Material culture in early modern Amsterdam coffeehouses. The sociability and aesthetics of porcelain coffee ware

Preußinger, Anna

Material culture in early modern Amsterdam coffeehouses

The sociability and aesthetics of porcelain coffee ware

Master's Thesis by Anna Preußinger

Masters of Arts and Culture

Specialization: Museums and Collections

Supervisor: Prof.dr. A.T. Gerritsen

Leiden University

Academic year 2021/22

Universiteit Leiden

Declaration of originality

By submitting this test, I certify that:

- this work has been drafted by me without any assistance from others (not applicable to group work);
- I have not discussed, shared, or copied submitted work from/with other students
- I have not used sources that are not explicitly allowed by the course instructors and I have clearly referenced all sources (either from a printed source, internet or any other source) used in the work in accordance with the course requirements and the indications of the course instructors;
- this work has not been previously used for other courses in the programme or for course of another programme or university unless explicitly allowed by the course instructors.

I understand that any false claim in respect to this work will result in disciplinary action in accordance with university regulations and the programme regulations, and that any false claim will be reported to the Board of Examiners. Disciplinary measures can result in exclusion from the course and/or the programme.

I understand that my work may be checked for plagiarism, by the use of plagiarism detection software as well as through other measures taken by the university to prevent and check on fraud and plagiarism.

I understand and endorse the significance of the prevention of fraud and I acknowledge that in case of (gross) fraud the Board of Examiners could declare the examination invalid, which may have consequences for all students.

12 June 2022

Table of Content

Abstract 1
Acknowledgements 2
Abbreviations 3
1. Introduction 4
1.1 Key objectives and literature review 4
1.2 Methodology 12
2. The coffeehouse culture in Amsterdam 17
2.1 *Chaube* in porcelain bowls: a new flavor in Amsterdam 17
2.2 Amsterdam lifestyles: all around the coffeehouse 24
3 The bourgeois taste for coffee and its equipage 31
3.1 The very polite way of coffee-drinking: Pot, cup, saucer 31
3.2 Tastes of pleasure: shifting meanings between *civilité* and luxury 41
4. Coffee, porcelain and modes of sociability 52
5. Conclusion 59
Illustrations 64
Illustration Credits 86
Bibliography 88

Abstract

This thesis explores the early modern coffeehouse and its bourgeois clientele in Europe in the form of a case study on Dutch coffeehouses in Amsterdam in the 17th and 18th centuries. The chosen inquiry seeks to elucidate how a new social category – the bourgeoisie – developed over altered drinking habits, materials and the corresponding aesthetical codes within the social institution of the coffeehouse. Rather newly, the coffeehouse as an institution of publicness and consumption in the Enlightenment is researched from the angle of visual and material history. On the whole, this thesis contributes to the cultural historical field of early modern consumption. One result is that the consumer goods coffee and porcelain created a balance between rational forms of conduct and individual attitudes within the public sphere of coffeehouses.

A multifarious historical approach by the means of visual and textual sources towards the early modern consumption of both coffee and porcelain considers the correspondent material qualities and suggests that porcelain from China has been remarkably suitable for the coffee ritual which entered Europe from the Middle and Near East. The thereby evolved tastes were groundbreaking for the rise of the bourgeoisie. This is demonstrated by the analysis of the design and arrangement of the vessels required for the individual and collective display of the tastes around coffee-drinking, on the basis of inventories and images.

From a postcolonial perspective, the present thesis outlines which associations accompanied the adoption of Asian coffee and porcelain coffee ware into European consumption habits, while the world of coffee has always been represented as an oriental theme in travelogues, recipe books, medicinal treatises and fashion plates. Furthermore, the thesis describes how these ideas and values associated with coffee-drinking enabled the consolidation of the social construct of a specific regional group of the urban middleclass bourgeoisie, while locating the coffeehouse in the unique historical environment of early modern Amsterdam.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Anne Gerritsen, for her constant reassurance and valuable advice throughout the last months. Many thanks to Dr. Maarten Hell, who kindly shared specific research data about early modern coffeehouses in Amsterdam with me. In addition, I would like to acknowledge Dr. R. M. Ranjith Jayasena from the *Erfgoed* Institute Amsterdam, who reassured me during my search for relevant archaeological studies for this thesis. I owe my thanks also to Thomas, Valerie, Anne and Adèle for reading this work. Lastly, I would be remiss in not mentioning my partner, family and friends for their interest, patience and emotional support.

Abbreviations

N.A.	Not available
prob.	Probably
unkn.	Unknown date of birth or death

1. Introduction

1.1 Key objectives and literature review

Approximately, four centuries have passed since a revolutionary drink from Arabia entered European kitchens, customs and lifestyles: coffee.[1] In Amsterdam, it encountered a vibrant market place in which spices, textiles and other 'East Indian' goods were vastly marketed and highly desired for their sensory appeal.[2] Today, coffee has a fixed place at the breakfast table, but this should not belie the fact that it was first perceived as an exotic drink that was not immediately accepted by Europeans. Thereby, the rise of European coffeehouses around the mid-17th century can be regarded as a significant landmark in the "Europeanization" of coffee and the concomitant transformation of diets, consumption patterns and forms of sociability.[3] Parallel to the global integration of coffee, entire new social constructs evolved in different places.[4] An exemplary case is the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois class or the middleclass, in contrast to the working 'middleclasses', constitutes the cultural elite which arose at some point in the 18th century. It preceded the modern bourgeoisie that came to be established in the 19th and 20th centuries.[5]

---

[1] Nancy Um, *The merchant houses of Mocha. Trade and architecture in an Indian Ocean port* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 37-39.

[2] Jaap van der Veen, "East indies shops in Amsterdam," in *Asia in Amsterdam. The culture of luxury in the Golden Age*, ed. Karina H. Corrigan et al. (New Heaven: Yale University Press: 2015), 134-140. East Indian goods can be defined as the Chinese, Japanese and Southeast Asian goods which were traded across maritime and territorial trading networks in the early modern period. John Ayers, "The early China trade," in *The origins of museums. The cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth century Europe*, ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 259.

[3] Jordan Goodman, "Excitantia: or, how enlightenment Europe took to soft drugs," in *Consuming habits. Global and historical perspectives on how cultures define drugs*, ed. Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy and Andrew Sherratt (London: Routledge, 1995), 126. The term 'Europeanization' denotes the adoption of novel forms of, among others, foods and drinks by Europeans through global patterns of exchange with meaningful impacts on existing identities. It is used in the social sciences to explain the concomitant historic processes of altered behaviors, styles and thought in line with the identity layers that are transformed by an addition, yet not the replacement, of identity-constructing elements in local and national cultural systems. See ibid., 121. Thomas M. Wilson, "Food, drink and identity in Europe. Consumption and the construction of local, national and cosmopolitan culture," in *Food, drink and identity in Europe*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 17-18. For the early modern European adoption of coffee in the explained context, see also Yao-Fen You,
"From novelty to necessity: the Europeanization of coffee, tea, and chocolate." In *Coffee, tea, and chocolate. Consuming the world*, ed. Yao-Fen You (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 11-16. For the coffeehouse in the explained context, see Woodruff D. Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour: the consumption of coffee, tea and sugar in north-western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries," in *Consuming habits. Global and historical perspectives on how cultures define drug*, ed. Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherrat (London: Routledge, 1995), 143.

[4] Wilson, "Food, drink and identity," 13.

[5] Hannes Siegrist, [s.v.] "Burgeoisie and middle classes, history of," in *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, ed. James D. Wright, 25 vols., vol. 2, Amsterdam: Elsevier, [2]2015 (2001), accessed online on May 7, 2022, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.62013-5,784-786. The bourgeoisie in the 18th century can be regarded as premodern phenomenon as it laid the ground for these cultural and intellectual structures on which the 19th-century middleclass bourgeoisie was established in the context of the intensification

Taking a closer look at the early modern Amsterdam coffeehouse, my paper seeks to demonstrate how coffee and the therefore developed drinking ware participated in the construction of the Dutch middleclass bourgeoisie.[6]

My main research question is how coffee together with the respective drinking ware stimulated identifying values, practices and manners of this group in the context of Amsterdam's coffeehouse culture in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Before stating the structure of my thesis in relation to its pursued theoretical value, a brief review on the relevant existing body of the scholarly literature aims to clarify the chosen scope of analysis.

Coffee, coffee-drinking and the coffeehouse are topics that are commonly explored from either a cultural historical or a socio-historical perspective in relation with the two themes "consumer revolution" and "public sphere".[7] Traditionally, the research that was produced on the early modern coffeehouse is concerned with the modalities and characteristics of this cultural phenomenon and social institution of the bourgeoisie in the public space, as correlated but differentiated from the private space.[8] Thereby, a general premise is the

---

of globalized networks and European imperialism. For the bourgeoisie in the 19th century, see Christof Dejung, David Motadel, and Jürgen Osterhammel, "Worlds of the bourgeoisie," in *The global bourgeoisie. The rise of the middle classes in the age of empire*, ed. Christof Dejung, David Motadel, and Jürgen Osterhammel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 15-17.

[6] The Dutch middleclass bourgeoisie can be explained as a social construct within the broader cultural identity arose from the early modern society in the geographical territory of the Northern Netherlands, in opposition with the former Southern Netherlands and Belgium today. In this sense, the Dutch bourgeosisie is also grounded on the political framework of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands or so-called Dutch Republic. See Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4-7. In the following, the term 'Dutch' is used as attribution for the society in the United Provinces in the Northern Netherlands in reference to Simon Schama. Furthermore, I apply the term "bourgeoisie" to the civic middleclass society in the early modern United Province. The thereby inevitably involved connotation of the Dutch society in the 17th and 18th-centuries as proto-capitalist social forms risks to be anachronistic as the cultural definition of the bourgeoisie in the 17th and 18th centuries is related to the capitalist structures of the 19th century. For the critique in the description of historical societies before the 19th century as bourgeois, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of riches. An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 568.

[7] Brian Cowan, *The social life of coffee. The emergence of the British coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 2. See ibid., 2. In contrast to the cultural historical account, which in part covers subjects of the social history, the socio-historical approach to the early modern bourgeoisie investigates the internal class structures of this class and respective social milieu by building on the sociological theories of Max Weber and Karl Marx. See Dejung, Motadel, and Osterhammel, "Worlds of the bourgeoisie," 8-11.

[8] Early major studies on the topic are the following ones. Ulla Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1987). Hans Erich Bödeker, "Das Kaffeehaus als Institution aufklärerischer Geselligkeit," in *Sociabilité et société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse (1750-1850)*, ed. Étienne François (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986). The socio-historical perspective is applied to the topic of the early modern coffeehouse by Hans Erich Bödeker as well as by Peter Albrecht. Peter Albrecht, "Coffee-drinking as a symbol of social change in continental Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," in *Studies in eighteenth-century culture* 18 (1989): 91-103. Younger studies apply a cultural historical focus such as Markman Ellis, *The coffee house. A cultural history* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004).

democratic achievement of the public sphere, an egalitarian space for the distribution of ideas, as first theorized in the political sociological theory of Jürgen Habermas.[9] In essence, this narrative traces the rise of publicity (*publicité*) back to the encounter of a well-educated civil group of intellectuals with the aristocratic nobility at a time between the mid-17th century and the French Revolution (1789). The formation of European coffeehouses is thereby explained in the historical frame of the structural transformation of European societies, a shift from feudal class-based to modern social structures, during the Enlightenment (1680-1790).[10] Habermas' theory about the Enlightenment public sphere is especially concerned with the intellectual thought and literacy as well as with the correlated public discourse.[11] The present thesis follows these cultural historical studies, which shifted the focus from the stated revolutionary tendencies in the philosophic Enlightenment society towards a broader cultural transformation in early modern attitudes towards consumption. The coffeehouse is thereby related to the development of changing consumer identities and mentalities in the 18th century.[12] Rather than a place of political and intellectual change, the coffeehouse can be regarded as a subject of the early modern 'consumer revolution' which links liberalized consumption patterns and the import of Asian luxuries such as coffee with an overall expansion of economic markets.[13]

In general, I regard the interrelated phenomena of increased consumption patterns and a risen awareness for public citizenship and opinion-making in the public sphere as theoretic

---

[9] Jürgen Habermas. *The structural transformation of the public sphere. An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 25-26. Studies on the early modern Enlightenment in which the coffeehouse is covered as a subject are Bödeker, "Das Kaffeehaus,"70-80. Albrecht, "Coffee-drinking as a symbol," 98-101. Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the making of modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: University Press, 2001), 60-71.

[10] Habermas, *The structural transformation*, 19-31. The Enlightenment is rather considered as a cultural attitude than as a historical period with fixed demarcations. Furthermore, the Enlightenment is not a universal concept but consists in a tendency of thought which took different regional developments. For this and the above-stated historical time frame, see Giuseppe Ricuperati, [s.v.] "Enlightenment," in *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, ed. James D. Wright, 25 vols., vol. 7. Amsterdam: Elsevier, [2]2015 (2001), accessed online on May 7, 2022, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.62004-4, 656-657.

[11] For the stated subjects in the studies on the Enlightenment see Ricuperati, [s.v.] "Enlightenment," 656; 658. For the historical relevance of the literary and intellectual production in coffeehouses as political Enlightenment element see Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability, 1600–1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 150-151.

[12] From the cultural historical 'coffeehouse studies' whose approach to the topic of the coffeehouse is settled within the research field on early modern consumption, the following works are major contributions. Cowan, *Social life*, 2-5. Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 148-164. Smith, *Consumption*, 140-161.

[13] Anne E. C. McCants, "Popular consumption, and the standard of living: thinking about globalization in the early modern world," *Journal of world history* 18, no. 4 (December 2007): 436-445. The theory of the consumer revolution was first formulated by Neil McKendrick, J.H. Plumb, and John Brewer, *The birth of a consumer society. The commercialization of eighteenth-century England* (London: Europa, 1982). The term consumer revolution is critiqued as it assumes a unique revolutionary outset of consumerism in the early modern period (1600-1800) and a linear development towards modernity, without taking into account that such a social transformation had started earlier and proceeded as a gradual and inconsistent social development. For this critique, see Cowan, *Social life*, 3.

frames of reference. Both concepts, the public sphere and the consumer revolution, do however not provide the necessary tools to understand why specific products such as coffee were consumed by the bourgeoisie. What made coffee an appealing consumable for this new middle class? Likewise, such broad terms cannot explain changes in demands and attitudes towards lifestyle items in specific contexts as, for instance, the coffeehouse. Insofar, this thesis joints recent critiques, which stressed that the inflationary deployment of such key concepts leads to the erroneous assumption of a coherent and linear development of a coffee-drinking early modern bourgeoisie into a democratic modern consumer society.[14] My approach prevents this shortcoming through the close analysis of the relationship between new consumer products, certain tastes around coffee-drinking and the social configuration of the coffeehouse bourgeoisie. This perspective corresponds to some of the recent studies on the early modern coffeehouse, which exhibit an increased awareness for the significance of fashion trends and correlated systems of beliefs and values.[15]

The main question of this thesis requires an approach that contributes to the historical field of the studies on coffeehouses and the public sphere in three regards.

First, my chosen inquiry in favor of the Amsterdam coffeehouse applies a local and national context that has only rarely been considered in the coffeehouse studies, in comparison with the extensive research which drew on the English coffeehouse. In general, the early modern English coffee culture constitutes the precedence case, while the history of coffee-drinking and the coffeehouse in France, Italy, Germany or the Netherlands is still under-researched.[16] To vary the regional viewpoint hence enables a more differentiated

[14] For a critique in this regard, see Cowan, *Social life*, 2-3. Smith, *Consumption*, 5-9. Likewise, historians argued in favor of a coherent transition from the consumer revolution in the 17th and 18th centuries towards the industrious revolution and the accompanying change in consumption patterns in the 19th century. For a critique, see McCants, "Popular consumption," 442. Important contributions in this regard were the following works. Jan de Vries, *The industrious revolution. Consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Jan de Vries, "The industrious revolution and economic growth, 1650-1830," in *The economic future in in historical perspective*, eds. P.A. Davis and M. Thomas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). For the correspondent criticism on an alleged teleology in the intellectual and political developments of the Enlightenment, see Ricuperati, [s.v.] "Enlightenment," 660.

[15] Cowan, *Social life*, 2. Smith, *Consumption*, 2.

[16] A similar conclusion is drawn by Julia Landweber, "'This marvelous bean': adopting coffee into Old Regime French culture and diet," *French historical studies* 38, no. 2 (2015): 193. In the case of the Netherlands, and in particular Amsterdam, the major studies on coffee-drinking in the Dutch Republic are the following ones. Hell, Maarten (a), "De Amsterdamse herberg 1450-1800. Geestrijk centrum van het openbare leven," (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2017), https://hdl.handle.net/11245.1/2caa072f-e73f-4428-9793-5af42c1a3ff5. Thera Wijsenbeek, Bibi Panhuysen and Annelies van Toledo, "Koffiehuizen tijdens de Republiek," in *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994). Examples for older studies on the topic of the Amsterdam coffeehouse are J. Feenstra, "Waacht u vorr koffie praat. De eerste koffiehuizen in Amsterdam en hun ontwikkeling," in *Ons Amsterdam* 14, (1962): 106-109. T.K. Looijen, *Herbergen en koffiehuizen van*

picture of the social phenomenon bourgeoisie. This is why the specificities of the Amsterdam coffeehouses in terms of their location, practices and social structure are described in chapter 2.1 and interpreted in the subsequent chapters.[17] In part, this requires a socio-historical perspective, whereby this thesis follows an overall cultural historical analysis. Furthermore, the distinct urban set-up of the Amsterdam coffeehouse coincides with the imperative explained above to narrow down the abstract concepts of the consumer revolution and the public sphere to a more specific and accurate context of early modern consumption.[18] Moreover, with respect to the local history of the Netherlands, my investigation of the changed drinking habits and accompanying meanings in the Amsterdam coffeehouse culture encompasses a temporal scope between 1665 and 1778.[19]

Second, my study on the Amsterdam coffeehouse adopts the global scope of the interdisciplinary research field of the food studies, a subdomain of the global history studies, in which the European adoption of coffee has been explored within the last three decades.[20]

Amsterdam. Een bloemlezing uit de geschiedenis (Amsterdam: Thespa, 1977). These studies complemented the younger literature on the topic with which the locations and names of coffeehouses in Amsterdam can be identified.

[17] It should also be noted that this thesis will rather focus on the representative 'Amsterdam coffeehouse' in contrast to different types of 'coffeehouses', although this implies a singular unifying social construct of the coffeehouse public. While the coffeehouse customers differed among the respective Amsterdam coffeehouses, the aim of this thesis is not to analyze the correspondent cultural landscape of coffeehouses in Amsterdam in full. Instead, my aim s to extract its most characteristic traits.

[18] Cowan, *Social life*, 10.

[19] The stated temporal period covers the existence of coffeehouses in Amsterdam in line with the common definition of European coffeehouses in terms of their historic relevance in the development of public citizenship, the participation in political discourses and an overall public opinion-making. See Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 150-151. In the Dutch Republic, the decline of the coffeehouse culture coincides with the revolutionary years in the 1780s, thus the historic peak of the participation of a liberal civic movement, led by a Patriot political wing, against the preservation of the Orangist monarchy which finally, in the year 1778, won through the previously dominant Republican structures. See Maarten Prak, "The Dutch Republic as a bourgeois Society," *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 125, no. 2-3 (2010):134. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 54. In line with this and the following institutionalized democracy due to political centralization, the year 1778 marks a symbolical end of the early modern Amsterdam coffeehouse culture. See Prak, "Bourgeois Society," 137-138. For the first historic comment of a coffeehouse in the Dutch Republic, corresponding to the beginning of the stated period, see Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 203.

