

How Turks and Persians Drank Coffee: A Little-known Document of Social History by Father J. T. Krusiński

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Abstract

Polish orientalist, Jesuit Jan Tadeusz Krusiński is the author of some of the most important chronicles that were the source material for the study of the history of late Safavid Iran. In addition to these works, translated into several languages, Krusiński also wrote a less known text on methods of consuming coffee in the Ottoman empire and Persia. This article contains a presentation and translation of the text, as well as a draft of the author's biography.

Keywords

Coffee – Ottoman Empire – Safavid Iran – Krusinski

Coffee is one of the symbols of the Near East, without which it is hard to imagine social life in this part of the world. This drink, originating in Ethiopia, was most certainly consumed in Istanbul about 1550 and at the beginning of the next century, at the latest, in Iran. In Europe in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, coffee was an object of trade in the Balkans; in the west of this continent, it was served prior to 1650.¹

1 Hattox, Ralph S., *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1985), pp. 11–26; İbrahim Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1281–1283), p. 363; Matthee, Rudi, “Coffee in Safavid Iran”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 37/1 (1994), p. 5; Matthee, Rudi, “Exotic substances: the introduction and global spread of tobacco, coffee, cocoa, tea, and

In the world of Islam, debates were conducted, which pertained mainly to legality of this indulgence in view of religious law and the institution of coffee-houses – sometimes considered to be seats of immorality and political dissent. Eastern authors also dedicated some attention to medical aspects of this discussed drink, while much less to the ways it was prepared.²

Most remarks on how to prepare it and on the medical application of coffee in the Muslim world can be found in texts by western authors. One of these is the work of Jan Tadeusz Krusiński (1675–1756), titled *Pragmatographia de legitimo usu ambrosyi tureckiey*, written in Polish and to-date not translated into western European languages. Presentation and translation of this little-known text is the subject of this article.

The Author

The name of the Polish Jesuit, Jan Tadeusz Krusiński is known to all those interested in the history of Persia in the first half of the eighteenth century. This clergyman was an eyewitness to the Afghan invasion of Iran and described its course in two Latin works later translated into several European and Oriental languages, which remain among the most serious primary sources for

distilled liquor, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries”, *Drugs and Narcotics in History*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 27; Drenjaković, N., Београд [Belgrade] (Belgrade: Turistički savez Beograda, 1967), p. 46; Fotić, Aleksandar, “The introduction of coffee and tobacco to the mid-west Balkans”, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 64/ 1 (2011), p. 90, Kreševljaković, Hamdija, *Esnafi i obrti u starom Sarajevu* [Guilds and crafts in Old Sarajevo] (Sarajevo: Narodna Prosvjeta, 1958), p. 207; Spaho, Fehim, “Prve kafane su otvorene u našim krajevima” [The first coffee shops were opened in our region], *Novi Behar*, 5 (1931), pp. 41–2.

- 2 For example, see Pococke, Edward (trans.), *The Nature of the Drink Kauhi, Or Coffe, and the Berry of which it is made, Described by an Arabian Phisitian* (London: Henry Hall, 1659); Ünver, Süheyl A., “Türkiye ‘de Kahve ve Kahvehaneler”, *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, 5 (1962), 39–84; Numan, İbrahim, “Eski İstanbul Kahvehanelerinin İçtimai Hayattaki Yeri ve Mimarisi Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar”, *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası*, 10/2 (1981), 57–74; Galland, Antoine, *De l'origine et du progrès du café, opuscule du XVIIe siècle* (Caen: F. Poisson, 1836); Deguilhem, Randi, “Le café à Damas et le traité du Şayḫ Ġamāl al-dīn al-Qāsim al-Dimaşqī”, *Bulletin d'études orientales*, 45 (1993), 21–32. For three sixteenth-century Arabic works about coffee, in which the subjects were mainly history, legal aspects of drinking coffee and also the benefits and harm brought on by its consumption, Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, pp. 63, 65, 154, no. 21, pp. 131–6.

the history of Persia late in the Safavid age.³ Despite the popularity of the works by Father Krusiński, western scholars did not pay much attention, as far as I know, to the fate of their author.⁴ In such a situation, it will be proper to begin these reflections by providing a short biography of the author, which will simultaneously permit a better understanding of the origins of this material comprising the contents of his *Pragmatographia*.

The future historian was born on 15 of May 1675 into the noble family of Krusi(e)ński probably in Jarantowice in the north of Poland. At the age of 16, he entered the Society of Jesus. He was educated in his home country, studying theology and law (1700–1705), and, at the same time, acquiring a knowledge of medicine.⁵

According to our hero's personal records prepared by his home Chapter, he had a good command of Latin, Turkish, Persian, Armenian and Italian, and he understood French and Russian. In his work, he also drew on Georgian chronicles, although it is not certain if he knew that language.⁶ It is hard to say where exactly the future missionary had learned the oriental languages. It is certain, however, that he had acquired their basics while still in school in

