COFFEEHOUSES
Rethinking the Public and Private in Early Modern Istanbul

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This article explores the development of coffeehouses as public space in early modern Istanbul, placing them within the context of wider developments, such as the level of urbanization, migration, and the consequent rise of public sociability. Their links with transformations in the pattern of traditional domestic hospitality, and the evolution of public and private space, are also considered. It is argued that Istanbul coffeehouses made a considerable contribution to accelerate this long process of changes. Addressing the relationship between the coffeehouses and Habermas's public sphere, the article focuses on the local types of coffeehouses in an attempt to relate them to urban houses in the neighborhood scale. The coffeehouse provided a zone of interactions between different cultural communities, and performed as the only public space for bachelors and poorer inhabitants who lodged in very limited dwellings, while it served as a principal location for the social, political, and cultural discourses of the Ottoman elite.

Keywords: *coffeehouses; public; private; early modern; urban houses*

Since the 1990s, the study of coffeehouses and similar social and cultural institutions has been influenced by new concepts and ideas relating to public and private life. In particular, Jürgen Habermas's earlier conceptualization of the public sphere has opened up a new debate among historians and theorists, questioning it from various perspectives.[1] Habermas provided the concept of "the bourgeois public sphere" that was to be conceived as a sphere of private people coming together to confront the state and the political authorities. And he adds a strong appreciation to the new cultural institutions of this public

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sphere, such as the coffeehouses and salons that emerged in seventeenth-century Europe and Great Britain. In Habermas's scheme, the coffeehouses became centers of literary criticism first and then political unrest in these countries, and thus they played an important role in the emergence of the political public sphere within Old Regime society in the eighteenth century. Habermas distinguished the literary/cultural public sphere from the political one, emphasizing that the first (apolitical) provided, in or by the process, the training ground for the latter. This article is an attempt to use Habermas's core concept as a primarily analytical tool to understand how far the coffeehouses contributed to the formation of "the cultural public sphere" in the early modern Ottoman context.[2] I will focus on Istanbul coffeehouses, how they functioned as many others in the early modern world, as public space for the production of people's collective, social, and cultural experience.[3]

Only recently has the history of Istanbul coffeehouses begun to attract serious attention. However, in these studies the emphasis has tended to be placed on either the state's attitudes toward the coffeehouses for a particular time and period, or on the policing and control of the conversations and activities of those who frequented coffeehouses.[4] For early modern Istanbul the historical development of coffeehouses, their advent as a major cultural institution remains obscure, and many of the key questions concerning their evolution in Ottoman society are only starting to be explored. This requires a careful study on the *longue durée* of coffeehouses, tracing their correlations with wider developments, such as the level of urbanization, migration, and the consequent rise of public sociability, and their links to transformation of the pattern of traditional domestic hospitality, and the evolution of public and private space.[5] From this approach, many questions can be raised: How did Istanbul coffeehouses begin to develop, by and for whom? Where were they generally situated in the city? And why would this be significant, for whom? Was the nature of the coffeehouse discourse different than that of the older (traditional) public drinking houses? What was the potential role of coffeehouses in the formation of the public sphere in early modern Istanbul? These issues will be explored in detail in the following pages. Throughout the article, my primary focus will be on the local types of coffeehouses, in an attempt to relate them to urban houses in the neighborhood scale. In viewing the coffeehouses as distinctly urban phenomenon, I shall, then, discuss whether the coffeehouses displaced the traditional domestic hospitality, as Ottoman chroniclers often complained, and/or whether they advanced as an extension of domestic sociability.

DEVELOPING AN ALTERNATIVE PUBLIC SPACE

Coffee that was to be known as a Turkish drink in seventeenth-century Europe arrived in the ports of Istanbul in 1543.[6] In 1555, two merchants, one from Aleppo and the other from Damascus, opened the first coffeehouses in

the city.[7] Others immediately followed them, but it took several years before this new institution became an integral part of Istanbul's urban life. Many seventeenth-century Ottoman chroniclers repeatedly recorded how coffee and coffee drinking faced opposition from the Ottoman authorities and learned men.[8] Apparently, it was the coffeehouse discourse with which the authorities were concerned, not the coffee itself: who went to coffeehouses, what they did there, and what they talked about or heard. Imperial decrees were issued prohibiting coffeehouses.[9] But the strict enforcement of these decrees was impossible without the complete cooperation of the people of the city, as Katip Çelebi wrote in 1656, "The fetwa (legal opinion), the talk, made no impression on the people . . . Such things do not admit of a perpetual ban."[10]

It is not a simple coincidence that the founders of first coffeehouses in Istanbul were, as elsewhere, merchants.[11] We cannot ask them why they established a new public house for the consumption of this new drink that they had brought to the city. No doubt there were some benefits in coffee trade, and this was one possible way of increasing its sales.[12] Arguably however, through the establishment of coffeehouses, these enterprising merchants were beginning to transform the public domain in Istanbul by the end of the sixteenth century, a century earlier than their counterparts in Europe.

Before the arrival of coffeehouses, occasions and opportunities had existed in Istanbul for people to meet together, conversing, drinking, and feasting. There were essentially commercial establishments, such as *boza*-houses (alehouses) and taverns. These public houses not only sold alcoholic drinks and other refreshments, and some food, but also provided a complementary venue for sociable activities. And thus the coffeehouses, providing an alternative public space, immediately came to be associated with them.[13] We should also mention the public baths and barbershops, which often provided similar services. The differences between these establishments were not always clear: often one could perform the other's function if needed. It is known that when coffeehouses were prohibited within the city, people converted them into barbershops with a special corner for making a cup of coffee. Most public baths had also facilities for serving coffee to their customers, for both men and women in separate sections. However, as elsewhere in the early modern world, these public houses were associated with a wide range of criminal activities in the city, from drunkenness and prostitution to robbery and urban violence.[14] Take, for example, the barbershops in 1579, which were to be closed down because they were reported to have housed some immoral activities in their upper chambers and back rooms.[15] In these cases, the issue was usually linked to their particular location.

The setting. The Tahtakale area, where the first coffeehouses were opened, was the center for international and local trade. As a shipping point, it provided loading and unloading facilities related to the food supply of the city,

and coffee was one of them.[16] By the 1600s, the number of coffeehouses had grown in or near these major commercial quarters and accelerated thereafter.[17] For example, Cerrah Mehmed Paşa had built a *bozahane* in the Tahtakale area, on a plot flanked by two *hans* (urban caravanserais). His *vakıf* (pious endowment) document informs us that this *bozahane* had been destroyed by fire sometime before 1604, and two coffeehouses were built on its plot.[18] There is a possibility that this older *bozahane* could not compete with new-style coffeehouses spreading out in the city.[19] Take another case: in 1624, the administrator of Süleyman Ağa's endowment demanded permission from the court to build a coffeehouse and a one-room apartment block at the Loose Market (Bit Pazarı), on a plot flanked by workshops of the felt and duvet makers. In 1627, a team of surveyors was sent to the spot to estimate the cost.[20] We do not know if this particular coffeehouse was eventually constructed, but obviously the normal process involved for the construction of a coffeehouse in commercial areas was under way.

