı Ayazmend ve gayruhu:	14,700
An-tahvîl-i Mehmed Çavuş emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i tahin-hâne-i Fota:	7,944
An-tahvîl-i Mehmed emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Birgi an-bahâ-i böğrölçe ve piyaz:	1,700
An-tahvîl-i Muharrem, emîn-i mültezim, an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Lutfi Paşa, an-bahâ-i incir-i huşk:	5,300
An-tahvîl-i Kasım Çelebi, emîn-i mültezim an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Nif an-bahâ-i asel ve şem'-i asel:	28,000
An-tahvîl-i mezkûrîn an-kıst-ı mukata'a-i Akkeçili:	30,100
an-tahvîl-i Mustafa Çavuş:	24,300
def'a revgan-ı Çal:	7,000
def'a ber-vech-i nakd:	5,300
def'a revgan an-yed-i Bekir Bey:	5,000



- def'a revgan-ı Afşar:		7,000
an-tahvil-i Ahmed mültezim-i atık an-bahâ-i revgan-ı Şuhud ve gayrihu:		5,800
III-Anî'l-mebî'ât:		206,682
Bahâ-i sükkar-i mükerrer ve dakik,	2,072.5 vakıyye-i Osmanî:	95,315 [97,415]
	643 vakıyye, beher fi 60:	[38,580]
	272.5 vakıyye, beher fi 50:	[13,625]
	1,050 vakıyye, beher fi 40:	[42,000]
	107 vakıyye, beher fi 30:	[3,210]
Bahâ-i fülful,	470 vakıyye-i m.:	39,772 [39,775]
	55 vakıyye, beher fi 100:	[5,500]
	200 vakıyye, beher fi 80:	[16,000]
	215 vakıyye, beher fi 85:	[18,275]
Bahâ-i karanfil,	45.5 vakıyye, fi 150:	6,825
Bahâ-i tarçın,	40 vakıyye, beher fi 120:	4,800
Bahâ-i zencebil,	31 vakıyye, beher fi 50:	1,550
Bahâ-i ceviz-i hindî,	53 vakıyye, beher fi 50:	2,650
Bahâ-i mevîz-i sürh,	1,152 vakıyye, beher fi 2.5:	2,880
Bahâ-i ades be-keyl-i İstanbul,	1,000 kile, beher fi 35:	35,000
Bahâ-i gendüm,	193 kile-i Saruhan:	16,390
	50 kile, fi 120:	[6,000]
	107 kile, fi 50:	[5,350]
	36 kile, fi 140:	[5,040]
Bahâ-i hîme, an-ziyâde-i mesârif-i yaylak-ı Susendıraz		
	250 himl, fi 6:	1,500
IV-An-pişkeş-i Ahmed Paşa, Mirimîrân-ı Vilâyet-i Mısır:		315,809 [316,673]
Bahâ-i sükkar-i mükerrer	5,623 vakıyye, fi 35:	196,805
Bahâ-i erz	5,062.5 kile-i İstanbul, fi 12:	61,240 [60,750]
Bahâ-i ades	1,557 kile-i m[ezbüre], beher fi 12:	18,648
Bahâ-i fülful	378 vakıyye, beher fi 60:	22,680
Bahâ-i karanfil	36 vakıyye, fi 80:	2,880
Bahâ-i zencebil	31 vakıyye, fi 30:	930
Bahâ-i darçın	36 vakıyye, fi 150:	5,400
Bahâ-i ceviz-i hindî	30 vakıyye, fi 50:	1,500
Bahâ-i kakule	3 vakıyye:	180
Bahâ-i hubbeyz	3 vakıyye:	90
Bahâ-i sünbül-i hindî	1 vakıyye:	50
Bahâ-i kust	10 vakıyye:	50
Bahâ-i boz kutuna	3 vakıyye:	190



Bahâ-i Kâbili	3 vakıyye:	90
Bahâ-i terbid	1 vakıyye:	40
Bahâ-i helilec	3 vakıyye:	90
Bahâ-i terencübin	1 vakıyye:	40
Bahâ-i mukl-ı ezrak	1 vakıyye:	130
Bahâ-i sebistan	8 vakıyye:	300
Bahâ-i emlec	3 vakıyye:	180
Bahâ-i ûd-i belesan	3 vakıyye:	150
Bahâ-i tebaşir-i hindî	1 vakıyye:	80
Bahâ-i mumya	3 vakıyye:	300
Bahâ-i temir-hindî	36 vakıyye:	1,620
Bahâ-i besbase	3 vakıyye:	120
Bahâ-i hurma	79 vakıyye:	150
Bahâ-i sandal-ı ahmer ve ebyaz,	17 vakıyye, fi 20:	340
Bahâ-i çûb-ı bakkam	35 vakıyye:	350
Bahâ-i nişatur	21 vakıyye, fi 60:	1,260
Bahâ-i hınnâ	79 vakıyye:	790
V- An-emvâl-i müteferrika:		27,000
Resm-i ubûr-ı ağnâm-ı Rumeli		
VI-Vuzı'a min-zâlike:		1,612,798
Resîd:	1,547,834	
Bâkı:	64,964	
VII-el-mübâya'at:		1,504,890
Resîd:	1,439,926	
Bâkı:	64,964	
Bahâ-i gendüm	2,771 kile-i Saruhan:	128,300 [128,360]
Resîd:	89,740	
Bâkı:	38,560	
Kazâ-i Manisa	419.5 kile-i m[ezbur]:	25,435
	34.5 kile, fi 70:	[2,415]
	381 kile, fi 60:	[22,860]
	4 kile, fi 40:	160
Kazâ-i Tarhaniyat	312 kile-i m.:	18,160
	24 kile, fi 70:	kıymet 1,680
	248 kile, fi 60:	kıymet 14,880
	40 kile, fi 40:	kıymet 1,600
Kazâ-i Nif	62 kile-i m.:	3,860
	14 kile, fi 70:	[980]
	48 kile, fi 60:	[2,880]

Kazâ-i Ilıca	76.5 kile-i m.:	4,825
	23.5 kile, fi 70:	[1,645]
	53 kile, fi 60:	[3,180]
Kazâ-i Adala	360 kile-i m. fi 40:	14,440
Kazâ-i Mendeçorye	77 kile, fi 40:	3,080
Kazâ-i Sart	170 kile, fi 40:	6,800
Kazâ-i Alaşchir	160 kile, fi 40:	6,400
Kazâ-i Gördük	270 kile, fi 40:	10,800
Kazâ-i Güzelhisar	170 kile, fi 40:	6,800
Kazâ-i Tırhala	400 kile, fi 40:	16,000
Kazâ-i Bergama ve nevâhi-i Bergama, 234 kile, fi 40:		9,360
Kazâ-i Borlu	60 kile, fi 40:	2,400
Bahâ-i gûşt ve bere ve kurban ve tevâbihâ:		916,241 [916,541]
Bahâ-i gûşt, 7,344 re's ve 117,832 vakıyye-i Osmanî:		900,660
Resîd : 876,756	Bâkr: 23,904	
kıyye: 8,955, fi beher 8	kıyye: 37,953, beher 60 dirhem, fi 1	
Bahâ-i bere	25 re's, beher fi 100:	2,500
Bahâ-i kurban	37 re's, beher fi 195:	7,235 [7,215]
Bahâ-i revgan-ı dünbe	216 vakıyye, beher fi 9:	1,944
Bahâ-i revgan-ı pih	331 vakıyye, beher fi 7:	2,317
Bahâ-i şîrdân ve munbar	2,605 aded:	1,780
Bahâ-i ciğer	35 aded, fi 3:	105
Bahâ-i mâkiyân	11,526 cenâh:	42,062
	9,505 cenâh, fi 4:	[38,020]
	2,021 cenâh, fi 2:	[4,042]
Bahâ-i tu'me-i mâkiyân:		628
Bahâ-i beyzâ	32,147 aded:	4,249 [4,251.8]
	16,590 aded, beher 10 fi 1:	[1,659]
	15,557 aded, beher 6 fi 1:	[2,592.8]
Bahâ-i kebûter	484 cenâh, beher fi 3:	1,452
Bahâ-i bat	3 cenâh:	49
Bahâ-i şîr-i mukarrer ve ıydeyn ma'a-ziyâfet, 4,584 [4006]sebû:		23,061 [?] ]
	742 sebû, beher fi 4:	[2,968]
	704 sebû, beher fi 4.5:	[3,168]
	1,583 sebû, beher fi 5:	[7,915]
	599 sebû, beher fi 5.5:	[3,294.5]
	378 sebû, beher fi 6:	[2,268]
Bahâ-i mast	322 sebû, beher fi 2:	644
Bahâ-i kaymak:		251



Bahâ-i mâye-i peynir:		161
Bahâ-i asel	4,673 vakıyye:	28,465
	3,398 vakıyye, beher fi 5:	[16,990]
	1,275 vakıyye, beher fi 9:	[11,475]
Bahâ-i şem'-i asel	1,842.5 vakıyye:	39,645
	187 kıyye, beher fi 35:	[6,545]
	1,655 kıyye, beher fi 20:	[13,100]
Bahâ-i revgan-ı sâde	7,753 vakıyye:	81,391
	2,260 kıyye, beher fi 19:	[42,940]
	5,493 kıyye, beher fi 7:	[38,451]
Bahâ-i revgan-ı zeyt	1,527 vakıyye:	15,492
	74 kıyye, beher fi 13:	[962]
	1,453 kıyye, beher fi 10:	[14,530]
Bahâ-i revgan-ı bezir	482 vakıyye:	4,819
	214 kıyye, beher fi 12.5:	[2,675]
	268 kıyye, beher fi 8:	[2,144]
Bahâ-i şirugan	281 vakıyye, beher fi 17.5:	4,417 [4,917]
Bahâ-i revgan-ı neft	beher 3 dirhem fi 1:	260
Bahâ-i şem'-i revgan	425 deste:	4,250
Bahâ-i sarımsak:		435
Bahâ-i hall	3,483 vakıyye:	6,670
	2,892 kıyye, beher fi 2:	[5,784]
	591 kıyye, beher fi 1.5:	[886.5]
Bahâ-i piyaz-ı huşk	307.5 kile-i Saruhanî, fi 40:	12,307 [12,300]
Bahâ-i kedû, ma'a kedû-yı Mısırî:		3,012 [3,010.5]
kedû,	3,412 vakıyye, beher 3 vakıyye, fi 1:	[1,137]
kedû-yı Mısır,	1,249 aded, fi beher 1.5:	[1,873.5]
Bahâ-i badıncan	20,500 aded, beher 50 aded, fi 1:	411 [410]
Bahâ-i gûre	1,960 vakıyye:	3,082 [3,080]
	1,120 vakıyye, beher fi 2:	[2,240]
	840 kıyye, beher fi 1:	[840]
Bahâ-i nârenc	18,660 aded, beher 12 aded fi 1:	1,244 [1,555]
Bahâ-i hıyar	10,770 aded, beher 10 aded fi 1:	1,077
Bahâ-i isfanah	2,838 vakıyye, beher fi 1:	2,838
Bahâ-i mağdenus	12,904 deste, beher 8 fi 1:	1,458
Bahâ-i tarhun:		253
Bahâ-i kerefis:		68
Bahâ-i salata (?):		301
Bahâ-i berk-i zer:		1,353



Bahâ-i na'na-	18,250 deste, beher 8 fi 1:	2,284 [2,281]
Bahâ-i dût-ı siyâh:		218
Bahâ-i kızılıçık	216 vakıyye, fi 1.5:	337 [324]
Bahâ-i tuffâh	1,350 vakıyye, beher fi 3:	4,050
Bahâ-i armud	2,244 vakıyye, beher fi 1.5:	3,366
Bahâ-i ayva	11,682 aded, beher aded fi 1:	1,947
Bahâ-i âlû	85 vakıyye, beher fi 5.5:	472 [467.5]
Bahâ-i kiras	1,284 vakıyye, beher vakıyye fi 2:	2,568
Bahâ-i engür	2,490 vakıyye, beher fi 1:	2,490
Bahâ-i zerdalû	663 vakıyye, fi 1.5:	994 [994.5]
Bahâ-i şeftalû	48 vakıyye, beher fi 2:	96
Bahâ-i kavun ve karpuz	1,210 hıml, beher fi 3.5:	4,235
Bahâ-i zeytûn	54 vakıyye, beher fi 4:	216
Bahâ-i badem	23 kantar, beher kantar fi 361:	8,325 [8303]
Bahâ-i vişne-i huşk u ter	219 vakıyye, beher fi 11:	2,409
Bahâ-i fındık	95 vakıyye, fi 8.5:	806 [807]
Bahâ-i fıstık	8 vakıyye, fi 12:	96
Bahâ-i bakla-i huşk u ter:		246
Bahâ-i ceviz-i rûmî	5 ölçek:	6
Bahâ, böğrülce	26 kile, beher fi 22:	572
Bahâ-i üşküfte	34.5 kile, beher fi 140:	4,834 [4,830]
Bahâ-i erzen	82 kile, beher fi 41:	3,362
Bahâ-i nişasta	772 vakıyye, beher vakıyye fi 9:	6,948
Bahâ-i sumak	5 vakıyye, fi 10:	50
Bahâ-i kimnon	11.5 vakıyye, beher fi 15:	172 [172.5]
Bahâ-i anison	6.5 vakıyye, beher fi 26:	169
Bahâ-i çörek otu	12 vakıyye:	180
	10 kıyye, beher fi 16:	[160]
	2 kıyye, beher fi 10:	[20]
Bahâ-i haşhaş	1 vakıyye:	13
Bahâ-i susam	9 vakıyye:	77
Bahâ, havuç	668 vakıyye, beher fi 1:	668
Bahâ-i şalgam	1,791 vakıyye, beher 2 vakıyye. fi 1:	895 [895.5]
Bahâ-i enâr	9,468 aded, beher 4 aded, fi 1:	2,367
Bahâ-i incir-i huşk	52 kantar, beher fi 60:	3,120
Bahâ-i kestane	14 vakıyye:	28
Bahâ-i meviz-i sürh	8 kile-i Saruhanî, beher fi 115:	,970
Bahâ-i meviz-i siyah	64 kile-i m., fi 60:	3,840
Bahâ-i limôn	9,000 aded:	[—]



Bahâ-i âb-ı limon	430 vakıyye:	[—]
Bahâ-i battâne	253 kıt'a, beher fî 29.5:	7,463 [7463.5]
Bahâ-i kirpas, berây-ı başhâne:		27
Bahâ-i kâğıd-ı harci, berây-ı helvahâne ve kilâr ve gayrihu:		1,914
Bahâ-i penbe	59 vakıyye, beher fî 20:	1,180
Bahâ-i rişte-i penbe	22.5 vakıyye, beher fî 28:	620 [630]
Bahâ-i kebe-i Bursa, berây-ı habbâzîn, 10 kıt'a, fî 120:		1,200
Bahâ-i keçe-i berf ve gayrihu,	24 kıt'a, beher fî 57:	1,368
Bahâ-i tafta, berây-ı sûzenî-i hâssa, fî 41:		250
Bahâ-i hardal	64 vakıyye, beher fî 8:	448 [512]
Bahâ-i meşîn	26 kıt'a, beher fî 11.5:	299
Bahâ-i türbid		20
Bahâ-i bevvalîç [besvâyc]:		3
Bahâ-i zağferân	885 dirhem, beher fî 4:	3,540
Bahâ-i râvend	80 dirhem, beher fî 15:	1,200
Bahâ-i verd	250   ], beher fî 10:	2,500
Bahâ-i gülâb	412 vakıyye, beher fî 13.5:	5,562
Bahâ-i benefşe	267 vakıyye, beher fî 16:	4,272
Bahâ-i âb-ı buhur	1 vakıyye:	30
Bahâ-i zanbak:		28
Bahâ-i usta hotos	100 vakıyye, beher fî 16:	1,600
Bahâ-i âb-ı kîne	26 aded, beher fî 7:	182
Bahâ-i kârid	48 zevc, beher fî 15:	720
Bahâ-i kufl	22 aded, beher fî 14:	308
Bahâ-i çuval, berây-ı habbâzîn,	28, beher fî 65:	1,820
Bahâ-i kandil	243 aded, beher fî 5:	1,215
Bahâ-i maşa-i kandil	870 aded:	187
Bahâ-i til-i kandil	520 dirhem:	360
Bahâ-i kelem ma'a turş-ı kelem, 1,937 re's-i bağât-ı muhtelif:		1,650
Bahâ-i kilim, berây-ı kilâr-ı âmire,	7 kıt'a, fî 140:	980
Bahâ-i pekmez	8 vakıyye, fî 10:	80
Bahâ-i sabun	4 kantar, beher fî 300:	1,200
Bahâ-i kürek-i çûb, berây-ı habbâzîn, 74 aded, fî 8:		592
Bahâ-i kutu-i çûb	771 aded, beher fî 4:	3,096 [3,084]
Bahâ-i resen	74 aded, fî 10:	740
Bahâ-i sicim	278 kıt'a, beher fî 2.5:	685 [695]
Bahâ-i kavanos-ı hâk	106 aded, beher fî 4.5:	477
Bahâ-i kalay	114 vakıyye, fî 75:	8,550
Bahâ-i elvâh	39 kıt'a, beher fî 7:	273



Bahâ-i nühas-ı külçe	32 vakıyye, fi 35:	1,120
Bahâ-i âhen, berây-ı meremmât-ı sepa ve gayrihu, der-matbah,	58 vakıyye, fi 10:	580
Bahâ-i garikon:		84
Bahâ-i hokka-ı çini	22 aded, beher fi 4:	88
Bahâ-i cev, berây-ı cüllâb ve gayrihu,	4 kilc-i Saruhani, fi 80:	330 [320]
Bahâ-i gızıl	6.5 vakıyye, fi 13:	81 [84.5]
Bahâ-i tabak-ı çini	5 aded, beher fi 15:	75
Bahâ-i hîme, der-yaylak-ı Susendiraz,	7,124 himl:	29,013
	1,035 himl, beher fi 4.5:	[4,657.5]
	6,089 himl, beher fi 4:	[24,356]
Bahâ-i çıra	67 himl, beher fi 10:	670
Bahâ-i çûb-ı şiş-i giyâh:		32
Bahâ-i mil'aka	24 aded:	32
Bahâ-i süngü, berây-ı habbâzîn:		270
Bahâ-i mismâr, berây-ı meremmât-ı anbar-ı erz:		244
Bahâ-i tepsî-i meyve, berây-ı kilâr-ı enderûn, 1 kıt'a:		100
Bahâ-i küfen	62 kıt'a, fi 20:	1,240
Bahâ-i nârdeng	250 vakıyye, fi 4:	828 [1000]
Bahâ-i buryâ, berây-ı zîr-i erz,	43 kıt'a, beher fi 6:	258
Bahâ-i sofra-i şem', berây-ı hâssa,	2 kıt'a:	200
Bahâ-i güğüm-i nühas-ı kebîr, berây-ı hâssa, 1 kıt'a:		335
Bahâ-i sahan	7 kıt'a, fi 40:	280
Bahâ-i mâye-i boza:		104
Bahâ-i şem'-i kâfûrî	300 dirhem:	30
Bahâ-i kâse-i yağma ve sebû, berây-ı id-i şerîf, 390 kıt'a:		252
Bahâ-i hasaliban	300 dirhem, fi 1.5:	450
Bahâ-i 'ûd	55 dirhem, beher fi 7:	385
Bahâ-i tebâşir ve enlik:		40
Bahâ-i ferrâş-hâne, berây-ı enderûn, 8 kıt'a, fi 15:		125
Bahâ-i kafes-i mâkiyân	1 zevc:	120
Bahâ-i dâr-ı fülful	100 dirhem:	80
Bahâ-i kişniş:		29
Bahâ-i lüle, berây-ı hamâm-ı yaylak-ı Susendiraz:		30
Bahâ-i cârûb	202 aded:	54
Bahâ-i sak ve kullâb	29 kıt'a:	25
Bahâ-i şâl-ı abâ, berây-ı habbâzîn:		43
Bahâ-i mertek	3 aded:	51
Bahâ-i geç ve rîk ve horasan, berây-ı hamâm-ı yaylak-ı Susendiraz-ı Çal:		140



Bahâ-i boğça, berây-ı nân-ı hâssa:	120
Bahâ-i ahger, berây-ı kazganî ve kal'ay-gerân, 24 himl, fi 36:	864
Bahâ-i kantar, berây-ı kilâr-ı âmire, 1 kıt'a:	134
Bahâ-i tulumhâ, berây-ı revgan-ı sâde ve asel ve zeyt ve bezir ve gayrihu,	265 kıt'a:
	6,970
	150 kıt'a, fi 30:
	[4,500]
	85 kıt'a, fi 22:
	[1,870]
	30 kıt'a, fi 20:
	[600]
Bahâ-i kuyâh, berây-ı istif-kerden-i kavanoş, der-helva-hâne:	65
Bahâ-i serpûş-ı sahan	1 kıt'a:
	75
Bahâ-i makara, berây-ı enderûn	24 aded:
	48
Bahâ-i âdet-i baklava bahâ-i zevvâkîn, neferen 41, beher neferen fi 90	
Mehemmed, Mustafa, Mehmed, Mustafa, Nakkaş, Mustafa, Hafız Mehmed, Hüseyin, Süleyman, Mustafa, Mehmed, Nasrullah, Bekir, Ahmed, Bekir, Mahmud, Pervane, İbrahim, Dilaver, Mehmed, Mustafa, Mehmeded [..], Ali, Mehmed, Mahmud, Mehmed, Beyti, Rıdvan, Ali Abaza, Mehmed, Hüseyin Abaza, Mehmed, Ramazan, Sinan, İbrahim, Mehmed, Mehmed Peşkirî, Mustafa Kemançeî, Piri, Yusuf, Murad	
	fi selâse sinîn 270:
	3,780 [3870]
Bahâ-i âdet-i baklava bahâ-i müezzînân, neferen 5, beher fi 90	
Sefer Halife 90, Dede Halife 90, Sinan Halife 90, Mustafa Halife 90, Hızır Halife 90:	450
VIII-El-icârât:	107,908 [107,903]
Ücret-i kirâye-i gendüm-i kazâ-i mezkûrîn, âmed	
	759 kile-i Saruhan:
	13,280 [16,551]
Kazâ-i Gördük	491 kile, fi 12:
	[5,892]
Kazâ-i Gököyük	79 kile, fi 20:
	[1,580]
Kazâ-i Uşak	89 kile, fi 37:
	[3,293]
Kazâ-i Şeyhli	128 kile, fi 33:
	[4,224]
Kazâ-i Kula	71 kile, fi 22:
	[1,562]
Ücret-i âsiyâb-ger	143 kile, beher fi 100:
	14,300
Ücret-i navlun-ı sefine-i Mısır:	35,000
Ücret-i kirâye-i berf-keşân	908 himl, fi 11:
	9,988
Ücret-i gendüm-güft, ma'a bulgur,	64 kile, fi 8:
	512
Ücret-i meremmât-ı meşk ve batara ve musluk:	799
Ücret-i meremmât-ı sepây, der-matbah ve tevabi'ha:	460
Ücret-i kirâye-i benefşe	15 himl, fi 9:
	135
Ücret-i kirâye-i zeytün, an-Manisa ilâ-İstanbul, 1 himl:	350
Ücret-i kirâye-i beyza:	44



Ücret-i meremmât-ı kanâdil:	40
Ücret-i kirâye-i 'asel ve şem'-i 'asel, 44 himl:	2,980
39 himl, beher fi 70:	[2,730]
5 himl, beher fi 50:	[250]
Ücret-i kirâye-i dakîk, an-âsiyâb, ilâ-yaylak, 300 himl, fi 12:	3,600
Ücret-i kirâye-i mahzen, der-İzmir, berây-ı zahîre-i kilâr:	300
Ücret-i esbâb-ı kilâr ki an-kilâr ilâ-yaylak-ı Susendıraz	
532 himl, fi 12:	6,384
Ücret-i meremmât-ı kafes-i mâkiyân:	100
Ücret-i meremmât-ı girârhâ:	28
Ücret-i rençberân, berây-ı ta'mîr-kerden-i hamâm, der-yaylak-ı	
Susendıraz, 36 neferen, beher fi 8, eyyâm 100:	1,440
Ücret-i puhten-i ragîf ve helvâ, berây-ı id:	233
Ücret-i kirâye-i vişne:	60
Ücret-i kirâye-i revgan-ı sâde, himl:	6,620
Ücret-i kirâye-i limon ve âb-ı limon, 11 himl, fi 30:	330
Ücret-i kirâye-i bulgur ve tarhana, 10 himl, fi 50:	500
Ücret-i kirâye-i kavun ve karpuz, 201 himl, fi 8:	1,608
Ücret-i kirâye-i mevîz-i sürh u siyâh:	786
Ücret-i kirâye-i revgan-ı zeyt ve bâdem ve sabun, 43 himl, fi 46:	1,978
Ücret-i kirâye-i piyaz-ı huşk, himl:	2,452
Ücret-i kirâye-i erzen ve böğrölce, himl:	964
Ücret-i kirâye-i incir-i huşk 20 himl, fi 90:	1,800
Ücret-i kirâye-i kôs, an-Manisa ilâ-yaylak:	80
Ücret-i meremmât-ı sitil, berây-ı nân-ı hâssa:	32
Ücret-i kirâye-i kutu:	195
Ücret-i meremmât-ı kazgan-ı hamâm, der-yaylak-ı Susendıraz:	210
Ücret-i meremmât-ı tekne, berây-ı Enderun:	40
Ücret-i meremmât-ı kürek-i âhen:	20
Ücret-i meremmât-ı çantay-ı hâssa:	55
Ücret-i meremmât-ı kuburhâ, der-kilâr:	200
IX-El-bâkı:	873,674
X- Mine'z-zâlike'l-bâkı:	709,532
Bahâ-i edây-ı deyn, an-bakiyye-i muhâsebe-i hâssa ve	
teslîmât ma'a pîşkeş:	234,993
Bahâ-i gûşt:	148,480
Bahâ-i gendüm:	24,080
Bahâ-i sır:	6,440
Bahâ-i şem'-i 'asel:	10,400



Bahâ-i meviz-i sürh:	5,501
Bahâ-i battâne:	6,192
Bahâ-i mastaki:	8,300
Bahâ-i ücret-i âsiyâb-ger:	6,289
Bahâ-i kirây-e-i gendüm:	9,011
Bahâ-i kirây-e-i revgan-ı sâde:	4,800
Bahâ-i kirây-e-i berfî (?):	5,500
Bahâ-i pîşkeş-i Ahmed Paşa, mirimîrân-ı vilâyet-ı Mısır:	315,809
XI-Et-teslimât:	158,730
Teslim be-Mayer Yahudi ve Karakaş, an-tâcirân-ı nefis[-i Manisa] an-bahâ-i mezkûrîn:	145,730
Babâ-i sükker-i mükerrer ve dakık, 1693 vakıyye:	80,580
643 vakıyye, fi 60:	[38,580]
1,500 vakıyye, fi 40:	[60,000]
Bahâ-i fülful	200 vakıyye, fi 80:
	16,000
Bahâ-i karanfil ve zencefil:	6,950
karanfil	36 vakıyye, fi 150:
	[5,400]
zencefil	31 vakıyye, fi 50:
	[1,550]
Bahâ-i tarçını	40 vakıyye, fi 120:
	4,800
Bahâ-i ceviz-i hindî	48 vakıyye, fi 50:
	2,400
Bahâ-i ades,	1,000 kile-i İstanbul, beher fi 35:
	35,000
Teslim be-Yasef Yahudi, an-tâcirân-ı hâssa, an-bahâ-i yapağı:	13,000
XII-Sahhü'l-bâkı:	164,142
XIII-Mîne'z-zâlike's-sahh	
Der-zimem-i mezkûrîn, an-bakıyye-i havâyic-i kilâr, ma'a irsâliye der-zamân-ı ümenâ-i sâbık ve lâhık:	166,883
An-zamân-ı Mustafa Çelebi, emîn-i lâhık-ı Matbah-ı Âmir:	60,960 [61,000]
Der-zimem-i Ahmed Ağa, kethudâ-i der, an-bakıyye-i revgan-ı sâde: resid fi 17 Şevvâl 1003	5,730
Der-zimem-i Abdurrahman Efendi, ed-Defterî:	2,000
Der-zimem-i Mehemed Efendi, et-Tevkî'i, an-bahâ-i sükker:	1,200
Der-zimem-i Hüseyin Çelebi, emîn-i hîme, an-bahâ-i hîme:	1,500
Der-zimem-i Veli Bey, ser-helvâyî, an-bahâ-i kavanoz:	4,000
Der-zimem-i Emrullah Çavuş ve Ali Bey, an-sipâhiyân, an-bakıyye-i revgan-ı sâde:	1,750
Der-zimem-i Ali Çavuş, an-bakıyye-i revgan-ı sâde-i vilâyet-i Karaman ve Satı ser-kassâb:	12,800
der-zimem-i Satı, ser-kassâb:	12,000
der-zimem-i Ali Çavuş, an-bakıyye-i revgan:	800

Der-zimem-i Bekir Bey, an-zevvâkîn, an-bakiyye-i revgan-ı sâde: resîd, temâmen	2,868
Der-zimem-i Hamza Çavuş, an-bakiyye-i revgan-ı kazâ-i Şuhud:	5,800
Der-zimem-i Mehmed, halife-i helvahâne, an-bahâ-i sükker:	4,900
Der-zimem-i A'rec Hüseyin, an-tâcirân-ı nefis-i Manisa, an-bahâ-i sükker:	1,780
Der-zimem-i Murad, an-sipâhiyân, an-bakiyye-i revgan-ı sâde:	4,414
Der-zimem-i Himmet, an-cemâ'at-i gurebâ, an-bakiyye-i revgan-ı sâde:	2,097
Der-zimem-i Bilâl, an-tâcirân-ı Çeşme, an-bakiyye-i revgan-ı sâde:	4,500
minhâ def'a (..) fi 15, sene 1003:	2,082
Der-zimem-i Ali, kethudâ-i sakkayân-ı divân, an-bakiyye-i revgan-ı sâde:	3,700
Der-zimem-i Mehmed, sipahi, an-bakiyye-i revgan-ı sâde:	311
Der-zimem-i Yusuf Bey, el-müteferrika, an-bakiyye-i revgan-ı sâde:	394
Der-zimem-i Adil Çavuş, an-bakiyye-i revgan-ı sâde-i kazâ-i Gördüs ve Kayalık:	442
Der-zimem-i Sinan Çavuş, sipâhiyân:	814
An-zamân-ı Behram Ağa, emîn-i sâbık-ı ma'mûre-i mezbûre:	45,059
Der-zimem-i Hazret-i Ramazan Paşa, Lala-yı sâbık, an-bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr:	38,728
irâd ve masraf şüd, fi 6 Ş. sene 1003, der-miyân:	42,000
Der-zimem-i Ali Çavuş, an-çavuşân-ı dergâh-ı âli, an-bakiyye-i gendüm-i kazâ-i Nif ve Ilca:	2,812
Der-zimem-i Bali Çavuş, an-bakiyye-i ades-i Mısır:	1,796
Der-zimem-i Lutfi Çelebi, mütevellî-i câmi'-i şerif-i Sultâniye, an-bakiyye-i erz:	568
Der-zimem-i Yafes Yahudi, emîn-i mültezim-i iskele-i İzmir, an-bahâ-i ades:	1,155
An-zamân-ı Sinan Bey, emîn-i sâbık-ı Matbah-ı Âmire:	8,199
Der-zimem-i Ahmed Ağa, ser-habbâzîn-i sâbık, an-bahâ-i sükker:	1,690
Der-zimem-i Ahmed, ser-mâkiyânî:	6,105
Der-zimem-i Nesimî Çavuş:	404
An-zamân-ı Murtaza Bey, der-zimem-i Ramazan Paşa, Lala, an-bahâ-i havâyic-i kilâr:	3,994
minhâ teslim-i saray-ı âmire, irâd ve masraf şüd fi 6 Ş. sene 1000:	3,272



bâkı:	722
der-miyân:	42,000
An-zamân-ı Mustafa Çelebi, emîn-i sâbık ve Tayyib Çavuş kâim[makâm-ı] emînü'l-mezbûr:	5,228
An-zamân-ı Mustafa Çelebi, el-mezbûr:	3,081
Der-zimem-i Kara Ali Çavuş, an-bakıyye-i gendüm:	880
Der-zimem-i Tayyib Çavuş:	315
Der-zimem-i Nesimî Çavuş:	412
Der-zimem-i Mehemed, vekîlharc:	1,474
An-zamân-ı Tayyib Çavuş:	2,147
Der-zimem-i Ali Çavuş, an-bakıyye-i gendüm:	400
Der-zimem-i Mehemed, vekîlharc:	667
Der-zimem-i Nu'man:	1,080
An-zamân-ı İbrahim Çelebi, emîn-i sâbık-ı ma'mûre-i mezbûre ve Bekir Ağa, kâimmakâm-ı emînü'l-mezbûr:	43,443 [40,526]
Der-zimem-i Hasan, ser-çaşnigir, an-bahâ-i meyve-i huşk-ı Menemen, ma'a bahâ-i erz:	1,324 [1,327]
Def'a, meyve-i huşk:	1,245
Def'a, bahâ-i erz:	82
Der-zimem-i Bayram, kassâb:	2,590
Der-zimem-i Satı, kassâb:	6,812
Der-zimem-i Divâne Hasan, an-bahâ-i [meyve-i] huşk-ı kazâ-i İzmir:	1,530
Der-zimem-i Hızır, sipâhi, an-bahâ-i badam-ı kazâ-i Nif:	449
Der-zimem-i Mehemed, an-sipâhiyân, an-bahâ-i badam-ı kazâ-i Tarhaniyat:	1,351
Der-zimem-i diğer Mehemed, sipâhi, an-bakıyye-i meyve-i huşk-ı kazâ-i İzmir:	400
Der-zimem-i Bali, Bosna, an-bakıyye-i asel-i kazâ-i Çine:	1,424
Der-zimem-i Ahmed, bazarbaşı, an-bahâ-i ades:	340
Der-zimem-i Mehemed, ser-helvâyî, ber-vech-i nakd:	492
Der-zimem-i Nu'man, kilârî, an-bahâ-i erz:	230
Der-zimem-i Lutfi Usta, an-habbâzîn, an-bahâ-i gendüm-i kazâ-i Borlu:	1,560
Der-zimem-i İbrahim Çelebi, el-mezbûr:	11,356
Der-zimem-i Mustafa Çelebi, rûznâmçî, an-bahâ-i erz:	420
Der-zimem-i İsak Yahudi:	10,248
An-zamân-ı Bekir Ağa, kâimmakâm-ı İbrahim Çelebi, el-mezbûr:	2,917 [2,921]
Der-zimem-i Mehemed, sipâhi:	136
Der-zimem-i Osman:	748





Der-zimeñ-i Hacı Hüseyin:	247
Der-zimem-i Suhte Bakkal:	312
Der-zimem-i Tayyib Çavuş:	312
Der-zimem-i Ali:	78
Der-zimem-i Mustafa Çelebi, kâtibi hîme:	39
Der-zimem-i Mehemed, ser-helvâyî:	78
Der-zimem-i Bekir Ağa, el-mezbûr:	186
Der-zimem-i Mustafa Çelebi, kâtib-i harc-ı hâssa:	151
Der-zimem-i Mehemed, halife-i helvahâne:	108
Der-zimem-i Ali, halife-i m.:	70
Der-zimem-i Mehemed, ser-kazganî:	39
Der-zimem-i Mehemed, bevvâb:	78
def'a:	39
def'a:	39
Der-zimem-i Dellâl:	30
Der-zimem-i diğ̃er Mehemed, bevvâb:	39
Der-zimem-i Mustafa, sipâhi:	78
Der-zimem-i Hüseyin, sarac:	36
Der-zimem-i Rüstem, kilârî:	78
Der-zimem-i kethudâ-yı sakkayân-ı dîvân:	78
XIV- Ez-ziyâde ani'l-asl:	10,384

Tahrîren fi 23 Recebü'l-mürecceb, min-şuhûr  
sene selâse ve elf.

Bende	Bende
Ahmed bi'l-kâtib	Mustafa bi'l-emîn
(mühûr)	(mühûr)

Muhâsebe-i vâridât ve ihrâcât-ı Matbah-ı Âmire, ‘ammerehallâhu te’âlâ ilâ-  
yevmi’l-âhire, der-zamân-ı Mustafa Çelebi, emîn-i kilâr-ı ma’mûre bi-  
mübâşeretü’l-hakir İshak el-kâtib, an 10 Cumâdelulâ sene selâse ve elf ilâ 4  
Recebü’l-mürecceb sene-i minhü, 953

I- Asl-ı mâl:		74,407
Ani’l-asl-ı muhâsebe-i mâziyye:		6,863
Ani’t-tahvilât:		5,400
El-mebî’at:		62,144
Ani’t-tahvilât:		5,400
An-tahvil-i Divâne Mustafa, emîn-i kıst-ı bâc-ı bâzâr-ı nefsi-i Manisa:		2,500
Def’a, an-tahvil-i mezbûr Mustafa, emîn-i beytü’l-mâl-ı		
nefs-i Manisa:		2,900
El-mebî’at:		62,144 [62,503]
Bahâ-i karanfil	22 vakıyye, beher fî 210:	4,620
Bahâ-i zencebil	12 vakıyye, beher fî 60:	720
Bahâ-i nişatur	24 vakıyye, beher fî 30:	720
Bahâ-i rummân	2,936 aded:	744
Bahâ-i hurma	110 vakıyye:	480
	75 kıyye, fî 5:	375
	35 kıyye, fî 3:	105
Bahâ-i incir	165 vakıyye:	540
Bahâ-i asel	35 vakıyye, beher fî 8:	280
Bahâ-i armud-ı huşk	299 vakıyye:	500
Bahâ-i nemek	11 [ ], beher fî 10:	110
Bahâ-i revgan-ı zeyt, 14 kantar, 26 vakıyye, beher kantar fî 450:		6,565
Bahâ-i meviz-i siyâh-ı Germe (?), 30 kantar, 3 vakıyye,		
	beher kantar fî 40:	1,200
Bahâ-i tarhana	4 kile, be-keyl-i Saruhan:	488
Bahâ-i nardeng	40 vakıyye, beher fî 30:	120
Bahâ-i erz	be-keyl-i Saruhan 147:	36,840
	39 kile, fî 280:	10,920
	108 kile, fî 240:	25,920
Bahâ-i ades	be-keyl-i m., 32, fî 120:	3,840
Bahâ-i böğrölce	be-keyl-i m. 4 [ ], 6:	456
Bahâ-i bulgur	3 [ ], beher fî 14:	42
Bahâ-i badam	beher fî 16, 99 vakıyye:	1,584
Bahâ-i nişasta	5 vakıyye, beher fî 6:	336
Bahâ-i sabun	40 vakıyye, beher fî 9:	360

Bahâ-i piyaz be-keyl-i Saruhan, 18 [ ], 5:	1,409
Bahâ-i esbâbhâ-i etibbâ:	549
II- Vuzî'a-min zâlike:	198,251
Resîd:	63,823
Bâkî:	134,428, ziyâde ani'l-makbûzât
III- El-mübâyâ'ât:	54,412
Bahâ-i gendüm	be-keyl-i Manisa, 137 kile, fî 60: 8,219 [8,220]
	be-hesâb-ı keyl-i İstanbul: 3,111
Kazâ-i Ilıca	36.5 kile: 2,189
Kazâ-i Tarhaniyat	55.5 kile: 3,330
Kazâ-i Nif	3 kile, [ ] 2: 195
Kazâ-i Manisa	41 kile, [ ] 6: 2,505
Bahâ-i gûşt ma'a revgan-ı dünbe ve iç ve mumbar	
	gûşt, 15,994 kıyye, fî 8: 127,958** [127,952]
	ru'us: 1,097
Ağnâm, berây-ı ser-hâzin, ma'a pîşkeş-i Sefer Ağâ ***	
	ru'us 42, fî 150: 6,300
Revgan-ı dünbe	12 kıyye fî 9: 108
Revgan-ı pih	6 kıyye, fî 7: 42
Mumbar	20 aded: 20
Şîr-i mukarrer	471 [417] sebû: 2,592
	85 sebû, fî 5: 425
	42 sebû, fî 5.5: 231
	240 sebû, fî 6: 1,440
	26 sebû, fî 8: 208
	24 sebû, fî 12: 288
Kaymak:	41
Bahâ-i mâkiyân:	8,494
anaç,	1,921 cenâh, fî 4: 7,684

\*\* Mînhâ, teslim be-Sefer el-mezbûr, an-âdet-i ağnâm-ı vilâyet-i Avrethisar vâcib sene 1005, 87.958; teslim be-Sefer el-mezbûr, an-akça- rûsûm-ı berevât-ı Dîvân-ı humâyûn, an-tahvîl-i Mustafa ki an-sancak-ı Amid, be-kavl-i Sefer el-mezbûr 40.000

Be-Sefer Çelebi, be-ma'rîfet-i Defterdâr Mahmud Efendi an-akça-i âdet-i ağnâm-ı Avrethisarı vâcib sene 1005 fî Muharrem 1007.

\*\*\* Be-Sefer Çelebi, be-ma'rîfet-i Defterdâr Mahmud Efendi, an-akça-i âdet-i ağnâm-ı Avrethisarı vâcib sene 1005, be-deyn-i Sefer Çelebi, fî Muharrem 1007.



piliç,	238 cenâh, fi 2:	476
tu'me-i mâkiyân:		334
Bahâ-i beyzâ	5,100 aded:	850
Bahâ-i kebûter	5 cenâh:	15
Bahâ-i bat 1 cenâh:		30
Bahâ-i revgan-ı sâde	481 kıyye:	8,887
	125.5 kıyye, fi 17:	2,133 [2,133.5]
	355.5 kıyye, fi 19:	6,754 [6,754.5]
Bahâ-i revgan-ı naft	2 kıyye, fi 80:	160
Bahâ-i şem'-i revgan	130 deste:	1,300
Bahâ-i sûm:		124
Bahâ-i hall	173 kıyye:	255
Bahâ-i lahana	295 ru'us, fi 3:	777 [885]
Bahâ-i şalgam	282 kıyye:	163
Bahâ-i isfanah	100 kıyye:	85
Bahâ-i kedû-i Mısr	aded 5:	13
Bahâ-i kerefis:		25
Bahâ-i berg-i zer:		352
Bahâ-i havuç	632 kıyye:	569
Bahâ-i ahger	3 keyl:	52
Bahâ-i penbe	23 kıyye, fi 22:	506
Bahâ-i rîşte-i penbe	13.5 kıyye:	375
Bahâ-i kârid	12 zevc:	200
Bahâ-i kufl	3 kıt'a:	532
Bahâ-i maşa-i kandil	100 kıt'a:	30
Bahâ-i resen-i kendir	49 kıt'a, fi 8:	539 [392]
Bahâ-i sicim	104 kıt'a:	218
Bahâ-i varak	8 deste:	101
	5 orta : 200:	301
Bahâ-i heybe	4 kıt'a:	152
Bahâ-i gızıl	6 kıyye:	101
Bahâ-i gırarhâ	50 zevc:	4,550
	5 zevc, fi 60:	300
	15 zevc, fi 65:	975
	13 zevc, fi 90:	1,170
	2 zevc, fi 95:	190
	1 zevc, fi 100:	100
	3 zevc, fi 110:	330
	10 zevc, fi 140:	1,400

Bahâ-i mâye-i bozâ:		16
Bahâ-i milh	195 batman:	1,881
Bahâ-i nişasta	75 kıyye, fi 8:	600
Bahâ-i keçe	29 kıt'a:	590
Bahâ-i mağdenos	300 bağ:	285
Bahâ-i zağferan	295 dirhem:	1,180
Bahâ-i kösele	1 kıt'a:	90
Bahâ-i battâne	40 kıt'a, fi 26:	1,040
Bahâ-i kulb-i gırar	18 kıt'a:	168
Bahâ-i sülügen	4 kıyye:	224
Bahâ-i kutu-i çüb	2 kıt'a:	40
Bahâ-i gelber[i]	2 kıt'a:	4
Bahâ-i habb'ûs-sevdâ	2 kıyye:	33
Bahâ-i kapan	23 kıt'a:	69
Bahâ-i âhen-i musluk ve çüb	42 zevc:	112
Bahâ-i peştemal	136 kıt'a:	3,800
karaboza	3 kıt'a:	360
zergerdân	94 kıt'a, fi 25:	1,850
karaboza-i Haleb	18 kıt'a, fi 3:	540
bâdî	2 kıt'a, fi 50:	1,050
Bahâ-i tebaşir	1 kıyye:	20
Bahâ-i kimnon	2 kıyye:	40
Bahâ-i kirpas:		22
Bahâ-i bogasi (?):		44
Bahâ-i çuvaldız	8 kıta':	8
Bahâ-i leblebi	2 kıyye:	10
Bahâ-i kişniş:		15
Bahâ-i âbgine	1 kıt'a:	5
Bahâ-i saku-i çam	7 kıyye, fi 25:	175
Bahâ-i kükürd	6 kıyye, fi 40:	240
Bahâ-i bağ-ı kırba:		10
Bahâ-i hall-i tuz, berây-ı mâkiyânî,	1 kıt'a:	90
Bahâ-i gırbul	1 kıt'a:	12
Bahâ-i hime, ber-vech-i maktû':		1,595
Bahâ-i çıra, ber-vech-i maktû':		687
Bahâ-i piyaz:		88
Bahâ-i dakik,	be-keyl-i İstanbul 13, fi 51.5:	722 [669.5]
İrsâliye-i dakik, an-cânib-i Bursa âmed, 10 himl:		[..]
IV-Bi'l-icârât:		8,128



Ücret-i dakik, an-Bozköy ilâ Saray-ı âmire, 155 himl:	1,808
111, fi 12:	1,332
34, fi 14:	476
Ücret-i gendüm-gûft:	96
Ücret-i berf-keşân 18 himl, fi 11:	198
Ücret-i ırgadân-berây-ı keşide-i erz:	28
Ücret-i âsiyâbger 9.5 keyl, fi 100:	950
Ücret-i mekkâri, berây-ı âverden-i havâyic,	
an-Menemen ilâ Manisa:	28
Ücret-i kirây-e-i araba, an-Üsküdar ilâ-İstanbul:	60
Ücret-i araba, berây-ı helvahâne ma'a hammâliye:	140
Ücret-i hammâliye, berây-ı keşiden-i bakıyye-i kilâr,	
an-iskele ilâ-saray-ı âmire, 28 himl:	140
Ücret-i kirây-e-i gendüm, an-kazâ-i Adala ilâ-Manisa	
360.5 keyl, beher fi 12:	4,680
V- Bi'l-ıhrâcât:	1,283
Be-cihet-i meremmât-ı musluk:	80
Be-cihet-i meremmât-ı gırar:	20
Be-cihet-i meremmât-ı kutu:	18
Be-cihet-i meremmât-ı kelek:	10
Be-cihet-i meremmât-ı kufl:	15
Be-cihet-i meremmât-ı mişk:	300
Be-cihet-i harc-ı râh-ı firun, der-vakt-i cülûs-ı pâdişâh-ı âlempenâh:	340
Be-cihet-i harc-ı râh-ı Matbah-ı âmire, der-vakt-i cülûs:	500
VI-El-bâkı:	10,684
VII-Min-zâlike'l-bâkı, teslim be-Hasan ser-çaşnigirân:	300
VIII-Sahhü'l-bâkı:	10,384

Tahrîren fi 23 Recebü'l-mürecceb  
sene selâse ve elf

Bende Bende  
Mustafa bi'l-emîn İshak, el-kâtib  
(Mühür)



# SPICES IN THE OTTOMAN PALACE COURTLY COOKERY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Christoph K. Neumann\*

Ein alter Mann, der einen Zobel trug,  
begann zärtlich zu beten

Ein Pfund Perigord-Trüffeln,  
gewaschen, gebürstet,  
mit Vorsicht geschält,  
in messerrückendünne Scheibchen geschnitten,  
ingerichtet mit klarer Butter,  
über dem Feuer geschwungen, serviert  
mit sautierten Filets von Fasanenbrüsten –  
die Sauce hab ich vergessen.\*\*

## *Food and Language*

The historian has to cope with the difference between his discourse and the presupposed, but unattainable, past reality. This is his everyday and principal problem. Writing on food, however, his difficulties are compounded by the double inaccessibility of the sensual experience constituted by taste: only to a very limited degree is taste codified in language, and individuals often perceive it in very different ways. Thus it is our first difficulty that we cannot be really sure about the meanings of the descriptions of historical dishes. Secondly, even

---

\* Istanbul Bilgi University. Many thanks go to Suraiya Faruqi who carefully read this text.

\*\* Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *Der Untergang der Titanic: Eine Komödie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978): 105-6.

if we could be certain on this issue, we would not be able to express these meanings. Finally, even if we found the expression, our experience would probably not be shared by our readers.

There is no escape from the intrinsic relation of language and food as consumed in the past. As we cannot talk in a language of scents and flavors all kinds of cookery only can be discussed language. Imagined or realized, this language is bound to be pictorial or, much more often, verbal.<sup>1</sup> This is why Jean-François Revel called his passionate history of gastronomic sensitivity a “Banquet of Words”.<sup>2</sup>

### *Social Stratification and Gastronomic Levels*

Revel has based his study on two assumptions, the first a tacit one, the second ably argued: that French *cuisine* is the apogee of cooking, and that there are always two sources of gastronomic development. A vernacular, rural, traditional way of cooking contrasts with a professional, educated, urban one, financed

<sup>1</sup> Pictorial codes relating to food are often rather simplistic (as the ideograms used in the dining rooms of rest houses on transnational highways in Europe); and the food involved generally matches the manner in which it is advertised. Slightly more complex is the illustration on the piece of paper one receives together with the meal on flights to and from Turkey. It shows the silhouette of a pig, crossed out. On the other end of the spectrum, baroque still-lives featuring victuals and linking them to the metaphorical universe of the time have developed a highly sophisticated code.

The only non-pictorial and non-verbal way to talk about food that I am aware of is sculpture. Generally, sculptured food is a mere translation of a pictorial message into the three-dimensional world. Again, there is an exception: the wax-sculptures of the meals on offer displayed by Japanese restaurants. At first glance these models constitute an attempted “iconological” code: They pretend to show the customers what to expect. In all probability, closer examination will show them to be rather shrewd illusionistic and persuasive texts. The way these pieces are prepared and exhibited clearly differentiates them from the menus of ice cream illustrated with photographs, which are common in Europe.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-François Revel, *Un festin en paroles: Histoire littéraire de la sensibilité gastronomique de l'antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 1979): 12-22. This close relation is well illustrated by the following sentence of an author who very much stresses the continuity of Turkish cooking (the italics are mine): “Bu yiyeceklerin ve içeceklerin içinde günümüze gelen, Türklerin çok sevdiği ve kendi icatları olduklarında şüphe olmayan ayran, pekmez, ... kavut *kelimelerine* rastlarız.” Günay Kut, “Türklerde Yeme-İçme Geleneği ve Kaynakları,” in: *Eskimeyen Tatlar: Türk Mutfak Kültürü*, ed. Semahat Arsel (İstanbul, 1996): 38-71, n.b. p. 38.



and enjoyed only by the richest sections of a population.<sup>3</sup> There is a subtle exchange between the two, and Revel also allows for an intermediate level of middle-class cooking, still urban but much more amateurish than *haute cuisine*.

Revel's first assumption, I am sure, will still find adherents. More importantly, this view, already prefigured in his sources, transforms non-French (Greek, Roman, medieval, Italian etc) cooking into either the prehistory of *haute cuisine* or into its periphery: special deviations from the main tradition.

From the culinary and normative point of view to which Revel adheres,<sup>4</sup> this may well be acceptable. From a social and historical point of view, however, the Tuscan or the Ottoman *cuisine* cannot be reduced to a marginal deviation of French cookery. To a degree all these *cuisines* were subject to the same limiting conditions, such as the Mediterranean climate and the availability or non-availability of plants of American origin. But on the other hand, each of these *cuisines* served its own society. Even in instances when knowledge about other cooking traditions existed it is not possible to subsume non-French cookery to the mainstream of Parisian *haute cuisine*.<sup>5</sup>

There seem to be fewer difficulties with Revel's two, or rather three-layered model of culinary stratification when transferred to Ottoman society. It fits easily into the assumptions on cultural stratification proposed by Suraiya Faroqhi's state-of-the art monograph on Ottoman everyday cultural life. Faroqhi proposes a not-so-traditional popular culture of mainly rural background, an élite culture centering around the Ottoman court and the households imitating it, and a middling culture of town-dwellers.<sup>6</sup> It is not too difficult to integrate Revel's assumption into this model! Accordingly, such a culinary dialogue between the court cooks and urban housewives or servants is assumed in one of the few attempts to sketch a material history of Ottoman cookery.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Revel, *Un festin en paroles*: 25-31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*: 31.

<sup>5</sup> As is the case with nineteenth century Ottoman cookery books which often show some basic knowledge of French gastronomical habits. A. Turgut Kut, *Afaklamalı Yemek Kitapları Bibliyografyası* (Ankara, 1985).

<sup>6</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen Reich: Vom Mittelalter bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1995): 18-21. The author concentrates on the urban culture of the 'middling layer'. The book includes a very instructive chapter on food, pp. 228-47.

<sup>7</sup> Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Wesirfinger und Frauenschenkel: Zur Sozialgeschichte der türkischen Küche," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 77,1 (1995): 57-84, n.b. p. 71.

Yet the theoretical applicability of this model is not matched by immediately available evidence. Revel was in a privileged position, as he possessed a great number of treatises, descriptions and prescriptions concerning the food he was interested in: the French *haute cuisine* from its beginning to the day of writing. Members of the Ottoman élite seem to have been much less keen to put their culinary predilections and demands on paper.

The contrast is especially apparent in the eighteenth century. This was the time when French *cuisine* became so sophisticated as to be no longer fully manageable by non-professional cooks.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, food preparation turned into a fashionable past-time of the court.<sup>9</sup> Ottoman historians lack both: detailed publications by the master *cuisiniers* of the period, and the *kebab Ragıb Pasha*, the *küinefe Esma Sultan*.

Lack of evidence, of course, does not prove very much. But like rampart and moat, the relative silence of the sources and their codification in natural language separate eighteenth-century Ottoman cookery from its historian. Where is the gap in the wall enabling him not to conquer but to enter, not the bower or the treasury, but the kitchen of the castle?

### *The Miskci-başı as Supplier of Spices*

I shall try to make my way through the deliveryman's entrance. Where Ottoman cooking is concerned, one does generally not know much more than the names of dishes: under the most propitious circumstances, detailed prescriptions of the way in which they were prepared survive from the nineteenth century. More often the available primary sources have been written at the beginning of the twentieth century or even today. Whereas the names and basic ingredients of many Ottoman dishes seem to have been fairly stable, sometimes over many centuries, even for the relatively short time of actual recipe documentation important changes can be noted in the way of preparation.<sup>10</sup> Where the first claim is concerned, there is evidence going back to Mehmed the Conqueror's time.<sup>11</sup> As to the second, it is amply demonstrated by Tuğrul Şavkay in his es-

<sup>8</sup> Revel, *Un festin en paroles*: 177-78, 182-86.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*: 176-77.

<sup>10</sup> "Soweit sich aus den Quellen entnehmen läßt, hat sich die türkische Küche in ihren Grundzügen seit dem 16. Jahrhundert kaum geändert...": Reindl-Kiel, "Wesirfinger und Frauenschenkel": 58.

<sup>11</sup> A. Süheyl Ünver, *Türkiye Gıda Hijyeni Tarihinde Fatih Devri Yemekleri* (1952; reprint in: *İstanbul Risaleleri*, ed. İsmail Kara, vol. 3, Istanbul 1995, 73-220): 81-116, 164-65.

says introducing recipes of “traditional Turkish” cookery.<sup>12</sup> It seems reasonable to assume that changes in preparation had happened in earlier times, as well.

It is at this point that the deliveryman takes the scene. No other sources surviving, one has to examine lists of payments made up on the delivery of foodstuffs. Such lists exist in large numbers especially for the Ottoman court. A number of them have been published, yet they have only recently become the object of scholarly attention.<sup>13</sup> Even if these accounts also contain many pitfalls and shortcomings, they have enabled Hedda Reindl-Kiel to give an instructive overview about the main developments in Ottoman cooking. She was able to spot a fair degree of change within an overall impression of continuity.<sup>14</sup>

One should moreover bear in mind the possibility of developments hidden rather than elucidated by the available sources. To encounter the same sort of foodstuffs over the course of centuries does not mean that their taste always was what one would expect it to be today. The taste of vegetables and meat derived from animals bred for food must have changed, often beyond recognition. An example one might mention is beef, according to Revel hardly edible until two or three centuries ago.<sup>15</sup> And at least since the sixteenth century, it was not in favor with the Ottoman court, either.<sup>16</sup> In such cases it is hard to decide to what extent we are confronted with a change in taste. A change in the properties of the foodstuffs concerned is equally possible. There is evidence

<sup>12</sup> *Eskimeyen Tatlar*: 91-296. The quotation marks deserve explanation. The term “traditional” is problematic in this context because I am concerned here with change, “Turkish” because of the inherent anachronism. The term claims as part of national culture what stems from an urban, multi-cultural background. I would very much prefer to talk of “Istanbul” or even “Istanbul Muslim” cookery. “Muslim” not because the cookery accurately reflects the Hanefite rules on foodstuffs (it does not), but because it mirrors some Muslim cultural discourse (which echoes but not always closely follows such prescriptions). However, of course, “Turkish cookery” has the unbeatable advantage of being an established term. Everybody seems to know how to interpret it.

<sup>13</sup> Ömer Lütfü Barkan, “İstanbul Saraylarına ait Muhasebe Defterleri”, *Belgeler* 9, 13 (1979): 1-380. This publication comprises 380 pages of archival material in Latin script. Publishing posthumously the transcriptions Barkan had made, the editors were faithful enough to his unfinished manuscript to not add an index, a table of contents or any kind of commentary.

<sup>14</sup> Reindl-Kiel, “Wesirfinger und Frauenschenkel”: 65-84.

<sup>15</sup> Revel, *Un festin en paroles*: 12-13.

<sup>16</sup> Reindl-Kiel, “Wesirfinger und Frauenschenkel”: 79. See also the articles by Reindl-Kiel, Sakaoglu and Samancı in the present volume.

that as late as the early twentieth century, beef was regarded as a foodstuff of inferior quality and rather unbecoming to a gentleman.<sup>17</sup>

There is one category of foodstuffs, however, that seems to be relatively immune against such changes, namely spices. Even if used in a broader meaning, so that the term also includes herbs and aromatics, this class of foodstuffs has, until recently, been rather free from intervention by the cultivator. We may be almost certain that pepper and ginger tasted a few centuries ago just as they do today.<sup>18</sup>

For this reason, knowledge about the spices used at the Ottoman court may provide us with important hints regarding the way food was cooked in the sixteenth or eighteenth century. But, again, caution is in order! Information about spices delivered to the kitchen will not enable us to look into the pot. Nor will information on the supply of condiments enable us to know whether something happened in eighteenth-century Ottoman cookery comparable to what Revel discovered in French *cuisine*: a “conquête de l’air”.<sup>19</sup> By this term, Revel denotes an orientation toward preparations which no longer mixed the tastes of the ingredients additively, but fused them into something new<sup>20</sup> – and this can be achieved without any change in ingredients.

The difficulties are compounded by the fact that spices are not just groceries, but serve for all kinds of medicinal and semi-medicinal purposes. Moreover, the *helva-hane* in the Ottoman palace was responsible for both culinary and medicinal preparations – the Ottoman *ma’cuns* (edible pastes) being something of an intermediate category.<sup>21</sup> That the palace bought some condiments made

<sup>17</sup> Mehmed Salih, “İstihkâm Miralayı Mehmet Salih Bey’in Balkan Savaşı Günlüğü,” ed. Mustafa Şahin, *Tarih ve Toplum* 23 (1995): 134: 111-20, 135: 178-87, 136: 242-49, 137: 309-15, n.b. 242-43, 249. Mehmed Salih used to comment on his food whenever nothing else had happened which seemed worth remembering. It is an open question how far his predilection for fish and fresh fruit was shared by his contemporaries. But his aversion against beef was only matched by his dislike against Greeks and disorder in the Ottoman army.

<sup>18</sup> This does not apply to judgments on the taste of a substance: *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon* 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Leipzig, Wien, 1904-8), vol. 6: 372, states that cumin-seed “riechen und schmecken unangenehm” (“smell and taste unpleasant”).

<sup>19</sup> Revel, *Un festin en paroles*: 180.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*: 190.

<sup>21</sup> Arslan Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayında Eczacılık: Eine bisher unbekannte Handschrift über die Herstellung der Arzneien im Topkapı-Schloß in Istanbul und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Pharmazie* (Istanbul, 1982).



them available for use in meals offered to its denizens; but it does not prove that they actually enriched any of the dishes served.

But who was the deliveryman? No information seems to be readily available with regard to the suppliers of condiments to the palace in Mehmed's II time.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, no such information is given in the lists from the times of Bayezid II, Süleyman I, and Selim II published by Barkan, even though they contain greater varieties of spices.<sup>23</sup> In the eighteenth century, however, the deliveryman becomes identifiable.

For this period the Ottoman archives provide documentation of the dealings of a certain *miskci* or, in some instances, *miskci-başı*. Most of the documents I found are catalogued under the heading *Defterhane – Baş Muhasebe Kalemî Defterleri* – D.BŞM. Ten of these *defter*s, the first of them dating from 1175/1762, the last from 1195/1780 are extremely uniform in character. They list the same 125 items each, nearly always in the same sequence. These drugs and spices had been handed over to the *peşkirbaşı ağa* (in two cases *lâlâ*) by the *miskci Yahudi* as a routine supply for three months.

The remaining two registers at my disposal contain the expenditures of the *miskci-başı Rafail* (*masarif-i miskci-başı Rafail Yahudi*) in the year 1169/70 (mainly 1756) and the summary accounts of payments made to an anonymous *miskci-başı* in Râ-1181/27.VIII.-24.IX.1767.<sup>24,25</sup> These two registers document a variety of deliveries to different parts of the palace, including the imperial pantry. They include spices, material for the bathing and swathing (*teçiz ve tekşin*) of corpses, and even items such as paper and crystal.

In the pertinent literature the *miskci-başı* is occasionally described as a palace official working under the head of the palace pantry (*kılârcı-başı*).<sup>26</sup> This

<sup>22</sup> At least no names or titles were published by Ünver together with his list of groceries purchased by the palace: *Fatih Devri Yemekleri*: 168-69.

<sup>23</sup> Barkan, "Muhasebe Defterleri": 77-81 (Süleyman I), 90-93 (Bayezid II), 118-23 (Selim II).

<sup>24</sup> Cevdet Saray (C.SAR) 136. Thanks go to Figen Taşkın (Istanbul) who drew my attention to this document.

<sup>25</sup> D.BŞM 3359. As all the archival evidence used in this article, this register is housed in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul (BBA-OA). The cooperation of its staff is duly acknowledged.