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- 3 Kieffer-Kostanecka, Maria, "Polak pierwszym autorem europejskim historii Persji" [A Pole, the first author of European history of Persia], *Notatki Płockie* [Notes in Płock], 4 (1977), pp. 45–6; *Relatio de mutationibus Regni Persarum*, (Roma: n.p., 1727) and *Chronicon peregrinantis seu historia ultimi belli Persarum cum Aghwanis gesti etc.* (Lipsiae: Gleditsch, 1701), prepared probably for the use of the congregation superiors. See Baranowski, Bohdan; and Krzysztof Baranowski, *Historia Azerbejdżanu* [History of Azerbaijan] (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1987), p. 115.
 - 4 Dates and information pertaining to Krusiński's activities in the Muslim world, which are cited are not always accurate, see Krusiński, Jan Tadeusz, *The Chronicles of a Traveller: or, A History of the Afghan Wars with Persia, in the Beginning of the Last Century, from their Commencement to the Accession of Sultan Ashruf* (London: J. Ridgway, 1840), pp. ix–x.
 - 5 Niesiecki, Kasper, *Herbarz polski* [Polish Armorial] (Lipsk: Nakładem i drukiem Breitkopfa i Haertela, 1842), vol. v, p. 396; Natoński, B., "Krusiński" (Krusieński, Kruszyński) Tadeusz Jan", in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Dictionary of Biographies] (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich), vol. xv, pp. 426–8; Brzeziński, Stanisław, *Misjonarze i dyplomaci polscy w Persji w XVII i XVIII wieku* [Polish Missionaries and Diplomats in Persia in the XVII and XVIII Centuries] (Potulice: Drukarnia Seminarjum Zagranicznego, 1935), pp. 51–9.
 - 6 Filina, Maria, "Rola grupy polskich "poetów kaukaskich" dla rozwoju kontaktów polsko-georgijskich" ["Role of a group of Polish "Caucasian poets" in the development of Polish-Georgian contacts"], in *Polacy w Gruzji: materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Państwowy Uniwersytet im. Iw. Dżawachiszwili i Uniwersytet Warszawski; Tbilisi 26–27 października 2000 r* [Poles in Georgia: Materials from international conference organized by the National Dżawachiszwili University and the University of Warsaw: Tbilisi 26–27 October 2000], ed. Maria Filina and Józef Porayski-Pomsta (Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy "Elipsa", 2004), p. 31.

Poland; where, due to contacts with the Ottoman empire, knowledge of the languages of the Islamic world, especially Turkish, was not rare.⁷

It was precisely due to language competence, as well as medical capabilities, which brought significant income to the missionary posts in the East, that the Society's superiors had sent the young polyglot to Ganja in Azerbaijan, then subject to the Safavids. A Jesuit mission house had been operating there since the middle of the seventeenth century. Krusiński arrived at his destination in the autumn of 1706 and took over the duties of the Polish clergyman, murdered there three years earlier.

In 1708, the missionary requested permission to depart Ganja and upon receiving it, he undertook travels in Anatolia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Greece; during this time he supported himself by practicing medicine. After two years, he returned to the Safavid lands, stopping in Erevan, where the Jesuit mission house had in the meantime been relocated.⁸ Undoubtedly, it was during these many years of travels in the lands of the Ottomans and Safavids that Krusiński had the opportunity to observe and practice various ways of drinking coffee and also to become acquainted with local views on its medical effect.

In 1710, Krusiński was sent by his brethren to Poland.⁹ When four years later, the clergyman finally returned to Erevan, he found out that during his absence the Jesuit brethren staying in the city had been murdered, and the building in which they had lived had been lost during the religious strife among Christians of various denominations. In order to save the mission, the Pole traveled to Isfahan, to the court of the Persian ruler Sultan Hossein.

Krusiński's visit to the Iranian capital initiated his career at the court of the shahanshah. When the king's entourage found out that he was well versed in

7 Reychman, Jan, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce XVIII w.* [Knowledge and teaching of oriental languages in Poland in XVIII century] (Wrocław: Nakładem Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego 1950), pp. 16–28.

8 Zieliński, F. K., *Xiądz Krusiński: Wiadomość historyczna* [History news], *Biblioteka Warszawska* [Warsaw Library], vol. IV (1841), pp. 375–97; Chodubski, Andrzej, *Polacy w Azerbejdżanie* [Poles in Azerbaijan] (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2003), p. 80; Jagusz, Michał, "Polskie misje zewnętrzne" [Polish external missions], in Kumor, Bolesław and Obertyński, Zdzisław, *Historia Kościoła w Polsce* [History of the Church in Poland], 2 vols. (Poznań-Warszawa; Pallottinum, 1974), vol. I, p. 509.

9 For his embassy's task see Załęski, Stanisław, *Missye w Persyi w XVII i XVIII wieku pod protektoratem Polski* [Missions in Persia in XVII and XVIII centuries under the protectorate of Poland] (Kraków: Drukarnia Czasu 1882) pp. 95–6.

the Persian language, it was decided to entrust him with the role of translator.¹⁰ Taking advantage of access to the Safavid archives, Krusiński gathered diaries of embassies of popes and Christian rulers to Persia, as well as planning to publish in print the most important acts of the shahs' chancellery. This publication was prevented, however, by the invasion of Isfahan in 1722 by the Afghans.¹¹ At the moment of that invasion, Krusiński had already held, for two years, the function of general Jesuit procurator in the Persian capital. He had managed to survive the cruelties of occupation due to the protection extended to him by one of the Afghan commanders whom Krusiński, together with a friend, managed to heal from an ailment that other doctors deemed untreatable. The Jesuit often spoke with this military man about Afghan military operations, and he "did not conceal anything from him", which allowed the missionary to gather material for future historical publications.¹²

On 25 August 1725, Krusiński left Isfahan in the entourage of the Persian embassy going to the Ottoman empire. In the following year he spent time in Jerusalem, France and Rome, where he taught eastern languages at the papal college, while simultaneously writing the work titled *Relatio de mutationibus Regni Persorum*, published in the Eternal City in 1727. In France and Rome, Krusiński was able to become acquainted with works about coffee written by western European authors, whose opinions he cites in *Pragmatographia*.

At that time, Krusiński decided to return to Persia, with a stop along the way in Istanbul. When the presence of the Jesuit, clearly also known in the Ottoman capital as an eminent linguist, came to the attention of the grand *vezir*

10 Krusiński, Jan Tadeusz, *Wiadomości o rewolucyi perskiej* [News about the Persian Revolution], Manuscript, Biblioteka Kórnicka BK 140, fol. 2. The first important commission that Krusiński received was a request for an opinion on the correctness of the Persian translation from French of the text of capitulations. Among other of the more important translations done by the Pole for the court was the translation into Persian of a shortened version of the history of the reign of Louis XIV, done in the years 1715–1716 in cooperation with the French Jesuit Langlande, and also of the last letter by this monarch to the Sultan Hossein.