At this point, two eighteenth-century trader-registers may supply direct topographical information on the distribution of coffeehouses in the city. The first register lists a number of traders in the neighborhood of the Imperial Artillery, Tophane-i Amire, with their particular location (Figure 1).[21] Of the 462 listed, 123 were identified as coffeehouse keepers, *kahveci.* All congregated together in the marketplaces, *suk,* of the area where, in addition to barbers, grocers, butchers, and fruit sellers, one could find many different occupations ranging from herbalists and belt-makers to duvet-makers and tailors. As the map shows us, the Tophane-i Amire region on the shore near the pier was the most densely developed marketplace with thirty-three coffeehouses while the Kazgancı was the smallest with only two coffeehouses (Compare number 1 with number 9 on the map). Interestingly, among the coffeehouse keepers recorded in the register, we come across people from a wide variety of backgrounds: from prayer leaders and muezzins issuing calls to prayer to dervishes and military men.

The second trader-register also suggests that the coffeehouse constituted one of the most important components of the marketplaces in the city. This lists traders in Eyüb, in the area surrounding the Defterdar Pier, with their shops and residences.[22] Of the 287 listed in this register, thirty-six were coffeehouses and sixteen were barbershops.[23] As in the area mentioned above, most coffeehouse keepers chose barbers as neighbors.[24] Those who ran coffeehouses usually took up residence in a nearby neighborhood or in their coffeehouses. Some coffeehouses recorded in the register possessed one-room apartments on their upper-level accommodating stonemasons and boatmen who were most likely to be single men.[25]

On the other hand, the inventory of a non-Muslim coffee merchant who died just before 1779 mentions how he had lodged in his mill while underneath this premise he was running his coffee shop (*kahveci dükkanı*), in the Unkapanı area.[26] Of course this merchant was not alone in practicing the intermingling of work and residential life. The same habits appear among

Figure 1: Coffeehouses of Eighteenth-century Galata
SOURCE: Dated 1792, Başbakanlık (Prime Ministry) Archive, Istanbul, DBSM 41569.
Key: A. Istanbul, walled city; B. Galata; C. Üsküdar; D. Bosphorus; E. Golden Horn; 1. Tophane-i Amire region: 33 coffeehouses; 2. Tophane-i Amire Square: 14 coffeehouses; 3. Boğazkesen Market: 12 coffeehouses; 4. Firuz Ağa Market: 9 coffeehouses; 5. Sur-i Mükebbir Market: 3 coffeehouses; 6. Cihangir Market: 3 coffeehouses; 7. Salı Pazarı-Tuesday Market and Fındıklı Market: 15 coffeehouses; 8. Dereiçi Market: 7 coffeehouses; 9. Kazgancı Market: 2 coffeehouses; 10. Ağaçaltı in Taksim: 3 coffeehouses; 11. Ağa Hamam Market near the Galata Palace Market: 2 coffeehouses; 12. Ağa Mosque's Market, near the Galata Palace: 2 coffeehouses; 13. In front of the Galata Palace: 8 coffeehouses; 14. Gate of the Kule-i Kebir (Galata Tower): 10 coffeehouses.

many people of various occupations in early modern Istanbul, especially in commercial areas.[27] And almost all of them had left their family in their hometown, including our coffee merchant here.[28] Apparently, the coffeehouses were in greater demand in these predominantly commercial/masculine areas, considering that, as we shall see, their only customers were men. We can now

Figure 2: A Coffeehouse in Sixteenth-century Istanbul
SOURCE: Reproduced from M. And, O*smanlı Tasvir Sanatları: I. Minyatür [Ottoman Image Arts I]* (Istanbul, 2002), 383.

focus on the local types of coffeehouses whose customers were residents of the neighborhood in which they were situated.

The public space. In terms of public space, the main venues in the neighborhood were the mosque, public bath, local market with one or two grocery and

baker's shops, and the street. Here, residents of the neighborhood came together not only for prayer meetings or special sermons but also for neighborly socializing activities.[29] The coffeehouse found its place in this socio-religious and commercial center. Some argued that it was able to establish itself there because it also functioned as an entertainment place for those who came to the nearby mosque and needed to be occupied before and after the prayer times.[30] As with the other commercial enterprises in the neighborhood center, the coffeehouse was assigned to a pious endowment, *vakıf*, and thus it was also financially a part of it. A document of 1588 records that the administrator of Gedik Ahmed Paşa's endowment (the grand vizier of Mehmed II) had built or bought a coffeehouse near the mosque and the public bath of the Gedikpaşa quarter to produce some revenue.[31] Another document of 1596 informs us that a military man, Hasan Beğ had built a coffeehouse in addition to his seven one-room apartment block near the Fatih Mosque, and assigned it to his nearby endowment. They were built on land belonging to a sultan's endowment, surrounded by an empty plot and public road with no private house attached to it.[32]

We also often find *boza*-houses in these neighborhood centers in association with the neighborhood mosques surrounded by commercial establishments and communal residences. The taverns, by contrast, were usually situated in the undeveloped districts outside the city wall, where no residential dwellings existed.[33] This was mainly because the construction of taverns within the walled city was not permitted, and those that were already built were often subject to demolition because of local complaints.[34] For example in 1579, it was reported that some non-Muslim inhabitants of Kumkapı used the ground floor of their houses as taverns and the upper floors as dwellings and so they were ordered to close down the taverns and sell their houses to Muslims.[35] Thus the issue could result in a matter for potential conflict between Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants even though, we know, both went to taverns and caused similar disturbances. In another instance when a non-Muslim built a tavern near his house in 1612, Muslim inhabitants of the area immediately went to the court and complained that they did not want a tavern in their quarter.[36] There were times that taverns were not even tolerated in Galata, which was generally regarded as a non-Muslim quarter. The presence of a nearby mosque or growing Muslim population in the area surrounding the tavern usually justified its closure by the authorities.[37] As we have discussed, this was certainly not true of coffeehouses. For instance, a court document of 1794 gives us an extreme case in which a shop underneath the praying hall of a mosque was used as a coffeehouse.[38]

However, even though coffeehouses seem to have provided more civil and sober locales than taverns, residents of the neighborhood were not always pleased by the presence of these establishments. In 1595 for example, a group of residents accompanied by the prayer leader attempted to lock up a coffeehouse in their quarter by force, and thus the case was brought before the court.[39] In 1627, it was reported that in the same quarter, a *vakıf* administrator converted a large room into a coffeehouse and rented it out to bring

Figure 3: A Tavern in Eighteenth-century Istanbul
SOURCE: Reproduced from M. And, O*smanlı Tasvir Sanatları: I. Minyatür [Ottoman Image Arts I]* (Istanbul, 2002), 382.

some revenue to the *vakıf*. At this particular moment, the residents of the quarter accompanied this time by the prayer leader, the muezzin and a group of cavalrymen turned to the court, and demanded the judge send an official team to the spot to carry out an investigation. Subsequently, the team

discovered that this coffeehouse was located in the marketplace of the neighborhood, and as it was not attached to any private houses it was permitted to remain.[40] These events were not particularly unusual in early modern Istanbul, but I would like to draw attention to the questions they raised about people's attitudes toward the local coffeehouses: Did they simply want to protect their residential privacy through not permitting these establishments in the neighborhood? Did forces of which they were not conscious govern them for some other purposes?