<sup>26</sup> Zeynep Tarım, "Matbah-ı Amire Müessesesi ve 1105-1106 Muhasebe Defteri", (Marmara Üniv. Sosyal Bilimler Enst. Yeniçağ Tarihi Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 1987): 24 writes that the *miskci-başı* was responsible for the supply of all kinds of spices to the kitchen and provided ingredients needed by the *helva-hane*. His office

identification may partly have been based on analogy, for his business partner, the *peşkir-başı*, was in just such a position.<sup>27</sup> There is, however, some evidence that the *miskci-başı* was a dealer in spices and perhaps even the head of a related guild. Firstly, his being a Jew greatly diminishes the probability of his being a court official.<sup>28</sup> Secondly, one of the documents contains information on the modalities of payment, a fact which makes it difficult to view the *miskci-başı* as a court official. According to the computations of the main financial bureau (*baş muhasebe*) the purchases in the month RÂ-1181 at prices fixed by the kadi (*taraf-ı ser'den mevzu' es'ar mucibince*), amounted to 1,115 gr “not covered by contract/commitment” (*gayr ez taahhüd*).<sup>29</sup> It was then proposed and decided to pay 1,000 gr out of the *ocaklık* while the rest remained unpaid (*tenzîl olunub*).<sup>30,31</sup>

is compared to that of the *pazarı-başı*, an official charged with the purchases on urban markets. Tarım uses BBA-OA, KK 7289 (which I have not seen) and notes expenses for “Eczâhâ-yı iç kilâr 112.500 akçe” (p. 23 of the documentary appendix). No information on this point is included in Yıldız Tutum, “1703 Yılında Saray Mutfağı (Matbah-ı Amire) Hakkında Bir Araştırma”, (İstanbul Üniv. Edebiyat Fak. Yeni Çağ Tarihi Kürsüsü Mezuniyet Tezi, 1972). Again thanks to Figen Taşkın for making me aware of these studies.

<sup>27</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1945, repr. 1984): 314-15, 324.

<sup>28</sup> There existed Jewish officials at the Ottoman court, of course. Well known are the *kiras* of the sixteenth century, Jewish women who acted as intermediaries for female members of the dynasty. Cf. Leslie P. Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, Oxford, 1993): 225-26, 242. For a remark on the spatial setting: Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., London, 1991): 178.

<sup>29</sup> The following abbreviations for Ottoman terms are used in this article:

aq: *akçe*

dr: *dirhem* (3.207 g)

gr: *guruş*

qi: *kıyye* (1.282945 kg)

<sup>30</sup> This formulation presents a difficulty in itself, as *ocaklık* were generally rights of income or deliveries assigned instead of payments, not a budgetary font as in this instance. On the *ocaklık*-system at the imperial kitchen and pantry cf. Nejat Göyünç, “Yurtluk-Ocaklık Deyimleri Hakkında,” in: *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (İstanbul, 1991): 268-77, n.b. pp. 274-76.

<sup>31</sup> C.SAR 136.

Here the *miskci-başı* appears as an outsider to the palace who had been employed or contracted to supply certain goods. When he exceeded his budget he had to renegotiate but was finally considered financially liable. He was probably affiliated to the state organisation, but more like a tax-farmer or a *celeb*<sup>32</sup> than a regular salaried official.

It is tempting to interpret the *miskci-başı* as the head of a guild. However, the existence of a *cemaat-ı miskîyan* is difficult to prove. For instance, when describing the crafts of the capital, Evliya Çelebi only mentions a guild of producers of musk-soap, none of dealers in musk.<sup>33</sup> Likewise, in the *Surname* describing the later Sultan Mehmed's III circumcision in 1582, we only find an entry on the *cemaat-ı sabun-ı miskî kâran*, who at this occasion performed their art of producing musk soap.<sup>34</sup> I found a single hint to the existence of a *miskci* guild in the *narh defteri* of 1640 edited by Mübahat Kütükoğlu, where there is a chapter on prices to be charged by musk-sellers.<sup>35</sup> The items on the lists, however, are not spices, but fragrances and perfumes such as ambergris, musk or gum benzoin. Spices figure, as one would expect, among the goods sold by the *attaran*.<sup>36</sup>

### *Cloves, Cinnamon, and Saffron: Almost Staples*

Unfortunately, there seems to be no satisfactory explanation why spices were delivered to the sultanic court by the Jewish *miskci-başı*. On the other hand, there is no doubt that these deliveries actually took place. It is, therefore, now time to enter the kitchen and to see what the deliveryman delivers.

<sup>32</sup> On these men who played a crucial role supplying meat to the Ottoman capital (and, therefore, to the court, as well) Suraiya Faroqi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts, and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650* (Cambridge et al., 1984): 221-32.

<sup>33</sup> Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu, Dizini; 1. Kitap İstanbul*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (İstanbul, 1996): 263: "Esnâf-ı misk-i [!] sâbüncü". The index of this edition does not refer to this item.

<sup>34</sup> Gisela Procházka-Eisl, *Das Sûnâme-i Hümayûn: Die Wiener Handschrift in Transkription, mit Kommentar und Indices versehen* (Istanbul, 1995): 141.

<sup>35</sup> Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi Ve 1649 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (İstanbul, 1983): 101-2. There is a separate entry on sellers of soap made with musk, p. 102.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*: 98-101.

The register covering the one-year-span 1-C-1169 to 30-CÁ-1170 contains a few entries that specify spices bought by the palaces at certain occasions, “zuhurat” in the language of the document.<sup>37</sup> Some entries do not concern spices at all, but items such as cotton, camphor, and fragrances for the bathing and swathing of the *valide sultan* Şehsüvar’s corpse, or some deliveries to the sultanic *mescid*.<sup>38</sup>

Others are more instructive. For example, 5,400 dr (17,317.8 g) of mastic (*sakız*) were purchased in order to prepare buns during Ramadan (*çörekha-ı ramazaniye*). At the occasion of a circumcision (*sünnet*) 100 dr (320.9 g) of cinnamon (*darçın*) and 400 dr (1,282.8 g) of saffron (*za’feran*) were purchased along with a small quantity of cochineal (*kırmızı*).<sup>39</sup> At an unspecified occasion, much more substantial quantities were given to the sultan’s mother:<sup>40</sup> 3,000 dr of cloves (*karanfil*) and 1,720 dr of cinnamon. More than 9 kg of cloves, probably in addition to some regular *ta’yinat*, constituted an impressive amount. In the final phase of the pre-revolutionary *ancien régime*, the entire country of France, where this spice was extremely fashionable at that time, consumed 9,000 pounds of cloves a year.<sup>41</sup> And that Şehsüvar Sultan’s household could put

<sup>37</sup> D.BŞM 3359: 4.

<sup>38</sup> M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara, 1980, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1985): 74.

<sup>39</sup> This entry poses difficulties of its own. Written nearly without diacritical marks, it reads “zuhurat-ı ziyafet-i hitan-ı Hâtem-Sultân-zâde”. The reading “Hâtem” is uncertain, and alternatives such as “Hânım” or “Cânım” seem to offer themselves more readily. Alderson, as quoted in Uluçay, *Kadınlar ve Kızlar*: 95, n. 5, lists a certain Hatem among Mahmud’s I wives. She is the only female member of the dynasty whose name can be reconciled with the word in the document. Mahmud I, however, is known to have been incapable of siring children (*ibid.*: 97, n. 5). It is generally assumed that deceased sultans’ female sexual partners were sent to the Old Palace to spend the rest of their lives in seclusion: M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem: II* (Ankara, 1971, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1992): 58-60. So, where does Hatem Sultan’s son come from and what happened to him later?

<sup>40</sup> During the period covered by the document, Osman III died and Mustafa III acceded to the throne. As Mustafa’s mother Mihrîşah had died in 1144 or 1145 (Uluçay, *Kadınlar ve Kızlar*: 81-82), the *valide* in question can only be Osman’s mother Şehsüvar whose death has likewise been referred to in the document.

<sup>41</sup> Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, transl. Anthea Bell (Cambridge, MA, Oxford, 1992, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1994): 507.





more than 5.5 kg of cinnamon to good use demonstrates the scale of consumption by the female members of the Ottoman dynasty.<sup>42</sup>

On the other hand, it is apparent that such entries do not reflect the entire range of spices available to the sultan's or his mother's cooks. But another, more detailed list of occasional purchases for the sultan by his black chief eunuch and his sword-bearer (*ağa-ı dar üi-seadet il-şerifet ve ağa-ı silâhdar-ı hazret-i şebriyari*) also contains large quantities of these ingredients. Here we find cinnamon (1,080 dr/3.46 kg), cloves (410 dr/1.31 kg), and especially saffron (3035 dr/9.73 kg). These are impressive quantities, only overshadowed by a purchase of 44 qı (56.49 kg) sesame (*susam*), a product on the borderline between spices and foodstuffs. In this instance, sesame should be regarded as a source of calories rather than a spice. Otherwise, we only find cardamom (*kakula*), which was purchased in the relatively small quantity of 170 dr (0.55 kg), and mastic (600 dr/1.92 kg). Together with these items, the *miskci* delivered fragrances (musk and ambergris), dyestuffs (cochineal and alum), drugs (soapwort and *symplocus racemosa*), as well as paper and crystal.

The composition of this purchase was not just the result of accidental circumstances, as can be verified by a look at the expenditures made on behalf of European ambassadors. All of them<sup>43</sup> received the same things: a small amount of ambergris, some cochineal, mastic, cardamom, cloves, cinnamon, and saffron. Again saffron figures prominently (1,000 dr/3.2 kg in each instance), ten times the amount of cloves and cardamom. Cinnamon (150 dr/481 g) and mastic (50 dr/160 g) are likewise of minor importance.

When the court decided that extra quantities of spices were called for, the only items purchased were saffron, cinnamon, cloves, cardamom, and mastic. Especially the first three figure prominently. How does this observation fit in with the daily consumption of spices?

In this case, it is possible to compare the deliveries of the *miskci-başı* with expenditures of the imperial kitchen in the fifteenth century, as published by Barkan.<sup>44</sup> Barkan's list covers the time between the 1-RA-894 and 29-N-895,

<sup>42</sup> Concentrating more on princesses than sultans' mothers, Tülay Artan has widely written on this subject. See "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule: Introducing Materials on the Wealth and Power of Ottoman Princesses in the Eighteenth Century," *Dünya ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi* 4 (1993): 53-94.

<sup>43</sup> Listed are the ambassadors from Russia, Poland (both of them twice), Venice, the Two Sicilies, and Austria. This is the last entry in D.BŞM 3359: 4.

<sup>44</sup> Barkan, "Muhasebe Defterleri": 88-103. In our context, pp. 90-93 are relevant as they contain expenditures for more refined foodstuffs.

mainly the year 1489. As already noted, D.BŞM 3359 belongs roughly to the year 1756, and C.SAR 136 lists the deliveries made in a summer month of 1767. In the following table, all quantities are computed on a monthly basis and in the metric system. For D.BŞM 3359 I have computed two figures, one excluding the “extraordinary occasions”. By proceeding in this fashion, possible distortions may be checked. Moreover, the prices of the spices have been added.

Table 1: *Spices Consumed in the Imperial Palace*

spice	D.BŞM 3359: kg/month	D.BŞM 3359 without zuhurat-ı gayr- muayene	price	C.SAR 136: kg/month	price	Barkan, 90-93 (1-Ra-894.29-N- 895): kg/month	price
karanfil	9.19	8.56	7 aq/dr	4.33	7 aq/dr	–	–
darçın	18.72	14.25	11 aq/dr	9.30	13 aq/dr	1.50	0.14 aq/dr
kakula	3.38	2.92	6 aq/dr	3.01	7 aq/dr	–	–
sakız-ı şehdane	0.74	0.56	4 aq/dr	0.48	3 aq/dr	(mastaki) 5.77	0.125 aq/dr
sakız-ı hurda	3.42	2.49	2 aq/dr	2.02	2 aq/dr	probably included above	
susam, summak, anison, kimyon	78.15	62.54	35 aq/qı	39.13 (susam: 16.68, summak: 11.54, anison: 3.21, kimyon: 7.70)	60 aq/qı	semsem: 3.96 summak: 11.55 kemmun: 3.31	6 aq/qı 4.17 aq/qı 4.13 aq/qı
za'feran	5.43	3.10	12 aq/dr	0.51 <sup>45</sup>	15 aq/dr	7.89	0.30 aq/dr
fülful						14.65	25.18 aq/qı
zencebil						1.60	33.67 aq/qı
magz-ı köknar						0.32	4 aq/qı
na'ne						16.68	8 aq/qı

The table reveals that the two deliveries recorded during the second half of the eighteenth century conform to the same pattern, especially if the “extraordinary

<sup>45</sup> 1000 dr (3.21 kg) have to be added for a banquet for the privy divan (*ziyafet-i divan-ı havass*). This item may be compared with the *zuhurat-ı gayr-ı muayene* in D.BŞM 3359. At the same occasion, 58 dr (186 g) of high quality cinnamon (*darçın-ı hass*) were used.

occasions” are excluded from the computation. Cloves and especially cinnamon are the dominant items, whereas saffron was not used much more than cardamom and mastic. The price was certainly not the determinant, as cinnamon was almost as costly as saffron.

Beside this more expensive and prestigious category of spices there existed a second, more modest one. Especially C.SAR 136 is revealing in so far as it quantifies the relevant items. The importance of sesame has already been hinted at, but the popularity of sumac (*summak*) is equally remarkable: Today this sour dried fruit plays only a minor role in Turkish cooking, mainly in the preparation of salads. Cumin (*kimyon*) was also widely used (as it is today). That aniseed (*anison*) was of secondary importance is not too astonishing, given the limited number of dishes in which this very strong-tasting substance may be used.

### *Flavor of the Ages*

Even more striking is the comparison with the list of spices consumed in 1489. Cardamom and cloves are completely absent from this older list, and cinnamon does not figure prominently either. Its place, almost to the ounce, is occupied by black pepper (*fülfül*), an ingredient notably absent from the lists of the eighteenth century. Aniseed is lacking in the fifteenth century, while ginger, mint and pulp of fir are not included in the deliveries of the eighteenth. (So are a number of preparations of fruits which were probably used to spice up dishes. But I have not included confectionery, dried fruits, juices and the like in the comparison because there is no way of knowing whether the *miskci* was responsible for these items).

Especially the relation between pepper and cinnamon deserves attention. In today's Turkish *cuisine*, cinnamon plays a role mainly as an aroma added to sweet preparations, which often contain some milk. There are, however, some reminiscences of its wider use, such as the so-called “Albanian liver” (*Arnavut ciğeri*) which should be prepared with a pinch of cinnamon. I have also encountered preparations of green beans that call for this spice.

But otherwise, cinnamon is of marginal importance, and, as in the sixteenth century,<sup>46</sup> black pepper is today the main spice used in the preparation of meat and vegetables (red pepper seems to become increasingly prominent, though). We will soon see that in the eighteenth century, black pepper was regularly delivered by the *miskci-baş*, albeit in smaller quantities. It does not seem reason-

<sup>46</sup> Suraiya Faruqi, *Towns and Townsman*: table 33, p. 328 with another example (the *imaret* of Sultan Selim II in Konya).

able to assume that the palace bought large amounts of black pepper from some other source. Therefore one must conclude that there existed a phase in the history of Turkish cooking when cinnamon all but replaced black pepper.<sup>47</sup>

Seen from this angle, the other differences between the lists are also open to interpretation as evidence of a change of predilection and taste. Aniseed instead of ginger, cloves and cardamom instead of mint? In reality, things turn out to be a bit more complicated. Above, lists of 125 substances have been mentioned which concern deliveries made by the *miskai* to the *peşkir-başı*. These lists contain a number of spices and condiments, some dried herbs, but also dyestuffs, scents, fragrances, drugs, and poisons – the majority of the items concerned should be regarded as drugs, but many may have had multiple uses: the close neighbourhood of kitchen, pharmacy, and textile workshop is again evident (for a table showing all items and their use, cf. the appendix).

The *peşkirbaşı* being attached to the sultan's personal service, one may assume that these lists included those substances consumed by the sultan and his immediate environment. In one instance it is explicitly stated that all these substances were destined for the person of the sultan (*nefs-i hümayun için*).<sup>48,49</sup> This, however, should not be taken literally, if one does not presume that Mustafa III and Abd ül-Hamid I were heavily addicted to narcotics. The consumption of more than 5 g of opium and 5 g of cannabis per day (not to count other poisonous substances on the list) plainly is not possible over a lengthy period of time without grave consequences for the health of the consumer. But these lists certainly name substances which regularly found their way into the palace and were regarded as fit for use by the sultan himself.

What was delivered regularly to the *peşkirbaşı* in terms of condiments were black cumin (*çörek otı*), anise, cumin, sesame, coconut (*ceviz-i Hindî*), coriander (*kışniş*), cardamom (*kakula-ı kebir*), curcuma (*zerde çav*), saffron, wild ginger (*zarunba*), possibly caraway (? *Kefe kimyonu*), sumac, black pepper (*dar-ı fülful*), possibly basilicum (? *sultan otı*), seed of ajowan cumin (*nahve-i Hindî*), the ginger-

<sup>47</sup> The discussion of this matter with colleagues has proven extremely valuable. Selçuk Esenbel (Istanbul) has related that her grandmother prepared most dishes with cinnamon instead of pepper. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk (Warsaw) has hinted at the decline of the pepper trade from the Ottoman Empire to Poland from the end of the seventeenth century onward, even though Ottoman-Polish trade as a whole remained lively. These observations seem to confirm the hypothesis developed above.

<sup>48</sup> Uzunçarşılı, *Saray Teşkilâtı*: 314.

<sup>49</sup> D.BŞM 4635.

like galingale (*bavlıncan*), and mace or nutmeg (*besbase*). To this list of ingredients one should probably add some items that are not spices in the narrower sense, but may have served to flavor dishes: *sa'leb*, flower of the mallow (*ebe gümeçi çiçeği*), rosemary (*biberiye*), dried rose buds (*gül goncaşı*), mustard (*hardal*), potash (*kırımtatar*), and buckthorn (*bavlan-ı Hindî*).

Some of the spices on this list are also included in the eighteenth-century deliveries referred to previously. But not everything reappears: cloves, cinnamon, and mastic are notably absent. On the other hand, this list does not resemble either of the sixteenth-century records.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, most of the items must have been in use at the sultanic court for a long time. The only possible exceptions are coconut and the two items which cannot be clearly identified, *Keşe kimyonu* and *sultan otu*.

Overall, the geographical orientation of the list is more towards India than westward. Products from the New World are not found among these spices, even if they are not totally absent from the full list of 125 items.<sup>51</sup> Notably, vanilla, pimento (*pimenta officinalis*), and chillies (*capsicum frutescens* and *annuum*) are lacking (the first two are even today struggling to take their proper place in Turkish cookery).

Another problem is posed by the absence of fresh and dried herbs from all the eighteenth-century lists. The single exception here is rosemary. In the sixteenth century herbs had still been purchased. There is no reason to think that fresh herbs had disappeared from the sultanic kitchen in the meantime. But the *miskci* may just have been the wrong person to buy them from. Herbs may have even been grown in the palace gardens. So the absence of dill (*dereotu*), parsley (*maydanoz*), thyme (*kekik otu*), and especially mint (*nane*), may well be of no significance. In winter, when fresh herbs were not available, dried ones may or may not have been provided by the palace gardeners. But then, the lists were of a highly formalised and conventional character, and special deliveries for special occasions or seasonal change have not been taken into account.

Little is known about the way the spices were put to use after being delivered to the *peşkir-başı*. If one accepts that these deliveries were made for the sultan's personal consumption and that of an inner circle, the quantities (each item per month about 160 and 215 g, respectively) are not negligible. As the list contains not only drugs but also dyestuffs, fragrances, and poisons, the spices involved were probably not exclusively meant for medicinal use. It is

<sup>50</sup> Barkan, "Muhasebe Defterleri": 90-93, 118-23.

<sup>51</sup> An example is *guaiacum officinale* or "peygamber ağacı" in the Ottoman use.



more reasonable to think that the *peşkir-başı* distributed these goods to those members of the inner palace service who happened to need them.

But this hypothesis does not lead to any specific statement about the use of these ingredients in the eighteenth century. All we can say is that during this period black pepper, ginger, coriander, and nutmeg were consumed by the Ottoman court in one fashion or the other. But it is equally hard to say whether the relatively small-scale consumption of these spices mean that these were special, “fancy” items, or more simply that black pepper, ginger and the rest were just not very popular at this time.

These ingredients were not just theoretically available but indeed used by the court. This state of affairs demonstrates that the large-scale use of other spices amounted to a real preference. Even if the one-to-one replacement of black pepper by cinnamon was not typical, one can talk about an eighteenth-century orientation in the Ottoman use of spices.

Prestige and width of application are issues to be discussed in this framework. They do not necessarily go together. The gifts made to ambassadors mentioned above probably consisted of items regarded as especially prestigious: saffron taking the most prominent place, followed by cloves, cinnamon, cardamom and even sesame. This is also the group of spices purchased on “special occasions”. With the exception of sesame and mastic, these were relatively expensive goods, again saffron heading the list. A glance at the prices recorded in the table above reveals that relatively to other items, this group of spices had become more expensive since the sixteenth century. While the prices of sumac, sesame, and cumin had risen (nominally) about tenfold in two hundred years, saffron was now forty, cinnamon nearly seventy times as expensive as they had been two centuries earlier. High price and high prestige probably reinforced each other.

When looking at the amounts consumed, it appears that saffron was much less used than cloves and cinnamon. Sesame, sumac, and cumin, less prestigious and much cheaper, also were consumed in higher quantities than saffron. This most expensive spice should have been used on about the same scale as the aromatic ingredients, aniseed and mastic.

It is not easy to place this change in taste in proper context. Developments in Western cookery were certainly irrelevant; in eighteenth-century Europe, cloves were fashionable, but equally important were black pepper and nutmeg,<sup>52</sup> the latter two items being rather neglected by the Ottoman palace.

---

<sup>52</sup> Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*: 507.

Imagining how things may have tasted is, once again, a matter of speculation. But if one considers the properties of these spices it seems that two features can be identified. In the first place, there was a movement away from relatively hot tastes, such as pepper and ginger, to rather rich, savoury flavours. The image of Near Eastern cookery as a richly aromatic one, which is not exactly an appropriate description of present-day Turkish practice, may have been a bit closer to reality in the eighteenth century.

Secondly we note an eighteenth-century predilection for spices that do not respond favorably to heat or long cooking processes (cloves and cardamom are an exception). It is very easy to spoil or just destroy the aroma of cinnamon, sesame, sumac, and saffron by subjecting them to a fair amount of heat. Turkish cookery involves rather long and intense cooking processes, and spices are today often added at an early stage. This secures a beautiful fusion of tastes. This practice does just not seem feasible with many of the ingredients encountered in the eighteenth-century records. Two hundred years ago, many of the spices must have been used at the end of the preparation, as a form of finishing.

Here it becomes apparent that fashion and change were not at all absent from Ottoman cookery: even if many dishes appear to have remained stable over centuries, the way to prepare them was subject to change.

For the social historian, however, another question would be more interesting: how did courtly cooking relate to popular usage and the practices of the middling layer of urban dwellers? At least cinnamon and saffron seem to be rather costly if compared to artisans' wages of the time.<sup>53</sup> A lavish use of these spices must therefore have been the exception. The less expensive spices, however, should have been affordable even on a day-to-day basis. But that is as far as the evidence presented here will take us. At this stage at least, the past reality of Istanbul's cooking pots is as volatile as the flavor of saffron.

<sup>53</sup> Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100-1200): İstanbul'un Fikrî İhtimai, İktisadî ve Ticarî Ahvalile Evkaf, Belediye, İaşe ve Gümrük İşlerine Dair Hazinei Evrak Gayri Matbu' Vesikalarını Havidir* (İstanbul, 1930, repr. 1988): 155-56, records wages paid in the year 1154 (1741/42) ranging from 20 aq/day for an unqualified hand to 60 aq/day for a master builder. On the free market higher wages were paid. Between 1742 and 1756 or 1767, the Ottoman currency lost both weight and value; see Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914," *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık, Donald Quataert (Cambridge et al., 1994): 967-68.

## Appendix

*Deliveries by the miskci-(başı) to the peşkirbaşı according to D.BŞM 3592 (B-N 1175),<sup>54</sup> D.BŞM 3706 (B-N 1177),<sup>55</sup> D.BŞM 3852 (B-N 1180),<sup>56</sup> D.BŞM 4036 (B-N 1183),<sup>57</sup> D.BŞM 4320 (B-N 1186),<sup>58</sup> D.BŞM 4427 (22-Zā-1187 – 22-Ş-1188),<sup>59</sup> D.BŞM 4463 (23-Ş-1188 – 23-Cā-1188),<sup>60</sup> D.BŞM 4489 (25-Ş-1188 – 25-Zā-1188),<sup>61</sup> D.BŞM 4635 (1-Z-1189 – 29-Ş-1190),<sup>62</sup> D.BŞM 4974 (1-Z-1194 – 29-Ş-1195)<sup>63</sup> – numbers in dirhem*

name of item	quantity (dirhem)	English or Latin name	potential use
eftīmūn <sup>i</sup>	200	dodder, cuscuta epithymum	drug
ḳudret ḥelvāsī <sup>ii</sup>	200	manna	drug, sweetener
ceviz-i bavvā <sup>iii</sup>	200	nutmeg	spice

- 54 defter oldur kē miskci yahūdiden kilār-i hümāyūnda peşkirbaşı ağaya gelen eczaları beyān eder üç aydan üç aya
- 55 defter oldur kē miskci yahūdiden kilār-i hümāyūnda peşkirbaşı lālāya gelen eczaları beyān eder üç aydan üç aya
- 56 defter oldur kē miskci yahūdiden kilār-i hümāyūnda peşkirbaşı ağaya gelen eczaları beyān eder üç aydan üç aya
- 57 defter oldur kē miskci yahūdiden kilār-i hümāyūnda peşkirbaşı lālāya gelen eczaları beyān eder üç aydan üç aya
- 58 defter oldur kē miskci yahūdiden kilār-i hümāyūnda peşkirbaşı ağaya gelen eczaları beyān eder üç aylık
- 59 defter oldur kē miskci yahūdiden kilār-i hümāyūnda peşkirbaşı ağaya üç aydan üç aya gelen eczā'ı beyān olunur
- 60 defter oldur kē miskci yahūdiden kilār-i hümāyūnda peşkirbaşı ağaya üç aydan üç aya gelen eczā'ı beyān eder
- 61 defter oldur kē miskci yahūdiden kilār-i hümāyūnda peşkirbaşı ağaya gelen eczā'ı beyān eder
- 62 defter oldur kē miskci başı tarafından nefis-i hümāyun içün kilār-ı hümāyūnda peşkir başıya yalnız üç aylık eczā beyān eder
- 63 defter oldur kē miskci yahūdī tarafından kilār-ı hümāyūnda peşkirbaşılara verilen üç aylık eczā beyān eder



name of item	quantity (dirhem)	English or Latin name	potential use
lāden <sup>iv</sup>	150	resin of cistus plants	perfume, drug
surh <sup>64</sup> şandāl <sup>v</sup>	150	red sanders wood	dyestuff, scent, drug
çörek oti <sup>vi</sup>	200	seeds of nigella sativa, black cumin	spice
anīsōn	200	anise, pimpinella anisum	spice
kīmyōn	200	cumin, cuminum cyminum	spice
mūmyā-yı ma‘denī <sup>vii</sup>	200	asphaltum [?]	drug
mūmyā-yı ādemī	200	adipocere [?]	drug
‘aslbend <sup>viii</sup>	150 <sup>65</sup>	gum benzoin	perfume, preservative
kāfūr	200	camphor	perfume, preservative
hindibā <sup>66ix</sup> köki	200	cichorium intybus	mainly used as drug
şüşām <sup>67</sup>	200 <sup>68</sup>	sesame, sesanum Indicum	spice, drug
ceviz-i Hindī <sup>x</sup>	200	coconut, cocos nucifera	spice
surh <sup>xi</sup>	150	red lead[?]	dyestuff, poison
‘ūd-ı hām <sup>xii</sup>	150	aquilaria Malaccensis, aloes wood	perfume, scent
çakamağa <sup>69xiii</sup>	200		
koyun oti <sup>xiv</sup>	200 <sup>70</sup>	agrimonia eupatorium	medicinal
gül kurusu	200 <sup>71</sup>	dried rose	perfume
papadiya <sup>72xv</sup>	150	daisy, anthemis nobilis	drug
kavun çekirdeği <sup>xvi</sup>	200 <sup>73</sup>	melon (cucumis melo) seed	drug
karpuz çekirdeği <sup>xvii</sup>	200	watermelon (citrullus vulgaris) seed	drug

64 D.BŞM 4974: surh

65 D.BŞM 3592: 200 dr

66 D.BŞM 3706: hindibāh

67 D.BŞM 4635: şüşām; D.BŞM 4974: şüşām

68 D.BŞM 4489: no information on quantities given.

69 D.BŞM 3852, 4320: haçamağa

70 D.BŞM 3592: 200 dr

71 D.BŞM 3592, 3706, 4036: 150 dr

72 D.BŞM 3852, 4036, 4320: pāpāṭiya

73 D.BŞM 4036: 150 dr

name of item	quantity (dirhem)	English or Latin name	potential use
hıyār çekirdeği <sup>xviii</sup>	200	cucumber seed	drug
şandāl <sup>xix</sup>	200	white sandalwood (santalum album)	scent
hardāl <sup>74</sup>	200	mustard	drug, scent, spice
ebe gümecı çiçeği <sup>75</sup>	200	flower of the mallow (malva sylvestris)	drug
göl-i <sup>76</sup> Ermeni <sup>77</sup>	150 <sup>78</sup>	Terra armeniaca	dyestuff
rāvend-i <sup>xxiii</sup> Çini	200	rhubarb (rheum palmatum)	drug
rāvend-i Rūmī <sup>xxiv</sup>	200	rhubarb (rumex alpinus or rheum officinale)	drug
ak günlük <sup>79</sup>	200	olibanum, frankscent, storax	scent, drug
kara günlük <sup>80</sup>	150 <sup>81</sup>	liquidambar orientalis	perfume, drug
miyān bālī <sup>xxvii</sup>	200	Spanish liquorice	drug, no hint at its use as spice
miyān köki <sup>xxviii</sup>	200	root of glycyrrhiza glabra	drug
sināmekī <sup>xxix</sup>	200	senna (cassia acutifolia)	drug
kāğıd-ı Hindī <sup>xxx</sup>	200	Indian catechu	dyestuff and drug
mücevkān <sup>xxxi</sup>	150 <sup>82</sup>	?	?
karındaş <sup>83</sup> kanı <sup>xxxii</sup>	200	sanguis draconis	drug, dyestuff
aķ behmen <sup>84</sup>	150	root of centaurea behmen	drug
kızıl behmen <sup>xxxiv</sup>	150	a sort of sage [?]	drug [?]
karğa büken <sup>85</sup>	150	nux vomica	drug

- 74 D.BŞM 3852, 4489, 4974: hardāl  
75 D.BŞM 3592, 3706, 3852, 4036: ebe gümecı  
76 D.BŞM 4974: gıl-i  
77 D.BŞM 3852: gül-i zimmī; D.BŞM 4036, 4320, 4635: gülārmenī  
78 D.BŞM 3592: 200 dr  
79 D.BŞM 3852: günnük; D.BŞM 4320: günük  
80 D.BŞM 3852: günnük; D.BŞM 4320: günük  
81 D.BŞM 4320: 200 dr  
82 D.BŞM 3592: 200 dr  
83 D.BŞM 3706, 3852: karıdaş  
84 D.BŞM 4463, 4489: aķbeħmen  
85 D.BŞM 3706: بوقن

name of item	quantity (dirhem)	English or Latin name	potential use
māzī <sup>86xxxvi</sup>	150	nut-gall	drug
ustubec <sup>87xxxvii</sup>	200	white lead	poison, dyestuff
kişniş <sup>88xxxviii</sup>	200	coriander	spice
göz taşı <sup>xxxix</sup>	200 <sup>89</sup>	blue stone	drug, dyestuff
şarı şabr <sup>90xl</sup>	200	aloë socotrina	drug, fragrance
şāb <sup>xli</sup>	200	alum	dyestuff, drug
şa' leb <sup>91xlii</sup>	200	orchis mascula	foodstuff, drug
kākūla-ı <sup>xliiii</sup> kebīr	150	cardamom, elletaria major	spice, scent
gelincik çiçeği <sup>xliiv</sup>	200 <sup>92</sup>	corn-poppy	drug
havlıncān <sup>xlv</sup>	200 <sup>93</sup>	galangal	drug, spice
kırmız <sup>xlvi</sup>	150 <sup>94</sup>	kermes (cochineal)	dyestuff
afyūn <sup>xlvii</sup>	150	opium, from papaver somniferum	drug
nişādır <sup>xlviii</sup>	200	ammonia	drug
zerde çāv <sup>xlix</sup>	150	curcuma	spice, dyestuff, drug
ğara helile <sup>95l</sup>	150	terminalia chebula	drug
altun otı <sup>96li</sup>	150	?	drug [?]
şāparna <sup>97lii</sup>	200	smilax officinalis	drug
çüb-ı Çīnī <sup>liiii</sup>	200	smilax China	drug
gül gönçası	150	dried rose buds	fragrance, spice

86 D.BŞM 3706, 3852, 4036, 4320: māzū

87 D.BŞM 3706: istünc; D.BŞM 4427: Gytswa; D.BŞM 4463, 4635, 4974: Gadyfswa

88 D.BŞM 4427: kişniş

89 D.BŞM 3592: 150 dr

90 D.BŞM 3592: şarı şabr/şabun; D.BŞM 3706, 3852, 4036, 4320, 4427, 4463, 4974: şarı şabun

91 D.BŞM 4635, 4974: şahleb

92 D.BŞM 3706, 4036: 150 dr

93 D.BŞM 3592: 150 dr

94 D.BŞM 3852: 250 dr; D.BŞM 4320: 200 dr

95 D.BŞM 3592: ħalile

96 D.BŞM 3852: altun

97 D.BŞM 3592: şābārna; D.BŞM 3706: şāperpene D.BŞM 3852, 4320: şāpārta

name of item	quantity (dirhem)	English or Latin name	potential use
çām <sup>98</sup> şākızı <sup>liv</sup>	200	rosin	fragrance
hāṣḥāṣī baṣī <sup>99</sup>	200	poppy heads	drug
anẓerūt <sup>lv</sup>	150	tragacanth	drug, dyestuff
Hāccī Bektaş tuzı <sup>100lvi</sup>	200	powder of the mandrake [?]	drug [?]
za'ferān	200	saffron	spice
kitre <sup>lvii</sup>	200	tragacanth	drug, dyestuff
zamk-ı <sup>101</sup> 'Arabı <sup>lviii</sup>	200	gum Arabic	dyestuff, drug
ayva çekirdeği	200	seed of quince	drug
zarūnba <sup>102lix</sup>	200	wild ginger	spice
Kefe kimyōnı <sup>lx</sup>	200	caraway or laser trilobum [?]	spice, drug
servi <sup>103</sup> kozalāğı <sup>104lxi</sup>	200 <sup>105</sup>	cones of the cypress	drug
türük otı <sup>lxii</sup>	200	dill seed	drug
tabāşir-i <sup>106</sup> Hindi <sup>lxiii</sup>	200 <sup>107</sup>	?	drug [?]
tabāşir <sup>108lxiv</sup>	200	bamboo gum	drug
peygamber ağacı <sup>lxv</sup>	150	resin [?] of guaiacum officinale	drug
rāzyāne <sup>109lxvi</sup>	200	fennel seed	drug
mersin yaprağı <sup>lxvii</sup>	200 <sup>110</sup>	myrtle leaves	drug, spice
hatmī <sup>111</sup> tohumı <sup>lxviii</sup>	200	marsh-mallow, althæa officinalis	drug
kırım tartar <sup>112lxix</sup>	150 <sup>113</sup>	tartrate of potash	dyestuff

- 98 D.BŞM 4320: hām  
99 D.BŞM 3852: hāṣḥāṣī; D.BŞM 4320, 4427, 4463, 4489, 4635, 4974: hāṣḥāṣ  
100 D.BŞM 4320: tuzı  
101 D.BŞM 4463: zamğ-ı; D.BŞM 4489: zamğ-ı, D.BŞM 4635, 4974: zam'-ı  
102 D.BŞM 4427, 4463: zarūnba  
103 D.BŞM 3706, 4489, 4635, 4974: serv  
104 D.BŞM 4463: serv kozı  
105 D.BŞM 3592, 3706, 4036: 150 dr  
106 D.BŞM 3592, 3852, 4489: tebeşir  
107 D.BŞM 4427: not mentioned  
108 D.BŞM 3592, 3852, 4489: tebeşir  
109 D.BŞM 3592: rāzbāne  
110 D.BŞM 4036: no quantity given  
111 D.BŞM 3592: hatmī

name of item -	quantity (dirhem)	English or Latin name	potential use
ekil ül-melik <sup>114</sup> <sup>lxx</sup>	150	melilot, melilotus officinalis	dyestuff, drug, poison (used against insects)
tüpālāk <sup>115</sup> <sup>lxxi</sup>	150 <sup>116</sup>	muskroot [?]	drug
havlān-ı <sup>lxxii</sup> Hindī	200 <sup>117</sup>	berries of buckthorn	drug
bezr-i kutūna <sup>118</sup> <sup>lxxiii</sup>	150 <sup>119</sup>	seeds of fleabane	drug
ķara baldırī <sup>120</sup> <sup>lxxiv</sup>	150	maidenhair fern	drug
egīr <sup>lxxv</sup>	150	myrtle flag, acorus calamus	drug
Kābüli <sup>lxxvi</sup>	200	embelia ribes	drug
emlic <sup>lxxvii</sup>	200	emblic myrobalans	drug
şümmāk	200	sumac	spice
türbüt <sup>lxxviii</sup>	200	turbith	drug
deve dikenī <sup>121</sup> <sup>lxxix</sup> tohumı <sup>122</sup>	200	seed of any kind of "camel's thorn"	drug [?]
tutkal <sup>123</sup> <sup>lxxx</sup>	200	glue	?
cenķār <sup>124</sup> <sup>lxxxi</sup>	200	gundelia tournefortii	aromatic
ķarsanī <sup>125</sup> <sup>lxxxii</sup>	200	eryngo [?]	drug [?]

- 112 D.BŞM 3592: قمرطوتی (ķırmırıtötı [?]); D.BŞM 3852, 4320: قمرطوتو; D.BŞM 4036: قمرطوطو; D.BŞM 4427, 4463, 4635: قمر طرطر; D.BŞM 4489: قمر طوتو; D.BŞM 4974: قمرططر
- 113 D.BŞM 3592, 3706, 4036: 200dr
- 114 D.BŞM 4036: ekl ül-melik
- 115 D.BŞM 3592: tüplāk; D.BŞM 3706: tırpalık; D.BŞM 3852, 4320: tüyālık; D.BŞM 4427, 4463, 4489, 4635: tübālık
- 116 D.BŞM 4463, 4489: 200 dr
- 117 D.BŞM 3592: 150 dr
- 118 D.BŞM 4036: ķatūna
- 119 D.BŞM 3592: 200 dr
- 120 D.BŞM 3592, 4036, 4320, 4427, 4463, 4489, 4635, 4974: baldırī ķara
- 121 D.BŞM 3592: tekni
- 122 D.BŞM 4635: deve dikenī
- 123 D.BŞM 4463, 4635: tutkal; D.BŞM 4489: tütķal; D.BŞM 4974: tutkal
- 124 D.BŞM 4463: ħunkār
- 125 D.BŞM 4463, 4489, 4635: ķaşnī



name of item	quantity (dirhem)	English or Latin name	potential use
çelbe <sup>126lxxxiii</sup>	200	?	?
‘ūd ül-kahr <sup>lxxxiv</sup>	200	aloes [?]	fragrant
benefşe köki <sup>lxxxv</sup>	150	oris root	scent
dâr-ı fülful <sup>lxxxvi</sup>	200	black pepper	spice
ketân tohumı <sup>lxxxvii</sup>	200	linseed	drug
encübâr köki <sup>lxxxviii</sup>	200	blood-root	drug
özerlik <sup>lxxxix</sup>	200	wild mustard	drug
kabağ çekirdeği	200	pumpkin-seed	drug
hıyâr-ı şenbe <sup>127xc</sup>	200	cucumber-seed	drug
tîn-i mahtûn <sup>xcı</sup>	200	Lemnian earth	drug
yapışkan <sup>128xcii</sup>	200	parietaria officinalis or cretica [?]	drug
sünbül-i hatâyı <sup>xciii</sup>	200	angelica	drug
sünbül-i Hindî <sup>xciv</sup>	200	Indian nard	fragrance, scent
sultân otı <sup>xcv</sup>	200	sambucus ebulus	dyestuff
nîlüfer kuruşu <sup>129</sup>	200	dried water lilies	drug
Hurasânî <sup>130xcvi</sup>	150 <sup>131</sup>	wormwood	drug
naḥve-i <sup>xcvii</sup> Hindî <sup>132</sup>	200	seed of ptyochis ajowan	drug, spice
kebâbe <sup>xcviii</sup>	200 <sup>133</sup>	cubebs	drug
boy tohmı <sup>xcix</sup>	200	fenugreek-seed	drug, spice
maḥmûde <sup>c</sup>	200	scammony	drug
ğârikön <sup>ci</sup>	150	agaricum	drug
pelin <sup>cii</sup>	150	wormwood	drug
sebistân <sup>ciii</sup>	150	cordia myxa	drug
balata otı <sup>civ</sup>	200	?	?

<sup>126</sup> D.BŞM 3592: celb; D.BŞM 3852: ḥabyâ; D.BŞM: 4320: çelyâ; D.BŞM 4489, 4635: çelbâ; D.BŞM 4974: celâbe

<sup>127</sup> D.BŞM 4320: senbe

<sup>128</sup> D.BŞM 3592: yapışkan; D.BŞM 4463: یه پشکان

<sup>129</sup> D.BŞM 4489: kuruşu

<sup>130</sup> D.BŞM 3592: ḥurāsân

<sup>131</sup> D.BŞM 4036: 200 dr

<sup>132</sup> D.BŞM 3592, 3852, 4036, 4320, 4635: muḥve

<sup>133</sup> D.BŞM 3592: 150 dr

name of item	quantity (dirhem)	English or Latin name	potential use
törtü <sup>134cv</sup>	150	crude tartar [?]	drug
mürde seng <sup>cvi</sup>	150	red lead	dyestuff, poison
besvâbiç [?] <sup>cvi</sup>	150	?	?
ebe gümeçi tohumı <sup>135cviii</sup>	200	seed of marshmallow, althæa officinalis	drug
biberiye <sup>136cix</sup>	200	rosemary	spice, drug
besbâse <sup>cx</sup>	150	mace or nutmeg	spice
şarı helile <sup>cx</sup>	150	yellow myrobalan	drug
esrâr	150	hashish	drug
cem'en yekûn-ı dirhem-i eczâ'-ı عدت	22750 <sup>137</sup>		
nev'-i eczâ 'aded	125 <sup>138</sup>		

- <sup>i</sup> James Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (Constantinople, 1890 [reprint İstanbul, 1978]): p. 155: The lesser dodder, *cuscuta epithymum*. Michael Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public : Some Lists of Drugs in Mid-16th Century Ottoman Turkey", in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Ménage*, eds. Colin Heywood, Colin Imber (İstanbul, 1994): 282. Turhan Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü* (Ankara, 1997): 50: bostanbozan. *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 4: 381: Kleeseide, a parasite plant. I found this rather ancient encyclopedia extremely valuable in preparing this table, as it contains a lot of information on medicinal and commercial uses of substances which are today obsolete.
- <sup>ii</sup> Karl Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch : Türkçe-Almanca Sözlük*, 2nd. ed. (Wiesbaden, 1988): 703, Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1439: Manna. Used as sweetener and purgative. In Anatolia widespread as produce of the Lebanese oak and camel's thorn; cf. *AnaBritannica : Genel Kültür Ansi-*

<sup>134</sup> D.BŞM 3592, 4463, 4489, 4635: türti

<sup>135</sup> D.BŞM 4320: ebe gümeçi

<sup>136</sup> D.BŞM 3706: büberiye; D.BŞM 3852: biberte

<sup>137</sup> D.BŞM 4427, 4463, 4489, 4635, 4974: 11375 dr. The correct sums are D.BŞM 3592, 4635: 23000 dr; D.BŞM 3706: 22900 dr; D.BŞM 3852: 23150 dr; D.BŞM 4036: 22700 dr; D.BŞM 4320: 23100 dr; D.BŞM 4427, 4489: 22800 dr; D.BŞM 4463: 23050 dr; D.BŞM 4974: 23050 dr.

<sup>138</sup> D.BŞM 4427: [correct: 124].

- klopedisi*, 4th ed. (İstanbul, 1994) vol. 19: 416. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 117: gezengevi, used instead of sugar as sweetener.
- iii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 688: the nutmeg.
- iv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1618: “Ladanum, gum-resin of *cistus ladaniferus*, etc., collected from the wool of sheep browsing among the plants.” Used in perfumes and as adstringent medicine. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 221: pamuk otu.
- v Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1186-87: “Red sanders wood, the dye-wood of *pterocarpus santalinus*.” East Indian and Philippinian tree, the wood of which was used in the dyeing of various goods (not only textiles). Cf. *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 17: 540. Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 289, refers to its use as incense, on p. 280 to its employment as an adstringent.
- vi Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 735: “Seeds of *nigella sativa*”. Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 244 gives the form *çöreotu*, meaning “black cummin” and the synonym *karamuk*. According to this dictionary, *çörekotu* was used by women as fragrance against the evil eye. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 77. This source indicates also a use as a hot beverage.
- vii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 2037 records the following for “*mümyā*”: “A medicinal preparation used for wounds and bruises; said to be asphaltum, or, as is reported, adipocere prepared by steeping a human body in honey and oil of sesame.” Asphalt may be the variation *mümyā-yı ma’denī*, the adipocere *mümyā-yı ādemī*.
- viii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1300: “gum benzoin”. Used as perfume, preservative and in cosmetics.
- ix Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 2171 records three meanings: dandelion (*taraxacum endivia*), endive (*cichoricum endivia*), and wild chicory (*cichorium intibus*). Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 134, lists a several kinds of *hindiba* and mentions also the production of some gum from its juice.
- x Here probably, as today, coconut rather than nutmeg, also noted as a possible meaning by Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 689. Probably used in a dried form.
- xi Horse chestnut or vermilion [?], according to Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1051. Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 289 translates “*mürdeseng*” as red lead.



- xii Probably-a kind of aloes-wood (*agallochum*) used as an incense or perfume. Cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1327, and Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi Ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (İstanbul, 1983): 357; Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 279, 289.
- xiii Not identified.
- xiv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1501, translates “agrimony (*agrimonia eupatorium*). Synonyma are, according to Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 668, *eyir otu*, *kasıkotu*, *kızılyaprak*. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 183: *koyun otu*.
- xv Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 201, mentions daisy [seed] as part of a medicinal preparation. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 222, indicates several medicinal uses.
- xvi Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 289. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 256 (laxative).
- xvii *Ibid.*
- xviii *Ibid.*
- xix Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, pp. 1186-1187, distinguishes şandal-ı ebyaz, fragrant sandal wood (*santalum album*), şandal-ı ahmer, the dye-wood of *pterocarpus santalinus* (as listed above), and şarî şandal, the heart wood of *santalum album*. Here probably the first.
- xx Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 287 (for the first two uses), 290. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 250 (*su teresi*, *nasturtium officinale*), 270 (*turp otu*, *raphanus raphanistrum*).
- xxi *Türkçe Sözlük*, eds. Mustafa Canpolat, Kemal Demiray, Semih Tezcan (Ankara, 1983), 1: 351, and Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 97. However, Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 15: marsh-mallow, *althæa officinalis*.
- xxii Arslan Terzioğlu (ed.), *Helvahan Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayında Eczacılık : Eine bisher unbekannte Handschrift über die Herstellung der Arzneien im Topkapı-Schloß in Istanbul und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Pharmazie* (İstanbul, 1982): 78: “Terra armeniaca, Ermeni kili”.
- xxiii Rhubarb (*rheum palmatum*, cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 959), used as adstringent and digestive. The Chinese variant was held in high esteem and much more expensive than the *rūmî*, which in 1640 was brought from the mountainous regions of Keşişdağı and Sofia to İstanbul (cf. Kütükoğlu, *narh defteri*: 99, 359).
- xxiv Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 194: Lâbada or, in Ottoman times, also papaz ravendi.

- xxv Frankincense: Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 286. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 125.
- xxvi Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1604: "Storax bark, after the liquid storax had been extracted from it". Cf. *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 19: 158: "... ein Balsam, der aus dem Splint des Amberbaumes, *Liquidambar orientalis*, in Karien im Distrikt Mutesche auf einem Gebiet von 600 qkm durch Schälen der Bäume, Kochen der gewonnenen Rinde, die auch den Splint enthält, mit Wasser und Abpressen gewonnen wird. ... in der Parfümerie und als Mittel gegen Krätze."
- xxvii Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 791: "Lakritze ... (eingedickter Süßholzsaft)"; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 412, translates as "Spanish Liquorice" (he gives the form "büyân" as the correct form of the word). Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 208.
- xxviii Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 791: "echtes Süßholz, bot. *Glycyrrhiza glabra*". Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 208.
- xxix Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 1024: "(Sennes-)Kassie ... bot. *Cassia (angustifolia u.a.)*". Probably used as an adstringent. On the use *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 18: 345.
- xxx Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1516, gives the meaning of "Indian catechu". The correct form would have been *kāt-ı Hindī*.
- xxxi Not identified.
- xxxii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1412: "Dragons-blood". According to Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 614, used as a drug and for dyeing. *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 5: 156, the resin of *calamus draco* called *sanguis draconis*. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 38: Ayıparmağı, *phelzpaæ tournefortii*, without concrete indication of a relevant use.
- xxxiii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 416: "The root of *centaurea behen*." Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 289, translates "white carrots". This seems to be erroneous, *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 3: 837 (s.v. "Centaurea"), reports that the root of *centaurea behen* L. which grows near the river Euphrates, is used as an antidote in the East. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 225: peygamber çiçeği, also called zerdali dikenî, an appetizing drug.
- xxxiv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 416: "The root of the common meadow sage, *salvia campestris*, or of the winter-cherry, *physalis flexuosa*." Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 289, translates gives "red carrots". *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 17: 493 (s.v. "Salvia") men-

tions different sorts of sage with red leaves, used as a drug in the East (*s. sclarea, coccinea*).

- xxxv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1411, *nux vomica*. Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 615, notes that the seed is pharmacologically used.
- xxxvi Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1656, gives the form *māzū* for the nut-gall. Cf. Kütükoğlu, *narh defteri*: 100, 355, and Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons, and the Public": 289. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 207: *quercus infectoria*.
- xxxvii White lead, cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 105. Meyers *Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 3: 51-52, on its use.
- xxxviii Coriander (*coriandrum sativum*, according to Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1553, and Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 674). Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 179.
- xxxix Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1590: "Blue-stone, sulphate of copper".
- xl Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1166: "The finest transparent socotrine aloes". Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 238: *aloe vera*.
- xli Alum (Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1107). On its use compare Meyers *Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 1: 256-57. Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons, and the Public": 289, notes the absence of this dyestuff from an otherwise rather comprehensive *helva-hane* account dated 981 (1573/74).
- xlï Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 625, gives meanings such as "the root of various kinds of orchis, also the plant of a salep orchis, *o. mascula*, etc." and "the powdered bulb of the salep orchis; also, the drink prepared from this powder". A list of these plants Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 234.
- xlïï Cardamom, fruit of the *amonium cardamonum* (cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1419), the larger variety being *elettaria major* (cf. Meyers *Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 10: 620, s.v. "Kardamömen").
- xliv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1568: "The wild corn-poppy, *papaver rhæas*. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 113, mentions also *p. dubium* and *p. lacerum*.
- xlv Karl Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 473: "Galgant *bot. Alpinia galanga* (*spez. als Hustentee verwendet*)"; Kütükoğlu, *Narh defteri*, 349; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 874, hints at the use of the root. Tous-saint-Samat, *History of Food*: 513, defines "garingal or galanga" as a "kind of ginger".

- xlvi Kermes, a red dye made from insects (*corcus ilicis*), or the Polish scarlet grain (*coccus polonicus*) used for the same purpose (cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1447). Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons, and the Public”: 289, translates “cochineal”.
- xlvi Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon, vol. 7: tab. “Genußmittelpflanzen”. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 160, translates, in a unusually straightforward manner, “opium”. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 130-31.
- xlvi Ammonia (cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 2082).
- xlvi Turmeric (*curcuma longa*, cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1007).
- i “The dried immature fruit of t.[*terminalia*] *chebula*”: Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 2167. Used as a purgative: Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 480. Redhouse Yeni Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük = New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary, eds. U. Bahadır Alkım e.a. (5th ed., İstanbul, 1981 [1st ed., 1968]): 491, seems to identify *kara helile* with *helile-i Kâbüli*.
- li “The fern hart’s tongue, *scolopendrium vulgare*” (cf. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 183) or (according to Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 48, 987 and Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 30) *ceterach officinarum* or *helianthemum salicifolium/vulgare*.
- lii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1037: “Sarsaparilla, root of *smilax officinalis*.” Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 243-44, with different species.
- liii Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*, 76: “Çöpçini: Smilax china, Çin saparnası”.
- liv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1029, translates “resin, rosin”.
- lv Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 75: *Astragalus sarcocolla*’nın zamkı. Compare also Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 219. The difference between *enzerüt* (this is the spelling given by Redhouse) and *kitre* (below) remains unclear. Possibly the *ararud* read by Barkan (“Muhasebe Defterleri”: 78) with a question mark is a misreading or misspelling for *enzerüt* rather than the New World species whose appearance rightfully puzzles Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons, and the Public”: 288. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 32-33, mentions anzer çayı, *thymus pseudopulegioides*.
- lvi Possibly Hâccî otı, Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 750: “The mandrake, *mandragora officinalis*”.
- lvii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1525: “Gum tragacanth”. See above, the endnote on *anzerüt*. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 115-16: geven, different species of *astragalus*, especially *a. microcephalus* as raw material for *kitre zamkı*.

- lviii Gum arabic. *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 8: 518-19, on variations and use.
- lix Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 82: “Zingiber zerumbet, yabani zencefil, zürunbe”.
- lx Not clearly identified, but perhaps the caraway, as it is cultivated in great quantities in Russia. *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 11: 797. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 167, identifies *laser trilobum* with Kefe kimyonu.
- lxi Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 241, indicates a use as astringent.
- lxii Dill seed: Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 290. Possibly erroneously for *tırnağ otu*, according to Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1238, “Mouse-ear hawksweed, *hierarcium pilosella*, etc.” Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 95, gives the form durak.
- lxiii Not identified.
- lxiv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1324, defines *tabāṣīr* as “The siliaceous concretion found in the nodes of the bamboo”. Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 290, translates it as “bamboo gum”.
- lxv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 466: “... the plant *guaiacum officinale*, and its wood”. Here probably its resin. This drug originated in the Americas.
- lxvi In today’s Turkish “rezene”. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 955: “Fennel, *feniculum dulce*”. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 230. Here obviously the seed.
- lxvii Distilled with water, producing a multi-purpose medicinal oil: *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 14: 344 (s.v. “Myrtenöl”, “Myrtus”). Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons, and the Public”: 290. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 206, on the use of the leaves as a spice.
- lxviii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 855, translates *haṭmī* or *hiṭmī* as “marsh-mallow, *althaea officinalis*”. Also Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 285. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 131. Compare also *ebe gümeci tohumu*, below.
- lxix Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1447: “قَرَم طَارَطَار ... Cream of tartar, tartrate of potash, *potassæ tartras*”.
- lxx Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1971: “أكيل الملك ... Melilot, *melilotus officinalis*”. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 103: eşek yoncası, indicating the use as dyestuff.
- lxxi Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 291, gives for “*topalak* [possibly ... buckthorn, i.e. *Rhamnus* sp.; or ... *Cyperus rotundifolius*]”. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1249 (s.v. “töpālāk”), refers to “buck-

thorn", but also mentions "ṭöpālāk köki" with the meaning of "the musk-root, root of *nardostachis jatamansi*, or, *cyperus bulbosus*". Both were used as drugs (*Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 4: 391-92, 14: 424). Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 93 identifies different species of *domuz ağsırşağı* (*cyclamen*) as *topalak*, and mentions p. 159 *cyperus rotundus* as *kara topalak* (*Arap topalağı*).

- lxxii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 874 (entry on *ḥavlān*): buckthorn, *rhamnus infectorius*. The unripe berries were used as a dyestuff (*Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 7: 508 (s.v. "Gelbbeeren").
- lxxiii Seeds of fleabane. Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public", 290: "*kutuna*, Plantgo psyllium, Plantaginaceæ, one of Jābir's principal vegetable poisons, but regarded by Prosper Alpin ... as a valuable drug].
- lxxiv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 334: "The maiden-hair fern, *adiantum*"; Rogers, "The Palace, Poison and the Palace": 289. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 43: baldırıkara.
- lxxv Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 76: *Acorus calamus*, azak eğri. Its use as a confection is apparently not intended here (*Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 1: 87). Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 98: ağır otu.
- lxxvi Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 78: *Embelia ribes*, kâbuli, biring.
- lxxvii Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 278: "Emblie myrobalans [*Phyllanthus emblica*, Euphorbiaceæ, ...] used in tanning ... They were held to be styptic, ani-diarrhœic and a light purgative."
- lxxviii Possibly tırbıd or türbüd (تربد); Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 528: "Turbith, turpeth, root of *ipomœa turpethum*". Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 290.
- lxxix Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 929: Camel's-thorn, *alhagi maurorum*. Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 279, lists a number of thistles called "deve dikenî"; a clear identification seems to be impossible. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 90, gives different species of *alhagi*.
- lxxx Impossible to identify the kind of glue listed here.
- lxxxi Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 170: Kenger, used for the production of an aromatic mastix.
- lxxxii Probably karşı'ne; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1445-46: "The field eryngo, *eryngium campestre*; perhaps also, the sea eryngo, *eryngium maritimum*".
- lxxxiii Not identified. Possibly cilban, cülleban etc, also جلبانہ; Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 669: "The common edible vetch, *lathyrus sativas*". But it is unclear why this forage plant appears on this list.

- lxxxiv Most probably a kind of aloes-wood (Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1327).
- lxxxv Orris root (Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 275). On the sixteenth-century list published by Barkan ("Muhasebe Defterleri": 120) only fresh and dried violets appear.
- lxxxvi Long pepper: Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 289.
- lxxxvii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1524: linseed.
- lxxxviii Unclear. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 212: Septfoil, tormentil, *tormentilla officinalis*, *potentilla tormentilla*, Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 76: *Polygonum distorta*, kurt pençesi. Probably the first, as this is another meaning of *kurt pençesi*: Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1482.
- lxxxix Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 250: "The plant *peganum harmala*. (Some descriptions make it to be *ruta montana*; and others, wild mustard. Used as a fumigatory). تخمى ... the seeds of *peganum harmala*; or, seeds of *bel-ladonna*."
- xc Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 77: *fructus cassiæ fistulæ*, Hindistan hıyarı.
- xcı Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 77: *terra sigillata*, mühürlü kil. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1268: Lemnian earth. This mineral was also used as a drug (*Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, vol. 3: 186 s.v. "Bolus").
- xcii Difficult to establish: The common pellitoy, *parietaria officinalis* (Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 2179), *galium apparine* or *parietaria cretica* (Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 240, 314, 1234). Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 281: *parietaria officinalis* or *p. judaica*.
- xciii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1084: *angelica*, *archangelica officinalis*.
- xciv Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1084: *spikenard*, *nardostachys jatamansi*. Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 275: Indian nard.
- xcv Probably no *calque* for *basilicum*, but, according to Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 211: *mürver*, *sambucus ebulus*.
- xcvi Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 278: "Wormwood [*Artemisia judaica* or *A. Santonicum*, *Compositæ* ...]. Compare also "pelin" below.
- xcvii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 2075: "... The black seeds of *ptyochis ajowan*, sprinkled over bread in the east." Steuerwald, *Türkisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*: 846: "die schwarzen Samen des Ajowankümmels (*Mısır anasonu*) (auf Brot od. als Hustenmittel)."
- xcviii Rogers, "The Palace, Poisons and the Public": 290: *cubebs*, *piper cubeba*.

- xcix Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 411: fenugreek seed (*trigonella fenumgrecom*). Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 52, writes that it is used for the *çemen* paste of *pastırma*. Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 280, lists it as an “unidentified scent”.
- c Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 290: “scammony [*mahmude*, *Oxystelma esculentum*, *Asclepiadaceæ*..., but also *Convolvulus Scammona*, *Convolvulaceæ*”. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 200, with a number of species.
- ci Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public”: 283: “Agaricum [*Polyporus officinalis*, a type of bracket fungus parasitic upon larch trees and imported from the Volga area, widely prescribed but supposed by Ibn Sīnā also to be alexipharmacic...]”.
- cii Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 452: Wormwood, *artemisia absinthium*. Compare “Hurasānī” above. Absinthe is its distillation. Baytop, *Türkçe Bitki Adları Sözlüğü*: 224.
- ciii Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 80: *Cordia myxa*, it memesī.
- civ Not identified. The product of the American *balata* tree is obviously no herb. The alternative reading, *balta otı*, could not be found in the dictionaries, either.
- cv Not identified. Possibly crude tartar (Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 1253).
- cvi Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 79: Lithargyrum, kurşun protoksit. Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public,”: 289: red lead.
- cvi Not identified.
- cvi Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 15: Mallow, *malva sylvestris*. Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public,”: 285. Compare also *hatmī tohumı*, above.
- cix Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 338: The rosemary, *rosmarinus officinalis*.
- cx Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*: 75: *Myristica fragrans*, besbâse. Rogers, “The Palace, Poisons and the Public,”: 282: mace.
- cx Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*: 2167, translates *helile-i zerd* with “The yellow myrobalan, fruit of *terminalia citrina*”.





# CULINARY CONSUMPTION PATTERNS OF THE OTTOMAN ELITE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Özge Samancı\*

## *Introduction*

Especially where the sultans' court and the political elite were concerned, some drastic changes occurred in nineteenth-century Ottoman culture, and these affected cuisine as much, if not more, than other spheres of life. A changing culinary culture included the introduction of new foodstuffs, hitherto unknown cooking techniques, a novel etiquette governing behavior at mealtimes, along with tableware imported from outside the Ottoman realm. These changes were implemented step by step in the course of a hundred years, and as a result, the food culture of the Ottoman elite around 1900 was very different from what it had been in 1800. In this particular sector, it could be argued, the changes that happened between 1900 and 2000 were rather less dramatic than what had occurred during the previous century.

Western culinary culture was the model adopted by the Ottoman upper classes and especially by the Palace circle. Beginning with the early decades of the nineteenth century, during the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839), Western influence first made itself felt in table etiquette and eating customs. According to travelers' accounts, Mahmud II was the first sultan who preferred to eat his meals in the European manner, sitting on a chair at a dining table. He adopted the habit of using a fork and knife and liked to drink wine and champagne during meals:

*"He takes two meals a day; one at eleven, a.m., and the other at sunset. He has exchanged the Turkish stool and tray for a chair and table, which is laid out exactly in European fashion. The table is furnished with a*

---

\* Paris and Istanbul. Translated by Suraiya Faroqhi.

*cloth, and knives and forks, which are English; to these are added golden spoons, and a decanter of wine. The wine is usually champagne, which he is fond of, and he is greatly amused when the cork explodes and the wine flies up to the ceiling. He always sits alone at his meals. The dishes are brought in one at time, in succession, to the number of fifty or sixty, all covered and sealed. He breaks the seal himself, and tastes the dish; if he does not like it, he sends it away."*<sup>1</sup>

Mahmud II not only preferred to eat in the Western style, he also showed a desire to taste European dishes. In 1837, the Ottoman Palace decided to send a cook named Hüseyin, who worked in the imperial kitchens, to Vienna, with the specific duty to acquire Western methods of cooking. Hüseyin arrived in Vienna on February 7, 1837 in the company of an Ottoman pasha and stayed there until 1839. During his two years of residence, he did perfect his cooking skills, probably focusing on the local cuisine.<sup>2</sup> Hüseyin's trip to Vienna showed the growing interest of Ottoman palace circles in European culinary culture; yet it remains unknown to what extent these alien cooking practices were adopted in real life. No recipe collections or menus produced by the imperial kitchen have come down to us from the years in question, and it should not be forgotten that Mahmud II died at about the time of Hüseyin's return. In spite of the predilections of this sultan, the traditional style of eating evidently was still favored by many members of the Ottoman upper classes.