11 Chmielecki, Tymon Tytus, *Gruziński katolicyzm w dziewiętnastym i na początku dwudziestego wieku w świetle archiwów watykańskich* [Georgian Catholicism in the Nineteenth and at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century in View of the Vatican Archives] (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1998), p. 378; Załęski, *Missye w Persyi w XVII i XVIII wieku pod protektoratem Polski* [Missions in Persia in the XVII and XVIII Centuries under the Protectorate of Poland], pp. 108–109; "Prace Misyonarzy katolickich w Persyi" [Work of Catholic missionaries in Persia], *Przegląd Poznański* [Poznań Review], vol. XVII (1853), p. 378.

12 Krusiński, *Wiadomości o rewolucyi perskiej*, fol. 4.

Neveşehirli İbrahim Paşa, he proposed to him the post of lecturer at the school for translators that he was organizing.¹³ After three years spent in Istanbul, the Jesuit went to Rome and from there in 1732 he traveled to Poland. During the years of 1740–1741, he again went to Iran, allegedly securing an audience with the then ruler of that country, Nadir Shah. Upon returning to Poland, he settled in the Jesuit monastery in Brzezine near Kamieniec Podolski. It was here in all probability that he wrote the work which is the subject of this paper. It was here also that, on 22 May 1756, he died.¹⁴

- 13 Since at that time in Istanbul there were no readily available texts with the aid of which future linguists could train in making Latin to Turkish and Turkish to Latin translations, İbrahim Paşa commanded the clergyman to prepare these. As training material, the Jesuit translated into Turkish his *Relatio de mutationibus*, afterwards published in 1729 under the title *Tarih-i Seyyah* in the famous Istanbul printing shop of İbrahim Müteferrika. See Krusiński, Judasz Tadeusz, *Târîh-i seyyâh der beyân-ı zuhûr-ı Afgânîyan ve sebeb-i inhidâm-i binâ-i devlet-i şâhân-ı Safevîyân* (Kostantniye; Dâr üt-Tibbât il-Mamûre, 1142). Into Latin, he translated the work of Durri Efferendi, the Ottoman envoy to Persia. This latter work, after the overthrow of İbrahim Paşa, was published in print in Poland. Krusiński also translated it into Persian. See Durry Efferendi, *Prodromus Ad Historiam Revolutionis Persicae Seu Legationis Fulgidae Portae Ad Persarum Regem Szach Sofi Hussein Anuo D. 1720. Expeditae Relatio, Quam Redux è Perside Legatus Durri Efferendi Turcarum Sultano Achmed III. in scripto consignavit. Ex Turcico Latine Facta, Opera P. Judae Thadaei Krusinski. Soc. Jesu Leopoli* (Typis Collegij Soc. Jesu, 1733); Reychman, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych*, p. 36. Here reference should be made to the opinion of some contemporary researchers who maintain that the *Relatio* text was not translated into Turkish by Krusiński but by Müteferrika himself. These researchers maintain in fact that there is lack of premises for the conclusion that Krusiński had sufficient command of the Turkish language to undertake translation of this type of work. See Erginbaş, Vefa, “Enlightenment in the Ottoman context: İbrahim Muteferrika and his intellectual landscape”, in *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East*, ed. Geoffrey Roper (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 76. Such speculations are legitimate to the extent that Müteferrika himself admitted authorship of the translation when the Jesuit was absent. It is possible that he actually did work together with the Pole who, as is known, practiced this form of translation work. Krusiński, however, must have been fluent in Turkish, which was, as he himself explained, the language of the court in Iran. The quality of translations done by our missionary from Persian to Turkish, contained in his other works, was also analyzed by one of the leading Polish orientalists of the twentieth century, who concluded that the fluency of their author in this latter language must have been significant. He also had no doubt that Krusiński was the main author of the disputed translation, see Reychman, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych*, pp. 36–7; Sabev, Orlin, *İbrahim Müteferrika Ya Da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serivene (1726–1746): Yeniden Degerlendirme* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayinevi, 2006), p. 21.
- 14 Kolbaja, Dawid, “Juda Tadeusz Krusinski SJ – misjonarz, uczony, dyplomata. Życie i dzieło” [Juda Tadeusz Krusinski SJ – missionary, scholar, diplomat. Life and work”], *Pro*

The Work

Pragmatographia de legitimo usu Ambrozyi Tureckiey, published in 1769 in Warsaw at the Printing Shop of Lorenz Christoph Mizler, takes up 18 pages of text. It was edited by a Polish intellectual of Armenian origin, Józef Epifanii Minasowicz. The style of the work is abstruse in places, even by Baroque standards. This was probably the result of the work being written shortly before the death of the author, who did not thus have time to prepare it for printing. Due to the numerous Latin words found in the treatise, it lacked clarity even for the contemporary reader. This circumstance caused the editor, as he himself explained in the introduction, to modernize the text by removing numerous Latin intrusions and modifying sentences. The 1769 edition contains both versions of the material – original and edited. The latter constitutes the basis for the translation given below.

Krusiński's work was among the popular treatises on coffee in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁵ Most of these types of texts were written by physicians, moralists, and food experts based in the West. These authors, depending on the character of the work, concentrated on ways of preparing it as well as on the medical and moral aspects of the consumption of this beverage. The impact of coffee was explained by them, as it was by the

Georgia, 2 (1992), pp. 19–25; F.M.S., Krusiński, in *Encyklopedyja powszechna* [Universal Encyclopedia] (Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand, 1864), vol. XVI, p. 173; Ślabczyński, Wacław and Tadeusz Ślabczyński, *Słownik podróżników polskich* [Dictionary of Polish Travellers] (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1992), pp. 188–9.