[20] Alain Drouard, [s.v.] "Food, sociology of," In *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, ed. James D. Wright. 25 vols., vol. 9, Amsterdam: Elsevier, ^{2}2015 (2001), accessed online on May 7, 2022, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.32188-2, 311; 315. Wilson, "Food, drink and identity," 11-14. Exemplary works in the food studies which cover coffee as a topic are the following ones. Laan, Menno van der (ed.), *Uit verre landen. Koffie, thee en andere koloniale waren* (Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2015). Yao-Fen You, "From novelty to necessity". Thomas M. Wilson (ed.), *Food, drink and identity in Europe*, European Studies 22 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006). Colin Jones and Rebecca Spang, "Sansculottes, sans café, sans tabac. Shifting realms of necessity and luxury in eighteenth-century France," in *Consumers and luxury. Consumer culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, ed. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). S. D. Smith, "Accounting for taste. British coffee consumption in historical perspective," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 2 (1996): 183-214. Peter Brown (ed.), *In praise of hot liquors. The study of chocolate, coffee and tea-drinking 1600-1850* (York: York Civic Trust, 1995). J.J. Voskuil, "De verspreiding van koffie en thee in Nederland," *Volkskundig bulletin* 14, no. 2 (1988): 68-93. Another important major contribution in the field is Kyri Claflin and Peter Scholiers (eds.), *Writing food history. A global perspective* (Oxford: Berg, 2012).

Given the transcultural history of coffee, a product of the global bourgeoisie, this thesis seeks to avoid a Eurocentric perspective on the coffeehouse and the consumption of coffee.[21] The creation of the bourgeoisie in relation with the coffeehouse as a social establishment seems to have been a common pattern across cultures. Despite of this, only a limited number of publications investigated the European adoption of the Near and Middle Eastern coffeehouse.[22] In addition, only a few scholarly works render the European coffeehouse as a place of European fantasies of the 'exotic'.[23] My thesis expands on this scholarship by elucidating the European perceptions of a cultural 'other' which were operating, while coffee-drinking was borrowed from the 'East'. In line with postcolonial studies that build on Edward Said's seminal concept of orientalism, chapter 2.1 outlines the European representational iconography of the 'other' in regard to the Eastern coffee ritual. Thereby, Said's definition of orientalism as a Western literary body, cultural attitude and disposition of thought towards the imaginary concept of the 'Orient' is considered as a tool to understand the self-reflective construction of a bourgeois identity.[24] In general, the pre-modern orientalist

[21] For coffee as a commodity which was consumed by the global bourgeoisie, see Dejung, Motadel, and Osterhammel, "Worlds of the bourgeoisie," 18. For the stated aspects and a literary review on the opening of the field of early modern history towards cultural realms beyond Europe, see Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, "The global lives of things: material culture in the first global age," in *The global live of things. The material culture of connections in the early modern world*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (London: Routledge, 2016), 11-14. Coffee as a product which circulated between different cultural regions and formed part of transformational processes of materials, societies and ideas forms part of a transcultural reciprocal exchange. This thesis is concerned with the reception of coffee by Europeans and the material entanglements which accompanied the process of the adoption of coffee. It is therefore settled within the branch of research of the transfer studies. See Wolfram Drews and Christian Scholl, "Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne. Zur Einleitung," in *Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne*, ed. Wolfram Drews and Christian Scholl (Boston: De Gruyter 2016), IX – XIII.

[22] For a critical account in the explained regard, see Emİnegül Karababa and Güliz Ger, "Early modern Ottoman coffeehouse culture and the formation of the consumer subject," *Journal of consumer research* 37, no. 5 (February 2011): 737-738. A work which shifts the Eurocentric viewpoint towards the Near East in the context of a global history of the early modern coffeehouse is Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses. The origin of a social beverage in the medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985). To some extent, this global perspective is also presented by Ellis, *Coffee house*, 1-42.

[23] Cowan explains important structural features such as civility and commerce in the British coffee house as directly related with an orientalist attitude which varied between xenophobia and curiosity. See Cowan, *Social life*, 115-145. Other scholars, for instance Markman Ellis and Woodruff Smith, state this exoticized perception of coffee by Europeans in early modern coffeehouses briefly without further investigation. See Ellis, *Coffee house*, 146. See Smith, *Consumption*, 147. In Maarten Hell's study on Amsterdam inns and coffeehouses, exoticism is very sparsely treated in as more general aspect of public amusement in the Amsterdam gastronomical landscape. See Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 156-150; 203.

[24] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). According to Said, the 'East' and the 'Orient' are imaginary constructs which evolved along with the colonial enterprises and in relation with the modernity. The 'East' or 'Orient' is a category under which different regions of Asia are subsumed into an undifferentiated oriental concept which reflects a distorted picture of the West. This dichotomist disposition is also entailed in the contemporary epistemic categories of the 'West' and the 'East'. Edward Said, "Orientalism," in *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory. A Reader*, ed. Padmini Mongia (London: Routledge, 1996), 20-24. For an exemplary contribution in the historical field of early modern orientalism, see Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-García (eds.), *The dialectics of orientalism in early modern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

self-definition of the Netherlandish bourgeoisie in the 17th and 18th centuries is explained through a brief discourse analysis of written accounts such as travelogues, medicinal treatises and recipe books. At the same time, my approach to the orientalized coffeehouse takes distance from a monolithic construct of the dominant West versus the orientalized East, for which Said has been criticized. Instead, it joints the postcolonial works which approach the discursive category of the Orient by considering the reciprocal directionality of cultural influence in favor of ambiguous identities.[25] This allows for the identification of different consumer attitudes in coffeehouses in the context of the moral discourse which span throughout oriental products, especially in the 18th century, the so-called luxury debate.[26] As outlined in particular in chapter 3.2, this impacted the construction of a common sense of taste and lifestyle among the coffeehouse bourgeoisie, while coffee underwent the notional change from a luxury beverage into a commodity.[27]

Third, this thesis takes up current developments within the post-Habermasian field of research, by not only relating the diversity of the public space to the world of things, but by outlining the thereby applying generative process.[28] Much has been written on the manners, practices and ideals of the coffeehouse bourgeoisie. But the material impacts of the drinks which were consumed there in relation with the associated fashionable pieces of the decorative arts, the latter clearly dominating the setting of the coffeehouse, have not been investigated so far. In view of the so-called 'material turn', the present thesis aims to fill this gap between the recent coffeehouse studies and the broadening field of the visual and material culture studies. From the viewpoint of the consumer, I explore the material agency of coffee and the correlated accoutrements, whereby my primary focus lies on the components of the coffee ware which were made of porcelain.[29] According to Anne

[25] The stated criticism towards Said's theory in the new postcolonial studies as, for instance, applied in the above-stated volume *The dialectics of orientalism in early modern Europe*, is outlined by Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk (eds.), *Art history. A critical introduction to its methods* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 229-230.

[26] Roberta Sassatelli, "Consumer identities," in *Routledge handbook of identity studies*, ed. Anthony Elliot (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 239-241.

[27] Maxime Berg, "New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England," in *Consumers and luxury. Consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850*, ed. Maxime Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 65-67.

[28] Brian Cowan, "Public sphere," in *Information. A historical companion*, ed. Ann Blair, Paul Duguid, Anja-Silvia Goeing and Anthony Grafton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), 2016.

[29] For the concept of object agency in material culture studies different theories have been proposed, as described in Karen Harvey, "Introduction: historians, material culture and materiality," in *History and material culture. A student's guide to approaching alternative sources*, ed. Karen Harvey (Abingdon: Routledge 2018): 6-7. The material turn describes the methodological change in archaeological and anthropological approaches in the 1990s which developed into a broader interdisciplinary approach towards the cultural meaning and impact of things on societies. See Dan Hicks, "The material-cultural turn: event and effect," in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. Mary Beaudry and Dan Hicks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 25-28.

McCants, porcelain was an essential part of the everyday-life in the United Provinces of the Netherlands (1581-1795), which suggests a culturally profound relationship of the Netherlandish contemporary with porcelain ware.[30] The "social life" of the composition or design of coffee ware, with respect to both 'matter' and 'form', corresponds to its materiality, which in turn manifests itself in the specific contemporary associations and forms of usage.[31] The correspondent object-based analysis explores the relation between the coffeehouse, the materials within this place and the coffeehouse visitor who used these materials.[32] This approach does not only follow a current appeal of historians to detect "consumption clusters" in the sense that it outlines the meaningful entanglements between the two material realms of coffee and porcelain.[33] Rather, it brings up implicit identity-constructing beliefs and imaginations from below the surface and can therefore generate new findings with regard to a bourgeois identity.[34] Concomitantly, it ensures a differentiated interpretation of the reasons for and modalities of the consumption of coffee, transcending the boundaries that are usually given with the prerogative argument of the consumer revolution.[35] The design and forms of usage of coffee ware used in coffeehouses are elucidated in chapter 3.1, while the following chapters expand on the observed interaction between the porcelain tableware and coffeehouse visitors. In chapter 3.2, this involves rather ambiguous meanings of the analyzed items with respect to the contemporary attitudes towards luxury. Chapter 4 explores how porcelain coffee ware participated in the collectively experienced sociability in coffeehouses.[36] While explanatory priority is given to the materiality of coffee ware, my interpretation includes

[30] Anne McCants, "Porcelain for the poor: the material culture of tea and coffee consumption in eighteenth-century Amsterdam," in *Early modern things: objects and their histories*, 1500-1800, ed. Paula Findlen (London: Routledge, 2021), 405-409.
[31] Harvey, "Introduction," 9. The given definition of materiality is compatible with Arjun Appadurai's important contribution to the anthropological material culture studies. Here, things are explained as commodities which assume values through their globally interconnected 'social lives' during economic exchange. See Arjun Appadurai, *The social life of things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3-4. For the definition of the internal structure of an object as a design which comprises matter and form, see Michael Yonan, "Toward a fusion of art history and material culture studies," *West 86th. A Journal of decorative arts, design history, and material culture* 18, no. 2 (2011): 245-246. This thesis follows the interpretation of materiality in cultural anthropology and cultural history. It can be described as the dynamic quality inherent to objects through which cultural referential systems of belief are constructed and transformed. For a broader discourse on the concept of materiality, see Harvey, "Introduction," 6-8. Christopher Tilley, "Materials against materiality," in *archaeological dialogues* 14, no. 1 (2007): 11-16.
[32] Harvey, "Introduction," 2-3.
[33] Vries, The industrious revolution, 31. See also Landweber, "'This marvelous bean'," 196-198.
[34] Harvey, "Introduction," 6.
[35] For a critique of the 'consumer revolution' in the explained regard, see Cowan, *Social life*, 9-10.
[36] Jules David Prown, "Mind in matter. An introduction to material culture theory and method," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (1982): 7-10.

Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory. It hence builds on the proposition that styles were emulated in order to consolidate social status within a social hierarchy of tastes.[37]

While this thesis attempts to illuminate the creation of the bourgeoisie by analyzing the material culture of Amsterdam coffeehouses in the 17th and 18th centuries, three sub-questions are the following ones.

Who belonged to the social construct of the bourgeoisie in Amsterdam and how was such a belonging demonstrated through coffee ware?

Which values were attached to coffee in the cultural process of development of the bourgeoisie and how was porcelain involved in this?

How were the respective values negotiated through the forms of orientalism?

1.2 Methodology

In general, my approach is inspired by Jules David Prown's interpretative model within the material culture studies, even though I do not follow precisely the sequential order of the analytical steps suggested there. By using a combined set of archaeological, archival, visual and textual evidence, I evaluate the aesthetic and utilitarian qualities of the coffee ware that was used in Amsterdam coffeehouses. Chapter 3.1 therefore covers a description of such coffeehouse porcelain, with special attention to the formal analysis of the coffee equipment. In addition to the mentioned types of primary sources, I consider the produced literary corpus on the decorative forms of the respective coffee equipage as valuable. The combined form of different source material in the chosen methodology requires some premises, which need to be briefly explained at this point.

The coffeehouse setting and its public can be mapped out with the help of images, mostly engravings, which show either Amsterdam coffeehouses or northwestern European examples with a similar set-up.[38] Furthermore, the social setting of the Amsterdam coffeehouse can be defined through compiled anecdotes of different authors and journals from the 17th and 18th centuries, especially when combined with the relevant secondary literature that has been

[37] Sassatelli, "Consumer identities," 240; 245. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste*, trans. Richard Nice, [first published as *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1979] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 4-6.

[38] The visual evidence of coffeehouse interiors which can be traced back to early modern Amsterdam are relatively scarce, so that the scope of my enquiry had to be widened to images with English or otherwise regionally identifiable coffeehouse interiors.

produced on the topic. The satirical genre conditions a certain exaggeration on the side of the authors.[39]

The stated primary sources belong to the genre of popular culture and often have a satirical value. The same can be said for the fashion plates that I used as visual evidence for my comparative visual analysis and in which I identified fashion trends. Hence, the stated primary sources are often shaped by the moral presumptions of the time. Moreover, they imply the subjective opinion of the writer, painter, drawer, or printer.[40] The portrays and interior paintings consulted often come along with idealized representations, even if I regard them as valuable evidence for the contemporary appearance of the early modern coffee ware. The evidential value of these images is owed to the fact that the persons and objects presented here within the domestic space are not in a stage of developing, as in drawings, or intended for a wide circulation, as in cheap prints.[41]

In addition, the orientalist themes in the images of travelogues and medicinal treatises form part of the ethnographic genre. These images are essentially based on imaginations and sometimes even fictional, which explains their close relationship with the literary fable.[42]

To obtain information about the quantity and quality of porcelain ware in coffeehouses, I analyzed the visual sources and two inventories from the notarial archives in Amsterdam as well as one inventory, which is documented in a secondary source.[43] The inventories provide

[39] Important primary sources are the following ones. Anonymous, *De gedebaucherde en betoverde koffy en thee wereld* (Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1701). Anonymous, *Het koffy-huis der nieusgierigen, of de klapbank der nouvelisten* (Amsteldam: Anonymous, with Steeve van Esveldt, 1744). Jan Appelaer, *Het suynigh en vermaeckelijck coffy-huys ofte eene versamelinge van een party vermakelijcke en koddige kluchten*, Zaendyck: Appealaer 1678. Timotheus ten Hoorn, *Het vol-vrolike thee-geselschap ofte de vergadering der blijmoedige geesten zijnde het twede deel van 't Zuinig en vermakelik coffi-huis*, Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1687. Relevant secondary literary works are Pim van Oostrum, "Trammelant rond de theestoof: over de sekse van thee (en koffie)," *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 29, no.1. (2006): 49-70, Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman, consulted via DBNL (KB, National Library), //www.dbnl.org/tekst/_med009200601_01/colofon.php. Hell, "Amsterdamse herberg." Reinders and Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, *Koffie in Nederland*.

[40] For the explained context of sources in the 'popular culture' see Mark Hailwood, "Popular culture," in *Understanding early modern primary sources*, ed. Laura Sangha and Jonathan Willis (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 214-216. For the genre of the fashion plate in this regard, see also Landweber, "'This marvelous bean'," 204-216.

[41] The problem is explained in regard to paintings by Cornelia Fock, "Semblance or reality? The Domestic interior in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting," in *Art and Home. Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Mariët Westermann (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001), 83-102, S. 101.

[42] Rosalind Ballaster, *Fabulous orients fictions of the East in England, 1662-1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 16-19.

[43] SAA-5075 (Notarial Archives) Amsterdam, inv. no. 14223, [piece no. 980], (3 February 1793), inventory of Arnoldus van Bergen and Francina Louisa Mouvé (in the following "Bergen, *inventory*"). SAA-5075 (Notarial Archives) Amsterdam, inv.no. 5972, fol. 805-819, [piece no. 79], (August 1704), inventory of Jan Vroom, *Het Levantse Koffiebaal/ Het Reijgertje*, https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/239.2.4/start/320/limit/10/highlight/2, (in the following "Vroom, *inventory*"). Nicolaas de Roever, *Uit onze oude Amstelstad. Schetsen en tafereelen betreffende de geschiedenis der veste, het leven en de zeden harer vroegere bewoners*, [inventory of Mathis van Erevan (1673),

listed porcelain items which belonged to the coffeehouse, mostly included into the household, of a coffeehouse owner. Given the relatively limited availability of sources that could be found for Amsterdam coffeehouses, especially with regard to the related porcelain fashion of interest in this paper, the scope was widened to include inventories from The Hague.[44] In general, written documentation on coffeehouses elsewhere in the United Provinces was considered as secondary evidence.

Moreover, my material analysis of porcelain, which can be defined as 'coffeehouse porcelain', benefitted from the report *Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder*, which documents archaeological findings in excavation sites in Amsterdam, and Cornelia Laan's research study on inns in regions of Vlaadringen and Delft.[45] Here, the color, shape and overall decoration of excavated porcelain coffee ware in inns are documented. Thereby, it can be assumed that the resulting insights into the style of porcelain in the public gastronomic space in different regions of the United Provinces are relevant for the cultural set-up of the Amsterdam coffeehouse.[46] The choice of these studies, which were concerned with inns in contrast to coffeehouses, is also owed to the limited archaeological evidence of former coffeehouse sites. The inclusion of such findings is justified by the fact that the structural features of both social establishments, just as their accommodated drinking cultures, were not strictly separated from

---

121-122] (Amsterdam: Van Looy, 1890) (in the following "Roever, *inventory of Mathias van Erevan*"). It is to note that the inventory of Arnoldus van Bergen lacks numbered pages or folios. Therefore, the stated numbers for the following quotations and paraphrases from van Bergen's inventory refer to the page number which results, when the pages are counted from the first page which includes financial account numbers at the margins of the pages in the inventory.

[44] HGA-0372-01 (Notarial Archives) The Hague, inv. no. 4504, pp. 143-306, [piece no. 12], (12 August 1772), inventory of Jean Baptiste Coussée, (in the following "Coussée, *inventory*"). HGA-0372-01 (Notarial Archives), The Hague, inv. no. 927, pp. 579-583, (27 March 1713), inventory of Catharina van der Wiele, https://hdl.handle.net/21.12124/5B2CA518553840EC820E68C4705312A3, (in the following "Wiele, *inventory*").

[45] Cornelia Laan, *Drank and drinkgerei. Een archaeologisch en cultuurhistorisch onderzoek naar de alledaagse drinkcultuur van de 18de-eeuwse Hollanders*, Amsterdam: Bataafsche Leeuw, 2002, (PhD diss., Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2002). Gawronski, Jerzy and Ranjith Jayasena (eds.), *Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder. Archeologisch onderzoek Oudezijds Voorburgwal 38-40*, AAR (Amsterdamse Archeologische Rapporten) 100, (Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017).