The public sphere. We know that it was primarily the authorities who labelled the coffeehouses of Istanbul as no place for honorable men. Women were not even included in this. They were seen as the source of criminal activities and sexual immorality in the city. Of course, as the above suggests, these were the most acceptable reasons for their suppression. Then, what were the authorities afraid of? They knew as early as in the seventeenth century that the nature of the coffeehouse discourse (spoken discourse, any conversation) differed from that of taverns. For example, consider these coffeehouse and tavern images (Figure 2 and Figure 3). One is sober and masculine, the other entertaining and heterosexual. In the first image, we find a site for male sociability separated from meetings with ladies.[41] In the second image, the tavern is portrayed as a venue for drunken males. This depicts a man coming into a fortune entertained with musicians and a dancer (note the interior furnished with wine barrels).[42] Compare this to the later image (Figure 4). Here, we see less serious, heterosexual, and rather intimate company associated with wine drinking that took place in a private setting.[43]

Turning back to the coffeehouse scene (Figure 2), this apparently represents the public sphere as it was imagined to be. The artist divides this theatrical space into specific zones in which each group presents us different performances.[44] The figures interact among themselves, but at the same time they seem to maintain their boundaries. For example, most prestigious persons distinguished with their headgears are placed on an elevated sitting loggia, in the upper center. A coffee maker poses on the corner of fireplace serving coffee while two dancers dressed up as women perform in the foreground using the open space of the interior. Gathering in small groups, some are engaged in serious conversation, maybe on important state affairs, and others are exchanging ideas on literary works. We also notice those who are probably being enlightened (politicized) through verbal communication or through listening to what was being read aloud.[45] Of course this is a record of the artist, and it is certainly linked with his own perception, memory, and perhaps feelings about this place.[46] However, it is worth emphasizing that he tells us the same story with that of most contemporary chroniclers almost without exception.

Thus, the coffeehouses were also imagined to be places for the dissemination of seditious rumors among the general populace. This must have been

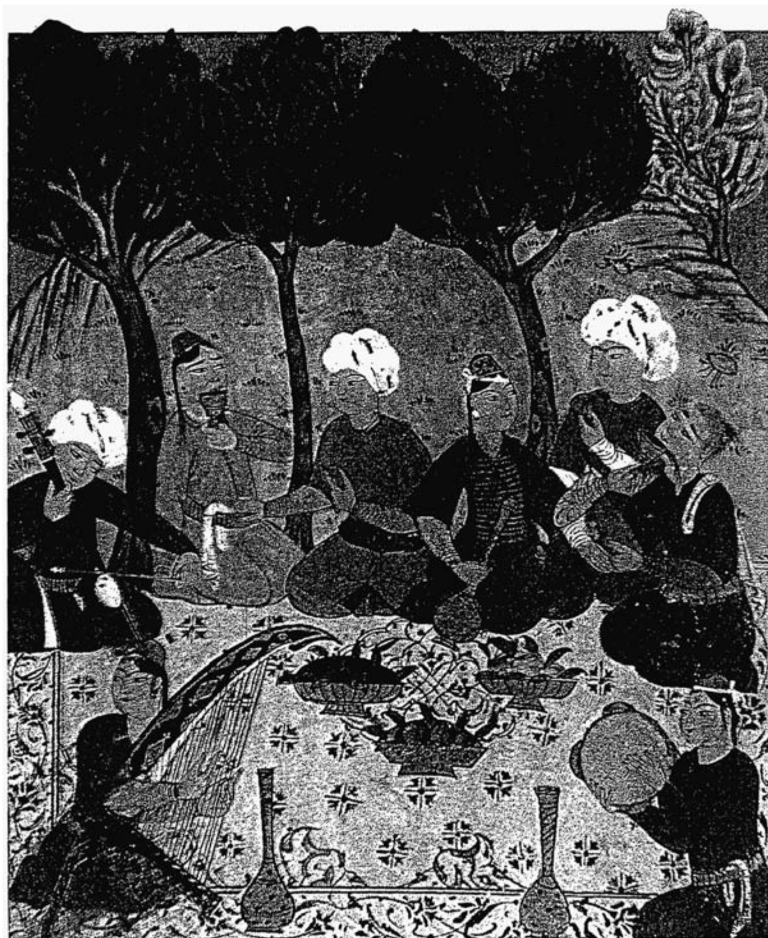

Figure 4: A Picnic in Seventeenth-century Istanbul
SOURCE: Reproduced from M. And, O*smanlı Tasvir Sanatları: I. Minyatür [Ottoman Image Arts I]* (Istanbul, 2002), 380.

what the authorities so greatly feared. Mustafa Naima, a court historian gives credence to this view of the coffeehouse and warns of their threat:

> At that time [in 1633] coffee and tobacco were neither more nor less than a pretext for assembling; a crowd good-for-nothings was forever meeting in coffee-houses . . . where they would spend their time criticising and disparaging the great and the authorities, waste their breath discussing imperial interests connected with affairs of state, dismissals and appointments, fallings out and reconciliation, and so they would gossip and lie.[47]

In the face of this public criticism, the state tried to eliminate the coffeehouses through pursuing a total ban during much of the seventeenth century, but people continued to build them during this time.[48]

This public sphere created in Istanbul coffeehouses, both literary/cultural and political, might have provided the training ground, at some point, for the emergence of a critical public within the current regime, as Habermas pictured in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European context. Here I could identify a number of common institutional criteria that Istanbul coffeehouses shared in the seventeenth century with those of contemporary British, French, and German societies that, Habermas thought, helped to create the ground on which public criticism was constructed.[49] First, it is the equality experienced: private people irrespective of their social status came together in coffeehouses even though they sat in different places, as seen in the above coffeehouse image (Figure 2). They were thought to be socially inclusive: everyone had to be able to participate, and the issues discussed could become general and accessible.

Second, they played a considerable role in the emergence of new cultural communities based on verbal communication among private people, but were not entirely freed from their former ties to the church and the court that occurred in the European context. However, even though the coffeehouse and the mosque remained physically and socially linked at the neighborhood scale in early modern Istanbul, the coffeehouse formed, as elsewhere, an alternative local arena to the mosque. It was now the coffeehouse where people spent their time, not the mosque, and this had apparently agitated most moralists and religious men. Ebussuud Efendi raised the issue, as many others, and gave his legal opinion, *fetwa*:

> Question: While the sultan [probably Selim II (r.1566-1574)] prohibited coffeehouses several times some rabble continued setting them up; to produce revenue and to please crowds they used female slaves with unveiled faces and organized entertainments and games, like chess and backgammon and all sorts of evil-doings. Beardless young chaps of the city also were gathering and having opium with syrup and hashish and cups of coffee. And in this state, they occupied themselves with all sorts of gossip and neglected prayer time. What should then be done to him if the judge being capable of prohibiting all the acts mentioned above does not take any action?
>
> Answer: The judges who take no notice of all the shameful acts mentioned above must be dismissed.[50]

And third, women were excluded from the coffeehouses.[51] Coffee entered women's life in association with the public bath, *hamam* in early modern Istanbul as separate from men. The public bath was the only public place for female sociability; women sometimes spent the whole day there, chatting and drinking coffee. For an early modern Muslim woman, this could be the most legitimate reason to go out. Baron Wratislaw of Mitrowits, who was in Istanbul in 1599, witnessed an episode of a married Ottoman lady (Muslim) who deceived her husband, telling him that she was going to a public bath with her female servants. But she met a Janissary at the residence of Wratislaw (most probably the Elçi Han, where European ambassadors

usually stayed at the time) opposite the public bath (the Çemberlitaş Hamam) for an afternoon entertainment while her husband occupied himself at a coffeehouse nearby.[52] In the eighteenth century, Lady Montagu described the public bath as "the women's coffeehouse, where all the news of the towns was told and scandals invented, etc."[53] However, since we do not know the contents of their conversations or whether they were critical about anything, cultural, political, or apolitical, it is difficult to suggest that a separate public sphere was being created in the public bath of the female society in the early modern Ottoman context.