From 1850 on, however, the new trend in culinary habits gained momentum, and European customs were increasingly adopted by upper-class society. These included the use of a table instead of a tray, sitting on a chair instead of on the floor, and carrying food to the mouth with a fork instead of with the fingers. But the old customs retained much of their vitality, and as a result, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and even in elite circles, we observe two different culinary models existing side by side. To express this duality, people adopted two new expressions, both of Italian origin, namely *alaturka* (in the Ottoman style) and *alafranga* (in the European style).

This duality is reflected in the meals the Ottoman court served to mid-nineteenth-century distinguished foreign visitors. According to an imperial kitchen register, a banquet was organized in honor of Prince Napoléon, then the ruler of France, which took place at Beylerbeyi Palace on May 9, 1854. The

<sup>1</sup> Cited by H. Tyrell, *The History of the Present War with Russia* (London, 1855), vol. 1: 112.

<sup>2</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 450, 15 Rebiyülâhır 1262 [April 12, 1846].

document records various food items supplied to the imperial kitchen on this occasion, featuring ingredients used in the preparation of both *alaturka* and *alafranga* dishes. This duality however applied only to the menu items themselves; the overall organization of the banquet was completely European in style.<sup>3</sup> According to another document whose date remains unknown, but which probably was put together at about the same time, both *alaturka* and *alafranga* dishes were also offered at a banquet given for the Duke of Cambridge, a relative of the British Queen Victoria.<sup>4</sup>

*Primary sources: cookbooks and imperial kitchen registers*

When we attempt to understand what kinds of culinary practices developed in Europe found their way into Istanbul upper-class society both within and outside the Palace, it is instructive to study the first published Ottoman cookbook called *Melceü't-Tabbahin* (Refuge of Cooks). One of the major novelties concerning this text was the very fact that now certain members of the elite felt it necessary to write and read about Ottoman cuisine. First published in 1844, the book became a bestseller by the standards of its day and was reprinted several times in the following years, new editions appearing in 1849, 1856, 1859, and 1867, twice in 1873, and in 1888-1889.<sup>5</sup> The reader might question whether the recipes in this book were actually used by the purchasers, but a comparison of the ingredients mentioned with those occurring in the contemporary kitchen registers of the Palace dispels any such doubts, at least where the sultans' household was concerned. Almost all the ingredients recorded in the imperial kitchen lists also formed part of the recipes proposed in *Melceü't-Tabbahin*. This applied especially to novel items such as allspice, tomatoes, and potatoes.

But the major source at our disposal consists of archival documentation of the types and quantities of food items supplied to the imperial kitchens. These documents are known as the *Matbah-ı âmire defterleri* (imperial kitchen registers), and various subcategories survive in the Archives of the Prime Minister in Istanbul (Başbakanlık Arşivi-Osmanlı Arşivi). I have used about sixty documents of this kind, catalogued in the section known as Cevdet Saray. Analyzing these sources has enabled me to discover not only the kinds of food items consumed, but also to answer a variety of rather more complicated questions. What

<sup>3</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 3335, 11 Şaban 1270 [May 9, 1854].

<sup>4</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 3374.

<sup>5</sup> Turgut Kut, *Açıklamalı Yemek Kitapları Bibliyografyası: Eski Harflı Yazma ve Basma Eserler* (Ankara, 1985): 20.



were the staples and delicacies served to the sultan and his family, when did certain new food items enter Palace consumption, what was the culinary terminology of the period, and what types of kitchenware and tableware were used in the Palace?

The superintendent of the kitchen or pantry office of the Ottoman Palace was responsible for recording all food items and utensils supplied to the imperial kitchens. Some of these items were delivered to the cooks by another division of the Palace, namely the imperial pantry, or else they had simply been purchased from outside suppliers. It was customary to keep individual lists for each department of the imperial kitchen; thus there are separate records for the meals served to the sultan, to his family, and to high-ranking Palace officials. Basic food ingredients such as cereals, fats, spices, and dried fruits were enumerated in one and the same list. Kitchen utensils and tableware also were conflated in the same document, whenever applicable, but meats, including variety meats, vegetables, fruits, and dairy products, were enumerated in separate lists.

#### *Food items: bread and flour*

Bread had an important symbolic meaning in Ottoman culinary culture. This was a sacred food requiring respect, and it symbolized loyalty and bonding. Those who consumed the bread offered to them were expected to form a permanent tie to the person who had provided it. The expression '*tuz ekmeğ hakkı*', literally the right (acquired by offering) bread and salt, was used in Ottoman literature to express this notion. Bread and salt, two indispensable items of the human diet, were used as metaphors to express the loyalty and even subservience due the provider of food.

Bread constituted an important part of the Palace diet, as it did throughout Ottoman society, and the sultan's family and servitors consumed different kinds according to their ranks. Breads were differentiated by the quality and origin of the flour used in their preparation.<sup>6</sup> The origins of the various flours supplied were recorded in our documents in the following manner: flour of Istanbul (*dakik-i Asitane*), flour of Beykoz (*dakik-i Beykoz*), and even flour of Russia (*dakik-i Rusya*). Furthermore, standard expressions conveyed a notion of the quality of the flour concerned; thus, the best kind (*dakik-i hass*) was distinguished from a medium variety (*dakik-i hass orta*); presumably the cheapest types were not consumed by the sultan's servitors at all. Bread was baked mainly at

<sup>6</sup> Salih Aynural, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları: Zahire Ticareti, 1740-1840* (İstanbul, 2001).

Palace bakeries, but sometimes also in commercial establishments. Official documents record the different qualities of bread; the best kind was prepared exclusively with white and pure flour of the highest grade (*nan-ı hassü'l-hass*). But other types were also on record: in addition to bread whose God-given quality was emphasized by its very name (*nan-ı azîz*), we find a medium quality (*nan-ı hass orta*), an ordinary variety (*nan-ı adi*), flat bread (*fodula*), a fine white type (*francala*), thin sheets of half-cooked dough (*yufka*), and a small loaf made of brown flour and known as *somun*.

Concerning the consumption of different kinds of bread in the Ottoman Palace, we can refer to the list of food items supplied for a banquet given on May 7, 1835 in the *extra muros* palace of Sa'dabad. This festivity was held in honor of Prince, later Sultan, Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) when he began his education. High-ranking religious dignitaries and Palace officials were invited as well as students, and 61 units of *nan-ı hass*, 1241 units of *francala-ı hass*, and 6630 units of *nan-ı adi* were supplied from the imperial bakery.<sup>7</sup> Another document refers to a banquet arranged at the Beylerbeyi Palace in May 1854 in honor of Prince Napoléon and his retinue, which has already been mentioned in a different context. The variety of breads served during this banquet was even richer: 37 units of *nan-ı hassü'l hass*, 57 units of *nan-ı hass*, 90 units of *nan-ı hass-ı orta*, and 700 units of *nan-ı azîz*.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the flour varieties mentioned above, a special type (*dakik-i kadayıf*) was used for the preparation of a dessert still popular in our day and known as *kadayıf*. Some of the fine noodles forming the basis of *kadayıf* were thus prepared on the premises; but sometimes they were bought from outside suppliers and prepared in the Palace confectionery workshop by soaking them in syrup.

#### *Food items: rice, cereals, and pulses*

In the Ottoman Palace of the early 1800s, rice (*erz*) was the most popular cereal. The imperial kitchen records imply that it was used by all the different subdivisions of this institution. During festive meals, enormous quantities of rice were consumed; for example, 4620 *kıyye* (5927 kg) were prepared for the banquet arranged for Prince Abdülaziz on May 7, 1835.<sup>9</sup> Most of the rice was eaten in the form of pilaf. According to the memoirs written by Leyla Hanım, in later

<sup>7</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 5832.

<sup>8</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 3335.

<sup>9</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 8905.



life known as Leyla Saz, this dish was served at the end of every meal.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, cracked wheat (*bulgur*), used as a rice substitute in today's Turkish cuisine, did not figure prominently on Palace menus. The official kitchen records listing the food items supplied to the imperial military band for the single month between February 11, 1834 and March 11, 1834 mention the purchase of only 60 *kıyye* (77 kg) of wheat, in contrast to 1461 *kıyye* (1874 kg) of rice.<sup>11</sup>

A special kind of cereal known as Vienna barley (*arpa-ı Beç*) was mentioned in almost every kitchen record. I suppose that, at the time, this cereal had newly appeared on the menu. Starch and semolina, two ingredients used mainly in the preparation of desserts, were supplied to the imperial kitchens in small quantities. Thin sheets made of starch called *güllaç* were also supplied regularly, especially during the month of Ramadan. These pastry sheets were used in preparation of a dessert, also called *güllaç* that bore its name due to its rosewater flavoring. Vermicelli (*şerîye*) and semolina (*irmik*) were also supplied to the imperial kitchens. The former came in a number of different types: pure (*hass şerîye*), yellow (*sarı şerîye*), white (*beyaz şerîye*), and a type known as *vermicelli d'İstanbul* or *şerîye-i Asitane*.<sup>12</sup> A certain kind called vermicelli for pasta (*makarnalık şerîye*) was also on record, although it is hard to tell exactly what was meant by this term.<sup>13</sup> Unlike *şerîye*, Italian-style pasta did not form part of the classical Ottoman cuisine, and in the early nineteenth century, *makarna*, derived from *macaroni*, was a new culinary term.

Chickpeas (*nobut*), lentils (*mercimek*), and dried beans (*fasulye-i huşk*), in addition to dried okra (*bamya-ı huşk*), all figured in the imperial kitchen registers. Dried okra was purchased in small quantities, appearing on the tables of the sultan and his family.<sup>14</sup> By contrast, large quantities of dried beans formed the daily fare of mostly low-ranking servitors, such as Palace gardeners and guards.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Food items: dairy products, fat, and sugar*

Milk, yoghurt, and clotted cream (*kaymak*) were among the basic food items consumed by the Palace inhabitants. Milk was used in the preparation of des-

<sup>10</sup> Leyla Saz, *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans* (İstanbul, 1993): 106.

<sup>11</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 7.

<sup>12</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 5832, No. 7608.

<sup>13</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 7570.

<sup>14</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 7, No. 576, No. 1516.

<sup>15</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 104, No. 7.

serts. Pure milk was preferred, but apparently not available in sufficient quantities, the registers differentiating between pure milk (*süd-i halis*) and a milk mixture (*süd-i mahlut*). Throughout the nineteenth century, yoghurt continued to be one of the major items of consumption. It was supplied to the imperial kitchens in large buckets. Cream, due to its costliness, was served to the Sultan, his family, and high-ranking officials, and it was supplied to the imperial confectionery workshop as well.<sup>16</sup> Cheese was not mentioned in every food list, but on occasion, we find the following kinds: a yellow cheese (*peynir-i kaşar*), possibly resembling the kind sold under this name and still popular today, as well as cheese ripened in sheepskin (*peynir-i tulum*),<sup>17</sup> feta cheese (*peynir-i salamura*), Albanian cheese (*peynir-i Arnabud*), and Dutch cheese (*peynir-i Felemenk*) rounded off the list.<sup>18</sup>

Butter and olive oil were supplied in large quantities. According to nineteenth-century cookbooks, butter (*revgan-ı sade*) was the preferred kind of fat in the Ottoman Palace kitchen. Olive oil (*revgan-ı zeyt*) was used for frying, but also for non-culinary purposes such as the manufacture of soap and even for lighting lamps. A third type of fat was gained from sheeps' tails and was called *revgan-ı çerriş*. This commodity was offered mainly to lower-ranking officials along with dried beans, rice, and salt, but was not part of the cuisine favored by the sultans and high-ranking officials.<sup>19</sup> To illustrate the use of the different fats in the Palace kitchens, we can cite the following examples: in 1832, from October 26 to November 25, 799 *kıyye* (1025 kg) of butter were supplied, as opposed to 178 *kıyye* (228 kg) of olive oil.<sup>20</sup> Another example has been taken from the list of food items supplied to the imperial band during the month of Ramadan 1853. Once again, butter was greatly preferred: 2887 *kıyye* (3703 kg) of butter against only 220 *kıyye* (282 kg) of olive oil.<sup>21</sup>

Sweet dishes continued to be an important part of the Palace cuisine throughout the nineteenth century, and, as a result, sugar was used in considerable quantities. In the culinary language of the period, two sorts of sugar ex-

<sup>16</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 1772 (1831), No. 6706 (1836), No. 6248 (1851), No. 426 (1854).

<sup>17</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 2830 (1825), No. 1172 (1831), No. 3068 (1831), No. 104 (1833), No. 2589 (1833), No. 7 (1834), No. 579 (1836), No. 1 (1838).

<sup>18</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 3061 (1833), No. 7608 (1841), No. 7570 (1841).

<sup>19</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 104, No. 7570, No. 5940.

<sup>20</sup> BBA-OA, Baş Muhasebe No. 9895.

<sup>21</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 7625.



isted, namely granulated sugar (*şeker-i gubar*) and another kind, whose special characteristics remain unclear, called *şeker-i minad*.<sup>22</sup> Other sweeteners such as honey (*asıl*) and grape syrup (*pekmez*) were not much used, while in earlier centuries, the very opposite had been true.

### *Spices and condiments*

Among all flavoring ingredients, salt was most frequently cited in the imperial kitchen registers. Much salt was imported from Wallachia, so that our records regularly speak of *tuz-ı Eflak*, and it was consumed in great quantities. According to the cookbooks of the time, lemons (*limon*), vinegar (*sırke*), and unripe grapes (*koruk*) were used to impart sour flavors.

Among imported spices, pepper (*fülfül*) and cinnamon (*darçın*) were frequently registered, thus continuing a tradition well established in earlier centuries.<sup>23</sup> Other condiments were used much more rarely, but we do find cardamom (*kakule*), cloves (*karanfil*), mastic (*sakız*), red pepper (*bahar-ı sürh* or *Arnabud büberi*), allspice (*bahar-ı cedid*), cumin (*kemmun*), sumac (*sumak*), and saffron (*zağfiran*). Pepper and cinnamon were supplied in such large quantities that, like groceries, they were measured in *kıyye* (1.2828 kg), unlike other spices, which were recorded by the *dirhem* (3.1 g).

Unlike today's Turkish cuisine, in the nineteenth century, cinnamon was much used in salty dishes. Meats such as mutton, poultry, and fish were served with a pinch of cinnamon on top. Cinnamon was also used in sweet and sour dishes prepared with unripe grape or lemon juice.<sup>24</sup> According to Leyla Saz, cinnamon appeared on the table along with salt and pepper in special small cups.<sup>25</sup> While cinnamon and pepper had long been in vogue, the similarly flavored allspice and red pepper were not introduced to Ottoman cuisine until the nineteenth century. Rose water (*ab-ı verd*) and waters flavored with other flowers (*çiçek suyu*) were supplied to the imperial confectionery workshop to be used in desserts. Poke weed (*şekerçi boyası*) and red dye extracted from the cochineal insect (*kırmız*) were used to impart color to certain dishes, especially desserts and syrups. A fish-based jelly called *dutkal-ı balık* also appears in this context and, suitably purified, was possibly used in making a fruit jelly called *elmasiye*.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 3068, No. 7608, No. 3085.

<sup>23</sup> Compare the article by Christoph Neumann in the present collection.

<sup>24</sup> Mehmet Kamil, *Melce' üt-Tabbahin* 1260 [1844]: 22-25, 56-63, 71-74.

<sup>25</sup> Saz, *The Imperial Harem*: 106.

<sup>26</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 1, 7, 7570, 1516, 426.





### *Food items: nuts and dried fruits*

Like spices, nuts and dried fruits served to provide flavors. Some meat dishes, desserts, and especially pilafs were cooked with nuts. Almonds (*badem*), pistachios (*fıstık-ı Şam*), and pine nuts (*fıstık-ı çam*) were the most popular types during the first half of the nineteenth century. Hazelnuts (*kebab-ı fındık*), walnuts (*ceviz-i Rumi*), and chestnuts (*kebab-ı kestane*) also were used in cooking, but appeared rather more rarely.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, different sorts of grapes, such as currants (*üzüm-i mürg* or *üzüm-i kuş*), sultanas (*çekirdeksiz*), and a variety of white grapes (*razzaki*) were used in the Palace kitchens. According to a register concerning the Çırağan Palace covering the period from April 21 to May 20, 1833, 1 *kıyye* of pistachios, 2 *kıyye* of pine nuts, 12 *kıyye* (15 kg) of almonds, and 2 *kıyye* of currants were supplied to the sultan's kitchen.<sup>28</sup>

One of the major specialties of the Ottoman cuisine consisted of various kinds of syrups called *şerbet* and *hoşaf*; with a slightly variant meaning, the former term has even entered English and American cooking terminology. These syrups were made with both fresh and dried fruits. Plums (*erik-i huşke*), pears (*emrud-ı huşke*), sour cherries (*vişne-i huşke*), figs (*kebab-ı incir*), and grapes (*kebab-ı üzüm*) were supplied to the imperial kitchens in dried form for making sweets, syrups, and compotes.<sup>29</sup>

### *Food items: meat*

Meat can be regarded as *the* basic food of the Ottoman Palace during the nineteenth century. It was used in the preparation of soups, pilafs, vegetable dishes, and pastries; in addition, it was served as a main course. According to the kitchen registers, mutton (*güşt-i ganem*) and lamb (*kuşu*) were the preferred sorts of meat. These two, in addition to variety meats, were registered in separate documents; in the case of lamb, these same records also specify the amounts of meat offered to individual Palace residents. The chief butcher (*kassabbaşı*) supplied sheep's heads (*kelle-i ganem*), sheep's trotters (*paça-ı ganem*), liver (*ciğer*), tripe (*sikenbe*), large sausages (*mumbar*), and pieces of the second stomach of sheep,

<sup>27</sup> For hazelnuts, compare BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 104, 2589, 6248, 1516, 5940, 426, 1038, 962. For walnuts: BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 579, 7608, 7570, 6548, 1516, 3085, 1176, 426, 962. For chestnuts: BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 6248, 1516, 5940, 1038, 962.

<sup>28</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 2589, Zilhicce 1248 [April 21, 1833-May 20, 1833].

<sup>29</sup> Kamil, *Melceüt Tabbahin*: 69.

called *şirden*. For example, from March 4 to May 1, 1832, 33,025 *kıyye* (42364 kg) of mutton, 290 sheep's heads, 18,970 trotters, 160 pairs of liver, 74 pieces of tripe, and 150 *mumbars* were supplied to the imperial kitchens of the new palace, as well as to its Çırağan and Galata homologues.<sup>30</sup>

Lamb was a delicacy in the Ottoman palace cuisine. Two sorts were consumed: the newborn variety was known as *kuzu* and yearling lamb as *toklu*. Every year, from the beginning of spring to the end of autumn (*ruḡ-i bızırđan ruḡ-i kasıma*) it was customary to supply lamb to the Ottoman Palace, where it was distributed in greater or lesser quantities according to the rank of the recipient.<sup>31</sup> The sultan and his *harem* had the privilege of consuming the largest quantities, while high-ranking officials ate more lamb than servants.<sup>32</sup> When lamb was in season, if the Sultan was not served the newborn variety, this could cause problems for the chief butcher. In the Cevdet Saray section of the Ottoman archives, I have even found evidence of a sultan demanding to know why he had been served yearling instead of newborn lamb.<sup>33</sup>

Unlike mutton and lamb, veal (*labm-i dana*) was not often eaten. While some registers do mention the purchase of this type of meat for the imperial kitchen, there is no information on the persons to whom this veal was allotted. Beef rarely occurs in the documents surviving from the nineteenth century. But according to a seventeenth-century source, it was used in the preparation of cured meat (*basturma*), and this latter item was occasionally served as a special delicacy in the 1800s as well.<sup>34</sup>

### *Food items: poultry*

Chicken (*tavuk*) and young chicken (*piliç*) were regularly supplied to the Palace kitchens. According to cookbooks of the period, chicken was used in the preparation of soups and pilafs; moreover, like mutton and lamb, it appeared as a main course. Eggs (*yumurta*) were also highly popular. Turkeys were called *tavuk-ı hindi* or *tavuk-ı misri*, and their consumption was very limited indeed. When available, turkeys were supplied mostly to the sultan's kitchen and to that

<sup>30</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 4849, Şevval-Zilkade 1247 [March 4, 1832-May 1, 1832].

<sup>31</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 8341, 1198 [1784], No. 1266 1269 [1853].

<sup>32</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 1266 [1853].

<sup>33</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 8341.

<sup>34</sup> Eremya Kömürcüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul* (İstanbul, 1988): 114.

of the *harem*. For example, in 1832, during a single month, 2 turkeys, 114 young chickens, and 955 fully grown chickens were prepared in the sultan's kitchen.<sup>35</sup>

Unlike in earlier periods, the consumption of pigeon was not widespread in the nineteenth century. In all the documents checked, pigeon supplied to the imperial kitchen was mentioned only once, in 1854, on the occasion of the banquet arranged in honor of Prince Napoléon at the Beylerbeyi Palace. During his twenty-one days of residence in Istanbul, the kitchen working for the French head of state and the latter's retinue was provided pigeon as well as different kinds of fowl such as geese, ducks, pheasants, and quails.<sup>36</sup> Goose was consumed in the Ottoman Palace; but it is hard to consider it more than a minor food item, occasionally included for the sake of variety. Only two documents mention geese turned over to the imperial kitchen.<sup>37</sup> Other birds are not specified, but a few accounts refer to the purchase of what was probably wild fowl (*baba-ı şikâr-ı mürg*).<sup>38</sup>

### *Delicacies*

In this category, we can include cured meats and cheese, caviar and fish roe. During the month of Ramadan, when fasting during the day and feasting at night gave food a special meaning in the lives of Ottoman Muslims, these food items were supplied to the imperial kitchens, especially to those of the ruler himself, his *harem*, and high-ranking officials. Pressed meat cured with spices (*basturma*), a kind of sausage prepared with spiced chopped meat (*sucuk*), green and black olives (*zeytun-ı yeşil* and *zeytun*), various kinds of cheese, caviar (*havyar*), and fish roe (*yumurtı-ı semek*) figured among the food items consumed during Ramadan. In today's Turkish culinary culture, it is rare to serve caviar or fish roe at the evening meal when people break their fast, but in nineteenth-century Ottoman cuisine, it was commonplace to serve these items as starters. Thus Miss Pardoe recounted that the following delicacies appeared at a dinner given by a Turkish merchant during Ramadan:

*"In the center of the tray was placed a capacious white basin, filled with a kind of cold bread soup, and around it were ranged a circle of small*

<sup>35</sup> BBA-OA, Baş Muhasebe No. 9895.

<sup>36</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 3335, 11 Şaban 1270 [May 9, 1854] and from 4 Şaban to 25 Şaban in 1270 [May 2, 1854-May 23, 1854].

<sup>37</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 1772 (1831) and 7609 (1842).

<sup>38</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 5940 (1853) and 1038 (1854).

*porcelain saucers, filled with sliced cheese, anchovies, caviar, and sweetmeats of every description, among these were scattered spoons of box-wood, and goblets of pink and white sherbets, whose rose scented contents perfumed the apartment.*"<sup>39</sup>

### *Food items: fish*

The imperial kitchen registers do not provide detailed information about the kinds of fish consumed by the Palace inhabitants. Generally, we only find the not very instructive remark that various fish (*semek-i mütenevvia*) had been supplied to or bought by the Palace kitchens.<sup>40</sup> Sardines (*sardalya*) seem to have been the most popular fish.<sup>41</sup> Sturgeon (*mersin balığı*) was not unknown either, but it was consumed in smaller quantities.<sup>42</sup> During the period under investigation, salted tuna (*balık-ı lakerda*), red sea bream (*mercán balığı*), and thin mackerel, salted and dried (*balık-ı çiroz*), completed the repertoire of fish-based dishes served by the Palace kitchen.<sup>43</sup>

Shellfish, such as oysters or mussels, did not figure in the nineteenth-century Palace diet. Only two kitchen records mention the purchase of lobster (*istakoz*). However this was a special case, because the lobster in question was purchased for the French guests staying at the imperial palaces. During Prince Napoléon's residence in Istanbul, 96 lobsters were supplied to the kitchen of the Neşetabad palace, and fifteen of these animals were cooked for the banquet arranged in honor of the French head of state at the Beylerbeyi Palace. According to another undated document, 56 units of lobster were delivered to the kitchen of the Feriye Palace for the preparation of some French (*alafranga*) and Ottoman (*alaturka*) dishes to be served to European guests.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Miss Pardoe, *The City of The Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1838* (London, 1838), vol. 1: 20-21.

<sup>40</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 6248 (1851), 1038 (1854), 5940 (1853), 426 (1854).

<sup>41</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 2830 (1825), 3061 (1833), 3085 (1851).

<sup>42</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 7608 (1841), 3085 (1851), 1176 (1853), 426 (1854), 8927 (1854).

<sup>43</sup> For *lakerda*, see BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 104 (1833), 426 (1854). For *mercán*, see BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 7626 (1841). For *çiroz*, see BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 1176 (1853) and 8927 (1854).

<sup>44</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 3335 and 3374.

*Food items: vegetables and fruits*

During the nineteenth century, the introduction of new vegetables enlarged the repertoire of Ottoman cooks. Vegetables and fruits were supplied to the Palace kitchens both from the Istanbul market and from the in-house orchards of Feriye, Ortaköy, and Aynalı Kavak, located close to the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn.<sup>45</sup>

Kitchen records indicate that, at least in the privileged milieu of the Palace, almost all of the vegetables used in today's Turkish cuisine were consumed during the first half of the nineteenth century as well. These fell into the two separate categories of winter and summer vegetables. Kitchen administrators kept a daily record of the relevant purchases, and the lists they produced also contained information on the quantities bought and the prices paid for each item. In summer, eggplants and vegetable marrows were favored, while some winter vegetables such as pumpkin, cabbage, and mallow were already available toward the end of the warm season. Conversely, during the winter months, some summer vegetables such as eggplants, green beans, vegetable marrows, and green or red tomatoes were available in the imperial kitchens. It can be assumed that these were specially imported, in limited quantities, from the southern regions of the Empire.

---

<sup>45</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No.257.

Table 1: *Winter and summer vegetables consumed in the Ottoman Palace.*

winter	leek ( <i>prasa</i> ), cabbage ( <i>lahana</i> ), turnip ( <i>salgam</i> ), carrot ( <i>havuç</i> ), celery ( <i>kereris</i> ), Jerusalem artichoke ( <i>yer elması</i> ), cauliflower ( <i>karn-ı bahar</i> ), pumpkin ( <i>bal kabuğu</i> ), spinach ( <i>spanak</i> ), mallow ( <i>ebe gümezi</i> ), wild chicory ( <i>hindiba</i> ), sheep's sorrel ( <i>kuzu kulağı</i> ), fresh mint ( <i>nana</i> ), and grape leaf pickled in brine ( <i>salamura</i> ). <sup>46</sup>
year-round	parsley ( <i>madanos</i> ) and dill ( <i>dere otu</i> )
summer	eggplant ( <i>badmican</i> ), white gourd ( <i>kabak-ı asma</i> ), vegetable marrow ( <i>kabak-ı sakız</i> ), cucumber ( <i>hıyar</i> ), okra ( <i>hıyır-ı taze</i> ), broad beans ( <i>bakla-ı taze</i> ), green beans ( <i>fasulye</i> or <i>fasulye-i alt</i> ), purslane ( <i>semizotu</i> ), Jew's mallow ( <i>müluhiyye</i> or <i>müllhiye</i> ), <sup>47</sup> green pepper ( <i>biber-i taze</i> ), unripened grape ( <i>koruk</i> ), red tomato ( <i>tomata-ı karmız</i> ) and green tomato ( <i>karata</i> or <i>tomata-ı yeşil</i> ), tomato leaf ( <i>varak-ı karata</i> ), grape leaf ( <i>yaprak-ı asma</i> ), and hazelnut leaf ( <i>findik yaprağı</i> ). <sup>48</sup>

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Ottoman cooks became acquainted with a number of new vegetables.<sup>49</sup> These included red tomatoes, which in a very short time became an indispensable ingredient of Turkish cuisine. According to the kitchen registers, from 1830 on the tomato entered the Ottoman Palace cuisine, both green and red tomatoes being supplied regularly.<sup>50</sup> Green tomatoes were consumed in greater quantities than red, possibly because the unripe variety had become known before its ripe counterpart. Thus

<sup>46</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No 1891, in *Zilkade* 1259 [Nov. 23, 1843-Dec. 22, 1843] No. 1567, in *Safer* 1268 [Nov. 26, 1851-Dec. 24, 1851] No. 744, in *Muharrem* 1263 [Dec. 20, 1846-Jan. 18, 1847].

<sup>47</sup> Jew's mallow (*müluhiyye*) is a plant of Cypriot origin that grows between July and September. Taçkey Debes, "A Selection of Dishes From The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," in: *First International Food Congress 25-30 September, 1986* (Ankara, 1988): 89-90.

<sup>48</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 1812, in *Rebiyülevvel* 1247 [Aug. 10, 1831-Sep. 8, 1831], No. 6078, in *Receb* 1259 [July 28, 1843-Aug. 26, 1843], No. 257 in *Şaban* 1270 [May 28, 1854-June 26, 1854]. Probably leaves were used for wrapping rice or chopped meat to produce the dish known as *dolma*.

<sup>49</sup> Evidence that tomatoes were being cultivated in gardens along the shores of the Bosphorus during the last quarter of the eighteenth century can be found in Domenico Sestini, *Beschreibung des Kanals von Konstantinopel, des dasigen Wein-, Acker- und Garten-Baues und der Jagd der Türken*, transl. C. J. Jagemann, *Neue Sammlung von Reisebeschreibungen*, Part 8 (Hamburg, 1786). However, at the time of Sestini's visit, the *pomme d'amour* was probably still an exotic curiosity.

<sup>50</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 1812 (1831).

the cookbook *Melce'üt-Tabbahin* contains some recipes calling for the use of tomatoes. While the green variety was used in preparing certain sour dishes and in pickles, red tomato was employed in five recipes, namely meat roasted on skewers, meat stew with tomato, tomato pilaf, a mixed vegetable dish, and tomato salad.<sup>51</sup> Obviously this item had not yet become the indispensable ingredient in almost all non-sweet dishes as which we know it today. Even cookbooks from the later nineteenth century did not yet mention tomatoes with any particular frequency.<sup>52</sup>

A plant of American origin, the tomato was first introduced to Europe by way of Naples, which in the sixteenth century was a Spanish possession; at the same time, the Spaniards were building an empire in the Americas. By way of Genoa and Nice, the tomato was transported to Provence, and the Provençals gave it the name *pomme d'amour* or *love apple*. But it was not until the next century that this vegetable, or to be more accurate this fruit, was accepted as something edible; until the early nineteenth century, the tomato was not part of Paris cuisine.<sup>53</sup> As we have seen, green tomatoes were introduced to the Ottoman Empire before the nineteenth century, but like what happened in Paris, the habit of consuming the mature fruit did not establish itself until the 1800s.

Some types of green beans and peppers, also of American origin, were introduced to Ottoman upper-class cuisine during the nineteenth century. According to a register covering the period from July 28 to August 26, 1843, another newcomer was maize (*misir-i buğday*).<sup>54</sup> This would be an example of a cheap starchy food, eaten by poor people, later gaining access to the mansions of the rich, for maize had been known in certain regions of the Balkans ever since the seventeenth or at least the eighteenth century.<sup>55</sup> In addition to wild herbs such as mallow, wild chicory, sheep's sorrel, parsley and dill, other greens also appear in the records: from November 26 to December 24, 1851, salad greens of some kind (*salata*) were supplied to the imperial kitchens, and in 1854, from April 29 to May 27 to be specific, lettuce (*marul*) was delivered from the Palace orchards.<sup>56</sup> One record mentions the purchase of peas (*bezelye*) for the

51 Kamil, *Melce'üt-Tabbahin*: 24, 31, 65, 67, 71, 83.

52 Mehmed Tosun, *Aşçı Başı* (İstanbul, 1318 [1900]).

53 Reay Tannahill, *Food in History* (New York, 1989): 207; Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *Histoire Naturelle et Morale de la Nourriture* (Paris, 1987): 707.

54 BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 6078, in Receb 1259 [July 28, 1843 - Aug. 26, 1843].

55 Traian Stoianovich, G. C. Haupt, "Le maïs arrive dans les Balkans," *Annales ESC* XVII, 84-93 (1962).

56 BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 1567. No. 257.

sultanic kitchen; thus even though this vegetable was probably not consumed very often, it was known to Ottoman cooks of the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Asparagus did not occur among the vegetables regularly supplied to the imperial kitchens; only a single record, dating from the spring of 1854, indicates that it was known at all.<sup>58</sup>

During this period, potatoes (*patata*) also began to arrive in the imperial kitchens, four documents recording their presence there. From December 6, 1850 to January 3, 1851, a minuscule quantity appeared in the registers, no more than 6 *kıyye* (7.7 kg). From October 1853 to January 1854, potatoes were on record regularly every month. In May 1854, while Prince Napoléon was in residence, 160 *kıyye* (205 kg) of potatoes were supplied to the kitchens of the Neşetabad Palace. Finally, according to a document whose date remains unknown, potatoes were sent to the kitchen of the Feriye Palace, to be used in dishes intended for English guests.<sup>59</sup> As the paucity of references indicates, even after 1850, the consumption of potatoes was not very widespread in the Ottoman Palace, being mainly served to foreign guests. But at the same time there is evidence that high-class cuisine had come to recognize the existence of this tuber. The cookbook *Melce'üt-Tabbahin* describes the potato as a kind of Jerusalem artichoke (*yer elması*), a vegetable which must have been more familiar, and suggests its use in a recipe taken from French cuisine.<sup>60</sup> According to the account of a foreign official, the potato was known in Istanbul from 1835 on; but it was not cultivated in other regions of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>61</sup>

Large quantities of both fresh and dried fruits were also consumed in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Palace. Kitchen registers demonstrate that the fruit available did not differ very much from what is eaten today, except for exotic fruits such as bananas, kiwis, or pineapples, all of which are twentieth-century additions to the diet of the Istanbulus. When assessing the quality of fruit, the place from which it came was considered very important, the declara-

<sup>57</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 744, dated Muharrem 1263 [Dec. 20, 1846 - Jan. 18, 1847].

<sup>58</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 257.

<sup>59</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 6248, in Safer 1267 [Dec. 6, 1850-Jan. 3, 1851], No. 5940, Muharrem 1270 [Oct. 4, 1853 -Nov. 2, 1853], Safer 1270 [Nov. 3, 1853-Dec. 1, 1853], Rebiyülevvel 1270 [Dec. 2, 1853-Dec. 1, 1853], No. 3335, Şaban 1270 [May 1854], No. 3374.

<sup>60</sup> Kamil, *Melce'üt-Tabbahin*: 33.

<sup>61</sup> Helmuth von Moltke, *Moltke'nin Türkiye Mektupları*, transl. Hayrullah Örs, (İstanbul, 1995): 335.



tion of origin functioning almost as a brand name. Four or five kinds of grapes or plums were available, and the demand for different varieties of the same fruit shows that the denizens of the Palace had developed refined palates and appreciated variety in their food.

Table 2: *Fruit consumed in the Ottoman Palace, by season.* <sup>62</sup>

winter	apples ( <i>elma</i> ), pears ( <i>emrud</i> ), quinces ( <i>ayva</i> ), sour and sweet pomegranates ( <i>enar-ı ekşi</i> and <i>enar-ı tatlı</i> ), chestnuts ( <i>kestane</i> ), oranges ( <i>portakal</i> ), bitter oranges ( <i>turunc</i> ), sweet lemons ( <i>limon-ı tatlı</i> ). Available until June: oranges, quinces, chestnuts, bitter oranges, and pomegranates
spring	apples, lemons, various kinds of plums ( <i>erik-i Serfice</i> , <i>erik-i taze</i> , <i>erik-i can</i> , <i>erik-i bardak</i> and <i>erik-i torba</i> ), strawberries, cherries, apricots ( <i>kayısı-ı Acem</i> or <i>zerdalı</i> ), figs, various sorts of pears ( <i>emrud-ı akça</i> , <i>emrud-ı Mustafabey</i> ), and grapes ( <i>razzaki</i> , <i>üzüm-i siyah</i> ) <sup>63</sup>
summer	peaches ( <i>seftali</i> ), cornelian cherries ( <i>kızılak</i> ), melons ( <i>kavun</i> ), watermelons ( <i>karpuz</i> ), plums ( <i>erik</i> , <i>erik-i mürdüm</i> ), figs ( <i>incir</i> ), and apricots ( <i>kayısı</i> ) (into fall), pears ( <i>emrud-ı Bozdoğan</i> ), apricots, cherries, grapes, strawberries
fall	grapes, such as <i>üzüm-i çavuş</i> , <i>razzaki</i> , and <i>çekirdeksiz</i> (until January)

### *Kitchen utensils, chairs, and tableware*

In addition to various food items, the registers also included kitchen utensils and tableware bought for the Palace. These items were not entered into separate lists, but registered along with other materials supplied to the sultan's household. Although our documents do not provide much information about the kitchen equipment and tableware existing in the early nineteenth-century Ottoman Palace, we would know nothing at all about these items if it were not for the records studied here.

As in earlier centuries, food was normally cooked in copper vessels, which included various sorts of saucepans, frying pans, cauldrons, and bowls. Since copper bowls can cause food poisoning unless they are regularly tinned, tin was supplied to the Palace kitchen, along with ammonia for cleaning purposes. Specialized saucepans and frying pans were also on record, some being used only

<sup>62</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray Nos. 7607, 7626, 744, 2589, 962, 8927, 3085, 6078.

<sup>63</sup> Apart from strawberries, cherries, apricots, and certain types of green plums, these fruits must have come from some kind of storeroom, because the Ottoman territories did not contain any regions in which grapes or pears ripened in spring.

for eggs (*yumurta tabesi*) and others for vegetable pancakes (*tabe-i mücmer*); certain copper cauldrons were reserved for making pilaf (*nubas pilav tenceresi*), and there was a pan specifically intended for frying in oil (*tabe-i revgan*). Other copper utensils included skimmers, scoops, coffee ewers, drinking pots, trays, bowls, and large plates.<sup>64</sup>

A document from the 1820s gives us a list of the various copper vessels in a high dignitary's Istanbul house. In this record, various sorts of saucepans, frying pans, trays, bowls, and ewers are mentioned; for example a saucepan used for preparing sweet dishes (*bulbiyyat-ı tencere ma kapak*), a cauldron for pilaf along with its lid (*pilav lengeri ma kapak*), another cauldron large enough to hold an entire lamb (*kebir kuzu lengeri ma kapak*), a lidded soup pot (*çorba tası ma kapak*), a tray for preparing and serving *baklava* (*kenarlı baklava tepsi*), and a roasting pan for coffee (*kahve tavası*).<sup>65</sup>

Quite a few kitchen utensils were made of wood. Among other items, we find trays (*tabla-ı şecer*), chopping boards (*kayma tahtası*), other boards for preparing dough (*hamur tahtası*), rolling pins (*oklağ, merdane*), and wooden scoops (*cemşir keşfe*).<sup>66</sup> Earthenware utensils such as drinking cups (*bardak-ı hak*), ewers (*ibrik-i hak*), pots for the slow cooking of vegetable dishes (*güvec-i Bursa*), and various sorts of baskets (*sepet, küfe, şövalye* and *kazavi*) were also in regular use. In addition, two types of linen (*astar-ı hass* and *astar-ı kaba*), muslin (*dülbend*), various sorts of brooms (*siipürge-i meydan, siipürge-i hasır* and *caru*), rimmed sieves for rice (*kalbur-ı erz*), soap (*sabun*), and special cook's knives (*aşçı bıçağı*) figured among the equipment of the nineteenth-century Palace kitchens.<sup>67</sup>

As we have already noted, the use of food trays instead of dining tables continued throughout the nineteenth century, and such items, made of wood or metal, were recorded in almost every register of the imperial kitchens. But it is unknown who used these trays. Probably, dining tables in the European style existed in the Palace as well, but since they would have been classed as furniture and not as kitchen implements, our records do not refer to them. For instance, during the banquet organized for Prince Abdülaziz when he began his education, 580 wooden pilaf and *zerde* trays and 98 food trays were used. The same

<sup>64</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 7570, in Sevvat 1257 [Nov. 16, 1841-Dec. 14, 1841], No. 3085, in Ramazan 1267 [June 30, 185-July 29, 1851].

<sup>65</sup> BBA-OA, Baş Muhasebe No. 8800, in 1236-1247 [1821-1832].

<sup>66</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 579, in Zilhicce 1251 [March 19, 1836-April 17, 1836].

<sup>67</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 1176, in Ramazan 1269 [June 8, 1853-July 7, 1853].

record mentions the purchase of 250 wicker stools (*hasır iskemle*), which may have been placed under the trays.<sup>68</sup> In 1854, moreover, ten chairs (*sandalye*) were purchased for the imperial Palace.<sup>69</sup> Judging from the terminology, *sandalye* instead of *iskemle*, these were more elaborate items and may have been used for sitting at a dining table.

According to the imperial kitchen registers, tableware used in the Ottoman Palace, such as plates, bowls, serving dishes, and glasses, was generally imported from Europe. In every document, from the very beginning of the nineteenth century, we find records of European flatware and glassware supplied to the palace kitchens. As has been established by the research of Müge Göçek and others, the use of Western goods among the Ottoman elite began in the eighteenth century. Moreover, European flatware and glassware were not limited to the Palace, but also present in the residences of Ottoman dignitaries. Of the 124 inheritance registers studied by Göçek dated between 1705 and 1809, 59 contained Western goods, and in 38 cases, we find imported glassware and flatware.<sup>70</sup> From the mid-eighteenth century on, the porcelain factories of Meissen and Vienna began to produce flatware especially for Ottoman tastes. Large plates with lids, dessert bowls, coffee cups, and a kind of ewer used for serving *aşure* were successfully exported to Istanbul. In addition, the French factory founded in Vincennes in 1738 and later known as the Sèvres National Porcelain Factory also produced from 1805 on special porcelain plates and bowls for an Ottoman clientèle. Even today, European porcelains, mostly dating from the nineteenth century, are exhibited in Istanbul's museums.<sup>71</sup>

The Palace kitchen records also show that, during the nineteenth century, European flatware, especially Dresden-ware porcelains, were in common use, constituting not luxury items but everyday necessities. Consumption grew in the course of the early nineteenth century. For example, in 1825 40 Dresden-ware bowls with a gilt decoration (*Saksonya altın kebir kase*), 25 little bowls of the same origin with a gilt design (*Saksonya altın sagir kase*), and five mastic bowls in the Paris style or *Pariskâri sakız kases* were given to the high-ranking officials of the palace as Ramadan gifts.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 8905, No. 5832, 9 Muharrem 1251 [May 7, 1835].

<sup>69</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 426, in Şaban 1270 [April 29, 1854-May 27, 1854].

<sup>70</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (Oxford, New York, 1996): 40, 103.

<sup>71</sup> H. Yılmaz, Ş. Akalın, *Sadberk Hanım Müzesi: Osmanlı Dönemi* (İstanbul, 1995): 116-17.

<sup>72</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 2830, Ramazan 1240 [April 1825].



Table 3: *Dresden and French porcelains acquired by the imperial kitchen in 1854.* <sup>73</sup>

Dresden-ware ( <i>Saksonya</i> )	white fish plates (beyaz Saksonya balık tabağı), lidded soup bowls (beyaz Saksonya şorba tası ma kapak), a bowl-like plate with a wavy ornament (Saksonya dalgalı çukur tabak), a white bowl for zerde with lid (beyaz Saksonya zerde kase ma kapak), breakfast plates (Saksonya kahvealtı tabağı), salad plate (Saksonya salata tabağı), salt cellar (Saksonya tuzluk)
French porcelain	plate ( <i>Fransızkâri tabak</i> ), bowl for compote, ( <i>Fransızkâri hoşab kase</i> )

The imperial kitchen records demonstrate that even in the early nineteenth century, Dresden-ware and French porcelain were much preferred to chinaware and locally made majolica. Iznik or Kütahya wares are almost never mentioned in our documents, with the single exception of some Kütahya coffee cups purchased for a banquet in 1835.<sup>74</sup> English flatware and a kind of white porcelain also appeared among the utensils acquired by the Palace kitchens, and in addition, porcelain ornamented with an under-glaze charcoal drawing (*kara kalem*) was on record.<sup>75</sup> These two last-mentioned varieties of porcelain had probably been manufactured in Istanbul, where production got underway in the first decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>76</sup>

In two respects, the tableware used in the Ottoman Palace during the period under investigation differed from what was employed in earlier centuries: first, there was an increased demand for porcelain vessels (both European and local) instead of majolica or chinaware; second, new specialized types of tableware, totally unknown in earlier days, came into frequent use. Apart from the ordinary plates, dishes, or bowls that were used in serving basic Ottoman foods such as pilaf, blancmange, soup, pastry, and dessert, new-style serving dishes for items such as fish, salad, or potatoes were now enumerated in our documents. For example, in 1841, apart from both regular and dessert plates (*kadayıf tabağı*, *lokma tabağı*, *muhallebi tabağı*), we find a small type known as *iftariyelik*, intended for *hors d'oeuvres*. In addition, plates for fish and salad, both with and without a wavy ornament, were bought for the imperial kitchen.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, in

<sup>73</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 426, Şaban 1270 [April 29, 1854-May 27, 1854].

<sup>74</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 8905, 9 Muharrem 1251 [May 7, 1835].

<sup>75</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 7, Şevval 1249 [Feb. 11, 1834-March 11, 1834], No. 6248, Safer 1267 [Dec. 6, 1850-Jan. 3, 1850].

<sup>76</sup> Yılmaz and Akalın, *Sadberk Hanım Müzesi*: 121.

<sup>77</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 7608, Şaban 1257 [Sep. 18, 1841-Oct. 16, 1841].

1852, from July 19 to August 16, the sultan's kitchen was provided with 16 cheese bowls, 10 *tarator* bowls, 20 salad plates, 10 plates for serving grapes, 10 soup bowls, and two large lidded plates.<sup>78</sup>

The use of plates and bowls designed for special purposes such as serving fish, potatoes, or soups indicate that the inhabitants of the Ottoman Palace were attracted by certain traits of European culinary culture.<sup>79</sup> In consonance with the new kinds of tableware adopted, service at table also changed, and new habits emerged. It is likely that, as we have seen, the customary style of serving food was not totally abandoned, but during the first half of the nineteenth century, the facilities for serving a sophisticated meal in the European style were progressively acquired. Members of the Ottoman court could make their choices according to the occasion, or even combine local and European dishes if that seemed appropriate.<sup>80</sup>

Unlike porcelain vessels, glassware was not mentioned in every imperial kitchen register. Most of the glasswares supplied to the Palace were imported from France, such as French-style glass (*Fransızkâri bardak*), cut-glass bowls for lemonades, compotes, and syrups (*Fransızkâri kesmeli hoşab kâsesi*), cut-glass water bottles (*Fransızkâri kesmeli sürah*), and crystal drinking glasses for lemonade-like beverages (*Fransızkâri kesmeli kadeh şerbet bardağı*).<sup>81</sup> From an early record (1825), we learn that cut-glass bowls and cups with a diamond design, English and Dresden-ware beakers with lids, and glass jars for olives or jams were given as Ramadan presents to high-ranking officials of the Palace.<sup>82</sup>

Various sorts of wooden spoons always had figured among the distinguishing characteristics of Ottoman material culture. As had been true in earlier centuries, spoons were the basic type of cutlery used at table, and the Palace kitchen of the nineteenth century did not give up this custom. Depending on

<sup>78</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 344, Sevvâl 1268 [July 19, 1852-Aug. 16, 1852].

<sup>79</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 104, Cemâziyel âhır 1249 [Oct. 16, 1833-Nov. 13, 1833], Cevdet Saray No. 7626, Ramazan 1257 [Oct. 17, 1841-Nov. 15, 1841].

<sup>80</sup> On the question of 'mixing and matching' heterogeneous kinds of goods, compare Selçuk Esenbel, "The Anguish of Civilized Behaviour: The Use of Western Cultural Forms in the Everyday Lives of the Meiji Japanese and the Ottoman Turks During the Nineteenth Century," *Japan Review* 5 (1994): 145-185.

<sup>81</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 7608, Şaban 1257 [Sep. 18, 1841-Oct. 16, 1841], No. 1176, Ramazan 1269 [June 8, 1853-Aug. 7, 1853], No. 5940, 1270 [1853]. For *kadeh şerbet bardağı* see Cevdet Saray No. 426, Şaban 1270 [April 29, 1854-May 27, 1854].

<sup>82</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 2830, Ramazan 1240 [1825].

the rank of the users, spoons were made of various materials such as ebony, boxwood, woods of the mastic, walnut and pear trees, and even coral.<sup>83</sup> Boxwood (*cemşir kaşık*) and ordinary spoons (*kaba kaşık*) were of quality inferior to spoons made of ebony, walnut wood, or coral. The latter were generally used by the sultan, his family, and high-ranking Palace officials. Compared with spoons, the supply of forks and knives to the imperial kitchen was mentioned but rarely. A first reference goes back to 1850, when a packet of metal forks and another packet of metal knives, and spoons (*maden saplı bıçak, maden saplı çatal, maden saplı kaşık*) were supplied to the Sultan's kitchen.<sup>84</sup> In 1852, a set of additional metal forks, knives, and spoons (*maden saplı çatal ve bıçak ve kaşık takımı*) was purchased.<sup>85</sup> Our third case once again concerns the banquet arranged in honor of Prince Napoléon, when some sets of metal forks, knives, and spoons (*edevat-ı madeniyye*) were supplied to the kitchen of the Beylerbeyi Palace.<sup>86</sup>

### Conclusion

Given the preeminent position of the sultan and his court, it is not surprising that the imperial kitchens had the privilege of getting the best of everything. Rare and costly food items, including fruits out of season, could be transported to Istanbul from the various regions of the empire. Moreover, a sultan who wished to try out new dishes and novel ways of serving them could permit himself this luxury, probably to a greater extent than anyone else.

As a major change in the consumption of meat we can identify an increasing preference for mutton from the early nineteenth century on. But it is too early to say whether the nineteenth-century Ottoman court was less concerned about frugality and the husbanding of resources than its seventeenth-century predecessor.<sup>87</sup> For with the growing demand for lamb, numerous animals, slaugh-

<sup>83</sup> See for example BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 8905, 9 Muharrem 1251 [May 7, 1835], No. 7608, Şaban 1257 [Sep. 18, 1841-Oct. 16, 1841], No. 426, Şaban 1270 [April 29, 1854-May 27, 1854].

<sup>84</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 6248, Safer 1267 [Dec. 6, 1850-Jan. 3, 1850].

<sup>85</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 344, Şevval 1268 [July 19, 1852-Aug. 16, 1852].

<sup>86</sup> BBA-OA, Cevdet Saray No. 3335, 11 Şaban 1270 [May 9, 1854].

<sup>87</sup> As a basis for the comparisons undertaken here, compare the article by Hedda Reindl-Kiel in the present volume as well as Tülay Artan, "Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's Food Consumption: Looking for 'Staples', 'Luxuries' and 'Delicacies' in a

tered when they were very young, never reached their full weight, so that the opportunity to obtain a larger supply was sacrificed to provide a more delicate meat to the ruler's table. But before concluding that seventeenth-century sultans had been thriftier than their successors two centuries later, we will need to find out whether sheep were in more ample supply in the 1800s than they had been earlier on. But we cannot yet provide an answer to this question.

The inhabitants of the Ottoman Palace showed themselves reasonably interested in the new fruits and vegetables imported from America. While potatoes, tomatoes, pumpkins, and beans certainly were not as frequently consumed as they are today, neither were they confined to the 'experimental sphere' of the Bosphorus gardens, where curious observers had seen them in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Future studies will perhaps show whether the Ottoman Palace provided a model that the better-off townsmen imitated as far as they could, or whether foods that had already found acceptance among poorer people came to be 'chic' and were then consumed by the wealthy as well. While one would assume that the former was more common, the appearance of maize in the imperial kitchens indicates that the latter development also occurred, at least occasionally.

On the other hand, nineteenth-century continuities with past practice are quite remarkable. In the seventeenth century, chicken and rice had been prominent among the dishes served to visiting dignitaries, and these same items were still mainstays of Palace diet when Mahmud II occupied the Ottoman throne. Eighteenth-century denizens of the Palace had come to favor a gentle spice such as cinnamon, and this preference still prevailed in the 1850s.<sup>88</sup> Fish had been altogether a secondary component of the seventeenth-century Palace diet, and the same thing still applied around the middle of the nineteenth century. However, the latter statement does call for some qualification. Apparently the court officials of Mahmud II and Abdülmecid ate more sardines and sturgeon than their predecessors under Mehmed IV had done, and fish-based delicacies had taken their place among the 'little dishes' that graced the *sofra* when, at sunset, people broke their fasts during the month of Ramadan. Was immigration from the Black Sea region, well attested for the nineteenth century, beginning to affect the popular diet of Istanbul, and was the Palace kitchen following the trend? It is too early to tell.

Changing Century," in: *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550-1912: An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany, 2000): 107-200.

<sup>88</sup> Compare the article by Christoph Neumann in the present volume.

Inevitably, a study such as the present one poses more questions than it is able to answer. Thus we have observed that guards or gardeners were served more modest foods than their 'betters'; apparently already in the early nineteenth century, something similar to *fasulyalı pilav* (beans and rice) constituted a mainstay of the local diet. But there must have been finer gradations of hierarchy that we still have not been able to discern. And what about the foods destined for the sultans' *harems*? To what extent did they resemble those served to the male section of the court, and where were the differences, if indeed there were any? We are only at the beginning of our investigation.



# CUPS, PLATES, AND KITCHENWARE IN LATE SEVENTEENTH- AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DAMASCUS

Colette Establet & Jean-Paul Pascual\*

At first glance, this seems a minor topic with a rather unpleasant connotation because one of the present authors is a woman: the unholy triad of *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* rears its ugly head almost immediately. However, the philosopher Heraclitus has made it possible to accord some intellectual status even to this modest subject. As Aristotle reports, at one point Heraclitus had disappeared and could not be found anywhere. After a long search, some foreign visitors located him, warming himself by the kitchen fire. When they hesitated to enter, Heraclitus called out to them: “Come in, the gods are present even in this room.”<sup>1</sup>

## *The sources*

Our analysis is based on 450 inheritance inventories contained in two volumes of Damascus kadi registers.<sup>2</sup> The official responsible for putting together these documents was known as the *qassam ‘arabi*, whose job it was to divide the inheritances (*muhallafa, tarika*) of ‘ordinary’ Ottoman subjects, both male and female, among those who constituted the legal heirs according to Islamic law. Or if such heirs did not exist, it was the duty of the *qassam ‘arabi* to convey the inheritance to the Ottoman treasury (*bayt al-mal*). The first of the registers considered covers the period from 1686 to 1693, while the second contains inheritances officially recorded between 1689 and 1717.

---

\* Aix-en-Provence. Translated by Suraiya Faruqi.

1 For the anecdote, reported by Aristotle, see “Traité sur les parties des animaux,” book 1, ch. 5, p. 645a.

2 Colette Establet, Jean-Paul Pascual, *Familles et fortunes à Damas en 1700* (Damascus, 1994). This study also contains numerous references to the secondary literature on Ottoman estate inventories; they have not been repeated here.

Inheritance inventories of this kind survive from many provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The format rarely varies: a preamble records the name of the deceased, his titles if any, and sometimes his work or profession; this latter piece of information, however, often must be arrived at indirectly, by studying the lists of implements, instruments, and raw materials the register may contain. On the other hand, the locality in which the deceased lived or worked is always recorded, and the same thing applies to the heirs and their legal representatives, if the latter happen to exist. In the main body of the text, the judge and his scribes then proceed to enumerate the possessions of the deceased, which include movable property and real estate and also mortgages.

As in all Ottoman estate inventories, at least those put together in the Syrian provinces, the judge has carefully described the objects found in the house(s) and workshop(s) belonging to the deceased, thus inviting the historian to adopt the role of archaeologist. For in both cases, the scholars concerned attempt to approach the past by examining real or figurative excavation sites, prospecting and taking samples. Like the indiscriminate piling up of objects known from photographs taken in the tomb of Tutanchamoun, our inventories record, pell mell, whatever was present in a Damascene house of the years around 1700.

The following, third section of the inheritance inventory establishes the debts payable by the estate. First of all, there appears the money owed by the deceased; in the case of a married man, a sum of money will usually be due to his widow, as part of the bridal gift accorded to her at the time of her wedding (*mu'akbkhār sadaq*). In addition, this section also contains the funeral expenses (*tadjiḥīẓ wa takfīn*), as well as fees owed for the registration of the inheritance and the services of a broker. At the very end, there will be a record of the shares due to the different heirs, expressed in *qursh* or *para*, the current coin of this period.

An analysis of the information contained in these 450 inheritance inventories has allowed us to learn something about the economic, demographic, and social characteristics of the Damascus population. However, only a small minority of these documents, about thirty in number, permit us to describe the kitchens or cooking arrangements of Damascene households with reasonable precision. This applies to 14 men, most of them active in the food trades (*'attār, sammān*), 14 women, and in addition, two married couples who died at the same time, presumably in an epidemic. As a thirty-first text, we can add to this batch the inventory of Sheik 'Alī b 'Abdalqâdir b Abî Djabr al-Sa'dî al-Djabawî, a sheik who was one of the richest men of Damascus during this period. We will treat this latter inventory separately, both on account of its exceptional richness

and to avoid disturbing the neat balance between men and women in the records documenting our less wealthy Damascenes.

### *Presenting the objects*

One might feel tempted to begin our discussion by simply listing the names of the objects linked in one way or another to the preparation and consumption of food. However it turns out that 'simple' is an inappropriate term, when it comes to the description of a daily life lived by people who have been dead for about three hundred years. Two examples will suffice to illustrate the problems encountered. It is not always clear which items were really intended for the preparation and consumption of food. Thus the numerous *ibrîq* and *leğen* (ewer accompanied by a flat basin) were for the most part intended for washing, but some of them may have served as receptacles for drinking water and other beverages. We have assumed that when the estate inventories list these two items together, they were intended for ritual ablutions, or sometimes for personal cleanliness, namely when the *leğen* was described as destined for use in the bathhouse (*leğen hammâm* or *leğen li 'l-hammâm*). If by contrast, such *ibrîq* and *leğen* appear as single pieces, we have decided to consider them as kitchen implements. But, unfortunately, it is impossible to be certain.

Second, the translation of the terms denoting household goods found in the register often is doubtful indeed. Certain types of objects are no longer in use, leaving no trace even in museums documenting regional folklore. As a result, it is more than risky to attribute this or that shape to an item of which only the name is known. The dictionaries of Syrian Arabic by A. Bartélémy and of Ottoman Turkish by James Redhouse are the principal sources for our present purpose, but they are not without lacunae.<sup>3</sup> Thus the meaning of the term *martabân* (jar) only appears in the old Arabic dictionary by R. Dozy.<sup>4</sup> Moreover some of the terms used in our inventories have been given meanings by the lexicographers that, in the light of our texts, are surprising, to say the least. Thus A. Bartélémy identifies a vessel known as *karka* with the alembic; but that is difficult to accept, since the *karka* was made out of copper, not a usual material for this purpose. Equally unlikely is the suggestion that *saqraq* should be translated as a 'receptacle for wine', given that this vessel often occurs in Muslim households.

<sup>3</sup> A. Bartélémy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français, Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Palestine* (Paris, 1935); James U. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (repr. Beirut, 1987).

<sup>4</sup> R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes* (repr. Beirut, 1991).



In spite of the risks involved, we have decided to present in a table the almost 1400 pots, pans and trays contained in the thirty household inventories we have examined. In each case, we suggest a translation and, in addition, specify the purpose(s) for which the item in question appears to have been used. According to the interpretation suggested, all three known types of open-fire cookery were practiced in Damascene kitchens. Pots such as the *tandjara* were used for boiling, while the items recorded as *luhûq*, *miqlâya*, *tawâ*, and *tawâdja* served for frying pastries, meats, or vegetables. Less clear is the evidence for grilling: presumably the braziers (*manqal*, *mangal*) were used principally for heating the house, but it is very possible that, then as today, they were employed for grilling on occasion. Whenever possible, we have included illustrations, which mostly show items kept in the 'Azm Palace Museum of Damascus, see page 321 ff.<sup>5</sup>

Table 1: *Terms and meanings*

Number of items	Arabic/Ottoman terms	Meaning	Function
318	findjân, fanâdjîn	small coffee cup	drinking
003	martabân	jar, lidded pot	food preservation
016	sadl	pail	food preservation, transportation
011	hâwan	mortar	food preparation
010	ibrîq qahwa	coffeepot	food preparation
002	kabdjâ	ladle, skimmer	food preparation
002	kafkir	skimmer	food preparation
001	karka	alembic	food preparation
005	kukum, güğüm	vessel with handle, spout and lid	food preparation
013	luhûq	frying pan	food preparation
017	mâ'ûn	Damascene dialect: large pan	food preparation
008	manqal, mangal	brazier	heating, food preparation

<sup>5</sup> We would like to express our thanks to the Syrian General Directorate of Museums and Antiquities, as well as to the director of the Museum for Popular Arts and Traditions ('Azm Palace); both authorities have kindly permitted us access to the museum depots, so that we have been able to take some of the photographs shown in the present volume.



Number of items	Arabic/Ottoman terms	Meaning	Function
008	miqlâya	frying pan	food preparation
009	misfâya	sieve	food preparation
001	sâdj	bowl for preparing bread dough	food preparation
002	sahhâna	pot	food preparation
038	tandjara, tandjara	copper pot without a handle but with a rim turned outwards	food preparation
009	tawâ, tawâya	frying pan	food preparation
336	sahn	metal or fayence plate, a round shallow dish	eating
003	shawka	fork	eating
016	sofra	support for meal	eating
002	furûsh	tray	food presentation
005	sadr	round copper tray	food presentation
041	siniyya, sini	large round tray	food presentation
056	tabaq	large plate	food presentation
022	tabsiyya, tepsi	tray	food presentation
015	matbaqiyya	set of matching pots	food transportation
020	kâsa	cup	personal consumption
021	labâniyya	dish for eating rice or yoghurt	personal consumption
009	mashraba	cup	personal consumption
095	tâs/ tâsa	red copper cup without a handle	personal consumption
132	zabdiyya	cup	personal consumption
007	ghatâ	lid	
034	ibrîq	ewer	
013	legen, legen	basin	
004	saqraq	pot (for wine?)	

*The importance of items relating to the preparation and consumption of food within the household*

When we compare the number of items used in the preparation and consumption of food with those personal objects to be classed as clothes, underwear, furnishings, arms, jewelry, or books, we immediately note the preponderance of the first-named category. This observation applies both to the thirty households of more or less ‘ordinary’ wealth and to the one really rich home, that of Sheik ‘Alī. However, the large number of items involved does not mean that the value of pots, pans, and crockery made up a significant share of anybody’s fortune; quite to the contrary, these items were relatively cheap, and, in addition, the items found in a wealthy home do not significantly differ in value from those owned by more modest Damascenes.