[46] Cornelia Laan's study is based on exiting archaeological and archival research for the inn *De Visscher* (1742-1805) in Vlaardingen and further public gastronomic sits around the city of Delft. See Laan, *Drank and drinkgerei*, 14-17. The archaeological field study of Jerzy Gawronski and Ranjith Jayasena was commissioned by the City of Amsterdam office for Monuments and archaeology (MenA), after renovations of the museum *Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder* reveled a large cesspool with, among others, a rich material content from public sites, including former inns, and dwellings from 1675-1800. The area where the archaeological excavations were conducted in the years 2013 and 2014, the *Oudezijds Voorburgwal 38-40*, is located in the middle of the center of Amsterdam and therefore of relevance for my study. See Gawronski and Jayasena, *Ons' Lieve Heer*, 7; 11-15; 38-40. In this thesis, I refer to Sebastian Ostkamps contribution to the mentioned report about the ceramics which were excavated in the former site of the *Momhuys*, an inn and annex of the cesspool *t'Catgen* was in existence from the 1690s to 1739. Sebastian Ostkamp, "Beerput in t'Catgen: keramiek," in *Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder. Archeologisch onderzoek Oudezijds Voorburgwal, 38-40*, ed. Jerzy Gawronski and Ranjith Jayasena, 36-90, AAR (Amsterdamse Archeologische Rapporten) 100, (Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). For the stated context of investigation, see Gawronski and Jayasena, *Ons' Lieve Heer*, 11-15.

each other. In some coffeehouses, beer was served, while the gradual transition of the inn into the coffeehouse in the second half of the 17th century, accompanied by a replacement of beer by coffee, conditioned the integration of coffee in the inn.[47] This adoption of coffee in the inn was marked by the increase of drinking vessels made of porcelain in the same locations to such an extent that allows for the assumption that similar patterns of taste and consumption as in coffeehouses prevailed in inns.[48] On the whole, the archaeological studies offer precise information about the contemporary use of and the everyday-life with certain types of ceramics, for example coffee porcelain, in drinking houses. In this sense, they complement the results from the estate inventories which allow conclusions on personal preferences, general consumer habits, or the structure of the domestic space.[49]

In the inventories, I aimed to identify the composition, color, and decoration in single pieces and matching services of coffee ware.[50] A corresponding limitation is that inventories only present a snapshot of a momentary compilation of interior goods which had been owned by a deceased person. Even if they give a highly authentic insight into personal lifestyles, it cannot be excluded that goods were, for example, passively acquired over inheritance, hidden from public taxation, or given away before the estate inventory was created by the responsible notary or civil servant.[51]

Furthermore, the undifferentiated usage of the word '*porcelyn*' in the inventories constitutes a problem.[52] It would be erroneous to translate every remark on a '*porcelyn*' item as a piece of porcelain.[53] This term can be a reference to another ceramic class which

[47] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen, and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 39. Hell (a), *De Amsterdamse Herberg*, 196; 211.
[48] A statistical analysis in Cornelia Laan's study shows that in the relevant site of investigation, the inn *De Visscher*, porcelain was present in a relative majority of 31 % of the 267 pieces with material sorts typically used for coffee or tea drinking. The last number outnumbers the 206 glass vessels for alcoholic drinks found in the same archaeological site. See Laan, *Drank and drinkgerei*, 217 (tables 3.1 and 3.2). In addition, the spatial structure within such inns sometimes included a separate room which served the purpose of coffee-drinking. See ibid., 195.
[49] Ibid., 11-14.
[50] These criteria were chosen on the basis of the quality markers of porcelain which derive from the discernable taste which is to a certain degree assignable to both the collector and the user of these pieces. For these criteria, see Angela Ho, "Exotic and exclusive. The Pronk porcelain as products for the connoisseur," in *Connoisseurhip and the knowledge of art*, [*Kennershap en kuunst*], ed. H. Perry Chapman, Thijs Weststeijn, and Dulcia Meijers, Netherlands yearbook for history of art 69, (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 175-180. Yao-Fen You, "The Detroit Fürstenberg service and the politics of coffee and tea in eighteenth-century Germany," in *Coffee, tea, and chocolate. Consuming the world*, ed. Yao-Fen You (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 85-87.
[51] McCants, "Porcelain for the poor," 390.
[52] From around 1650 until 1725, and with a short revival period from 1755 to 1765, the so-called Delftware, a type of the ceramic class faience, was successfully sold on the international market. Against this background, the word '*porceleyn*' was used by the Dutch contemporaries for the designation of tin-glazed earthenware manufactured in Delft. Jan Daniël van Dam, *Gedateerd Delfts aardewerk. Dated Dutch Delftware*, inventory catalogue, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991), 4.
[53] A similar problem is given with the images which depict relevant ceramics. Here, one can rarely make exact conclusions on the class, type and provenance of the depicted ceramics (Fig. 5-Fig. 13). A. Spriggs, "Oriental porcelain in western paintings 1450 – 1700," *Transactions of the oriental ceramic society* 36 (1967): 73-74. See

emulated Chinese porcelain, namely Delftware or "Delft blue".[54] For its fine tin-glazed texture and its blue-and-white appearance, this Dutch variant of earthenware was highly admired, but it was also available to cheaper prices than porcelain.[55] An elaborate discussion on potential references to Delft blue in the form of '*Delft*' or '*blauw*' ("blue") or respective attributions for other ceramic groups or provenances in the used inventories, would exceed the given scope of this thesis. Eventually, there can hardly be made any differentiation between the listed ceramic-types with respect to their quality. Generally speaking, porcelain was attributed a more refined and sophisticated taste, especially from around the second half of the eighteenth century.[56] However, the fine pieces of local Delftware with technically complex designs, expensive executions like gold rims or ribbed surfaces, and personalized visual features like coat of arms or monograms could impart an earthenware cup a greater value than a bulk-produced porcelain cup.[57] This is why I will interpret *porcelyn* as porcelain and why I will in general relate to porcelain explicitly throughout my thesis, taking into account that the thereby made conclusions are, to a certain degree, also valid for Delftware.

---

also Thijs Weststeijn, "Cultural reflections on porcelain in the 17th-century Netherlands," in *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 213.

[54] The Royal Delft Museum, "How was it made?" Discover Delfts aardewerk, 2022. Accessed June 1, 2022, <https://www.delftsaardewerk.nl/en/discover/how-was-delftware-made>.

[55] Marie-Anne Heukensfeldt Jansen (ed.), *Delfts aardwerk.* [*Dutch Delftware*]. Facetten der verzameling 6, (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1967), 1-2. Femke Diercks, "Inspired by Asia: responses in the Dutch decorative arts," in *Asia in Amsterdam. The culture of luxury in the Golden Age*, ed. Karina H. Corrigan, Jan van Campen, Femke Diercks, [with Janet C. Blyberg] (New Heaven: Yale University Press: 2015), 247-248.

[56] In the 18th century the value of Dutch Delftware gradually decreased, especially in the upper-class society. The coarser Delftware was associated this the rural population. Erkelens, *'Delffs Porcelijn'*, 119. See also Diercks, "Inspired by Asia," 248.

[57] For the criteria and examples of expensive Delftware, see Erkelens, *'Delffs Porcelijn'*, 116-120. Dam, *Gedateerd Delfts aardewerk*, 1991, 69. Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch china trade* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982), 151-154.

2. The coffeehouse culture in Amsterdam

2.1 *Chaube* in porcelain bowls: a new flavor in Amsterdam

The emergence of European coffeehouses was preceded by a range of interconnected events in whose course coffee, which is native to Ethiopia, spread first throughout the Near and Middle East and later on throughout Europe.[58] In fact, coffee-drinking had been adopted from the Islamic world. It originated in the devotional spiritualist rituals of Sufi orders in South Arabia, especially in cities in Yemen, in the early 14th century. The same Sufi practitioners had brought the social ritual of coffee-drinking to Mecca, Medina, Cairo, Baghdad, Aleppo and Istanbul, where the global history of the early modern coffeehouse began under the rule of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566) around the mid-16th century.[59] The first European coffeehouses in Venice (1642), Oxford (1650), London (1652) and Amsterdam (1665) opened in the context of the gradual involvement of European merchants in the coffee trade. Yet, before coffee was sold in a commercialized form, it had been mostly regarded as medicine and botanic species. As in Europe in general, the coffee fruit attracted great attention of a relatively small elite of natural historians and orientalist scholars in the Netherlands during the late 16th and 17th centuries. First captured visually by the Dutch botanist Carolus Clusius (1526-1609) in 1574, the coffee bean was made known by a small circle of European scientists. But since the beginning, it was not only the plant which fascinated Europeans about the novel coffee fruit but also the way how it was prepared and drunk in Islamic cultures in the Arabian World, the Levant and Ottoman Turkey.[60] The two most influential descriptions of coffee-drinking for the United Provinces were Leonhart Rauwolf's (1540-1596) *Aigentliche beschreibung der Reiß* (1582) and Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* (1596), whereby in the latter the annotations by the renowned natural philosopher Bernardus Pauldanus (1559-1633) were especially relevant.[61] Like many European travelers, the Augsburg physician Leonhart Rauwolf witnessed ceremonies of

[58] Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses*, 13.
[59] Karababa and Ger, "Ottoman coffeehouse culture", 737. For the history of coffee in the Near and Middle East, see Ellis, *Coffee house*, 1-16. Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses*, 25-29. See also Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 35-36. Even if the Ottoman coffeehouse had a leading cultural role in the Eastern coffeehouse culture, it can be noted that the first coffeehouses had been founded in Egypt between 1511 and 1516. See ibid., 35.
[60] Pim Reinders, Annette de Wit, and Harm Nijboer, "'Een specie van swarte boontjes'. Voorspel van de koffie in Nederland," in *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994), 14-20.
[61] Ibid., 17-19. Leonhart Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Reiß*, Laugingen: Georgen Willers, [2]1583 (1582). Jan Bernardus Paludanus, description of the coffee bean and the coffee ritual in Asia, in *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*, ed. Huyghen van Linschoten (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1596).

coffee or '*qahwa*' within a coffeehouse, namely in Aleppo around 1573 at the beginning of his journey to Jerusalem.[62]

Rauwolf reports that "*Chaube*", which means coffee, is hot and "black as ink".[63] As he continues, *Chaube* is drunk most often from porcelain bowls and in a certain manner which in the following centuries determined an exotic image of coffee-drinking in Europe:

> "The Arabas will drink it early in the morning, also in public places without any diffidence, from earthenware and porcelain cups. They sip it as hot as possible, and pass the cup around while sitting in a ring."[64]

The empirical mode with which the coffee culture in Ottoman Aleppo is described here is symptomatic for the 'ethnographic' discourse in which European scholars amalgamated the practices of different cultures into the fantastical construct of the Orient.[65] While Rauwolf's report was the first one which included botanical details, referring to the coffee berry, which he calls 'bunru' after the Arabic 'bun', Bernardus Paludanus explained the processing of the very same:

> "The Turks holde almost the same manner of drinking of their *Chaona*, which they make of certaine fruit which is like unto the Bakelaer, and by the Egyptians called Bon or Ban: they take of this fruite one pound and a half, and roast them a little in the fire, and then sieth them in twentie poundes of water, till the half [be consumed away] […]."[66]

---

[62] Ellis, *Coffee house*, 16. Antoinette Schnyder-von Waldkirch, "'Chaube' / 'Kahwe' / 'Copha'/ 'Caffé'. Vom Kaffee in frühen Reiseberichten," in *Vom Kaffee in frühen Reiseberichten. Chaube, Kahwe, Copha, Caffe*, ed. Urs Bitterli (Zurich: Jacobs-Suchard-Museum, 1988), 13. According to Antoinette Schnyder-von Waldkirch, the word '*chaube*' in Leonhart Rauwolf's corresponds to Rauwolf's translation of the Arabic word 'qahwah', which gave rise to the European word for 'coffee'. See ibid., 13. For the usage of the term 'qahwa' in early modern travel accounts, see also Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses*, 24.

[63] Rauwolf, *Beschreibung der Reiß*, 102-103. ["Chaube […] das ist gar nahe wie Dinten so schwarz"]. Translated by Ellis, *Coffee house*, 16.

[64] Rauwolf, *Beschreibung der Reiß*, 102-103. ["Dieses pflegens am morgen frü auch an offnen ortenvor jedermenegklich one alles abscheuhen zutrinken auß irdinen nd Porcellanischen tiefen Schälein so warm als sies könden erleiden setzen offt an thond aber kleine trincklein und lassens gleich weiter wie sie nebeneinander im krayß sitzen herum gehn."]. Translated by Brown, *Hot liquors*, 7. For Rauwolf's report, see also Ellis, *Coffee house. A cultural history*, 16.

[65] Stephaine Leitch, "Burgkmair's peoples of Africa and India (1508) and the origins of ethnography in print," in *The art bulletin* 91, no. 2 (June 2009): 134. See also Ballaster, *Fabulous orients*, 8.

[66] Cit Paludanus, [description], *Itinerario…van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten*, 52-53. Quoted in Arthur Coke (ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies. From the Old English Translation of 1598. The First Book, Containing His Description of the East*, 2 vols., vol. 1, trans. William Phillip (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 157. For Rauwolf's reference to the coffee bean see Ellis, *Coffee house*, 16. How coffee was prepared is not reported by Rauwolf. See ibid., 16. The word '*chaoua*' in Bernardus Paludanus' description stands for 'qahwah' which is, as stated before, the Arabic word of 'coffee'. See Coke, *The Voyage of John Huyghen*, 157, fn. 2. 'Bakelaer' is the Latin word for laurel. It denotes the laurel berry in Paludanus' annotations. See ibid., 157, fn. 3. See also Reinders, Wit and Nijboer, "'Een specie van swarte boontjes,'" 17.

With this description of the complex production process of coffee around 1578, Paludanus presents an entirely new knowledge on the cultivation and preparation of the coffee fruit which had been common in Arab and Eastern Mediterranean regions.[67] As he explains, coffee-making comprised four steps. The laurel-like red coffee berries are discarded to proceed with the seed of the fruit, which is first roasted over the fire and then crushed to powder with a mortar. Roasting and crushing are followed by boiling the dark coffee powder and, after the infusion is ready, the brewed hot liquid is served and can be drunk.[68] It was, among others, the difficult preparation of coffee which would turn the European coffeehouse into a therefore specialized and proven establishment.[69] The drinking of the coffee, after the liquid is served as the last step in the preparation, was traditionally linked to certain times of day. Paludanus observes: "this drinke they take everie morning fasting in their chambers, out of an earthen pot, being verie hote, as we doe here drinke aquacomposita."[70]

Especially stimulating for the European imagination of the Middle Eastern drinking rituals, were the constantly replicated visual motifs of coffee-drinking in the travel accounts. An example for this is Prosepr Alpinus' *coffee tree*, dating back to 1592, in Olaf Dappert's widely received *Nauwekeurige Beschrijving van Asie* from 1680 (Fig. 4).[71] Sitting in a circle, exactly in the same manner as described by the previous travel reports, turban-headed men are depicted within an idyllic landscape. They drink coffee and smoke tobacco with long pipes. The thereby conjured-up exotic atmosphere prevailed in similar images whose subjects were subsumed under the term Orient. For example, the engravings in Cornelis de Bruyns' *Reizen door..Klein Asia* (1698) depict men and women in coffeehouses in Constantinople (Fig. 3), while a single coffee drinker is represented in the 'native' Turkish manner in Philippe Sylvestre Dufour's (1622-1687) influential *Traitez nouveau & curieux du Café du Thé & du Chocolate* (in the following '*Traitez nouveau*') (1685) (Fig. 1).[72] Furthermore, the engraving on the title page of the *Traitez nouveau* depicts a coffee party with Arabian coffee,

[67] Reinders, Wit and Nijboer, "'Een specie van swarte boontjes,'"17.
[68] Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 54-59. As explained by Heise, coffee mills were invented in the West at the turn to the 18th century, whereas it was common to use mortars made of tin or copper for the preparation of coffee before this time. Ibid., 56-57.
[69] Oostrum, "rond de theestoof," 52.
[70] Paludanus,[description], *Itinerario…van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten*, 52-53. Quoted in Coke (ed.), *Voyage of John Huyghen*, 157. 'Aquacomposita' means brandy wine, which was drunk as hot spirituous in Europe. See Coke (ed.), *Voyage of John Huyghen*, 157, fn. 5. For serving as the last of four steps in the preparation of coffee see Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 54; 60-62.
[71] Reinders, Wit and Nijboer, "'Een specie van swarte boontjes,'"14-18. Brown, *Hot liquors*, 7-8. For specific times of day at which coffee was consumed in the context of changed drinking habits in Europe, see Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 143. For the historical context of orientalism, see Ballaster, *Fabulous orients*, 17.
[72] You, "From novelty to necessity," 12.

Asian tea leaves and Mesoamerican cacao among the three respective representatives of these 'Indian' cultures (Fig. 2). This demonstrates how coffee, an oriental theme in the visual and textual tradition of the early modern ethnography, signaled a Turkish lifestyle, while equally becoming part of an exotic und homogenized 'other' for Europeans.[73] The origin, appearance and effects of coffee were constantly compared to and in part set into analogy with the equally novel luxury beverages tea and chocolate in the so-called 'coffee literature'.[74] Such a popular literature on coffee, which combined the oriental topics of the travelogues with a medicinal discourse, emerged in the early 17th century as a subgenre of health literature.[75] The treatises and how-to-do-books covered personal health-related questions in regard to coffee in the daily diet as well as the usage of coffee as medical remedy.[76] Clearly, the boundaries between the premodern forms of science and ethnography were fluid. This can be noted in the statements of the Dutch physician Steven Blankaart (1650-1704) who commented on the new hot beverages together with the "tea doctor" Cornelis Bontekoe (1647-1685).[77] Steven Blankaart described how the coffee looks like in its natural form, how it was commonly drunk in the morning by the 'Turks' and what regulatory effect the drinking of coffee takes on the blood system.[78]

At the same time, a range of authors of the genre of European travel literature, for instance, in addition to those stated above, Pietro della Valle (1568-1652) and Jean Baptise Tavernier (1605-1689), set a fashionable standard by describing how coffee is drunk from porcelain bowls.[79] As implied by the Chinese tea-drinker in the *Traitez nouveau*, porcelain bowls had been used in China much earlier than in the Islamic regions. For religious and practical reasons, they were used there as drinking vessels for green tea and were in this context promoted by the cultural elites during the Song era (960-1279).[80] In comparison with containers of metals or glass, porcelain vessels protected the drinking person from the hotness of the contained tea. The porcelain body conducted the temperature only minimally, which is due to the nature of the clays of which porcelain is composed, especially kaolin and china

[73] For the historical context of this interpretation, see Leitch, "Burgkmair's peoples," 136.
[74] For the process of equalization of differences among cultures in the early modern Orientalist ethnography, see Leitch, "Burgkmair's peoples," 146.
[75]Smith, *Consumption*, 124-129. Schnyder-von Waldkirch, "'Chaube,'" 25
[76] Smith, *Consumption*, 124-125.
[77] Ibid., 122. See ibid., 106; 121-123.
[78] Steven Blankaart, "Verhandelinge van de coffeé," in *Gebruik en misbruik van den thee,* ed. Cornelis Bontekoe ('s Gravenhage: Pieter Hagen, 1686), 139-142; 154. See also Smith, *Consumption*, 121-123.
[79] For the respective descriptions of the usage of porcelain in the Islamic world in Jean Baptiste Tavernier's Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1676) and Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle* (1658-1663), see Schnyder-von Waldkirch, "'Chaube,'" 32; 34.
[80] Robert Finlay, *The pilgrim art. Cultures of porcelain in world history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 123; 127; 138.

stone, and the technique of its production involving a burning process over 1300 °C.[81] In the southeastern city Jingdezhen, a refined production process had been possible since the late 13th century.[82] While the resultantly solid and hard porcelain vessels became internationally famous, the Chinese habit to drink tea from porcelain seems to have been adapted towards the respective custom of coffee-drinking in the context of a rich mutual exchange of blue-and-white ceramics with different Islamic cultures throughout the times of the Imperial dynasties of the Song, Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911).[83] As a result, the early modern European 'discoveries' of coffee occurred at a time when the coffee tables of the elite societies in Safavid Persia (1501-1722), Mughal India (1526-1858) and the Ottoman Empire (1299-1922) were adorned with the imported porcelain from China as well as locally manufactured earthenware.[84]

The combined form in which porcelain, tea and coffee became to be consumed in the Dutch Republic was certainly a result of the visual patterns which were established over the outlined discourse.[85] On the other hand, the consumption of porcelain and coffee had economic reasons. Asiatic commodities were commonly exchanged for other Asiatic luxury items, raw materials and precious metals, mainly American silver, in the trading network of the *Dutch East India Company* ("VOC"). The global trading system of the VOC relied on the cross-trade of fabrics, spices and ceramics through well-connected factories or outposts along the coasts of the East Indies, China and Japan.[86] By trading Chinese porcelain since the early 17th century in large amounts, either via official or private trading channels, the VOC paved the way for a new European tableware culture.[87] In the second decade of the 17th century, the romanticized reports from the Orient had obviously stimulated an interest in tea and coffee, whereby tea became adopted and traded more quickly. At around 1660, the reach of the inner-Asiatic trading network of the VOC had been expanded over the Red Sea route to the

[81] Ibid., 82. For the reduced thermal conductivity of porcelain, see ibid., 124.
[82] Ibid., 82
[83] Ibid., 140-174; 245-247.
[84] Ibid., 245-247.
[85] The impact of a visual body of knowledge produced in the context of the early modern discoveries is explained by Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing exoticism. Geography, globalism, and Europe's early modern world* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 83-100.
[86] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "The 'Netherlandish model'? Netherlandish art history as/and global art history," in *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, vol. 66, no. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 281-284. See also Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, "Introduction. Mediating cultures," in *Mediating Netherlandish art and material culture in Asia*, ed. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014), 11-12.
[87] Finlay, *Pilgrim art*, 258.

port city Mocha ("*Al Mukha*") in Yemen, where coffee was cultivated for overseas export.[88] Around 1700, the VOC had started to cultivate coffee on the Indonesian Java, while founding the European mercantilist business with colonial coffee plantations. The company could now afford higher commercial quantities of coffee beans to overall lower consumer prices.[89]Around the same time, a wide variation of porcelain decoration and tableware was broadly adopted in the United Provinces.[90] Along with a risen distribution of porcelain, coffee spread to all social layers in the mid-18th century.[91] Nevertheless, the very early consumption of coffee was triggered by the private collection of Chinese porcelain vessels. These adorned the earliest cabinets in the Dutch Republic, especially the palace collections of the royal House of Orange. Concurringly, the first advocates of coffee belonged to the early modern Dutch aristocracy. More precisely, these were regents, rich members of the political elite, as well as members of the Dutch nobility or gentry, who were closely aligned with the lifestyle of the House of Orange and the government of the States-General in The Hague.[92] The regents can be described as administrators who were company directors, officials, magistrates, burgomasters, and members of the city council.[93] It should also be noted that an ongoing imitation of noble lifestyles on the side of rich non-noble aristocrats blurred the boundaries between this class of the new aristocracy, the regents, and the old aristocracy, the

[88] Cowan, *Social life*, 56. See ibid., 6-61. Reinders, Wit and Nijboer, "'Een specie van swarte boontjes,'" 20. Tea was traded since around 1620 in the Dutch Republic. Urs Bitterli, "Der Kaffee – Ein Stimulans der kolonialen und europäischen Geschichte," in *Vom Kaffee in frühen Reiseberichten. Chaube, Kahwe, Copha, Caffe*, ed. Urs Bitterli (Zurich: Jacobs-Suchard-Museum, 1988), 8.