MOVING FROM GRAND HOUSE TO COFFEEHOUSE, FROM SECRECY TO OPENNESS

Istanbul grew rapidly in the late sixteenth century.[54] The volume of immigration increased.[55] There were more men experiencing Istanbul metropolitan life in this period then before.[56] This crowded city created demands for new forms of sociability, and people began to socialize in both the public and private spheres of life. In Habermas's view, it was in the town that institutions of public sociability developed, and it was there that the political public sphere emerged. And it grew out of the private sphere.[57] Let us now look at the role of Istanbul coffeehouses in this long and slow process.

In sixteenth-century Istanbul, as in other metropolises of early modern Europe, the society had not been fragmented into rich and poor neighborhoods. It was common in those years to find humble houses built against the outer walls of a palace or to capture palace-like mansions in the heart of a neighborhood near communal lodgings.[58] This was the case, for instance, with Ferruh Kethüda, who chose to live in a remarkable house surrounded by his poorer tenants.[59] His house was built opposite his mosque in Balat in a well-frequented location, though fairly secluded with two private baths and no direct access to a public road. It consisted of a number of two-story rooms with porticos and pavilions overlooking the sea (the Golden Horn), and gardens with large storage areas, separate kitchens, including a well, stables, and toilets. Apparently, Ferruh Kethüda was living in a house that suited to his social status.[60] The size and physical content of this house could also show us its social function.[61] Ferruh Kethüda could either socialize with his diverse neighbors in the same coffeehouse or with others, like himself, at home.

However, in this period, not everyone had this option. The majority lived in very simple lodgings of one or two rooms with an oven and a stable.[62] Most houses had no separate kitchen or bath. Only very large houses with several rooms, courtyards, and gardens consisted of spaces devoted to specialized functions, such as cooking, washing, or receiving visitors. Some had to share their basic facilities with other households. Many inhabited one-room lodgings or one-room apartment blocks, *höcerat* or *odalar*. This row-apartment type generally housed working bachelor immigrants and poorer

families who could not afford independent residential dwellings in the city. And it had certainly no social functions. The coffeehouse seems to have been the only public space for these poor and badly lodged people.

For wealthier residents, as I argued above, the coffeehouse offered an option for the provision of domestic hospitality. It was neutral ground where the visitors could be entertained, and was accessible to everyone and certainly more convenient whereas such hospitality in the house was thought to be more selective. In aristocratic grand houses, Mustafa Ali noted, the host and the visitor could not come together without a prior appointment. The protocol of recognizing rank was also necessary for both the host and the visitor. And in those houses, coffee poured into delicate coffee cups accompanied with tobacco or water pipes were served as part of good hospitality.[63]

Where could then these social and cultural activities take place within the house? A diary of an Ottoman dervish informs us the types of occasions that were accommodated in the private houses of seventeenth-century Istanbul.[64] The diarist noted that he usually dined at home with his family except for special occasions, such as *helva* gatherings, dinner invitations during the month of Ramadan, or other festivities. He also often organized dinner parties in his private residence, and attended assemblies at friends' houses in the evening. From what the author described, we could gain a sense of the uses of domestic space and the spatial layout of his house, and that of the houses he visited. Apparently, he did not live in a very smart house but his house had a special room, *selamlık* (literally means reception hall), which accommodated his male guests whom he knew mostly from his religious order, and it is there that he normally served coffee and other refreshments (*şerbet*) to them following the dinner. Books were also exchanged and read aloud, and probably debated in these intellectual meetings.[65] I should note that our diarist never mentions going to a coffeehouse, probably because coffeehouses were being suppressed when he was keeping his diary.[66] And he must have felt himself more secure in the *selamlık* of his private residence or in theirs.

In the traditional Ottoman house, the *selamlık* was the men's quarter. Even though its presence was generally a sign of the household's wealth it appears in both small and large houses.[67] In the small house, the *selamlık* was only another room under the same roof with the rest of the house, but in the larger house it could be a completely separate construction built either on top of stables or rooms for servants. The position of this specialized room in the house also appears to be of importance. It is usually located at the front near the entry-gate while the rear was reserved for the private or domestic life.[68] A sixteenth-century *vakıf* register records a courtyard house that contained two rooms on the ground floor and three on the upper floor with an oven and a well.[69] It consisted of a *selamlık* section separated from the rest of the house. Apparently, the household rented it out because they rarely used it and/or they needed revenue, but in that case they had to accept foreign lodgers within the boundaries of their premises.[70]

The coffeehouse was little more than the *selamlık* that was reserved for serving coffee to male visitors in the house (Figure 5 and Figure 6).[71] Thus, the dividing line between the public space of the first and the private space of the latter was never clear-cut. But, almost everywhere, these two, as also complementary and competitive sites, differed in the composition of their public sphere. Unlike the *selamlık*, the coffeehouse was inhabited by men of diverse classes disregarding status altogether. Mustafa Ali drew the profile of "private people" who assembled in a coffeehouse into "a public," as "a public sphere." He observed in the sixteenth century that

> Those who come to [coffeehouses] are from the group of learned men and dervishes, and their intention is to see each other and have a conversation, and to get a cup of coffee and enjoy themselves. Another group is of poor [they come to coffeehouses] because the poor has no houses or shelters. And thus, they have no other places, no wealth or worldly goods to socialize themselves.[72]

This is the real potential of the public sphere that might grow from here as a result of social interactions between different cultural communities in the early modern Ottoman context.

CONCLUSION

So far, I have attempted to take attention to the complex links between the profusion of coffeehouses and changes in the pattern of traditional domestic hospitality along with the rise of urbanization and migration in Istanbul at the end of the sixteenth century. Of course, changes in the social organization and communication network of the Ottoman State across the early modern period were rather slow. However, coffeehouses made a considerable contribution to accelerating this long process of change, growing out of the private sphere from the secrecy of the house to the openness of the public space. They were, therefore, thought to be controlled by the authorities whose main duty was obviously to maintain the current regime. The general crisis of the seventeenth century gave momentum to their suppressive policy, and during this period, the authorities often blamed bachelors and immigrants who were also the main frequenters of coffeehouses.[73] In the eighteenth century, those who spoke ill of the government, or allowed people to speak in public, still risked having their coffeehouses shut. In the mid-nineteenth century, a subtle shift began to take place in attitudes toward coffeehouses; the authorities now developed new policies to control the public domain. No matter how effective they may have been in practice, they began, for example, sending spies to coffeehouses and similar public places to gain knowledge of public opinion about the current political affairs.[74]

I have argued that in early modern Istanbul, the coffeehouse performed as the only public space for bachelors and poorer inhabitants who lodged in very