Since the inventories contain numerous items necessary to daily life along with their prices, these data invite the historian to count, tabulate, and compare. The numerical preponderance of cheap kitchenware and crockery may lead the researcher to the conclusion that everyday necessities, rather than fine objects intended for display, characterized the domestic interiors even of wealthy Damascenes living in the Ottoman period. But such a claim only becomes really interesting if viewed in a comparative perspective; and it is a tempting project to compare the contents of eighteenth-century dwellings with their contemporary counterparts, both in Syria and elsewhere.

Table 2: *The importance of food- & drink-related objects*

Owner(s)	Number of domestic objects owned	Number of items linked to food & drink	Percentages
30 householders together	3090	1375	44.5
1 sheik	4257	1555	36.5

Table 3: *The monetary values of food- & drink-related objects (in guriṣḥ)*

Owners	Values of domestic objects owned	Values of food- & drink-related items	Percentages (food- & drink-related items to total of domestic objects)	Average values of food- & drink-related items
30 house-holders together	6688	1154	17.2	0.83
1 sheik	7730	1321	17.1	0.87

*Eating and drinking in Damascene society*

In our previous study of Damascene society, we had noted a double cleavage: a separation by gender and the division between rich and poor. Eating and drinking and the preceding preparation of foodstuffs are social acts *par excellence*. How can we situate these activities within the structure of Damascene society?

While Table 4 demonstrates that most kitchen implements were owned by women, men do appear even in this domain. In addition, the items that had been the property of men were on average twice as valuable as those found in the inheritance inventories of women. The reason can easily be determined, because in most cases, involving almost one thousand objects, the judge's scribe has specified the materials from which the items under discussion were manufactured. Men appear as the proprietors of copper vessels, a relatively durable household resource. Women, on the other hand, typically own items made of glass or fayence.

Table 4: *Not exactly a surprise: the kitchen as a female domain*

Gender	Number of food- & drink-related objects owned	Percentages (of total possessions)	Values of food- and drink-related objects ( <i>guriṣḥ</i> )	Average values of food- and drink-related objects
Women	1095	86.3	0793	0.7
Men	0174	13.7	0247	1.4
Total	1269		1040	

Table 5: *Ownership of food- and drink-related objects*

Material	Object	Number	Male owner	Female owner	Average price ( <i>gurus̥h</i> )
<i>ḍjūm</i> (glass)	<i>tas/ tasa, tepsī, sīnī</i>	058	001	057	0.6
<i>nubās</i> (copper)	<i>bavān, ibriq, lēḡen, kukūm/ gūḡūm, luḥūq etc<sup>6</sup></i>	294	205	083	1.8
<i>sīnī</i> (fayence)	<i>fanāḍjīn, martabān, sahn, tabaq</i>	508	006	502	0.7
<i>khashab</i> (wood)	<i>furnīsh, sofra</i>	003	003	000	
<i>badīd</i> (iron)	<i>manqal</i>	002	002	000	
<i>ḍjīld</i> (leather)	<i>sofra</i>	002	002	000	

Thus in the Damascus society of the years around 1700, women possess mainly the glassware and crockery, and particularly the cups, used for immediate personal consumption of food and drink. Men, on the other hand, largely appear as the owners of objects that serve for the preparation of food and beverages; among the latter figure the *ibriq qabwa*, *manqal*, *mā'ūn*, *luḥūq*, and *tandjāra*. Thus women appear to have owned light and fragile objects, easily broken, and some of these cups and bowls may have been largely decorative, bibelots so to speak. The inventories credit men with the ownership of heavy items used for making things – which tend to be more expensive. We still do not know how these different types of objects had come into the hands of their proprietors: possibly by purchase or inheritance. But it is even more likely that when people married, both males and females were expected to contribute specific items to the newly formed household. Unfortunately, the inventories tell us nothing at all about this matter.

<sup>6</sup> In addition: *tawā, miqlāya, misfāya, matbaqiyya, shawka, satl, manqal, mā'ūn, tandjāra, tās/ tasa, saqrag, sahn, sadr, tepsī, sīnī, sadr, tabaq, ibriq, sabhāna*.



Table 6: *Ownership of food- and drink-related items by function*  
(percentages of all objects owned)

Type of object	Female ownership	Male ownership
Personal food consumption	22.2	05
Cups	34	03
Food- and drink-preparation	06.1	35
Presentation	04.1	09.7
Transportation	00.5	01.7
Conservation	00.8	04
Eating	29	36
<i>ibriq-legen sets</i>	02.6	05

Unsurprisingly, the quantity of the food- and drink-related objects in our inventories varies considerably according to the wealth or poverty of the household in which they have been found. Some houses seem to have been empty, or almost empty, with a few items essential for survival making up the entire inventory. On an average, the 30 persons studied here each left 45 items relevant to the preparation and consumption of food and drink, 78 such objects being owned by women and 12 by men. Some desperately poor dwellings contain practically nothing; thus we find a deceased person whose meals apparently were cooked in a single pot (*tās*); in a second case, a *tās*, a *tandjara*, and a *ṣabdiyya* were the only kitchenware on record, while a third person, probably equally poverty-stricken, made do with a *tandjara*, a *tās*, and a *ṣiniyya*. Certainly the number of cases examined does not allow us to discuss the incidence of poverty in quantitative terms; but without any doubt, the number of destitute people must have been considerable. In addition, significant inequality with respect to material resources can be discerned even from the limited number of cases at our disposal. All by himself, Sheik ‘Alī b ‘Abdalqādir b Abī Djabr al-Sa’dī al-Djabawī possessed more objects related to the preparation of food and drink than all the other thirty persons taken together (compare Table 3). Evidently, social inequality manifested itself in the kitchen as well.

Now that we have introduced the concept of social inequality, the time has come to modify somewhat our statements concerning the property owned by women. Certainly cups and other crockery typically belong to females; but this statement applies mainly to the wives and daughters forming part of well-to-do families. Our group contains seven women whose inheritances are lower than 250 *qursh*, and together they own no more than 22 items of this type. By contrast, the five females who died leaving more than 500 *qursh* possess 177 cups

and other items serving the immediate consumption of food and drink. In the inventories of poor women, we typically find only pots and pans, indispensable for cooking, while items from which one ate and drank, such as *mashraba*, *ṣabdiyya*, *labāniyya*, *tāsa*, and *kāsa* seem to have been luxuries the poor had to forego.

This difference apart, however, we have already noted that rich and modest households used more or less the same implements and receptacles; however, the materials from which these various pieces were manufactured do vary according to the economic level of the household. In those houses where at least one person owning a substantial amount of property lived, many items in frequent use existed in two varieties. Next to objects such as *sahn*, *ibriq*, or *tabaq* made out of copper, we encounter other pieces of the same type made out of fayence (*sini*). While the latter material certainly is cheaper than copper, it also is easy to decorate, and thus must have brought color and variety into the household. Sheik 'Alī for instance owned 26 *ibriq*, one half made out of copper and the other half of fayence.

In addition, although both rich and poor cooked in copper vessels, the former owned more expensive pieces. In the dwellings of people who left a patrimony of less than 400 *qursh*, 185 copper pots and pans were located, worth 198 *qursh* in all. On the other hand, people whose patrimonies were greater than 400 *qursh* owned only 154 such pieces, but they were worth 319 *qursh*; this means that individual pieces of copperware owned by the well-to-do were twice as expensive as those belonging to the poor. We can imagine quite a few reasons for this price differential: first of all, the pots and pans in wealthy homes were probably heavier, which reduced the risk of burning the food. The copper employed also may have been of higher quality, and in addition, the wealthy probably had their most prized pieces decorated with engraved designs.<sup>7</sup> However, the inventories examined do not permit us to confirm or disprove this statement, which thus remains a mere hypothesis for the time being.

On the other hand, the precise descriptions prepared in the kadi's office sometimes tell us that certain pots (*tandjara*, *mā'ūn*) or plates (*sahn*) were 'complete', that is, they possessed lids (*ghata*) and handles (*balq*). To own such items seems to have been a privilege of the well-to-do. For when we examine the

<sup>7</sup> Dated (1111-1153 [1699-1740]), the *Yawmiyyāt shamiyya* by Ibn Kannân, ed A. 'Ulabî, (Damascus, n.d.): 13 gives a good example of how the value of copper objects could be enhanced. When referring to the new items placed in the Ummâyyad mosques, he notes that they were of the best quality and great beauty, decorated with both gold and lapis lazuli and with engraved verses in Arabic and Turkish.

inventories of 'our' thirty 'ordinary' Damascenes, out of the 26 pots and plates described as 'complete', 23 were found in the inventories of people with inheritances of 500 *qursh* and higher. The rich Sheik Alî owned 57 objects described as 'complete'; these include pots and plates, but also *ibrîq* and *mashraba*. This should not be taken to imply that lids were not found in the houses of the poor; but typically, they had lost the pot or plate to which they had originally belonged and now were part of an ensemble of goods that only chance had brought together.

The quality of the fayence used also apparently served as a mark of distinction. Especially valuable pieces have occasionally been identified in the inventories; among the mass of objects described as being made of *sînî*, the kadi's scribes took particular note of a number of pieces made of Chinese fayence or even porcelain. Such items were not cheap; while the average price of coffee cups, as calculated on the basis of 299 items, amounted to 0.2 *qursh* apiece, 13 cups made of *sînî farfûrî* and belonging to Sheik 'Alî – who else – cost 6.5 *qursh* each. On average, *zâbdîyyas* were valued at 1.4 *qursh*; but such an item described as being of *sînî farfûrî* and owned by a woman was valued at 6 *qursh*. The famous fayence of Iznik, well past its prime at the end of the seventeenth century, only appears in a single instance throughout the registers put together by the kadi's helpers. This particular item, a *sahn* owned by a woman who left an estate worth 1344 *qursh*, was itself valued at 2.5.

There is further evidence demonstrating that certain refinements of form and decoration added both elegant variety and monetary value to the domestic interiors inhabited by well-to-do families. Especially noteworthy are objects outfitted with a special foot or stand, for instance cups (*muka'ab*); thus a woman whose estate amounted to 1128 *qursh* was the owner of such an object, worth ten times the price assigned to ordinary cups. However this valuation may have been due in part to the material of which the vessel was made, or else to some other unknown reason. For the four cups of this type that were part of the estate left by Sheik 'Alî were valued at 2 *qursh* altogether, so that the difference from the ordinary variety was much less pronounced. But there always remained something special about a cup or bowl outfitted with a foot or stand. Thus Sheik 'Alî's estate contained a *kâsa* of this kind, that was valued at 1.5 *qursh*, or three times the amount ordinarily assigned to such items.

Other pieces were adorned with gold, silver, and mother-of-pearl; in many instances, wires made of precious metals doubtless had been inserted into the copper. Two *ibrîq* decorated in this fashion, whose monetary value unfortunately remains unknown, were found in the household of a woman of means. An *ibrîq sînî mufaddad*, that is, embellished with silver, was owned by another

woman who was even richer; however, we have no clear idea of its monetary value, because the scribe has joined it with a perfume or incense burner (*mabkharah mufaddad*) ornamented in the same fashion. Taken together, the two objects were rated at 19 *qursh* or piasters. Of course objects decorated with gold or gilt wires (*mudabhab*) were also present in the household of Sheik 'Alī; the inventory records two cups, one of which was valued at 3 *qursh*, a substantial sum of money. Moreover, this personage possessed objects with mother-of-pearl inlays (*'arq lū'lū*), namely *mashrabas*, cups, and spoons, while onyx (*balḍjāmī*) was also sometimes employed. However these materials did not appreciably enhance the monetary values of the objects made from them; for the cup with mother-of-pearl inlay rated a mere 0.5 *qursh*, while the cups, *tabaq*, and *ṣabdiyyas* made of onyx were but slightly more expensive than the ordinary varieties.

### *In conclusion*

As usual in such investigations, the study of inheritance inventories as a source for the material culture of Damascenes around 1700 raises as many questions as it answers. One such problem concerns the gaps in our inventories. Unlike the custom in certain parts of Europe, the Ottoman inventories contain only the possessions of the deceased and not those of his wife or her husband. Thus we cannot answer the question whether all the men and women who died with a negligible number of pots, pans, and crockery in their possession were obliged to beg or borrow from neighbors or else do without. It is equally possible that at least some of them relied on the possessions of the surviving spouses or other relatives; but unfortunately, there is no way of making sure.

Another unanswerable question concerns the completeness of the inventories. It is not even necessary to impute dubious motives to the family members and servants sharing the house of the deceased, although presumably some property was made to 'disappear' by these people. But we can also assume that some pieces were given away by the owner himself or herself during his or her last illness; and while Islamic law limits deathbed gifts, small and not very valuable items, such as coffee cups, jugs, or serving plates, may have been given away as mementos to favored sons, daughters, or slave women without arousing any objection on the part of the surviving heirs. But even with all these caveats, the inventories still permit us a glimpse into the intimacy of Damascene houses that would be impossible in any other fashion.

Appendix 1, Table 7: *The monetary values of food- and drink-related objects*

Object -	Number of objects whose value is known	Average value
<i>ibrīq</i>	010	1.6
<i>kāsa</i>	010	0.6
<i>tepsi, tabsiyya</i>	010	0.7
<i>mā'ūn</i>	013	2.1
<i>lābaniyyat</i>	021	0.9
<i>tandjura</i>	023	2.5
<i>siniyya</i>	026	2.1
<i>tabuq</i>	048	1.4
<i>tāsa</i>	063	0.4
<i>zabdiyya</i>	095	1.4
<i>sahn</i>	195	1.1
<i>ṣindjān</i>	299	0.2



## COFFEEHOUSES AS PLACES OF CONVERSATION

Ekrem Işın\*

In Ottoman civilization, in the social lives of our ancestors, the art of conversation constituted a most important feature. The process of passing on cultural values, a central function of Ottoman civilization as indeed of all civilizations, was largely based upon conversation. This priority of the spoken word is a basis for the interpretation of communication processes within Ottoman civilization<sup>1</sup>. In the narrow sense of the term, conversation must be viewed as a method of education and a traditional mechanism for organizing communication networks. In the wider sense of the term however, the ritualized structure formed around the ingestion of food and drink must be included in the analysis, since this material side of sociability, with its own specific set of rules, frames the more intellectual or spiritual aspects of conversation. Ottoman society, within the framework of the larger Islamic civilization that it had adopted, raised the ingestion of food and drink to a higher level than that of merely being an aim in itself, an absolutely inescapable act of daily life. By reinforcing these everyday acts with a series of rules based on religious discourse, eating and drinking became a kind of divine service. Thus a spiritual web formed around social practices repeated every day and constituted the starting point for a culture of conversation. The daily acts of eating and drinking operated as a framework within which a tradition of conversation could play its role as a communicative mechanism.<sup>2</sup>

Given this situation, we may pose questions linked to the central issues to be discussed in the present paper. Is the process linking the culture of food and drink to the tradition of conversation purely a mental construct invented by the

---

\* Yapı ve Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul. Translated by Suraiya Faroqhi.

<sup>1</sup> On the manner in which conversation functioned as a process of cultural transfer in Ottoman society, compare Johann Strauss, "Konuşma," in: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yaşamak: Toplumsallık Biçimleri ve Cemaatlerarası İlişkiler (16.-20. Yüzyıllar)*, ed. François Georgeon, Paul Dumont, transl. M. Selen (İstanbul, 2000): 307-85.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed evaluation, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam: Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla*, transl. Elif Kılıç (İstanbul, 1997): 223-42.



researcher attempting to explain the workings of human society? Or, viewing the matter from a different angle, which central properties of the practices that lead from food and drink to conversation prepare the ground for other, rather different traditions, which may evolve on a higher level? The scholar who proposes to discuss ordinary people, those most variable elements of social history, certainly cannot reject the importance of intellectual constructs in clarifying the multiple and various links between the phenomena under discussion. But it remains a central concern to every researcher to base these intellectual constructs on verifiable data. At the same time, the most productive procedure is doubtless to approach social practices such as eating and drinking as elements within a system of rules determined by religion. For in this fashion we may more easily comprehend the phenomena to which these everyday practices may lead the people engaging in them, once the practices in question have been transposed to a higher level.

In the Ottoman world, we encounter a real contradiction between the multiplicity of available foods and beverages, on the one hand, and religious rules limiting consumption, on the other. When we study the upper levels of Ottoman society, this contradiction certainly does not disappear, but it is even more evident on the middle and lower levels. If we limit our observations to the upper classes and their consumption habits while neglecting the discrepancy between a highly developed food culture and ingrained religious values inimical to consumption, we may easily confuse the picture. On the other hand, if we limit our study to the middle and lower levels of society, as is often done, we will exaggerate the puritanical features of a morality that supposedly enthralled Ottoman society. Yet it remains true that the socio-cultural map on which 'ordinary' subjects of the Ottoman sultans moved in the course of their daily lives were shaped by people of the middle and lower levels. Without neglecting this important caveat, we will posit that the respective practices of ingesting food and drink followed different paths in shaping conversational tradition. Moreover, in the spaces it constructed for itself, this conversational tradition shaped a specific form of social communication and thus imparted definite characteristics to everyday life.

The basic difference between traditional and modern lifestyles lies in the priority accorded to social rituals with a spiritual content in a traditional context. An analogy to this major difference between traditional and modern societies is also encountered in earlier ages. Thus there was a world of difference between the pagan beliefs of antiquity and the monotheistic religions of a later period. In ancient Rome, the practices connected with the ingestion of food and drink crystallized in the institution of the festive common meal, the original



*symposium*. But this institution never found a place in Islamic societies. While Ottoman ruling circles were quite willing to accept certain aspects of the Roman-Byzantine tradition, they made no place for the festive common meal except in a few contexts where it seemed unavoidable. The lower orders of society internalized a set of rules rooted in the Muslim religion and thus provided a cultural content to the practices of their daily lives.

The basic framework that Islam brings to the ingestion of food and drink can be summarized as the principle of self-control, which is central to both the legalistic and the mystical aspects of the Muslim religion. From a legalistic point of view, eating and drinking constitute ancillary activities. These should be limited to the level necessary for keeping a person alive and in health, so that he/she can fulfil without undue difficulty the basic duty of all human beings, namely to serve God. At the beginning of this process there is the notion of *rizq*, the sustenance provided by God, which Islamic religious law defines with the aid of the notions of *helâl* (permitted) and *haram* (forbidden). Permitted food is emphatically regarded as a value that makes the human being, in a very concrete sense, into the slave of God. A set of rules has been developed governing the consumption of permitted nourishment, which also has shaped the Ottoman practices of eating and drinking. For example, waste is forbidden. Religious discourse stresses the value of social solidarity, attempts to level differences of status, and aims at preventing all ostentation that may interpose itself between God and His servants.

This attempt to prevent ostentation subjects the people assembled around a tray of food (*sofra*) to a set of moral obligations. These are more obvious when food is being consumed and less so with beverages. By conforming to these moral rules, eating practices are turned into a form of prayer. Thus, before sitting down to eat, hands and mouth are washed in a manner reminiscent of the ritual washing before prayers.<sup>3</sup> This impression of assisting at a divine service is heightened by the manner in which people sit down and eat without speaking except when it is unavoidable, while saying a prayer before rising.

Doubtless this is not the right environment for conversation. A social practice that allows so little scope to individuality, in which silence takes the place of conversation, is characteristic of the domestic lives of Ottoman subjects of the middle and lower classes. The meal constitutes a basic ritual, introverted in

<sup>3</sup> On traditional Ottoman *étiquette* related to food, and drink, compare Kınalızâde Ali Efendi, *Devlet ve Aile Ahlâkı*, II, ed. Ahmet Kahraman (İstanbul, n.d.), and for more detailed information, see Mehmet Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Âli ve Mevâ'idü'n-Nefâis fî Kavâ'id-i'l-Mecâlis* (Ankara, 1997): 397-98.

character, which in the context of the family brings together people related by blood. In consequence, this ritual cannot possibly provide an occasion for conversation, which aims at establishing communication between a variety of people who may or may not be related.

With a slightly different emphasis, we encounter the same situation in the everyday culture of mystical Islam. The adepts of mysticism view being too concerned about one's food as a sign of lack of self-control, of allowing the baser passions free reign. The principle that a 'bite' of food and a vest should be sufficient for a man's needs was and is widely accepted in these circles.<sup>4</sup> Food served to the brethren in the dervish lodge was therefore limited to a minimum of dishes. In a manner rather similar to what was recommended by religious law, silence was preferred during the meal. Thus the mundane practice of eating took place in a mystical atmosphere and was, once again, transmuted into a form of divine service.<sup>5</sup> Given these circumstances, the practices connected with food consumption in dervish circles were not conducive to a culture of conversation, either.

By contrast, the tradition of conversation was shaped in the context of beverage consumption. Differently from the food rituals previously described, communication was not disapproved when people gathered to consume a non-alcoholic beverage. Thus, water apart, all such beverages became inseparable from the Ottoman way of life.<sup>6</sup> Here, rules based on religion had no special place, and extroversion and enjoyment were the dominant factors. As a result, the culture of drinking was not limited to the domestic interior; quite to the contrary, it could create for itself the appropriate spaces outside the family dwellings. Places where beverages were consumed also appear as the locales of

<sup>4</sup> On this issue, Kınalızâde states that extreme hunger makes it necessary to disregard the bounds of polite convention: Kınalızâde, *Devlet ve Aile* II: 85.

<sup>5</sup> Among the Mevlevîs, table manners have been shaped by the *somat erkânı*, one of the order's fundamental rituals. When describing the latter, Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı places special emphasis upon the notion of 'silence', and states that "food was eaten from a single dish and there was no talking during meals". In a mystical ritual in which 'silence' constituted the dominant feature, a special sign language was developed so that the participants could communicate with one another, see Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Adâb ve Erkânı* (İstanbul, 1963): 126-29.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Tapper, "Kan, Şarap, Su: Ortadoğulu Müslümanlarda İçkinin Toplumsal ve Simgesel Yanları," in: *Ortadoğu Mutfak Kültürleri*, ed. Sami Zubaida, Richard Tapper, transl. U. Tansel (İstanbul, 2000): 215-32.

conversation, and this shows that a direct link existed between the two activities.

Coffee is at the center of the Ottoman culture of beverages. This stimulant was originally considered 'disgusting' by religious scholars. But given the habit-forming properties and the popularity of coffee, the consumption of this beverage had a powerful impact upon Ottoman lifestyles. Soon after coffee entered Ottoman daily life, *aficionados* met to combine the enjoyment of coffee with that of conversation. Beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century, coffeehouses opened in Istanbul and soon became the places where the magic beverage united *habitués* in friendly conversation.<sup>7</sup>

Alone among all the beverages consumed in the Islamic world, coffee entered daily life as a drink suitable for mystics. Hasan al-Shadhili, the founder of the dervish order bearing his name, supposedly had discovered coffee. The story goes that it was his disciples who brought the plant from the Abyssinian highlands to the Yemen, and so from the very beginning, mystical symbolism was associated with coffee consumption and a spiritual leader became the hero of a legend centred upon coffee.<sup>8</sup> Certainly, the disapproval of religious scholars hampered the diffusion of coffee, but this beverage, when driven out of the schools of law and religion, found itself a new space in the dervish convents. Without any exaggeration, this was the place where coffee became a beverage whose consumption was surrounded by elaborate rituals of *bienséance*. In the long sessions of reciting prayers and the names of God, as well as during the religious conversations essential to dervish life, it was necessary to keep the spirit awake; and it is well known that coffee was consumed by adepts of mysticism for just this purpose. But most importantly, in the context of the dervish convent, coffee acquired mystical properties. Special ceremonies surrounded its

<sup>7</sup> For a general discussion, compare Ekrem Işın, „More than a Beverage: A Social History of Coffee and Coffeehouses,” in: *Coffee: Pleasures Hidden in a Bean* (Istanbul, 2001): 19-43.

<sup>8</sup> There are three variant versions concerning the manner in which Shadhili dervishes discovered coffee as a beverage. The first emphasizes the role of the order's founder Hasan 'Ali al-Shadhili; compare Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman* (Istanbul, 1824), vol. 4: 76. In the second version, related by Kâtib Çelebi, the main figure is 'Ali b 'Omar al-Shadhili: Kâtib Çelebi, *Cihân-nümâ* (Istanbul, 1145 [1732-33]): 534-36. The third and ultimate version has Abu Bekir b 'Ali as its central figure. Compare Ralph Hattox, *Kahve ve Kahvehaneler: Bir Toplumsal İçeceğin Yakındoğu'daki Kökenleri*, transl. N. Elhüseyini (Istanbul, 1996): 18.

consumption, and the service of preparing coffee became an established office in many dervish convents, a step on the ladder of mystical training.<sup>9</sup>

In Islamic mysticism, the notion of 'training' involves both the concepts of 'service' and 'conversation'. Since the consumption of coffee is germane to both of these, coffee came to fulfill a significant function in dervish culture. Certainly the practice of mystical conversation was much older than coffee drinking, but these conversations became much more effective when accompanied by the consumption of coffee. To put it differently, mystical conversation was centered around the sheik and thus could not avoid a tendency towards monolog. Since drinking coffee during such events encouraged participation, the social impact was enhanced accordingly.

However, as we have seen, from the mid-sixteenth century on, coffee drinking was no longer limited to dervish circles. In the coffeehouses, coffee drinkers created their own spaces, and these institutions brought a totally new dimension to urban life for ordinary men. For in the coffeehouse, such ordinary townsmen were able to experience the opportunities that only a life attuned to the outside world was able to provide. Within Istanbul, it is perhaps not surprising that these outposts of the extrovert life were concentrated in Tahtakale, the area of the Ottoman capital most open to the outside world.<sup>10</sup> In the sixteenth century, most Istanbulis accustomed and attached to their houses and

<sup>9</sup> While the ceremonies linked to coffee drinking vary slightly from one dervish lodge to another, they are all linked to the devotional recital known as the *zikir*. At the beginning of the latter, the sura known as the *Fatiha*, or else the *Yasin*, is recited four times, and then a hundred ritual prayers are performed in honor of the Prophet Muhammad. There follows a recitation of 'al-Kawî', one of the names of God, which is repeated 116 times. During this recital, the dervishes, who have formed a circle, pass around the coffee cup and drink from it. 'Al-Kawî' is preferred among all the names of God, because the value of the letters composing this word, when converted into figures according to the principle of *abjad* as explicated in Ottoman dictionaries, amounts to 116, which is also the numerical value of the word *kahveh* when spelled in Arabic characters. Compare, Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansarayî, *Mecmû'â-i Tevârih*, ed. F.Ç. Derin, Vahit Çabuk (İstanbul, 1985): 18. Among the Bektashis, the room in which the mystical ritual is executed, called *meydan*, contains 12 sheepskins, *post*, on which the dignitaries of the lodge sit during the ceremony. One of them bears the name of Shaykh Shadhili and is occupied by the person responsible for serving coffee. Compare Bedri Noyan, *Bektaşîlik Alevîlik Nedir* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Ankara, 1987): 239.

<sup>10</sup> Peçevî İbrahim, *Tarih-i Peçevî* (İstanbul, 1281 [1864/65]): 1, 363-64; Karaçelebizâde Abdülaziz, *Ravşatü'l-Ebrâr* (İstanbul, 1248 [1832-33]): 434.

town quarters found Tahtakale rather disquieting. Here was a dark world where adventurous seamen stayed for a while, but also European traders of dubious reputations in their own countries, false noblemen who made a living by questionable means, and foreign travellers who had succumbed to the charms of the Orient. From the late sixteenth century on, janissaries in the process of becoming artisans also began to enter this world.

And to this welter of human beings and civilizations we must add the associations of professional entertainers. Most of these people, who served the Istanbulers' need for amusement, were Sinti and Roma. During the summer season, Tahtakale was full of acrobats, tightrope walkers, and people who performed the strangest tricks with wild animals, and these outsiders all contributed to the semi-obscure history of this part of Istanbul. Thus Tahtakale, by virtue of its socio-cultural structure wide open to the outside world, was a temporary home to a lively crowd of marginals, and in this cultural environment, the first coffeehouses were able to establish themselves as parts of Istanbul's daily life.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the coffee culture, which played a liberating role in the lives of many men, produced the coffeehouses as its own particular spaces, and this phenomenon can be regarded as the first breach in the closed circle of daily life in Istanbul's houses and town quarters. It may be useful to say a few words about life in these traditional quarters, small-scale units that dominated the lives of ordinary urbanites before the appearance of the 'escape hatch' provided by the coffeehouse. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Istanbul town quarter had emerged from its formative period. The crucial elements constituting the quarter included several spaces already sanctioned by tradition, namely the house, which offered families a sheltered world; an area of shops and markets (*çarşı*) where a living could be made; and the mosque or dervish convent, where religious needs were fulfilled. Ordinary men lived out their lives within these three basic types of spaces. Activities taking place in the house, *çarşı*, mosque, or dervish convent, all demanded that the denizens of these spaces develop a powerful sense of duty. In the introverted world of the town quarter, which, figuratively speaking, community mores had surrounded by high walls, this feeling of duty reigned supreme over the subconscious of the inhabitants well into the late sixteenth century. But with the opening of the coffeehouses, the male population of Istanbul for the first time began to frequent places not devoted to domesticity, work, or religion.

<sup>11</sup> On the socio-cultural makeup of Tahtakale in the sixteenth century, see Latifi, *Evsâf-ı İstanbul*, ed. N. S. Pekin (İstanbul, 1977): 51-54.

Thus coffee played a liberating role in the lives of ordinary Istanbulis by permitting them an unprecedented step out of their traditional world. After all, this step had not been prompted by a feeling of duty, but by the indomitable curiosity that human beings feel toward life in its different manifestations. Thus ordinary men, abandoning themselves to the attraction of the habit of coffee drinking, came to attend the conversations that took place in the coffeehouses. In consequence, human sociability began to take place in spaces that did not provide any kind of religious direction.<sup>12</sup>

As places of conversation, the coffeehouses were dominated not so much by religious rules as by local customs. Here an oral culture ensured the transfer of knowledge and *étiquette*. As religious rules became less dominant, the coffeehouse permitted ordinary men to move beyond the unidirectional conditioning characteristic of monolog and gain the multiple inputs and advantages of dialog. Conversation which, as we have seen, had in a certain sense created its own spaces, turned into an open-ended process of acquiring information, always however respecting its self-imposed rules of polite behavior. In the most limited sense, information was diffused concerning the life of the town quarter in which the customers of a given coffeehouse happened to live. Local coffeehouses constituted tribunals for all those who wished to freely discuss the everyday problems of their town quarters; or at least the traditions and customs of such places usually limited the subject of conversation to local affairs. But much broader perspectives became equally possible, and some conversations imparted a sense of the broader socio-cultural context of which the townsmen formed a part.

Rather different were the conversational traditions of janissary coffeehouses. These establishments were special as locales where men subjected to military discipline, often enough recruited in villages far away from the soldiers' future area of service, encountered urban life. At least in the sixteenth century, active janissaries were supposed to remain single and spend their lives in barracks, where the men developed a culture quite distinct from that of the townsmen. However, under the crisis conditions of the seventeenth century, the janissaries were profoundly affected as an institution. As a result, the rules of the corps, once carefully observed, were relaxed, and many janissaries began earning a living outside their barracks. It was now no longer unusual for these military men to get married, move into town, and struggle to support their families, a development that entailed transforming soldiers into artisans. One of the enterprises favored by such men was that of running coffeehouses, for thus they

<sup>12</sup> Ekrem İşin, *Everyday Life in Istanbul* (Istanbul, 2001): 64.

were able to preserve many customs they had adhered to while still on active duty. In brief, running a coffeehouse made it possible for a shopkeeper to preserve the spirit of the janissary corps.

The janissary coffeehouses also diffused the Bektashi order of dervishes within the town quarters; previously, this order had not had much influence on urban life, due to its close linkage with janissary discipline. By the seventeenth century, however, the latter was in full decay, and the mystical notions of the Bektashi dervishes and the archaic pride and prowess of the janissaries were diffused among broader circles of Istanbul townsmen. In this atmosphere, an insurrectional culture developed under the name of 'conversations concerning the state' (*devlet sobbeti*). In 1826, when Sultan Mahmud II brutally abolished the janissaries following a long history of conflict and rebellion, the coffeehouses where janissaries and Bektashis used to come together were regarded as centers of insurrection and closed down.<sup>13</sup>

Coffeehouse conversations known as *devlet sobbeti*, directed against the régimes of Sultans Selim III (1789-1807) and Mahmud II (1808-1839), were doubtless enlivened by the satire and *esprit* for which the Bektashis had become famous. This type of conversation, at times animated by what may be called a spirit of social nihilism, was directed against the dominant ideology of obedience to the Ottoman state. After the janissary coffeehouses had been closed down, a comparable *esprit*, adapted to the mores of the later nineteenth century, came to characterize conversations in the coffeehouses frequented by Istanbul's firemen, the famed *tulumbacı*s.

Once again the firemen's coffeehouses formed the foci of a peculiar conversational culture. After all, janissaries and Istanbul firemen possessed certain common characteristics; in both instances, the men were subject to corps discipline and participated in urban life as outsiders. Among the firemen, certain specific social types emerged, known as the *kabadayı* and *külhanbey*, poor and not adverse to using their fists in any dispute, but bound by their own rather strict code of honor. Rather than the witty remarks of the Bektashis, so typical of the old janissary coffeehouses, the firemen's subculture was characterized by the use of a particular argot. In addition, the culture of the popular singers (*aşık*) imparted a special atmosphere to the firemen's coffeehouses.<sup>14</sup> The influence of these musicians in the places frequented by firemen made music as

<sup>13</sup> Sahhâflar Şeyhi-zâde Seyyid Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, *Vak'a-nüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi*, ed. Z. Yilmazer (İstanbul, 2000): 640-41.

<sup>14</sup> Tahir Alangu, *Çalgılı Kahvehanelerdeki Külhanbey Edebiyatı ve Numuneleri* (İstanbul, 1943): V.

important a means of communication as words. Conversation was accompanied by song, and in consequence, the relevant coffeehouses were known as *semai kahveleri*.<sup>15</sup> In these places, ordinary people could listen to their life histories transformed into song. The conversational traditions of the *tulumbaçs* were thereby transformed into a literature in which the particular truths of a subculture and the reactions of its members to the world around them found their places. And with the aid of music, this culture of conversation found its way into the hearts of the participants.

---

<sup>15</sup> Osman Cemal Kaygılı, *İstanbul'da Semaî Kahveleri ve Meydan Şairleri* (İstanbul, 1937): 20-21.



# LIFE IN THE *MEDRESE*

Mübahat Kütükoğlu\*

We possess a sizable number of sources conveying information about Ottoman habits, customs, traditions, living conditions, and styles of life. But most of these reflect the way of living current among the upper classes. They describe life in the men's and women's sections (*selamlık*, *haremlık*) of wealthy households and recount the manner in which the fasting month of Ramadan, festivities, weddings, and other ceremonial events were experienced in such contexts. Most of the authors of these writings themselves lived among the well-to-do members of Ottoman society, and therefore we find in their works relatively little information about the lives of even middle-class people. Only when a pasha lost his exalted position or when war-related difficulties forced an upper-class family into reduced circumstances did these authors encounter the lifestyles of the middle class.<sup>1</sup> Even less is known about the particular way of living of unmarried people, as yet without their own households.

Young men arriving in Istanbul from the provinces to work or study had first to find somewhere to stay. Those who worked for artisans generally lodged in the khans of the capital or else in basic accommodations known as *bekâr odaları*; comparable habitations for married men were called *mütebbihîn odaları*. Non-Muslims lived in buildings known as *rumhane*, *yahudhane*, or *frenkhane*; these structures were rented out room by room. Arrangements of this type are reflected in the mid-nineteenth-century official registers known as the *temettü defterleri*.<sup>2</sup> Young men arriving in the Ottoman capital to study established themselves in a *medrese*, a school for theology and law, provided there was space available. Until they found such accommodation, they also were often obliged to stay in khans.

---

\* University of Istanbul. Translated by Suraiya Faroqhi.

<sup>1</sup> Cahit Uçuk, *Bir İmparatorluk Çökerken* (İstanbul, 1995).

<sup>2</sup> These registers are found in the Başbakanlık-Osmanlı Arşivi in Istanbul (from now: BBA-OA); for further information, see Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "Osmanlı Sosyal ve İktisâdî Kaynaklarından Temettü Defterleri," *Belleten* LIX/225 (1995): 395-412.



What do we know about the lives of these young men, who had left their homes and families to study in Istanbul? We must begin by taking a closer look at the *medrese* buildings themselves.

Conditions varied from one *medrese* to the next. Very often the *medreses* attached to major foundation complexes (*keüllîye*) offered better sanitary conditions than did the smaller establishments. The vast majority of all *medreses* were built of stone and/or brick and possessed but a single floor. Rooms opened onto a colonnaded passage (*revak*), which in turn surrounded a courtyard, and were equipped with fireplaces. Windows were small, probably to prevent loss of heat. In some instances, there were no windows in the outside walls, and apart from the door, only a single opening on the side where the colonnade was located provided light and air to the cell. Moreover, the windows were closed with iron gratings, which reduced the supply of light yet further. In front of the doorways were stands under which wood for the fireplace was stored in winter; in summer, it was customary to cover them with pieces of cloth or sacking and sit on top of these structures.<sup>3</sup>

Buildings with an upper floor were relatively few in number. The *medreses* of Sultan Ahmed, the Ayasofya, Ca'fer Ağa, Mirzeban Sultan, Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa, Papaszâde Mustafa Çelebi, and Dülgerzâde Hoca Şemsüddin Efendi were among the few two-storeyed buildings in existence. In the *medrese* of Hadım Hasan Paşa, an upper story accommodated two rooms; in the Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, Siyavuş Paşa, and Kepenekçi Sinan Medreses, the upper floor held only a single room. Somewhat special was the situation of the Atik Ali Paşa Medrese: in the middle of the nineteenth century, the front section had been torn down to make way for the widening of the adjacent street. To compensate for the loss, an upper storey holding four rooms was added at the rear. The Cedid Hasan Paşa Medrese, in the quarter known as Vezneciler, was the only scholastic establishment situated entirely on the first floor of a larger building. Some *medreses* were located right in the middle of urban housing, usually because the open space that had originally surrounded them had been built upon in later periods. As an inevitable result, rooms in these buildings were dark, dank, and unwholesome.

In the middle of most *medrese* courtyards stood a water fountain (*şadırvan*). Some small *medreses* were not connected to any foundation-owned source of water supply, and the students managed, as best as they could, with water drawn from a nearby well. Deficiencies in the water supply obviously had a negative impact on the health of the students. In the course of the nineteenth

<sup>3</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Âdeti, Merasim ve Tabirleri, Toplum Hayatı* (İstanbul, 1995): 76.



century, water pipes serving *medreses* were repaired several times; as archival documents show, it was usually the larger schools belonging to important sultan foundations such as the Süleymaniye, Fatih, Sultan Ahmed, Sultan Selim, Nuruosmaniye, Sultan Mustafa, and Şehzâde complexes that benefited from such projects. In addition, we also encounter repair work on wells or even the digging of new ones; with respect to the foundation complex of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (Fatih), such a project is documented for the 1870s. Quite obviously, when such repairs were not undertaken in time, life in the *medreses* became very difficult, and students must have complained.

As was also customary in private homes, toilets were located outside residential structures and housed in separate buildings. Among all Istanbul *medreses*, the one exception to this rule was the *medrese* of the Sultana Valide, also known by the name of Vani Efendi. In 1912, this institution was moved from its original location and re-established next to the eighteenth-century foundation of Zeyneb Sultan in Gülhane, across the street from the Ayasofya. An inspector's report from 1914 recorded this state of affairs: "The toilets and the rooms are located on the same hallway and opposite to one another, and this is the source of significant nuisances."<sup>4</sup>

Laundry- and bathrooms, the former equipped with fireplaces and large kettles, were normally situated next to the toilets.<sup>5</sup> Since there was no sewage system in the modern sense of the term, individual sewers needed repairs rather frequently. When these were neglected, the students voiced their dissatisfaction; the records of the Ministry of Pious Foundations, preserved in the Ottoman central archives, contain some documentation on repairs. Thus in 1860, the sewers of the Medrese of the Sultana Valide in the district of Çarşamba were refurbished.<sup>6</sup> In 1869 and 1871, it was the turn of the Fatih Medreses.<sup>7</sup> Simultaneously, the sewers of the Şeyh Vefa Medrese also were tackled (1870).<sup>8</sup> For

<sup>4</sup> Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Dârü'l-hilâfeti'l-'aliyye Medresesi ve Kuruluşu Arefesinde İstanbul Medreseleri," *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* VII, 1-2 (1978): 45.

<sup>5</sup> This is apparent from some the *medrese* plans available in the BBA-OA. Examples include the Sultan Abdülhamid Medrese, the school founded by Abdülhalim Efendi on Otlukçu Yokuşu (section PPK, No 542), and also the scholastic establishment founded by the Şeyhülislam Yahya Efendi (section PPK, No 553).

<sup>6</sup> BBA-OA İrade Dahiliye No 29837.

<sup>7</sup> BBA-OA, Evkaf Defterleri (from now: EV), No 18486, fol. 6b and No 18884, fol. 27b.

<sup>8</sup> BBA-OA, EV 18486, fol. 11/1a.

the year 1871, we know of repairs undertaken in the Nuruosmaniye Medrese.<sup>9</sup> A report from the year 1914, concerning the İbrahim Paşa Medrese in the quarter of Acı Musluk, tells us that the laundry- and bathroom, in addition to the toilets and water fountain, had recently been repaired. However, since the sewers and water conduits had not been repaired, the result was putrefaction and a bad smell.<sup>10</sup> In the same year, it was also established that the channels for evacuating surface water from the area around the *medrese* of Sokollu, known also by the names of İsmihan Sultan and İbrahim Hanoğlu in the district of Eyüp, were clogged, so that the courtyards were under water when it rained.<sup>11</sup> For the students living there, this must have resulted in an extremely unpleasant situation.

Like other Istanbul buildings, the *medreses* suffered from recurring earthquakes and fires. In addition, the revenues of many *medreses* diminished in the course of the centuries, so that repairs could not be carried out in time and the buildings seriously deteriorated. Normally, when a *medrese* needed repairs, these were financed out of foundation revenues. But it could happen that the foundation in question did not have the necessary means or that the bureaucratic formalities could not be completed on time. Our archival records tell us that, in some *medreses*, life became all but intolerable as a result, and in some cases, the students petitioned the sultan, directly asking that repairs be undertaken as rapidly as possible. Even in the mid-nineteenth century, quite a few cases of this kind are on record. In 1842, the students trying to complete their coursework in the Ca'fer Ağa Medrese, next to the Ayasofya, asked for the necessary repairs to be undertaken.<sup>12</sup> In 1844, the students of the Damad-ı Cedid İbrahim Paşa Medrese had reason to complain.<sup>13</sup> For the year 1845, the petition of the students of the Sekbanbaşı Kara Halil Medrese located in the district of Karagümrük, survives.<sup>14</sup> Conditions also left much to be desired in the Cedid Mehmed Efendi Medrese, in the Sultanahmet district (1845), while in the year 1847, the students of the Papaszâde Mustafa Çelebi Medrese in Koska and the Siyavuş Paşa Medrese near the Süleymaniye complained about the conditions in

<sup>9</sup> BBA-OA, EV 18486, fol. 11/1a.

<sup>10</sup> Kütükoğlu, "Dârü'l-hilâfe": 41.

<sup>11</sup> Kütükoğlu, "Dârü'l-hilâfe": 137.

<sup>12</sup> BBA-OA, EV, 10060, fol. 50b.

<sup>13</sup> BBA-OA, EV, 10060, fol. 68a.

<sup>14</sup> BBA-OA, EV, 10060, fol. 82a.

their respective establishments and asked for redress.<sup>15</sup> The students of the Ayasofya Medrese suffered not from the absence of necessary repairs, but from the wholesale destruction of their school. This building had been torn down in the early 1870s in an effort at restructuring the quarter, and the students had been distributed among other institutions in the city. However, this situation turned out to be highly disruptive to the lives and studies of the young men involved and induced them to start official proceedings. In the end, the Şeyhülislâm intervened, and a new building was constructed.<sup>16</sup>

The inspection report of 1914 tells us that at the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the increasing number of students, the original layout of many *medreses* had badly deteriorated. Temporary buildings had sprung up in the gardens of many institutions, including all *medreses* belonging to the Süleymaniye complex.<sup>17</sup> Nor was the situation any better in the other establishments.<sup>18</sup> In most cases, these annexes had been put up by the relevant school administrations, but a few were also built by private persons. It would seem that while living conditions were poor in all too many *medreses*, the students were not able to find better alternatives elsewhere.

In the foundation documents (*vakfiye*) of certain *medreses*, the founders had specified how many people could stay in a single room. Often they also deter-

<sup>15</sup> BBA-OA, EV, 10060, fol. 82b-83a; İrade Dahiliye. No 7163, İrade Dahiliye 8384.

<sup>16</sup> BBA-OA, İrade-MM, 2003.

<sup>17</sup> Thus the Second Medrese had 14 such temporary structures, the Third Medrese three, the Fourth Medrese four, and the First Medrese, the Medical Medrese and the School for Candidate Teachers two apiece.

<sup>18</sup> In the 'Black Sea' Medreses of the Fatih complex, the school known as Başkurşunlu had eight and its counterpart the Ayakkurşunlu Medrese six such temporary structures. The Dârülhadis of Ömer Hulusî Efendi and the Defterdar Ahmed Çelebi Medrese had six temporary buildings each, the First Medrese of Çorlulu five, the Second Medrese of Çorlulu, the Küçük Ayasofya, and the Molla Gürânî Medreses four, the Damad-ı Cedit İbrahim Paşa, Mu'id Ahmed Efendi, and Defterdar İbrahim Efendi Medreses three apiece. Two temporary structures each were recorded in the *medreses* of Hacı Beşir Ağa, Merzifonî Kara Mustafa Paşa, Esad Efendi, Kazasker Mustafa Efendi, Ma'lûlzâde, Gevherhan Sultan, Hekimbaşı Ömer Efendi, and Nuh Efendi, while the institutions founded by Rüstem Paşa, Cedit Ali Paşa, Amcazâde Hüseyin Paşa, and Rahikîzâde possessed a single temporary building each.

The Yahya Efendi Medrese in the quarter of Sakızağacı in 1865 possessed an additional structure built by a certain Ahmed Ağa, while Sirozi İbrahim had financed temporary housing for the students of the Defterdar İbrahim Medrese (1871).

mined which types of young men should be accommodated within the *medreses* established by a given donor. Thus, no married men were admitted to stay in the Cedid Abdürrahim Efendi Medrese in the Fatih quarter, and the rooms in this institution were intended for single occupancy.<sup>19</sup> But the perusal of a 1791-92 *medrese* register demonstrates that by this time, the *medreses* of Istanbul did not contain many rooms actually occupied by just one person. In the very Abdürrahim Efendi Medrese whose founder had been so concerned about allotting the students of his foundation sufficient space, there was now a young beginner sharing the room of the two students officially inhabiting each cell.

Nor was this an exceptional case, for it had become customary to assign every official occupant of a *medrese* cell (*oda-nişin*, *hücre-nişin*), also known as a *molla*, a beginning student (*sarf mollası*, *çömez*) as a roommate. However, the *oda-nişin* had to accept the boy in question into his room. This situation probably explains why, so often, young men from the same town or region came to be roommates. In some cases, when the senior student was already of an advanced age, the boy staying with him might be his son or nephew. In some instances, most of the students of a given *medrese* came from the same area.<sup>20</sup>

It seems that once established in a *medrese* cell, the student had the right to live there for an extended time. Quite frequently the room of a student remained empty while the latter was on leave to visit his family or engaged in the traditional three-month tour of Anatolia during which students could earn some money while exercising their talents as preachers. The register of 1791-92 contains entries stating that the gentleman (*efendi*) inhabiting a given cell was on leave in the provinces and his room locked. Sometimes another person lived in the cell until the regular occupant returned. In such cases, our register records that the official holder of the cell was on leave and the cell occupied by this or that other person from a specified district.

*Medreses* contained special accommodation for the *müderriş*, who was responsible for the teaching, and also for his assistant (*mu'id*). At times there might be more than one *müderriş* staying in a given *medrese*; thus, in 1791-92, the Ayasofya Medrese was home to four such personages. In some instances we find the *müderriş* staying in a newly added building. It might even happen that people who had been appointed to judgeships still retained their *medrese* rooms. But during their absences it was normally permitted for other men to make use of

<sup>19</sup> *Vakfiye* of the Cedid Abdürrahim Efendi Medrese, Archives of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, register 639: 383-88.

<sup>20</sup> BBA-OA, Kâmil Kepeci 6589/1, which contains a count of the residents of many *medreses*, provides many examples of this practice.



the chambers in question. Thus, in 1791-92, the Ebu'l-fazl Mahmud Efendi Medrese contained three rooms assigned to an absent kadi; they were occupied by two candidate teachers, known as *müllaẓım*, and a nephew of the judge. In the same register we also find that some *medreses* allotted cell space to prayer leaders (*imam*). This was true of the Medrese for Prophetic Traditions (Dârülhadis), founded by İbrahim Paşa in the area of Şehzâdebaşı, and also in the Şehzâde Medrese itself: in the latter, the *imam*'s cell was inhabited by his legal representative.<sup>21</sup>

The young student known as a *çömez* went to class in the mornings, while in the evenings he served the original occupant by lighting his fireplace or brazier, cooking his food, carrying in water from the fountain or well, and, once it got dark, lighting the older student's *tulumba* or lamp. It might even be one of the *çömez*' duties to entertain the guests of his mentor. On the other hand, the original occupant, being more advanced in his studies, helped the beginner with his lessons, so that the association benefited both parties. When the chief occupant of the cell was a teacher, he was served by a senior student.<sup>22</sup>

Larger rooms were inhabited by many more people. In these dormitory-type accommodations, a number of advanced students lived together with their respective young servitors. In his famous book known as the *Tezâkir*, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa recounts that one of the students in the *medrese* where he studied always prepared one or two dishes of food.<sup>23</sup> Many students received *bulgur* or cooking oil from home, and that was a great help; since the better-off families tended to support their sons during their studies, these young men were privileged in comparison with those from more modest backgrounds. Students from poor families tried to eat in public soup kitchens as much as possible; but the food served there contained little fat and was not very nourishing.<sup>24</sup>

*Medrese* students also received help from the inhabitants of nearby wealthy houses. During Ramadan, those who did not leave for the provinces were invited one after the other, to these residences. Students were also provided with trays of *baklava* and *helva*, while at the Feast of Sacrifices, they received the meat of sacrificed animals as a contribution to their subsistence. When departing the houses to which they had been invited for the festive meal that marks the

<sup>21</sup> BBA-OA, Kâmil Kepeci 6589/1.

<sup>22</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Tabirleri*, vol. 1: 77.

<sup>23</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, ed. Cavit Baysun (Ankara, 1967), vol. 4: 6.

<sup>24</sup> *Sebilü'r-reşad* 249 (11 CA 1331): 249. Compare also Necati Çağlayan, "XX. Asrın Başlarında Medreselerin Durumu Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler" (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 1978): 19.



breaking of the fast during Ramadan (*iftar*), the students were also given presents known by the picturesque name of *diş kirası*, or 'rent for the use of the teeth', which latter had supposedly had deteriorated while the students chewed the food offered to them.<sup>25</sup>

During the period of their studies, religious scholars *in spe* could earn some money by providing certain services both within and outside the *medrese*. In quite a few foundation documents, money was set aside for people who would say prayers for the souls of the founders or else of the founders' ancestors. Thus even Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, as a young man, took the examination required of those who wished to read prayers in the Hamidiye Medrese. However, it turned out that the distance from the institution in Fatih, where the future pasha had found lodgings, was considerable, and the money he received from his father was sufficient for his needs. Ahmed Cevdet therefore preferred to turn over both the duty and the pay of a prayer-reader to a doorkeeper (*bevvab*) among his acquaintances.<sup>26</sup> Those students who knew the Quran by heart, i.e., those qualified as *hafız*, would recite it during Ramadan, while those with good voices might edify their listeners with the religious hymns that were an ornament of the superogatory prayers (*teravih namazı*) performed during Ramadan. All these activities were suitably remunerated. In addition, as we have seen, during the months of Recep, Şaban, and Ramadan, students could preach in provincial mosques assigned to them by the local authorities and lead superogatory prayers during the nights of Ramadan. Upon their return, they were rewarded with gifts of clothing, food, and money.<sup>27</sup>

Jobs within the *medrese*, the province of the doorkeeper (*bevvab*) and janitor (*ferraş*), also were often undertaken by the students themselves. Whoever performed the relevant duties received, in addition to the regular stipends, the pay that the founder had assigned to the servants of his or her foundation. It was the responsibility of the doorkeeper to close the doors of the school at a certain hour, to keep an eye on the people entering and leaving the premises, and to ensure that good order was kept within the compound. When irregularities occurred, the doorkeeper was expected to inform the *müderris*.

In the late Ottoman period, we also encounter a *medrese* functionary known as the *kemer*. Abdülaziz Bey, to whose work on Ottoman social life we already have had occasion to refer, writes that the *kemer* was chosen from among the students themselves. It was the job of this functionary to pick up the bread

<sup>25</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Tabirleri*, vol. 1: 78.

<sup>26</sup> Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tezâkir*, vol. 4: 6.

<sup>27</sup> Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Tabirleri*, vol. 1: 77-79.





baked in public kitchens for the needs of the scholars and, on Thursdays, to bring back and distribute the *pilav*, a saffron-colored rice dish, and the rice pudding these institutions had assigned to given *medreses*. Abdülaziz Bey also tells us that the *kemer* sold the bread of those who did not want it to outside customers and did the same with the shares of students currently on leave.

From all this we may conclude that the lives of the *medrese* students were none too pleasant. But in spite all the disadvantages involved, these institutions did provide students with a roof over their heads. Unavoidably, sometimes there were undesirable occurrences, some of which were quite unacceptable in a student milieu. A document discussing such a case survives from the late eighteenth century. In the Çukur Medrese on Çarşamba Street, seven students brought a woman to the *medrese* and feasted with her. After an investigation, the three students considered principally responsible and the woman were given prison sentences. It was established that the other four were basically honorable and respectable people whose presence had been fortuitous.<sup>28</sup>

Moreover the count of 1791-92, which has provided us with so much useful information, was occasioned by the fact that some non-students had established themselves in Istanbul *medreses*. At the beginning of the register, this situation is explained in the following terms: "It has been an ancient rule to banish from the sultanic capital and its surroundings those people who are vagrants and ne'er-do-wells, whose backgrounds are unknown and who cannot provide sureties for their good behavior. But for a lengthy period, this matter has not been attended to." Now however, a count was to be undertaken, and the document states that those who were not students and could not offer any sureties would not be permitted to stay in the *medreses*.

Yet in this particular period, a count of *medrese* inmates was by no means a unique event. A further document from the same period informs us that, to prevent irregularities in khans and unmarried men's lodgings, as well as in the *medreses* themselves, and to ensure that men without jobs and vagrants did not establish themselves in these communal lodgings, counts were to be undertaken every six months.<sup>29</sup> For this same purpose, all residents were expected to provide reliable sureties. Those who did not comply were not to be permitted to stay, and, in accordance with governmental practice going all the way back to the sixteenth century, would have to return to the towns and villages from which they had come.

<sup>28</sup> BBA-OA, Hatt-ı Hümayûn (HH) 9828.

<sup>29</sup> BBA-OA, HH 19895.



# LIFE IN AN ISTANBUL TEKKE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES ACCORDING TO A “*MENAKIBNÂME*” OF THE CERRAHI DERVISHES

Nathalie Clayer\*

Dervish lodges, or *tekkes* as they were usually called, were not only places of worship, but also housing complexes where people lived and carried out the routines of everyday life. According to a study by Klaus Kreiser, the number of men living in dervish lodges in Istanbul around 1820 amounted to at least 1 percent of the adult male population of the Ottoman capital; and the figure had reached approximately 2.5 percent by about 1868.<sup>1</sup> In 1885, an Ottoman set of statistics counted 1,091 men and 1,184 women living permanently in 260 Istanbul *tekkes*.<sup>2</sup> Even if these figures are open to discussion, they at least indicate that the number of people inhabiting *tekkes* in a large city such as Istanbul was not negligible.<sup>3</sup> The first part of this paper undertakes a general consideration

---

\* CNRS, Paris.

1 Klaus Kreiser, “Medresen und Derwischkonvente in Istanbul: quantitative Aspekte,” in: *Economie et Sociétés dans l’Empire ottoman, fin du XVIIIe-début du XXe siècle*, ed. J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, Paul Dumont (Paris, 1983): 109-27.

2 Nedret İşli, Thierry Zarcone, “La population des couvents de derviches d’Istanbul à la fin du XIXe siècle,” *Anatolia Moderna – Yeni Anadolu II = Derviches et cimetières ottomans* (Istanbul, Paris, 1991): 209-20.

3 Around 1820, there were 684 men resident in 171 *tekkes*, while the second source is dated around 1868 and mentions 1823 residents for 251 *tekkes*. In 1885, Ottoman officials counted 1091 men and 1184 women for 260 *tekkes*. These figures are difficult to interpret, not only because of the progressively increasing number of *tekkes* taken into account, but also due to the fact that the criteria for inclusion have varied. For example, in the first list, it seems that only dervishes were counted, while in the second census little boys from the *şeyhs’* families were also registered, see Nathalie Clayer, “Un établissement de derviches stambouliote: le *tekke* d’Imrahor,” *Anatolia Moderna = Yeni Anadolu VI* (Istanbul, Paris, 1996): 57.

of *tekkes* as living spaces. The second part presents a case study of one of the Sufi establishments of the Ottoman capital, namely the Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi Tekkesi, focusing on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This account is based on a manuscript written by its last *şeyh*, who officiated when all dervish orders were closed down in 1925.

### *Tekkes and their inhabitants*

*Tekkes* are, above all, centers of the religious lives of various *tarikats*, or mystical brotherhoods. Over time, this life has become increasingly institutionalized, and material concerns have attained a growing importance. The word *tekke* has become a generic term referring to any dervish establishment. In reality, there have been, and still are, several types of Sufi ‘lodges’. The spatial structure and the lives lived within them have varied according to the period considered, the members’ social rank, and the *tarikats* to which the lodges in question have belonged. Location has also been an important factor; it has never been indifferent whether a lodge was urban or rural, or whether it was situated in the Balkans, in Istanbul, or in the Arab provinces.

This diversity is, in part, reflected in the variety of terms used to designate dervish establishments: *ribat*, *hankah*, *dergâh*, *zaviye*, *tekke*, *asitane*, and so on. Generally speaking, the term *ribat* tends to refer to establishments from earlier periods, and *asitâne* to the main *tekke* at the center of a *tarikât* network. The word *zaviye* denotes an ‘ordinary’ lodge, of modest dimensions at least in later periods. By the term *dergâh*, Ottomans have normally meant an establishment of some size and social impact, with a tomb attached to it.<sup>4</sup> But the different nuances of meaning are not always very clear, and no study has been undertaken on this subject.

Nevertheless, it is evident that sufism – and its position within society – evolved in the course of time. Of central importance was the changeover from the “mobile” sufism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries around *zaviyes* which were establishments made up of a few cells around the prayer hall of a mosque, for the accommodation of dervishes and guests, into a more organized and controlled Ottoman sufism. This latter sufism revolved around *tekkes*, which from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on accommodated more stable mystical communities, often on the model of *medreses*, and thereafter, in

<sup>4</sup> Raymond Lifchez, “The Lodges of Istanbul,” in: *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley, Los Angeles): 73-129, n.b. p. 76.

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, followed a rather specific new model.<sup>5</sup> This new form of organization was undeniably affected by another significant trend, namely the widespread introduction of hereditary succession (*evladiyet*) to the leadership of the *tekkes*. As a result, *tekke* life became closely intertwined with that of the *şeyh*'s family.

Depending on the *tarikāt*, the mystical doctrine also had implications for the members' way of life, notably because it led to different concepts of the mystic in society. In a few *tarikats*, such as the Bektashiyye or the Kalenderiyye, the principle of renouncing the world (*terk-i dinya*) led sheiks and dervishes residing in *tekkes* to adopt celibacy. By contrast, most other brotherhoods emphasized the role of the mystic in society, often according to the principle of "[mental] seclusion within [a concourse of people]" (*halvet der encüman*)<sup>6</sup>. Finally, it is evident that regional features, such as an urban or rural setting, also influenced *tekke* life.

Despite these developments and the variety of *tekkes* resulting from them, there have been some obvious constants in the spatial structure of Sufi establishments throughout the Ottoman Empire, particularly when the researcher focuses, as I do, on Rumelia and Anatolia since the eighteenth century. Thus a *tekke* comprises two central spaces: on the one hand, the *türbe* or mausoleum, where the veneration of saints (founders, former *şeyhs*, members of the *şeyhs*' families, etc.) takes place, and on the other, the hall for prayers and rituals (*tevhidhane*, *semahane*, or *meydan*). One can generally identify an "active spatial relation" between these two structures.<sup>7</sup> It is notable that, after a *tekke* has been

<sup>5</sup> See Semavi Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini-İçtimai Bir Müessesesi. Zâviyeler ve Zâviyeli-Camiler," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23/1-2, (Ekim 1962-Şubat 1963): 3-80; A.Y. Ocak, S. Farûkî, "Zâviye," *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 13:468-78; Mustafa Kara, *Din, Hayat, Sanat Açısından Tekkeler ve Zaviyeler* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Istanbul, 1990); Nathalie Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société: Les halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours* (Leiden, 1994): 160-63.

<sup>6</sup> See Thierry Zarcone, "Pour ou contre le monde, une approche des sociabilités mystiques musulmanes dans l'Empire ottoman," in: *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman: Sociabilités et relations intercommunautaires (XVIIIe-XXe siècles)*, ed. François Georgeon, Paul Dumont (Paris, 1997): 21-29.

<sup>7</sup> See M. Baha Tanman, "Settings for the Veneration of Saints," in: *The Dervish Lodge, Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*: 130-71. In some cases, the *tevhidhane* is the prayer hall of a mosque. Sometimes there is no *türbe*; this will occur when the lodge is reduced to a room in a private house, where the dervishes can meet and perform prayers and rituals.

destroyed, the first building to be reconstructed has generally been the *türbe*, as the source of the site's sanctity.<sup>8</sup> Following the mausoleum and the hall for prayers and rituals, the third important room within a dervish establishment is usually the kitchen (*matbah*, *aş evi*, *mutfak*). It is well known that, in certain orders, such as those of the Mevlevîs and Bektashîs, this room has also played a role in the training and initiation of new dervishes.<sup>9</sup> While these two cases are doubtless the most famous, the kitchen has also occupied a central space in the lodges of other *tarikats*, as we shall see in our case study concerning the central *tekke* of the Cerrahiyye dervish order, a branch of the Halvetiyye. After all, the provision of food and hospitality has always been a major duty of dervish communities. Moreover, drinking coffee assumed such a significant position in *tekke* life that some such establishments, particularly in the Balkans, incorporated a special room for the preparation of coffee, known as the *kahve ocağı*.