[89] Harm Nijboer and Benno van Tilburg, "Tussen Compagnie en handelmaatschappij. De Nederlandse koffiehandel in de achttiende eeuw," in *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994), 27-32. See also Ellis, *Coffee house*, 144. Bitterli, "Der Kaffee – Ein Stimulans," 8- 9.

[90] Finlay, *Pilgrim art*, 257-258.

[91] McCants, "Porcelain for the poor," 391.This early consumption of coffee in the middleclass of the United Provinces in the mid-18th century preceded the respective integration of porcelain and coffee around the end of the 18th century in other European countries. Bitterli, "Der Kaffee – Ein Stimulans," 9. Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'"215.

[92] For the court in The Hague and its close ties with the Dutch aristocratic gentry, see Barbara Gaehtgens, "Hofkunst – Staatskunst – Bürgerkunst. Bemerkungen zur Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts in Den Haag," in *Götter und Helden für Berlin. Gemälde und Zeichnungen von Augustin und Matthäus Terwesten (1649-1711) (1670-1757). Zwei niederländische Künstler am Hofe Friedrichs I. und Sophie Charlotte*, ed. Director General Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg in coll. with Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Berlin: Foundation Prussian Palaces and Gardens Berlin - Brandenburg, 1995), 12. The landed gentry was decreasing in the Dutch republic. See Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *Nederland 1500-1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei* (Amsterdam: Balans,[2] 2005), 609. The difference of the Dutch nobility to the regents was that the status of the former depended on the inherited title of the family dynasty. Because of different economic and political circumstances the nobility had traditionally been less authoritative in the Netherlands than in the most European absolutist monarchies, while especially with the emergence of the republic structures around the regent-class in the beginning 17th century theses hereditary-based elites had lost much of their political power. Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 71-76.

[93] Geert Mak, *Amsterdam. A brief life of the city*, trans. Philipp Blom, [first published as *Een kleine geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam: Atlas, 1995], revised paperback edition (London: The Harvill Press, 2001), 139-140; 152-155.

nobility.[94] Copying the tea and coffee ceremonies which had been held by the female Stadholders in the domestic sphere of their cabinets, these both aristocratic groups adopted the explained drinking habits since the mid-17th century.[95] As a result of the promotion of coffee by the Ottoman ambassador Aga Suleyman at the French court of Louis XIV (1638–1715), the same wealthy ladies and gentlemen took up the trend to wear fanciful Turkish costumes, while hosting coffee parties in their private chambers.[96] Coffee had opened up an exotic world to upper-class citizens who identified themselves collectively over the early modern concept of gentility, a behavioral set of correlated values and refined manners on which "status consumption" was built.[97] Under the influence of the exciting travelogues, treatises and prints around coffee, the wealthy upper class laid the ground for the urban cultural elite which should slowly be shaped out as the Dutch bourgeoisie. The respective associations with porcelain or coffee, explained throughout the following chapters, were stimulated by fantasies and derived from the images of the luxurious Orient which was, in fact, a mental construct.[98] While the Arabian term '*chaube*' changed into 'coffee', the coffeehouses should become central places for the concurring cultural mediation and a local community for which coffee-drinking became an indispensable social ritual.[99]

[94] Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 180-183. See also Mak, *Amsterdam*, 141.
[95] Thera Wijsenbeek, Annette de Wit and Thomas Müller, "Van medicijn tot statussymbool. Koffie thui in de zeventiende an echttiende eeuw," in *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994), 108-109. For the historic context of the coffee and tea parties hosted by the female members of the House of Orange in the United Provinces, see Cordula Bischoff, "Women collectors and the rise of the porcelain cabinet," in *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 180-183.
[96] Wijsenbeek, Wit, and Müller, "Van medicijn tot statussymbool," 108-109. You, "From novelty to necessity," 12; 25.
[97] Smith, *Consumptio*n, 25. See ibid., 25-27; 40-41.
[98] Ibid., 71
[99] For the etymological origin of the word coffee and its translation process, see Ellis, *Coffee house*, 16. Schnyder-von Waldkirch, "'Chaube,'" 13.

2.2 Amsterdam lifestyles: all around the coffeehouse

The Amsterdam coffeehouse culture came into being in a gradual process, during which high-class inns, offering mostly beer and wine, were restructured into coffeehouses, where these domestic drinks were replaced with the fashionable luxury beverages coffee, tea and chocolate.[100] The first coffeehouses that sprang up reached a number of around thirty in Amsterdam at the turn to the 18th century, after the VOC had generated its first profits in the coffee trade between the 1660s to the 1690s.[101] The most coffeehouses were located close to the Dam square within the inner historic ring of Amsterdam. The parallel streets Rokin and Kalverstreet, both lying in the southwest of the city center, made up the major headquarters of the most frequented and popular coffeehouses such as Paul Fabre's '*Franse Koffiehuis*' (Fig. 11), Jan Vroom's (-1704) '*De Levantse Koffiebal*', Willem van Hoeven's (1628-1680) '*Gekroond Koffiehuis*', Harmanus Koning's (1648-1704) '*Royale Koffiehuis*', Pieter Sceperus' (1654-1708) '*Rode Leeuw*' and the '*Quincampoix* (Fig. 10).[102] Some coffeehouses were also located a bit less central and relied on the strategic proximity to other establishments. This was the case for the coffeehouse of Arnoldus van Bergen (unkn.-1793) and Francina Louisa Mouvé. As it lied close to the national theatre in Amsterdam, the *Schouwburg*, in the Amstelkerkstreet, the owners served coffee to the theatre guests during the breaks of the performed shows.[103] In the *Koffy en thee wereld* from 1701 an anonymous

[100] Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 211. See also Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 92-93. For the offer of alcoholic drinks in the Dutch Republic, see Maarten Hell (b), *De Amsterdamse herberg 1450-1800. Geestrijk centrum van het openbare leven*, Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2017, 213. The explained shift from the inn to the coffeehouse and the correspondent renaming of the institution into a title with a coffee-related connotation occurred in response to a preceding adoption process, during which Armenian and Greek immigrants sold coffee on the streets. Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 205. Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 92-93; 103.

[101] For the economic historical context see Reinders, Wit and Nijboer, "'Een specie van swarte boontjes,'" 19-20. For the stated number of thirty coffeehouses in Amsterdam see Hell, "Amsterdamse herberg," 207. See also Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen, and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 41.

[102] Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 130. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen, and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 43. Hell, "Amsterdamse herberg," 207. Maarten Hell provides more details about the location and, if known, the founding dates of the stated coffeehouses: Paul Fabre's *Franse Koffiehuis* dates back to 1692 and was located in the Kalverstreet 29, close to the famous coffeehouse *Quincampoix*. Jan Vroom's *De Levantse Koffiebal* was the successor of Vroom's inn *Het Reigertje* in 1692 and was located at the Dam in the '*Cromellebogsteeg*'. Located within the same street and equally going back to a former inn, the *Rode Leeuw* was set up as coffeehouse by Pieter Sceperus at some point before 1694. Willem van Hoeven's coffeehouse changed its name from *Drie Kronen* into *Gekroond Koffiehuis* during its period of existence. It must have existed before 1695. This can be followed from an advertisement of this year. The *Gekroond Koffiehuis* was in the Kalverstreet at the corner of the Dam square, close to Harmanus Koning's *Royale Koffiehuis* whose location was the present-day Kalverstreet 13, the '*Papenbroegsteeg*' back in these days. This latter coffeehouse, the *Royale Koffiehuis*, was probably operated before 1690 and taken over by the widow of Harmanus Koning in 1704. See Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 205-210. Hell (b), *Amsterdamse herberg*, 214-218.

[103] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen, and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 54. Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 148. In the following, I refer to Arnoldus van Bergen, which can be interpreted as including Francina Louisa Mouvé with whom Aronldus van Bergen was married and operated the business of the coffeehouse in the Amstelkerkstreet. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen, and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 54.

author reports that the very first visitors of coffeehouses had been wealthy persons who belonged to the upper echelons of the society.[104] In line with the transformation of the upscale gastronomy in the last decades of the 17th century, coffee was then still a relatively expensive luxury drink.[105]

This exclusive usage of coffeehouses by the aristocracy should quickly change to a frequentation of the same establishments by the broader economic middleclass, which had risen to about one fourth of the population by the end of the 17th century.[106] During the economic peak between 1690 and 1720, a remarkably urbanized and relatively affluent middle class spectrum in the United Provinces began to visit coffeehouses.[107] The coffeehouses turned rapidly into highly popular meeting points, which caused Steven Blankaart to comment in his physical treatise on coffee that "the coffeehouses in Amsterdam were so full of people that they were overcrowded."[108] This indicates not only an overall rise in consumption. The concentration of capital in Amsterdam, the flexible circulation of traded Asian commodities and the annually high imports of the same traded goods were important economic factors which, along with cultural historical processes, impacted the society at large. These processes, or rather the traded objects themselves, provoked entirely new consumer attitudes in line with new bourgeois lifestyles among the local middleclass.[109]

In general, a new form of bourgeois consumption in Amsterdam coffeehouses was marked by a cosmopolitan atmosphere which transcended class-boundaries. Tourists described visits in such gastronomic establishments as coffeehouses with astonishment regarding the mixture of different cultures and classes in these locations. For instance, the Frenchman Jean Nicolas de Parival (1605-1669) observed: "A confused murmur of many intermingled voices […]

---

[104] Anonymous, *De gedebaucherde en betoverde koffy en thee wereld* (Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1701), 471-472. See also Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen, and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 37.

[105] For the change of gastronomy in Amsterdam and the explained local historical context of the first coffeehouses see Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 196.

[106] Oostrum, "rond de theestoof," 62. Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 101.

[107] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 39. For the socio-historical context see Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall. 1477-1806*, The Oxford History of Early Modern Europe, ed. R.J. Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 307-309; 316-325. Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 141-148.

[108] Blankaart, "Verhandelinge van de coffeé," 142. Quoted in Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 39. ["Dat men de coffihuysen tot Amsterdam soo vol van menschen siet, dat se gepropt zijn."]. The translation is my own.

[109] For the significance of such an integrative conflation of global and local histories see Sebastian Conrad, *What is global history?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 129-131. See also Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 40-53. Smith, *Consumption*, 8-9. With the presented statement, this thesis acknowledges the cultural impacts beyond economic causal links in the early modern globalized world of exchange. See Conrad, *Global history*, 103-106. For the active part of objects in this global processes of consumption, see Appadurai, *social life*, 23-41.

these entertainment spaces are always full of people."[110] Tourists and foreign businessmen like Jean Nicolas de Parival certainly contributed something to the cosmopolitan character of coffeehouses. But most importantly, with the location of these places in the urban city center of Amsterdam, the coffeehouse public was surrounded by an exciting, colorful and constantly changing variety of Asian objects. Around the Dam the so-called curiosity shops which were specialized in exotic luxury items sold Indian calicoes, Japanese lacquer ware, Turkish carpets and other crafted articles from Asia. The Amsterdam coffeehouses sold similar oriental ware, including drugs and medicinal products, tobacco and packages of coffee beans or tea leaves. Clearly, Amsterdam had turned into one of Europe's centers of commerce throughout the 17th century, fueled by the constant import and re-export of Asian products of a very diverse palette in price, quality, and style.[111] A visit in the coffeehouse was therefore exciting, especially if coffee or other oriental items changed hands in auctions and similar social gatherings of globally active investors.[112]

As the coffeehouses emerged along Amsterdam's commercial and financial center, including the vivid stock exchange on the Dam square, a well-educated cross section of brokers, rentiers, and regents, the latter clearly belonging to the political elite, formed part of the standard clientele.[113] The *Quincampoix* in the Kalverstreet is the best example for the type of coffeehouses which appealed to an accounted professional group around the Bourse (Fig. 10).[114] Being a place for the "*windhandel*" ("speculative trading"), the speculative business in the security trade on imported luxury articles, the *Quincampoix* attracted brokers and rentiers who met in the early evening only to continue their business in the Kalverstreet when the establishment closed.[115] The clientele of the business-centered coffeehouses comprised regents, thus the authority-holding administrators, and private merchants, who had become

[110] Jean Nicolas de Parival, *Délices de la Hollande* (Amsterdam: Henri Wetstein 1697), 134. ["[…] un murmure confus de quantité de voix melés ensemble [...] tant ces cabarets sont toujours pleins de gens]." The translation is my own. See also Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 147.

[111] Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 130-131. Berg, "New commodities," 67. For the described merchandise in coffeehouses, see Smith, *Consumption*, 147-148. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 46.The re-export of goods as essential factor in the trading network of the VOC is explained by Maarten Prak, "The Dutch Golden Age: growth, innovation and consumption," in *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 10-13.

[112] Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 208.

[113] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", For the characteristics of the public and the setting, as explained above, see Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 207. Smith, *Consumption*, 144.

[114] Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 218. For the division into types of coffeehouses in Amsterdam see Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 49. The *Quincampoix* was named after a Parisian street, what again demonstrates the international reach of early modern coffeehosues. For the explained relation to Paris, see Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 209.

[115] Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 210. See ibid., 210. The translation is my own. The other two coffeehouses which were known for this kind of stock trade and financial investment in Amsterdam were the '*Graf von Holland*' and the '*Karsseboom*', whereby these were less famous than Faber's *Quincampoix*. See Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 210.

rich in the context of the wholesale trade and financial investing.[116] Both groups made up Amsterdam's economic upper class, whereby the regents can be described as the traditional elites in contrast to the elite merchants who belonged to the new consumer elites, the so-called "*nouveaux riches*" ("new riches").[117] Though, not only this six percent of Amsterdam's upper class but also merchants with varying incomes and members from other professional backgrounds participated here in the bond- and stockholding.[118] Amsterdam's burghers reinvested the international capital which was gained from the overseas trade. They thus connected themselves not only with the VOC, but with the goods on which this first stock corporation with tradable shares was built.[119]

Other coffeehouses followed this trend of a highly commercialized and exoticized coffeehouse culture in the context of an overall intellectual artistic flair. The strong ideal of a humanist education, thought and literature dominated the coffeehouses of Pieter Sceperus, a bookseller, and Harmanus Koning and Wilhelm von Hoeven, both actors at the *Schouwburg*. Here, the coffeehouse intersected with the meaning of other bourgeois institutions, namely the theatre and the university.[120] The political and satirical prints and highly specialized magazines and newspapers are characteristic for this early modern intellectual public. But also the various goods from the Orient inspired the physicians, scientists, actors, writers, artists and poets who gathered here among other guests in the search for entertainment.[121] According to Brian Cowan, these so-called "virtuosi", a versatile pleasure-oriented group, was eager to capture the curious nature of the objects and arts presented in the place. This interest came along with different activities.[122] In Amsterdam, scientific associations or literature clubs, for instance in Pieter Sceperus' *Roode Leeuw*, opened up ways to experience the Orient in physical or narrative form.[123] Similarly, it can be assumed that the mostly better-off visitors of the *Schouwburg*, gathering in Arnoldus van Bergen's coffeehouse, associated themselves with the oriental worlds of the *turquerie* plays, which were commonly

[116] Mak, *Amsterdam*, 152-155; 139-140. Smith, *Consumption*, 144-145.
[117] Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 108. See ibid., 108; 184-185.
[118] Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 209. Smith, *Consumption*, 144. For the stated percentage, which refers to the second half of the 17th century, see Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 108.
[119] For the VOC as a joint-stock company, see DaKosta Kaufmann, "'Netherlandish model,'" 281-284. DaCosta Kaufmann and North, "Mediating cultures," 11-12.
[120] Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 207-208; 275. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 48. For the stated bourgeois educational principles and institutions, see Dejung, Motadel, and Osterhammel, "Worlds of the bourgeoisie," 10-11.
[121] For the importance of luxury goods from Asia in the early modern world as stimulating means of consumer identities, see Smith, *Consumption*, 71. For the specialized form of newspapers in the Amsterdam coffeehouses, see Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 46.
[122] Cowan, *Social life*, 2. For the explained culture of curiosity in coffeehouses among the virtuosi see Ibid, 2-3; 114-117.
[123] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 48. Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 207-208.

enacted in theatres at the time.[124] Presumably, the Turkish lifestyle of coffee-drinking could be followed during coffeehouse visits by wearing the accessories that prevailed in theatre shows and in domestic coffee parties.[125] Martha Hollander has shown that students, scholars and artists dressed themselves in colorful long robes such as garments of Indian chintz or kaftans of Turkish silk.[126] These intellectual publics seem to have been notorious coffeehouse visitors, whereby they are described by an anonymous contemporary as "beardless boys smoking a pipe and speaking of heavy subjects such as theology, politics and war."[127] As conveyed by the quote, political subjects dominated the mainly male and flamboyant social setting of coffeehouses in Amsterdam.[128]

Also the visual sources demonstrate that the coffeehouse visitors shared a lifestyle, which manifested itself in intellectual discussions as well as in activities of a conspicuously demonstrated good taste.[129] As the exoticized 'Turkish' coffee drinkers represented in Cornelis de Bruyn's (1652-1727) travel account (Fig. 3), the European coffeehouse clients smoked pipes and played games such as chess or Trictrac (Fig. 6, Fig. 9Fig. 12). These customs, just as coffee-drinking itself, constituted cultural borrowings from the Ottoman coffeehouse.[130] As it had been common practice in the first coffee parties, the thereby

[124] Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 148. The *Schouwburg* was an elegant place of entertainment, wherefore Bergen's coffeehouse was probably a gathering point for better-off citizens. See ibid., 148.