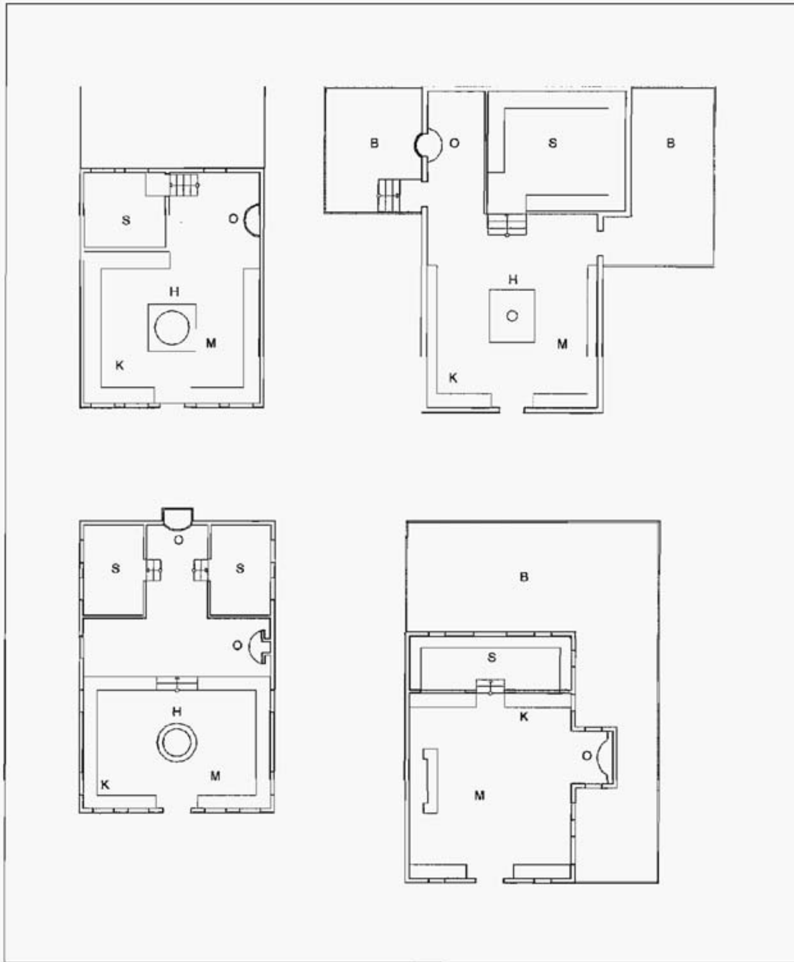

Figure 5: Schematic Plans of Coffeehouse Types
SOURCE: This computer drawing is based on schematic plans of Dr. Rıfat Osman: he established these types on the basis of thirty coffeehouses he visited, which were built between the year 1680 and 1824 in Istanbul, Edirne, Selanik, Manastır, and Serez. İ. Numan, "Eski İstanbul Kahvehanelerinin İçtimai Hayattaki Yeri ve Mimarisi Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar [Some Observations on the Social Role and Architectural Features of Old Istanbul Coffeehouses]," *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası*, 10/2 (1981), 68.
Key: S. *Baş sedir*, the Top divan; O. *Ocak*, Fireplace; H. *Havuz*, Fountain; M. *Meydan*, Open square; K. Kerevet, Divan; B. *Bahçe*, Garden
NOTE: Note typical interior elements found in different types of coffeehouses he visited and compare it with those that appear in Figure 2.

limited dwellings, while it served a principal location for the social, political, and cultural discourses of the Ottoman elite.[75] It provided a zone of interactions between these two. And thus the authorities feared that the general populace could be provoked, probably by the elite, into using their reason to make

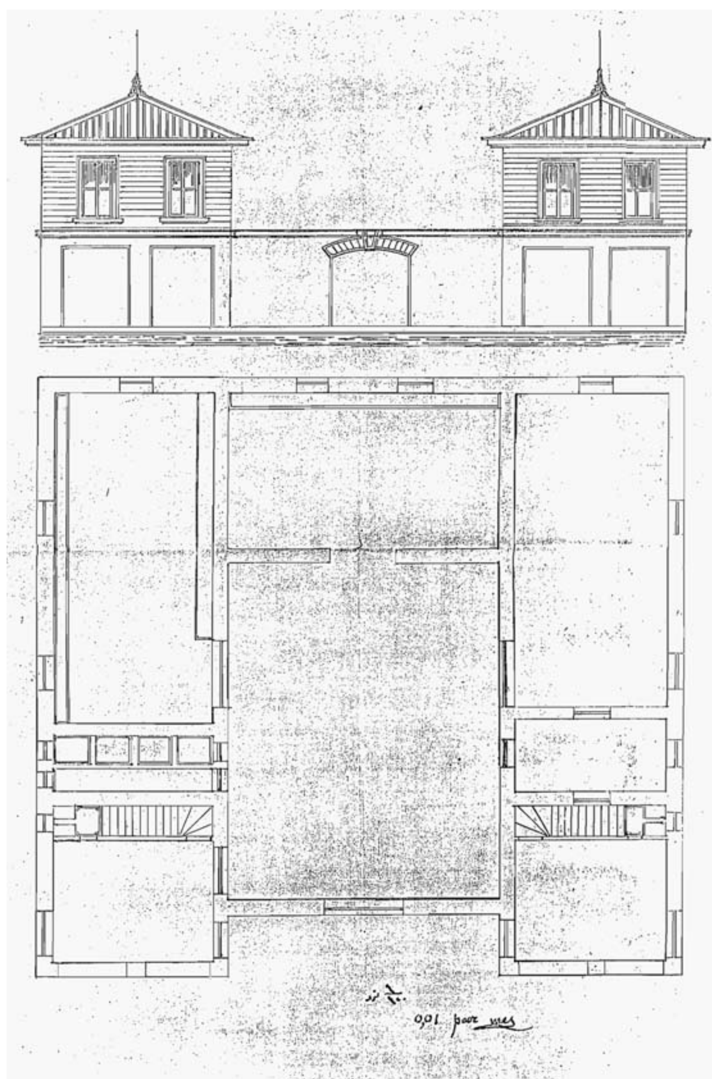

Figure 6: Plan of a Coffeehouse in Edirne
SOURCE: Dated 1908, Başbakanlık Archive, Istanbul, Y.MTV. 310/25. Reproduced here with the permission of the Başbakanlık Archive.
NOTE: The document attached to the plan records that it is to be built near the Uzunköprü Bridge on the way to Edirne, and it contains a coffeehouse, a grocery shop, two rooms on the upper floor, and an urban caravanserai—probably for travellers.

critical judgment against the state, as was the case in Habermas's scheme.[76] Of course there were, as elsewhere, many barriers (property, income, literacy, and cultural background) to full participation in the public sphere of Istanbul coffeehouses, as in between "popular" and "elite" cultural communities, at least until the development of press and growing literacy and individual conscious.[77]

Did the coffeehouse eventually come to displace traditional domestic hospitality? İbrahim Peçevi seems to have been little nostalgic about the issue, complaining in the seventeenth century that

> [In the old days] Those who give dinner parties for socializing with friends that cost a very large amount avoided this expense now, and began to enjoy the meeting by spending [only] one or two *akçe* (silver coin-Ottoman currency used throughout the early modern period) for a cup of coffee [instead].[78]

However, although the traditional domestic hospitality in the house remained important up to the modern period and probably beyond, it was now not to be displaced but to be complemented by the less formal and more popular sociability found in the coffeehouse. Perhaps at this point, it can be suggested that the coffeehouse provided an important bridge to modernity, to the era of clubs and societies, and other similar social and cultural institutions.