*Tekkes* also comprised other rooms in varying numbers: reception and meeting halls (*misafir odası*, *meydan odası*), cells or chambers for the *şeyh* and dervishes (*hüccerat*), and often one or several small spaces, generally without windows, for spiritual seclusion (*halvet odası*, *halvetbane*, *çilehane*). There was also a residence for the *şeyh*'s family, more or less elaborate according to circumstances, and in rural areas one might expect farm buildings. In Rumelia, there were summer rooms, inhabited from Saint George's day (or Hızır's Day, Hidrellez, falling on May 6th) on, and winter rooms, inhabited from Saint Demetrius Day on (or Kasım Day, which falls on November 8th). While, functionally speaking, this arrangement did not vary greatly between *tekkes*, architecturally, of course, the differences could be quite pronounced.<sup>10</sup> I think that we can define three circles of inhabitants of dervish establishments, based on the positions of the people affiliated with a given lodge to the institution with which they were connected. The "first circle" was formed by the *şeyh* and his family, if he had any. Where succession to the *şeyh*'s position was hereditary, all the family members enjoyed the spiritual power (*baraka*) of the ancestors and thus acquired a special status. Consequently, intermarriage between *şeyhs*' families became very common. Then we have a "second circle", made up of dervishes living permanently within the *tekke*, generally without families and participating directly in the religious life of the *tarikat*. The "third circle" was

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the case study below. In Albania today we also witness this phenomenon, after the numerous destructions that occurred during the communist period.

<sup>9</sup> Ayla Algar, "Food in the Life of the Tekke," in: *The Dervish Lodge...*: 296-303.

<sup>10</sup> See, Lifchez, "The Lodges of Istanbul," 73-129.

made up of persons – dervishes, *muhibs*, the brotherhoods' sympathizers, and/or others – residing temporarily in dervish lodges. In rural areas, for example, it was not uncommon for *muhibs* or dervishes living in villages to spend several nights in their *şeyh's tekke* in the nearby market town, where they came to trade or deal with the authorities. On these occasions, they slept in certain rooms of the *selamlık* and in reception rooms set aside for this very purpose.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the people who spent day and night in their *tekkes* were not the only ones to determine what went on in these establishments. In fact, many people living outside the dervish lodge participated in its life, and thus one can identify a “fourth circle”, comprising married dervishes, candidates for admission to the order (*muhibs*), and sympathizers, who regularly frequented the *tekkes*, as we shall see in the following case study.

Investigating the details of the *tekkes'* inner lives during the Ottoman period is more difficult, due to the limits of the available sources. Of course, acts of foundation (*vakfiyyes*) provide some information; these documents specify the localities in which the relevant lodge and its revenue-producing properties were situated and also contain brief descriptions enumerating the different types of rooms as well as the names of the religious staff, often with data concerning the latter's functions, salaries, and incomes.<sup>12</sup> Travelers' descriptions also provide valuable bits of information, especially about architecture and the enactment of ritual ceremonies. Furthermore, surviving edifices constitute historical evidence in themselves. From another perspective, the observation of *tekkes* that are still active today can be useful, as long as one allows for the inevitable changes that have occurred in the course of time. But the most revealing sources about the world of the *tekkes* are doubtless the texts written by *tarikāt* members themselves: books of legends (*menakıbnâmes*), collections of miscellaneous texts owned by different *şeyhs* (*mecmuas*), and diaries of people associated with a given *tekke*.<sup>13</sup>

In the present paper, I shall use the work written by the last *şeyh* of one of the most prestigious dervish lodges of the Ottoman capital, namely the *tekke* of Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi. The author held office at the time when the der-

11 Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société*: 349.

12 As an example, see the description obtained, thanks to the *tabrîr defteri* of 953/1546, of the Imrahor Tekkesi in Yedikule: Clayer, “Un établissement de derviches stambouliote...”, 40.

13 See, for example, the study by Carter V. Findley concerning the memoirs of Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim: “Social dimensions of the Dervish Life, as seen in the memoirs of Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim,” *Economie et sociétés dans l'Empire ottoman*: 131-43.

vish orders were closed down in 1925, and his book is titled *Envar-ı Hazret-i Nureddin Cerrahi* (The Lights of His Excellency Nureddin Cerrahi). Written in the mid-twentieth century, it has not been published. It is thanks to the present *şeyh* that I could obtain a copy of the typescript, which constitutes a transcription, in Latin characters, of the original manuscript, apparently now lost.<sup>14</sup>

Although presented by its author as a *menakıbnâme*, the book is not really what is commonly understood by this term, namely a collection of saints' legends and miracles. It is more like a collection of biographies (*tabakat*) covering the *tekke's* *şeyhs* and their deputies (*balıfes*), accompanied by an introduction explaining the *tarikat* rules. The interest of the work lies in the fact that its author, Şeyh İbrahim Fahreddin Şevki, has used several kinds of sources: older *menakıbnâmes*, *şeyhs'* spiritual genealogies (*silsilenâmes*), documents confirming the right of a given dervish to spread the teachings of his order (*icazetnâmes*), oral tradition, but also *vakfiyyes*, imperial orders, and other documents once kept in the archives of the Nureddin Cerrahi lodge but not at present available to researchers, if indeed they survive. With the help of this rich material, it is possible to describe some features of life in an Istanbul *tekke* during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

#### *A case study: the Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi Tekkesi in Istanbul*

The *tekke* of Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi was founded in 1703 through the conversion of a house in the Karagümrük quarter, near the Edirne Gate, in old Istanbul. Between 1761 and 1774 and, after an interruption of about thirty years, from 1805 until the closure of all dervish establishments in 1925, it remained in the hands of the same family, that of Şeyh Yahya Moravî. The *tekke* became the *asitâne*, the main and central establishment of the network of a newly created Halvetiyye branch, namely the Cerrahiyye, which spread mainly in the Ottoman capital and in Morea.<sup>15</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century, it had turned into one of the largest *tekkes* in Istanbul. According to Klaus Kreiser's study, with 22 male inhabitants around 1868, it belonged to the small minority of *tekkes*, no more than 8 percent in all, with more than 20 resi-

14 I am greatly in Şeyh Sefer's debt for having given me access to the typescript. I thank him respectfully for this kindness and for making me welcome in the *tekke*.

15 About the Cerrahiyye, cf. Şenay Yola, *Scheich Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi und sein Orden, 1721-1925* (Berlin, 1982). Concerning more particularly its expansion in the Balkans, see Clayer, *Mystiques, état et société*: 256-59 and index.





dent dervishes (*bücrenişins*).<sup>16</sup> In 1885-86, 13 men and 14 women were living in this establishment.<sup>17</sup> Apart from its size, the Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi Tekkesi was also a religious center of considerable reputation, richly endowed by the sultans.

İbrahim Fahreddin's work provides data on various aspects of life in this *tekke*. We will divide them into three categories: beginning with buildings, material objects, and food; continuing with a discussion of the inhabitants; and finally considering the everyday life of the lodge. Whatever material information İbrahim Fahreddin's book contains is linked, in most cases, to the religious endowments (*vakıfs*) or other pious donations accruing to the establishment. The donors were mainly *şeyhs* of the *tekke*, influential persons of the Ottoman administration, sultans, or members of the imperial family. It was, to a great extent, through *vakıfs* that the buildings were regularly constructed, repaired, restored, and improved. In 1180/1766-67, the *sadrâzam* Muhsinzâde Mehmed Paşa, who was a *halife* of Şeyh Yahya Moravî, had a new building constructed "in the old style" (*tarz-ı atik üzre*).<sup>18</sup> Sixteen years later, the *tekke* was destroyed during a major fire that ravaged the entire area of Balat. The *şeyh*, his family, and his dervishes, that is to say all the inhabitants of the lodge, had to move to another Cerrahî *tekke*, finding a home in the Sertarikzâde Tekkesi, in the Nişancı quarter. But this establishment soon went up in flames as well, and so another move became necessary, this time to the house of the *tekke*'s *imam*, near the Kariye Camii. There *şeyhs* and dervishes lived and performed their religious duties for approximately one year, until donations from *tarikat* members had made possible the reconstruction of the *türbe*, of a kiosk (*küşke*) in front of it for the performance of the order's rituals, and of a room for the dervishes. This was only a temporary solution, and in 1199-1200/1784-86, the Galata Voyvodası, an influential member of the Ottoman administration, ordered the construction of a *tevhidhane* and cells (*bücerat*).<sup>19</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, the *tekke* began to enjoy the Sultan's favor as well. As a result, the lodge was renovated and embellished approximately every twenty years. In 1233/1817-18, Mahmud II issued an order (*irade*) for the reconstruction of the *türbe*, the *tevhidhane*, and the *bücerat*, as well as the building of an imperial pew or gallery (*mahfil-i hümayun*). The Sultan himself was present at

16 See Kreiser, "Medresen und Derwischkonvente...": 116; Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci Evkaf No 6290/1, fols. 174-75.

17 According to the Ottoman statistics mentioned supra, in footnote No 2.

18 *Envar-ı Hazret-i Nureddin Cerrahi*, vol. II: 88.

19 *Envar*, vol. II: 114-116.



the inauguration, which took place in the same year, during the holy night known as *Berat gecesi*.<sup>20</sup> On a later visit, in 1251/1835-36, Mahmud II ordered the restoration of the *selamlık* and the construction of a new *harem dairesi* on the site of an adjacent house.<sup>21</sup> Sultan Abdülmecid followed the example of his predecessor. In 1274/1857-58, he issued an *irade* ordering extensive repairs to the *tevhidhane* and part of the *harem dairesi*, while the *hiicerat* were demolished and completely rebuilt.<sup>22</sup> New repairs were underway in 1300/1882-83, while, mainly thanks to a gift from Sultan Abdülhamid II, a new roof was built over the *türbe* and the *tevhidhane* in 1311/1893-94. At this same time, the external walls also underwent extensive repairs and were painted and decorated; in addition, the *hiicerat* were also restored and repainted. The same sultan ordered the demolition of the old *harem dairesi* and its complete reconstruction; this project also involved the provision of new furnishings (*mevzuşat*), and modernization extended to the *hiicerat* as well. All these transformations occupied the space of two years.<sup>23</sup>

It was also often through *vakıfs* that the *tekke* was able to undertake minor repairs, light candles and oil lamps in the *türbe* and *tevhidhane*, install water pipes, repair or replace the courtyard's *şadırvan*, and pay for various embellishments. For example, Şeyh İbrahim Efendi (d. 1193/1779) donated a house of his own, located near the Balat Gate, to a pious foundation with the following purposes: the replacement of the headdresses (*tac*) and the turbans on the tombs of Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi and Şeyh Veliyüddin as well as those on the donor's own future grave whenever these ornaments would begin to disintegrate with age; the placing of candles every evening at the head of the first-mentioned two tombs and an oil lamp in front of Şeyh İbrahim's own grave; the payment to the guardian of the mausoleum (*türbedar*) of four *arşın* (about 2.7 m.) of cloth annually to make himself a vest (*hırka*); and the undertaking of minor repairs within the *tekke*.<sup>24</sup> In 1246/1830-31, the *şeyh* of the time installed new water pipes made of lead and covered with bricks and mortar, which brought water from Karagümrük to the *tekke*, while a woman dervish from the community had a large marble *şadırvan*, made from a single block, set up in the courtyard.<sup>25</sup>

20 *Envâr*, vol. II: 196.

21 *Envâr*, vol. II: 212.

22 *Envâr*, vol. II: 273.

23 *Envâr*, vol. II: 274.

24 *Envâr*, vol. II: 110.

25 *Envâr*, vol. II: 211.

Some years later, thanks to the donation of an *ayan* from Köstendil in today's Bulgaria, who was a *tarikât* member, further embellishments were made. These included marble borders framing the tombs, in addition to wrought iron railings and gratings, some of them decorated with gold stars.<sup>26</sup> The mother of Sultan Abdülmecid, Bezm-i Alem Sultan, had coverings made for the sarcophagi, and presented two huge candlestick-shaped chandeliers, made in France, as well as other candlesticks for the *türbe*. A fixed annual quantity of candles and oil for the lamps was included in this gift.<sup>27</sup> In 1323/1905-06, following the sale of the goods of a deceased dervish, in accordance with the latter's will, new iron water pipes were laid from Karagümrük to the *tekke*.<sup>28</sup>

It was again through religious endowments that certain quantities of food were provided to the kitchen. The food consumed far exceeded the amount needed by those living in the *tekke*, or to be exact, of the first "three circles" of its inhabitants. In fact, as in every *tekke*, meals were constantly offered to *tarikât* members or sympathizers living outside, as well as to visitors and the poor. Thus, for example, Şeyh Yahya Moravî gave the establishment 50 *kile* (1,825 kg) of rice and the same quantity of wheat annually, in the form of a *vakıf*.<sup>29</sup> In 1224/1809-10, Sultan Mahmud II assigned the *tekke* 6 *kıyye* (7.8 kg) of mutton daily. In the following years, he issued two other sultanic commands (*fermans*) granting 2 *kile* (73 kg) of salt daily and 50 *kile* of rice, as well as 50 *kile* [1825 kg] of wheat and 50 *kile* [1825 kg] of barley annually.<sup>30</sup> The wife of the aforementioned *ayan* of Köstendil donated a garden and a mill in the shape of a pious foundation to provide food for the *tekke's fukara* and olive oil for the lamps lit in the *türbe* every night.<sup>31</sup> Someone else endowed the *tekke* with eight double flat breads (*gıft folla*) daily from the foundation of Sultan Bayezid II (Beyazıt İmareti).<sup>32</sup>

26 Envar, vol. II: 216.

27 Envar, vol. II: 219-20.

28 Envar, vol. II: 124-26.

29 Envar, vol. II: 88. Şeyh Yahya possessed several rural holdings (*çiftlik*s) in Morea; his son Şeyh Abdüşşekur, when he succeeded to his father at the head of the *tekke*, gave as a *vakıf* 30 *çiftlik*s belonging to him in Morea, in order to provide food to the *tekke's fukara* (Envar, vol. II: 106).

30 Envar, vol. II: 195-96.

31 Envar, vol. II: 273-74.

32 Envar, vol. II: 309.

It was also through an endowment of 2,000 volumes, the generous gift of Şeyh Yahya Moravî, that the *tekke*'s library was enriched; however the books were later destroyed in the fire of Balat.<sup>33</sup> Other repairs, decorations, and provisions were not financed by way of *vakıfs*, but through smaller donations from dervishes, people having received a first initiation (*murids*), or sympathizers, especially on the occasion of visits to the *türbe*. Part of the *tekke*'s mural ornamentation consisted of calligraphic designs on wooden boards (*levhas*), created by *tarikat* members, *şeyhs* or dervishes proficient in this art.<sup>34</sup>

The last detail given by İbrahim Fahreddin in connection with the material life of the *tekke* concerns the lodge's brazier-based heating system. Although the story is a legend (*menkabe*) glorifying Şeyh Veliüddin, the *halife* who succeeded Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi as head of the *tekke*, the scenario is credible, apart from the miraculous ending. It was winter, so the story goes; a dervish had lit a fire in a brazier (*mangal*) and placed it in the middle of the *şeyh*'s room (*şeyh hücresi*) where Şeyh Veliüddin was sitting. The latter, observing that the charcoal (*kömiir*) was not well lit, emptied the brazier into the skirt of his *birka* and picked out the smoldering pieces of charcoal from the embers with his hand.<sup>35</sup>

İbrahim Fahreddin's book also provides information about the *tekke*'s inhabitants. The "inner circle" consisted of the *şeyh* and his family. In the first years of the establishment's history, before the *şeyh*'s succession became hereditary, whenever the latter resigned, he and his family also vacated the lodging, which was turned over to the new head of the *tekke*. When a *şeyh* had died, the same thing was expected of his widow and children.<sup>36</sup> But in 1805, the *tekke* fell definitively into the hands of Şeyh Yahya's family, whose members lived in the establishment until 1925. Thus the *tekke* became the theater of the births, lives, weddings, and deaths of members of the sheikly family, and their last resting places were also in the *tekke* compound.<sup>37</sup>

İbrahim Fahreddin describes above all the deaths and burial ceremonies as in the case of two *postnişins*. One of them had died while in spiritual seclusion,

33 Envar, vol. II: 88.

34 See, for example, Envar, vol. II: 304.

35 Envar, vol. II: 1.

36 See Envar, vol. II: 71.

37 When a child was born, the *şeyh* used to note the time of its birth in his collection of texts (*mecmua*) (Envar, vol. II: 239). Wedding ceremonies also seem to have taken place in the *tekke*, our source referring to the third marriage of Şeyh Abdülaziz Zihni (Envar, vol. II: 235).

that is in the *halvethane*, and the other while participating in the *zikir*.<sup>38</sup> The funerals and related ceremonies held within the establishment will not be described in detail here; a few words must suffice. After having been washed (*gastıl*), the corpse was placed in the *tevbidhane*. Prayers and the *zikir* were recited, then the body was transported to the Mosque of Fatih for a ritual prayer (*namaz*). While the funeral itself took place in the *tekke*, the corpses of the *seyhs*, and also those of their wives and children, including those who had died young, were buried not in the cemetery, but in the *türbe* itself. This was followed by forty days of prayers and rituals.

The family quarters, known as the *harem dairesi*, were directed by a woman, generally the *seyh*'s wife.<sup>39</sup> After the deaths of Şeyh Abdülaziz Zihni's first two spouses, his sister helped manage this part of the compound.<sup>40</sup> The family's adult women had a special role to play within the *tekke*. This was not confined to the smooth running of the *haremlık*, but appears to have extended to life in the *selamlık* as well: the reception of *tarikât* members, guests, and the poor was part of the senior women's responsibilities. When Şeyh Muhammed Rizaeddin married a young girl of thirteen, the four adult women living in the establishment trained her to perform the *fukara valideliği*, the service of being "mother to the poor and the dervishes".<sup>41</sup> What exactly was a *fukara validesi* or *valide baci* expected to do? İbrahim Fahreddin's work unfortunately does not give us any details on that subject.

The "second circle" of *tekke* denizens was largely made up of resident dervishes. A few such persons resided in the Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi Tekkesi, permanently or for long periods of time. They performed special duties or services (*hizmet*) in a very precise and regular manner, according to the fixed rules that governed both the religious and everyday lives of the group. There were thirteen other offices or duties besides that of the *postnişin*, held by the *seyh* himself. In addition to the *sertarik* or *seyh*'s deputy, there was the *aşçı* responsible for the kitchen, a duty which generally fell to one of the *seyh*'s sons or to one of

38 *Envâr*, vol. II: 123, 167.

39 Apparently it was not very common for the *seyhs* of the *tekke* to have more than one wife at the same time. Şeyh Abdülaziz Zihni (d. 1270 [1854]) had three wives, but successively. His elder son, Şeyh Yahya Galib (d. 1315 [1897-98]), had two wives, but the second was much younger than the first one, and the two marriages were twenty years apart. His younger son, Muhammed Rizaeddin (d. 1331 [1913]), had only one wife.

40 *Envâr*, vol. II: 235.

41 *Envâr*, vol. II: 319-20.

those most senior in the service of the *tarikât*.<sup>42</sup> Together with the *postnişin*, these two dignitaries formed the *üçler meydanı*, charged with responding to the *tekke*'s spiritual needs. The *şakirbaşı* or head of the chanters during the *şikirs*, the *imam* or prayer leader, the *meydançı* or censer bearer during the ceremonies, and the *türbedar* or guardian of the mausoleum, together with the first-mentioned three dignitaries, made up the *yediler meydanı* dealing with the *tekke*'s administration. They were assisted by the *kapucu*, in charge of opening and closing the doors; the *asadar*, or bearer of a ceremonial staff; the *kahve nakibi*, responsible for the coffee service; the *paşacı*, who attended to the shopping; the *çırağcı*, responsible for lighting the candles; the *ferraş*, or sweeper; and the *saki*, responsible for the distribution of water. All these people, together with the seven aforementioned officers, constituted the *ondörtler meydanı*; the members of this extended council settled questions concerning *tarikât* members.<sup>43</sup>

It seems that these fourteen offices or duties were performed either by celibate dervishes living in the *tekke* or – probably in most instances – by married men who, while not spending the nights in the lodge, served the establishment throughout the day, thus comprising the “fourth circle” defined above.<sup>44</sup> İbrahim Fahreddin gives a few examples of bachelors, for instance Şeyh Ahmed Hayreddin, son of a Rifa’î *şeyh* from Bosnia, who performed several services in the *tekke*, rising to the rank of *meydançı*. Though he was offered the direction of another establishment, he refused in order to stay in the *tekke*, where he died in 1286/1869-70.<sup>45</sup> Another case is that of a certain Şeyh İbrahim Efendi, who, officiating as a *kahve nakibi*, then as a *meydançı*, did not

42 *Envâr*, vol. I: 77. See also the description of the role of an *aşçı* in another *tekke* “as a manager of the dervish meeting hall”, according to the memoirs analyzed by Findley, “Social dimensions of the Dervish Life...”: 133-34.

43 *Envâr*, vol. I: 74. There is also a *kırklar meydanı*, assembly of the forty, which consisted of the fourteen office-holders (*bizmetnişin*) just mentioned, and in addition, 26 other *tarikât* members, that is to say dervishes frequenting the *tekke*. This assembly dealt with important affairs (*umur-u mühimme*) concerning the establishment and the community.

44 Maybe some of them who had work to do in the outside world were present on certain days only, or else merely in the mornings and evenings. Thus Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim, who was *aşçı* in a *tekke* and “accomplished his duties by coming to the *dergâh* every morning, before reporting to his bureau, and by returning after the end of his workday and remaining until midnight” (Findley, “Social dimensions of the Dervish Life...”: 134).

45 *Envâr*, vol. II: 285.

leave the *tekke* until his death in 1312/1894-95.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, the author explains how Şeyh Mustafa Naci Efendi, son of the Suyolcubaşı Ali Ağa, who became a *hizmetnişin*, lived in the establishment until his marriage, when he moved into a house of his own. However, Mustafa Naci continued to perform his duties in the *tekke* every day, from the early morning prayer (*sabahi*) until the night prayer two hours after sunset (*yatsı*).<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, it is worth noting that the typescript contains no evidence of married dervishes living permanently within the confines of the *tekke*, apart from members of the *şeyh*'s family.

A special position among the resident dervishes was held by the *şeyh*'s sons. When still quite young, they were entrusted with various services.<sup>48</sup> İbrahim Fahreddin himself participated in the ritual ceremony (*mukabele*) for the first time at the age of six. When he was eleven years old, he officiated as *kahve nakibi*; then, at the age of fourteen, having become a dervish, he was promoted to the office of *çırağı*, and a short while later, he was made deputy *aşçı*. At the age of fifteen, he became *türbedar*, and four years later, already nominated *halife*, he acceded to the office of *aşçı*.<sup>49</sup> His elder brother had been *meydancı*, *türbedar*, *pazarıcı*, and finally *aşçı*.<sup>50</sup> This last duty, as we have seen, was generally reserved for the *şeyh*'s sons.

The "third circle" of *tekke* inhabitants, as defined above, also included temporary residents. İbrahim Fahreddin cites the case of Muhammed Feridüddin, son of a Halveti *şeyh* from Üsküp/Skopje (in Macedonia), who came to the Ottoman capital to pursue his studies. This young provincial lodged in the Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi Tekkesi, probably through some "dervish connections". He stayed there for a few years, during which time he studied religious sciences in Fatih, while participating in both the ceremonial and

46 *Envar*, vol. II: 291. A third case of a bachelor who inhabited the *tekke* until his death is given in *Envar*, vol. II: 327-28.

47 See *Envar*, vol. II: 247-48.

48 This did not prevent the boys from following courses given outside, either in religious schools or by independent masters. Sometimes they were accompanied by a dervish of the *tekke*. For explanations concerning this point, I am extremely grateful to Dilek Desai, as well as for the corrections that she has graciously made to the text of this paper.

49 *Envar*, vol. II: 339 ff.

50 *Envar*, vol. II: 323. The list held by this dervish as given by İbrahim Fahreddin seems to be in the reverse order, since the service of the *meydancı* was higher in the spiritual hierarchy than the others mentioned here.

everyday lives of the *tekke*. Thus he became *halife* before returning to his home country to spread the *tarikât*.<sup>51</sup> In fact, this young man was positioned between the second and third circles of *tekke* denizens. İbrahim Fahreddin's work is not detailed enough to inform us about those outside visitors who stayed for shorter periods of time, but such temporary residents certainly existed.

As for the "fourth circle", that of married dervishes, *muhib*, and sympathizers, who regularly frequented the *tekkes*, I have already mentioned the significance of the married dervishes who, though living outside the *tekke* walls, could play a central role in the lives of the institutions which they frequented. İbrahim Fahreddin's book also mentions others who regularly visited the *tekke*, but does not detail them individually.

The everyday lives of all these people living within and around the *tekke* was punctuated by prayers and ritual ceremonies. There were three high points, one in the morning and two in the evening, when the power of the mystical experience was made visible to all attending. Every morning, one hour before the first prayer (*sabah*), the *şeyh* descended from the *harem dairesi* into the *tekke*, calling his followers to prayer and shouting "Ya Hu". Then he sat on his sheepskin (*post*) in the *meydan odası*, waiting for the dervishes to perform their ablutions. At that time, the *kapucu dede* ritually opened the *tekke*'s main gate, first the right wing, then the left one, while reciting prayers; this was done to permit those dervishes living in town to enter. The morning ritual (*sabah usûlü*) took place in the *tevhidhane*.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, the *aşşam usûlü* began half an hour before the evening prayer (*aşşam*). Between this evening ceremonial and the call to prayer itself, the *türbedar* and the *çırağcı dede* lit the candles in the *türbe*, while reciting prayers.<sup>53</sup> After the *aşşam* prayer, the *meydançı dede* shouted "Ya Hu": this was the signal to go to eat; meanwhile, the *ferraş dede* laid out the *sofra* in the dining room.

Then followed the ritual handwashing that preceded any meal: the *ferraş* began by pouring water onto the hands of the man standing to the right of the *postnişin*, and then moved along the line, always to the right; thus the *postnişin* himself was the last to be served. Thereafter, all those assembled sat down. The dervishes were not permitted to take food from the copper dish in the center of the serving tray (*sofra*) before the *şeyh* and other persons of rank had begun their

51 See *Envar*, vol. II: 333.

52 *Envar*, vol. I: 87-91. As we are here concerned with daily life, I shall not describe the dervishes' religious ceremonies, generally consisting of the recitation of the prayers specific to the order (*virid*), the required prayers (*namaz*) themselves, and finally the *zikir*. For more information, see for example *Envar*, vol. I: 87-90.

53 *Envar*, vol. I: 91-92.



meal. While eating, the dervishes and guests did not look at one another's faces, and it was forbidden to gnaw bones. When one of the men was drinking water, the others had to remove their hands from the dish and wait for him to finish. When meat was eaten, water was not drunk, because the Prophet is said to have forbidden the simultaneous consumption of these two substances. At the end of the meal, prayers were recited, and hands were once again washed, but this time the *ferraş* began with the *postnişin*. The day finally drew to a close with the ceremony known as the *yatsı usûlü*, which took place after the last nighttime prayer (*yatsı*).<sup>54</sup>

Monday was a special day for the Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi Tekkesi. After the morning rituals (*sabah usûlü*), the *hizmetnişin*s carried out their duties. At noon, a meal was served to the dervishes and other persons present. The *şeyh*, sitting on a sheepskin in the *şeyh odası*, received the guests and dervishes and spoke to them. Beside him sat the *sertarik*, the *zakirbaşı*, the *aşçı*, and the *imam*, while the *kapucu dede* stood by the door. If there was a crowd present, the *sertarik*, the *zakirbaşı*, and the *aşçı* had separate rooms in which they too could receive guests. Then came the time of the noon prayer (*öğle namazı*), but before that, the *şeyh* retired to the *harem dairesi* to perform his ritual ablutions. Finally, between this prayer and the next one (*ikindi namazı*), the *zikir* ceremony took place.<sup>55</sup> Of course, there were also special observances during the month of Ramadan and on sacred nights such as the *Berat* and *Kadir geceleri*.

Apart from these highly charged religious moments, İbrahim Fahreddin's book gives little information about the inner life of the *tekke*. We know of the existence of mystical initiation and training, meetings for spiritual discussion (*sohbet meclisleri*), sessions at which coffee was drunk, and the like. Presumably on these occasions, and in the everyday life of the *tekke* as well, there was a certain code of conduct that the inhabitants of the "four circles" had to observe as part of the *âdab*, the customs and observances of their particular *tarikât*. These included kneeling, remaining relatively silent in the presence of the *şeyh*, and other marks of respect.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Envar*, vol. I: 92-93.

<sup>55</sup> *Envar*, vol. I: 94-95.

<sup>56</sup> *Envar*, vol. I: 32, 45.

### *Concluding observations*

Rather than drawing conclusions from this particular case study alone, I shall offer some more general remarks. As far as the functional structure of the Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi Tekkesi is concerned, our written source shows that the typical setup, in which the *türbe* and *tenbidhane* held a central position, was replicated in this *tekke* as well. On the other hand, the author did not mention the kitchen (*aş evi*) at all, except in a certain miracle story (*menkabe*), according to which one of the *tekke*'s *şeyhs* did the cooking himself.<sup>57</sup> Yet it appears that the position of the *aşçı*, or head of the kitchen, was one of the most important in the hierarchical spiritual organization of the *tekke* community and was incumbent on one of the *şeyh*'s sons or at least one of the senior dervishes. Around the mausoleum, meeting room, and kitchen, which shared in the holiness of the religious observances taking place within them, were located the usual components of well-appointed Ottoman houses: the *selamlık*, along with several *hüccerat*, and the *bahçelik*, about whose spatial setup we have no information at all.

The regular embellishment, renovation, and even reconstruction of the Nureddin Cerrahi Tekkesi indicated the support and devotion of influential people, including sultans, to the *tarikât*, its saints and its *şeyhs*. In this context, the status of the *tekke* as an *asilane*, that is to say the main establishment of the Cerrahiyye network, also mattered. Due to this special role, the *tekke*'s life involved a great number of people residing both inside and outside the establishment. Devotional life was governed by a strict spiritual hierarchy, a clear-cut allocation of duties (*hizmet*), and a code of conduct to be followed at specific times, such as during meals, spiritual conversations, meetings, and even while just circulating within the buildings of the *tekke*.

The establishment required fourteen men to perform the services that secured its proper functioning. As we have seen, some of these people, headed by the *şeyh*, stayed in the *tekke* night and day. Others were present only during daytime, from *sabah* until *yatsı* prayers, while yet others devoted only part of the day to the affairs of the dervishes. İbrahim Fahreddin specified that not enough people were available to perform all the ritual services in smaller *tekkes* (*zaviyes*) of the Cerrahiyye. In such places, the number of *hizmetnişin*s was reduced to five: a *postnişin* who also performed the duties of *sertarık*, *aşçı*, *imam*, *türbedar*, and *pazaracı*, a *zakirbaşı*, a *meydançı* who was also the *ferraş*, a *kapıcu* who at the same

---

57 *Envar*, vol. II: 5.

time served as the *asadar* and as the *sâki*, and finally a *kahve nakibi*.<sup>58</sup> According to the available documentation, there were six *bücrenişins* in the Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi Tekkesi around 1820, and 22 male inhabitants, including men and boys belonging to the *şeyh*'s family, around 1868. The Ottoman statistics of 1885-86 show the *tekke* to have had 13 male and 14 female residents.<sup>59</sup>

If we assume that, except for members of the *şeyh*'s family, no married dervishes lived in the *tekke*, these latter figures call for some discussion. For after all, they allow us to pose and answer an important question: was the *tekke* primarily a place for an "open" religious community, with members living both inside and outside the establishment? Or was it rather the living quarters of a family, namely that of the *şeyh*? As we have learned from the account of Şeyh İbrahim Fahreddin, it was doubtless both things at the same time. And this was the peculiarity of the *tekke* as an institution, which resembled neither a monastery or *medrese*, nor a family mansion. This does not mean, however, that some dervish establishments, inhabited by a considerable number of bachelors in addition to a sheikly family, cannot be compared to monasteries or *medreses* from one point of view, or to simple family dwellings when regarded from another. The amalgamated structure of the Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi Tekkesi permitted the coexistence of both types of life. On the one hand, we find a "composite" religious community, made up of those serving full time or part time, according to their means and inclinations. On the other hand, we are confronted with the presence of a family possessing a special status in this community.

58 *Envar*, vol. 1: 78. İbrahim Fahreddin does not mention the *şırağat* service, certainly by mistake.

59 See the references given in footnotes 1, 2 and 16.



# PASTIRMACI YOKUŞU NO: 7, BALAT-ISTANBUL THE STORY OF A MANSION DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES\*

Emre Yalçın\*\*

For about sixteen hundred years, Istanbul was an often glorious capital, first to the late Roman, then to the Byzantine, and finally to the Ottoman Empire, and even today, this role is not really at an end. For Istanbul has reasserted itself as the economic and cultural capital of present-day Turkey, leaving to Ankara a centrality strictly confined to no more than the political sector. Yet in its urban structure, the evidence of this rich and varied past, both remote and fairly recent, remains quite limited. Monumental buildings such as mosques and to a lesser degree churches and sultanic palaces do exist, but they reflect only the public life of the city. Unfortunately, surprisingly few examples of Ottoman residences survive, with the admittedly rather special buildings of the Topkapı Sarayı practically our only examples from the period before 1700.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the barriers to our understanding of domestic life in Istanbul are formidable, as we have to rely largely on extremely fragmentary written evidence.<sup>2</sup> The oldest surviving house in the city is a summer residence on the Bosphorus coast, Köprülü Yalısı, built in ca. 1699. In spite of the attention it has drawn, both because of its relative antiquity and its beauty and elegance, today it is

---

\* I am grateful to my ancestors who lived in this house for their eagerness to safeguard the historical evidence they had themselves produced. I can never thank them enough for the memories they had inherited from their own parents and grandparents and took the trouble to share with me.

\*\* National Geographic Turkey.

1 Compare the article by Stéphane Yérasimos in the present volume.

2 For a study of the early eighteenth-century habitat of Yeniköy, to the north of Istanbul on the shores of the Bosphorus, see Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus" (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Ph.D. thesis, 1988).

ready to collapse from sheer neglect.<sup>3</sup> Like other surviving eighteenth and nineteenth-century buildings, the Köprülü Yalısı was built as the residence of viziers. There are no such early examples in the intramural city, where the historical building stock typically belongs to the late nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> For great fires frequently damaged large parts of the city, and from the mid-1800s on, in the aftermath of such disasters, entire districts were rebuilt according to new street plans. Given the accumulation of these restructuring projects, *intra-muros* Istanbul consists of Ottoman (and sometimes Byzantine) monumental structures, set in an urban plan designed entirely in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>5</sup>



Ill. 1. *The house in 1934, soon after the repairs*

- 
- <sup>3</sup> For published information, compare Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (repr. New York, 1992): 364-65.
- <sup>4</sup> Tülay Artan, "The Kadirga Palace Shrouded by the Mists of Time," *Turica* XXVI (1994): 55-124, attempts the reconstruction of the history of what was probably the palace of the Sokollu family.
- <sup>5</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle, London, 1986): 49-81.

The subject of this article, a large wooden house – or rather a small mansion, located on the street known as Pastırmacı Yokuşu no: 7 in Istanbul's inner city district of Balat – is one of the rare surviving examples of early-nineteenth-century residences in Istanbul. Regrettably, the date of its original construction is not known. However, as a rare piece of good fortune, the inhabitants of the building and its spatial organisation are very well documented from the mid-nineteenth century on, because the house has belonged to the same family, my own family to be exact, ever since the late 1860s (see ill. 1 above and plate D in the appendix).

### *Location*

Balat is one of the few relatively well-preserved historical districts of intramural Istanbul. It was a Jewish quarter from Byzantine times to the 1950s, when the Jews of Istanbul left their centuries-old districts, either for Israel or else for better-off neighbourhoods within the city itself. Although Balat was a predominantly Jewish quarter, it was not a ghetto and contained rather a mixed population: in addition to the Jews, at one or another stage of Balat's history, Armenians, Greeks, the Turkish-speaking Orthodox known as Karamanlıs, Bulgarians, Sinti, and Roma, as well as Turks inhabited this place. The residential buildings still standing today are major testimonies to this former ethnic mixity, for some of them bear religious symbols indicating the allegiance of a former owner. But in other respects, most of the streets of Balat are fairly uniform, being lined with rows of brick houses of fairly regular size and shape. These dwellings belong to the late nineteenth century and were most likely constructed after the great Balat fire of 1866. Today the district is for the most part a low-income neighbourhood, perhaps best known through some stories by the writer Füzûzan, and inhabited only by Turks, Sinti, and Roma.<sup>6</sup> For by the 1960s, most of the other ethnic groups had abandoned Balat.

The house on Pastırmacı Yokuşu is not one of these typical later nineteenth-century brick buildings, but rather a wooden mansion. It is situated on a steep slope connecting modest neighbourhoods in the lower part of Balat to wealthier areas atop Molla Aşki hill. Pastırmacı Yokuşu, the slope of the manufacturers of the dried and spiced beef known as *pastırma*, was also known to the local

---

<sup>6</sup> Füzûzan, *Kuşatma* (Ankara, 1972).

Jews as “Las Escaleras de la Kasturiya – The Steps of the Kasturiya (synagogue)”.<sup>7</sup>

The dense and poverty-stricken population of the low-lying zone mostly lived in simple brick houses and even less comfortable apartment buildings called *Yahudiâne* or ‘Jewish blocks’. The higher plateau of Molla Aşki was occupied by grand mansions in large gardens. Housing conditions on the slope were somewhere in between these two extremes. The houses on the Yokuş were much better than those of the Balat shoreland, but quite modest compared to those of the Molla Aşki neighbourhood. None of these grand mansions of the nineteenth century survives today, except for a small portion of the Mısırlılar (Egyptians’) mansion built of brick and stone. Several modern streets pass through the grounds of another once-opulent mansion, today no longer in existence that was owned by a Greek family named Paltis. This palatial structure was so enormous that it gave rise to the expression in the colloquial speech of the area: “to visit Paltis’ toilets is to go on a veritable outing”.<sup>8</sup> While less sumptuous, the house we will discuss here in some detail and to which the local authorities assigned the number 7, used to be the largest one on the Pastırmacı Yokuşu. The neighbouring houses were not as large, nor did they boast such impressive gardens.

### *Physical characteristics*

The roughly rectangular piece of land on which the house is situated lies on a terrace formed behind a Roman wall bearing decorative patterns similar to those found on the remnants of the city walls by the Golden Horn. The Roman wall, whose height varies from four to six meters, marks the southern boundary of the garden. Its northern limit is marked by another terrace wall of indeterminate origin, whose height varies from two to six meters. Behind this latter structure is a road, which bends at the north-eastern corner of the house and runs parallel to the Roman wall.<sup>9</sup> House and garden taken together cover a

<sup>7</sup> Marie-Christine Varol, “Balat, un faubourg juif d’Istanbul” (Istanbul, 1991). The author mentions the name of our street, but is not sure of location. For general background information compare also the journalistic account by Jak Deleon, *Balat ve Çevresi: Bir Semt Monografisi* (İstanbul, 1991). The author was born in Balat, and in his book, refers to childhood memories.

<sup>8</sup> Varol, “Balat, un faubourg juif d’Istanbul,”: 12.

<sup>9</sup> On the Byzantine structures in this area, compare Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Geschichte Istanbuls, Byzantion, Konstantinupolis: Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1977).



surface of about 890 square meters, with the house occupying the north-eastern corner of the land.

The dwelling itself consists of a massive building with three storeys and an extension consisting only of a ground floor. Apart from this extension, the house consists of about 90 square meters of habitable surface. There is a cistern on the southeastern corner. One of the two wells used to be located in the western part of the garden, while the other, still in existence, stands just in front of the main entrance of the *harem* section (see ill. 2). This latter well was equipped with a manual pump. There were also two small houses for the servants, one located just over the street across from the garden gate and the other on the southwestern corner of the property.



Ill. 2: *The well and its manual pump in front of the harem entrance, in the 1950s*

### *Early nineteenth-century origins*

After Tafilbos Paşa, the security chief of Istanbul, *İstanbul Muhafızı*, decided in the mid-nineteenth century to acquire a mansion, he bought two neighbouring houses on Pastırmacı Yokuşu, Balat. As we have seen, these were located on a terrace forming part of the slope overlooking the Golden Horn. The new owner had these houses reconstructed and reorganised, unfortunately leaving little evidence of the shape and size of these earlier buildings. In the course of

the twentieth century, the garden was excavated several times in order to install sewers and channels for the disposal of wastewater. No stone foundations were found anywhere else in the garden, so it is reasonable to conclude that the preceding buildings occupied roughly the same area as the existing dwelling.

These simple excavations, though undertaken without any claim to archaeological methods, do reveal some other pieces of evidence concerning the past of the house and its nearby surroundings. Faulty earthenware (see plate I) and tobacco pipes of the same material (see plate K) indicate the existence of a kiln, either on the property itself or somewhere nearby. These items were found on the north-eastern corner of the garden, where terrace walls collapsed in the 1894 earthquake and again in the 1940s. It was great fun for those who were children at the latter time to dig in the debris of the collapsed wall to find pipes of different shapes and sizes.

Tafilbos Paşa had ordered a modestly sized mansion. Yet both the sewer and sanitary water systems installed in this dwelling were probably better than those of most contemporary residences.<sup>10</sup> Sewers, locally named black channels, *kara kanal*, and constructed of stone slabs, still function with some later reinforcements and additions. With time, a continuous flow of dirty water has blackened the slabs and thus justified the name 'black channels'. These begin from toilets on the upper floor and descend to the ground floor and then through the garden, joining the main sewer under the Yokuş.

At least from the mid-nineteenth century on, the house had potable water, tapped from the ancient urban water system, Kırkçeşme Suları.<sup>11</sup> The system was constructed in the sixteenth century, gathering water from the Belgrade Forest and conveying it in pipes to the north of the city. It fed numerous public fountains in intramural Istanbul as well as palaces and grand mansions.<sup>12</sup> The availability of a domestic water supply indicates the privileged position of the owner of the house, since, in Istanbul, potable piped water in a domestic setting

<sup>10</sup> Hasan Z. Sarıkaya, Veysel Eroğlu, Attila Altay, "The History of Sewage Services in Istanbul," in: *Blickwechsel: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Wasserversorgung und Abwasserentsorgung in Berlin und Istanbul*, ed. Noyan Dinçkal, Sharooz Mohajeri (Berlin, 2001): 139-52.

<sup>11</sup> Kâzım Çeçen, *Mimar Sinan ve Kırkçeşme Tesisleri* (İstanbul, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> On the defects of these water channels around 1900 and the health problems resulting from this water, compare Arslan Terzioğlu, "Die Trinkwasserqualität in Istanbul nach Untersuchungen von Prof. Georg Deycke und Assistenzarzt Reschad (Riza)," in: *Blickwechsel*: 89-98.

was quite exceptional until the late nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> The mansion in Balat received its water through an uncovered channel attached to the main underground gallery traversing the area. This latter conduit came from the north, passed through the land belonging to the Egyptians' mansion, then under the Yokuş itself, and finally entered the house itself from the north-eastern corner.

The room where the water supply entered the Paşa's dwelling was called 'the water room', *su odası*, where one could always hear the gurgling sounds produced in the pipes. From this chamber, water was distributed through three



Ill. 3 A picture taken in the taşlık of the harem section in the early years of the 20th century, showing 'Maltese' stone pavement and mural ornaments

terra cotta pipes (see plate H). One of them fed the kitchen and the bath (*hamam*), while a fountain and a pool in the *selamlık* section were connected to the second one. The last pipe mainly supplied a cistern and the garden, filling a grotto (see plate E) and another pool (see plate F). There were no taps or other arrangements to control the water, which meant that the flow was continuous. Well water was used only for cleaning purposes, never for drinking or cooking.

Although its infrastructure was thus very elaborate and modern, the house itself looked quite ordinary. There were no ornaments on its façade and only a few on the inner walls. The only evidence of these latter decorations is a photograph taken in the early twentieth century (see ill. 3). However, some ornamentation was provided by marble fountains (see plate G) and niches scattered throughout the house; they will concern us at a later stage of this study. In spite of an overall sobriety,

<sup>13</sup> See Uğur Tanyeli's paper in the present volume.

the mansion was still remarkable in the quarter, and to the neighbours it must have looked like the crystal kiosk of Turkish fairy tales.<sup>14</sup> The Paşa most probably had benefited from the importation of relatively cheap glass panes from Europe: in every room, sets of windows lit up every possible wall.

### *The selamlık*

As a member of the Ottoman political establishment was expected to do, Tafilebos Paşa maintained a house consisting of two sections. While the *harem* was inhabited by women, children, and married men; the *selamlık* accommodated bachelor members of the household as well as male visitors. Grand mansions of the time used to have two different buildings for the *harem* and *selamlık*, yet in the Paşa's case, for unknown reasons, the two sections were situated under the same roof (see plate A for the ground floor plan).<sup>15</sup>

Male visitors to the Paşa's residence entered the *selamlık* through a spacious and impressive paved entrance hall (*taşlık*) with a pool, a sizeable fireplace, and a marble fountain ornamented with a star and crescent (see plate A). The ground was paved with the yellowish 'Maltese' stone common in Istanbul during that period. In short, visitors of the security chief of the capital encountered a setting that symbolised the power of the owner. On cold winter days, a fire must have blazed in the fireplace, and in all seasons, the hall was filled with the tinkling sound of the fountain, a rare luxury. Visitors who stayed a while were directed to either the middle or the upper floor. Although no direct evidence survives, the room on the eastern corner of the upper floor appears the most likely place for receiving important guests. It has windows on three sides, affording a singularly beautiful view of the Yokuş, the Golden Horn, Galata, and even the Topkapı Palace (see plates A - C for floor plans).

The middle and upper floors each contain two rooms, a toilet, and a small *sofa*, the latter term denoting the hall providing access to the rooms proper.<sup>16</sup> All chambers overlook the garden, and the view is almost the same in each case. Rooms adjacent to the *harem* section of the building are larger than their counterparts fronting the road, due to the irregularity of the land (See plates A - C) The larger rooms have walk-in closets, known as *yüklük*s. On the upper

<sup>14</sup> On *sırça köşk*, compare Wolfgang Eberhard, Pertev Naili Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen* (Wiesbaden, 1953): 215-16.

<sup>15</sup> On the plans of Istanbul 'great houses' of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, compare Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Istanbul, 1968): 158-89.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the article by Stéphane Yérasimos in the present volume.

floor, the façade of the *yiklik* is ornamented with niches capped by decorative arches. This feature, as we have seen, is almost the only ornament in this part of the house, except for the marble fountains located in the toilets and kitchen, and thus serves to emphasise the status of this floor as the *piano nobile*. Apart from their practical purpose as storage areas, *yiklik*s also served to protect family privacy; for these closets also hid the doors that provided access to the *harem* section.

### *The harem*

The section inhabited by the owner and his family is larger than the *selamlık*, containing a more extensive entrance hall distinguished by a small arcade. Although its walls were once ornamented with a painted design (see ill. 3), unlike its opposite number in the *selamlık*, the *taşlık* of the *harem* is quite plain. However, one of the most attractive features of the house used to be located in this space, namely a revolving cupboard, or *dönmedolap* (see plate A for its location). It was designed for the passage of food and beverages from the *harem* to the *selamlık* and the return of used dishes to the *harem*, while at the same time preventing physical or visual contact between the men and women involved in this service. A small narrow cupboard had been fixed on a revolving axis, while both sides of the apparatus were concealed by doors. Whoever operated this appliance loaded it from one side, turned it around, then closed the door and knocked to draw the attention of household members on the other side of the *harem-selamlık* divide. And as anyone can guess, it was also a great source of fun for the youngsters, who used it as a miniature merry-go-round.

The second notable feature of the *harem taşlık* was – and is – a gigantic underground earthenware jar. This item is located to the west of the entrance door. While its original purpose is not clear, it was most likely intended as a drinking-water tank; the older inhabitants of the house knew well that it was employed for this purpose after the 1870s. It was especially useful in the summertime for keeping water cool.

Functioning as an entrance hall, the *harem taşlık* also affords passage to the upper floors and service sections; the ground floor extension to the main building is also entered only through this hall. To the west of the *taşlık*, there is a small *sofa*, in addition to a room and a toilet. This section is separated from the remainder of the house by a door; a century ago, it was reserved for the use of servants and domestic slaves. For until the early 1900s, the service required by the Paşa, his family, and his guests was provided by numerous female slaves,

or *halayık*, as their owners used to call them (see plate A).<sup>17</sup> Adjacent to the room reserved for domestic slaves was also a small *gusülhane*, or bath closet.

Furthermore, the small *sofa* provides gave access to the extension located to the west of the house. As indicated by the poor quality of the construction and the lack of foundations, Tafilbos Paşa probably had this building constructed with materials left over from some other project, more or less as an after-thought. In addition to three storage rooms, a bath and a huge kitchen, this section contained a second *sofa*, which formed the hub of this part of the house. A gigantic arched fireplace was embedded in the northern terrace wall and the room boasted another marble fountain. A *sedir*, or built-in platform for sitting on, was located in front of the windows, affording a fine view of the garden.

Although we have no evidence concerning the manner in which this section was used in the Paşa's time, it was probably accessible both to *halayık* and to members of the family. Here people could rest after taking a bath in the *hamam*, and here they may have enjoyed a snack or beverage after bathing, or at any other time. This secondary *sofa* was most probably a space where domestic slaves could be comfortable and socialize when no member of the family was present. In addition, various tasks connected with cooking and serving meals were also performed here.

At the same time, it was the *sofa's* major function to provide access to other rooms, in this case the bath and a large kitchen. The bath was the only part of the house built of bricks, albeit with a wooden ceiling. This was a tiny chamber, measuring only 1.5 square meters. However, it housed one of the most elaborate marble furnishings of the entire dwelling, a basin (*kurna*) with an unusually curved baroque decoration. By contrast, the dimensions of the kitchen, at 24 square meters, were rather impressive. There was a large chimney embedded in the northern terrace wall, resembling that of the adjacent *sofa*. Water for the bath next door also was heated in this kitchen. As we have seen, potable water was piped into the house, with a special channel feeding a fountain set into the southern wall of the kitchen. As an important service space, the latter was adorned with two sizable windows and a gate opening into the garden. One of the two supporting pillars featured a bold stamp with the name 'Constantinople' on it, probably indicating the destination of the timber when the material was still in transport. We do not know how cooking was done and with what

<sup>17</sup> On slavery in the late Ottoman Empire, compare Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise, 1800-1909* (Houndsmills, 1996); Ehud Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle, London, 1998).

kind of equipment, because the kitchen was abandoned when the household could no longer afford domestic slaves.

As in the *selamlık*, the middle and upper floors of the *harem* section were organised in an identical fashion. A *sofa* in the eastern part was emphasised by means of a *çıkma* (see ill. 1 and plate D), a kind of covered balcony entered through an arcade. To the north of the *sofa*, adjacent to the northern terrace wall, we find the staircase leading to the upper floor. Two rooms were located to the west of the *sofa*, a smaller one on the southern side of the building and another, rather larger one to the north.<sup>18</sup> The northern room was used for storage purposes and called *sandık odası*, or chest-room. A *şabnişin* or small balcony had been installed next to the southern windows, while a *sedir* ran along the western wall. *Sedir* also formed part of the other two rooms, this time along the southern wall, which features windows overlooking the garden and the cityscape.

Sanitary installations on these floors included small toilets squeezed in between the staircase and the larger rooms. These were equipped with marble fountains fed by refillable water tanks. The fountain on the upper floor is a good example of late Ottoman baroque, adorned with the characteristic *saz* and leaf design (see plate E).<sup>19</sup> Toilets are in the Turkish style, with a hole connected to the sewer system, a small channel for draining and a raised platform to stand on. They are carved from single marble blocks.

On the upper floor, spatial organisation is very similar, the major difference being in the northern room. As already noted, this is more spacious than its counterpart, because the northern supporting wall is set back by more than one meter. Apart from an ordinary *gusülhane* or bathroom closet, there was a second small built-in chamber directly next to it, which served the same purpose, the floor being raised and covered with galvanised metal plates. As this room was not connected to the pipes supplying the house, cold and hot water had to be carried here by hand. The used water drained into the adjacent toilet.

### *The garden*

We have very little evidence of the organisation and usage of the large garden. All we know is that there were several fruit trees, rosebushes, and boxwoods, making the grounds into what was probably a typical but modest example of

<sup>18</sup> See Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, *passim* for numerous examples of this arrangement.

<sup>19</sup> On the *saz* as a decorative motif, see Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, New York, 1987): 57-72.



contemporary Ottoman gardens. Water was an important decorative element, a small grotto and a pool jet filling the garden with gurgling sounds. The most elaborate element was doubtless a *rodoskâri* pavement, i.e., Mediterranean-style pebble mosaics of the kind that can still be admired in the old town of Rhodes.<sup>20</sup> Since they were fixed in mud without any use of cement, they gradually decomposed and totally disappeared by the 1930s. The garden always housed a few pets and, in remote corners, even some poultry. Throughout the often difficult 1920s, the owners also kept a couple of goats, while dogs and cats were always part of the household.

### *Changes in usage and spatial arrangements*

Over time, the usage of these spaces and even their organisation gradually changed. When my family bought the house from the Paşa around 1860, they maintained the original usage of the available space without much alteration. But we do not know when the room on the ground floor of the *harem* section came to be reserved for domestic slaves. Originally there had been a separate house for servants located across the street, but the Paşa preferred to sell this to someone else. It is not even clear whether there were any domestic slaves in the house during Tafilbos Paşa's time, although it is very probable, given the customs of that period.

The first major change occurred after the great earthquake of 1894. A part of the northern terrace wall collapsed and the water channel immediately dried up. The family spent some weeks in the garden under tents made of rugs and carpets. When the time for rebuilding came, the owners of the property were able to reclaim their water right by means of a sultanic decree that had come to them along with the house. Shortly after the earthquake, a new water system was established, this time consisting of an underground channel following a course different from that of its predecessor. As a result, the water supply no longer entered the house through the old water room, and without the sounds of gurgling in the pipes, this formerly interesting chamber turned into quite an ordinary space. When the family had a new baby in 1905, they moreover filled in the pool in the entrance hall of the *selamlık*, to protect him from falling in and drowning.

Most probably, the fireplace was blocked at about the same time, as a new heating device, a stove, also was installed in the early twentieth century, changing the spatial organisation of the entire dwelling. Since fireplaces are not very

---

<sup>20</sup> These pebble mosaics still decorate the Old Town of Rhodes.



efficient heaters, the inhabitants up to this time had warmed themselves with the aid of charcoal grills, *mangal*, which, however, were effective only when one sat very close to them. But with stoves, the members of the household were introduced to the comfort of being able to heat entire rooms, and as a result, the *sofa* of the upper floor was converted into a living room by installing a new separator made of wood and glass. Now the family could gather in this spacious and warm place even on cold winter days, whereas before the introduction of the stove it had been just a drafty hallway.

Other new inventions were soon to gain entry as well. In the early 1920s, the radio gave its name to this newly created living space, which was now known as the *radyo odası* or radio room. A member of the family, Hüsnü Bey, who worked in the customs house, soon had the opportunity to become familiar with the radio, and he immediately acquired one (see ill. 4). It was installed

in this living room, now comfortably heated by a stove, and attracted visitors from all over Balat.

Hüsnü Bey, who was not only a radio enthusiast but also an *aficionado* of new technologies and inventions in general, owned a camera even as a young boy. He probably had inherited it from his step-grandfather. He converted a *gusülhane* into a dark room, which he used from the late 1910s to the 1950s, when he left his equipment to his son. The dark room was filled with tanks, bottles full of developers, boxes of both undeveloped and developed glass negatives and later on, undeveloped photographic paper.

Just before the introduction of the radio, the southern room on the upper floor was



Ill. 4: Hüsnü Yalçın and his radio in the late 1920s, in the *radio odası*, formerly the *sofa* of the third floor of the *harem*

redesigned as a place for a newly arrived bride to receive her guests. In the fashion of the day, it featured red curtains, red *sedir* covers, a French-style chest of drawers, six rattan-bottomed chairs, three tripods for holding ashtrays, and, on the floor, a European machine-woven rug. But a new and spacious living room was soon created in the *sofa* turned  *radyo odası*, where guests could be received, and when, in subsequent years, children arrived who needed their own rooms, this parlour was converted into a bedroom by the early 1930s.

Our house underwent a major spate of repairs in 1934. These were badly needed, since the structure had become quite dilapidated in the intervening eighty years. The method of repair employed was called *kafes tamiri*, 'carcass repair', of a type that was commonly used on Ottoman houses. Beginning with the façade, the wooden boards forming the walls were stripped away, including the inner coverings, leaving only the bare carcass standing. Then the broken or rotten parts of the carcass were replaced with new timbers, and after that, the boards forming the façade and the inner walls were once again put into place (see ill. 5).



Ill. 5: 1934 repairs in the front of the selamlık entrance

Both the spatial organisation and the façade were considerably altered during this *kafes tamiri*. Hüsnü Bey, as we have seen, favoured a more modern way of

living. In consequence, he removed all the built-in *sedirs*, despite great resistance from the elderly members of the family. As a compromise, Hüsnü Bey ordered a couple of *kerevets*, or movable *sedirs*, which could take the place of the former arrangements whenever somebody required them. In addition to adding to the Western-style furniture, which had already been arriving piecemeal in earlier decades, Hüsnü Bey also took the opportunity provided by the *kafes tamiri* to remove the wooden lattices from the *harem* windows, which, in a bygone age, had hidden the women from view (see ill. 6).



Ill. 6: *Façade of the house before the 1934 repairs. In the background to the right, see the entrance to the harem. The room formerly reserved for the halayık is situated to the left, and the wooden lattices are still in the windows.*

The *sofa* on the middle floor of the *harem* was converted into a room exactly similar to the upper floor *sofa*. One of the four windows on its southern façade was eliminated, and the remainder reconstructed. A similar alteration took place in the easternmost room on the middle floor of the *selamlık*, which was redesigned with two windows instead of the original three (see ill. 1). As for the upper *sofa* of the *harem*, the only window on its northern wall overlooking the street was condemned. Other characteristic features of the old house disappeared from the ground floor, including the closet in which the *halayık* had previously washed (*gusülhane*). However, under the thin plaster walls constructed at this time, the closet doorway remains intact. Yet at least from the present author's viewpoint, the greatest loss in the house was the revolving cupboard so beloved

by the children, which was replaced by an ordinary door.

Parts of the northern supporting wall, which was in terrible shape, were also provided with stronger supports. Both fireplaces in the extension building were

filled in and then disappeared in a new thick supporting wall. Since the old fireplaces and water heating system thus remained behind the new layer of supporting walls, a new fireplace and hot water tank were installed. The *sofa* of the extension was reorganised to form a small kitchen, since, with the disappearance of the *balayık* in the first decade of the twentieth century, it had lost its former functions and, in addition, meals were now being prepared on a less lavish scale. This former *sofa* became a living and dining room where the members of the family spent most of their time from the 1920s to the early 1960s, when, as we will see, most of them moved to other parts of the city.

The most striking innovation after the repairs of the early 1930s was the installation of electricity. Gasoline lamps, formerly in daily use, were relegated to the storeroom as emergency equipment for blackouts. Nor was the decorative potential ignored: a single bulb turned the garden into a safer and more pleasant place at night, and the family began to spend longer hours outdoors. Hüsni Bey installed the jet of the garden pool and had the round parapet surrounded with coloured bulbs. Electrical wiring passed through metal pipes and porcelain switches, which continue to function to the present day. Electricity was mainly used for illumination, although it also eliminated the need for the great clumsy batteries that had previously powered the radio. Electrical tools such as irons, mixers, and refrigerators did not put in an appearance until much later in the day.

The last major twentieth-century addition to the house was the installation of city-supplied water in the early 1940s. The ancient water system was abolished and replaced by what was known as *Terkos suyu*, after one of the sources from which the modern city now procured its water supply. Terkos water arrived by way of pipes with pebbles in them. It was a challenge for the family to get accustomed to faucets instead of free-flowing water, not to mention that the novelty had to be paid for.<sup>21</sup> However, it was appreciated, because for the first time, it became possible to install running water in the toilets of the middle and upper floors.

Until the early 1960s, there were no major changes in the manner in which the rooms were used. But then a large part of the family decided to move to the modern districts now favoured by the better-off members of Istanbul's population. As a result, the house was divided between two family members who were willing to remain, with the title deeds issued in the latter's names only. Left to

<sup>21</sup> On the history of Istanbul's water supply, compare Kâzım Çeçen, *Halkın Suları* (İstanbul, 1991); Ünal Öziş, "Ein Einblick in die historischen Wasserversorgungsanlagen Istanbul," in: *Blickwechsel*: 73-88.

themselves, the new owners in their turn introduced some radical changes in the spatial organisation of the old dwelling. Although it is now equipped with more contemporary facilities, the old house still stands, with most of its original attributes intact.

### *Conclusions*

Descriptive as it is, the present paper is intended as a case study exemplifying broadly-based changes that transcend by far the Yalçın family and its domicile. For while the transformation of domestic living habits that has been briefly described here occurred at a greater or lesser speed, these developments are, for the most part, poorly documented in most families of Istanbul's upper and middle classes. Written evidence is hard to come by, and in the Turkish context, an interest in oral history came quite late, so that in many instances, potential informants had died long before anybody had had the idea of questioning them.<sup>22</sup>

As for the buildings themselves, their survival rate has also been low. Given fires, turnover in population, and particularly real estate speculation in a city that today houses more than ten million inhabitants, it is rare that a house has remained standing for over a century and a half without burning down or else collapsing from neglect because co-owning family members could not agree upon repairs. When it came to the protection of the old housing stock, at least some of the Yalçıns were well in advance of their time.

In addition, the house on Pastırmacı Yokuşu is special because Hüsnü Bey was a devotee of photography and so strongly believed in documenting the changes he made to the family home. As a result, we know when various modern conveniences were installed and what changes to the building substance they necessitated. Perhaps even more valuable is the indirect documentation that this dwelling provides and that members of the Yalçın family have preserved of changes in household structure and interpersonal relations. Particularly remarkable is the existence of domestic slaves long after the official abolition of the slave trade. But just as relevant in this context is Hüsnü Bey's decisions to do away with the latticework hiding the windows of the family dwelling, build a smaller kitchen, or allow visitors to listen to his radio on the third floor of the former *harem*.

<sup>22</sup> At present, however, oral history finally is coming into its own; compare the 'do-it-yourself' manual by Esra Danacıoğlu, *Geçmişin İzleri: Yanbaşımızdaki Tarih için bir Kılavuz* (İstanbul, 2001).



# REPRESENTING FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH- CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE A WEALTHY FRENCH DWELLING IN THE PELOPONNESUS, 1770

Suraiya Faruqi\*

For a long time, a certain opprobrium was attached to people who crossed the boundaries between cultures, particularly if the men and women involved could not claim to be great scholars or religious figures, from whom certain allowances might be made. Even people who travelled abroad at length were expected to use their experiences in such a way as to ultimately establish a firmer 'rootedness' in their home cultures. This attitude certainly was shared by both Ottomans and Frenchmen. To take just two eighteenth-century examples, as far as the Ottomans were concerned, 'infidel' subjects of the Sultan were expected to avoid appearing in any way similar to Muslims, and dress differently from them.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, a French ambassador who, in the years around 1700, donned Ottoman apparel, came in for a good deal of criticism from among his own compatriots and fellow diplomats.<sup>2</sup>

---

\* Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the *buyuruldu* dated (1170 [1756-57]) and published in Ahmed Refik, *Onikinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı* (İstanbul, repr. 1988): 182-83. This text forbids Christians and Jews to dress like Muslims, and especially to wear luxurious clothing; they are supposed to abstain from wearing angora fabrics and coloured woollen cloth, with red/scarlet pantaloons (*qagşır*) singled out for special disapproval. Other forbidden vestimentary pleasures include Indian shawls, a major luxury in those days, and among furs, ermine and otter. Moreover the newly fashionable high fur caps (*kalpak*) are to be reduced to their traditional height; this is considered the responsibility of the manufacturers. Furthermore this text limits the proper clothing of non-Muslims to blue and dark purple (*mor*) woollens, along with short *kalpaks*.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Louis Dusson, Marquis de Bonnac, *Mémoire historique sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople... publié avec un précis de ses négociations à la Porte Ottomane*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1894): 55.