[125] For van Bergen's coffeehouse see Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 54. For the social self-fashioning and display in public spaces aligned with the theatre spectacle, see John Brewer, "'The most polite age and the most vicious.' Attitudes towards culture as a commodity, 1660-1800," in *The consumption of culture 1600-1800. Image, object, text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1995), 347. For the European trend of *turquerie* performances, see Haydn Williams, *Turquerie. An eighteenth-century European fantasy* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 12. For the general importance of Asian-inspired clothing in the creation of Dutch identities and lifestyles, see Anne Gerritsen, "Domesticating goods from overseas: global material culture in the early modern Netherlands," *Journal of design history* 29, no. 3 (September 2016): 232-234.

[126] Martha Hollander, "Vermeer's robe: costume, commerce, and fantasy in the early modern Netherlands," *Dutch crossing. Journal of Low Countries studies* 35, no. 2 (July 2011): 182-188.

[127] Anonymous, *Koffy en thee wereld*, 475. ["baardeloze jongens een pijp te roken en te praten over gewichtige zaken als theologie, politiek an oorlog."]. Quoted in Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 48. The translation is my own.

[128] The subject of politics and the mostly male clientele were characteristic features of European coffeehouses in general. Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 148-149.

[129] For the relation between forms of behavior and an associated good taste in early modern societies, see Smith, *Consumption*, 83.

[130] Karababa and Ger, "Ottoman coffeehouse culture", 741-742; 755. Trictrac, an early modern game which resembled backgammon, and chess were typical for coffeehouses in Constantinople. Ellis, *Coffee house*, 12. The smoking of tobacco with pipes was not adopted from the Islamic regions, but from South- and Central America, including the West Indies. From here the tobacco herb was imported into the Netherlands in the mid-16th century. See Alexander von Gernet, "Nicotian dreams. The prehistory and early history of tobacco in eastern North America," in *Consuming habits. Global and historical perspectives on how cultures define drug*, ed. Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherrat (London: Routledge, 1995), 65; 72. Even though the smoking of pipes had not been common in Eastern coffeehouses, the smoking of tobacco pipes in European coffeehouses had still an exotic appeal, especially when water pipes emerged in coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire and other Islamic regions. The smoking of water pipes was certainly an important point of cultural reference for European coffeehouse visitors. See Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen", 47.

experienced conviviality, enjoyment and entertainment was coupled with forms of an imagined Chinese and Turkish genteel way of living.[131] From the visual evidence, it is clear that the French aristocratic fashion was highly important to the coffeehouse guests (Fig. 5Fig. 13). The depicted gentlemen, wearing wigs and cloths of the current aristocratic fashion, and gathering for having conversations which were partly lead in French, seem to have adopted the French gallant style prevailing at the local court in The Hague as well as elsewhere in Europe. Not only a genteel refinement in the language but in the clothes, the latter sometimes only present in high-quality materials or special accessories, was *à la mode* and incorporated fashion elements from Ottoman Turkey. Such an appearance causes the depicted public to appear as the politically and economically powerful upper classes.[132] The affectively restrained postures and the manners of the elegantly dressed gentlemen in the images of coffeehouses illustrate the pursued display of a self-regulatory politeness (Fig. 6, Fig. 9, Fig. 12). In short, the represented controlled forms of conduct invoke the model of *civilité*. The correspondent urban lifestyle was oriented towards civility, a polite civil order, and regarded as civilized and chic.[133] The female pendant to these mainly male public performances was the refined habitual practice of coffee-drinking as an ideal of family life and privacy. This is implied, for instance, by Jan Luyken's (1649-1712) well-off middleclass citizens sitting around the coffee table (Fig. 14).[134] Overall, it was important for the bourgeoisie to relate to these domestic and courtly inspired values to a certain degree. In line with this, a rather noble clientele, described by the coffeehouse owner Lucius Rosselli as "princes, my lords and officers of first rank", visited particular coffeehouses and intermingled there with the circa

[131] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 35-36; 40-44. The culture and forms of conviviality of the Eastern coffeehouse culture are also explained by Ellis, *Coffee house*, 1-16. Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses*, 25-29. Karababa and Ger, "Ottoman coffeehouse culture," 737. For the made observations on the 'genteel' ideal of Chinese and Turkish coffee-drinkers, see chapter 2.1 and Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 143.

[132] For the identified features of self-fashioning in the coffeehouses see Smith, *Consumption*, 144. See also Mak, Amsterdam, 141. As stated before, the upper class encompassed the regent class as well as the Dutch nobility, the traditional elites, and the new upper-class members or *nouveaux riche*s. See Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 101. For the explained trends at the court, see Wijsenbeek, Wit, and Müller, "Van medicijn tot statussymbool," 108-109. Bischoff, "Women collectors," 180-183. For the Turkish style among French sristocrats, see Alexander Bevilacqua and Helen Pfeifer, "Turquerie: culture in motion, 1650-1750," *Past & present* 221 (November 2013): 104.

[133] Smith, *Consumption*, 41; 73. For the cultural concept of politeness, see ibid., 40-43. See also Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 171. The cultural history of civility is explained by Norbert Elias, *The court society*, trans. E. Jephcott, [first published as *Die höfische Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie*. Neuwied: Luchterhan, 1969] (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 60-89.

[134] For the cultural establishment of coffee and tea in the private space in the Netherlands, see Oostrum, "Rond de theestoof," 52. For the same cultural process in a wider European context, see Daniela Ball, "Einleitung," in *Kaffee im Spiegel europäischer Trinksitten.* [*Coffee in the context of European drinking habits*], ed. Daniela Ball (Zurich: Johann-Jacobs-Museum, 1991), 15. You, "From novelty to necessity," 29. Brown, *Hot liquors*, 73. The coffee-table as a bourgeois form of self-representation is also described for the 18th and 19th centuries by Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 85.

50% of the population which was able to benefit from risen consumption options.[135] The correspondent 'aristocratic' character is documented, for example, in the case of the *Quincampoix*.[136] It can be followed that coffeehouses in Amsterdam, regardless which target groups they attracted, constituted a platform for the social self-display of aristocratic tastes and that these tastes had something in common: they were all connected to novel exotic things.[137] The following chapter shows how the outlined practices of refined manners were performed with porcelain coffee ware as a means of social distinction and central status symbol in the coffeehouse.

[135] Lucius Rosselli, *D'ongelukkige napolitaen of zeldzaem levensbedrijff van Roselli* (Utrecht: Jakob van Poolsum, 1710), 142. ["[…] prinsen, mylords en officieren van de eerste rang."]. Quoted in Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 45. The translation is my own.

[136] For an aristocratic princely public in the *Quincampoix*, see Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 323. Lucius Rosselli's coffeehouses '*Hogduitse Koffiehuis*' and '*Hollandse Koffiehuis*' were located in the Kalverstreet and corresponded to the European model of the exclusive and noble "polite coffeehouse". The term 'polite coffeehouse' is here taken over from Ellis, *Coffee house*, 191. For the noble public and character of Rosselli's coffeehouses, see Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 218; 317; 328. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 45.

[137] In this sense, these things in coffeehouses construct networks and become social agents within this social space which is the public sphere of the coffeehouse. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the social. An introduction to actor-network-theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 6-8.

3 The bourgeois taste for coffee and its equipage

3.1 The very polite way of coffee-drinking: Pot, cup, saucer

In the *Interior of a coffeehouse in Amsterdam* (1713), coffee ware porcelain is depicted in blue and white, consisting of a pot, bowls and saucers on a coffee table (Fig. 8). Here, the most refined habits in coffee-drinking are represented through the coffee set.[138] Such sets were *en vogue*, became increasingly spread, and combined the three stated constituents with new additional vessels in matching colors and decoration in an overall diversified format.[139]

Coffee pots used in coffeehouses were commonly not made of porcelain but instead they were made of metals like tin and copper.[140] The preparation of coffee after Eastern customs entailing long cooking procedures required these materials. Thereby, the conical can, the first and most simplified adaption of different models of the Eastern coffee pot with its straight point shape and covering lid prevailed in early 'pioneering' coffeehouses in Europe. It was suspended over the fireplace, whereby the lid guaranteed the preservation of the characteristic coffee aroma (Fig. 5-Fig. 7, Fig. 13).[141] Coffee pots made of porcelain or earthenware came into relatively widespread usage as a status symbol in the 18th century, whereby these were modelled after coffee cans which were traditionally produced in Europe in copper, pewter or silver. Even though the sets of the highest value were often completely made of porcelain, copper cans remained objects of social status. In general, the metal pots with conical or bulged shapes, especially if executed in silver, constitute examples for a then novel and desired quality ware.[142] Jan Josef Horemans' anecdotic interior painting *The new song* displays the "*kraantjeskan*" ("tap can"), thus a popular model which came up around 1700 with the widely favored attachment of a lockable tab to its lower body (Fig. 15).[143] With this tap, which was modelled after the slender spout in Arabian and Persian coffee pots intended

[138] You, "Detroit Fürstenberg service," 87
[139] Ibid., 71-72. Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 60.
[140] The coffee pots are referred to as, for exapmle, "vier dito [tinner] koffykannen." Bergen, *inventory*, 6. ["Four dito [tin] coffee cans"]. "Vyf kopere koffy kannen […]." Ibid., 7. ["Five copper coffee cans […]."]. Vroom, *inventory*, 807; 812. Coussée, *inventory*, 223. Roever, *inventory of Mathias van Erevan*, 121.The overall amounts of twenty five coffee cans in Arnoldus van Bergen's inventory outnumbers the respective amounts of coffee cans which could be identified in most of the inventories. Bergen, *inventory*, 6-26.
[141] Pim Reinders and Steven Braad, "Het 'koffy-gereedschap'. Drie eeuwen koffiegerei," in *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994), 55-60. For the usage of these coffee cans in the first coffee houses in Europe see Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 92.
[142] Brown, *Hot liquors*, 71-73. D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer (ed.). *Chinese export porcelain. Chine de commande*. London: Faber, 1974, 107. Tea and coffee ware in silver signified high social status in the Dutch Republic throughout the 18th century. Drinking ware in the famous porcelain productions from Loosdrecht and Saxonia was from a similarly high value. Wijsenbeek, Wit, and Müller, "Van medicijn tot statussymbool," 117.
[143] Reinders and Braat, "Het 'koffy-gereedschap,'" 58. The translation is my own. Ibid., 58-62.

for the same purpose, coffee could be poured into the cup. As in a coffeehouse scene of an engraving by Bernard Picart (1673-1733) around 1714, the coffee can of the merry company in Horeman's interior scene is furthermore equipped with little heels at the bottom, displaying thus another trend of the time (Fig. 6, Fig. 15).[144] The trend which followed the conical cans was the reshaped pear-like coffee can which has since then prevailed as standard form. This trend, evolving around 1700, was inspired by the curved Persian coffee can, and was later in the 18th century applied to more sophisticated apparatuses such as the coffee vase or the coffee urn.[145] While coffee ware was "domesticated" along with the material transformations, exemplified with the coffee pot, the coffee literature served the purpose of familiarizing the Europeans with the preparation, materials and forms of coffee-drinking.[146] In this sense, the usage of the pear-shaped form was broadly introduced into the common households by the Frenchman and royal physician Nicolas de Blegny (1652-1722). Blegny's *Le Bon Usage du thé, du caffé et du chocolat* (in the following '*The bon usage*') from 1687 was a rich source of information.[147] It was one of the first cookbooks for coffee, combining recommendations of authors who were pharmacists, merchants, physicians, and even coffeehouse-keepers.[148] The illustrations by the German engraver Johann Hainzelmann **(**Fig. 21) stimulated the merchandise, while Blegny's models enabled the correct proportion of water and coffee. The coffeehouses may have adapted this model due to the simple usage which resulted from the long-stemmed handle that was attached to its side and the filter installed inside the spout, whereby the former was taken from the Middle East and the latter constituted an at the time recent English technological invention.[149] Apart from the filter, the form of the can, again involving the shape common in Middle Eastern coffee cans, guaranteed that no coffee

[144] Steven Braat and Pim Reinders, "Koffiegoed van aardewerk en porselein," in *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, ed. Reinders, Pim and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994), 77. Reinders and Braat, "Het 'koffy-gereedschap,'" 58-62. For the explained form of Middle Eastern coffee pots and its functional design, see ibid., 56.

[145] Reinders and Braat, "Het 'koffy-gereedschap,'" 60-61. Braat and Reinders, "Aardewerk en porselein," 87-88.

[146] Gerritsen, "Domesticating goods,"233. The process of the domestication or cultural integration of Asian goods is not to be seen as unidirectional impact on the West, but occurred as reciprocal exchange between Asian and European regions. For the stated creative adoption of materials and forms as domestication in the United Provinces, see Gerritsen, "Domesticating goods," 236-239.

[147] Nicolas de Blegny's *Le bon usage* (1687) was a later adaption of Jacob Spon's (1647- 1685) treatise *L'Usage de Caphé, du Thé, et du Chocolate* and *Traitez nouveau & curieux du Café du Thé & du Chocolate*, published in Lyon in 1671. This work, in turn, can be seen as a preceding edition of *Traitez nouveau & curieux du Café du Thé & du Chocolate*, which was published in French in Lyon and The Hague in 1685 under the pseudonym of the pharmacist Phillipe Sylvestre Dufour. The constant replications of coffee treatises with mutual adoptions among different authors demonstrate the popularity of coffee. See Ellis, *Coffee house*, 140. Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 86.

[148] Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 86.

[149] According to Heise, the first coffee filters were invented in England and France around 1670. See Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 59. The long handle attached to the side is especially typical for Turkish coffee vessels, but used in a broader Middle Eastern context as well. Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 59-60. Reinders and Braat, "Het 'koffy-gereedschap,'" 56. Brown, *Hot liquors*, 69; 45.

grounds had to be drunk after coffee was poured into the cup. In this sense, it can be seen as a tool for refined coffee-drinking.[150] Especially in France, Britain, Germany and the Netherlands, Blegny's pear-shaped form variations came quickly in use, mainly in middle- and upper-class households (Fig. 21, Fig. 18Fig. 19).[151] Tap-cans were likewise adopting Blegny's design. In the drawing that depicts a scenery of Wilhelm van Hoeven's farce play '*t Koffi-huys*' (1712), the coffee is tapped from a bulged coffee urn (Fig. 12). The advantage was that it could hold more coffee than the relatively small coffee cans which had been common before the 18th century.[152] In the same image, which presumably conjures up the lively atmosphere in Wilhelm von Hoeven's own *Gekroond Koffiehuis*, the coffee urn on the service table demonstrates that current design trends were also followed by coffeehouse owners. Yet, this coffee urn may not be considered fashionable to the same extent as respective models used in aristocratic coffee rituals. This is suggested by the coffee vase, a gilded and richly adorned coffee can, in the portrait of Machteld Muilman (Fig. 20). According to Pim Reinders and Steven Braat, the shape of this coffee vase imitates the garden vases in parks of rich nobles around the House of Orange. The mansions and palaces of the Stadholders set fashion standards after the French designer Daniel Marot in the Netherlands, which explains further why the coffee vase in the painting exhibits this so-called "Marot style".[153] Notably, the 'simple' coffee urn in the *Gekroond Koffiehuis* resembles the extravagant coffee vase with the Marot designs. It can be inferred from this that it was a fashionable item which the consumers in the coffeehouse regarded as an object of social prestige. This most technologically sophisticated coffee utensil highlighted the professionality of the coffeehouse-keeper in his business.[154]

The coffee pot was usually accompanied by the cup and the saucer. One unit of a cup and a saucer, the '*koffiegoed*', underwent trends, while the Heeren XVII, the general directors of the Dutch VOC, reacted to local consumer demands and formulated standards for the most

[150] Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 59.
[151] Ibid., 86. Brown, *Hot liquors*, 69.
[152] Reinders and Braat, "Het 'koffy-gereedschap,'" 60. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 48-49. The drawing *The unexpected twins (coffeehouse scene)* from 1763 (Fig. 12) was identified as a narrative scene from Wilhelm van Hoeven's (1656-1719) play '*t'koffiehuis*' ('The coffeehouse') in ibid., 48. Wilhelm van Hoeven was not only coffeehouse-keeper but also an actor, writer and dramatist. Supposedly, his stories, and therefore also the respective image, were inspired by his own coffeehouse, the '*Gekroond Koffiehuis*'. Oostrum, "rond de theestoof," 54. Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 208.
[153] Reinders and Braat, "Het 'koffy-gereedschap'", 63. ["Marotstijl"]. The translation is my own. See ibid., 61-63.
[154] However, coffee urns were probably not in wide usage in coffeehouses. As far as I know, no coffee urns or coffee vases were found during the archaeological field work on sites of former drinking-houses. See Laan, *Drank and drinkgerei*, 198. Gawronski and Jayasena (eds.), *Ons' Lieve Heer*, 170-171.

popular designs which were produced in China.[155] The resultant porcelain ensembles followed a fashionable style repertoire and entered the domestic homes of burghers just like public establishments in Amsterdam. In the drawings of Paul Fabre's *Franse Koffiehuis* from 1761 (Fig. 11) and another drawing from 1763, presumably displaying Willem van Hoeven's *Gekroonde Koffiehuis* (Fig. 12), a cup with a saucer are placed on buffets or tables, next to the image margins. Furthermore, porcelain or earthenware bowls for drinking coffee or tea ('*koms*' or '*kopjes*') are often listed in combination with saucers ('*schotels*', '*onderschoteltjes*') in inventories of coffeehouses.[156] In Arnoldus van Bergen's inventory, *koms* and *schotels* appear in the form of the cup-and-saucer-combination as "*koffiegoed*" nine times, which is relatively often.[157] Good taste was combined with refined manners, when the new objects were used in exactly the same way as prescribed by the coffee literature.[158] Two didactic illustrations in Blegny's treatise *The bon usage* (1687) show finely ribbed ceramic bowls beside two serving tools, a porcelain bowl stand and a portable tray, which Blegny called "*Cabaret à caffé*" (Fig. 22).[159] Furthermore, the author remarks: "The people of quality, who take the drink of *caffé* with delight, have accustomed to drink it in company of saucers of crystal, of porcelain, or of faience from Holland."[160] As recommended in Blegny's manual and exemplified in the illustration down below, a deep saucer was to be used to drink the coffee. That the habit of drinking from the saucer was connotated with a highly genteel lifestyle, becomes also apparent in the promotional illustrations in which galantly dressed ladies demonstrate this new fashion (Fig. 16-Fig. 18).[161] By the means of such fashion plates, which illustrate the trends of the French aristocracy, good taste was 'instructed' and linked

[155] For the term 'koffiegoed', see Jörg, *Dutch china trade*, 165. The formal standards in the appearance of traded porcelain items were set by the VOC in the context of the so-called 'Requirements'. This list of required forms of ceramics was sent to the Chinese pottery factories over intermediaries. See ibid., 151-155. See also Ho, *Pronk porcelain*, 179.

[156] For example "vier dito [Delfts] schotels." Bergen, *inventory*, 5. ["four dito cups of Delftware."]. "Zes dito [gecouleurde porcelyne] klyne schoteltje […]." Ibid., 9. ["Six small enameled porcelain saucers."]. "Agt en veertig dito [porcelyne] kommetjes en onderschotels." Ibid., 10. ["Fourty-eight porcelain cups with saucers."]. "Dertien kopje [porselynen] klyn […]."Vroom, *inventory*, 809. ["Thirteen small [porcelain] cups." ["Ses Delft schotels."]. Ibid., 812. ["six saucers of Delftware"]. Roever, *inventory of Mathias van Erevan*, 121. Coussé, *inventory*, 220. Wiele, *inventory*, 580. For the used terminology see Jörg, *Dutch china trade*, 162. '*Schotels*' as well as '*schoteltje*' are translated as saucers and considered as relevant items of coffee ware in contrast with normal plates ('borden'). The stated and the following quotes from the inventories were translated by the author of this thesis.