- 15 For some such treatises see, for example, Chamberlayne, John, *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco: in Four Several Sections; with a Tract of Elder and Juniper-Berries shewing how useful they may be in our coffee-houses*. (London: Christopher Wilkinson, 1682); Masson, Pierre, *Le parfait limonadier, ou la maniere de preparer le thé, le caffè, le chocolat, & autres liqueurs chaudes & froides* (Paris: Moette 1705); Houghton John, "A discourse of coffee read at a meeting of the Royal Society", *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 21 (1699), pp. 311–17; Blégnny, Nicolas, *Le bon usage du the' du caffe' et du chocolat pour la preservation & pour la guerison des maladies* (chez l'auteur, 1687); Dufour, Philippe Sylvestre, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du Café, du Thé et du Chocolate* (La Haye: G. Girin et B. Rivière, 1685); Duncan, Daniel, *Avis salutaire a tout le monde contre l'abus des choses chaudes* (Rotterdam: Acher, 1705); Rambaldi, Angelo, *Ambrosia arabica, ouero della salutare beuanda caffè, discorso del dottore Angelo Rambaldi. Dedicato all'illustrissimo signor Gio. Francesco Bergomi* (Bologna: per il Longhi, 1691); Meisner, Leonardus-Ferdinandus, *De caffè, chocolata, herba thee ac nicotianae natura, usu et abusu* (Norimbergae: Rudigerus, 1721); Hilscherus, Simon Paulus, *De abusu potus caffèe in sexu sequiori* (Ienae: Marggraf, 1727); Gleditsch, Johann Gottlieb, *De potus cofe abusu catalogum morborum augente* (Lipsiae; n.p., 1744).

Muslims, on the basis of the Hippocratic-Galenic theory.¹⁶ In keeping with the spirit of the times, Krusiński was also an advocate of this theory.

Europeans often underlined the Muslim origin of coffee and that its drinking could cause Christians to 'turn Turk'.¹⁷ Western treatises also contained references to consumption of this beverage in the East. Such information was mostly drawn by the writers on coffee from the same few western travellers to the East.¹⁸ The author of one such treatise, the Bolognian medic Rambaldi, was supposed to have spent some time in Africa. However, the enigmatic character of references to this journey and the frequent references to testimony by third parties, including European authors, leads one to wonder if it did in fact take place. The work of this latter author was known to Krusiński.¹⁹ Another of Krusiński's sources was the famous historical work of Rycault as well as that

16 According to Hippocratic-Galenic theory of humours, there are four principal humours in the body: yellow and black bile, phlegm and blood. The predominance of one of these determines the physical nature of a person. Each of the humours in turn corresponds to four natures of the physical world – heat, cold, moistness and dryness. Yellow bile corresponds to moistness and heat, black bile to dryness and cold, phlegm to moistness and cold and blood to moistness and heat. Since foods are to possess these natures in various degrees, treating problems caused by an imbalance of humours includes consumption of food or drink that has a nature contrary to that particular humour. The effectiveness of coffee, as is often underlined in source materials, for phlegmatics whose nature was to be due to the predominance of cold principles, may be explained in view of the assignment by some authorities of a hot nature to coffee. See Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, pp. 64–5.

17 See Anon, *A Broadside against Coffee; Or, the Marriage of the Turk* (London, J. L., 1672).

18 Often, sometimes without citing the source, information was quoted from the works of Cootwyck, Thevenot, Della Valle, Bernier, medic Alpini, and also from two letters: from Malta and Istanbul. The author of this last one was a western physician. See Cootwyck Joannes van, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum : in quo variarum gentium mores et instituta : insularum, regionum, vrbium situs, vnà ex prisci recentiorisq[ue] saeculi vsu : vnà cum euentis, quae auctori terrâ mariq[ue] acciderunt, dilucidè recensentur : accessit synopsis Reipublicae Venet[a]e* (Antverpiae: Hieronymus Verdussius, 1619), p. 484; Thévenot, Jean de, *Voyages de M. de Thévenot en Europe, Asie et Afrique* (Amsterdam: Le Cène 1727), vol. I, p. 102–3; Anon, *Virtu del caffè, bevanda introdotta nuovamente nell' Italia* (Venezia: Leonardo Pittoni, 1716), pp. 9–14, 19–23.

19 A significant part of the Rambaldi treatise (as was the case with one of its sources, Antonio Naironi, the Maronite lecturer of Oriental languages in Rome), written rather with physicians in mind than with consumers of this drink, comprises erudite references mainly to European writers, medics and philosophers. See Naironi, Antonio Fausto, *De saluberrima potione cahue: seu, Cafe nuncupata discursus* (Romae: typis Michaelis Herculis, 1671).

by 'doctor Montpellier'.²⁰ Considering that Krusiński did not mention using texts in oriental languages, it should be supposed that most of the remarks included in the treatise were based on his own observation and experience in the region.

Pragmatographia was composed in the form of recommendations to readers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth who had known, at the latest from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, about the existence of coffee and had most certainly consumed it even before the middle of that century.²¹ It is evident from the tone of the work, that Krusiński considered the ways this drink was consumed in his home country, similar to western European, as improper. It was with a certain sneer that he wrote of adding milk to coffee, a custom widespread in Europe at that time.²²

It should be noted that the *Pragmatographia* contains decidedly more material pertaining to the Ottoman empire than to Persia. This fact, in the context of the author's incomparably longer experience in Iran, suggests that either he mentioned only those coffee customs of residents of Iran that differed

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- 20 Rycaut, Sir Paul, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London: C. Brome, 1686). 'Dr Montpellier' was most probably Daniel Duncan who practiced in the city of Montpellier. For his treatise, Duncan, *Avis salutaire a tout le monde contre l'abus des choses chaudes*.
- 21 Chomętowski, Władysław, "Książę Krzysztof Zbaraski, Koniusz Koronny" [Duke Krzysztof Zbaraski, Crown Master of the Horse], *Biblioteka warszawska* [Warsaw Library], 4 (1865), p. 158; Bockenheimer, Krystyna, *Dworek, kontusz, karabela* [Manor, Robe, Karabela Sabre] (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2002), p. 104; Муркос, Г.А. (Murkos, G.A.), "Путешествие антиохийскаго патриарха Макария в Россию в половине XVII века. Описанное его сыном архидиаконом Павлом Алеппским" [Travel of Patriarch Makary of Antioch to Russia in the mid seventeenth century as described by his son Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo], *Чтения в обществе истории и древностей российских*, [Readings at the Society of Russian History and Antiquities] vol. IV (183) (1897), pp. 33–4.
- 22 Krusiński was mistaken however in that this custom was introduced by westerners. During his time, in the East, it was true that coffee was no longer consumed with milk. However in Ottoman Egypt in the second half of the sixteenth century, this culinary practice must have been known because contemporary authors expressed their disapproval, maintaining that it induced leprosy. See Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, p. 67. It may not be excluded that the reason for drinking coffee with milk and sugar, as practiced in seventeenth-century Europe, derived as much from considerations of taste as of ideology. Westerners who then tried coffee in the East described it as filth improper for Christians. They grumbled about its 'venoms', which should most probably be understood as the bitterness of this drink. See Ulewicz, Tadeusz, *Silva rerum: series nova, wychodzi, jak jest gotowa* [Silva rerum: series nova, is Published When Ready] (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1981), p. 94.

from Turkish or that, as many contemporary Europeans, he considered the Ottoman empire to be the homeland of coffee and customs of its consumption there were doubtlessly deemed the most proper and worthy of imitating.²³ This is also indicated by the title of the treatise.