To be sure, such attitudes did not prevent the formation of, for instance, Franco-Izmirlis as early as the eighteenth century. But the cultural 'border crossings' in which these people engaged, at least if they laid claim to high social status within the French community, remained quite limited and even timid. This is remarkable, as the men – and occasional women – concerned often spent decades, if not their whole lives, on the Aegean seaboard. Or else some of these long-term visitors to the Ottoman Empire may have chosen to not discuss their Ottoman contacts in writing, because they either assumed their readers might be uninterested, or, who knows, even scandalized.<sup>3</sup>

Such attitudes thus existed even before the national state fully came into its own, after 1789. But nationalism obviously exacerbated exclusiveness and a concomitant emphasis on 'ethnic purity'. The fact that many European states possessed colonies 'in the East' moreover acted powerfully in the same direction. Phantasies of belonging to a 'master race' apparently were threatened by members of the colonizing nations who chose to 'go native', even though dressing in 'foreign, exotic' garb was a favourite pastime among European tourists of the Victorian age visiting the Middle East. In the same context, one might view the misgivings with which 'Eurasians' often were regarded, down to the 1950s and beyond, to whom the stigmata of 'uprootedness' and in consequence, 'unreliability' were quite often attached.

Only in recent years has there been a partial change of attitude. In many European societies, at least within certain categories of business, higher education or the arts, social milieus have developed where 'rootedness' is less important than it used to be. In such contexts, people will admit that cultural 'border crossing', bilingualism included, may have some positive aspects. Among other factors, citizens of states belonging to the European Community now have the possibility of choosing their country of residence within the borders of the EC. This situation has resulted, at least among the better-off and better-educated, in an enlargement of the boundaries of the territory whose inhabitants may be considered part of the 'in-group'. Moreover, the large number of such 'border crossers' in real life, and their achievements in literature, the cinema and many other fields of culture, have alerted observers to the fact that one can function successfully in one culture while retaining links to another.

<sup>3</sup> Thus for example Sonia Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey : Paul Rycaut at Smyrna 1667-1678* (Oxford, 1989) provides a full discussion of the scholarly consul, famous for his history of the Ottoman Empire, and the English community of Izmir. But in spite of Rycaut's interest in Ottoman history, Anderson only has been able to find very little evidence on his Ottoman contacts.



*Domestic interiors and the question of 'border crossing'.*

'L'habit ne fait pas le moine', as the French adage has it. But these words of wisdom have not always been adhered to, or else the frock coats of Sultan Mahmud II's officials would not have caused any particular scandal, and the ottomanizing robes of a French ambassador would not have aroused much comment either.<sup>4</sup> Nor does the mere fact of redecorating one's home involve a change of identity. Thus the 'oriental corner' favoured in certain Victorian dwellings certainly did not make its owners into Middle Easterners, but simply showed that the possessors of such goods were able to afford the latest fashions, or perhaps even travel to the Ottoman Empire. Moreover simple esthetic enjoyment must have had a part to play as well.

Yet in the eighteenth century, French upper-class dwellings exhibited characteristic furniture 'à la française', which was moreover widely copied throughout continental Europe.<sup>5</sup> Even the rage for Ottoman and Iranian carpets, so marked in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, among the wealthiest French families of the eighteenth century was given up in favour of the products of the Savonnerie or at least, Aubusson manufactures.<sup>6</sup> Thus it would appear of significance if a well-to-do eighteenth-century Frenchman residing in Izmir, Crete or the Peloponnesus decided to adopt Ottoman items, particularly in the rooms where he received 'company'. I would also contend that this gesture, if performed around 1770, is more meaningful than if an analogous acquisition and display of Ottoman goods had taken place around 1600, or else in the Victorian age. In any case, the present paper makes use of this hypothesis.

<sup>4</sup> On the change in official garb, compare Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie: Demise of Empire : Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (Oxford, New York, 1996): 67.

<sup>5</sup> About a century later, collecting eighteenth-century French furniture and painting was a highly respected activity even for wealthy people of non-French origins; see for example the magnificent Musée Nessim Camondo in Paris. The Camondo family had immigrated from Istanbul only in 1869: Nora Şeni, Sophie Le Tarnec, *Les Camondo ou l'éclipse d'une fortune* (Arles, 1997): 207ff.

<sup>6</sup> Elisabeth Floret, Martine Mathias, "Der französische Teppich : Anknüpfung an eine alte Tradition (1850-1995)," in: *Teppiche, Tradition und Kunst in Orient und Okzident*, ed., Yves Mikaeloff et al. (Cologne, 1997): 232-53.

*The crossing of Ottoman-European boundaries: recent secondary literature.*

As we have seen, concerns of the last two decades or so have led us to valorize certain cultural milieus which by dint of their liminal status, previously had been devalued as 'derivative', 'inauthentic' or, in a strictly nationalist perspective, even 'treasonable'. Where historians are concerned, in part this mutation can be linked with the decline, though by no means the demise, of the nationalist paradigm in historiography.<sup>7</sup> While in the older literature, the acclimatization of Frenchmen and Italians in the Ottoman milieu was deplored but rarely studied, we now possess the work of Robert Ilbert on late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Alexandria, which pays special attention to the cosmopolitan culture generated in a colonial port city.<sup>8</sup> Even more recently, Marie Carmen Smyrnelis has examined the linkages between Ottoman Christians and French residents of Izmir.<sup>9</sup> A similar problématique informs some of the work of Meropi Anastassiadou, whose concern has been with the upper-class sociability of Muslims, Jews and Greeks in Hamidian and 'Young Turk' Salonica, and who has included resident Europeans into this cosmopolitan tableau.<sup>10</sup>

While these studies concern the eighteenth and more particularly the nineteenth century, another recent work has shown that this process of acclimatization was at work in the seventeenth century as well.<sup>11</sup> In fact, in the perspective of quite a few Asianist historians, the seventeenth century really constituted a period in which such accommodations were rather frequent. For in spite of a good deal of chauvinistic blustering, English and French merchants active in Asian ports often were uneasily aware of their own marginality in the vast and sophisticated world of, for instance, the Indo-Pakistani-Bangladeshi subconti-

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of the Turkish case, see Halil Berktaş, "Der Aufstieg und die gegenwärtige Krise der nationalistischen Geschichtsschreibung in der Türkei," *Periplus* 1 (1991), 102-25.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Ilbert, *Alexandrie 1830-1930: Histoire d'une communauté citadine*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1996).

<sup>9</sup> Marie Carmen Smyrnelis, "Les Européens et leur implantation dans l'espace urbain de Smyrne (1750-1850)," in: *Les étrangers dans la ville*, ed. Jacques Bottin, Donatella Calabi (Paris, 1999): 65-76. Her book on the same subject is forthcoming.

<sup>10</sup> Meropi Anastassiadou, "Les inventaires après décès de Salonique à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle: source pour l'étude d'une société au seuil de la modernisation," *Turcica* XXV (1993), 97-136; eadem, *Salonique, 1830-1912: Une Ville Ottomane à l'âge des Réformes* (Leiden, 1997).

<sup>11</sup> Daniel Goffman, *Britons in the Ottoman Empire 1642-1660* (Seattle, London, 1998).

ment.<sup>12</sup> It was only from about 1750 onwards that such traders were so successful that they could begin to imagine themselves as forming part of some kind of conquering empire.

### *Zeroing in on the Peloponnesus*

From our present point of view, Daniel Goffman's work on the Britons fighting out the English civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century on Ottoman soil is moreover of special importance. For Goffman shows a degree of interest in the Peloponnesus, the Ottoman province of Mora, which Europeans often called Morea. Goffman's researches have unearthed a British subject, named Henry Hyde, who purchased a *voyvodalık* in the Peloponnesus. This office allowed Hyde, on a local level, to collect dues on behalf of an absent Ottoman governor.<sup>13</sup> The Englishman also purchased a *bacdarlık*, that is a permit to collect (market) taxes. Thus a personage officiating as an English consul during the 1630s and 1640s, and an ardent partisan of Charles I into the bargain, however temporarily had become part of the Ottoman tax collecting apparatus. Goffman rightly has pointed out that this peculiar cumulation of offices was only possible in a province which for the Ottoman central administration, was comparatively marginal. At the same time, Mora was located on the Ottoman-Venetian border, in so far as the island of Zante (Zakynthos constituted a Venetian possession. The raisins and currants (*istafidyä* in Greco-Ottoman) produced both in Zante and the Peloponnesus were much in demand among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century British consumers.<sup>14</sup>

During the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it even seemed for a while that this marginal province might be lost to the Ottoman Empire. After the final conquest of Crete by the Ottomans (1669), in 1684, the Serenissima attempted to compensate for the loss by entering the war of the Holy League (1683-1699), which had begun with the failed Ottoman siege of Vienna. Mora was occupied by Venetian troops, and an administration speedily set up.

<sup>12</sup> John E. Willis Jr., "European Consumption and Asian Production in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in: *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed., John Brewer, Roy Porter (London, New York, 1993): 155.

<sup>13</sup> Goffman, *Britons*: 52. For a short description of the duties of a *voyvoda*, see the relevant article in Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul, 1971).

<sup>14</sup> Maria Fusaro, *Uva Passa : Una Guerra Commerciale tra Venezia e l'Inghilterra, 1540-1640*, preface by Giovanni Levi (Venice, 1996).

However, in 1715, the Ottomans reconquered the peninsula, this reconquest being internationally recognized by the treaty of Pasarofça/Passarowitz in 1718.<sup>15</sup> The Ottoman authorities decided to regard the province as freshly conquered, and establish new administrative structures instead of restoring the old.

By this time, Mora's position in international commerce had changed; it was now olives, rather than *istafidyā*, which made the peninsula interesting to European merchants, in addition to the ubiquitous grain trade. In the later seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, Marseille had developed into a major producer of soap. As Languedoc and Provençal olive oils were popular as foodstuffs in southern France, Marseille manufacturers largely used Ottoman olives as raw materials.<sup>16</sup> Apart from the Crete and Tunis, the Peloponnesus constituted a favourite source of supply.<sup>17</sup> This demand for olives explains why around 1770, there were small groups of French traders to be found in most Peloponnesian ports.

This commercial situation forms the backdrop for the events which occasioned the documents we will utilize in the present study. As is well known, in 1770, during the Russo-Ottoman war of 1768-1774, a Russian fleet entered the Mediterranean, inflicted a major defeat on the Ottoman navy near Çeşme and landed a small expeditionary corps on the Peloponnesus. This, in the context of the war as a whole, rather marginal action sparked an uprising of the Greeks living on the peninsula, nominally commanded by Fedor Orlov, which ulti-

<sup>15</sup> On the manner in which this Ottoman reconquest played itself out in Anabolu/Nauplia, compare Nejat Göyünç, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Türk İdaresinde Nauplia (Anabolu) ve Yapıları," in: *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan* (Ankara, 1976): 461-85 and Christoph Neumann, "Anaboli Reconquered", as yet unpublished.

<sup>16</sup> Patrick Boulanger, *Marseille, marché international de l'huile d'olive : un produit et des hommes 1725-1825*, preface by Marcel Courdurié (probably Marseille, 1996).

<sup>17</sup> Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton NJ, 2000): 118-20, 134-39 has pointed out that after the Ottoman conquest, olives replaced wine as the principal export commodity produced on the island of Crete. This occurred even though the Ottoman administration discouraged the production of olives, and would have preferred grain. Compare also Daniel Sabatier, "Les relations commerciales entre Marseille et la Crète dans la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle," in: *Dossiers sur le commerce français en Méditerranée orientale au XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Jean-Pierre Filippini et al. (Paris, 1976): 151-234.

Boubaker Sadok, *La Régence de Tunis au XVIIe siècle: ses relations commerciales avec les ports de l'Europe méditerranéenne, Marseille et Livourne* (Zaghuane, 1987): 116-17 demonstrates that in the seventeenth century, Tunis exported olive oil to both Marseille and the central Ottoman lands.

mately was repressed by the Grand Vizier Muhsinzâde Mehmed Paşa with considerable bloodshed.<sup>18</sup> On the day-to-day events of the war, as they appeared to a rather bewildered French consul 'on the ground', we are informed by an instructive diary in which Consul Lemaire has entered both his own experiences and those bits of more or less reliable information relayed to him.<sup>19</sup> It was the consul's aim to collect all French merchants on a ship and take them out of the war zone, partly for their own safety, and partly in all likelihood also to avoid possible complications linked to the neutrality of the French king.<sup>20</sup>

However there were cases in which this rescue action failed, in one instance because a French merchant was so shocked as to be incapable of movement. The diarist tells us that all he could do was to leave a couple of men to guard the unfortunate trader.<sup>21</sup> For as local rumour had it, from the Venetian island of Zante, which should have been neutral territory, robbers/pirates were expected who saw the events as a unhoped-for opportunity 'to make a killing'. Robberies committed by the inhabitants of Mane, the feared Maniotes, added to the confusion. What with acts of war on the one hand, and the attacks of freebooters on the other, quite a few of the French merchants present in the ports of the Peloponnesus at the time of the conflict suffered a total or near-total loss of their property.

<sup>18</sup> John C. Alexander, *Brigandage and Public Order in the Morea 1685-1806* (Athens, 1985); Yuzo Nagata, *Muhsin-zâde Mehmed Paşa ve Âyânlık Müessesesi* (Tokyo, 1982). However the Albanian irregulars who made up most of the Ottoman contingent soon escaped the control of their commanders, demanding years of alleged back pay. At first they looted the towns, and later they demanded, and received, tax farms in lieu of pay: In 1779, another Ottoman campaign was needed in order to dislodge them (Alexander, *Brigandage*: 51-58).

<sup>19</sup> Archives of the Chambre de Commerce of Marseille (from now CCM), file J 1637, 'Suite du Journal de L'Expédition des Russes' (within files, pages are not numbered). The author is the consul Lemaire, who died shortly after these events. Obviously, the diary must have had a section which preceded the one referred to here, but I have not been able to locate it.

I am grateful to Dr. Patrick Boulanger and his staff, especially Dr. Durand, for their help in using these materials.

<sup>20</sup> Not that things always worked out as planned. Thus CCM J 1639 informs us that the French ships carrying the merchants away from the danger zone only received permission to depart under stringent conditions. The Ottoman fortress commander of Coron required that they remain within view of the port as long as the Russian siege continued.

<sup>21</sup> CCM J 1637, 'Suite du Journal de L'Expédition des Russes'.

*The lure of compensations and the genesis of an inventory*

To allow these merchants at least a partial compensation, the French government decreed that the traders concerned should submit itemized lists of their possessions, which would form the basis for compensation payments. These were to be financed by a temporary surcharge to be added onto the dues normally paid by French merchants active in the Levant. As the Marseille Chamber of Commerce formed the body which both represented the interests of these traders and ensured the latter's subordination to the requirements of royal policy, these proceedings fell within the jurisdiction of the Chamber. It was thus to this body that the merchants who had been active in the Peloponnesus in 1770 submitted their claims.<sup>22</sup>

In principle, only 'legitimate' possessions, such as trade goods, money, letters of exchange and personal possessions were to be taken into account; by contrast, French merchants were not supposed to own real property, and therefore could not claim compensation if it had been lost.<sup>23</sup> However in real life, petitioners did not always abide by this rule. Requests for compensation mention quite a few possessions which were not officially permitted, even if the Chamber of Commerce accountants later disregarded these items. But there was some reason for the 'broad' interpretation of French official injunctions by the merchants concerned. As the Ottoman authorities were known to have extended a good deal of tolerance to French residents in Izmir, Ankara and elsewhere, it is not too surprising that in an outlying province such as Mora, Frenchmen should have acquired houses, and this fact should have been ignored by local Ottoman officials.

In this context, a French resident of the Peloponnesian port of Coron, quite possibly the consul himself, presented an inventory of his dwelling in order to document his losses.<sup>24</sup> Of course after over two hundred years, we cannot

<sup>22</sup> On the role of this body, compare Louis Bergasse, Gaston Rambert, *Histoire du Commerce de Marseille*, vol. IV, *De 1599 à 1660, De 1660 à 1789* (Paris, 1954): 74-87.

<sup>23</sup> This rule presumably was linked to the fact that at least according to seventeenth-century Ottoman governmental practice, a foreign resident who married a member of the (Christian) subject population, or acquired real property, was to be deemed a non-Muslim subject of the Sultan (*zimmi*). Compare Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Venetian Presence in the Ottoman Empire," reprint in: *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*, ed. Huri İslamoğlu İnönü (Paris, Cambridge, 1987): 311-44.

<sup>24</sup> CCM J 1639. In order to not increase the number of footnotes, already appreciable, references to this text will not be repeated on the following pages.

determine whether this source is wholly reliable. When compensation is at issue, property owners have good subjective reasons for exaggerating the value of their possessions. However the Chamber of Commerce had clear standards as to the value of the furniture 'typically' to be found in a merchant's house, these items being valued at 1000 *piasters* (*guruş*) per enterprise.<sup>25</sup> Moreover the decisions of the Chamber's agents concerning the value of the goods to be reimbursed survive in quite a few instances, and this allows us to assess these officials' criteria for reliability in reporting.

But perhaps reliability is a secondary issue. For it is our concern to examine how a long-term French resident accommodated himself and his family to the Ottoman environment. Conversely, we are interested in the manner in which consuls and traders asserted their identities as Frenchmen by the domestic

While obviously not a probate inventory, the text in question does possess some affinities to this latter source, compiled, in a variety of cultures, after the property owner's death and prior to the division of the inheritance. For a comparative treatment of such texts on an international scale, see *Probate Inventories: A New Source for the Study of Wealth, Material Culture and Agricultural Development*, ed. Ad van der Woude, Anton Schuurman (Wageningen, 1980). However the study of Ottoman inventories has since progressed appreciably, see Colette Estabiet, Jean Paul Pasqual, *Familles et fortunes à Damas: 450 foyers damascains en 1700* (Damascus, 1994) and by the same authors, *Ultime voyage pour la Mecque : les inventaires après décès de pèlerins morts à Damas vers 1700* (Damascus, 1998). For a study of inventories whose subjects lived closer by, or at least on the territory of modern Greece, see Christoph Neumann, "Arm und Reich in Qaraferiye," *Der Islam* 73 (1996): 259-312.

- <sup>25</sup> What is meant are presumably the *piastres isolottes*, minted in 1719 but long since disappeared from the market by 1770, due to the declining value of the Ottoman *guruş*. It is not easy to specify the equivalent in *livres*, presumably the *livres tournois* which equally figured as a money of account among French traders, and which possessed the virtue of remaining stable over much of the eighteenth century. See Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, 1999): 156-61.

From 1724 to 1789, the metallic rate (relative value of two monetary units in terms of silver content) of the *livre* against the *para* remained stable. But from Eldem's graph (Fig. 6.8) it is not possible to determine the exact figure, which seems to have lain between 11 and 12; and then there is the question of the exchange rate between *piastres isolottes* and *para*. To simplify matters, we may refer to a primary source from 1780 quoted by Eldem (p. 164), which claims that 100 *piastres* are equivalent to 225 *livres*.

goods they brought into the country, often at considerable expense. In such a context, semi-imagined goods may be as instructive as the real article.

*Living as a wealthy Frenchman in the Peloponnesus of 1770*

The French consuls apart, one of the central figures of our discussion is Jean Sauvaire, a merchant resident in Coron. Sauvaire had owned a house which he himself inhabited, but as he had been advised that real property was not to be compensated for, he furnished no particulars on this account. However rather full information on the complex of buildings which housed the French consulate in Coron, of which Sauvaire also was the owner, rather makes up for this omission.<sup>26</sup>

Jean Sauvaire claimed to have acquired the buildings on account of debts owed to him, and for a considerable period of time, he had been renting it to the French consuls. The petitioner stated that Messieurs D'Amiral, Magy and Lemaire, all three at one time or another, French consuls of Morea, had used this complex as their official residence. Supposedly it was Consul D'Amiral

<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately the inventory does not state whether it pertains to the consular residence, or else to the house of the Sauvaire family. As an argument in favor of the first possibility, we may regard the value of the furniture, as well as the dining room and kitchen utensils, namely 15,043 *livres*. For as we have seen, a standard merchant dwelling was supposed to contain only 1000 *piasters* worth of possessions. Moreover there are very few references to trade goods.

In addition, the person in whose name the inventory has been compiled explains that he has made certain alterations to the building, which could however easily be removed. The author explains that he had planned to ask his successor to reimburse him, or else he had intended to remove the materials in question and sell them elsewhere. This remark equally points in the direction of the consul, as the successor of Sauvaire Sr. should have been his son, present in Coron at the time, and not some hypothetical and anonymous personage. But the most weighty reason for assigning the inventory to the consul himself lies in the handwriting: it is identical to that of another list signed by Consul Lemaire in Marseille in November 1770, though not to that of Lemaire himself. At the very least, the clean copy of our inventory was penned by a scribe known to the consul.

On the other hand, items such as '4 Turkish *quintaux* of soap from La Canée [Ottoman Hania/Crete], received a month ago' and '300 strings of mother-of-pearl beads' do seem rather more appropriate to a merchant than to a consul. Moreover it is troubling that the inventory says nothing about the decorations of the church, which as we have seen, existed in the consular compound. Yet it is hard to imagine that they all had been salvaged.



who originally had asked Sauvaire to acquire the house, and several consuls had discouraged the petitioner every time he expressed the intention of selling it. At the same time, the consuls had asked for various additions, and the owner had complied with their requests. As a result, in 1770, the complex was considered a most valuable property.

Apart from the lodgings occupied by the consul and his family, the building complex comprised a second dwelling for the translator or drogman, another for the janissaries guarding the consulate, and a church along with its sacristy. A separate apartment was destined for the priest serving as almoner to the consulate, and there also was a room, or else a separate structure, serving as a lockup. Four storerooms also formed part of the complex, in addition to a garden.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover we possess a rather thorough inventory of goods found in a wealthy French dwelling, probably identical with the one whose rooms have just been listed. Among the details furnished, the fabrics employed in upholstering furniture are especially noteworthy; unfortunately, there are no details concerning colours of these materials, which added so much to the appearance of eighteenth-century rooms. Moreover, if items such as bedding have been salvaged at the time the household took flight, the inventory will state that the loss concerns only the frame and the ironwork associated with it (*fers à la duchesse*).

However there is no clear indication as to the manner in which our inventory has been prepared. In his petition Jean Sauvaire states that his son, still young and inexperienced, has been responsible for making the firm's original claim for damages – the author seems to have felt that Sauvaire Jr. had under-

<sup>27</sup> A list of the persons comprising the consular household, that is the inhabitants of the complex described above, is found in CCM file J 1636. The list concerns the embarkation of the French colony on March 29th, 1770; its members remained on board ship until May 27th. Jean Sauvaire was not present, but was represented by his son. Sauvaire Sr. must have travelled and presumably returned to France on his own, because his wife, mother or mother-in-law, as well as his daughters all were still living in Morea at the time of the Russian invasion.

Apart from the consul and his wife, the consular apartments were inhabited by his aides and servitors. As senior servants there were a lady's maid, a cook and a butler, in addition to two 'ordinary' servants. With the exception of the cook and possibly the lady's maid, all these people were Greeks. As to the consul's aides, the chief scribe or *chancelier* was a single man, without family or servants, and the same applied to the chaplain. However the drogman was accompanied by his own servant. In addition there were two janissaries, which brings the total up to thirteen persons.

stated the losses. In some sections, the text seems to reflect the voice of the owner ('tapisserie de toile peinte en paysage que je gardois en caisse'); but whether that means that our inventory was penned by the *chancelier* in the consul's name, or else by someone associated with the Sauvaire family, ultimately must remain doubtful, as there is no signature. Neither do we know who was responsible for the valuations of the items found in the house. Even more frustrating is the fact that we are not told which pieces of furniture were placed in which room.<sup>28</sup>

Let us begin with the items which indicate that the presumed consular domicile belonged into the category 'French dwelling inhabited by a well-to-do household'.<sup>29</sup> Among the most valuable items recorded were the pictures, three large and five medium-sized ones. The owner was obviously proud of them, for he describes some pictures as being of artistic quality (*de main de maître*), quite apart from the 'very handsome' gilt frames.<sup>30</sup> However he does not tell us who their creators might have been, which was typical also of contemporary French notaries inventorizing the possessions of deceased persons. Nor does the compiler of the inventory mention the subjects depicted, while Parisian notaries often did record this information, especially in the case of the more valuable pictures.<sup>31</sup> In addition the owner of the furnishings in question had assembled a small collection of rarities kept in a chest of drawers made of the wood of the walnut tree; for the most part, these pieces seem to have been seashells.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> As it turned out, all the trouble taken in itemizing the losses in household goods was futile. According to CCM J 1636, Consul Lemaire, along with his colleague in Patras, was accorded a standard indemnity of 2000 *piasters*, twice that granted to an ordinary merchant. And that was all...

<sup>29</sup> On the mutation of Parisian dwellings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the rather dramatic increase in the number of items to be found in well-to-do homes after 1750, see Annik Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La Naissance de l'intime : 3000 foyers parisiens XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1988). On the meanings possibly attached to the furniture which evolved during this period, see Daniel Roche, *Histoire des choses banales : naissance de la consommation XVIIe-XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1997).

<sup>30</sup> Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime*: 376-89 explains that notaries only sought expert information on artists when they were confronted with important collections. It was frequent enough that Parisian notaries valued the frame more highly than the picture.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*: 385ff.

<sup>32</sup> On the history of such collections compare Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectionneurs, Amateurs et Curieux : Paris-Venise: XVIe-XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1987).

Much more modest in value were the framed maps (valued 36 *livres*) which probably decorated the less visible sections of the house.

For festive occasions, there were wall hangings of cotton or linen (*tapisserie de toile peinte*) with landscape motifs, and a further *tapisserie de siamoise*, a term which could denote a silk-cotton or else a cotton-linen mixture.<sup>33</sup> A sizeable library must have formed part of the household furnishings as well; the owner had been able to save some of it, but the books lost were still valued at 1200 *livres*, more than any other item apart from the pictures.<sup>34</sup>

Another prestige possession were the beds, one of them described as very large and decorated with *siamoise*; if we are in fact concerned with the consular dwelling, presumably it had been used by the consul and his wife. Even though the bedding partly had been salvaged, the lost parts still were deemed to be worth 250 *livres*. A second bed, decorated with *indienne fine* was valued somewhat less (200 *livres*).<sup>35</sup> Two large mirrors with chandeliers, an English pendulum clock and a profusion of sofas, canapés and chairs also figured among the prestige furniture of the presumed consul's dwelling.<sup>36</sup> There were 19 over-

<sup>33</sup> As previously noted, these items normally were kept in boxes, and thus must have been displayed on special occasions only. This reticence is remarkable, as Pardailhé-Galabrun, *Foyers Parisiens*: 368-76 tells us that *tapisseries* were universal among Parisians of the period, with even poor people owning a piece or two.

On the meanings of *siamoise* compare the list compiled by Pardailhé-Galabrun, *Foyers Parisiens*: 479-80. Apparently the name was due to the introduction of this fabric to Parisians by an embassy from Siam (Thailand) to Louis XIV.

<sup>34</sup> According to Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime*: 403-19, the ownership of large libraries formed part of the social identity of royal officials, often ennobled at a more or less recent date. These men possessed legal training, but their book purchases, particularly in the eighteenth century, also included history and *belles lettres*. To a lesser degree, churchmen also owned libraries, albeit of a more 'traditional', religious character. Apparently, merchants were not great purchasers of books.

On books and libraries during this period see also Pierre Goubert, Daniel Roche, *Les Français et l'Ancien Régime : Culture et société* (Paris, 1984): 236-40.

<sup>35</sup> We are left to wonder whether these beds were in the reception rooms, as had been common enough in 'great houses' of the seventeenth century. Or else they may have been relegated to the more private sections of the building, as became normal in the eighteenth century.

<sup>36</sup> Mirrors, both movable and cemented into the walls, formed an all but indispensable decoration of Parisian houses in the eighteenth century, due to their ability to lighten rooms and make them appear larger. One commentator even complained that this fashion made it more difficult for painters to earn a living; Pardailhé-

stuffed chairs with the bent legs known as *pied de biche* (456 *livres*), 12 plain chairs made of the wood of the walnut tree (72 *livres*), and eight dozen chairs called *de Marseille* which given the modicity of their price, must have been for emergency seating only (96 *livres*).

Apart from the clock, one further luxury item had been imported from England, namely a table, whose original price had amounted to 10 Louis [d'or]. This piece of furniture could be enlarged according to need, and was expensively decorated with bronze; it largely was reserved for games. The material employed was American wood, and given the relatively high cost of the table (240 *livres*), the wood was probably exotic and precious. Quite a few pieces were decorated with inlays of wood (*marqueterie*), also a common feature of wealthy French dwellings of the period. Twelve cupboards/wardrobes were needed to hold the minor articles belonging to the household, which also boasted six chests of drawers (*commode*) which were becoming fashionable in just this period.<sup>37</sup>

However if we look closely, the pronouncedly French character of the reception rooms was toned down by certain Ottoman pieces. Among the first items mentioned in the inventory we find twelve large curtains made of *indienne fine du Levant*. This fabric must be identical with the Indian cotton prints imitated in the area of Aleppo and Ayntab (Gaziantep), whose manufacture flourished down to the same Russo-Ottoman war which occasioned the destruction

Galabrun, *La Naissance de l'intime*: 390-93. Chandeliers were considered an item of high luxury (*Ibid.*, p. 346).

On the other hand, pendulum clocks, often set on the mantleshef, had become ubiquitous in Parisian drawing rooms (*Ibid.*, p. 396). A disgruntled observer even complained that they made him depressive, as the clock served as a constant reminder of life's passing away... Thermometer and barometer were already employed for predicting the weather, and were becoming more widespread in Parisian homes; they also were present in the presumed consular household.

The frequent reception of large groups of visitors, and the multitude of chairs needed to seat them, are also typical of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century affluent Parisian homes. Parlour games were a common pastime, and our inventory mentions a set of trictrac and a set of chess pieces.

<sup>37</sup> With an increasing number of material possessions, these items of furniture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gradually supplanted the chests, in which it was more difficult to keep order. Even the dwellings of the working poor might contain one or two cupboards/wardrobes: Pardailhé-Galabrun, *La naissance de l'intime*: 319.

of the dwelling under discussion.<sup>38</sup> This fabric also was used in covering furniture. A large canapé 'in the French style' was decorated with this particular material; perhaps it matched the curtains. Toward the end of our furniture list, we also find 'two Turkish carpets'. Yet the relatively low value placed on them (60 *livres*) and their very situation at the list's end, make the reader wonder whether these items were in fact placed in the reception rooms.

*Serving drinks, preparing food*<sup>39</sup>

Plates, cups and similar items formed part of the second section of our list, which was headed 'ustensiles'. For an observer looking back from the early twenty-first century, it is not always easy to determine why certain items were classed in the first section, namely 'Meubles, hardes et autres effets' and others relegated to the second one. Obviously the dominant criterium was not material value, as for instance the chess set, mentioned in the first part of the inventory, was estimated at a mere 12 *livres*, while sixty pieces of English crystal (flacons, drinking cups etc.), mentioned in the second section, were valued at the hefty sum of 200 *livres*. We may assume that most of the items mentioned under the heading 'ustensiles' were kept in the kitchen and storehouse, rather than in the reception rooms, but we have no way of being sure.<sup>40</sup>

It is perhaps worth noting that the cups and plates used both for everyday meals and for the entertainment of visitors were not of porcelain, but of good-quality fayence. Even though by the 1760s, true porcelain was being produced in Europe, and moreover Chinese porcelain manufactured to western tastes was imported in sizeable quantities, only a few items mentioned in our inventory were made of this material. These pieces were singled out, either by a de-

<sup>38</sup> Katsumi Fukasawa, *Toilerie et commerce du Levant d'Alep à Marseille* (Paris, 1987).

<sup>39</sup> Our inventory contains a third and relatively brief section named 'provisions', which includes the Cretan soap we already have had occasion to mention, but also such luxuries as wine from Cyprus and fruits preserved in alcohol. However in the present context, we will only be concerned with the receptacles holding food and drinks, and not with the latter's contents.

<sup>40</sup> A full set of fine fayence, *peint en émail*, including several large pieces and worth 600 *livres*, figured among the 'ustensiles'. Such a valuable piece often would have been kept in the rooms reserved for company. This means that at the very least, there should have been exceptions to the rule that 'ustensiles' belonged into the service section of the house. We also learn that a small water fountain of copper expressly was meant 'for the chamber'; however the *chaise percée* or toilet chair, incidentally decorated with inlaid wood, is mentioned among the furniture of the first section.

tailed description or else by some laudatory remark.<sup>41</sup> There was a porcelain mustard container embellished with silver, and more surprisingly, a high-quality shaving basin along with some plates. One wonders whether some of the fayence was not of Ottoman manufacture, as both Kütahya and Istanbul possessed active workshops during the period under discussion.<sup>42</sup>

Clearly located in the kitchen were the copper pots and pans, of which the household possessed a variety of types, including frying pans, casseroles and a special pan to be placed under the roasting spit in order to catch the juices. Of course the presence of this latter item meant that the kitchen was equipped with such spits, one of them recently delivered by a French merchant. Four large copper kettles were valued at 300 *livres*, they served for doing the laundry 'and other needs', possibly to heat water for shaving the men of the household. Copper was also used for lanterns; one of them was particularly large and in the 'Turkish style', as opposed to two others in the French mode. Ottoman customs must have been responsible for the adoption of a water jug with a thin spout *à la turque*, made of tinned copper and equipped with a matching plate. Possibly the three braziers, which served to heat rooms in winter, also were really Ottoman *mangals*. That the household consumed coffee, as evidenced by the existence of several coffee pots, in the seventeenth century would have constituted an Ottoman impact as well. But by the 1760s, with the *café des îles* produced in the Caribbean appearing on the Ottoman market in quantity, this was no longer the case.<sup>43</sup>

While chocolate-drinking, another typical habit of eighteenth-century European polite society, was not unknown in the (presumed) consular household, much more money was expended upon wine. From Marseille, the head of the household received quantities of Bordeaux wine in dark-coloured 'black' bottles. This wine also served to entertain visiting royal officials, presumably there were some hard-drinking naval men among them. By the early spring of 1770, 1200 such bottles had accumulated, which the owner, as a careful householder, had packed into cases in readiness for transporting them back to France; for

<sup>41</sup> Louis Dermigny, *La Chine et l'occident: Le commerce à Canton au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle 1719-1833* (Paris, 1964), vol. 2: 573. For a sampling of French porcelain from the second half of the eighteenth century see Albert Soboul, *La Civilisation et la Révolution Française* (Paris, 1970), vol. 1: ill. 208-16; ill. 215 shows a mustard container.

<sup>42</sup> Professor Filiz Yenişchirlioğlu currently is excavating the Istanbul quarter where the fayence manufactory was located in the eighteenth century.

<sup>43</sup> André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire, au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Damascus, 1973-74), vol. 1: 156.

they were worth a tidy 360 *livres*. In addition, there were 80 large wine-bottles, known by the picturesque term of *dame-jeannes*, and 18 vats, circled with iron hoops and valued at 450 *livres*, meant for wine as well.<sup>44</sup> And it is probably not unrealistic to assume that two vats filled with vinegar, also mentioned in the inventory, originally had contained wine which had spoilt during the long journey.

### *Networks of sociability*

As we have seen, the large number of seats, and the well-provided kitchen and cellar, indicate that the head of the household whose possessions are recorded in the inventory must have done a good deal of entertaining. Quite obviously, French visitors were foremost in his mind; as we have seen, officials in the service of the King were to be served Bordeaux wine in quantity. Moreover if, as is probable, we are in fact dealing with the consul's dwelling, there were other Frenchmen who regularly came to the house. For the members of the French *nation*, that is the fully established merchants trading in the Morea, time and again were called to the consul's residence to listen to governmental decisions, and also to those for which that official himself took responsibility.<sup>45</sup> The members of the *nation* also voted on certain matters, particularly of a financial nature, and presumably, sometimes the evening ended on a convivial note. However given the small size of the *nation* in Coron, these meetings should not have involved crowds of people.

How Ottoman visitors were entertained is much less obvious. Probably they sat down on the sofas and were offered coffee, but the household did not keep a supply of local sweets or dried fruits especially for these guests. Yet such visitors are not a figment of the modern historian's imagination; for in the confused years with which we are dealing, influential Frenchmen tried to be on good terms with local fortress commanders, and many Marseille traders engaged in business relations with these important local figures. Admittedly, some

<sup>44</sup> Our householder seems to have placed particular importance on the construction and packaging materials he had imported from abroad. Thus he claims to have brought planks from France and Venice, along with the small supports serving to hold up a wooden floor 'as they are not to be found around here'. He also had imported wooden covers set with glass to close his windows, and had kept the chests in which his paintings had arrived, to be reused in the event of his return. A large supply of cords was intended for the same purpose.

<sup>45</sup> For an example compare the protocol in CCM J 1635. See also Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1911): 139-84.

of these officers may have preferred to receive French visitors in their own fortresses, without ever returning the foreigners' calls. But there were also the local Christian notables, known as the *kocabaşrs*, with whom close relations were maintained; these were to become politically relevant once the wars of the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods had engulfed the Mediterranean. From this social milieu, there must have been quite a few visitors to the French residence.<sup>46</sup> But it does appear that preparing the household for Morean guests involved less care and expense than catering for Frenchmen.

### *Conclusion*

Thus our inventory reflects the life of a male, almost aggressively dominant householder, who associated all but exclusively with other males. It is rather remarkable that Consul Lemaire, the probable author of our inventory, speaks of himself as making all the relevant decisions in the household; what was left for his wife to do, apart from bearing children, is anybody's guess.<sup>47</sup> The household head imported such disparate items as paintings and building materials to embellish his dwelling, and made elaborate preparations to take back his property once his term of office was completed. He also accumulated cordage and cases against his return to France. Is it too speculative to assume that our author was concerned with his creature comforts and also with presenting an impressive façade, a magnificence appropriate to his office as the representative of the King of France in Morea, but also, that he was a lonely and rather tight-fisted man?

It has become obvious that the dwelling reflected in the inventory was arranged according to current upper-class standards in French eighteenth-century housing; yet there was one notable difference. Our inventory makes no mention at all of objects of a religious character. No statuette of the Virgin Mary, no rosary, no book of hours, no crucifix or any other indication that this was a Catholic household. Of course this omission may have been due to fortuitous factors. Rosaries and religious books may have been carried by members of the

<sup>46</sup> Alexander, *Brigandage*: 60 has commented on the increased English presence in Morea during the wars of the late eighteenth century. On the interest of Ottoman non-Muslims in western consumer goods compare Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie*: 97-108.

<sup>47</sup> A child's pram did in fact form part of the inventory, but no child is mentioned among the passengers who escaped from Coron. Maybe the Lemaire's baby had died at a very young age.



household when they left Morea, and thus been salvaged; and the paintings, which the inventory's author was so anxious to take back with him, may have been at least partly religious in character. All this is valid, and yet, with the French Revolution less than twenty years away, one does wonder what (the presumed) Consul Lemaire's world view may have been.

Another notable feature involves the fact that this dwelling was designed, at considerable expense, to form a bit of France 'away from home'. The author of our inventory diligently notes the items which had been received from French merchants, while local traders and craftsmen, who furnished kettles, baskets, lanterns, fabrics and rugs are never mentioned by name. And yet, in a round-about fashion, Ottoman 'material culture' had begun to penetrate this fortress of French culture.



# DWELLINGS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL

Stéphane Yérasimos\*

Ottoman archival documents furnish numerous descriptions of Istanbul houses, which, even though they are not very detailed, do permit us to formulate hypotheses concerning the habitat of the Ottoman capital during the sixteenth century. The major primary sources useful for such an undertaking are three registers of pious foundations (*vakıf*) covering those sections of the city contained within the Byzantine walls and compiled in 1546, 1580, and 1596.<sup>1</sup> In addition, useful information is provided by the foundation documents (*vakfiyye*) establishing the great mosque and school complex of Mehmed the Conqueror, the detailed account books of the foundation of the Aya Sofya mosque, and a sizable number of sales documents and attestations of private property (*büccet*) surviving in a variety of archives.<sup>2</sup> However, the 2,821 dwell-

---

\* University of Paris VIII.

<sup>1</sup> The first of these registers was published by Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, 953 (1546) Tarihli* (İstanbul, 1970). The second is found in the Başbakanlık Arşivi-Osmanlı Arşivi (BBA-OA), section Tapu Tahrir (TT) Nr 670, 1140 pp., while the third is in the Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü in Ankara: Nrs 542 and 543, 1236 pp. Of this latter volume, only references to the first four administrative districts (*nahiye*) could be consulted. The remainder of the volume contains 276 *vakfiyyes* concerning buildings constructed between 1580 and 1596. This section should contain information concerning 250 to 300 further dwellings.

<sup>2</sup> Three of Mehmed the Conqueror's foundation documents have been published: "Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II Fatih," ed. Tahsin Öz, *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, 4 (1935); idem ed. *Fatih Mehmet II vakfiyeleri* (Ankara, 1938); *Fatih İmareti Vakıfı*, ed. Osman Nuri Ergin (İstanbul, 1945). In addition, abridged versions are found in the BBA-OA, Ali Emiri, Nr 63.

Concerning the foundation of Aya Sofya, two account books are relevant for our purposes: BBA-OA, Maliyeden Müdevver (MM) 19 (1489) and Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, ms. Muallim Cevdet O 64.

ings more or less briefly described in the three foundation registers of the middle and later sixteenth century seem to provide a large enough sample for a typology to become feasible.<sup>3</sup> Since the sample is quite regularly distributed over the 230 odd town quarters making up the *intra muros* portion of 'Greater Istanbul', a high degree of representativity is in fact achieved.<sup>4</sup> Our sample contains habitations of varying sizes, from the very large down to minuscule one-room dwellings. Furthermore, as a comparison with the numerous sales documents concerning private properties today in the Topkapı Palace archives amply demonstrates, there was no particular difference between foundation-owned dwellings and those belonging to individuals. Given the manner in which many dwellings were first owned privately and then handed over to a pious foundation, this is in fact what the researcher would expect, and the opposite would have been more remarkable.

The reader might assume that houses belonging to Islamic pious foundations had always been built for members of the Muslim population. But this is not necessarily true: when studying the property-related documentation preserved in the archives of the Topkapı Palace, quite a few houses were found that their Christian or Jewish owners had sold to a high palace dignitary, who later turned over this real estate to the pious foundation he had established.<sup>5</sup> These houses, which formerly had belonged to non-Muslims, could be small or

<sup>3</sup> We will, however, also include descriptions of Istanbul houses derived from other sources whenever they round out the information at hand.

<sup>4</sup> The number of Istanbul quarters (*mahalles*) fluctuated in the course of the sixteenth century. The register of 1546 contains formal entries for 219 such units; by 1580, ten further quarters had been added. In some instances, buildings were located in a 'quarter' for which there is no official entry in the register. It has been assumed that 'quarters' not thus recorded were in reality simply place names or else sub-quarters, that is part of a formally established quarter.

The foundation registers do not mention any non-Muslim quarters. Yet the poll-tax (*aişye*) registers of 1540 and 1544 record about thirty Greek *mahalles* (BBA-OA, TT 210 and 240). Moreover, a register of Istanbul Jews was compiled in 1595-97: BBA-OA, MM 14393, in which there are about ten Jewish quarters. Compare Stéphane Yérasimos, "La communauté juive d' Istanbul à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Turcica* XXVII (1995): 101-30.

<sup>5</sup> Thus Mehmed Ağa, Chief White Eunuch, bought houses from Christians after 1583, when the patriarchate had been expelled from the Pammakaristos Church, now turned into the Fethiye mosque. Until that time, the relevant town quarter had been known as the mahalle-i Patrik (Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, from now TSA, Nr E 7948).

large and fit in perfectly with the sample derived from our three foundation registers.

### *Terminology*

When attempting to better understand what contemporary documents tell us about the habitat of sixteenth-century Istanbul, our first problem concerns terminology. What real-life buildings are hidden behind the concise terms used, usually without any explanations, in the registers of the sixteenth century? Matters are not facilitated by the fact that several different terms apparently can denote the same kind of house or building element. In part, the frequent use of synonyms is due to the fact that most sixteenth-century foundation documents (*vakfiyye*) are written in Arabic, and the same thing applies to *hüccets* or certificates of private ownership; but this rule does not prevent the occasional inclusion of Persian or Turkish words. In addition, certain terms can change their meanings over time and do not denote the same reality in the nineteenth century as they did in the sixteenth. Given these conditions, rather than relying on dictionaries dating for the most part from the years after 1800, we have consulted the list of architectural terms that figures in the appendix of the biography of Mimar Mehmed Ağa, the architect of the Sultan Ahmed mosque, written in 1614-15 by Ca'fer Efendi.<sup>6</sup> We will thus begin our discussion by introducing the most salient terms occurring in the sample; these will be grouped, not alphabetically as in a glossary, but according to the meanings they convey.

---

<sup>6</sup> [Ca'fer Efendi], *Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye: An Early-Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture*, ed. and transl. Howard Crane (Leiden, 1987).

Table 1: *The house and its rooms*

<i>menzil</i>	denotes the house in its entirety; however, this term is rarely used in the registers, which prefer instead <i>hane</i> or the plural form <i>haneha</i> . The latter terms can also refer to habitable rooms/chambers.
<i>hane, beyt, oda, ev</i>	all these terms refer to habitable rooms/chambers.
<i>hane/ beyt-i süflî, hane/ beyt-i tabtanî</i>	both terms signify ground-floor rooms, there being absolutely no difference in meaning. The Turkish equivalent <i>yer evi</i> is rarely used.
<i>hane/ beyt-i ulvî, hane/ beyt-i ferkânî</i>	rooms situated on an upper floor. The terms <i>ulvî/süflî</i> and <i>tabtanî/ferkânî</i> are normally coupled.
<i>gurfe</i>	room on an upper floor, larger than the ground-floor structure on which it rests. <sup>7</sup>
<i>çartak</i>	not a synonym for <i>gurfe</i> , for it is often located on the ground floor; a pavilion with open sides. <sup>8</sup>
<i>keasr</i>	the Arabic equivalent of Turkish <i>çartak</i> and Persian <i>kāşk</i> . <sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> While a *gurfe* is always situated on an upper floor, it is by no means an ordinary *beyt-i ferkânî*. According to the *Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye*, the *gurfe-i ulviyye* is the Arabic equivalent of the Turkish term *ferkânî çartak*, with the additional explanation that it is “similar to a *şahnîşin*” p. 86. According to James U. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon...* (Constantinople, 1890, repr. 1921), the *gurfe* is “an upper hall or belvedere”. According to the modern Ottoman Turkish dictionary of Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat* (Ankara, 1970); the equivalents of *gurfe* are “*çardak, köşk, balkon, cumba*”. Since our sources speak of *şahnîşin* as an equivalent of *gurfe*, the latter seems to have been a structure overhanging the street or garden. One might wonder whether a closed chamber or an open veranda was intended; but since our documents often mention a *gurfe* with a fireplace (*gurfe zâte kânûn*), and fireplaces are not meant to heat the outdoors, the texts must be referring to a closed chamber. The term *şahnîşin*, rarely employed, seems to be the Persian equivalent of “*gurfe*”. That the *gurfe* was a structure overhanging the street or a court also becomes evident from the frequent references to *gurfes* built over a gateway. Toilets might also be constructed in the same fashion, compare Barkan, Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakefları*, p. 174, Nr. 985.

<sup>8</sup> The change of meaning that this term underwent between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries becomes apparent when we compare the meanings given in the *Risâle-i mi'mâriyye* with those recorded by Redhouse. According to the older source, this term denotes a structure built of stone, while the later one says “open stage built on the roof of a house, for drying linen, etc., a trellis, supported on posts.” Actually, in modern Turkish, a *çardak* is a trellis, while the Persian word, which literally means ‘four arches’, originally denoted a solid construction evidently consisting of four arches, with open sides. In our sample, this term is not very frequent.



Table 2: *Rooms with special characteristics*

<i>hiçre</i>	cell, unspecified service space, used to lodge servants or else for storage.
<i>sofa</i>	difficult to define in spite of its centrality to Ottoman domestic architecture, houses of the 18 <sup>th</sup> and 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries being often described as 'houses with a <i>sofa</i> '. <sup>10</sup> In the sixteenth century: a covered <i>eyvan</i> or veranda, always accompanied by a second room.
<i>zulle, sundurma, bayat</i>	porch, gallery. <sup>11</sup> This is the basic term characterizing the other major type of the traditional Ottoman dwelling, namely the 'house with <i>bayat</i> '. <sup>12</sup>
<i>zulle-i loca</i>	roofed balcony, equivalent of <i>bayat</i> . <i>Loca</i> is derived from the Italian <i>loggia</i> .
<i>tabt el-puş</i> , coll. <i>tabtapaş</i> 'under the roof'	possibly a storeroom or terrace on top of a house, the equivalent of <i>zulle</i> . <sup>13</sup>
<i>beyt-i selâmi, selamlık</i>	room where male visitors are received. In large two-courtyard dwellings, this space is generally located in the outer yard and over the stables.
<i>mabba', bahvet</i>	private room, cabinet.
<i>divanhane</i>	reception room, this term has been encountered only once.
<i>debliz</i>	hall or passageway.
<i>süllem, nerdüban</i>	staircase, rarely recorded. Perhaps those thus enumerated were more monumental than was customary.

- <sup>9</sup> According to both the *Risâle-i mi'mâriyye* and the registers of Istanbul pious foundations, *kasr* appears as the Arabic equivalent of *çartak*.
- <sup>10</sup> Redhouse was well aware of the change of meaning this term had undergone: 'originally a porch or hall with benches on which to rest, (at present) a hall or an ante-room'. According to the *Risâle-i mi'mâriyye*, this term, though of Arabic origin, is the Turkish equivalent to the Arabic *eyvan*. This latter word is etymologically Persian, and moreover a synonym of the term *çartak*, discussed above, and also of the Persian term *sayeban*, meaning porch. In contemporary Ottoman texts, the courtyards of the sultan's mosques are also called *sofa*.
- <sup>11</sup> Etymologically, the term *zulle* is easily explained. Redhouse defines it as "anything that shades or protects". According to the *Risâle-i mi'mâriyye*, the term *hiyata*, the Arabic word from which *bayat* is derived, is equivalent to Turkish *kapu önü* ou *saçak altı*, both meaning an entrance hall.
- <sup>12</sup> Doğan Kuban, *The Turkish Hayat House* (Istanbul, 1995).
- <sup>13</sup> As the *Risâle-i mi'mâriyye* tells us; possibly this usage became common because speakers around 1600 assumed an etymology *tabt paş*, covered in wood.

Table 3: *Service spaces*<sup>14</sup>

kenif	toilet.
istabl, ahur	stable; the two terms used as synonyms. <i>İstabl</i> is derived from Latin <i>stabulum</i> . Mainly found in the city center.
fırın	baking oven, derived from <i>furnus</i> .
tennûr	oven.
matbah	kitchen.
mahzen	storage space of any kind.
anbar	granary.
kiler	pantry, storage space for foods, from cella.
bodrum	basement.
mahtab, muhtib, odunluk	space for storing firewood.
serdab	room used for cooling water, cistern (?).

*Distribution in space*

After thus introducing the terminology with which our sources denote domestic spaces, it will be our next task to show how the more important elements of the Istanbul house were distributed over the geography of the city. Here we will refer first to the town quarter (*mahalle*) and then to the thirteen districts (*nahiye*) into which the sixteenth-century registers of pious foundations divide Istanbul's territory. The district of Aya Sofya, the first on the list, occupies a piece of land reaching from the Golden Horn all the way to the Sea of Marmara, bordered to the east by the walls of the Topkapı Palace and, toward the west, extending to the present-day train station of Sirkeci. The Babiâli hill, where in later times the Grand Vizier officiated, the Byzantine cistern of

<sup>14</sup> Outside the dwelling proper, the following ancillaries have been encountered: *muhavvata*, *havli*: courtyard, literally 'enclosed space'; *ciineyne*, *hadîka*, *bağçe*: garden; *saba*: empty piece of land; *kerm*: vineyard; *bir-i mâ*, *su kuyusu*: well; *sikâye*: place for storing water; *hâbiye-i mâ*: water jar; *'ayn-i mâ*, *bunar*, *ayazma*: source of water, the last-named coming term from the Greek *aghiasma*: sacred source; *havz*: basin; *miğsel*: space for ablutions.

A few miscellaneous terms that occur in the context of building descriptions: *dük-kân*, *hanut*: shop; *kârthane*: workshop; *asıyab*, *tabune*: mill; *asıyab-i gendüm*: mill for grinding wheat; *asıyab-i feres*: horse-driven mill; *min el-aşab*, *min el-elvab*: wooden, made of planks; *çatma*: half-timbered; *beyt-i kâfirî*: house dating from Byzantine times.





Binbirdirek and the Küçük Ayasofya mosque, once the church of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus, all formed part of this district. To the west there followed district, bordered to the south by the Divanyolu, while this *nahiye*'s eastern limits lay at the Grand Bazaar and the Yeni Cami; at the end of the sixteenth century, the latter building was still a construction site. The district of Ali Paşa bordered the Divanyolu on both sides. To the north, it was adjacent to Mahmud Paşa, while at its southern limit, there was the *nahiye* of Sultan Bayezid. As a result, the district of Ali Paşa did not include any stretch of seashore. The fourth *nahiye* bore the name of İbrahim Paşa; it encompassed the space to the north of the Grand Bazaar and the Old Palace all the way to the Golden Horn, while its eastern edge touched the Süleymaniye.

While the three last-named districts were quite small, the *nahiye* of Sultan Bayezid covered a much larger expanse of territory, extending from the Sea of Marmara on its southern edge to the street linking the mosque of Sultan Bayezid to that of Şehzade, this latter thoroughfare constituting the district's northern limit. To the west, this *nahiye* touched what is now Atatürk Boulevard. The sixth *nahiye*, known as Vefa after the mausoleum of a well-known sheik, encompassed the eastern section of the Zeyrek valley, and thus was bordered to the east by the Şehzade and Süleymaniye mosques, as well as the locality known as Unkapanı, while the western limit was once again in the area of today's Atatürk Boulevard. To sum it all up, these six districts formed the innermost section of the city, limited to the west by the rocky spur that reaches from the modern Atatürk Bridge all the way to the Sea of Marmara. By today's standards, these districts all form part of Istanbul's urban core, administered by the mayor of Eminönü.

Beyond these limits, there was the section known as Fatih, whose core was the great complex of pious foundations instituted by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. It was delimited by the modern Vatan Caddesi to the south and the Golden Horn to the north. To the west, Fatih bordered on the district of Sultan Selim, named after the mosque that Süleyman the Magnificent had constructed in memory of his father, which covered the area also known as Çarsamba. The territory situated between Vatan Caddesi and the Sea of Marmara, immediately to the west of the modern Atatürk Boulevard, was encompassed by the ninth district, named after the mosque of Murad Paşa, with the tenth, known as Davud Paşa, immediately adjacent. Finally, the sparsely inhabited region inside the Byzantine land walls had been divided between the eleventh district of Koca Mustafa Paşa to the south, Topkapı (Nr XII) in the center, and the thirteenth district of Ali Paşa in the north, adjacent to the Golden Horn.

Some of these districts were quite homogenous, others less so. The first *nahiye*, that of Aya Sofya, consisted of the densely populated region close to the Golden Horn and the more sparsely inhabited areas once covered by the Byzantine imperial palace, to the east and south of the Hippodrome. Within the section close to the Golden Horn were the quarters near the Topkapı Palace walls, preferred by the well-to-do, and their more popular counterparts close to the port. The three districts of Mahmud, Ali, and İbrahim Paşa all formed part of the city's core, devoted to commerce and artisan production, while Sultan Bayezid, on the slopes oriented toward the Sea of Marmara, was much less active. Like its Aya Sofya counterpart, the district of Fatih contained a varied population: the wealthy lived around Zeyrek, people of middling income could be found on the shores of the Golden Horn, while the poor inhabited the valley of the rivulet known in antiquity as the Lycus, which today has been covered over to form Vatan Caddesi. Beyond, there were few concentrations of population, apart from the quarters close to the Golden Horn that formed part of the XIII<sup>th</sup> district.

Within this space, the structural characteristics of the buildings that interest us here are distributed in the following fashion. On average, the Istanbul house consisted of 2.57 habitable rooms (*beyt-i gurfê*), but this mean masks important differences from one *nahiye* to the next. In the three districts of Mahmud, Ali, and İbrahim Paşa, the houses are larger (Ali Paşa: 3.06, Mahmud Paşa: 3.48, İbrahim Paşa: 3.92). When we compare the size of urban habitations quarter by quarter, the highest averages appear in the *maballe* of Hubyar (4.5 rooms), located in the II<sup>nd</sup> district, between the Yeniciami and the present-day train station of Sirkeci, and in Çelebioğlu (5 rooms), situated right behind the Spice Bazaar. In these areas, we encounter buildings with 20, 27, or 31 rooms, some of which must have been veritable palaces. But adjacent to such a structure, there might well be a modest home of merely one or two rooms. In the other districts forming part of the urban core and also in Fatih, the average dwelling size approaches the mean value for the city as a whole (Aya Sofya: 2.80, Bayezid: 2.73, Fatih: 2.53). Further to the west, the houses become considerably smaller, with the lowest value in the district named for the Topkapı gate (Murad Paşa: 2.06, Koca Mustafa Paşa: 1.85, Topkapı: 1.78).

### *Upper and lower floors*

As the most casual observer will immediately notice, sixteenth-century Istanbul did not exactly consist of high-rise residential buildings. Just over half the houses on record (53.09 percent) possessed more than one floor, and only

twelve structures had three or more. The geographical distribution of two-floor houses resembled that observed when we plot the number of rooms on the map of Istanbul. Only when it came to the presence or absence of an upper storey were the differences between districts even more marked than where the number of rooms was concerned. While in the three central *nahiyes* of Mahmud, Ali, and İbrahim Paşa, the share of two-floor houses amounted to between 73 and 76 percent, in the *nahiye* of Topkapı, only 11 percent of all houses possessed an upper storey. It is certainly meaningful that all the districts we have defined as forming part of the 'inner city' show percentage rates over the average, while the opposite is true for the 'outer' districts.

### *Courtyards*

More than three-quarters of all sixteenth-century Istanbul houses, 77.35 percent to be precise, contained at least one courtyard. This constitutes a major difference from the 'traditional Istanbul house', which continued to be built well into the twentieth century and to which the courtyard was much less central. Thus the type of house known from extant, mostly late Ottoman buildings must have emerged after the period studied here. Apparently the elements of a sixteenth-century Istanbul dwelling were normally grouped around or within a yard, and as the house grew in size, this led to an increase in the number of courts. Thus the larger houses possessed two of them, with the exterior courtyard a service area while its interior counterpart was inhabited by the owner's family. The largest dwellings might contain three or even four such yards.

It is instructive to compare the distribution of single and multiple courtyards within the thirteen urban districts making up the Ottoman capital. A single *nahiye*, that of İbrahim Paşa, shows a percentage of courtyards way below the average (54.27 percent). At first glance, we may surmise that this is due to the density prevailing in this central urban district. But considerable doubt is cast on this explanation, since the district of Ali Paşa, also central in location, shows the highest incidence of courtyards in our entire sample, namely 84.85 percent. On the other hand, the peripheral districts close to the Byzantine land walls show a percentage slightly lower than average.

From these findings we can derive the hypothesis that the courtyard forms a characteristic element of the Istanbul dwelling of the sixteenth century. However, the commercial quarters close to the Golden Horn, where the Italian merchant colonies of Byzantine times were situated before most of them moved to Galata, belong to a different species. In this area, the courtyard assumes a much less dominant role. To clarify the implications of this statement, let us take a

closer look at the quarters on the southern shore of the Golden Horn. Adjacent to the walls of the Topkapı Sarayı, we find the quarter of Növbethane. This was inhabited by a population that was on the whole comfortably off, but the quarter was remote from Istanbul's commercial center and the spaces formerly occupied by the foreign merchant colonies. Here the number of houses with a courtyard amounted to 82.3 percent, considerably above the average computed for the city as a whole. Yet when we move but slightly to the west, to the quarter of Hâce Üveys Paşa (Hoca Paşa), situated on the site of the present-day Sirkeci train station, only 61.7 percent of all houses possessed a courtyard. In the quarters of Hubyar and Çelebioğlu, which we already know contained the city's largest dwellings, the percentages were 39.3 and 35.6 percent respectively. Clearly enough, money to purchase the necessary land was an indispensable precondition for constructing a courtyard house, but apparently not all wealthy people were interested in acquiring houses of this kind.

We must also take into consideration that Növbethane, Hubyar and Çelebioğlu lay in the core area of Istanbul's sixteenth-century Jewish settlement. Quite often, members of this community lived in collective habitations that the Ottoman documents called 'Jewish residences' (*yahudhanes*) and which, in Hebrew, are known as *hazaka*. These buildings were rented for lengthy stretches of time by a single member of the community, who then sublet individual chambers to resident families. In fact, the 1595-97 register of Istanbul's Jewish population, which records the dwelling places of the men listed, shows that many Jews rented space from the major pious foundations.<sup>15</sup> Thus we can conclude that large old buildings had been acquired by Ottoman dignitaries and ultimately turned over to the pious foundations they established; the administrators then transformed the buildings into collective dwelling places to maximize rental income.

### *Gardens*

Among the almost three thousand Istanbul houses investigated here, 32.68 percent boasted a garden; normally a house with a garden also possessed a separate courtyard. Unsurprisingly, in the central *nahiye* of İbrahim Paşa, a garden was a rare luxury (8.54 percent); and the same applies to the Çelebioğlu quarter, where out of 59 dwellings, the inhabitants of only three enjoyed this advantage. By contrast, in the peripheral district of Koca Mustafa Paşa, where

<sup>15</sup> Yérasimos, "La communauté juive," 125-27.

vegetable gardens were still numerous in the middle of the twentieth century, the share of houses with gardens was 56.52 percent.

### *Service spaces*

More than four-fifths of all Istanbul houses were outfitted with latrines (80.79 percent), with normally one latrine to 3.2 habitable rooms. When there were over 3.2 rooms to a house, additional latrines were constructed. On the other hand, specialized kitchens were a rarity, mentioned in barely 6 percent of all cases. A baking oven was found in 25.10 percent of all houses, and in 30.10 percent of all cases, there was a stable. As we have had occasion to note, stables were not widespread in the peripheral quarters of Topkapı (8.33 percent) and Koca Mustafa Paşa (16.84 percent), in spite of their semi-rural character. By contrast, the number of dwellings containing stables amounted to 56 percent in the centrally located III<sup>rd</sup> district. After all, horses and camels were expensive.

### *Miscellaneous spaces*

While 32.93 percent of all houses possessed a *sofa*, the semi-open spaces known as *zulle* or *hayat* were on record in 26.76 percent of all cases; these two types of structures were by no means mutually exclusive, but rather complemented one another. Once again, the special character of the central district of İbrahim Paşa becomes apparent from the fact that here both *sofa* and *zulle* are particularly rare (11.06 percent and 16.08 percent respectively). In the peripheral *nahiy*es, we find fewer *sofas* and more *zull*es than in the central districts in the city. It is likely that the *zulle* was a less sophisticated kind of gallery than the *sofa*, appropriate to a more rural environment.