[157] For example, "twalf paaren ditto [porceleyn] gecouleurd koffiegoed." Bergen, *inventory*, 24. [Twelve pairs of porcelain coffee ware]. See also ibid. 9; 23-25; 27.

[158] Smith, *Consumption*, 125.

[159] Nicolas de Blegny, *Le bon usage de thé, coffeeet du chocolat* (Lyon: Thomas Amaulry, 1687), consulted via gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France, http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb30113383t, 167.

[160] Blegny, *Le bon usage*, 167. ["les personnes de qualité qui prennent par delice la boisson de caffé, ont accoutumé de la faier servif en comagnie sur des soucoupes de christal, de porcelaine, ou de facanye de Holande."]. The translation is my own.

[161] Ibid., 167. Heise, *Kaffee and Kaffeehaus*, 60. The practice to drink from a deep saucer prevailed until the beginning 19th century. Ibid., 60.

with cleanliness.[162] In fact, the genteel connotations of coffee-drinking assumed a deeper meaning with the intention to use the respectively suitable forms of the coffee ware for maintaining a healthy body care since around 1700.[163] Against this background, Jan Luyken's image represents the figure of the sitting woman in the front (Fig. 14) in an elegant posture. She sips cautiously from the rim of the saucer without soiling her dress. Here, it is demonstrated how to drink coffee politely and moderately, that is, in accordance with *civilité*, the social ideal that was based on physical and behavioral control.[164] This ideal social conduct with respect to the saucer is also represeted in the images *The new song* (Fig. 15) and in *Interior of a coffeehouse in Amsterdam* (Fig. 8). In the latter, the accompanying napkins represent another typical accessory, yet being related not only to coffee-drinking but to more refined dining habits (Fig. 8). In Vroom's, van Bergen's and Coussé's inventories, napkins are listed along with other coffee ware items and accessories.[165] Next to saucers, they were essential means to guarantee cleanliness and elegance. The explained components – porcelain cups with saucers, napkins and trays – had formed part of the Ottoman table ware and were now incorporated into a European set of values.[166]

As with the coffee pot, the fashion trends for the coffee cup changed quickly. The arrangement of a Chinese or Japanese tea bowl and a saucer into one visually recognizable pair, which was inspired by the Islamic drinking habits, preceded the subsequent transformation into the coffee cup with a handle later in the 18th century.[167] In China, a wide range of shapes of handled and unhandled cups were produced for the European consumers. A single handle, whose attachment to Chinese drinking bowls since 1760 was based on European models for this *chine de commande*, as was the saucer, expressed the status of the

[162] Smith, *Consumptio*n, 130-137. Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'" 200; 210-211.
[163] Smith, *Consumptio*n, 130-132.
[164] Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'" 209-211. Brown, *Hot liquors*, 73. For the explained ideal and concept of *civilité*, see Smith, *Consumptio*n, 41. Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 171.
[165] "Vyften dertig servetten." Vroom, *inventory*, 809. ["thirty-five napkins."]. "Twee klyne tafellaken en twaelft oude servetjes." Ibid., 809. ["Two small tablecloths and twelve 'older' napkins."]. "Tien servetten." Coussée, *inventory*, 231. ["ten napkins."]. See ibid., 231. In Arnoldus van Bergen's coffeehouse, napkins were accompanied by luxurious textiles such as damask. "Een damast tafellakenen dertien Servetten." Bergen, *inventory*, 13. [One tablecloth of damask and thirty napkins."]. "Een tafellaken en twaalf servetten.". Ibid., 14. ["One tablecloth and twelve napkins."]. Again van Bergen's inventory presents seems to refer relatively often to napkins of varying sets and accompanied tablecloths. See, in particular, ibid., 14. Another refined dining tool which formed also part of the tea and coffee rituals were spoons. These are listed in the early coffeehouse inventory from 1673. Roever, *inventory of Mathias van Erevan*, 121. For the variety of the new material goods which formed part of the refined dining and drinking practices, see Lorna Weatherill, "The meaning of consumer behavior late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England," in *Consumption and the world of goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 212.
[166] Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'" 210. Smith, *Consumptio*n, 130-135. For the stated material influence of the Islamic drinking culture in the case of the saucer and the cup, see Christiaan J.A. Jörg, *Fine and curious. Japanese export porcelain in Dutch collections* (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2003), 191-192.
[167] You, "From novelty to necessity," 42.

owner to a significant degree.[168] This new design simplified the drinking process as the vessel, heated by the hot contents, could be held without causing injuries. Earlier porcelain bowls, even though preferable to the European pewter beakers, were less suitable for this purpose.[169] Given the hot temperature of the drink, these porcelain bowls were held by the footrim before saucers and the handled cups enabled an easier and therefore more refined usage.[170] Yet, neither archaeological finds of coffee ware used in public drinking houses in the late 17th and 18th century nor the images in which coffeehouse sceneries are shown represent the fashion of the handled cup.

Although no handled cups are listed, the coffeehouse inventories demonstrate that the tableware was inspired by the elaborate tea and coffee services. These were first produced for the noble society by European porcelain manufactories, in particular by the royal manufactory in Meissen, after the first European receipt of porcelain-making was developed at the German-Saxon court of August the Strong (1694-1733) in 1709.[171] In the Netherlands, similarly refined service sets were produced in Weesp, Loosdrecht, Nieuwer-Amstel and The Haag (Fig. 23).[172] Coffee ware of as less sophisticated unifying character was produced earlier in China and Japan. Delft pottery manufactures emulated these decorative schemes and shapes, starting to produce Delftware for coffee-drinking since the 1690s.

While the mentioned European production lines emulated Asian shapes and motifs, multi-piece tea and coffee services were also produced in China and Japan for the European market since around 1750.[173] Throughout this transcultural adoption process, Asian trends were a source of inspiration. From the second half of the 17th century onwards, an aesthetical canon

---

[168] Braat and Reinders, "van aardewerk en porselein," 91-92. For the saucer and handled cups as western forms of *chine de commande* porcelain from China, see Ekkehard Schmidberger, "Chine de Commande," ["catalogue," cat. no. 183a-p], in *Porzellan aus China und Japan. Die Porzellangalerie der Landgrafen von Hessen-Kassel*, ed. Ulrich Schmidt (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990), 394. For the conveyance of a risen status in cups with an attached handle see You, "Detroit Fürstenberg service," 86.

[169] Luísa Vinhais and Jorge Welsh (eds.), *Out of the Ordinary. Living with Chinese export porcelain* (London: Jorge Welsh Books, 2014), 174. There is a larger history of transformational exchange between the porcelain bowl and the form of the beaker which was typically made for the European silver vessels. Beakers were produced since the 15th century in Europe to contain cold beverages, especially beer. Ibid., 174.

[170] Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain*, 104.

[171] You, "Detroit Fürstenberg service," 85. For the porcelain service productions of European manufactories like Meissen in the private diplomatic realm in the second half of the 18th century, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Porcelain and prestige: princely gifts and 'white gold' from Meissen," in *Fragile diplomacy. Meissen porcelain for European courts ca. 1710-63*, ed. Maureen Cassidy-Geiger (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 4. For the relevant historical context of the 'discovery' of porcelain at the court of August the Strong, see Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie. The impact of Oriental styles on Western art and decoration* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), 104.

[172] Braat and Reinders, "van aardewerk en porselein," 95-99.

[173] For the stated dating in regard of the porcelain production of coffee sets in China, see Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain*, 106. For the Dutch production of coffee ware in Delft, see McCants, "Porcelain for the poor," 391. Christiaan J.A. Jörg, "Der Porzellanhandel der VOC im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Porzellan aus China und Japan. Die Porzellangalerie der Landgrafen von Hessen-Kassel*, ed. Ulrich Schmidt (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990), 143-154.

had taken shape. In parallel with the porcelain imports of the VOC, rich aristocratic families in the United Provinces had started to use the porcelain tea ware which they commissioned in China and Japan. As a result, tea bowls became to be used for coffee-drinking.[174] In the therefrom evolving 18th-century coffee services, the coffee pots and the constantly reinvented designs of cups and saucers formed part of a well-proportioned number of basic and additional items. This guaranteed the exact forms of usage of the drinking ware after the prescriptions in the coffee literature. The optimal tea and coffee service included the coffee can, a type of supporting saucer for it, called "pattipan", a tea pot with another pattipan, a milk jug with a pattipan, a tea box, a slop bowl with a saucer, a sugar pot covered by a lid and with a saucer, a dozen coffee cups with saucers, a dozen tea cups with saucers and, lastly, six chocolate cups.[175] Although the trend of combining tea ware with coffee ware was first limited to private coffee parties in the economic elite, the presence of such an elaborated set with fixed numbers in specific constituents seems to have been common by the end of the 18th century. Different compositions of correlated pieces appear in the inventory of Jean Baptise Coussée from 1772, even though to a lesser extent and in relation with lower quantities as in van Bergen's inventory.[176] But especially the inventory of van Bergen's coffeehouse in the Amstelkerkstreet shows that the clients could perform the polite practice of coffee-drinking over a systematic choice of items of six, twelve, twenty four or more pieces of either matching or similar colors and decors.[177] In addition, the tea and coffee set consisting of fifty-five cups-and-saucer-units is stated for the first coffee chamber, which was

[174] Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Dutch at the Tea table," *The connoisseur* 193, no. 776 (October 1976): 87-89.
Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain*, 106. For the import of tea ware, including tea bowls in high quantities, in the second half of the 17th century from China into the Netherlands see Jörg, *Fine and curious*, 191. See also Jörg, *Dutch china trade*, 165-166. See also Schmidberger, "Chine de Commande," 394. At this point, it should be noted that the porcelain bowls which were used for drinking coffee in coffeehouses and are therefore listed in the respective inventories could also have been used for tea-drinking. Coffee bowls had traditionally been given a higher and narrower shape than the wider and slightly convolute tea bowls, whereby these two different shapes have their origin respectively in China and Arabia, as being linked to Chinese tea and Arabian coffee. Heise, *Kaffee and Kaffeehaus*, 60-61. In practice, these forms with their respective regional backgrounds were often used interchangeably for coffee and tea in Europe. Laan, *Drank and drinkgerei*, 82. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain*, 108.
[175] You, "Detroit Fürstenberg service," 87. Braat and Reinders, "van aardewerk en porselein," 89-90. For the explication of the usage and form of a 'pattipan' see Jörg, "Porzellanhandel der VOC," 151.
[176] For example, "6 paar bruyn coffygoed". Coussée, inventory, 220. ["six pairs of brown coffee ware."]. "5 schoteltjes en 2 kopjes in soort". Ibid., 220. ["five saucers and two cups of one kind."]. "Ses paar theegoed." Ibid., 229. ["six pairs of tea ware."].
[177] "Vyf en vyftig paaren dito [porcelyn] thee en koffy goed."]. Bergen, *inventory*, 27. [Fifty-five pairs of porcelain tea and coffee ware."]. "Zes paaren dito [blaauwe porcelyn] koffygoed."] Ibid., 24. ["Six pairs of blue-and-white coffee ware. "]. "Twaalf paaren dito [porcelyne] gecouleurd koffy goed." Ibid., 24. ["Twelve pairs of multicolored porcelain coffee ware."]. "vier en twintig paaren ditto [blaauwe porcelyne] koffy goed." Ibid., 9. ["Twenty-four pairs of blue-and-white coffee ware."]. For the stated numbers of set-compositions see Heise, *Kaffee and Kaffeehaus*, 62. See also You, "Detroit Fürstenberg service," 85. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain*, 103.

most openly accessible, as the correspondent room.[178] In general, the astonishingly high number of correlated pieces in van Bergen's inventory indicates an appropriation of the aristocratic fashionable trends in the public space. It also reflects how an overall aesthetical appeal in the new table ware culture resulted, among others, in many new variations from the smallest service for two persons, the Tête-à-Tête or *Dejeuner*, to the rather customary multi-piece sets.[179]

Sugar bowls and milk cans provided the impetus for further developments in the design, embodying a constantly adapted leading taste for specific shapes, colors and decorations.[180] Van Bergen's inventory lists seventeen sugar pots and two milk cans in the kitchen, eight milk cans in the second coffee chamber, and two sugar shakers, the latter made of costly silver, in the third coffee chamber.[181] Here, milk cans or sugar pots are listed together or in a direct line with tea bowls, which points towards a combined set of a cup and saucer, seen as a unit, the milk jug, and the sugar bowl.[182] Evidently, these functional items in the coffee set became standard items, while coffee was integrated into the local drinking habits.[183] Again, manuals played an important role in establishing a new habitual usage of the respective vessels. Thereby, Europeans familiarized themselves with the bitter taste of coffee. For instance, the pharmacist Philippe Sylvestre Dufour stated the following in an act of advertising the French *café au lait*:

---

[178] "Vyf en vyftig paaren dito [porcelyn] thee en koffy goed."]. Bergen, *inventory*, 27. [Fifty-five pairs of porcelain tea and coffee ware."]. The spatial organization of public drinking houses into rooms with varying degrees of public accessibility, is explained by Laan, *Drank and drinkgerei*, 193; 195.

[179] Heise, *Kaffee and Kaffeehaus*, 62. Rare elaborate luxury ensembles encompassed much more pieces than the tea and coffee services in the middleclass households or coffeehouses. The two most elaborate coffee services are the '*Schwanenservice*' from Meissen (1739) with round 2000 parts and the *Flora-Danica*-servive from Kopenhagen (1800) with 1800 parts. See ibid., 62. Clearly, the inventories show that in coffeehouses such sets were emulated to a certain degree, as interpreted above.

[180] You, "From novelty to necessity," 57.

[181] For example, "zeven blaauwe suiker potten en een gecouleurde spoelkom." Begern, *inventory*, 23. ["seven blue-and-white sugar bowls and one multicolored slop bowl."]. "Zes dito [gecoulered porcelyn] thee kommetjos en negen dito geamailleerde Suikerpotten." Ibid., 25. ["Ten multicoloured porcelain tea cups with nine enameled sugar pots."]. "Agt molkannen." Ibid., 27. ["Eight milk cans."]. "Twee dito [silvere] suiker strooijers." Ibid, 38. ["Two sugar shakers from silver."]. See ibid., 23-28. The slop bowl, referred to as '*spoelkom*' in van Bergen's inventory, was originally used to rinse a tea bowl but equaled in fact a normal drinking bowl or sugar pot. The same bowl was alternatively also used as sugar pot. See for the purpose of a '*spoelkom*' as a sugar pot Laan, *Drank and drinkgerei*, 85. For the use of the term slop bowl and its semantic equivalence with other similar vessels, see Jörg, *Dutch china trade*, 162.

[182]"Twee dito [blauwe porcelyn] spoelkommen, [and] twee dito melkkannetjes […]." Bergen, *inventory*, 24. [Two blue-and-white porcelain slop bowls [and] two milk jugs of the same kind."]. "Zes dito [gecoulered porcelyn] thee kommetjos en negen dito geamailleerde Suikerpotten." Ibid., 25. ["Ten multicoloured porcelain tea cups with nine enameled sugar pots."]. See also ibid., 26; 28. See also Coussée, *inventoy*, 222. Roever, *inventory of Mathias van Erevan*, 121.

For the composition of a coffee ware set, as explained above, see You, "From novelty to necessity," 57.

[183] You, "From novelty to necessity," 57.

"In appearance, this concoction can only be very unpleasant: but it is not, however, especially when the coffee has been boiled in the milk and when it has thickened a bit; because then it approaches the taste to chocolate, which almost everyone finds good."[184]

The coffeehouse patrons and guests were apparently very aware of the recommended manner of drinking the unfamiliar coffee with sugar and milk, thus sweet ingredients which had both been domestic to a certain degree. By using these chic accoutrements, the familiarity with coffee as a domesticated and overall fashionable drink was demonstrated by the bourgeois coffeehouse visitor.[185] Moreover, the coffeehouse guests could benefit from a wide variety of tea, coffee and chocolate in combination with the accordingly diversified form repertoire. Arnoldus van Bergen's inventory lists chocolate cups among references to tea and coffee sets.[186] Similarly, though less extensively, I could extract similar references in the inventories of Jean Baptiste Coussée, Jan Vroom and Mathias van Erevan.[187] Chocolate cups were normally tall and covered by a lid, which exemplifies the high specialization of the form repertoire. This corresponded to the discernable taste of a high-elite consumption culture in coffeehouses.[188]

As the usage of ceramic bowls for drinking tea or coffee from it was preceded by the decoration of the domestic interior with the same vessels, it may not surprise that the explained fashionable design included specific decorative patterns.[189] Thereby, the dishes represented most often the taste of the so-called *chinoiserie*. This European orientalist style

[184] Phillippe Sylvestre Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux & curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate* (The Hague: Adriaen Moetjens, 1693), consulted via gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb30368707d, 152. ["En apparence ce mêlange ne peut être que fort désagreable: il ne l'est pourtant pas, sur tout quand le café a boüilly dans le lait, & qu'il est un peu épaissi; car alors il aproche du goût du Chocolate, que presque tout le monde trouve bon."]. The translation is my own. For the stated context of Dufour's comment to the *café au lait*, see Landweber, "'This marvelous bean'," 202.

[185] Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'" 209-210.

[186] "Zeven paaren dito [gecouleurde] theegoed, zes paaren japans dito [theegoed].". Bergen, *inventory*, 25. ["Seven pairs of multicolored tea ware, six pairs of Japanese tea ware."]. "Zeven paaren dito blaauw chocolaad goed." Ibid., 25. ["Seven pairs of blue-and-white porcelain chocolate ware."].

[187] "12 chocoladekoppen en schotels." Coussée, *inventory*, 220. ["Twelve chocolate cups and saucers."]. "Een blikken chocoladekan, een paar koperen kopjes […]." In the other two stated inventories, no chocolate cups, but chocolate pots are mentioned. "Een dito [copere] chocolad (?) en coffykannens, nog een dito chocoladcan [...]." Coussée, *inventory*, 220. ["One chocolate pot out of copper and coffee pots, and another chocolate pot of this kind."]. Roever, *inventory of Mathias van Erevan*, 121. ["One chocolate pot out of tin, one pair of cups out of copper […]."

[188] For the specific form of the chocolate cup, see Jörg, *Fine and curious*, 201. For the diversity of shapes of cups for the drinking of tea, coffee and chocolate, see Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain*, 104. For the theoretical background of my interpretation, see Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 28-33.

[189] Jan van Campen, "Chinese and Japanese porcelain in the interior," in *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 194. See also Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain*, 103-104

constitutes a transfusing combination of European and Asian motifs.[190] In the light of the high popularity of the *chinoiserie* style, it seems probable that the items in the inventories displayed the respective decorative features.[191] The ceramic vessels of gastronomic establishments which were brought to light during archaeological excavations were painted with flowers and other motifs which represented China.[192] Presumably, the porcelain items listed in coffeehouse inventories were decorated in a similar way. Though, quality differences existed between conventional and sophisticated *chinoiserie* designs. Generally speaking, the rather classical blue-and-white schemes of ceramics, which are most often mentioned in the inventories, could rarely compete with the high-fashion principles of Japanese *Kakiemon* and *Imari* (Fig. 20) or Chinese *famille verte* and *famille rose* (Fig. 19).[193] In this sense, van Bergen's inventory stands out for a highly desired polychrome porcelain and earthenware ware and the correspondent fashionable *chinoiserie* motifs. Here, single cups and saucers in varying numbers or both items in a matching set are described three times as enameled ("*geëmailleerd*") and six times as multicolored ("*gecouleurde*").[194] This suggests that the

[190] Suzanne van Lambooy, "Imitation and inspiration: the artistic rivalry between Delft earthenware and Chinese porcelain," in *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 237. See also Diercks, "Inspired by Asia," 248-249.