In his work, the scholarly Jesuit took up, although in a somewhat disorderly manner, two essential problems: remarks pertaining to storing and preparing coffee (its optimum daily dosages, roasting, crushing, boiling of water) which ensured that it would be a tasty drink harmless to the consumer, and the impact of this indulgence on the body. In treatises authored by Krusiński's European predecessors, I did not find information on ways of storing coffee in the East, which Krusiński mentioned, nor the additives used during roasting, or reflections on the topic of water best suited for coffee in view of residents of the Near East. Western writers did give some attention, as a rule, though, limited to the Ottoman lands, to brewing this drink. A significant portion of this type of information is contained in the work of Rambaldi.²⁴

The matter of the impact of coffee on the human organism did, however, occupy the minds of many of Krusiński's predecessors. Writers on this topic, since the sixteenth century, either claimed that this drink had the power of a *panaceum*, especially effective in the case of people with phlegmatic and humid temperaments, or listed several ailments in which it was helpful. Most often, they maintained that coffee could soothe boiling blood, counteract fatigue, stomach aches, and headaches, catarrh, phlegmatic cough, or measles. However, there were also authors who claimed that the pitchy drink had a negative effect by bringing on colic, hemorrhoids, consumption and nightmares.²⁵

Krusiński agreed with some of those claims. He also shared opinions common in the East, according to which coffee could possess both stimulating and strengthening as well as soothing and weakening effects. The first type of property of this indulgence was explained by the Jesuit by the fact that his

23 Eldem, Edhem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill 1999), p. 75.

24 Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, pp. 19–23; Contrary to Krusiński, this author dedicated some attention to the matter of selection of the proper coffee beans, mentioning also vessels used to prepare it. Unlike our Jesuit, Rambaldi could not decide on the dosage of this beverage which would be the best to consume, while citing the opinions of earlier authorities on this subject. See Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, pp. 19–21. See also Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du Café, du Thé et du Chocolate*, p. 46; Anon, *Virtu del caffè, bevanda introdotta nuovamente nell' Italia*, p. 22.

25 Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, pp. 16, 50, 52; Matthee, "Coffee in Safavid Iran", pp. 17–18; Shefer-Mossensohn, Miri, *Ottoman Medicine: Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500–1700* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2010), p. 87.

predecessors underlined its ability to remove stomach vapours from the head, stomach vapours being how the humours that changed in the fermentation process into fumes that moved inside the blood vessels were described.²⁶

Krusiński, informed not only about the stimulating but also the regenerating properties of the pitchy drink, maintaining that coffee had the ability to gather strengths that diffused throughout the body under the influence of exertion or alcohol. In the seventeenth century, the conviction that coffee had such an effect was widespread in Ottoman lands, where it was used by both sportsmen and soldiers on the battlefield to regain strength.²⁷

In his work Krusiński dedicated more space to the weakening and soothing powers of coffee, which according to him could have both a negative as well as positive impact on the body, than to its stimulating and strengthening powers. Coffee could exert both types of impact due to its supposed blocking properties. Krusiński deemed the dregs of thick coffee to have the tendency to deposit themselves in the blood vessels and to clog them, which would then result in unwanted effects: melancholy and gloomy disposition. For this reason, he advised a different way of preparing the drink for people who were very active physically, which resulted in blood being distributed in the veins, and a different way for people who practised a sedentary lifestyle. In the latter case, his position was to wait before drinking coffee until the dregs had fallen to the bottom of the cup. Since Krusiński stated that this latter custom was widespread in the East, it may be supposed that the conviction of the blocking properties of coffee was also of oriental origin.

The alleged blocking properties of this drink, which in reality had of course a diuretic effect, were thought to bring positive effects in the case of necessity to retain water in the body, and also to change choleric temperament.²⁸ It was also thought that coffee was able to calm “frenetic blood”, as the Turks described sexual debauchery, presumably due to the tendency to clog the veins. This type of effect could also, however, have an unwanted effect, contributing to the decrease of libido and to impotence. Krusiński was mistaken, though, in maintaining that it was for this reason that Ottoman sultans did not consume the pitchy drink. As is known, medicaments for İbrahim I (r. 1640–1648) were dissolved in coffee, in keeping with a frequent

26 Thévenot, *Voyages de M. de Thévenot en Europe, Asie et Afrique*, 1, p. 103.

27 Abrahamowicz, Zygmunt, “Jerzy Franciszek Kulczycki”, in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Wrocław; Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich) 16 (1970), p. 128; See also Anon, *Virtu del caffè, bevanda introdotta nuovamente nell’Italia*, p. 21; Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, p. 52.