NOTES

1. J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by T. Burger and F. Lawrence (Cambridge, 1989), 67-70. For later criticism, see C. Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1996) and B. Robins, ed., *The Phantom, Public Sphere* (Minneapolis, 1997).

2. The contributors to the volume of *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies* have attempted to show the presence of public spheres and public spaces in early modern Muslim societies, analyzing mainly the Islamic law, the vakıfs (pious endowments) and the Sufi orders that were relatively independent from that of state authority. Particularly, see S. N. Eisenstadt, "Concluding Remarks: Public Sphere, Civil Society, and Political Dynamics in Islamic Societies," in M. Hoexter, S. N. Eisenstadt, and N. Levtzion, eds., *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies* (New York, 2002), 139-61. Here I would like to get away from rigid thinking of only in terms of presence or absence of Habermas's concept or its applicability to other European and non-European societies. For instance, I might begin by asking the question: "Was there a public sphere or a public space in Muslim society?" My answer, yes or no, could open up another debate, in the field, similar to that of the Islamic city of the 1960s that had grown up as a response to Max Weber's exclusion of "the Islamic city" from his typology. See M. Weber, *The City*, translated by D. Martindale and G. Neuwirth, eds., (London, 1963). For the recent discussion of the Islamic city, see the introduction of E. Eldem, D. Goffman, and B. Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir and Istanbul* (Cambridge, 1999), 1-16. And this is not my intension in this article. I will instead emphasize the common characteristics and dynamics of early modern urban institutions that would make Istanbul coffeehouses comparable to others in their "early modern" stages. In another article, I hope I have made a case for the value of the concept of "the early modernity" for comparative studies. See S. Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "Two Urban Districts in Early Modern Istanbul: Edirnekapı and Yedikule," *Urban History* 30, no. 1 (2003), 26-43. For the concept of the early modernity in comparative perspective, see also B. Wittrock, "Early Modernities: Varieties and Transitions," in S. N. Eisenstadt, W. Schlucter, and B. Wittrock, eds., *Public Spheres and Collective Identities* (New Brunswick, 2001), 19-40.

3. For the concept of "the collective experience" and "the public sphere," see O. Negt and A. Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*, translated by P. Labanyi, J. O. Danie, and A. Oksiloff (Minneapolis and London, 1993), 1-53. Here, Alexander Kluge defines the public sphere as "the site where struggles are decided by other means than war." This implies to a spatial concept, the social sites where the collective body, in this process, constituted "the public."

4. This is partly related to the nature and contents of the sources we have so far. See A. Saraçgil, "L'introduction du Café a Istanbul (XVIe-XVIIe siecles)" and F. Georgeon, "Les Cafés a Istanbul a la fin

de l'Empire Ottoman," in H. Desmet-Gregoire and F. Georgeon, eds., *Cafés d'Orient Revisités* (Paris, 1997), 39-78. See also C. Kırlı, "The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780-1845," (unpublished State University of New York PhD dissertation, 2001).

5. For some of this literature, see P. Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (London, 1983) and *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800, the Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2001), and also F. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990).

6. G. L. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth by Katip Chelebi*, translated with an introduction and notes by G. L. Lewis (London, 1957), 60. Coffee was known as a Turkish drink in seventeenth-century London, and many London coffeehouses adopted the name "Turk's Head," or took the names of famous Ottoman sultans. See B. W. Cowan, "The Social Life of Coffee: Commercial Culture and Metropolitan Society in Early Modern England, 1600-1720" (unpublished Princeton University PhD dissertation, 2000), 171-72.

7. Peçevi İbrahim, Tarih-i Peçevi, I (Istanbul, 1864-67), 363.

8. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth*, 60.

9. Ahmed Refik, *Onuncu Asr-i Hicride İstanbul Hayatı* (1495-1591) [Life in Istanbul in the Tenth Century Hicri] (Istanbul, 1988), 141-42.

10. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth*, 60-61.

11. For Cairo, see N. Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600, The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant* (New York, 1998), 79-81. For London, see Cowan, "The Social Life of Coffee," 117-18.

12. There was a rumor that the first two founders made fortune in this business in three years and returned to their country. S. Ünver, Türkiye'de Kahve ve Kahvehaneler [Coffee and Coffeehouses in Turkey] (Istanbul, Ankara, 1963), 44.

13. R. S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle, 1985), 122-23.

14. Ahmed Refik, *Onuncu*, 141-42 and 146-47.

15. Mühimme 40, 405/183.

16. For the Tahtakale area, see S. Özkoçak, "The Urban Development of Ottoman Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century" (unpublished University of London PhD dissertation, 1998), 68-72.

17. During these years, the spread of the habit of tobacco smoking seems to have increased the popularity of coffeehouses in the city. Peçevi İbrahim, *Tarih-i Peçevi, I* (Istanbul, 1864-67), 363-64.

18. See Cerrah Mehmed Paşa Vakfı, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Yazma Bağışlar 150, p.14b.

19. See Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 26-59, who has shown that many earlier coffeehouses were converted from older taverns in Britain, following their arrival in the 1650s. Here he has discussed how older public drinking houses faced stiff competition from newly emerging ones during these years. Probably, for this reason, the early coffeehouse keepers faced opposition from the ale-sellers of London in the 1650s. See Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 125-26.

20. The coffeehouse was to be built in wood. Müftülük Archive, Istanbul, EHM. 11/37-2.

21. Başbakanlık Archive, Istanbul, DBSM 41569. It is dated 1792, and I assume that it was drawn up just before this area underwent major changes. Following the year 1792, the Tophane-i Amire region was being modernized; many houses in the surroundings of the Artillery were demolished to make room for drill halls and military barracks. See P. G. İnciciyan, *18. Asırda Istanbul* [Istanbul in the 18th Century] (Istanbul, 1976), 112.

22. Başbakanlık Archive, Istanbul, DBSM 41581, dated 1794. For this document, see also A. Yaşar, "The Coffeehouses in Early Modern Istanbul: Public Space, Sociability and Surveillance" (unpublished Boğaziçi University MA thesis, 2003), 23-26.

23. Apparently, the coffeehouse keepers constituted one of the largest occupational categories with thirty-six shops. For example, there were also thirty-six potters in this area, and we know that Eyüb was the district of potters. For Eyüb, see in T. Artan, ed., *Eyüb: Dün/Bugün* [Eyüb: Past/Present] (Istanbul, 1994).

24. I should note that many coffeehouse keepers and barbers listed in the register had become guarantors one to another. They were probably immigrants who had come from the same hometown or home-province and settled down in the same neighborhood. And thus they were involved in similar occupations in the city. For the guarantor system and its importance in maintaining the social network within a neighborhood of Istanbul for the later period, see also Kırlı, "The Struggle over Space," 72-82.

25. DBSM 41581, pp. 6b and 7a.

26. Müftülük Archive, Istanbul, Mülga Beledi 95, dated 1779-1780, p. 29a. He owned two mills, two coffee shops, a tobacco shop, and a baker's shop in the area. We understand from documents of the period that there was, then, no big difference between a coffee shop and a coffeehouse.