[191] Impey, *Chinoiserie*, 89-100.

[192] Vessels with *chinoiserie* designs such as Asian flowers, animals and figures were found during the archaeological excavations at the *Momhuys*. Furthermore, Taoist and other religious symbols among Chinese landscapes are depicted on the drinking bowls which were used in this inn. Ostkamp, "Beerput in t'Catgen: keramiek," 77-81. The drinking bowls in inns in Vlaadringen and Delft were also painted, as studied by Cornelia Laan, with exotic animals like dragons, different plants and flowers as well as Chinese interior scenes. See Laan, *Drank and drinkgerei*, 81-82.

[193] The ceramic styles in the images were identified by the author of this thesis. In regard of the quality of the ceramics, the archaeological evidence shows that coffee ware was dominated by conventional *chinoiserie* designs in blue-and-white. Ostkamp, "Beerput in t'Catgen: keramiek," 77-81. In addition, these were mainly pieces of a common quality and especially Delftware. See Gawronski and Jayasena, *Ons' Lieve Heer*, 170-171. A similar conclusion is drawn by Cornelia Laan, even if this study demonstrates a wider usage of porcelain coffee ware. See Laan, *Drank and drinkgerei*, 81-82. For the quality markers of porcelain, as described above, see Jörg, *Fine and Curious*, 191. Christiaan J.A Jörg, "A change in taste: the introduction of enammeled export porcelain in the 17th century," in *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014), 139-147. For the respective references to blue-and-white coffee ware in the inventories, see Vroom, inventory, 812-813. Coussé, *inventory*, 220. Wiele, *inventory*, 580.

[194] For example, "twee gecouleurde porcelyne schaalen en vier blaauwe schotels." Bergen, *inventory*, 9. ["Two multicolored porcelain bowls and four blue-and-white saucers."]. ["Twaalf paaren dito [porcelym] geamailleerd koffygoed."]. Ibid., 24. ["Twelve pairs of enameled coffee ware."]. See ibid., 8-9; 23-27.
The term '*gemaillered*' refers to porcelain which was produced with the technique of enameling. This porcelain refers to a specific group of colors which are described by Christiaan Jörg as "red, blue, green, pink, yellow and gold". Jörg, *Dutch china trade*, 158. The term '*gecoulered*' is here interpreted as a reference to enameled porcelain because blue-and-white porcelain was described in the inventories in opposition to this term as '*blauw*' or '*blauw-wit*', as exemplified above. For enameled porcelain, see Jörg, *Dutch china trade*, 154-160.

items were of a clearly discernable taste and complied with the aesthetical ideal of harmonizing shapes, colors and decorations.[195]

Overall, the coffeehouse public associated itself with the aristocracy by adopting the drinking-ware which had been developed to drink hot beverages and which was inspired by different Asian forms. The thereby prescribed particular manners of usage, broadly promoted in a textual and visual discourse, conveyed a distinguished taste in relation with virtues such as genteel politeness and cleanliness.[196] A new habitual set of behaviors, tastes and bodily practices was hence created by the means of materials, shapes and decorations of a highly specialized and diversified coffee ware. In this sense, the gentlemen in the coffeehouse expressed their social status, while a sheer endless variation of coffee sets, accessories such as napkins and technically sophisticated objects like coffee urns unfolded their meaning through the internalized forms of their correct usage.[197] It is now discussed how a set of social, moral and affective meanings was attached to coffee and porcelain in the same process.

3.2 Tastes of pleasure: shifting meanings between *civilité* and luxury

Coffee and porcelain formed part of a social set of practices in coffeehouses. While being used, they participated in the prevalent social order and became embodiments of specific values which were attached to them.[198] The social meaning of coffee derived in the first place from the biochemical effects which caffeine, the stimulating natural substance contained in the coffee bean, has on the human body.[199] The coffee literature interpreted coffee in the

[195] The ideal of similar decorations, even though these might not always have consisted in an identical appearance, is explained by Jan van Campen for the case of the 17th-century domestic interior. Van Campen, "Porcelain in the domestic interior," 194. That correlated pieces with more or less identical designs were used in public places, can also be followed from the archaeological evidence. Gawronski and Jayasena, *Ons' Lieve Heer*, 170. Ostkamp, "Beerput in t'Catgen: keramiek," 77.

[196] Smith, *Consumption*, 32; 130-131.

[197] This interpretation includes the concept of the habitus as theorized by Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice*, trans. by Richard Nice [first published as *Esquisse d'une theorie de la pratique, precede de trois etudes d'ethnologie Kabyle*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1972], (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 88-94. See also Sassatelli, "Consumer identities," 240-245.

[198] Pierre Bourdieu explains this social dynamics as "embodied social structures". Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 467. Bourdieu's theory includes the relation between social subjects and things. Ibid., 467-469. See also Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice*, 90.

[199] A. Martín, RN. E. Montial and M. Iturbe, "Introduction," In *Caffeine. Consumption, side effects and impact on performance and mood*, ed. Aimée S. Tolley (New York: Nova Publishers, 2014), 36-41. Caffeine is contained in the seed of the coffee plant, most often from the species *Coffea Arabica* ("Arabica coffee") or *Coffea canephora* ("Robustan coffee"). The beans, thus the seeds, of coffee contain more caffeine than tea leaves and cacao seeds. Ibid., 36-41. See also M., A. Iturbe, Martín and A. Quintano, "Caffeine consumption," in *Caffeine. Consumption, side effects and impact on performance and mood*, ed. Aimée S. Tolley (New York: Nova Publishers, 2014), 41. The appreciation of the caffeinated hot beverages coffee, tea and chocolate in the early modern European societies is explained by William G. Clarence-Smith, "The global consumption of hot

widest sense as a means of virtue.[200] Dufour explains, for example: "Coffee helps digestion, dries the humidities under the skin, and gives an excellent smell to all the body."[201] This 'medicinal' judgement illustrates how the tonic quality of coffee was assumed to have a favorable effect on a well-groomed appearance and a healthy diet. Coffee hence bestowed the coffee-drinkers in the public establishment of the coffeehouse a respectable position within the society.[202] In other words, drinking this novel healthy liquid, the coffeehouse visitor substantiated his genteel and fashionable appearance with the virtues derived from coffee-drinking and acquired a social status that was morally justifiable.[203] Thereby, the civilized manners that the drink was associated with in the context of *civilité* were performed, adopted and physically internalized during the drinking process.[204] Importantly, the combined usage of coffee and porcelain increased the symbolized virtuousness of a person. Notions of health and morality relied in particular on the material qualities of porcelain.[205] Whereas earthenware or metals have permeable surfaces, porcelain repelled bacteria, dirt and odors of leftovers due to the china stone contained in the clay mixture and the glaze applied to the ceramic body.[206] Therefore, porcelain can be cleaned easier than other materials. Vessels of porcelain, signaling their hygienic character through the shiny white gloss, highlighted the body-related meanings of both coffee and porcelain, when these were combined into the coffee ware. This included the prophylactic effect of coffee which is boiled and therefore preventive against infections.[207]

Furthermore, the capability of porcelain to contain hot drinks and foods in relation with its usage as a container of Asian spices in the Dutch Republic entailed the idea of porcelain as an eligible material for the balancing of the humors. After the Galenical model of humors, which was influential in folk medicine, condiments such as clove, ginger, cinnamon, honey and

---

beverages, *c.* 1500 to *c.* 1900," in *Food and globalization. Consumption, markets and politics in the modern world*, ed. Alexander Nützenadel and Frank Trentmann(New York: Berg, 2008), 47; 42.

[200] For the general historic context in this regard, see Smith, *Consumption*, 105-109.

[201] Dufour, *Traitez nouveaux*, 4-7. Quoted in Landweber, "'This marvelous bean'," 216.

[202] Smith, *Consumption*, 105. Respectability is a structurally and materially underlying concept of the early modern bourgeoisie, which developed in interrelation with this group and its makers "virtue, gentility and luxury." Ibid., 226. See ibid, 121-127.

[203] Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 144.

[204] For the importance of the bodily engagement with imported Asiatic goods in the early modern society in the context of *civilité*, see Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 251. For the cultural meaning of the internalization of food and drink, see Nicola Perullo, *Taste as experience. The philosophy and aesthetics of food* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2016), 8-12.

[205] For the explained context of virtuousness, see Smith, *Consumption*, 130-132.

[206] Finlay, *Pilgrim art*, 82; 130.

[207] For the cultural reception of the hygienic quality of porcelain, see Weststeijn, "Reflections on porcelain," 222. For hot beverages as prophylactics and their material compatibility with porcelain, see Finlay, *Pilgrim art*, 130. Medicinal treatises covered the effects of coffee against different physical afflictions with special regard to the hot quality of the drink, as also shown above, and as a remedy for curing and preventing diseases. Ellis, Ellis, *Coffee house*, 135-142.

sugar were classified as hot in correspondence with the southern climatic conditions prevailing in the respectively assumed regions of origin. By mixing the equally 'dry' or 'hot' coffee with these substances, which was a common habit in coffeehouses, a person could compensate a solemn, so-called 'phlegmatic', temperament.[208] A well-balanced temper was in general pursued by the ideal citizen, the bourgeois *gentilhomme*. The coffeehouses, offering coffee in porcelain cups and the above-stated condiments, seem to have functioned as the primary public place which enabled this social behavioral pattern.[209] In this regard, it can also be assumed that coffeehouse guests generally followed the emphatic recommendations of Steven Blankaart and Cornelis Bontekoe to hold a measure of civilized manners with a limited number of cups per day.[210] This complied with the dietary moderation that prevailed in the Calvinist society of the United Provinces.[211] During the individual engagement with the different component pieces of a drinking set or only with one constituent such as a cup, the concurrent meanings of cleanliness and health were attached to the body with reference to both coffee and porcelain.[212]

These meanings of coffee and its equipment would generally fit with the concept of *civilité* which Norbert Elias has explained as a court-inspired behavioral pattern of civilized and refined manners.[213] The idea of civilization, which was symptomatic for the Enlightenment, encompassed virtues like cleanliness and a healthy lifestyle. Above all, it underpinned the bourgeois value of sobriety which, in close alignment with politeness,

---

[208] Coffee is related to the theory of humourism as the 'humidities' in Sylvestre Dufour's quotation above refer to the four bodily humors. See Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'" 216. The medieval and early modern theory of the four interrelated temperaments, bodily fluids, personality traits and behaviors goes back to the ancient Galenical medicine named after the Greek philosopher Galen (AD 129-216). It was gradually replaced by pre-modern approaches. For coffee in the discussion of the Galenical medicine and modern medicine see Ellis, *Coffee house*, 141. See also Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour,"146. For the combined usage of porcelain vessels and spices see Weststeijn, "Reflections on porcelain," 222. For the explained associations of the spices mixed with coffee in the Galenical theory, see Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 270-275. For the usage of the spices in coffeehouses, see Schama, *Embarrassment of riches*, 172.

[209] For the explained measure of temper and ideal of balance as value in the explained medicinal context, see Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 146-147. For the bourgeois *gentilhomme* in the context of *civilité*, see Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 272. Smith, *Consumption*, 41.

[210] Cornelis Bontekoe, *Tractaat van het excellenste kruyd thee: 't welk vertoond het regte gebruyk, en de grootste kragten van 't selve in gesondheyd en siekten* ('s Gravenhage, P. Hagen, 1678), 245-248. For Steven Blankaart's judgement on coffee-drinking, see Smith, *Consumption*, 107. See also Schama, *Embarrassment of riches*, 172.

[211] Schama, *Embarrassment of riches*, 158-159. In the context of the explained ideal of moderation and a dietary balance, two guidebooks were influential in the United Provinces. These were Jan van Bewerijck's *Schat der Gezondtheyt* ("Treasure of Health", 1660) and the popular cookery book *De Verstandige Kok of Zorgvuldige Huyshouder* ("The Wise Cook or the Painstking Householder", 1667). Schama, *Embarrassment of riches*, 158-159.

[212] Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 251.

[213] Stephen Menell, *Norbert Elias. Civilization and the human self-image* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 44-60.

became an important indicator of social status in the 18th century.[214] However, neither the meanings which were attributed to porcelain and coffee nor the therewith aligned image of Amsterdam's coffeehouse clientele were necessarily received as sober or modest. The illustrated coffee consumption in the *Thee en Koffy-gereedschap* ("tea and coffee utensils") in Jan Luyken's emblem book *Het leerzam huisrad* of 1711 has clearly negative connotations of sinful gluttony and material overabundance. The fashionable coffee party, together with the prominent conic can above the table, is described with the motto "*Lust is een diepe put*" ("lust is a deep pit").[215] Porcelain is equally attached a negative meaning of material excess by the motto "*Het porselyn 't is maar een vertooning*" ("Porcelain is just a performance").[216] With its hard and still delicate textural structure, porcelain was a material that for its inherent qualities attracted associations of ephemerality. Its possession, especially if combined with other 'exotic' objects, was therefore questioned in a widely held moral philosophic discourse.[217] Jan van Campen argues that the forms of social distinction in regard to porcelain correlated with the rather moralist judgements such as this one of Jan Luyken. The risen consumption of porcelain and the new hot beverages were also considered as detrimental in the magazine *Koffy en Thee wereld* (1701). Both goods are attributed an alluring and elusive character.[218] This reflects how the above-stated clustered virtues in the combination of coffee and porcelain could be interpreted negatively. In this context, the abundance of porcelain coffee ware in coffeehouses, such as in the one of Arnoldus van Bergen, probably fostered the conflicted status of the coffeehouse as a social establishment. Here, as it was often commented with satirical undertones, people gathered for playing cards, dicing, and lottery games throughout the day, abandoning their quotidian tasks.[219] In the Calvinist social order, such a behavior was received as harmful to the fulfillment of the civic duties and the personal engagement for the collectively pursued common good. This can be said, even if the Calvinist predestination, the religious work ethic on which these principles of conduct were built, was

[214] Roger Magraw, *France, 1800-1914. A social history* (London: Routledge, 2014), 35. Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'" 215. The concept of civilization was not only a cultural construct of social behaviors, but an important ideal in political economy. John R. Ehrenburg, *Civil society. The critical history of an idea* (New York: NYU Press, [2]2017), 101-105.

[215] Jan Luyken, *Het leerzam huisraad* (Amsteldam: P. Arentz and K. van der Sys, 1711), 160. Translated by Sooyun Sohn, *Fully integrated household objects. Jan Luyken's Het leerzaam huisraad (1711)*, (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011), ProQuest Dissertations & UMI, 45. For the above-stated interpretation, see ibid., 45-46.

[216] Luyken, *Leerzam huisraad*, 118. Translated by Jan van Campen, "Porcelain in the interior," 203. See ibid., 202-203.

[217] Weststeijn, "Reflections on porcelain," 214.

[218] Campen, "Porcelain in the interior," 205. For the respective critique on porcelain and coffee, see Anonymous, *Koffy en thee wereld***,** 117; 490-491; 483-484.

[219] Oostrum, "rond de theestoof," 62. For the stated social practices in coffeehouses in the context of the luxury debate, see Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 47-48. Oostrum, "rond de theestoof," 56.

not strictly followed by the majority of citizens.[220] In addition, beer and wine were offered along with coffee, tea and chocolate in some coffeehouses, even if inns, in many cases predecessors of the respective establishments, had been critiqued for the high alcohol consumption of the clients.[221] The moral discourse on coffeehouses led to higher consumption taxes on selling coffee, followed by the rise of the coffee prices in 1700, and repeatedly issued bans on games by the local authorities and the States-General.[222] Finally, the before-mentioned critique on the possession of material goods became concentrated into the image of a lavish coffeehouse culture, when coffeehouses like the *Quincampoix*, in which the speculative trade with highly-priced goods from the 'East Indies' had led to the catastrophic collapse of the local economy in 1720.[223] In this regard, the new consumer elite, in coffeehouses as in the public space in general, the *nouveaux riches*, was accused for opposing the 'traditional' way of living in the United Provinces by conspicuously demonstrating the so-called '*koopzucht*'.[224] The excessive self-indulgent consumption, the '*luxuria*', is satirically symbolized in the figure of the monkey and often related to coffee-drinking or even to the coffeehouse (Fig. 8). The blue-and-white coffee service seems to be a symbolical marker of the pleasure-oriented and selfish way of living.[225] Notably, the hereby criticized hedonist lifestyle of some members of the early Dutch bourgeoisie defied the Calvinist values after which the traditional elites had cultivated a form of 'concealed' luxury consumption which was tightly bound to the private home.[226]

---

[220] The religious doctrine of predestination constitutes the act of pursuing a life for the sake of divine salvation. Under John Calvin (1509-1564), this idea became prominent in the Dutch reformed church and society. D. G. Hart. *Calvinism. A history* (New Haven; Yale University Pres, 2013), 16-17; 80. For the pursuit of the common good as an ethical and social principle in the Calvinist United provinces, see Prak, "Bourgeois society,"122-123. Calvinism is not to be understood as a strictly forgiven religious doctrine. The puritan ideas of John Calvin were adapted towards quotidian modes of living by the means of worldly interpretations of the prescribed a moral codex and in favor of the common good. Schama, *Embarrassment of riches*, 47-60. In this sense, Calvinism did not operate as a state church but as an overall accepted cultural mindset. See ibid, 59.

[221] Oostrum, "rond de theestoof," 56. It should however be noted that critical cases of public excess in relation with the consumption of alcohol in inns were overall diminished by the new establishment of the coffeehouse. See ibid., 56. For the offer of beer and wine along with the stated hot beverages see ibid., 54.

[222] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 48-49. That the prices were raised around 1700 is to be seen in the context of the repeated attempts by the local governments to levy taxes on the sale of the new hot beverages and in particular on the consumption of coffee in public establishments. The coffeehouse owners were obliged to the payment of a coffee tax not only for moral but also for economic reasons. Such imposts were asserted on a national level by the States General of Holland for instance in 1689, in order to finance the nine-years-war (1688-1697), and in 1699. See Oostrum, "rond de theestoof," 56-57; 61. For a discussion of the legal measurements against card-playing and other social activities which were regarded immoral, see ibid., 61. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 47.

[223] The *Quincampoix* was even attacked by an angry mob in this context, which also exemplifies ethical conflict around luxury objects. Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 210.

[224] Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 184. For the '*koopzucht*' see ibid., 137-139.

[225] Van Campen, "Porcelain in the interior," 204-205.

[226] For the tradition of a consumption that was constrained to the private space, see Mak, *Amsterdam*, 155-156. This argument is made famously by Simon Schama. Schama, *Embarrassment of riches*, 340-350.