We have come to think of Ottoman cities in general and Istanbul in particular as places where merchants and craftsmen rented workspace in khans and covered markets, while living in separate residential quarters. Given this tendency, it is of interest to note that some exceptions to this rule did exist, for in 7.94 percent of all houses, shops and dwelling places were located in the same buildings. Once again, the difference between the central and the peripheral districts was considerable. Houses with one or more shops located on the ground floor made up 20.10 percent in the case of the İbrahim Paşa district and 11.90 percent in that of Mahmud Paşa. In the peripheral parts of the city, however, where the total number of shops was probably quite limited, the percent-

age of homes combined with shops was minimal: 4.89 percent in the Koca Mustafa Paşa district and no more than 2.78 percent in Topkapı.<sup>16</sup>

*Combining building elements: rooms on upper and lower levels*

At first reading, the various structural elements referred to in the foundation registers seem to have been juxtaposed without any rhyme or reason, a situation that does not exactly facilitate the task of the urban historian. Yet when we attempt to order these elements, certain recurring combinations of closed chambers and semi-open galleries do emerge. In consequence, we are able to tentatively suggest a few building types.

In certain descriptions, the authors indicate that a given room was located over another one: quite often there is redundancy, the reader being informed that an upper room is built on top of a lower one, or else one or two *gurfes* overhang the lower part of the house – after all, *gurfes* are by definition located on upper floors. But sometimes the description is more meaningful, for instance when we learn that an upper chamber or a *gurfe* is located on top of a stable. As we have already seen, in larger houses this room over the stable may well turn out to be the *selamlık* reserved for the reception of male guests. Larger stables are sometimes topped by a series of rooms or cells, presumably assigned to servants. On the other hand, we also have found small dwellings that consist quite simply of a stable on which is perched the only habitable room.

In other cases, upper-floor chambers have been built over service spaces such as storage rooms, latrines, kitchens, or woodsheds, while the *gurfe* surmounting the entrance gate may have housed the gatekeeper. Other houses contain ground-floor chambers and *sofas* over a space known as a *serdab*, presumably a souterrain with a basin full of water to cool the habitable rooms during the summer. Last but not least, in one instance we find ‘an old *çartak*’ surmounted by no less than four rooms, a finding indicating that the *çartaks* of this period were not the light structures we associate with this term today.<sup>17</sup>

In addition, we can guess how certain combinations of rooms were arranged when we pay careful attention to the repetitions ever present in our texts. Thus

<sup>16</sup> Wells were present in 45.94 percent of all dwelling places, but it is difficult to interpret the percentage differences between Istanbul’s districts. Why should the *nahiye* of Topkapı, situated in the relatively well-watered valley of the Lycus river, have possessed the smallest number of wells (33.33 percent) among all urban districts?

<sup>17</sup> TT 670, p. 108. This is a house with four courtyards donated by Zâhide Hâtûn binti Nasuh, part of which goes back to Byzantine times (*kâfir*).

when we read “room on the ground floor, with an overhanging room on top and another ground-floor chamber, along with an upper room and [adjacent] gallery”, we are probably not far off the mark in assuming that we are concerned with two separate buildings.<sup>18</sup> Other examples of this kind include: “two ground-floor rooms along with a *sofa* and a *gurfe* containing a fireplace, a storage space for wood and a stable with a *gurfe* on top, and a lower-level room with a gallery and *sofa*, three wells, one baking oven, two latrines, and a courtyard”.<sup>19</sup> This dwelling doubtless consisted of three separate structures, in addition to two latrines in the courtyard. While generally the sequence in which the rooms have been listed makes it quite feasible to figure out their arrangement ‘on the ground’, some doubts remain concerning the place where the storeroom for wood was located. It could have been on the upper floor of the first-mentioned structure, next to the *gurfe* possessing a fireplace, or else adjacent to the stable, below the second *gurfe*.

Even more explicit is the expression “lower-level room, with a *gurfe* and *sofa* on top and another lower-level room surmounted by a *gurfe*”.<sup>20</sup> Evidently two buildings are being described here. Other variants of this type are also documented: thus a rather elaborate building contained “a large ground-floor room with a *sofa* and a small ground-floor chamber, a *gurfe* and an upper room, with underneath a pantry, a well, a baking oven, latrines, and a courtyard”.<sup>21</sup> Yet another dwelling, presumably made up of three units, consisted of “a *gurfe* with a shop below, a garden, latrines and another *gurfe*, with a cell on top [and] a further [third] *gurfe* with a shop on the ground floor”.<sup>22</sup> What emerges from these descriptions is a type of dwelling spread out over the courtyard: an extreme but by no means rare situation of this kind is reflected in the following description: “two courtyards, one exterior and one interior; in the interior one, two ground-floor rooms with a baking oven and latrines and a well used in common, a garden with fruit-bearing and fruitless trees, a further ground-floor room, once again with a baking oven and latrines, another small ground-floor room and separate latrines, yet another large room with a stable, a *gurfe*, a *zulle*, a

18 Barkan, Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları*: 75, No 415.

19 TT 670, p. 344.

20 TT 670, p. 749.

21 TT 670, p. 873.

22 TT 670, p. 1082.

*sofa*, and latrines; in the exterior court, stables, *gurfе*, *zulle*, garden, and latrines.”<sup>23</sup>

The will of Herdemşah Hatun binti Abdürrahman disposes of this house, situated in the quarter of İshak Paşa, below the Aya Sofya and adjacent to the walls of the Imperial Palace. It contains some additional information concerning the arrangement of the various rooms. Herdemşah Hatun intended the two lower houses to go to her daughter Fatma and the latter’s descendants, while “the room next to the two adjacent chambers”, that is the second-mentioned item of this kind in the description cited above, was meant to go to the administrator of a pious foundation. “The upper room located in the interior courtyard over the stable”, that is, the *gurfе* mentioned in the previous description, was donated to the poor of Medina. “The upper room on top of the stables in the exterior court”, in other words, the second *gurfе*, was to be rented out and, from the rent received, an *akçe* per day was to be allocated to the *imam* of the İshak Paşa quarter, who was asked to pray for the soul of the deceased. Finally, the income obtained from “the little room on the ground floor, in the interior courtyard” was to be used to repair two upper rooms. The largest room of this house, however, does not appear in this will.

### *Combining structural elements on a single level*

Here our information is relevant mainly to the manner in which habitable rooms were situated relative to the *sofa* and *zulle*. Most commonly, we encounter descriptions of the following kind: “ground-floor room, with a *zulle* in front”, “upper-level chamber with a storeroom for firewood underneath and a *zulle* in front”, “two lower-level rooms, with a *sofa* in front, and two rooms on the upper floor, [also] with a *sofa*”, “room and stable, on top an upper-level [floor] and and a loft (*tahtapuş*), further two ground-floor rooms, with a *zulle* in front”, or simply “*sofas* with a *zulle* in front”. Such detailed descriptions make it possible to imagine what lay behind concise formulas such as “*gurfе* and *zulle*” or “*sofa* and *zulle*”. Thus we gain a notion of the manner in which galleries framed ground-floor or upper-level rooms and how *sofas* lay in front of habitable chambers and were themselves preceded by open galleries. Here we are moving toward the well-known model of the Ottoman house of later centuries, in which covered spaces open on the sides preceded the habitable rooms proper and ended in an open gallery.

---

<sup>23</sup> TT 670, p. 63.



Much more rarely do we find records that tell us something about the manner in which other sections of the house were spatially related to one another. Thus some records mention a “ground-floor room, with a baking oven in front” or “a stable, with a *selamlık* in front” or “a cell in front of the courtyard gate”.

### *Intercalated structures*

Here we are concerned with building elements situated between other sections of the same dwelling; almost always the spaces in question are *sofas*. Expressions such as the following are quite frequent: “two ground-floor rooms facing one another, in between two *sofas*”, “upper-level rooms, with *sofa* and *zulle* between them”, or else “two ground-floor rooms, with a *sofa* in between”. More elaborate is the following description: “a staircase and large gallery (*revak-ı azim*) with a large *sofa* between two chambers facing one another”.<sup>24</sup> A comparable arrangement is reflected in a document that mentions “two cells built face to face, with a *sofa* separating them, and a *şahnişin* at the edge of the *sofa*”.<sup>25</sup>

A *sofa* between two rooms also is called an *eyvan*. Toward the courtyard, the *eyvan* can extend in the shape of a gallery (*zulle*, *hayat*, or *revak*) or toward the street in the form of a balcony (*şahnişin*); this results in the classic arrangement of an Ottoman *hayat* house. Occasionally, we also have found a kitchen located between two *sofas*, and this case will form the transition to the next category to be discussed here, namely the *sofas* in a lateral position.

For this particular arrangement, we possess numerous examples: “two ground-floor chambers, a *sofa* in between and two further *sofas* on both sides”, “two lower-level rooms, each one of them topped by a *gurfè* with its [own] fireplace, a *sofa* between them and [in addition], a *sofa* on each side”, “two ground-floor rooms, separated by a *sofa* and two further *sofas* on each end, fronted by a gallery”, “two adjacent chambers, both with adjacent *sofas*”, “upper-level rooms, separated by a *sofa* and with further *sofas* on both sides, also a great gallery and a staircase”, “ground-floor rooms, a *sofa* between them, on top another *sofa* also called a *şahnişin* and [two] *sofas* to both sides.” From these descriptions we gain the impression that habitable rooms were often surrounded by galleries open on one side, an arrangement well known from one of the older surviving Ana-

<sup>24</sup> This is a rather unusual house in the quarter of Zeyrek, donated by Ca’fer Çelebi, the father of the Şeyhülislâm Sun’ullah Efendi: TT 670, p. 630.

<sup>25</sup> TSA, E 7954, documenting the sale of a house to Haydar Çavuş (1595).

tolian houses, the villa (*konak*) of Çakır Ağa in Birgi.<sup>26</sup> The second-to-last description cited here suggests an upper floor whose two chambers were surrounded on three sides by *sofas*. The latter space ended in a gallery, accessible from below via a staircase. When analyzing the very last description, with respect to the ground floor, we encounter a situation similar to the one just referred to; by contrast, the upper floor of the dwelling consisted only of a *sofa* overhanging the ground floor to one side.

### *Toward a typology*

These spatial relationships permit us to discern some general characteristics of sixteenth-century Istanbul housing. As we have already observed, a large dwelling of this period consists of numerous buildings distributed over one or more courtyards, while the court or garden fronts of many buildings contain galleries (*hayat*).<sup>27</sup> *Sofas* of the *eyvan* type often separate habitable rooms, while the latter are frequently surrounded by *sofas*. Service spaces such as the ‘cells’, but also the room in which male visitors are received (*selamlık*) are frequently located over the stables, and it is also probable that, in many instances, latrines were set apart from the other buildings. As we have noted, there are enough detailed descriptions for us to also interpret texts that at first glance, do not seem to tell us very much, such as the bare statement: “two rooms and three *sofas*”. In the light of what we have learned, this rather cryptic description probably denotes two rooms with a *sofa* in between and further *sofas* on each side. Do these observations allow us to attempt a typology of sixteenth-century Istanbul dwelling places?<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For details, compare Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971): 435-37; Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal, *Birgi : Tarihi Coğrafyası ve Türk Dönemi Anıtları* (Ankara, 2001): 141-52.

<sup>27</sup> See TT 670, p. 288 for a description that records “upper-level rooms, surrounded by a *zülle*”.

<sup>28</sup> For an earlier study of the habitat of the Bosphorus town of Yeniköy in the early eighteenth century, compare Tülay Artan, “Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus” (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, 1988). Concerning other parts of the Ottoman Empire, see Antoine Abdel Nour, *Introduction à l'histoire urbaine de la Syrie ottomane, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Beirut, 1982); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of modest substance : House owners and house property in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge, 1987); Nelly Hanna, *Habitat au Caire: La maison moyenne et ses habitants aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Cairo, 1991).

Two preliminary remarks seem necessary in this context. Here as elsewhere, a typology only makes sense if we limit ourselves to the houses belonging to men and women of 'modest substance'. For the dwellings of the poor have a tendency to resemble one another the world over, while the really important houses have so many individual features that they become difficult to classify. In any case, our documents do not furnish any detailed descriptions of palaces containing several dozens of rooms.

More important is the second problem. Can one even speak of a single type of dwelling in Istanbul? The statistical discussion we have attempted in this paper will have made it clear that to claim the existence of just one type of dwelling is unsatisfactory, and that it is far better to distinguish between two separate types, found in different sections of the city. On the one hand, we have the commercially active districts, located to the north of the former Byzantine Mésè, known today as Divanyolu and Yeniçeriler Caddesi, and to the south of the Golden Horn. On the other hand, the remaining districts contain a rather different type of habitation.

In the commercial section, courtyards, *sofas* and *zülles* are comparatively rare; dwellings are more compact and service spaces such as kitchens and latrines are typically located on the upper floors. It is impossible to tell whether this type of habitation is of Byzantine origin or linked to the Latin colonies living in this area during the Byzantine period and, probably to some extent, even to the end of the fifteenth century. It seems reasonable to assume, as a hypothesis, that the houses of this first type were for the most part remnants of the pre-conquest habitat. For the alternative would be that, during the post-conquest period, a special type of house was developed just in this area and nowhere else, and that does not seem a very satisfactory assumption.

Certainly the business district was more densely populated than other parts of the city, which would have induced people to construct more compact dwellings; and the presence of the Jewish community was also a factor much more important here than in other Istanbul districts. But taken by themselves, these two factors do not appear sufficiently important to account for such a major difference in the structure of urban housing.

### *Reconstructing the genesis of the post-conquest habitation*

In the other districts of the Ottoman capital, the type that has mainly occupied us in the present study predominated. Without any doubt, this latter kind of habitation is typical for the sixteenth-century Ottoman city; and while there may well have been a number of subtypes, the documentation with which we

have to work does not allow us to gain a clear notion of them. Even less are we able to place these hypothetical subtypes within the city's geography or make reasonable assumptions about their origins. Only the increased frequency of *zulle*s in the peripheral quarters and the correspondingly lower number of *sofas* should, as has been noted in a different context, probably be attributed to the more basic character of the houses built in this semi-rural region.

Thus we can envisage the simplest house as consisting of a lower chamber accessible through a gallery (*bayat*, *zulle*), accompanied by a latrine. We do not know how such a dwelling was situated on the piece of land it occupied. If no courtyard is mentioned, possibly the gallery was constructed immediately beyond the wall that closed off the inhabited area; after all, it is difficult to imagine that an open gallery would have been accessible from the street. Nor can we tell whether a house of this type could even exist without a courtyard; it is conceivable that when no such open space is mentioned, this is no more than an oversight, especially since, in some cases, a well or latrine is mentioned even though there is no court.

When a *sofa* or *zulle* fronts a single-room structure, this means that the built-up area increases, for the roofs of galleries, however elementary, need to rest on a second system of supports apart from that provided by the chamber's outer walls. Normally no more than two habitable chambers are built on the ground floor. When the owners need more space, they will begin by constructing *sofas* in front of the chambers and then may decide to separate the two rooms by yet another *sofa*. Since the central *sofa* joins the two already existing ones, an *eyvan* is created, and the final stage is the construction of two further *sofas* to the right and left of the building. Yet larger dwellings can be created by replicating the same arrangement on the upper floor, or else, if a separate habitation is desired and there is space in the courtyard, second or third structures of the same type can be built on the ground level.

Another minimal dwelling may have consisted of a stable or some other kind of service space, with the habitable chamber located on the top floor. In this case, differentiation will take place only on the upper storey, where we may witness the appearance of two rooms, an enlargement of the habitable area by an upper floor somewhat larger than its ground-floor counterpart, and interposition of a *sofa*. In larger dwellings, this whole structure may be defined as a service space, with cells for storage and the accommodation of servants on the upper floor, or else a reception room for male visitors. Thus we cannot be sure that the module just described really constitutes a separate type of habitation, or whether it should be considered an auxiliary structure for specialized uses.

The dwelling whose model we have constructed here, with two chambers on the ground floor, perhaps surmounted by a *gurfe*, already comes quite close to the typical Istanbul home of the sixteenth century, which as we have seen, is made up of an average of 2.57 habitable rooms, in addition to a courtyard, latrine, and well. When dealing with dwellings that contain more rooms than this, we already enter the realm of 'special cases'. These usually involve the better-off members of the urban population who may seek to satisfy their particular needs and wishes in a more spacious environment.

Of special interest are the homes containing more than two chambers on a single floor. Such dwellings take one of two different shapes; in the first instance we get an arrangement of more than two habitable rooms on both the lower and upper floors: "three upper-level rooms in addition to a kitchen, and three lower-level ones [also] with a kitchen". This arrangement, presumably rather compact, is characterized by the presence of service spaces on the upper floor, and, as we have seen, it was typical of pre-conquest houses in the commercial section of the city – we will have occasion to return to this issue later on. Another type of dwelling contains more than two chambers on the upper level, while on the ground floor, there are only service spaces and particularly stables. This may well be a special amplification of the second 'minimal' module, which as we have seen consists of a stable and a dwelling on top. Thus we encounter cases in which three, four, or even five rooms have been built over the stables, with or without attendant *sofas* or *zülles*.

But since the upper-floor chambers are merely mentioned without any indication of their spatial relationship, it is only with some trepidation that we hazard a guess at the layout of these upper floors. Descriptions such as "stables, with four chambers and a *sofa* on top" are not really very helpful for our purposes. Does the author mean to say that these chambers were situated next to one another and preceded by a *sofa*?<sup>29</sup> Another description does seem to confirm this interpretation: "lower chamber, on the top floor three rooms, each with its own *sofa*".<sup>30</sup> In the same fashion, the listing "stable, pantry, and loft,

<sup>29</sup> The text continues with a reference to latrines and a source of water known as an *ayazma/agbiasma*; this house was situated in the quarter of Aya Sofya and probably went back to Byzantine times.

<sup>30</sup> The foundation document explains that the testator assigns "the upper-level room in the middle of [two other] upper-level rooms to his wife Yasemin Hatun, on condition that she does not remarry, and the ground-floor room to his freedwoman Hürsid...". We may imagine a central upper-storey room larger than the two flanking ones, with the result that the *sofa* that borders them all is cut into three pieces.

plus three *gurfe* and *zulle* as well as two *sofas*” is open to a variety of interpretations. While we can imagine three *gurfes* each situated over a service space, the location of the two *sofas* and the gallery is by no means clear. Finally the description “five rooms, a *zulle* and a *sofa* on top of five shops all in a row” once again confirms our hypothesis that chambers were often aligned in rows. While it is rare to find three or four rooms in a house consisting of a ground floor only, this configuration does occasionally occur; however, in these instances, the description gives so little detail that not even a hypothesis concerning the layout of the dwelling is possible.

We thus conclude that when there were more than two rooms on the upper floor, they were typically adjacent to one another and preceded by a *sofa* and a gallery. In certain more elaborate structures, there might be variations due to the different dimensions of the rooms in question, so that the semi-open spaces showed a more sophisticated configuration. However, the cases discussed above being quite rare, the ‘normal’ way to add on extra rooms involved building new structures and, if necessary, additional courtyards as well. One reason for the popularity of this arrangement was doubtless the presence, even in families of middling income, of numerous domestic slaves, who would be housed at some distance from their owners. In addition, there was a tendency to build a separate structure for the reception of male visitors, who also were to be kept away from the family dwelling; as we have seen, they were quite often received in a room over the stables, where many of them had doubtless left their horses or donkeys.

Thus the description “lower-level room, on top a *gurfe* with its fireplace, a baking oven with a *gurfe* on top, latrines, a well, and a stable, on the upper floor a *selamlık*, a *zulle*, latrines, and a courtyard” should indicate three separate structures, to which different functions had been assigned: the family residence, service and servant housing, and the reception of male visitors. In other instances, the distribution of functions over different buildings was less obvious: “two lower-level rooms, *gurfe*, *zulle*, another ground-floor chamber, an upper-level room, latrines, and a courtyard”. Was this residence shared by two families, or had separate spaces been assigned to the owner’s – hypothetical – two wives? In other houses, the service rooms probably had expanded at the expense of the main habitation: “room on the ground floor, with *gurfe* and two *sofas*, between them a kitchen and two cells, with an intercalated *sofa*, a well, a

This would explain why the description, unlike the one studied previously, mentions three separate *sofas*.

garden, two latrines, and a courtyard". However, it was not obligatory even for well-to-do proprietors to build separate structures for the three different functions outlined here; on the contrary, we encounter cases in which the latter had been scattered, pell-mell, over the available buildings: "two upper-level rooms, with a well underneath, and [another] upper-storey chamber built on top of a stable, with [a third] upper chamber over a cistern and latrines". Whatever the situation, new structures were typically put up whenever more than two rooms per floor were needed or desired.

### *Arranging structures (and functions) in courtyards*

A similar rule applies to courtyards. As we have seen, when there are two of them, they are called 'interior' and 'exterior', and the first is inhabited by the owner's family while the second forms a service space. Sometimes the arrangement is very simple: "two chambers, a *sofa*, a cell, and latrines in the interior courtyard, and stables with a *gurfe*, a well, and a latrine in the exterior one". A moderately well-to-do home is described in the following terms: "two courtyards, in the interior space, two upper-level and two lower-level rooms, a cell on the ground floor, latrines, a well, and a baking oven; in the exterior courtyard an upper-storey room, with a storage space for wood, and a small stable on the ground floor".

A more complex case is presented in the following fashion: "two courtyards: in the outer one, a stable and a cell on the ground floor, in addition to four cells on the top floor, a *sofa*, a well, and latrines; in the inner court, two rooms on the ground floor with an intercalated *sofa*, a cabinet with a *gurfe* over it and another *gurfe* along with its *zulle* and a *sofa* in front, a cell on the lower level, an [undefined] space (*mahall*), a baking oven, a small pavilion, a well, latrines, and a large garden". A high incidence of buildings in the outer courtyard must indicate the presence of numerous servants, while in the inner court, a multiplicity of buildings includes a pavilion, that is, a structure that served purely recreational purposes.

Yet there were double-courtyard houses in which the number of specialized structures was even greater: "two courts: in the outer one, a large stable, eight cells, a large *sofa*, another chamber and *sofa*, a well, a cistern, a place for ablutions, a staircase, a grand gallery with a large *sofa* between two chambers facing one another; on the lower level, *sofas* plus another chamber, a cabinet and latrines. In the inner court: a two-storied [structure]; on the upper floor, two upper chambers, a *sofa*, a kitchen, and latrines, on the lower level, three rooms, a storage space, a baking oven, a storeroom for wood, a kitchen, a cistern, a



well, a *hammam* with its dressing room (*camekân*), a *gürfe*, rooms, gardens, kitchens, and a storeroom in front of the gate". This description should be interpreted as reflecting two sets of buildings situated in the outer courtyard, the first lodging the servants and the second one set aside for the reception of visitors. This must have been the structure adorned with a great staircase, a large upper-floor gallery, and a *sofa-eyvan* intercalated between two rooms. On the other hand, the two-storey building of the interior courtyard consists of two separate apartments with their respective service spaces, one on each floor. The *hammam*, probably a separate building in the courtyard, must have been shared by all the inhabitants.<sup>31</sup>

More complicated arrangements with three or four courtyards have rarely been described, and normally in such cases, the registers merely report the number of rooms involved. However, here is one rare instance in which a four-courtyard house has been described in detail.<sup>32</sup> The listing runs as follows: "[four] courtyards; in the first, a garden, a woodshed, three ground-floor rooms, and a *gürfe*, a *hammam*, a pantry, a kitchen, a well, and latrines, in the second courtyard a *sofa*, four rooms, a garden, a well, a stable, and a baking oven; in the third courtyard, four rooms on top of an old *çartak*, and stables; in the fourth courtyard, a *selamlık*, a small stable, a room, a storeroom under the roof and a chamber dating from the time of the infidels, two *çartak*, and latrines." In this instance, there does not seem to have been any functional differentiation between the four courtyards. Moreover, we find no trace of the transition from 'public' to 'private', which appears to have been constitutive for residences with two courtyards; to the contrary, the fourth courtyard contains the *selamlık*, and thus must have been accessible to visiting males. Thus we can deduce that these courtyards did not follow one another in sequence and cannot have corresponded to the pattern familiar from, for instance, the multiple courts of the Topkapı Palace.

### *Pre-conquest houses and multi-family residences*

The twelve dwellings with two storeys in addition to the ground floor may belong to the type that is the principal focus of the present study. But some of the examples located also seem to relate to houses surviving from the Byzantine period. In the first case, the third floor seems to have formed a mere addition to the pattern followed on the second floor, with no functional differentiation

<sup>31</sup> This is the house of Ca'fer Çelebi, compare note 24.

<sup>32</sup> The text refers to only three courts, but then proceeds to describe four of them.



involved: “upper- and lower-level rooms, a *gurfē*, a stable, [another] *gurfē* on top, a baking oven, latrines, and a courtyard”, “lower-level rooms facing one another, with an intercalated *sofa*, and upper-level rooms with a *sofa* on top, below two cells and a kitchen, a baking oven, a garden, and two latrines, a stable with cells on top, latrines, and a well”. In the peripheral districts, an additional *gurfē*, cell, or *sofa* have simply been superimposed on the structures normally built in these districts. By contrast, in the central sections of the city, the additional floor seems to have been better integrated in the overall plan: “a stable, cell, and kitchen, upper-floor cells, on top [another group of] cells, a well, and latrines”, “three upper-level chambers, a *gurfē*, four rooms on top of [these] upper-level chambers, a stable, another room, a courtyard, and latrines”. Particularly this last-named house, situated next to a church and turned over to a pious foundation in March 1466, is probably a Byzantine structure.<sup>33</sup> Once again, the layout conforms to the more compact character that we have already observed in other houses dating from before the Ottoman conquest.

Apart from this particular characteristic, the frequent absence of courtyard, *zulle*, and *sofa* in the districts of the commercial core close to the Golden Horn allows us to assign some of these structures to the pre-conquest period. Unfortunately, the descriptions are often quite rudimentary: “Three upper-level rooms with a loft, three lower-level rooms, a shop, and two latrines”; “six rooms on the upper and lower floors, two latrines, a baking oven, a well, and an attic”; “Twelve upper- and lower-level rooms and two latrines”; “three lower- and three upper-level rooms, a well, a baking oven, a *serdab*, a stable, and two shops”. Other rather superficial enumerations must have reflected buildings of impressive size: “seventeen chambers on upper and lower floors, twelve shops or storage spaces, five shops, four kitchens, two baking ovens, six latrines, three gates, a courtyard, and a garden”. In another case, the presence of service spaces on each floor makes it seem likely that this building was used as a habitation for several families: “three upper-level rooms, a *çartak*, a kitchen, two latrines, a storeroom for wood, two latrines, a fountain, and a small piece of unused land”. However, these descriptions tell us nothing about the arrangement of the rooms on the upper or lower level, as if the recorders were not interested in this feature or did not know how to describe it. As a result, it is not possible to even speculate about building plans.

<sup>33</sup> Barkan, Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları*: 224, No 1312. The church in question was called ‘Can alıcı’ (taker of souls) in early Ottoman texts. Compare Stéphane Yérasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques* (Istanbul, Paris, 1990): 115-16.

There remains another type of collective habitation, with all the rooms situated on the ground floor. Buildings of this kind have occasionally been described: “fourteen ground-floor rooms with fourteen galleries and fourteen *sofas*, a well, three latrines, a courtyard, and fruit trees”.<sup>34</sup> Other descriptions refer to “seven rooms, a well, and latrines; every room is provided with a courtyard of its own, as well as a *sofa* and a *zülle*” or else “four cells, each with a courtyard, a *sofa*, and a *zülle* of its own, latrines, and a well shared [by all the residents]”. Another such description mentions: “six lower-level cells, each with its independent *sofa*, latrine, and court; one of the cells has a smaller cell attached to it, [in addition there is] a well, and, over the gate, a wooden *gırfe*”. These lodgings may appear as an early version of the ‘rooms for unmarried men’ (*bekâr odaları*) that Istanbul pious foundations were to build at the end of the sixteenth century to house the numerous immigrants fleeing the troubles and rebellions that were making parts of Anatolia unlivable at that time.

### *Construction materials*

On this issue, the registers of pious foundations do not provide sufficient information for a coherent discussion. However, a systematic search in other types of sources may well prove helpful in the future. As the annual accounts of individual pious foundations often include fairly detailed records of repairs to buildings they own, these registers will provide information concerning the wood, bricks, and other materials bought for this purpose. Similar information can be derived from account books kept by the administration of sultanic finances, where the expenditures for repairing public buildings are listed. Furthermore, orders emanating from the central government and copied into the Registers of Important Affairs (*Mühimme Defterleri*) sometimes refer to the building materials used by the sultans’ subjects.<sup>35</sup>

Foundation registers and sales documents, when they do refer to the material used to construct the houses described, mention wood alone, but only in exceptional cases do they say anything at all about this matter. When it is so rare to find a description saying ‘wooden’, ‘made out of planks’, or ‘half-timbered’, the obvious conclusion is that those buildings for which no information is given were made of some other material. Yet this poses a major problem,

<sup>34</sup> This building was acquired by Canfeda Hatun in 1585: TSA, E 7942/2-III).

<sup>35</sup> Some of the relevant sultanic commands have been published by Ahmed Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı, 1495-1591* (repr. Istanbul, 1988): 60, 64-65 and idem, *Onbirinci Asr-ı Hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı, 1592-1688* (repr. Istanbul, 1988): 22-23.

because in all other documents, wood appears as *the* basic material used in Istanbul's residential construction. This contradiction is very difficult to resolve, particularly because surviving drawings from the sixteenth century that can throw some light upon this matter are not at all numerous. We possess a drawing by Melchior Lorichs and another by Samuel Schweigger, in addition to an anonymous piece in the Freshfield manuscript showing the Hippodrome and the houses in front of Aya Sofya; a panorama by Melchior Lorichs and another anonymous one in Vienna also survive. These iconographic sources show or suggest masonry or half-timbered houses, which latter construction consists of a wooden frame filled with stones and/or earthwork, surmounted by a wooden roof. The galleries were made of wood, as we can see in the drawing contained in the Freshfield manuscript. This evidence confirms the impression gained from the Ottoman registers of pious foundations; masonry or framework structures were probably the rule in the sixteenth century, with purely wooden buildings rare enough to be mentioned as such in the documentation. Only in later centuries does wood seem to have become the only or at least the principal building material in Istanbul's residential construction.

### *Conclusions*

Research on the Ottoman house and its origins encounters several obstacles. To begin with, at least in Istanbul, apart from the Topkapı Palace, there is no surviving residence older than the eighteenth century. Moreover, research has been undertaken by historians and architects separately, each group of specialists concentrating on its own sources and methods and neglecting those of their counterparts. Last but not least, the ideological assumptions of the different peoples who have formed states on the territory of the former Ottoman Empire have not facilitated matters, for researchers from different nations have sought to establish 'national' origins for a housing pattern that was manifestly shared by all of the peoples concerned.

In the present article, we have above all attempted to prove that the written documentation concerning the Istanbul house of the sixteenth century is abundant enough to permit at least the outline of a typology. Obviously, this documentation is unsatisfactory, insofar as it does not contain any explicit information on Byzantine housing patterns. Even so, however, two hypotheses are possible. First, the Istanbul house of the sixteenth century, as revealed by the surviving Ottoman documentation, is not the house we encounter from the eighteenth century on. In other words, we are not dealing with a structure closed on all four sides, often in immediate proximity to its neighbour, with the

*sofa* functioning as a kind of central hall providing access to the rooms. Second, the sixteenth-century house appears essentially as a courtyard house; in the yard, several small structures are distributed, which rarely contain more than two rooms per floor. The chambers are preceded and sometimes even surrounded by semi-open spaces, known as *sofa*, which often end in a great gallery; thus we are confronted with a variant of the *bayat* house, normally considered a rural type of dwelling.

All this means that the Istanbul house of the sixteenth century does not resemble the habitat typical of the Ottoman capital during the later period, whose history from the eighteenth century on is relatively well known. But neither does it resemble its Byzantine predecessor, if we compare it with the houses we have identified as having probably been constructed before the Ottoman conquest. We gain the same impression when we compare the result of our research with what is known about the late Byzantine house from other localities, such as Mystra in the Peloponnesus, where archaeological evidence survives, or with written evidence from other sources.

We do not know whether this house type was brought to the city by the people deported (*siirgün*) to Istanbul by Mehmed the Conqueror or Bayezid II. However, we do know that these deportees came from almost all the Empire's provinces, from the Balkans as well as from Asia Minor, and that they must have brought with them different types of habitation. The later development of the capital's housing stock was conditioned by two phenomena: from the later sixteenth century on, the city became more densely settled, and in consequence, the frequency of fires increased greatly. Though it may appear paradoxical, these fires meant that light constructions made exclusively of wood became the norm, for, at frequent intervals, large numbers of people were forced to reconstruct their homes as rapidly as possible. In addition, there emerged a tendency to make the habitation more comfortable by integrating most service structures in the main building and thus facilitate supplying the inhabitants with firewood, water, or cooked food. Furthermore, once there was no longer a courtyard due to lack of space, the semi-open *sofas* and *zülles* also were bound to disappear, since in such close proximity, the privacy of family life was no longer assured.

# NORMS OF DOMESTIC COMFORT AND LUXURY IN OTTOMAN METROPOLISES SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Uğur Tanyeli\*

*"Heute wirkt noch vieles als Luxus, was übermorgen zur Norm wird."  
(Many things we view as luxury today, will be the norm the day after  
tomorrow.)*  
Walter Gropius <sup>1</sup>

Paradigms based on the concepts of 'necessity' and 'function' can seldom explain domestic realities. However, students of Ottoman residential architecture generally tend to conceptualise their subject matter in terms of a few 'functions' that include eating, cooking and sleeping. In particular some Turkish scholars have been prompted by their idealistic attitudes to create a fictitious Ottoman house, which is legitimised as being the direct logical outcome of domestic 'needs' and 'functions'. It goes without saying that these 'needs' and 'functions' are viewed by the scholars in question as being valid throughout the ages, in other words, as well-nigh immune to historical change.

By contrast, this essay is based on a completely different assumption. It is my premise that domestic 'needs' and 'functions' do not in themselves provide explanations of architectural form. Rather, they themselves are social phenomena which may be explained historically. The concepts of 'comfort' and 'luxury' as developed by a given society inadvertently reveal the confines of the latter's domestic life, and the same thing applies to groups embedded within larger societies. To phrase it differently, concepts of 'comfort' and 'luxury' are constituent parts of the grammar of everyday life; and consequently, domestic architecture is simply another aspect of this grammatical structure.

In the perspective outlined here, notions of 'comfort' and 'luxury' acquire a dual role. On the one hand, as has been explained by Thorstein Veblen in his impressive early analysis, what is considered as 'comfort' and 'luxury' at any

---

\* Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul.

<sup>1</sup> Walter Gropius, *Bauhausbauten Dessau* (München, 1930): 112.

particular time serves as a sign of status and as a means of self-expression for the members of a class (or group) rich, powerful and well-connected enough to acquire these signs of wealth and high rank.<sup>2</sup> But on the other hand, 'comfort' and 'luxury' define the mechanism that guides house owners in shaping and constantly remodelling their dwellings. Transformations of the domestic space over time are almost always determined by the expectations shaped by social standards and concepts linked to 'comfort' and 'luxury'. This was also the case in the Ottoman world. Certain patterns, habits and artefacts of domestic life initially were perceived by the upper classes as luxurious and extravagant. In the perspective of these people, such luxuries should have been obtainable merely by a small minority, namely themselves. However, in the long run these items were adopted by members of other groups or classes attempting to construct a better future for themselves and their descendants.

Without any doubt, the present article must be read as a very provisional draft; it is as yet very far from being the definitive analysis of the roles of 'comfort' and 'luxury' in Ottoman society. Moreover, I will not discuss the architectural grammar of the Ottoman house, but only draw a brief historical panorama of the evolving norms of 'comfort' and 'luxury', which in the long run, conditioned the architectural history of the Ottoman as well as other housing traditions.

Istanbul will form the focus of this study. But we will also discuss two other Ottoman metropolises, namely Edirne and Bursa, because they provide additional source material on urban dwellings and their contents. In fact on certain issues, we do not possess any reliable information relevant to the Ottoman capital itself. When discussing the norms of domestic 'comfort' and 'luxury', we will focus on two problems. At the first stage, we will try to establish the level of functional differentiation between the constituent parts of Istanbul houses. Secondly, we will engage in a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the movable contents of urban dwelling places, including furniture, kitchenware, tableware and household equipment.

### *Functional differentiation in Ottoman dwellings*

It is often assumed that the Ottoman house was characterised by a rather low level of functional differentiation between the spatial components of the individual dwelling; however a bit of reflection will show that this claim is no more than a myth. Architecturally speaking, the Ottoman house is regarded as a

---

<sup>2</sup> Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Boston, 1973).

constellation of undifferentiated multi-functional rooms, and this characteristic was supposedly derived from the nomadic past of the Turks. Unfortunately, despite the limited and generally unsatisfactory results obtained, the problem of 'origins' continues to bedevil most scholars in our field. Yet it is generally known today that throughout the world, houses composed of mono-functional spatial units are products of modernity.<sup>3</sup> Although dwellings differed according to the social status of the owner and the urban or rural character of the house itself, all pre-modern societies produced multi-functional rooms, halls and courtyards. Or at the very least, spatial differentiation was not the rule but an exception. Therefore the functional-spatial elasticity of the Ottoman house was 'normal' by the standards of the early modern world, and there is no good reason to insist on an explanation linked, in an ethnocentric fashion, to specifically Turkic traditions. More important is the need to construct a new explanatory model, based not only on the Turkic or Turkish past, but on the much broader history of human housing traditions as well. Ottoman domestic culture can only be understood if in our investigation, we are willing to include the practices and preferences typical of a broad supra-national tradition.

Which new functions a housing unit will gain, and to what extent spatial differentiation will occur, depends on the type of 'comfort' and 'luxury' expected by a given society or social group. A collection of documents covering mid-sixteenth-century pious foundations in Istanbul (*waqfs, vakıfları*), compiled in 1546, is highly suggestive for our purposes.<sup>4</sup> Of the thirteen administrative districts (*nahiyes*) that made up Istanbul during that period, I have examined the first five, which in our register encompass nearly one thousand records of individual houses. According to the number of rooms, I have categorized the housing stock by means of a rank-size analysis.<sup>5</sup> As a result I have been able to

<sup>3</sup> Thus for example, up to the eighteenth century, there were no houses in France spatially organised in mono-functional units. See Philippe Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1960). The most important difference between seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French *hotels* was the degree of spatial-functional differentiation within their interiors. See Georges Vigarello, *Temiz ve Kirlî: Ortaçağ'dan Günümüze Vücut Bakımının Tarihi*, transl. Z. Z. İlkelen (İstanbul, 1996): 151 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) Tarihlî* (İstanbul, 1970).

<sup>5</sup> Uğur Tanyeli, "Klasik Dönem Osmanlı Metropolünde Konutun 'Reel' Tarihi: Bir Standart Saptama Denemesi," in: *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan*, ed. Zeynep Ahunbay, D. Mazlum, K. Eyüpgiller (İstanbul, 1996): 57-71.

show that the housing stock of the metropolis comprised two main groups, namely family houses and the collective dwellings which the Ottoman documents call *odalar* or *hiicerat*. Without repeating the results of my previous study, I will use the same source base in order to study functional specialisation within Istanbul houses proper. Moreover I shall try to give some explanation for the patterns encountered.

Terms like *zulle*, *sofa* and *gurfe*, which frequently occur in our register, have been omitted from my present categorisation, because their precise functions seem obscure.<sup>6</sup> In addition these terms apparently do not signify functional specialisation, but denote purely architectural features. However the functional-spatial units of a house, like *kenif* (toilet), *hamam* (bathroom), *matbah* (kitchen), *keilar* (pantry) and *ahır* (stable), in addition to pieces of equipment such as *bir-i ma* (well) and *fırın* (oven) have been taken into consideration. The quantitative results of the present study, unfortunately, are not completely reliable because of some ambiguities frequently recurring in the register. Especially the figures concerning one-room houses are open to debate, for the document often employs the term *hane*, which unfortunately for us, possesses several meanings. Often it appears as an equivalent of the modern Turkish *oda* (room). But when reading certain *vakıf* records, one can easily detect that the Ottoman scribes may also give this term another meaning, namely ‘a house in its entirety’. Therefore my numerical analysis of the functional parts of Istanbul houses of the mid-sixteenth century should not be viewed as a modern statistical study. But the present article does provide a rough enumeration of the items found in an Ottoman dwelling of the ‘classical’ period, that were designed to make the inhabitants more ‘comfortable’.<sup>7</sup>

Table 1: *Houses with toilets (kenif)*

Houses with	Toilets (percentage)
1 room	33.5
2 rooms	41.2
3 rooms	53.2

<sup>6</sup> Compare the study by Stéphane Yérasimos in the present volume.  
<sup>7</sup> This expression was invented by Halil İnalcık, compare *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London, 1973). In the present context, the term ‘classical’ refers to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.



The Istanbul *vakıf* register of 1546 reveals that toilets were available in a significant minority of even the smallest houses, and in a majority of the larger ones. Nevertheless, the text does not record all *vakıf* property with the same precision. Some foundation documents (*vakıfıyes*) were summarised in rather a cursory manner, with only the essentials of the *vakıf* property deemed worthy of record. In order to avoid the misinterpretations that can easily result from this situation, only houses with a toilet on record have been included in my calculations. Put differently, we will consider the inclusion of the toilet as indicating the presence of a detailed record. If the scribe has taken the trouble of registering this most humble element of any dwelling, we can assume that all the other items serving the inhabitants' comfort were also recorded with some precision. At the very least, we will have included in our discussion only those foundation documents that have been carefully crafted. According to my estimation, in the mid-sixteenth century, the five districts (*nahiyes*) of Istanbul studied here must have contained 769 foundation-owned houses, of which 321 (41.7 %) are known to have possessed toilets, and all my later calculations are based on this latter figure alone.

Table 2: *Spaces serving special functions*

Number of rooms	Well	Oven	Stable	Pantry	Kitchen	Bath
1	42.9%	19.4%	21.4%	2%	1%	None
2	50.4%	30.3%	38.7%	0.8%	1.7%	0.8%
3	51.1%	37.8%	51.1%	4.4%	8.9%	4.4%
4 and larger	72.9%	54.2%	45.8%	6.8%	5.1%	1.7%

In general the (estimated) distribution of the various spaces devoted to specialised functions such as cooking, storage or washing follows a rather logical curve. The larger the house, the more comfortable it becomes, a reasonable pattern for societies in all ages. At the same time, these estimations show us how functional specialisation and the 'production of comfort' proceeded in the mid-sixteenth century Ottoman capital. As we have seen, the toilet was well on the way towards becoming a normal feature of comfort and hygiene for ordinary inhabitants of Istanbul. As the sizeable number of toilets in one-room houses indicates, this feature was not a luxury. Even according to a pessimistic estimation, nearly half of the housing stock had toilets, some large houses even possessing two. But in actual fact, the ratio must have been even higher, be-

cause a significant share of the houses disregarded here because of incomplete documentation must also have had these conveniences.

Of course it is possible to claim that the dwellings recorded in the foundation documents (*vakfiyes*) did not represent the qualities of the total housing stock. At first sight, this objection seems reasonable, but I would still defend my original hypothesis. After all, quite a few of the houses covered by our documents were owned by foundations of the kind that the Ottomans called *evlatlık vakıf*, whose main function it was to securely transfer urban property to the next generation. As this device was used not only by the upper classes, but by nearly all house owners, it is not unreasonable to assume that foundation-owned dwellings more or less resembled the Istanbul housing stock as a whole.

At this point, a vital question arises. Why does mid-sixteenth century Istanbul, at least where toilets are concerned, show such a high hygienic standard? The first explanation must be linked to the cultural preferences of this society, as Muslims are required to thoroughly cleanse themselves after bodily functions. The second explanation refers to the urban history of Istanbul. Here late Roman and Byzantine sewage systems never ceased to function, and up to the nineteenth century, the Ottomans repaired, extended and used the same systems.<sup>8</sup> As a result, building toilets was not difficult, and many property owners could afford to construct them.<sup>9</sup> In the provinces, much simpler solutions often were adopted. For example even in early twentieth-century Zara, a small town near Sivas in Central Anatolia, men met this physiological need on the banks of the river Kızılırmak, while women and children used the stables. After combining human faeces with animal dung, the villagers dried the mixture to serve as fuel (*tezek*) for the winter.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, the distribution of bathing facilities evokes a different situation. *Hamams* occurred infrequently; only a very small minority of even the largest dwellings possessed private baths. Moreover even those mentioned in

<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, there is as yet no detailed study of Istanbul's sewage system. However, we know that cesspits and open sewers did not exist in the Ottoman capital of the 'classical' period, at least not in its peninsular nucleus. For an introduction see Hasan Z. Sarıkaya, Veysel Eroğlu, Attila Altay, "The History of Sewage Services in Istanbul," in: *Blickwechsel, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Wasserversorgung und Abwasserentsorgung in Berlin und Istanbul*, ed. Noyan Dinçkal, Sharooz Mohajeri (Berlin, 2001): 139-52.

<sup>9</sup> Compare the article by Emre Yalçın in the present volume.

<sup>10</sup> For the eyewitness account of an Armenian author see K. Ceyhan, *Seferberlik Türküleriyle Büyüdüm* (İstanbul, 1996): 12.

our register probably had no regular access to running water; their owners must have depended on wells. Thus even though the register calls such facilities *hamam*, they cannot be compared to the public baths known from other sources, but must have resembled those simple installations known in later periods as *yunmalık*, that is, closet-like bathing spaces.

From the mid-sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, Ottoman *suyolu haritaları* (water conduit maps) and *tevzi defterleri* (water distribution registers), which contain precious information about the water system of Istanbul, reveal that only the uppermost social stratum could afford publicly supplied running water. The same documents also indicate a gradual increase in the number of private users over this period of nearly two centuries. The officials who compiled the oldest document of this kind, a water distribution register dated 976/1568-69 calculated that 81 pipes (*lûles*) of water were brought to the Istanbul peninsula by the Kırkçeşme system of conduits. However, they assigned only 3.4 percent of this water to private users, no more than nine in number, which they recorded as *haneha-i vüzgera-i ıẓam* (houses/households of the greatest *vezirs*).<sup>11</sup> According to an undated water conduit map that can be attributed to the second half of the eighteenth century, by this time thirty-nine private dwellings had come to enjoy access to the Kırkçeşme water supply.<sup>12</sup> But only two residences were directly connected to the Damad İbrahim Paşa aqueduct which supplied water to Üsküdar in the early eighteenth century, namely the sultan's Kavak Palace and the grand vizier's Şerefabad mansion.<sup>13</sup> Even in the early nineteenth century, access to running water still was a luxury, although by now, a considerable number of notables felt that they could afford it.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps this was the most expensive of all domestic comforts, because it was accessible only to those fortunate few who could pay for the extension of the main system by a new water source (*katma*) located outside the city boundaries. Ordinary

<sup>11</sup> This estimation is based on Kâzım Çeçen, *Mimar Sinan ve Kırkçeşme Tesisleri* (İstanbul, 1988): 165-69.

<sup>12</sup> The map belongs to the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi: No. 3337. My estimate is based on data derived from Kâzım Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Vakıf Sularından Halkalı Suları* (İstanbul, 1991): 52.

<sup>13</sup> See map No. 3336 at the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, published in Kâzım Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Vakıf Sularından Üsküdar Suları* (İstanbul, 1991): 78-80.

<sup>14</sup> For an illuminating example, compare the water conduit shown on map No. 3338 in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. It has been published in Süheyl Ünver, *Fatih'in Oğlu Bayezid'in Su Yolu Haritası Dolayısıyla 140 Sene Önceki İstanbul* (İstanbul, 1945) and Kâzım Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Vakıf Sularından Halkalı*: 65-70.

people were obliged to rely on well water, and therefore the *vakıf* register records such a great number of wells (compare Table 2). Until the late nineteenth century the well was, without any doubt, one of the main elements of comfort in any Istanbul house.

A puzzling problem is posed by the high frequency of *ahır* (stables, cowsheds). It is not likely that these spaces were intended for horses, for in the classical period horse riding was restricted, and only the members of the governing class were allowed to mount these animals within the city walls. Therefore I assume that the *ahır* was not a stable at all, but rather a shed housing a variety of small domestic animals, and some times even cows. In the large pre-modern metropolis that was Istanbul, animal breeding must have been common, as it was in urban environments of this type all over the world. A few sheep or some domestic fowl probably were raised by many Istanbul families, a welcome source of food and also of extra cash.

In the mid-sixteenth century, kitchens and pantries were luxuries affordable for only a wealthy minority, even among three- and four-room houses, the percentage value remained well under ten. Thus kitchens and pantries can be regarded as service spaces fit for palaces, totally beyond the reach of 'men of modest substance'. Instead, ordinary people seem to have owned baking ovens, which were situated in the courtyards where the women of the family also prepared and cooked the meals of their menfolk and children.

In her study of seventeenth-century Kayseri and Ankara, Suraiya Faroqhi has also observed that kitchens were in short supply. From her study it appears that in the eyes of Kayseri townsmen and -women living shortly after 1600, a kitchen must have been a strange and outlandish luxury. At the end of the same century, this attitude had changed but imperceptibly, as the share of houses equipped with a kitchen remained under five percent. Only the number of pantries grew considerably in the course of the seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House Owners and House Property in Seventeenth-Century Ankara and Kayseri* (Cambridge, 1987): 98, "Table 6. Distribution of kitchens (*matbah*), pantries (*kiler*), ovens (*fırın*), and wells (*kuyu*)".

Table 3: *Non-residential spaces and supplementary equipment in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri.*

Locality and time	Kitchen(s)	Pantry(ies)	Oven(s)	Well(s)
Ankara, early 17 <sup>th</sup> century	0.6%	7.6%	5.6%	3.5%
Kayseri, early 17 <sup>th</sup> century	None	7.6%	none	13.5%
Ankara, late 17 <sup>th</sup> century	3.5%	19.7%	2.4%	7.6%
Kayseri, late 17 <sup>th</sup> century	1.8%	13.8%	none	37.8%

At this point, a comparison between mid-sixteenth century Istanbul and seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri is in order. Slightly higher standards of domestic comfort can be observed in the mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman capital; this is in no way surprising. In a cultural system in which norms of ‘comfort’ and ‘luxury’ were developed at the centre and copied by provincials whenever they had the means, Istanbul was an undisputed leader when it came to matters of consumption and a more elaborate lifestyle.

But, how can we explain the prevalence of dwellings without kitchens? When discussing the figures for Ankara and Kayseri, Faroqhi made the following remarks: “It is rather surprising that the kadi registers contain so few references to kitchens (...). One may of course assume that the existence of a kitchen was automatically assumed, and therefore often omitted from the scribes’ descriptions. At the same time, this explanation is not very satisfying”.<sup>16</sup> The author then asked herself whether meals were perhaps cooked in the heated room that our sources normally called *tabhane*. Her doubts about this solution were well justified, because this architectural feature of central Anatolian-Cappadocian vernacular architecture, also known as *togana*, *toyhane*, *tofana*, was a sort of main or reception room, as the etymology of this term suggests. She thus attempted to steer an intermediate course: “(I)f it is necessary to choose between two evils, the assumption that the kadi’s scribes frequently omitted kitchens from their enumerations does seem to create fewer problems than a hypothetical combination of kitchen and reception room in seventeenth century dwellings”.<sup>17</sup>

I think that there must be a simpler solution to the problem of houses without kitchens. If my assumptions about the sixteenth-century housing stock of Istanbul are reasonably adequate, people must have done their cooking in the courtyards, where their ovens were located. This is still common practice in

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*: 95.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*: 97.

remote areas and poor villages. Moreover this assumption also explains why the earliest surviving kitchens are separate structures, at best loosely attached to the houses by means of open galleries and the like, rather than being integral components of the principal buildings. I would suggest that kitchens of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries still show features going back to their original positions in the open air. After all even today, kitchens in Turkey are frequently located as far away as possible from the living and sleeping quarters of the house.

Norms of comfort are almost always deeply rooted in the collective memory of each society. To briefly discuss a non-Ottoman example, detailed archaeological research on the Umayyad desert palaces of the seventh and eighth centuries has produced no remnants of kitchens. These Arab aristocrats undoubtedly lived at what was considered the pinnacle of 'comfort' and 'luxury' current in their era and region. Yet apparently they did not require special spaces for cooking. Moreover this tradition continued; in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Cairo, only the largest residences possessed kitchens, while they were unknown both in modest dwellings and in the 'apartment houses' known as *rab'*. Doris Behrens-Abouseif explains this feature by referring to the high cost of fuel, which induced people to buy cooked food.<sup>18</sup>

However, it is an anachronism to construct a pre-modern urban social system whose lower and middle-income families lived on cooked meals purchased in the market. The lack of kitchen facilities does not indicate food preparation by professionals; to the contrary, it can only be explained by the simplicity of this process, except where the very wealthiest families were concerned. In pre-capitalist economies low-income groups had to use their own cost-free labour instead of paying for the work of professionals, however cheap the latter might have been. Therefore I would suggest that 'ordinary' Ottomans lived in houses without kitchens, but prepared their own food, in ways that needed to be simple for this very reason. The kitchen should have started out as a luxury and only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries become a norm. In addition, the evolution of the kitchen in the Ottoman house did not take place everywhere at the same time; rather, it makes sense to think of extremely varied and regionally differing 'kitchen histories'. Thus the historical processes that have resulted in the kitchens we know today still await proper study.

Unfortunately, I know of no seventeenth- and eighteenth-century counterparts of the Istanbul *vakıf* register of 1546. But even if only the published foun-

<sup>18</sup> Doris Behrens-Ebouseif, *Islamic Architecture of Cairo: An Introduction* (Cairo, 1989): 40-41.

dation documents (*vakfiyes*) are taken into consideration, they prove that in Istanbul, the kitchen emerged as a permanent feature during the eighteenth century. For example, a *vakfiye* of Aşçı Hacı İbrahim Paşa, dated 1708, contains interesting information about fully equipped Istanbul houses, both large and of modest size.<sup>19</sup> This text contains much quantitative information on foundation-owned properties. Almost all the houses have been recorded with their exact cadastral measurements in ells (*şira*), such precision being exceptional in all cities of the pre-modern period. According to the same document, which records forty-nine houses, thirteen had a kitchen; and of these latter structures, three possessed a *hamam*. The enumerations of another *vakfiye*, compiled in the late 1720s, define an even better standard of comfort.<sup>20</sup> Of nine Istanbul houses mentioned in this text, four had a kitchen and two were equipped with a *hamam*. These figures doubtless do not allow us to judge the quality of the eighteenth-century housing stock, but they do give us an idea about the manner in which standards of 'comfort' had changed in the course of the intervening one and a half centuries.

At this point I cannot refrain from speculating on another aspect of Ottoman everyday life, namely the activities which made the kitchen necessary, in other words, the gastronomic sphere. We may assume that as people's tastes in food underwent a far-reaching transformation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, more elaborate ways of preparing meat, grains or vegetables were devised. As most of these activities were more easily undertaken indoors, kitchen-building increasingly gained in popularity. But since the history of Ottoman gastronomy is still in its infancy, no more can be said about this matter.

### *Domestic interiors*

The second part of this study is devoted to the movable contents of the Ottoman house, as encountered in the three metropolises of Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne. This is a difficult field, because reliable information on household objects and equipment is so limited. We have quite a large number of *terake defterleri* (inheritance registers), prepared by judges (*kadis*) or officials especially appointed for the purpose (*askeri kassam*) which record the goods of deceased Ottoman subjects. But these documents merely list the belongings of the dead

<sup>19</sup> M. Münir Aktepe, "Kapudan-ı Derya Moralı Aşçı Hacı İbrahim Paşa ve Vakfiyeleri," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 6 (1975): 177-203.

<sup>20</sup> M. Aktepe, "XVIII. Yüzyıl Vezirlerinden Kapdan-ı Derya Kaymak Mustafa Paşa'ya Ait Vakfiyeler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 8 (1969): 15-35.

man or woman, along with their estimated values. Therefore, when attempting to envisage what a domestic interior of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries looked like, the historian has to search for traces of long forgotten artefacts, at times a truly desperate undertaking. No attempt has been made in the present article to give a complete picture of Ottoman domestic reality. Rather, we will limit ourselves to a brief description of the ‘comforts’ and ‘luxuries’ to be found in urban homes, and describe the transformation which these objects underwent in the course of two centuries. In terms of household artefacts, what did the concept of ‘domestic comfort’ mean to an Ottoman city dweller?

In this section, our focus will shift from Istanbul to Bursa and Edirne, for published inheritance registers are available only for these latter two cities.<sup>21</sup> However at least in the case of domestic artefacts, Bursa and Edirne cannot have differed too much from Istanbul. In the eighteenth century, Edirne was an important producer of domestic furnishings, especially the luxurious lacquer ware known as *Edirnekâri*, and the sophistication of its dwellings (*Wohnkultur*) was always highly praised by the Ottoman intelligentsia. Therefore in the classical era of the Ottoman Empire, Edirne was not regarded as a second rank, provincial (*taşra*) place.

Our investigation will begin with the main feature of the Ottoman house, namely the estrade known in Ottoman Turkish as a *sedir*. Comfort, in the manner imagined by Ottomans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, cannot be conceived without this continuous and slightly raised platform running along a wall, or indeed along several walls of a room.<sup>22</sup> This platform is furnished with long cushions (*minder*) and pillows (*yastık*). Did such a feature already exist in sixteenth-century houses?

Apparently this was not the case, for no sixteenth-century estate inventory published to date contained enough pillows and cushions to furnish a room with a continuous circumferential or even partly circumferential platform. All published late-fifteenth and sixteenth-century inheritance inventories feature few *minders* and *yastıks*. Some early Bursa lists do contain five to ten pillows; however these items did not come in large sets, but rather were listed as individual artefacts. Even an Edirne jeweller who in the year 1604 left an enormous estate, worth 900,000 *akçes*, seems not to have owned a full set of pillows and

21 Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Edirne Askeri Kassamı’na Ait Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659),” *Belgeler: Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi* 3/5-6 (1968): 1-479 and Hüseyin Özdeğer, *1463-1640 Yılları Bursa Şebri Tereke Defterleri* (İstanbul, 1988).

22 Compare the article by Emre Yalçın in the present volume.



cushions.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, I am inclined to think that in the sixteenth century, these items were manufactured not in large sets but merely in pairs. The earliest inventory comprising a set of *yastıks* large enough to adequately furnish a room in the manner preferred by Ottomans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was compiled in the year 1623.<sup>24</sup> An inheritance inventory concerning one Fatma Hatun who died in May 1636 contained 38 *yastıks* in several sets; this text can be regarded as the first example of an arrangement that later on was to become conventional.<sup>25</sup> In a list of the year 1639, we find another example of a fully equipped *sedir*, with large sets of cushions and *yastıks* in pairs.<sup>26</sup> But these two cases were exceptional. More modest interiors of the same period still contained but few *yastıks* and *minders*. For example, a Christian fishmonger who died in September 1636 owned one *münakkaş* (decorated), one *altunlu* (gilded) and two *velence yastıks*, with a total value of only 400 *akçes*.<sup>27</sup> Though our information is scanty, heterogeneous and difficult to interpret, we can assume that the interior organisation of the Ottoman room, which featured quantities of textiles including cushions and pillows, was created only from the seventeenth century onwards.

In the inheritance registers, we also find information on bedding, which totally contradicts widespread assumptions about this aspect of Ottoman domestic life. No published fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century document refers to the double mattress (*çifte döşek*), consisting of a cotton-filled item laid out on the floor with a woollen one on top. While this double mattress was very common in later times, it seems to have been invented only in the eighteenth century. Moreover in the 1500s and early 1600s, the number of bed sheets (*çarşeb*) and upper sheets attached to quilts (*yorgan çarşebi*) in Bursa and Edirne households was also quite limited. If the inheritance registers of Edirne are at all reliable, nobody at this time was rich enough to own even ten of these items. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, textiles were rather expensive, so that even townsmen and -women of the upper-middle income groups did not consume them in large quantities.<sup>28</sup>

23 Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri": 193-206 record No. 29.

24 *Ibid.*: 421-24 record No. 89.

25 *Ibid.*: 250-51 record No. 44.

26 *Ibid.*: 290-92 record No. 55.

27 *Ibid.*: 257-58 record No. 48. On *velence* or *velense*, a woollen fabric with a nap, compare Hülya Tezcan, "Topkapı Sarayında Velense ve Benzeri Dokumalar," *Topkapı Sarayı Yıllığı* 5 (1995): 223-40.

28 The inheritance registers also list very small numbers of undergarments.

Records of quilts (*yorgan*) pose rather a different question. Quilts apparently signified 'comfort' and 'luxury' for all groups and classes of Ottoman society. Inheritance records are full of such items, often quite precious. A list of administratively determined prices (*es'ar defteri*) dated 1640 enumerates sixteen kinds, ranging in value between 160 and 1800 *akçes*.<sup>29</sup> Contrary to the present-day market situation, according to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents, flat-weave coverings (*kilims*) and knotted rugs were almost always cheaper than quilts. Apparently, the Ottomans of the classical age enjoyed their 'comfort' and 'luxury' mainly when asleep. Yet such comfort as existed hardly went beyond the quilt. Thus although mosquito nets should have been very useful in those days without insecticides, such nets seem to have been quite rare, the earliest record dating from 1635.<sup>30</sup> Even in the mid-seventeenth century, mosquito nets remained a rarity.

Lighting equipment also was rarely recorded. Inheritance registers suggest that between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at least the upper classes made a transition from *çerağ* (oil lamp) to *şemdan* (candle). Still, even for the wealthy, both items were confined to a minimum, probably by sheer necessity. One almost never comes across expensive lighting equipment. It was presumably for this reason that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman upper classes saw extravagant chandeliers as the most striking and symbolic indicators of a 'westernised' domestic interior. Traditional *wohnkultur*, by contrast, had viewed lighting as a need to be met in a most straightforward and modest way. Therefore, those who wanted to break with tradition began by adopting elaborate lighting arrangements. But apart from such symbolism, the growth of literacy made it possible for members of the upper and middle income groups to read for entertainment; and as anybody familiar with night-time power cuts knows very well, this is not easy to do by the light of a single candle.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the chest (*sandık*) was the most ordinary and indispensable item of domestic furniture. Yet like lighting equipment, it was also defined as a basic, modest and inexpensive necessity. Chests were simply used for storage, and not displayed as part of a 'chic' interior. Door curtains (*kapı perdesi*) protecting the inhabitants against cold draughts in winter, which were to become a very common, inexpensive feature of Edirne and Istanbul houses during later centuries, began to appear frequently in the registers of the 1600s. Even though such curtains were not cheap, they were not

<sup>29</sup> Yaşar Yücel, *1640 Tarihli Es'ar Defteri: Metnin Türk Harflerine Çevirisi ve Değerlendirilmesi* (Ankara, 1982): 40-42.

<sup>30</sup> Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri": 221-23 record no. 34.

considered a luxury beyond the reach of the 'middle classes', but rather an ordinary object of utility. Still, they were always more expensive than even the most valuable chest of the seventeenth century.