27. For example, the reading of probate inventories allows me to record many groceries, fruit sellers, and bakers and millers who lodged in their shops in eighteenth-century Istanbul.

28. For similar findings, see also S. Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth Century 'Greater Istanbul' as Reflected in the Kadı Registers of Eyüp," *Turcica* 30 (1998), 163-183.

29. For eighteenth-century Aleppo, see A. Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity* (New York, 1989), 322.

30. O. Ergin, *Türkiye'de Şehirciliğin Tarihi İnkişafı* [Historical Development of Urbanization in Turkey] (Istanbul, 1936), 124-25. For its social connection to the mosque in a neighborly environment, see also Georgeon, "Les Cafés a Istanbul," 47-8. The triple social connection between the coffeehouse, mosque, and the market in the neighborhood remained up to the modern era. Le Corbusier, a French architect of the twentieth century travelling to the East, experienced it in 1911 and noted that "This place, the café of Mahmud Pasha and the little mosque with a minaret and one single large dome that rests on four bare walls, is not far from the feverish Bazaar. Auguste and I spent many evenings there." Le Corbusier, *Journey to the East, 1911*, edited and translated by I. Zaknic (London, 1994), 136.

31. Müftülük Archive, Istanbul, EHM. 4/5-2.

32. Tapu-Kadastro Archive, Ankara, TD 541-42, 252.

33. There were taverns together with coffeehouses near the city gates; they all together were associated with criminal activities and moral disorders in the city. See Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "Two Urban Districts," 34.

34. Mühimme 39, 141/59.

35. Ibid.

36. See IS. 1/73, 503.

37. Mühimme 27, 725/302 and Mühimme 28, 100/41. In the Modern period, the authorities seem to have found a middle way through permitting the taverns at a certain distance from the mosque. A document of 1911 indicates that taverns must be at least 100 arşun (1 arşun = 0.758m.) away from the mosque and other religious houses in the city. Başbakanlık Archive, Istanbul, DH.KMS.26/40. Very recently, we witnessed that some politico-religious Municipal authorities that could be inspired by this old law tried to pursue a similar distance limit from the mosque in giving alcohol licence to restaurants and taverns in Istanbul.

38. Müftülük Archive, Istanbul, Istanbul Mahkemesi 63, p. 6b. In this case, we should note that people pray on the roof of a coffeehouse. The mosque here (Kapan-i Dakik Camii) was built by Süleyman Subaşı as a two-story building, and renovated by Mimar Sinan in 1571. See A. Kuran, *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1986), 301. It must have originally had shops in its ground level. In time, one of its shops must have been turned into a coffeehouse. This coffeehouse appears in the eighteenth-century Bostancı Registers as "the coffeehouse of Osman Çavuş." R. E. Koçu, "Bostancıbaşı Defterleri," *Istanbul Enstitüsü Mecmuası* 4 (1958), 39-90.

39. Mühimme 73, 1024/464.

40. It was, in fact, attached to a muezzin's house. But, this muezzin's house, like many others, must have been near the mosque and the market-place of the neighborhood. Müftülük Archive, Istanbul, EHM. 17/59-2.

41. This appears in an Album of the late sixteenth century so we do not have a text that could provide us some clues about the very intension of the artist in making this picture. See M. And, *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları: I. Minyatür* [Ottoman Image Arts I] (Istanbul, 2002), 383.

42. This picture appears in the *Hubanname ve Zenanname*, illustrated book of the merits and defects of men and women, of Fazıl Enderuni, dated in the 1790s. See M. And, *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları*, 382. In this scene, musicians and dancers appear more like young boys dressed as women, even though in Ottoman miniature paintings it is hard to know if the dancers dressed up as women are young boys, köçeks, or women, çengis. See N. Micklewright, "Musicians and Dancing Girls: Images of Women in Ottoman Miniature Painting," in M. C. Zilfi, ed., *Women in the Ottoman Empire, Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (New York, 1997), 153-72.

43. This painting illustrates the manuscript about signs of the approaching doomsday. There may be several readings of this image: we may take it as a moral statement of the book (instructing what should not be done) that represents the negative view of these sorts of mixed companies in the Muslim society. See M. And, *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları*, 374. But we know that there were many private gardens in early modern Istanbul where similar gatherings took place. See G. Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in A. Petruccioli, ed., *Gardens in the time of the Great Muslim Empires, Theory and Design*, supplements to Muqarnas, VII (1997), 32-71.

44. For similar arrangements of space in Ottoman miniature paintings, see J. Erzen, "Space and Staging: Ottoman Architecture and Painting in the 16th Century," *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture* (Istanbul, 2002), 51-55.

45. It maybe only another rumor that the sultan, Süleyman I (r.1520-1566), ordered some to write books to be read aloud in coffeehouses. See Ünver, *Türkiye'de Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, 44. But, it could be important to see the state's interference on the books circulated within the walls of coffeehouses, long before it became the issue for the lecture halls, kıraathanes in the nineteenth century. The first kıraathane was opened in Istanbul in 1864, in the center of a social club. See U. Başoğlu, "İlk Kıraathanenin Açılışı [The Opening of the first Kıraathane]," *Tarih ve Toplum* 5 (1984), 65-67.

46. For painting as an art of representation, see J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London, 1972), 7-34. See also C. Hulse, "Reading Painting," in P. Erickson and C. Hulse, eds., *Early Modern Visual Culture, Representation, Race and Empire in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2000), 148-77 and M. Schapiro, "Philosophy and Worldview in Painting," *Worldview in Painting, Art and Society* (New York, 1999), 11-73.

47. N. Itzkowitz, ed., *A Study of Naima by Lewis V. Thomas* (New York, 1972), 95.

48. Fire was generally the reason put forward by the authorities, especially in critical times. We know that Murad IV (r.1623-1640) forbade the drinking of coffee and smoking of tobacco both in public and private following a fire of 1633. Peçevi İbrahim, *Tarih-i Peçevi, I* (Istanbul, 1864-67), 363. However, this fire had broken out in a caulker's shop, and it got out of control and devastated almost one fifth of the city. Smoking or any other acts in a coffeehouse does not seem to have been the cause. It was believed that the sultan had felt himself threatened by the people who suffered from the fire, and thus they could get together in coffeehouses to rise antipropaganda against his rule. See M. Cezar, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Yapılarında Tahribat Yapan Yangınlar ve Tabii Afetler [Fires and Natural Catastrophes that Caused Destruction in the Buildings of Istanbul in the Ottoman Period]," *Türk Sanatı Tarihi İncelemeleri I* (Istanbul, 1963), 327-93, 335.

49. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, 67-70.

50. M. E. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında Onaltıncı Asır Hayatı* [Life of the Sixteenth Century in the Light of the Legal Opinions of Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi] (Istanbul, 1983), 148-9. In the eighteenth century, it is interesting to see two opposing views in a common lyric poem of two Ottoman poets, Safayi and Sukuni. Safayi writes:

"Coffeehouses have become the centers of evils/Whoever goes there listens to many gossips and slanders."

Sukuni answers Safayi:

"Coffeehouses have become the centers of education/If you too have knowledge and talent, come and quit gossiping and slandering."