28 See below.

practice common in Ottoman medicine.²⁹ In this context, Krusiński cites an anecdote about a concubine of the Persian Shah Ismail I Safavi (r.1501–1524) who complained about her master's dependence on coffee and his consequent lack of interest in her. This anecdote circulated in Persia at the latest at the turn of the sixteenth century and must have been apocryphal for, as mentioned above, coffee was most certainly not consumed in Iran in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.³⁰ In view of the above information, it may be conjectured that the conviction of a connection between excessive use of coffee and impotence that occurs both in European and in oriental texts originated in the Muslim world.³¹

Among the weakening properties of the pitchy drink that had an unwanted impact, Krusiński identified the "itching" powers of coffee taken on an empty stomach, which should be understood as its capacity for irritating the gastric mucosa. Among this same type of trait, but having a positive impact, Krusiński counted, on the other hand, its alleged soothing influence on bile found in the body. In the East, it was believed, however, that this type of property was found exclusively in an unsweetened drink. This view may have been the cause of the custom of drinking coffee without sugar, which was observed by numerous travellers to Ottoman lands.³²

Iranians in turn, according to Krusiński, practiced filtering coffee through a lump of sugar held in the mouth. This remark, without doubt the result of personal observation, stands in contradiction to the opinion of most of the seventeenth and eighteenth century authors, according to whom coffee in Persia was consumed bitter and it indicates that the ways of drinking coffee in a given cultural circle changed depending on the epoch as well as undoubtedly on the geographic location.³³

Finally, it is worth mentioning that Krusiński was one of the few authors who also mentioned, even though with some scepticism, the external

29 Dziubiński, Andrzej, *Na szlakach Orientu: handel między Polska a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVIII wieku* [On the Routes of the Orient: Trade between Poland and the Ottoman Empire in the XVI–XVIII Centuries] (Wrocław: Monografie FNP, 1998), p. 155; Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine*, p. 87.

30 Chamberlayne, *The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, Tobacco*, p. 5; Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, p. 68.

31 See Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, p. 67.

32 Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, p. 83. According to other authorities, in Ottoman lands, coffee was sweetened. See Lewis, Geoffrey L. (transl.), *The Balance of Truth by Kâtip Çelebi* (London: George Allen, 1957), p. 62, Anon, *A Broadside against Coffee*, p. 22.

33 Matthee, "Exotic substances", p. 160.

application of coffee for medicinal purposes. He was also one of the first to identify mental addiction to coffee, alluding to people who are not able to do without it.

Conclusions

The treatise by Jan Tadeusz Krusiński, contains, as many other examples of this type of work do, practical advice on preparing and consuming coffee, sometimes supplemented by concise clarifications (something contrary to preferred style of many authorities in the Baroque age) pertaining to its impact. The main value of this work, however, lies rather with the extensive documentation of beliefs and practices connected with the consumption of this drink in the Ottoman empire and Iran. As well as remarks on the topic of coffee which appear in many other European texts, Krusiński's treatise also offers original observations drawn from his own understanding, gained as a result of his linguistic proficiency and long years of experience, including medical experience, in the East.

Translation of the Text

Pragmatographia de legitimo usu Ambrozji Tureckiej, to iest: Opisanie sposobu należytego zażywania Kawy Tureckiej. Przez x. Thadeusza Krusinskiego S. J. Missyjonarza Perskiego. Rzecz z rękopisma Jego wybrana y do druku podana [Pragmatographia de legitimo usu Ambrozji Tureckiej this is: Description of the Proper Manner of Taking Turkish Coffee. By Rev. Thadeusz Krusinski S. J. Persia Missionary. Matter Selected from his Handwritten Text and Given to Print].

Turks do not drink coffee on an empty stomach to such extent that a proverb says: if you do not have something to snack on before coffee then pull a button off your clothing and swallow it. And that is why the Turkish dictionary calls breakfast *kahvaltı* – so, as it would be in our language pre-coffee.³⁴ The cause of this is that coffee in its essence is digestive, thus if it does not find anything to digest in the stomach, it digests inborn humours whereby weakening the powers of nature. Nor does a Turkish madrigal contradict this:

34 Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du Café, du Thé et du Chocolate*, pp. 33–35; Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café*, p. 40.

Ehl-i irfan arasında ziyafet biz bütün bir fincan ağır kahve bir lüle keskin tütün

Among enlightened people it is customary to treat a guest with a cup of strong coffee and a pipe of tobacco.³⁵

It does not contradict I say as in Istanbul, in order to protect themselves from harmful air, Turks do not leave home on an empty stomach. Emissaries to the *vezir* are offered [pre-coffee] on a tray before coffee instead of antipasto. When, however, in the morning one feels indigestion in the stomach, let him take coffee without antipasto (this let him do) also after dinner. One who has a digestive stomach, healthy and vigorous, should not be drinking coffee. That is why Turks forbid drinking coffee by children even at puberty and beyond.³⁶

Those who cannot do without [it] or feel in themselves unquenched thirst for needless drinking of coffee, they need to take coffee and this on an empty stomach, so that sharp humours of a roaring stomach will be brought to proper moderation.³⁷ Also in order to get rid of the addiction to drinking alcohol, [while] fancy to it slowly suppressing the taking of coffee has turned out for many to be an effective medication.³⁸

The common notion with the Turks [is] that the use of coffee, bringing humours to proper moderation, in a way weakens nature, which weakness though turns toward health and makes it so that inborn warmth and ardour of seething blood do not explode, whereby (man) would quickly burn up, but smoulders slowly, so to persist longer. As a proverb says, a creaky wheel creaks longer. And thus, these ailments, which come from hot causes and to which strong and fiery temperaments more quickly yield, in those who take coffee upon proper moderation of humours, are more easily alleviated. However,

35 Krusiński's original text reads "Eli urfan arasinde zyafet biz butun / Bir findzan Aghyr Kaghve, birr lulle Keskun tiutun", which I have transcribed here as "Ehl-i irfan arasında ziyafet biz bütün bir fincan ağır kahve bir lüle keskin tütün". My translation is based on how Krusiński presents the text. Krusiński here is most probably citing, even though in a somewhat changed form, a fragment from Vehbi: "Ehl-i irfan arasında bir ziyafet büsbütün / İki fincan kahve ile bir lüle keskin tütün", see Vehbi, *Sûrnâme: Sultan Ahmet'in Dügün Kitabı* (Istanbul: Kabcacı Yayinevi, 2008), p. 188.

36 Other authors underlined the fact that in Ottoman lands coffee was consumed by persons 'of almost any age' Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux et curieux du Café, du Thé et du Chocolate*, p. 33.