Another item seldom met in the registers and almost defining the upper boundaries of attainable luxury was the clock. It is illuminating that the two clocks recorded in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Edirne inheritance registers both belonged to high ranking bureaucrats (Bostancıbaşı Süleyman Ağa and Bostancıbaşı Hasan Ağa).<sup>31</sup> At this time, the clock probably played almost no role in domestic daily routine, owing its presence in the two inventories to its function as a status symbol, available only to high officials.<sup>32</sup>

Following this discussion of the living standards of the urban well-to-do, which has allowed us to delineate the upper limits of 'comfort' and 'luxury', it becomes easier to envisage the minimal standards that prevailed in the dwellings of the lower income groups. An Edirne inheritance record dated 1650 includes a list that exemplifies this minimum standard. In her will Ayişe Hatun, the daughter of Sinan Bey, bequeathed the following possessions to her four maids (*cariyes*): "to Meh-cebin: 1 iron-belted chest, 5 plates, 2 trays, 2 cushions, 1 mattress, 1 quilt, 1 pillow, 1 felt covering to be placed in the centre of a room (*orta keçesi*), 1 felt covering to be placed at the edge of a room (*yan keçesi*) and 2 pots; to Aynü'l-hayat: 1 mattress, 1 quilt, 1 cushion, 2 pillows, 1 multi-coloured *kilim*, 3 plates, 1 tray, 1 chest and 1 pot; to Payidar: 1 chest, 1 *kilim*, 1 mattress, 1 quilt, 2 plates, 1 tray and 1 pot; to Kalender: 1 quilt, 1 mattress, 1 cushion, 1 *kilim*, 2 plates, 1 tray and 1 pot."<sup>33</sup> Thus a very short list of possessions permitted a respectable lower-middle class woman an independent life, hopefully in a small house owned by her husband.

As apparent from these lists, both upper class and modestly placed members of Ottoman society owned rather small sets of household objects. Even people worth hundreds of thousands of *akçes* did not accumulate much more extensive and variegated household goods than those recorded in Ayişe Hatun's will. Presumably in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ottoman urban

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*: 224 ff. and 414-416, records No. 35 and 87. On clocks in eighteenth-century inheritances, see Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie: Demise of the Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York, Oxford, 1996): 105-06.

<sup>32</sup> On the cultural meaning and uses of mechanical clocks in Ottoman Turkey, see Ugur Tanyeli, "The Emergence of Modern Time-consciousness in the Islamic World and the Problematics of Spatial Perception," in: *Anytime*, ed. Cynthia C. Davidson (Cambridge, Mass., London, 1999): 158-67.

<sup>33</sup> Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri," 356 record No. 71b.

society viewed luxurious and conspicuous consumption not in terms of domestic equipment, but rather in terms of clothing. Accordingly, the inheritance registers show that large fortunes were spent on clothing and arms. In a society where men rarely employed their houses to entertain guests, domestic interiors did not serve the primordial aim of conspicuous consumption, namely the definition of status. Wealth and high social position were displayed through one's outfit, rather than through the domestic interior of one's house.

### *In conclusion*

While we are as yet only at the beginning of our research on Ottoman domestic culture, already we have arrived at some important conclusions. Obviously it does not make sense to assume a 'traditional' urban dwelling linked to nomadic housing traditions that, moreover, remained immobile over the centuries. To the contrary, Ottoman urban houses visibly evolved between the 1500s and 1700s, and Walter Gropius' claim that former luxuries could easily turn into necessities was applicable to Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul, as much as to Weimar or New York. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, at least the better-off families increasingly came to do their cooking in kitchens rather than in the open air, while the really rich spent large amounts of money to get running water piped into their homes.

In addition, it has become clear that an ample consumption of textiles for home decoration, in the shape of curtains, mattresses, or even sheets, that we have come to associate with the 'traditional' domestic culture of the Istanbul upper and middle classes, has also resulted from fairly recent developments. Little research has to date been undertaken on the eighteenth century. But quite probably it was in this latter period that textiles became more readily available, particularly in connection with the increase of Indian imported cottons and their local imitations on the Ottoman market, which made the fortunes of many a merchant in Cairo and Aleppo. Last but not least, it has become apparent that the better-off city dwellers of the powerful and expanding Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century did not necessarily live more comfortably than their eighteenth-century descendants; if anything, the opposite is true.

## THE AUTHORS

Nathalie CLAYER works for the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) in Paris. She is the author of *L'Albanie, pays des derviches : Les ordres mystiques musulmans en Albanie à l'époque post-ottomane* (1912-1967) and *Mystiques, état et société, Les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XV. Siècle à nos jours* (Leiden, 1994).

Feridun EMECEN is a professor at Istanbul University's Faculty of Literature and the author of *XVI. yüzyılda Manisa Kazası* (Ankara, 1989) and *Unutulmuş Bir Cemaat: Manisa Yabudileri* (Istanbul, 1997). His research largely concerns the early modern period, on which he has also published numerous articles.

Colette ESTABLET has recently retired from the Université de Provence in Aix-Marseille. Together with Jean Paul Pascual, she has written two books based upon the inheritance inventories of late seventeenth- and eighteenth century Damascus: *Familles et fortunes à Damas : 450 foyers damascains en 1700* (Damascus, 1994) and *Ultime Voyage Pour la Mecque: Les inventaires après décès de pèlerins morts à Damas vers 1700* (Damascus, 1998).

Suraiya FAROQHI teaches at the University of Munich; her work focuses on the economic, social and cultural history of the pre-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire (*Towns of Ottoman Anatolia*, Cambridge, 1984; *Pilgrims and Sultans*, London, 1994; *Approaching Ottoman History*, Cambridge, 1999; *Subjects of the Sultans*, transl. Martin Bott, London, 2000).

Ekrem İŞİN has written *İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat* (Istanbul, 1995), which is also available in English as *Everyday Life in Istanbul*. He works as an editor for the publishing house connected with the *Yapı ve Kredi Bankası*, Istanbul, and in addition, writes articles on the cultural history of Istanbul.

Dariusz KOŁODZIEJCZYK is a professor of history at Warsaw University. His main area of research is the Polono-Ottoman relationship, on which he has published two books. One of them, which includes a voluminous documentary appendix in several languages, is available in English: *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century) : An Annotated Edition of 'Abdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden, 2000).

Mübahat KÜTÜKOĞLU, professor of Ottoman cultural and institutional History at Istanbul University's Faculty of Literature, now retired, is the author of, among others, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*



(İstanbul, 1983); *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik)* (İstanbul, 1994); XX. *Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri* (Ankara, 2000) and *İzmir Tarihinden Kesitler* (İzmir, 2000). In the Turkish context, she has pioneered the use of computers in historical research and publishing.

Christoph K. NEUMANN teaches at Bilgi Üniversitesi in Istanbul. He is the author of *Das Indirekte Argument : Ein Plädoyer für die Tanzimat vermittelt der Historie; Die geschichtliche Bedeutung von Ahmed Cevdet Paşas Tarib* (Münster, Hamburg, 1994) and of numerous articles on eighteenth-century Ottoman social and cultural history, Ottoman historiography and the situation of intellectuals in present-day Turkey.

Jean Paul PASCUAL, of the CNRS and Institut de Reserches et d'Etudes sur le Monde Arabe et Musulman in Aix-en-Provence, has co-authored *Familles et Fortunes à Damas* (Damascus, 1994) and *Ultime Voyage Pour la Mecque* (Damascus, 1998) together with Colette Establet. He is currently editing a collective volume on wealth and poverty in the Ottoman Empire.

Hedda REINDL-KIEL teaches at the University of Bonn. In addition to the prosopography of the early Ottoman Empire (*Männer um Bayezid : Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bayezids II., 1444-1493*, Berlin, 1983) she has worked on various aspects of Ottoman cultural history, with a special emphasis on cuisine.

Necdet SAKAOĞLU was a member of the steering committee of the Foundation for the Economic and Social History of Turkey, and the author of variety of articles as well as the monographs *Anadolu Derebeyi Ocaklarından Köşe Paşa Hanedanı* (Ankara, 1984) and *Çeşm-i Cihan: Amasra* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., İstanbul 1999).

Özge SAMANCI is a doctoral student at the Ecoles des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, doing research on the food culture of nineteenth-century upper-class Istanbul households.

Uğur TANYELİ is a professor of architecture at Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul, and focuses on architectural history in the context of Ottoman history in its entirety. He has published several articles on Istanbul dwellings and the connections between Ottoman and European architects.

Emre YALÇIN is an editor at the National Geographic Turkey and together with Meltem Toksöz, has published on nineteenth-century Ottoman history. He is the owner of a magnificent Istanbul mansion and the proud father of Zeynep who will represent the seventh generation of his family to inhabit this dwelling.

Stéphane YÉRASIMOS is a professor of urban studies at the Université de Paris 8, Vincennes-St Denis. Among his very numerous publications, we find, *La Fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques* (Istanbul,

1990), *Les Voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman : XIVe-XVIe siècles* (Ankara, 1991), *Istanbul, 1914-1923, Capitale d'un monde illusoire ou l'agonie des vieux empires* (Paris, 1992). He has recently brought out a collection of Ottoman cooking recipes, along with extensive comments: *Sultan Sofraları : 15. ve 16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Saray Mutfacı* (Istanbul, 2002).





# PLATES



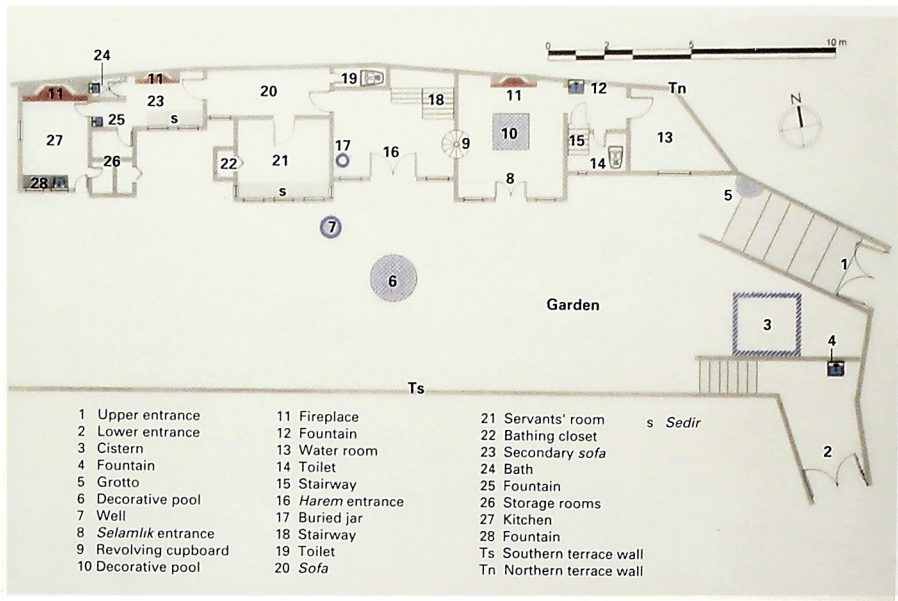


plate A: *Sketch of the ground floor and western section of the garden*

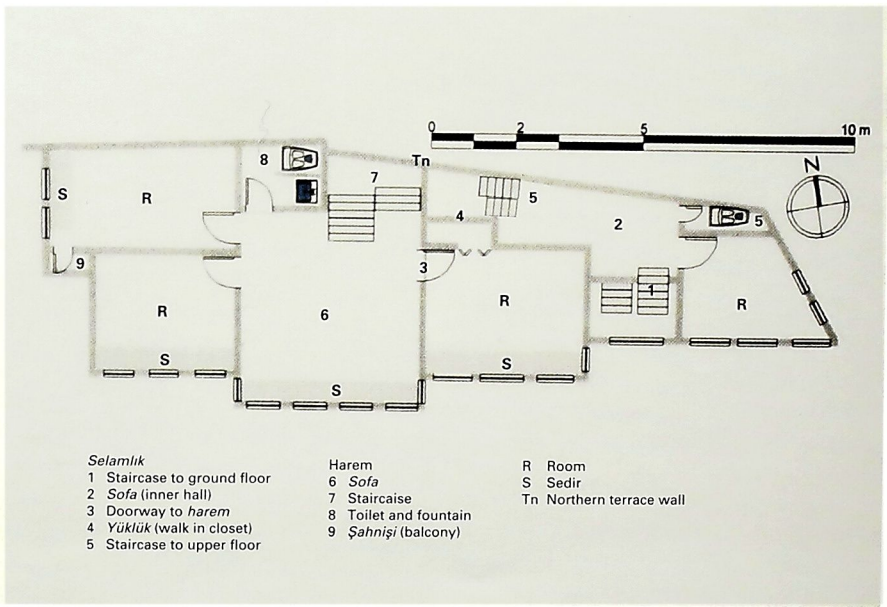


plate B: *Sketch of the middle floor*

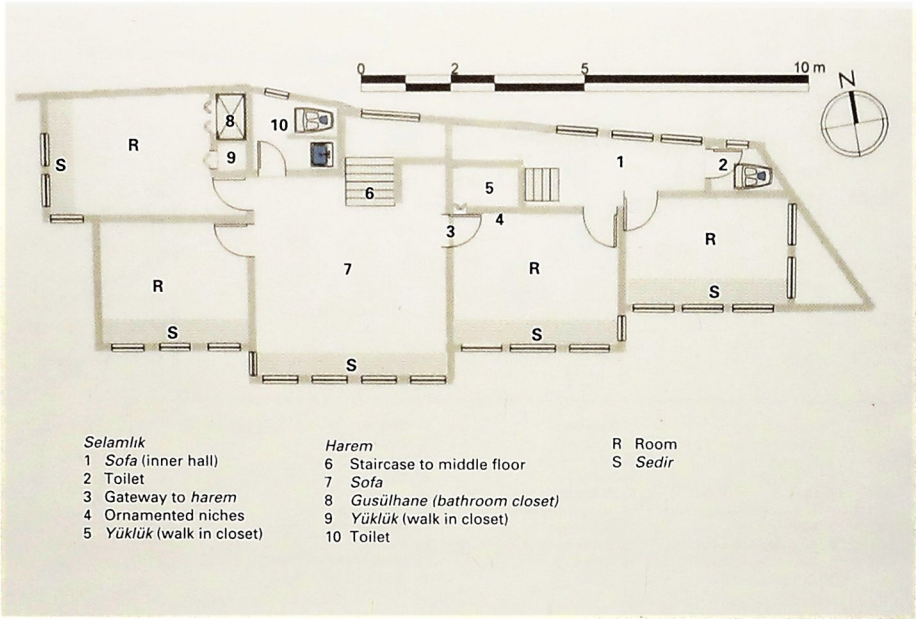


plate C: *Sketch of the upper floor*



plate D: *View of the house in 1994*





plate E: *Former grotto in the garden (the grotto was removed and only its basin was retained) in 1994*



plate F: *The pool in the garden, in the 1920s*





plate G: *Ottoman baroque fountain in the toilet of third floor of the harem, 1992*





plate H: *A piece of the old terra cotta pipes, found in the garden in the early 1990s*



plate I: *Faulty earthenware, found in the northwestern section of the garden in the 1980s and 1990s*



plate K: *Faulty tobacco pipes, found in the northwestern section of the garden in the 1980s and 1990s*



plate 1: hâwan *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, Damascus, no 7811*



plate 2: ibriq qahva *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, Damascus, no 6103*





plate 3: manqal *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, Damascus, no 7300*



plate 4 misfāya *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, Damascus, no 6610*



plate 5 sahn *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, Damascus, no 4625*



plate 6 siniyya *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, Damascus, no 2603*





plate 7 matbaqiyya *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, Damascus, no 7811*



plate 8 labâniyya *Collection H. Dahabi, Damascus*



plate 9 tasa *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, Damascus, no 6659, 7303, 4335*



plate 10 kafkîr *Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions, Damascus, no 1896*





## INDEX

The index contains along with the place names, foundations and dervish orders mentioned in the text the names of foodstuffs (in English), dishes, buildings and building parts (in Turkish). Personal names are only mentioned if the persons in question have instituted a *vakf* mentioned in the book. The transliteration from the Arabic script that has not been thoroughly unified in the articles has been given as rendered in modern standard Turkish in the index.

- Abd ül-Hamid I, 140  
Abd ül-Mecid, 183, 226, 227  
Abdürrahim Efendi Medresesi, 214  
*ab-ı verd*, 81, 168  
Abyssinia, Abyssinian, 203  
*Acem pilavı*, 61  
*Acı Musluk*, 212  
Aegean, Aegean Sea 12, 256  
*aḥşam ta'amı*, 75  
*ahur*, 280, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 292,  
293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 304, 308  
*ajowan cumin*, 140  
*ak helva* see: *helva*  
Aleppo, 31, 268, 316  
Alexandria, 258  
Algiers, 54  
Ali Paşa (district), 281, 282, 283  
allspice, 163, 168  
almond, 26, 38, 44, 49, 67, 69, 84, 85, 92,  
96, 169  
alum, 137, 147  
Amasya, 26, 90  
*ambar* see: *mahzen*  
amber, 40  
ambergis, 135, 137  
*amberli kahve*, 48  
America, American, 15, 16, 17, 20, 129,  
175, 183, 268  
Anatolia, 13, 16, 32, 33, 35, 63, 73, 88,  
89, 214, 221, 298, 300, 317  
anchovies, 172  
anise see: *aniseed*  
aniseed, 139, 140, 142  
Ankara, 12, 15, 16, 28, 32, 237, 262, 308,  
309, 317, 318, 319  
apple nectar see: *elma hoşabı*  
apple, 39, 42, 47, 49, 73, 77, 84, 96, 177  
apricot nectar see: *kayısı hoşabı*  
apricot, 67, 69, 84, 96, 98, 177  
Arab provinces, 220  
*armut hoşabı*, 48  
*Arnavut ciğeri*, 139  
aromatics, 132  
*aş evi* see: *matbah*  
*asel şerbeti*, 48  
Asia Minor see: Anatolia  
*asitane* see: *tekke*  
asparagus, 176



- aşure*, 49, 64, 74, 179  
 At Meydanı, 282  
 Atatürk Bulvarı, 281  
 Atatürk Köprüsü, 281  
 Atık Ali Paşa Medresesi, 210  
 avlu, 28, 32, 210, 212, 226, 279, 280,  
     283, 284, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291,  
     292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298,  
     300, 303, 308, 309  
 Ayasofya (district), 280, 282  
 Ayasofya medresesi, 213, 214  
 Ayasofya vakfı, 275  
 Ayasofya, 210, 211, 212, 288, 299  
 Aynalı Kavak, 173  
 Ayntab see: Gaziantep  
*ayva dolması*, 73, 77  
*ayva hoşabı*, 48  
 Babiâli (district), 280  
*baduç aşı*, 47  
*bağrıbasdı hoşabı*, 38, 48  
*bahar*, 81, 83, 85, 168, 174  
 bahçe, 13, 14, 30, 56, 82, 141, 174, 183,  
     213, 227, 240-244, 246-248, 252, 265,  
     278, 280, 284-285, 287-288, 290, 295-  
     297  
*baklava*, 38-39, 48-49, 63, 66, 74, 78, 79,  
     98, 178, 215  
*bal hoşabı* 46, 48  
 Balat Kapısı, 226  
 Balat, 30, 225, 228, 239-241, 243, 249  
 balcony, 14, 247, 279, 289  
*balık çorbası*, 48, 70, 75, 83, 85  
*balık dolması*, 48  
*balık-ı çiroz* see: *çiroz*  
*balık-ı lakerda* see: *lakerda*  
 Balkans, 13, 16, 35, 175, 220, 222, 300  
 banana, 176  
 barley, 44, 227  
*baş etleri* see: *kelle-i ganem*  
 basilicum, 140  
*bastırma*, 49, 170-171  
 bath see: *hammam*, *gusülhane*  
 Bayezid camii, 281  
 Bayezid II, 133, 227, 300  
*bayram* see: *id-i şerif*  
 bean, beans, 44, 96, 139, 166, 167, 173,  
     174, 175, 183, 184  
 bedesten, 285  
 beef, 92, 95, 131, 132, 170, 239  
 beets, 44  
 behen root, 41  
*bekâr odaları*, 209, 217, 298  
 Bektaşî, Bektaşîyye, 207, 221, 222  
 Belgrad ormanı, 242  
 belvedere, 14  
*beşparmak*, 48  
*besvayıc*, 44  
 Beylerbeyi Sarayı, 162, 165, 171, 172,  
     182  
*beyt* see: *oda*  
 Bezm-i Alem Sultan, 227  
 billy goat see: goat  
 Binbirdirek sarnıcı, 281  
 Birgi, 290  
 black cumin, 45, 140, 145  
 black hen see: chicken  
 black pepper, 40, 41, 61, 97, 139, 140,  
     142, 150, 168  
 black raisins, 79, 81  
 Black Sea, 183  
 blancmange, 180  
 bluefish, 48  
*böbrek*, 44, 76, 77 see also: *kebab-ı*  
     *böbrek sarma*  
*bodrum*, 280  
 Boğaziçi, 14, 173, 183, 237  
*bohça böreği*, 48, 74, 77  
 boiled wheat with milk, 56



- Borago Constantinopolitana see: *lisan-i sevîr*
- Bordeaux, 270, 271
- börek*, 38, 48, 62, 63, 64, 70, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 92, 169, 188 see also under its variations
- börek-i bohça* see: *bohça böreği*
- börek-i dil* see: *dil böreği*
- börek-i hurde*, 74
- börek-i pazar*, 62, 74
- börek-i sini* see: *tepsi böreği*
- Bosnia, 230
- Bosphorus see: *Boğaziçi*
- boza*, 96, 103, 125
- brain, 44
- bread, 10, 39, 40, 44, 47, 48, 49, 64, 91, 92, 99, 101, 164, 165, 171, 189, 216 see also: *fodula*, *francala*, *mayasız ekmek*, *nan*, *somun*, *tandır ekmeği*, *yufka*
- buckthorn, 141, 149
- buğday çorbası*, 48
- bulgur pilavı*, 61, 74
- bulgur wheat, 40, 82, 99, 166, 215
- burani-i isfanac*, 73
- burani-i kabak*, 63
- Bursa, 16, 26, 29, 40, 90, 178, 302, 311, 312, 313, 316
- butter, 40, 69, 96, 167
- Byzantine imperial palace, 282
- Byzantine land walls, 275, 281, 283
- Ca'fer Ağa medresesi, 210, 212
- cabbage, 38, 40, 48, 73, 83, 103, 173, 174
- Cairo, 310, 316
- Çakır Ağa konağı, 290
- caltrop, 41
- camekân*, 296
- camel, 44, 99, 149, 285
- caraway, 140, 148
- cardamom, 41, 45, 137, 139, 140, 142, 143, 147, 168
- carrot, carrots, 96, 103
- carrot, red, 43
- Çarşamba (district), 211, 217
- çartak*, 278, 286, 296, 297
- cauliflower, 174
- caviar, 86, 171, 172
- Cedid Abdürrahim Efendi medresesi, 214
- Cedid Hasan Paşa medresesi, 210
- Cedid Mehmed Efendi medresesi, 212
- Çelebioğlu, (quater) 282, 284
- celery, 48, 96, 103, 174
- Celveti, Celvetiye, 37, 39
- Central Anatolia, 100, 306, 309
- cereals, 94
- Çerkes tavuğu, 20
- Cerrahi, Cerrahiyye, 222, 224, 234
- Çeşme, 260
- chamomile, 42
- champagne, 161, 162
- chard, 40, 65
- cheese, 41, 49, 62, 74, 92, 95, 96, 167, 171, 172, 181 see also: *kaşkaval peyniri*, *tulum peyniri*
- cherry, cherries, 39, 44, 49, 96, 169, 177
- chestnut, chestnuts, 56, 84, 96, 169, 177
- chick peas, 40, 44
- chicken, 25, 26, 38, 39, 44-46, 48, 56, 62, 64, 66-67, 70, 74-75, 80-81, 85-86, 95, 170-171, 183
- chickpeas, 44, 62, 65, 67, 69, 83, 166
- chicory, wild, 42, 174, 175
- chilly, chillies, 141
- China, Chinese, 20, 41, 56, 147, 195, 269
- chocolate, 270
- çıkma*, 247
- çılbur*, 64
- çılbur* see: *çılbur*

- çilehane*, 222, 229  
*cilveli tirit*, 47  
*cinbane*, 41  
 cinnamon, 27, 40, 41, 43, 45, 46, 56, 67, 81, 83, 97, 98, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 168, 183  
 Çırağan Sarayı, 169  
 Circassian-style chicken see: *Çerkes tavuğu*  
 circumcision see: *hutan*  
*çiroz*, 172  
*cızbız kebabı*, 48  
*cızbız*, 64, 74  
 clarified butter, 62, 65, 67, 69, 75, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85  
 cloves, 40, 41, 43, 45, 97, 98, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 168  
 cochineal, 136, 137, 147, 168  
 coconut, 41, 45, 140, 141, 145  
 coffee, 28, 39, 48, 56, 179, 180, 188, 195, 196, 203, 204, 205, 206, 222, 230, 233, 270, 271 see also: *amberli kahve*, *kâvi kahve*  
 coffeehouse, 22, 28, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208  
 colocynth, 41, 43, 45  
 colonnade, 210  
*çömlek aşısı*, 62, 63, 66, 70, 74  
 Copper, 27  
 copper, 27, 68, 79, 99, 177, 178, 187, 189, 191, 192, 194, 195, 232, 270  
*çorba*, 38, 56, 178  
*çörek*, 45, 69, 92, 140, 145  
 coriander, 40, 140, 142, 147  
 cornelian cherries, 96, 177  
 Coron, 262, 264, 271  
 cottons, Indian, 31  
 cream, 41, 49, 62, 74, 92, 95, 166, 167  
 Crete, 257, 259, 260  
 cubeb, 41, 150  
 cucumber, 40, 41, 42, 97, 146, 150, 174  
 Çukur medresesi, 217  
 cumin, 40, 42, 96, 140, 142, 145, 168 see also: black cumin  
 curcuma, 140, 147  
 currants, 61, 84, 169, 259 see also: grapes  
 curtains, 31, 250, 268, 314, 316  
 cushions, 33, 312, 315  
 dairy products, 164, 166  
 Damad-ı Cedid İbrahim Paşa medresesi, 212  
 Damascus, Damascene, 22, 27, 185, 186, 188, 191, 192, 194, 196, 263, 270, 317, 318  
*dana başı*, 48  
*dane*, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 73, 74, 75, 78, 84  
*dane-i 'Acem* see: *Acem pilavı*  
*dane-i bulgur* see: *bulgur pilavı*  
*dane-i kırma*, 55, 61, 66, 73  
*dane-i sade* see: *pirinç pilavı*  
*dane-i zerde*, 75  
*dar üs-seade*, 60, 67, 73  
 Dârülhadis (İbrahim Paşa), 215  
 date, dates, 42, 84, 103  
 Davud Paşa (disrict), 281  
*Davutpaşa köftesi*, 48  
*dergâh* see: *tekke*  
*deva-yı misk*, 49  
 dıbs, 74  
*dil böreği*, 74, 77  
 dill, 141, 148, 174, 175  
*divanhane*, 223, 268, 269, 279, 292, 309  
 Divanyolu, 281, 291  
 Diyarbakır, 54  
*dolma*, 20, 38, 63, 64, 73, 75  
*dolma-ı kabak* see: *kabak dolması*  
*dolma-ı ayva* see: *ayva dolması*



- dolma-ı elma* see: *elma dolması*  
*dolma-ı karpuz* see: *karpuz dolması*  
*dolma-ı lisan-ı sevir* see: *lisan-ı sevir dolması*  
*dönmedolap*, 245, 251  
doorway, 210, 251  
Dresden, 27, 179, 180, 181  
dried fruits, 84, 100, 139, 164, 169, 176, 271  
dried grapes, 49  
duck, ducks, 66, 67, 70, 74, 81, 171 see also: wild ducks  
*düğün ziyafetleri*, 47, 82, 209  
Dülgerzâde Hoca Şemsüddin Efendi medresesi, 210  
Ebu'l-fazl Mahmud Efendi medresesi, 215  
Edirne Sarayı, 12  
Edirne, 11, 26, 29, 68, 90, 302, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316  
Edirnekapi, 30, 224  
egg, eggs, 41, 46, 48, 64, 65, 76, 95, 170, 178  
eggplant, 44, 48, 73, 96, 173, 174  
Egypt, Egyptian, 28, 82, 94, 97, 98, 100  
*ekşi aşı*, 38, 48  
*ekşili tavuk*, 39  
*ekşilice*, 48  
*elma dolması*, 73  
*elma dolması, pekmezli*, 47  
*elma hoşabı*, 39, 48  
*elma süzmesi*, 49  
*elmasiye*, 168  
Eminönü (district), 281  
*emrudiye*, 49  
England, English, 10, 16, 18, 56, 162, 176, 180-181, 258, 259, 267, 268, 269, 317,  
*erik hoşabı*, 48  
*erişte*, 48  
*erz-i şir*, 55, 74, 77  
Eski Saray, 25, 281  
*etli herise* see: *keşkek*  
*etli pilav*, 48  
Europe, 9, 10, 20, 21, 51, 57, 83, 96, 98, 142, 163, 175, 179, 196, 244, 257, 269  
*ev*, 278 see also: *oda*  
Eyüp (district), 212  
*eyvan*, 279, 289, 290, 292, 296  
*fakume-i tavuk*, 46  
fat, 26, 40, 44, 78, 81, 82, 83, 92, 96, 99, 166, 167, 215  
Fatih (district), 214, 231, 281, 282  
Fatih camii, 229  
Fatih külliyesi, 211, 275, 281  
Fatih medreseleri, 211  
ferik apples see: apples  
Feriye Palace, 172, 176  
Feriye, 173  
*fevkalkarasi*, 41  
fig, figs, 42, 47, 49, 67, 69, 84, 96, 98, 103, 169, 177  
*fincan böreği*, 48, 62  
fincan, 188, 197  
fish roe, 171  
fish, 41, 48, 70, 74, 76, 82-83, 85-86, 168, 171-172, 180-181, 183  
flour, 40, 49, 92, 98, 164, 165  
*fodula*, 165  
fork, forks, 56-58, 161.-162, 182, 189  
*francala*, 165  
France, French, 10, 14, 16, 20, 31, 56, 58, 128-130, 132, 136, 162, 171-172, 176, 179-181, 227, 250, 255-258, 260-266, 268, 270-273  
*frenkhane*, 209  
fries hen with borsch see: *tavuk kızartması*



- fruit, fruits, 10, 38, 49, 56, 64-65, 73, 75,  
84, 87-88, 96, 98, 103, 139, 164, 168,  
173, 175-176, 182-183, 247, 287
- furniture, 9, 178, 251, 257, 263, 265-269,  
302, 314
- furun*, 40, 43-44, 280, 285, 287, 289, 294-  
297, 304
- Galata Sarayı, 244
- Galata, 28, 170, 283
- galingale, 41, 49, 141
- gamebirds, 41
- garlic, 40, 92, 97
- Gaziantep, 31, 268
- gendime pilavı*, 47
- Genoa, 175
- ginger, 41, 43, 46, 67, 83, 97, 132, 139-  
140, 142-143
- goat, 44
- goat's beard, 45
- goatfish, 48
- goats, 248
- göğüs süzmesi*, 39
- Golden Horn, 28, 173, 240-241, 244, 280,  
281-283, 291, 297
- golden oriole, 48
- goose, geese, 41, 48, 66, 67, 70, 74, 75,  
81, 95, 171
- gourd, white, 174
- göz etleri*, 44
- gözleme*, 64
- grain, 40, 61, 65, 99, 260
- grape leaf, 174
- grapes, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 49, 92, 96, 97,  
168, 169, 177, 181
- green beans see: beans
- green pepper see: pepper
- green-winged meadow orchis, 41
- grey mullet 85
- grouse, 86
- güğüm*, 188, 192
- gülâb şerbeti*, 48
- gülbeşeker*, 49
- Gülhane, 211
- güllaç*, 166
- gum euphorbium, 42
- gum of galbanum, 41
- gum resin, 40, 136, 168, 174
- gurfe*, 278, 282, 286-289, 293-298, 304
- güsülhane*, 246, 247, 249, 251
- güvercin kebabı*, 66
- güvercin yahnisi*, 45
- güveyi otu* see: majoram
- Hâce Üveys Paşa (quarter), 284
- hacı teahniyeleri*, 47
- Hadım Hasan Paşa medresesi, 210
- halvet odası* see: *çilehane*
- halvethane* see: *çilehane*
- Halveti, Halvetiye, 30, 224, 231
- hamam see: hammam
- Hamidiye medresesi, 216
- hammam*, 99, 243, 246, 296, 304, 306-  
307, 311
- hamr, 42-43, 47, 161-162, 270-271
- han, 209
- hane*, 132, 278, 304 see also: *oda*
- hankah* see: *tekke*
- harem* (Topkapı Sarayı), 45, 60, 73, 171
- harem dairesi* see: *harem*
- harem*, 30, 31, 90, 170-171, 226, 229,  
232-233, 241, 244-245, 247-248, 251,  
253
- haremlık*, 209, 229, 234
- hartwort, 41
- Hasan aş-Şazili, 203
- hayat*, 279, 285, 287-289, 290, 292, 294-  
295, 297-298, 300, 304, 315
- hazaka see: *yahudhane*
- hazelnut leaf, 174

- hazelnut, hazelnuts, 96, 169  
heart, 44  
*helva*, 49, 92, 98, 100-101, 132, 215  
*helvahane*, 65, 99  
hen see: chicken  
hen roast see: *tavuk ızgara*  
herbs, 40, 98, 132, 140-141, 175  
Herdemşah Hatun binti Abdürrahman, 288  
*herise*, 48, 63, 65  
*herise, etli* see: *keşkek*  
*herise-i keşkek* see: *keşkek*  
*hezarpâre*, 38, 49  
*hezarpâre-i bî-asel*, 49  
*hutan ziyafetleri*, 47, 93  
*hutan*, 38, 47, 67, 68, 72, 73, 78, 82, 135, 136  
Hoca Paşa (quarter) 284  
Holland, 18  
honey sherbet see: *bal hoşabı*  
honey, 41, 42, 43, 46, 48, 49, 61, 64, 67, 69, 74, 81, 83, 85, 95, 98, 99, 168  
horse, 44, 82, 285, 294, 308  
*hoşab* see: *hoşaf*  
*hoşaf*, 64-65, 81, 169  
Hubyar (quarter), 282, 284  
*hücre, hüccerat*, 222, 225, 228, 234, 279, 304  
*hulviyat-ı mümessek ve sükkerrî* see: sweets  
*hurmaiye*, 49  
İbrahim Efendi, Şeyh, 226, 230  
İbrahim Fahreddin, Şeyh, 224-225, 228-235  
İbrahim Hanoğlu medresesi see: Sokollu Mehmed Paşa medresesi  
İbrahim Paşa (district), 281-285  
İbrahim Paşa medresesi, 212, 215  
İbrahim Paşa, Aşçı Hacı, 311  
İbrahim Paşa, Damad, 307  
*ibrik*, 178, 187-189, 192-195, 197  
ice, 81  
*id-i azha* see: *id-i şerif*  
*id-i şerif*, 60, 66-70, 72, 75-76, 83-84, 91  
*imaret*, 66, 91, 98-99, 215  
imperial kirchen see: kitchen, sultanik  
*incir kavurması*, 47  
Indian hyacinth, 41, 43  
Indo-Pakistani-Bangladeshi subcontinent, 259  
İshak Paşa (quarter), 288  
*işkembe çorbası*, 48  
*işkembe*, 38, 41, 64, 75-77, 92, 169  
*işkenbe çorbası* see: *işkembe çorbası*  
İsmihan Sultan medresesi see: Sokollu Mehmed Paşa medresesi  
Istanbul, 11-16, 20, 23-33, 36, 47, 51-52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 71, 87, 89-90, 92-94, 98, 100-103, 143, 163-164, 171-173, 176, 178-180, 182, 184, 203-205, 207, 209-212, 214, 217, 219-220, 224, 237, 239, 241-242, 244, 252-253, 270, 275, 277, 280-285, 290-291, 293, 298-300, 302-312, 314, 316-318  
Italy, Italian, 20, 58, 129, 162, 166, 279, 283  
Izmir, 100, 257-258, 262  
Iznik, 180, 195  
Jerusalem artichoke, 44, 174, 176  
Jew, Jews, Jewish 22, 32, 102, 134-135, 174, 239-240, 258, 276, 284, 291  
Jew's mallow, 174  
jujube, 42  
*kabak böreği*, 39, 48  
*kabak dolması*, 48, 62  
*kabak kalyesi*, 48  
*kabak sarması*, 47  
*kadayıf*, 165, 180



- kafes* (sweet), 74  
*kalbur*, 178  
*Kalender*, *Kalenderiyye*, 221  
*kapak*, 178, 180  
*Kapalı Çarşı*, 281  
*kapı*, *kapu*, 14, 210, 233, 245, 251, 314  
*kara kanal*, 242  
*Karagümrük*, 212, 224, 226  
*Kariye Camii*, 225  
*karnıyarık*, 14  
*karpuz dolması*, 73  
*kaşar peyniri*, 167  
*kâse*, 181  
*kaşkaval peyniri*, 49  
*kasr*, 278  
*Kastamonu*, 90  
*katı çorbası*, 48  
*katmer samsa*, 48  
*Kavak Sarayı*, 307  
*kâvi kahve*, 49  
*kavurma*, 74  
*kavurma-ı çüban*, 74  
*kavurma-ı mahı*, 70, 74, 85  
*Kayseri*, 12, 308, 309  
*kaysı hoşabı*, 39  
*kebab*, *kebab*, 38, 74, 80, 85, 92, 130 see  
also under the different variations  
*kebab-ı ahu*, 81  
*kebab-ı bat*, 66  
*kebab-ı böbrek sarma*, 74  
*kebab-ı guşt*, 74  
*kebab-ı kebuter* see: *güvercin kebabı*  
*kebab-ı kül basdı* see: *külbastı*  
*kebab-ı mülayim*, 77  
*kebab-ı orman* see: *orman kebabı*  
*kebab-ı sade*, 64  
*kebab-ı sarma köfte*, 74, 77  
*kebab-ı şikâr*, 74  
*kefal şorvası*, 38-39, 48  
*Kefe kebabı*, 48  
*kefgir*, 188  
*kelem-i taze*, 73  
*kellecoş*, 47  
*kelle-i ganem*, 47, 75-77, 92, 99, 169, 170  
*keloğlanın fesi*, 47  
*Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa medresesi*,  
210  
*kenif*, 211-212, 240, 242, 244-245, 247,  
252, 269, 280, 285-288, 290-291, 293-  
298, 304-306  
*kenisa*, *kenise*, 238, 265, 281, 297  
*Kepenekçi Sinan medresesi*, 210  
*keşkek*, 48, 63  
*kesme*, 74, 76, 77  
*khan* see: *han*  
*kid*, 44  
*kiler*, 24, 133-134, 164, 280, 287, 293,  
296, 304, 308  
*Kırkçeşme Suları*, 242  
*kitchen*, *sultanik*, 10, 24, 26, 40, 59, 60,  
68, 72, 75, 78, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 99,  
132, 137, 141, 162-173, 175-180, 182-  
184  
*kiwi*, *kiwis*, 176  
*kıyma lokması*, 39  
*kıyma*, 74 see also: *kıyma-ı nardan*  
*kıyma-ı nardan*, 77  
*kıymalı börek*, 66, 77, 84  
*kıymalı dane*, 61, 66  
*Kızılırmak*, 306  
*knife*, *knives*, 55-58, 161-162, 178, 182  
*Koca Mustafa Paşa (district)*, 281, 285-  
286  
*köfte*, 64, 74, 76  
*konak*, 30, 290  
*Konya*, 13, 90  
*Köprülü Yalısı*, 237, 238  
*köşk*, 225, 278





- Koska, 212  
 Küçük Ayasofya camii, 281  
*kül basdı* see: *külbastı*  
*külbastı*, 74, 77  
*küllüye*, 91, 210  
*kurban bayramı* see: *id-i şerif*  
*kurna*, 246, 286  
*kuru et tiridi*, 47  
 Kuşhane (Topkapı Sarayı), 45  
 Kütahya, 13, 39, 40, 90, 180, 270  
*kütüphanes*, 228, 267  
*kuyruk yağı* see: sheep's tail fat  
*kuzu haşlama*, 55  
*kuzu kapaması*, 39  
*kuzu yahnisi*, 45  
*lahana dolması*, 48, 77  
*lakerda*, 172  
 lamb, 26, 39, 44, 45, 92, 95, 169, 170, 178, 182  
*lapa* see: *herise*  
*lapa-ı paça*, 76  
 leek, 40, 174  
*leğen*, 187, 189, 192, 193  
 Lekse, 70  
 lemon balm, 41  
 lemon, 42, 62, 67, 96, 168  
*lenger*, 178  
 lentil, lentils, 40, 76, 97, 103, 166  
 lettuce, 175  
 Levant see: Middle East  
*lisan-ı sevir dolması*, 48, 63  
*lisan-ı sevir*, 63, 83  
 liver, 40, 44, 92, 95, 139, 169  
 lobster, 172  
*lohusa şerbeti*, 39, 49  
*lokma*, 11, 180  
 Lycus, 282  
 macaroni, 166  
 mace of nutmeg, 41, 43  
 mackerel, 172  
*macun*, 98, 132  
*mahfil-i hümayun*, 225  
 Mahmud II, 22, 27, 161-162, 183, 207, 225-227, 257  
 Mahmud Paşa (district), 281-282, 285  
*mahzen*, 252, 280, 287-288, 295-297  
 maize, 175, 183  
*makarna*, 62, 166  
 mallow, 141, 146, 148, 173-175  
 Mane, 261  
*mangal*, 188, 228, 249  
 Manisa, 26, 89-91, 93-94, 98, 100-102, 118, 317  
*mantı*, 66  
 marchpane, 39  
 marjoram, 41  
 marrow, 40, 44, 173-174  
 Marseille, 260, 262, 268, 270, 271, 317  
 marshmallow, marshmallow seeds 41, 151  
*mast* see: yoghurt  
*mastabe*, 65, 70, 75, 76  
 mastic, 43, 136, 137, 139, 141, 142, 168, 179, 182  
*matbah*, 30, 33, 60, 98-99, 140, 185-186, 188, 193, 222, 227, 229, 234, 243, 245-247, 252-253, 269-271, 285-286, 289, 291, 293-297, 304, 308-311, 316  
 see also: kitchen, sultanik  
*matbah-ı 'amire* see: kitchen, sultanik  
*matbah-ı hassa* see: kitchen, sultanik  
*mayasız ekmek*, 45  
*me'muniye*, 39, 63-64, 66-67, 74, 80  
 meat, 10, 25, 27, 38, 44-48, 61-63, 65-67, 69, 74-76, 79-85, 91-92, 95, 99-100, 103, 131, 139, 169-171, 175, 182, 188, 215, 233, 311  
 Medina, 288



- Mediterranean, 129, 248, 260, 272  
*medrese*, 29, 30, 91, 209, 210, 212, 213-217, 235  
 Mehmed II Fatih, 12, 40, 85-86, 130, 133, 211, 300  
 Mehmed III, 68, 89, 90, 93, 102  
 Mehmed the Conqueror *see*: Mehmed II Fatih  
 Meissen, 179  
 melon, sweet, 41, 84, 96  
*menzil*, 278  
*mercinek çorbasi*, 76  
*merdane*, 178  
*merdiven*, 247, 279, 289-290, 295-296  
*mevîz-i sürh hoşabı*, 39, 48  
 Mevlevi, Mevleviye, 222  
*meydan odası* *see*: *misafir odası*  
*meydan*, 221, 225-226, 229, 232, 234  
*meze*, 73  
 Middle East, 256, 262, 268  
 milk, 39, 41-42, 44, 48-49, 95-96, 139, 167  
 millet, 44, 97  
 mint, 40, 45, 49, 96-97, 139, 140-141, 174  
 Mirzeban Sultan medresesi, 210  
*misafir odası*, 222, 232  
 Mısır Çarşısı, 282  
 Mısırlılar evi, 243  
 Molla Aşki (quarter), 239, 240  
 Mora *see*: Peleponnesus  
 Morea *see*: Peleponnesus  
 Morisco, 22  
*muhallesi*, 49, 64, 66-67, 74, 180  
 Muhsinzâde Mehmed Paşa, 225, 261  
 mulberries, 49, 61, 96  
*mumbar*, 38, 64, 75, 169  
 Murad Paşa camii, 281  
 mushroom, mushrooms, 48  
 musk, 40, 45, 49, 92, 135, 137  
 mussel, 172  
 Mustafa III, 140  
 mustard, 40-41, 96, 141, 146, 150, 270  
*müteahhilin odaları*, 209  
*mutfak* *see*: *matbah*  
 mutton, 25, 55, 74, 81, 95, 168-170, 182, 227  
 Mystra, 300  
*nan*, 165  
*nane macunu*, 49  
*nane turşu* *see*: *turşu*  
 Naples, 175  
*nardan*, 74  
 Neşetabad Palace, 176  
 New York, 316  
 Nice, 175  
 Nişancı (quarter), 225  
 Növbethane (quarter), 284  
 Nureddin Cerrahi tekkesi, 30, 220, 223-225, 229, 231, 233-235  
 Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi, 226, 228  
 Nuruosmaniye külliye, 211  
 Nuruosmaniye medresesi, 212  
 nut, nuts, 42, 169  
 nutmeg, 41, 97, 141-142, 144, 151  
 ocak, 210-211, 215, 244, 246, 248, 251-252, 287, 289, 294  
*öd şerbeti*, 49  
 oda, 15, 21, 33, 61, 185, 204, 209-210, 213-214, 221-222, 225, 228, 232, 234, 243-249, 251, 264-266, 269, 276, 278-280, 282, 286-290, 292-298, 304-305, 308-309, 312-313, 315  
 oil, 26, 40, 42, 46, 96, 178, 215  
*oklağı* *see*: *merdane*  
 okra, 44, 166, 174  
 olive oil, 26, 40, 45, 83, 85, 96, 99, 167, 227, 260



- olive, olives, 40, 42, 96, 100, 171, 181, 260
- onion, onions, 38-40, 45-46, 62, 65, 67, 69, 81, 83-85, 92, 96-97
- opapanax gum, 41
- orange, 38, 49, 97, 177
- orchid bulb, 45
- Orchis morio see: green-winged meadow orchis
- orman kebabı*, 77
- orris, 45, 48
- Ortaköy, 173
- Ottoman Palace, 12, 59, 60, 62, 68, 72, 82, 127, 162, 164-165, 169-171, 174, 176-177, 179-181, 183
- ox meat, 40
- ox tripe see: *işkembe*
- oysters, 41, 172
- paça* see: trotters
- paça-ı hall*, 64
- palace kitchen see: kitchen, sultanic
- palace of Mehmed the Conqueror in Edirne see: Edirne Sarayı
- palace of Sa'dabad see: Saadabad Sarayı
- palude*, 64
- papara*, 77
- Papaszâde Mustafa Çelebi medresesi, 212
- parmak* grapes see: grapes
- parsley, 40, 41, 65, 67, 85, 96, 97, 141, 174, 175
- partridge, 44, 72, 73, 76, 77, 81, 86
- Pasarofça, 260
- Passarowitz see: Pasarofça
- Pastırmacı Yokuşu, 237, 239, 240, 241, 253
- pastry, pastries see: *börek*
- patlıcan dolması*, 77
- patlıcan lokması*, 48
- peaches, 96
- peacock, 72, 86, 87
- pear nectar see: *armut hoşabı*
- pear, pears, 39, 42, 44, 49, 96, 169, 177, 182
- peas, 175
- pekmez*, 96, 168
- Peloponnesus, 31, 224, 255, 257, 259-262, 264, 271-273, 300
- pencere*, 32, 210, 244, 246, 247, 251, 253
- pepper, 27, 40-41, 49, 61, 67, 69, 81, 83, 85, 97, 132, 139, 142-143, 168, 174-175 see also: red pepper
- pestil*, 38
- peynir-i Arnabud*, 167
- peynir-i Felemenk*, 167
- peynir-i kaşar* see: *kaşar peyniri*
- peynir-i salamura*, 167
- peynir-i tulum* see: *tulum peyniri*
- peynirli börek*, 74
- Phlomis angustifolia, 41
- pigeon, 45, 48, 64, 66-68, 70, 71, 74, 81, 85, 95, 171
- pilav zerde*, 39
- pilav*, 25, 48, 62, 68, 165, 169, 170, 175, 178, 180, 184, 217 see also: *dane* and its variations, *Acem pilavı*, *bulgur pilav*, *etli pilav*, *gendim pilavı*, *piring pilavı*, *sade pilav*
- piliç çorbası* see: *tavuk çorbası*
- pimento, 141
- pine nuts, 42, 169
- pineapple, pineapples, 176
- piring çorbası*, 65
- piring pilavı*, 25, 39, 61, 65, 67, 75, 76
- pişi*, 48
- pişmiş tavuk* see: *tavuk, pişmiş*
- pistachio, 42, 44, 96, 169
- plum nectar see: *erik hoşabı*
- plum, plums, 49, 96, 169, 177

- poğaç*, 64  
 poke weed, 168  
 Poland, Polish, 24, 51-58, 317  
 pomegranate, 43, 74, 96  
 porridge see: *erz-i şir*  
 potash, 48, 141, 148  
 potato, 163, 176, 180-181, 183  
 poultry, 67, 70-71, 75-76, 79, 81, 83, 85-88, 95, 168, 170-171, 248, 308  
 prawns, 41  
 Provence, 175, 317, 318  
*Ptyoclis ajowan*, 42  
 pulp of fir, 139  
 pulses, 40, 165  
 pumpkin, 47, 150, 173, 174, 183  
 purslane, 174  
 quail, 44  
 quince, 42, 44, 48, 49, 73, 84, 96, 177, 148  
*rab'*, 310  
 rabbit, 44  
*radjo odası*, 249, 250  
 raisins, 61, 67, 69, 79, 84, 96, 98, 259 see also: grapes  
 red pepper, 139, 168  
 red sea bream, 172  
*reşidiye*, 80  
*revak*, 210, 289, 290, 294, 295, 296, 300  
 rhubarb, 41, 146  
*ribat* see: *tekke*  
 rice cakes, 56  
 rice pilav see: *pilav*, *pirinç pilavı*  
 rice, 61, 63, 75, 80-82, 91, 98-99, 165, 167  
 Rifai, Rifaiye, 230  
 Rome, 51, 200  
 rooster see: *chicken*  
 rose buds, 141, 147  
 rosemary, 141, 151  
 rosewater, 48, 92, 96, 166  
 Rumelia, 94, 221, 222  
*rumhane*, 209  
 Russia, Russian, 53, 58, 164, 260  
 Saadabad Sarayı, 165  
*sabuni*, *sabuniye*, 74, 77  
*sade şurba*, 78  
*sade yağ* see: *clarified butter*  
*şadırvan*, 210, 212, 215, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 269, 297  
 saffron, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 69, 81, 83, 85, 91, 96, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142, 143, 148, 168, 217  
 Safranbolu, 16  
*sahan*, 68  
*sahn*, 189, 192, 194, 195, 197  
*şahnişin*, 39, 247, 289  
*sakız* see: gum resin  
 Saksonya, 179, 180  
 salad, 36, 39, 139, 175, 180, 181  
*salep* see: orchid bulb  
*şalgam* see: turnip  
*şalgam boranisi*, 48  
*şalgam böreği*, 48  
 salon, 31, 249, 250, 252  
 Salonica, 258  
 salt, 40, 44, 46, 62, 164, 167, 168, 180, 227  
*Şam üzümü hoşabı*, 48  
 sand smelt 48  
*sandık odası*, 247  
*şarab-i müselles*, 43  
*şarab-i reynanî*, 43  
*şarab-i rummanî*, 43  
*şarab-i zümridî*, 43  
 sardines, 172, 183  
 sarnıç, 241, 243, 280, 295  
 Saxsöny see: Saksonya  
 scammony plant, 41, 74

- Sea of Marmara, 280, 281, 282  
 seaside villa, 23  
*sedir*, 33, 246, 247, 250, 312, 313  
*seferceliye*, 49  
*şehriye* see: *şeriye*  
 Şehzade camii, 281  
 Şehzâde medresesi, 215  
 Şehzâdebaşı (district), 215  
 Sekbanbaşı Kara Halil medresesi, 212  
*şeker şerbeti*, 49  
*selamlık*, 209, 223, 226, 229, 234, 243,  
 244, 245, 247, 248, 250, 251, 279,  
 286, 289, 290, 294, 296  
 Selim II, 90, 133  
*semahane* see: *meydan*  
*sembuse*, 66, 74  
*sembuse-i şerif*, 74  
*semek dolması* see: *balık dolması*  
 semolina, 166  
*şerbet*, 25, 39, 48-49, 64, 67, 92, 169  
 Şerefabad konağı, 307  
*şeriye*, 48, 166  
 Sertarikzâde tekkesi, 225  
 sesame oil, 38, 49  
 sesame, 62, 96, 137, 139, 140, 142-143  
   see also: wild sesame  
 Sèvres, 27, 179  
 Şeyh Vefa medresesi, 211  
*şeytreç*, 41  
 Seyyid Gazi, 88  
 shank bone marrow see: marrow  
 sheep, 66, 68, 69, 82, 92, 94, 95, 96, 100,  
 183, 308  
 sheep's head see: *kelle-i ganem*  
 sheep's sorrel, 174, 175  
 sheep's tail fat, 40, 96  
 sheep's tails fat, 167  
 sheep's trotters see: trotters  
 she-goat see: goat  
 shellfish, 172  
 shrimps, 86  
*sığırdili* see: *lisan-ı sevir*  
*şikebe-i abkur* see: *işkembe*  
*şikenbe* see: *işkembe*  
*sinap* apple see: apple  
*sırça köşk*, 244  
*şirden mumbar* see: *mumbar*  
*şirden*, 170  
 Sirkeci garı, 280, 282, 284  
*şiş kebab*, 74  
 Sivas, 306  
*siyah keçi memesi* grapes see: grapes  
 Siyavuş Paşa medresesi, 212  
 Skopje, 231  
 snow, 81  
 soapwort, 137  
*soba*, 248-249  
*sofa*, 14, 32, 244-247, 249, 250, 251, 252,  
 267, 271, 279, 285, 287-298, 300, 304  
*sofra*, 22, 25, 55, 67, 75, 183, 189, 192,  
 201, 232  
*soğan dolması*, 39, 48  
*söğüş-i guşt*, 75, 76, 77  
*söğüş-i piliç*, 75  
*sohbet*, 35, 38, 39, 233  
 Sokollu Mehmed Paşa medresesi, 210,  
 212  
*somun*, 165  
*sorbet*, 56  
*şorva* see: *çorba*  
 sour chicken see: *ekşili tavuk*  
 Spain, Spanish, 10, 22, 146, 175  
 spices, 26, 40, 46, 81, 83, 94, 97, 98, 102,  
 132-143, 164, 168, 169, 171  
 spinach, 38-40, 44, 48, 63, 74, 83, 96,  
 103, 174  
 spoon, spoons, 57-58, 99, 162, 172, 181,  
 196



- spun honey see: *süzme bal*
- squash, 41, 47, 48, 61, 62, 73, 75, 83, 96, 103
- St. Sergius and St. Bacchus see: Küçük Ayasofya camii
- starch pudding, 38, 39, 49
- starch, 38, 39, 40, 49, 67, 69, 92, 96, 166
- stew see: yahni
- strawberry, strawberries, 84, 177
- surgeon, 172, 183
- sı odası*, 243, 248
- sucuk*, 49, 75, 77, 171
- sucuk-ı selhçe*, 75
- sugar, 39, 49, 61, 63-67, 73, 74, 80-82, 85, 92, 98, 166, 167
- sükkerî şerbet-i vilâdet* see: *lohusa şerbeti*
- Süleyman I, Kanuni, 78, 87, 133
- Süleymaniye camii, 17, 212, 213, 281
- Süleymaniye külliye, 211
- Sultan Ahmed camii, 277
- Sultan Ahmed külliyesi, 211
- Sultan Ahmed medresesi, 210
- Sultan Bayezid (district), 281, 282
- Sultan Mustafa külliyesi, 211
- Sultan Selim (district), 281
- Sultan Selim külliyesi, 211
- Sultan Şücaeddin, 88
- Sultana Valide medresesi, 211
- Sultanahmet (district), 212
- sultanic kitchen see: kitchen, sultanic
- sumac, 96, 139, 140, 142, 143, 149, 168
- sundurma* see: *hayat*
- şurba-ı ades* see: *mercimek çorbası*
- şurba-ı bürri*, 73
- şurba-ı erz* see: *pirinç çorbası*
- şurba-ı gendüm*, 65
- şurba-ı mahi* see: *balık çorbası*
- şurba-ı makiyan* see: *tavuk çorbası*
- şurba-ı mastabe* see: *yoğurt çorbası*
- şurba-ı piliç* see: *tavuk çorbası*
- şurba-ı sade*, 63
- sütlü aşura* see: *aşure*
- sütlü katmer*, 48
- sütlü tutmaç*, 48
- süzme bal*, 38
- sweet flag see: orris
- sweet rice with sugar see: *dane-i kırma*
- sweets, 27, 36, 39, 43, 49, 66, 70-71, 74-77, 79, 91, 169, 271
- symplocus racemosa*, 137
- Syria, 98, 186, 190
- syrup, syrups, 42, 47-48, 74, 92, 96, 165, 168, 169, 181
- ta'am-ı bürri*, 65, 76, 81
- ta'am-ı çömlek* see: *çömlek aşı*
- ta'am-ı paşayan*, 61, 70
- ta'yin*, 52
- tabak*, 180, 189, 192, 194, 196, 197
- tabhane*, 309
- Tafilbos Paşa, 241, 242, 244, 246, 248
- Tahtakale (quarter), 28, 204, 205
- tandır ekmeği*, 44
- tarator*, 181
- tarhana çorbası*, 63, 76, 99, 103
- tas*, 192
- taşlık*, 244, 245
- tatar böreği*, 48
- tatlı yahni*, 39, 48
- tava*, 92
- tavuk çorbası*, 25, 44, 62, 66, 67, 73, 74, 76, 85
- tavuk ızgara*, 55
- tavuk kızartması*, 55
- tavuk yahnisi*, 66, 74
- tavuk, pişmiş*, 48
- tekir tabesi*, 38
- tekke*, 29-30, 88, 202, 204, 219, 220-235

- tel şehriye* see: *şeriye*  
*tencere böreği*, 48  
*tencere kebabı*, 39  
*tencere*, 39, 48, 62, 178, 188-189, 192-194, 197  
*tepsi böreği*, 74  
*Terkos suyu*, 252  
*tevhid yemekleri*, 47  
*tevhidhane* see: *meydan*  
*tofana* see: *tabhane*  
*togana* see: *tabhane*  
 tomato leaf, 174  
 tomato, 163, 173-175, 183  
 Topkapı (gate), 282  
 Topkapı Sarayı, 12, 24, 31, 55, 59, 237, 244, 276, 280, 282, 284, 296, 299  
*toyhane* see: *tabhane*  
 Transylvania, Transylvanian, 60, 65, 66, 69, 84, 85  
 tripe see: *işkembe*  
 trotters, 40, 41, 64, 71, 75, 76, 92, 95, 99, 169  
*tudda*, 41  
*tüffahiye*, 39  
*tulum peyniri*, 49, 167  
 tuna, 172  
 Tunis, 260  
*türbe*, 221-222, 225-229, 232, 234, 281  
 turbot, 56  
 turkey, turkeys, 87, 170-171  
 turnip, 40, 41-42, 44, 48, 96, 103, 174  
*turp* see: turnip  
*turşu*, 49, 92  
*turumciye*, 38  
*tutmaç*, 62, 63, 64  
*tuzluk*, 180  
*uca yahni*, 66, 77  
 udder, 44  
*ufak böreği*, 48  
 Unkapanı (quarter), 281  
 unripe grapes, 168, 174  
 Üsküb see: Skopje  
 Üsküdar, 307  
*uskumru dolması*, 38  
 vanilla, 141  
 Vatan Caddesi, 281, 282  
 veal, 170  
*vec macunu*, 49  
 Vefa (district), 211, 281  
 vegetable, 10, 26, 37, 40, 48, 61, 63, 73, 76, 79, 83-84, 96, 103, 131, 139, 164, 169, 173-176, 178, 183, 188, 285, 311  
*Verbascum lychnitis*, 41  
 vermicelli see: *erişte*, *şeriye*  
 Vezneciler, 210  
 Vienna barley, 166  
 Vienna, 162, 179, 259, 299  
 Vincennes, 59, 179, 318  
 vinegar, 40, 42, 44, 64, 75-76, 85, 92, 96, 103, 168, 271  
 violet, 41  
 walnut, walnuts, 96, 169182  
 watermelon, 41, 49, 96, 145  
 wedding, 30, 38, 46, 71, 186, 228  
 Weimar, 316  
 well, 210, 215, 241, 287, 292-298, 304, 308  
 wheat starch, 44  
 wheat, 40, 44, 47-48, 56, 61, 63, 65, 73, 91, 94, 97, 99, 227  
 white hellebore, 41  
 wild apricot nectar see: *zerdalu hoşabı*  
 wild duck, 86  
 wild ginger, 140, 148  
 wild sesame, 41  
 wine see: *hamr*  
*yağma*, 67, 68, 69, 100, 101

- yahni*, 38, 45, 48, 64, 65, 66, 70, 74, 76,  
 85, 92, 175 see: also under its  
 variations and *güvercin yahnisi*, *kuzu*  
*yahnisi*, *tatlı yahni*, *tavuk yahnisi*, *uca*  
*yahni*  
*yahni-i guşt*, 64, 74  
*yahni-i makiyan* see: *tavuk yahnisi*  
*yahni-i sefid*, 77  
*yahudhane*, 209, 240, 284  
*Yahudihane* see: *yahudhane*  
*Yahya Moravî*, 224, 225, 227, 228  
*yaprak dolması*, 48  
*yediveren* grapes see: grapes  
*yelmeşlik*, 41  
*Yemen*, 28, 203  
*Yeni Cami*, *Eminönü*, 28, 281  
*Yeniceriler Caddesi* see: *Divanyolu*  
*yerkana*, 41  
*yoghurt*, 63-65, 95, 96, 166, 189  
*yoğurt çorbası*, 73  
*yufka*, 45-46, 165  
*yüklük*, 244, 245  
*yunmalık*, 307  
*Zakynthos* see: *Zante*  
*Zante*, 259, 261  
*zaviye* see: *tekke*  
*zedoary*, 41  
*zerdalu hoşabı*, 48  
*zerde*, 38, 64, 66, 67, 68, 71, 74, 75, 80,  
 81, 91, 140, 147, 178, 180  
*zerde-i 'asel*, 75  
*zerde-i 'idiye*, 74, 81  
*Zeyneb Sultan vakfı*, 211  
*Zeyrek* (quarter), 281, 282  
*zırba*, 67, 69  
*zırba-ı 'asel*, 75  
*ziyafet-i 'id-i şerif* see: *id-i şerif*  
*zulle* see: *hayat*







04 SA 55

ULB Halle  
000 105 52X

3/1



[D Zs 163(73)]

#### The Editors

Suraiya FAROQHI teaches at the University of Munich; her work focuses on the economic, social and cultural history of the pre-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire (*Towns of Ottoman Anatolia*, Cambridge, 1984; *Pilgrims and Sultans*, London, 1994; *Approaching Ottoman History*, Cambridge, 1999; *Subjects of the Sultans*, transl. Martin Bott, London, 2000).

Christoph K. NEUMANN teaches at Bilgi Üniversitesi in Istanbul. He is the author of *Das Indirekte Argument : Ein Plädoyer für die Tanzimat vermittelt der Historie; Die geschichtliche Bedeutung von Ahmed Cevdet Paşas Tarih* (Münster, Hamburg, 1994) and of numerous articles on eighteenth-century Ottoman social and cultural history, Ottoman historiography and the situation of intellectuals in present-day Turkey.



ISBN 3-89913-323-4