For this poem, see F. Turan, "Representing the Poetics of a Changing Society: Traditional Genres as Vehicle of Artistic Novelties in a Broadened Latitude of Poetry," presented in a small conference, "Rethinking Culture in the Ottoman 18th Century," organized by Dana Sajdi, Princeton University, January 15-16, 2005.

51. Within the discourse of feminist political theory, Joan Landes has asked the question: "Where are the women?" See Joan Landes, who criticises Habermas's bourgeois public sphere in which women played no role. J. B. Landes, "The Public and Private Spheres: A Feminist Reconsideration," in J. B. Landes, ed., *Feminism: The Public and the Private* (Oxford, 1998), 135-163. See also D. Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime," *History and Theory* 31 (1992), 1-20.

52. Most houses were bathless in early modern Istanbul, and people had to go to a public bath. The public baths had usually two segregated quarters: one for women and one for men. They were known as double bath, çifte hamam, designed with separate entrances that were not viewable to each other. In our case here, the Çemberlitaş Hamam, built in 1584, was also a double bath, and so this lady must have gone out without being seen by her husband, who was sitting in the coffeehouse in the side of the men's section. W. Wratislaw, *Adventures of Baron Wenceslaw Wratislaw, 1599*, translated by A. H. Wratislaw (London, 1862), 99. For the Çemberlitaş Hamam, see S. Eyice, "Çemberlitaş Hamamı," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* 2, 484-85.

53. C. Pick, ed., *Embassy to Constantinople: The Travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (London, 1988), 97.

54. For the level of urbanization of Istanbul in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Özkoçak, "The Urban Development," 24-45.

55. Habermas, *The Structural Transformations*, 29-30.

56. See Faroqhi, "Migration into Eighteenth Century," 168, who has shown that migrants who came to Istanbul in the eighteenth century were almost exclusively male.

57. Habermas, *The Structural Transformations*, 29-30.

58. S. Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "The Evidence of Vakıf-registers for Residential Dwelling in Sixteenth-century Istanbul," *Afife Batur'a Armağan: Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihi Yazıları* [In Honour of Afife Batur: Essays in Art and Architectural History] (Istanbul, 2005), 253-259. For similar cases, see also J. Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society, A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), 202.

59. The document, dated 1566, states that Ferruh Kethüda could live in this house until his death. See Ferruh Ağa Vakfiyesi, the Vakıflar Archive, Ankara, 570/59.

60. Mustafa Ali thought in the sixteenth century that this was the way it should be, arguing through the criticism of those who did not live in spacious houses that were suited to their rank. M. Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali ve Meva'idun-Nefais Fi-Kava'idi'l-Mecalis* (Ankara, 1997), 376.

61. Phillipe Ariés has shown that spacious houses sheltered not only immediate family, but also servants, clerks, and others, and they fulfilled a public function in the society without a coffeehouse in greater part of early modern Europe. P. Ariés, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York, 1962), 391-94.

62. For this conclusion, see Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "The Evidence of Vakıf-registers," 255. Compare similar analyses by U. Tanyeli, "Norms of Domestic Comfort and Luxury in Ottoman Metropolises, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," and by S. Yerasimos, "Dwellings in Sixteenth-century Istanbul," in S. Faroqhi and C. K. Neumann, eds., *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House* (Würzburg, 2003), 275-300 and 301-316.

63. M. Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali ve Meva'idun-Nefais Fi-Kava'idi'l-Mecalis* (Ankara, 1997), 204-5.

64. The diary, dated 1661-65, is in the Topkapı Saray Library, Istanbul, H.1426 and H.1418. It is entitled "Sohbetname," which literarily means "conversation." For this diary, see also O. Ş. Gökyay, "Sohbetname," *Tarih ve Toplum* 14 (1985), 129-37, and C. Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth-century Istanbul and First-person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989), 121-150.

65. In this context, the Ottoman selamlık was similar in many ways to the Parisian salon except that the latter was mainly governed by women. Like that of the coffeehouse, the selamlık society was masculine: women did not have a right to enter this room or know the topics of male-only conversation that took place there. For the seventeenth-century Parisian salon and the role of women in shaping salon society, see D. Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (New York, 1996), 119-135.

66. See Kafadar, "Self and Others," 145.

67. D. Kuban, *The Turkish Hayat Houses* (Istanbul, 1995), 150-151.

68. For similar findings, see also Yerasimos, "Dwellings," 286.

69. The register, dated 1578, is in Başbakanlık Archive, TD 670, p. 330b.

70. Abraham Marcus has clearly shown that domestic privacy depended on the level of wealth in eighteenth-century Aleppo. See A. Marcus, "Privacy in Eighteenth-century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 18 (1986), 165-83. It is beyond the scope of this article to question the degree of privacy provided by various urban houses of early modern Istanbul. I have discussed the issue elsewhere. See S. Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "Domestic Space and Privacy: Continuity and Change in the Urban House of Eighteenth-century Istanbul," presented in a small conference, "Rethinking Culture in the Ottoman 18th Century," organized by Dana Sajdi, Princeton University, January 15-16, 2005. See also R. Murphy, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of an Urban Tradition," *Journal of Urban History* 16, no. 2 (1990), 115-31.

71. We find many architectural or furnishing elements of the selamlık of a house in the coffeehouse's interior. Take the fireplace for instance, a symbol of domestic life, or the elevated wooden platform, kerevet arranged with a continuous bench, sedir (type of day bed) along the walls, used for sitting and perhaps sleeping. They appear almost in every coffeehouse. For the interior of coffeehouses, see İ. Numan, "Eski İstanbul Kahvehanelerinin İçtimai Hayattaki Yeri ve Mimarisi Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar [Some Observations on the Social Role and Architectural Features of Old Istanbul Coffeehouses]," *Kubbeealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 10, no. 2 (1981), 57-74. See also J. C. David, "Le Café a Alep au temps des Ottomans: Entre le Souk et le Quartier," in H. Desmet-Gregoire and F. Georgeon, eds., *Cafés d'Orient Revisités* (Paris, 1997), 113-26, who has shown similarities between the coffeehouse and the male-only room of a house in early modern Aleppo.

72. Şeker, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali*, 363.

73. In 1579, the authorities had taken an action against them and issued a decree ordering that those (majority were bachelors or newcomers who left their family in their hometown) who cannot provide a warrant were to be deported at once, including those who had already managed to stay for five years in the city. See Ahmed Refik, *Onuncu*, 146-47.

74. For the content of the reports of the informers in the 1840s, see C. Kırlı, "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire," in A. Salvatore and D. F. Eickelman, eds., *Public Islam and the Common Good* (Leiden, 2004), 75-97. Interestingly, he has suggested that by recording gossip and rumors heard in coffeehouses, this system of spying contributed the process in which individual opinions became public opinions. They, then, became news to be taken into consideration.

75. Hanna has shown that most houses of early modern Cairo had no reception rooms, and meeting with strangers took place outside the house or in one of the numerous coffeehouses of the city. See N. Hanna, "Bayt Al Istambulli: An Introduction to the Cairene Middle Class House of the Ottoman Period," *Annales Islamologiques* 16 (1980), 229-319.

76. Habermas, *The Structural Transformations*, 24.

77. For some of these barriers in Medieval Muslim societies, see B. Shoshan, "High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam," *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991), 67-107.

78. Peçevi İbrahim, *Tarih-i Peçevi, I*, 364.

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