37 See Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, p. 24.

38 In Europe, the spread of coffee actually did contribute to the curtailment of alcohol consumption. It was believed in the West that after drinking coffee it was not advisable to imbibe liquors for several hours. See Kitowicz, Jędrzej, *Opis obyczajów i zwyczajów za panowania Augusta III* [Description of Customs and Habits during the Reign of August III], 2 vols. (Petersburg i Mohylew: B.M. Wolff, 1855), vol. I, pp. 133–7.

those who are ailing and recuperating are advised by oriental doctors not to take coffee. Thereby, that is said about coffee what is proclaimed by a Polish proverb: that a healthy stomach will not be at odds even with Russian *pirog*.³⁹ I do warn here however that prior to *kahvaltı* [should rather be: “prior to coffee”] it is still better to take Russian *pirog* than Turkish buttons.

Coffee is permitted by oriental doctors in [cases of] madness and headache, and this for extracting from the forehead the light sweat that will relieve the pain in the head, especially [when there is] catarrh. Still, Turks suppose that the use of coffee either calms “frisky [frenetic] blood”, or as they say *dely kanly* [*deli kan*] whereas in others it causes impotence. In Persia, they say that Ismail I, having fallen into drinking coffee, did not care for a previously favourite concubine, who, when seeing that a stalwart stallion [...] [is to be castrated], which Persians rarely do, said: Whatever for do you torture the brave colt, you should have watered him with coffee, as my king, and he would not be so virile. Thus by hereditary custom, the Turkish emperors do not drink coffee, and this for safeguarding the Ottoman family, whose succession otherwise would pass to the Tatar khans.

An Italian medic however, in a description of a Persian trip ‘De usu ambrosiae Arabicae’, uses well-grounded arguments to refute this notion that the use of coffee would bring impotence, which he establishes by his own example.⁴⁰ While taking coffee everyday he had eight sons and as many daughters. Although Turks are impotent for the most part, in his opinion this derives more from polygamy or, as Rycaut states in a description of the Turkish monarchy, from indulging against nature, which custom has obscenely intensified among them.⁴¹

It is true that drinking thick coffee obstructs blood circulation, increases melancholy, and due to this Turks are usually melancholic, sombre and gloomily serious. In case of choleric, referred to by a satirist: “when bile catches fire you could light a wick”, for them to become choleric-melancholic, blood-filled and acquire moderation of humours, the use of coffee is deemed useful. Melancholics, though, and phlegmatics [...] as not to rot [should not drink coffee].⁴²

Turks claim however, which is also attested by experience, that after unneeded agitation, or tiredness, the use of coffee at once repairs powers. *Pehlivanlar* or wrestlers [fortify themselves with that drink] when worn out and having drunk coffee again come to the ring with fresh strength for wrestling.

39 *Pirog* was a Russian baked dish consisting of dough and meat leftovers. It was at that time popularly considered by Poles as hard to digest; hence the proverb.

40 Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, p. 69

41 Rycaut, *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 292.

42 Lewis, *The Balance of Truth by Kâtip Çelebi*, p. 62.

Çuhadarlar and *şatırlar* or running footmen also fortify themselves with this drink. And that is why wherever there are caravanserais in towns and along routes, [there] sit grocers who have coffee ready for travellers, and baked eggs instead of buttons. The reason for this [is] that coffee stops spirits dispersed through agitation, turns them around and gathers [them up] again. As experience teaches, coffee is also helpful after drinking too much.

Turks do not praise taking coffee for the night, especially without eating something, because by clearing the brain and cleaning the head of stomach vapours it takes sleep away. Thus, even though they are overtaken by sleep, it does not perfectly bind their senses nor strengthen nature, whereas those who have an empty stomach have their sleep taken away completely. The matter is known from experience that in one who [...] falls asleep after drinking coffee, obstructing blood circulation coffee weakens all powers [whereby some may even]fall off the bed. It will not be a hindrance however for the sleepy and idle to take coffee for the night so they would sleep better. Besides this coffee retains water in the body [impeding also urination at night and diarrhea?].⁴³

According to Turks, during the summer coffee cools, in the winter they change their opinion and say that it warms. Thus in winter and in summer they drink coffee wherein they imitate Muscovites [...]. The matter is proven that hot coffee relieves heat [...] in winter though it is more certain that cold wine will warm [one] up better than hot coffee.

In roasting coffee it is necessary always to stir it, when it exudes the sweated oiliness, cover it well until it cools. It should not be crushed when hot because much of the scent will be lost: in a mortar it should be crushed well. Turks do not put crushed [coffee] through a sieve supposing that the oiliness will adhere to the sieve. Persians, when roasting coffee, place some bitter almonds, fresh ones for oiliness. If there will be many almonds, the coffee will be like plaster, however it will dissolve while boiling, and when it is stirred, the oiliness will float on the surface. It is better to add almond oil only, because with the mass it will not settle as well. When [however] roasted excessively, it will cause excretion of bile in the body, whereas when not roasted well enough it will not brew well. Thus, much depends on roasting. For this, the Turkish lords engage special coffee makers or *kahveciler*, so they can take it freshly roasted each day.⁴⁴

43 The meaning of the part of this sentence within parentheses, which in the original is: “i wodniste w niechlujach czyli rybolowach nocnych humory wstrzymuje”, is not certain. See Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, p. 56.

44 According to reports from the seventeenth century, Arabs in Ottoman lands were often engaged for this role, whereas in Europe it was the Turks who were especially employed for brewing black coffee. See Anon, *Virtu del caffè, bevanda introdotta nuovamente nell' Italia*, p. 22; Gołębiowski, Łukasz, *Domy i dwory: przy tem opisanie apteczki, kuchni, stołów*,

Others, for travels, pack mashed coffee in leather bags and on top they put Turkish or Jerusalem soap so that it will not be aerated and wind it around with string in a bundle because cold does damage to mashed coffee.

If it aerates somewhat, roast it a bit on an iron spoon, or in a clean pot, it will regain strength and scent. In brewing coffee, first boil the water well.⁴⁵ Not all water is fit for coffee. Not good is that in which coffee seethes for a long time like milk and which does not boil right away. Turks take the lightest water to be the best. Generally speaking, any water must be boiled well. If there is no better, remove the froth and strain after it settles. When water boils over, pour out one third of the kettle, boil lightly and keep adding hot water, when it stops seething bring it to a boil so it simmers like tiny peas, clamp and put the kettle in cold water for a bit. Or pour cold water over it or also throw in a lump of sugar, dregs will settle on the bottom.

A practiced way for coffee to settle quickly: pour into it a good pinch of grated deer horn, it will be clear and gain a ruby colour. Besides other properties that it has, this horn repulses rawness of water, slightly extracts sweat and most of all dilutes the blood.

This also peculiar trait of coffee [lies in the fact] that, when one spills it seething on himself then pimples disappear and who does not believe in this should try it, however I do not want to buy experience at such high cost [so as later] not to regret it. Coffee steam clears eyesight, so then drink [it] to have steam go into the eyes. [Coffee] makes the heart happier, disperses catarrh humours from the forehead and draws [them] out through sweat, soothes head ache. It has been tried through practice that it returns vigour to benumbed limbs. [When] hot [it] should be drunk slowly.

uczta, biesiada, trunków i pijatyki [Homes and Courts: and with this, Description of the Medicine Chest, Kitchen, Tables, Feasts, and Banquets, Alcoholic Drinks, and Drinking Bouts] (Warszawa: nakł. autora, Druk N. Glücksberga, 1830), p. 208; Coffee specialists who travelled with Ottoman emissaries also gave instructions on preparing coffee to servants of European aristocrats. Coffee in itself was a prized gift that was brought by Ottoman diplomats for western nobles. See Crutta, Antoni, *Dziennik przyjęcia i pobytu nadzwyczajnego posła Porty Otomańskiej do Stanisława Augusta, Króla Polskiego, Wielkiego Księcia Litewskiego i do Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 1777 r.* [Journal of the Reception and Visit of the Extraordinary Envoy from the Ottoman Court to Stanisław August King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, and to the Republic of Poland 1777] (Warszawa: S. Orgelbrand, 1860), pp. 27, 42, 46.

45 Rambaldi was not certain if first one should boil water and add coffee to it, or add coffee to cold water and then boil it, as the Arabs and Turks were supposed to do it, at least sometimes. Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, pp. 21–3.

Turks boil coffee thick (which coffee is called there strong/heavy or) “aghyr kahwe” [*ağır kahve*], but the more refined among them and more notable do not drink coffee until it settles.⁴⁶ Janissaries and commoners not so sophisticated in drinking coffee, before they drink coffee they make a disturbance in the kettle, like a camel before it drinks water first muddies it so that it would not take a liking to its own comely stance.

People engaged in work and a lot of movement are not harmed by coffee that is not settled because [in their case] work delivers blood throughout the veins, but in those with a sedentary life style it obstructs blood circulation. It is sufficient for one person to consume 1.5 to two lots [huts] (of coffee) divided into one to three cups and this not every day. Per person in a day, if one drinks coffee every day, there will suffice one lot [12.65 grams], or 12 shillings.

Turks drink coffee without sugar because its bitterness soothes bile, whereas sugar agitates it. Persians, when brewing coffee, put in several cloves for the scent, or cinnamon – to soothe [digestion] winds (for which white cinnamon is more effective) and place icy sugar in the mouth to sweeten the bitterness when they drink. For catarrh, cough, [or] pain in the chest, put in a cup some fresh unsalted butter while adding icy sugar. For pain in the chest however almond oil is more effective.

Those who have the stone ailment should drink coffee with juniper. The juniper should be roasted [...], water boiled, while rosemary [is] added in a bag. When water settles well, it should be strained through a cloth and in this water coffee should be brewed while adding [a bit] of sassafras wood. Other doctors advise mistletoe from an oak tree to be brewed for long and in this water coffee should be boiled.

I praise the most using coffee with myrrh. Placing a piece of it according to taste, not grated to very fine powder, because this bitterness cleans internal decays, keeps the viscera from corruption and lends a pleasant scent.⁴⁷ Adding sugar so that bitterness would still be felt. In this way coffee should be drunk by those who suffer from scurvy.

Şerbet from coffee like this: dregs from coffee pour over with water, boil or set aside in warmth, the next day after this settles pour it off and brew coffee in this *şerbet* – it will be stronger and more bitter.

46 Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du café*, p. 47.

47 In order to make this drink more delicate, white cinnamon and cloves would be added besides sugar; for scent there were cardamom, musk, ambergris, nutmeg, or anise. Anon, *Virtu del café, bevanda introdotta nuovamente nell' Italia*, pp. 9, 18; Rambaldi, *Ambrosia arabica*, p. 22; Galland, p. 48.

People in the East do not drink coffee with milk. This manner has been set in Europe, especially among ladies.⁴⁸ The first to discover it were the Dutch, or maybe Italians. (These) even milk the cow up to three pails (this is till the finish?).⁴⁹ About the use of these things I leave the judgment to medics because both of those things seem to be contrary to each other. I warn however that the one wanting to drink coffee with milk according to the opinion of doctor Montpellier should put in a little sugar or salt, and this to cast off the rawness of the milk.⁵⁰

Those who have thin veins for bloodletting, as do ladies exhausted by corsets, for such use of coffee is harmful [...]. Finally I would advise depending on the opinion of experienced doctors as to the matter of for whom drinking coffee is harmful and for whom useful.

On the occasion of writing these words I recommend use of mastic from the island of Chios, to those who still have solid teeth. It may be obtained in a pharmacy; it is crumbled with teeth [i.e. by chewing], but then hardens and crumbles like wax. This is usually chewed by citizens of eastern states, because it acts to prevent toothache, cleans scurvy humours with saliva and heals decay from the gums.

48 In the Ottoman lands, coffee was considered proper for women, with its positive impact on their good looks. See Anon, *Virtu del caffè, bevanda introdotta nuovamente nell' Italia*, pp. 20–21; Lewis, *The Balance of Truth by Kâtip Çelebi*, p. 62; Naironi, p. 37.

49 The translation of the second part of this sentence as contained in parentheses ('a ona suchotnica') is not certain.

50 For milk in coffee context see Duncan, *Avis salutaire a tout le monde contre l'abus des choses chaudes*, pp. 160, 263.