In the historical context of the luxury debate, the early bourgeoisie adopted a specific mode of perception towards the coffeehouse and, in the process, towards themselves. Agreeably, the accumulation of exotic consumables made this place suitable for social self-display. According to Maxine Berg, the different 'exotic' goods, and coffee and porcelain among others, were luxuries because they came from far-distant places.[227] The coffeehouse visitors, pursuing the oriental lifestyle, identified themselves through the objects and conveyed their high social status through them, while porcelain from China and coffee from Ottoman Turkey became integrated into their social environment.[228] Indeed, elegant oriental forms of furniture began to dominate the setting in 1700, being first transferred from the splendid coffeehouses in Istanbul to Italy and France. From here, highly-ceiled and cumbersomely curved mirrors, chandeliers, gilt leather tapestries and a characteristic piece of furniture, the coffee buffet, entered coffeehouses in the Dutch Republic (Fig. 6, Fig. 9, Fig. 11). In Amsterdam, Paul Fabre's *Franse Koffiehuis* assimilated this new French mode of a fashionable rococo style, as it is shown in a drawing from 1761 (Fig. 11).[229] Willem van Hoeven overtrumped the other coffeehouse-keepers in the new orientalizing trend, which rendered the coffeehouses in exotic shades, with a fountain from which coffee sputtered. This 'coffee fountain' raised a lot of attention and turned the *Gekroond Koffiehuis* quickly into a tourist attraction of the same quality as the famous Parisian Café Procope.[230] Such a luxurious setting alluded to the splendor and delights of the Ottoman coffeehouse.[231] By drinking from this porcelain tableware which had become known through the coffee parties as an exciting accessory for the oriental way of living, the coffee-drinkers expressed not only their status

[227] Maxine Berg, "In pursuit of luxury: global history and British consumer goods in the eighteenth century," *Past & Present* 182 (February 2004): 99.
[228] Ibid., 99. For the Oriental lifestyle as identifying means of status, see the case study conducted by Joan Stobart, "Making an English country house: taste and luxury in the furnishing of Stoneleigh Abby, 1763-1765," in *A taste for luxury in early modern Europe. Display, acquisition and boundaries*, ed. Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 144.
[229] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 48-49. Hell (b), *Amsterdamse herberg*, 220. For the coffee buffet, a type of extravagant table cabinet, see ibid., 49. The cabinet-like coffee buffets (*'koffiekast'*) in Erevan's, Vroom's, van Bergen's and Fabre's coffeehouses, depicted in the case of the latter in the drawing of the *Quincampoix* on the left side (Fig. 11), connect easily to the domestic fashion of tea brackets. These racks resembled Nicolas de Blegny's cabaret trays and were ostentatiously suspended above the coffee tables for the self-representative display of the fine porcelain ware in the private homes. See Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 49. For the coffee buffet in Erevan's coffee chamber in the 17th century, see Roever, *inventory of Mathias van Erevan*, 121. For the *'koffiekast'* in Vroom's coffeehouse see Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 49. In van Bergen's coffeehouse the '*koffiekast*' is not mentioned with this term but a similar furniture object, the '*porcelyn kas*' ("porcelain chest"), in which different items of the porcelain table ware were stored, suggests an Orientalized furniture with a usage quite similar to the '*koffiekast*'. See Bergen, *inventory*, 23. For the tea brackets, which were resembled the trays which Nicolas de Blegny described, in aristocratic Dutch interiors see Lunsingh Scheurleer, Tea table," 89.
The usage of these '*tabletten*' is also described by Jan van Campen, "Porcelain in the interior."
[230] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 43-44. Hell (a), "Amsterdamse herberg," 209.
[231] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 43-44. Ellis, *Coffee house*, 12-16.

but also their ability to connect themselves with the wider world.[232] Thereby, the old-established upper-class circles functioned as intermediaries between the coffeehouse clientele and the luxurious domestic space of the royal courts in The Hague and Versailles. From these two courts emanated the new oriental trend which, especially in the Dutch Republic, had stereotyped Chinese, Japanese or Turkish features.[233]

By no means representing a realistic image of the regions which became to be mixed together in representative objects and decorative adornments in the coffeehouse setting, the fashion for the pleasurable exotic became to frame the idea of coffee-drinking. Along with the exotic furniture items, or the worn garments and accessories of the visitors, this occurred either with respect to 'Chinese' porcelain or 'Turkish' coffee, thus the European and often intermingled oriental styles of *chinoiserie* or *turquerie*.[234] The *chinoiserie* motifs which were executed in shiny blue-and-white or enameled colors on porcelain dishes represented an imagined oriental world. Their strong sensuous effects must have appealed to the consumers.[235] A visit in the coffeehouse was hence accompanied by the visual and tactile experience of the fantastical lands of China, the so-called "Cathay", which was represented on the shiny smooth porcelain sets.[236] With the diverse shapes of the vessels which were decorated with fanciful Chinese Asian flowers, animals and figures, the coffee ware epitomized the Enlightenment ideal of a Confucian philosophy and Chinese intellectual lifestyles.[237] In this context, the depicted Taoist and Buddhist symbols emphasized the intellectual impetus of the public within Amsterdam coffeehouses. Similarly, the Chinese porcelain bowl was received as a sophisticated material creation in line with the image of a

[232] Stobart, "Stoneleigh Abby," 144. For the historical context of the aristocratic coffee parties, see Wijsenbeek, Wit, and Müller, "Van medicijn tot statussymbool," 108-109. You, "From novelty to necessity," 12; 25.
[233] See also Bischoff, "Women collectors," 179-181. The correspondent *chinoiserie* style was also pursued at the court of Versailles under Louis XIV. See ibid., 174. For the thereby intermingling forms of *turquerie* in the palatial setting in Versailles, see Williams, *Turquerie,* 151. For the stated regional influences on the Dutch republic, see Gerritsen, "Domesticating goods," 232-234. The aristocracy had an intermediary function between the 'nobility' and the social milieu in coffeehouses since these upper-class circles had started to distinguish themselves from, put in the words of Geert Mak, "the rest of the population, which remained old-fashionedly Dutch" in the last decades of the 17th century. Mak, *Amsterdam,* 141. See ibid., 141. For the emulation of these aristocratic circles by the new riches, see Yme Kuiper, "What about the Moorish footman? Portrait of a Dutch nabob as a dedicated follower of fashion," in *A taste for luxury in early modern Europe. Display, acquisition and boundaries,* ed. Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 91.
[234] Like the *chinoiserie*, the *turquerie* dominated the style in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is a Western style which is characterized by the European adaptive emulation of Turkish visual forms, shapes, and materials in different decorative arts, costumes and architecture in Europe, whereby the particular property of this style is a mix of European and Asian elements. For the *chinoiserie* and a broader definition of the explained oriental styles, see Impey, *Chinoiserie*, 10-12. For *turquerie* see Williams, *Turquerie,* 7-8. For the eclectic usage of both stated exotic styles in the material culture around coffee-drinking, see Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus*, 85.
[235] Anne Gerritsen argues that the mentioned adoption process in the Dutch Republic relies on the stated sensual effect of the "embodied" material world. Gerritsen, "Domesticating goods," 22. Ibid., 236-239.
[236] Impey, *Chinoiserie,* 80. See ibid., 80. See also Ho, "Pronk porcelain," 192.
[237] For this metaphor of China as an ideal of Enlightenment, see Ho, "Pronk porcelain," 192.

highly developed Chinese civilization.[238] Coffee assumed similar meanings, when it was served in these bowls, which were also associated with the high cultural standards of tea rituals in the Chinese upper-class. The respectable public celebrated the *turquerie*-lifestyle in the images, while their displayed behaviors embody the notions of the elegant luxurious 'Turk' and Chinese sublimity and wisdom at the same time (Fig. 5Fig. 13).[239]

At the same time, the ornaments on the coffeehouse porcelain ware received a second symbolical layer which lied beyond the Confucian grandeur of civilization. They supported the visual culture of the so-called Republican Baroque and its implied sensibility of hedonist worldliness.[240] According to Frans-Willem Korsten, this local form of baroque, which gains its meaning from the transfusion with neoclassicist linearity, created a vibrant and pleasure-centered atmosphere in coffeehouses.[241] The opulent baroque (1660-1720) and ludicrous rococo elements (1720-1760), for instance the voluminous decorations on wall papers or the curved forms in the coffee buffet **(**Fig. 11), conflated with the *chinoiserie*-style on the contemporary dishes (Fig. 23).[242] Like in the porcelain cabinets of the princesses of the House of Orange, the splendor of such forms was meaningfully enhanced through the integration of porcelain into the furniture. The multiplied display of the coffee services was enhanced by the practice to position porcelain vases on shelfs and cornices, as it is known from Jan Vroom's coffeehouse.[243] Such an ambience of the early modern coffeehouse, in whose creation porcelain played an important part, can be characterized as a stimulant element of free imaginations. These gave way, as prominently argued by Robert Campbell, to

[238] For the explained connotations of China, see Weststeijn, "Reflections on porcelain," 215. Impey, *Chinoiserie*, 80. According to Angela Ho, such a positive image of China prevailed at least until the mid-18th-century. See Ho, "Pronk porcelain," 192. For the archaeological evidence of the stated motifs with Asian religious symbols, see Ostkamp, "Beerput in t'Catgen: keramiek," 77-81.

[239] The tea rituals as an important cultural historical context of the adoption of coffee by Europeans and in the creation of the coffeehouse culture is explained in Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 153. For the explained image of the 'Turk' see Williams, *Turquerie*, 8.

[240] For the explained meaning of worldliness of the Republican baroque, see Frans-Willem Korsten, *A Dutch republican baroque. Theatricality, dramatization, moment, and event*, Amsterdam studies in the Dutch Golden Age, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 22.

[241] Ibid., 19-21.

[242] For the stated styles in the decoration of ceramics and correspondent periods see P. Bisboer (ed.), *China-Delft-Europa. Chinoiserie* (Delft: Het Prinsenhof, 1976), 22-35. See also Lucy Zillah Peyton, *From the grotesque to the exotic. The evolution of rococo ornament in the decorative arts in France* (MPhil(R) thesis, University of Glasgow, 2000), ProQuest LLC, 52; 72; 68; 138.

[243] Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 49. Van Campen, porcelain in the interior," 194. Ho, "Pronk porcelain," 182. *Chinoiserie* elements formed a typical part of the Stadholder's residence in Het Loo and the Stadholder's Quarter in The Hague, especially after the French architect Daniel Marot had been commissioned by Prince William III and his wife Princess Mary II to build out the porcelain cabinet rooms during the last two decades of the 17th century. Van Campen, porcelain in the interior," 198-203.

individualized and essentially pleasure-centered forms of consumption in the 19th century.[244] This self-indulgent consumption existed in the United Provinces in the form of an Arminian mentality. Jacobus Arminius and his advocates preferred a life in which the idea of accurate civilizational behavior was accompanied by the notion of the free mind. Both ideas determined modes of consumption in the Amsterdam coffeehouse.[245]

While negative interpretations of luxury were counterbalanced by the Amsterdam coffeehouse community with a new moral code of conduct, the ornamental structure of the *chinoiseries* on the colorful and brightly shining dishes evoked apparently ambivalent meanings (Fig. 23).[246] The Chinese perspective and technique in painting determined the collectively shared sensation of shiny decorations which were arbitrarily arranged on coffeehouse porcelains, either in conventional underglaze-blue or exclusive enameled overglaze colors (Fig. 23).[247] In this way, the diverse accoutrements had a significant cognitive effect, evoking a sense of confusing disorder, when they were seen, especially if they included 'grotesque' features.[248] As argued by David Porter, the *chinoiserie* created new subjective tastes through this aesthetics or rather an aesthetic code.[249] The meanings of porcelain shifted between the idea of China as a high civilization, compatible with the classical well-measured ideal of beauty, and a vulgar luxurious exoticness, perceived in the irrational compositions. But what did it mean for the early coffeehouse bourgeoisie in

---

[244] Collin Campell, *The romantic ethic and the spirit of modern consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2005), 87-100. For Colin Campell's prominent theory of the 'romantic ethic', see also Sassatelli, "Consumer identities," 238.
For the impact of luxury goods from Asia as a context to this interpretation, see the case study by Michael North, "Fashion and luxury in eighteenth-century Germany," in *A taste for luxury in early modern Europe. Display, acquisition and boundaries*, ed. Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 91. Berg, "New commodities," 65.

[245] It should be noted that the ideas of Jacobus Arminius justified the consumption of luxuries. The predestination theory had been discussed throughout the 16th and 17th centuries as it was based on the core assumption that the consumer would follow a divinely determined work and consumption ethic without making free choices or consuming for pleasure. Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 226-227. For the reformation under Jacobus Arminius, see Hart, *Calvinism*, 79-88. The Arminian influence on the bourgeoisie is mentioned by Magraw, *France*, 296. It should be mentioned that Max Weber's theory of the 'capitalist ethos' is contradicted with the statement made above. The society consumed in order to enjoy the pleasures of life and not in order to follow a divine predestined plan which, according to Weber, resulted in the accumulation of capital and a subsequently risen consumption. For Weber's theory, see Max Weber, "Die protestantische Ethik und der 'Geist' des Kapitalismus," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 20, no. 1 (1904): 2-10; 15-34. Prominently, Max Weber was critiqued by Collin Campell for reducing the Calvinist mindset to a consumer attitude which was exclusively oriented towards a pious and utilitarian consumption ethos. For this critique on Weber's theory, see Campell, *Romantic ethic*, 123-160.

[246] For the ornament as a material form which embodies collective values, see Andrew Morrall, "Ornament as evidence," in *History and material culture. A student's guide to approaching alternative sources*, ed. Karen Harvey (New York: Routledge, 2018), 52-59.

[247] The Chinese painting style and technique is explained by Finlay, *Pilgrim art*, 172-174.

[248] The grotesquerie is a European style which is characterized by bizarre and exoticizing ornaments and typically deployed on different materials during the Baroque era. **Impey, *Orientalism*, 83.**

[249] David L. Porter, "Monstrous beauty: eighteenth-century fashion and the aesthetics of the Chinese taste." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (2002): 397-398.

Amsterdam that the new hedonist consumer attitude, put into Porter's words, "looked beyond the pale of […] bourgeois politeness"?[250] The answer lies in a conflict of meanings, tastes and attitudes. The different images projected into the ornaments, ranging from Chinese intelligence and politeness to crude incivility, represented the values through which the bourgeoisie defined itself.[251] This conflict of self-assigned values is also suggested by the fact that the positively received image of a Turkish luxury and natural decorousness had been preceded by the stereotype of the "fierce Turk".[252] The projection of this image into the black, bitter and hot coffee was certainly endowed by stereotypic associations with tyranny, despotism and decadence.[253] Such negative features, which go back to the European experience of the Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1453, contributed to the domesticated consumption of the allegedly 'black' and 'Islamic' coffee with milk.[254] A related context to this is the perception of coffee as means to oppress the male sexual urge in opposition to the fantasies which stemmed from the visual display of female coffee-drinkers in the eroticized images of the travel literature **(**Fig. 3**).** Even if the real experience of sexual pleasure was not of immediate importance for most of the male customers in coffeehouses, it can be followed that coffee alluded to the promise of sexual pleasure. The erotic connotations of the drink, the manifold fantasies of a luxurious Orient, were triggered by the remarkably eye-catching exotic material world of the coffeehouse.[255]

It can be contented that the meanings of coffee could vary, while the coffeehouse visitors identified themselves through the novel and exotic coffee ware. I suggest that the ambiguous status of porcelain table ware in Amsterdam allowed the bourgeois middleclass to sort out behavioral and aesthetical standards. Ranging between luxury and civility, the coffee, especially when served in the porcelain coffee ware, represented not only the high status and the good taste of the public but also identity-constructing values. The new coffeehouse community visited the coffeehouse with consumer fantasies about luxury in mind and forms of individual pleasure on their agenda. In concurrence with the described "visual idiom" of

[250] Porter, "Monstrous beauty, 408. See ibid., 400-401; 408.
[251] For the material theory of the ornament in this regard, see Morrall, "Ornament," 52.
[252] Williams, *Turquerie,* 8. See ibid., 7-8.
[253] Ibid., 7-8. Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'" 213. For this kind of dialectics in the Orienatlist mindset, see Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-García, "Introduction," 4-6. Ash Ç'rakman, "From Tyranny to despotism. The Enlightenment's unenlightened image of the Turks," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33 (2001): 49-60.
[254] This argument is made by Julia Landweber for the French coffee culture. Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'" 201-202.
[255] For an erotic connotation and related values of coffee, see Landweber, "'This marvelous bean,'"203-205. For coffee as a remedy in the explained context, see Clarence-Smith, "Global consumption," 42.
The coffeehouses were sometimes subjected to sexual excesses and prostitution. For the respective report of the satire magazine *koffy en thee wereld* and a discussion of the topic, see Oostrum, "Rond de theestoof," 62; 66.

the Orient, the customers projected their own ideas, virtues and anxieties into the new foreign drinking-practices as well as into the meaningfully combined ceramics, garments, furniture and other artistic forms of this exotic vision.[256]

[256] You, "From novelty to necessity," 25. See ibid, 23-26. Wijsenbeek, Wit, and Müller, "Van medicijn tot statussymbool," 108-109. For the early cabinets of the House of Orange and other curiosity collections in the Dutch Republic, see Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Early dutch cabinetas of curiosities," in *The origins of museums. The cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe*, ed. Oliver Impey and Arthur MyGregor, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 117-118. The explained mode of Orientalism is explained in Hatt and Klonk, *Art history*, 227-228.

4. Coffee, porcelain and modes of sociability

The luxury debate that manifested itself, among others, in the coffeehouse is narrated by the contemporaries with regard to the conflation of social classes. The way how the coffeehouse community assimilated the habits of the aristocratic traditional elites, represented by the regents and the nobles, through the usage of porcelain and other ostentatious forms of self-fashioning opposed an assumed divine social order.[257] The satire magazine *Het koffy-huis der nieusgierigen, of de klapbank der nouvelisten* (1744) describes the clientele as "old and young, rough and bald, shaved and unshaved, poor decent folks and rich rabble."[258] While the author stresses the diversity of the coffeehouse public, the wealthy 'rabble' presumably refer to the *nouveaux riches* that contested the older hierarchic order of separated classes.[259] In the context of the individual and pleasure-seeking consumption in coffeehouses explained above, tastes constantly ranged between good and bad, representative of high and low moral values, while the new riches had an important role in the coffeehouse community. They counterbalanced a deficit in the refined manners of the long-established economic elites through the ostentatious possession of luxuries.[260]

At the same time, an aristocratic clientele who visited coffeehouses was now confronted with new options for consolidating social status and the accumulation of cultural capital within the public sphere.[261] Historians have often described the social tensions which arose from an overall risen supply of luxurious commodities to cheap prices. In Amsterdam and other urban centers, this enabled the self-fashioning of less affluent consumers and even the invention of faked identities and social status in an increasingly anonymous setting.[262] Long-

[257] Van Campen, "Porcelain in the interior," 204.
[258] Anonymous. *Het koffy-huis der nieusgierigen, of de klapbank der nouvelisten* (Amsteldam: Anonymous, [sold by Steeve van Esveldt], 1744), 3. ["ryp en Groen, ruig, en kaal, geschóren en ongeschóren, arme lieden van fatsoen en ryk Kanalje."]. The translation is my own. The magazine *Het koffy-huis der nieusgierigen, of de klapbank der nouvelisten* ("*Het Koffy-huis*") had its first release in 1744 and was published four times a year. The author wrote about the conversations, the public and the atmosphere in coffeehouses and inns in Amsterdam from his own perspective. Similarly to the magazine *Koffy en thee wereld*, the *Koffy-huis* was an instrument of social criticism and was therefore published by an anonymous coffeehouse visitor. Hell, "Amsterdamse herberg," 211. Oostrum, "Rond de theestoof," 62.
[259] Smith, *Consumption*, 78.
[260] North, "Fashion and luxury," 91. Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 185.
[261] Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social distinction includes the concept of cultural capital which is symbolic for the social status of a person and acquired through applied cultural practices of social behavior. Derek Robbins, *Bourdieu and culture* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2000), 32-37. See also Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 260-267. Bourdieu, *theory of practice*, 89.
[262] Smith, *Consumption*, 78. Alida Clemente, "Luxury and taste in eighteenth-century Naples: representations, ideas and social practices at the intersection between the global and the local," in *A taste for luxury in early modern Europe. Display, acquisition and boundaries*, ed. Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 64. Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 184-185. For the invention of identities see Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 201-210. In this context, a relevant subject of research is what influence sumptuary laws had. These laws which had the purpose to consolidate social hierarchies were in general held minimal in the

established aristocrats and the new riches intermingled with the less-affluent members of the middleclass because, despite the risen prices around 1700, the coffeehouses were principally open to everybody.[263] A contemporary remarked that:

> "[…] these days, the coffeehouses are widely visited, not only in the cities but also in the villages, and this at every hour of the day and throughout the evenings by all sorts of people, from cobblers to weavers included."[264]

In this quote, the source for the implied indignation about a mixture of classes is not the new consumer elite but the working class which is referred to as the cobblers and weavers.[265] The presence of the 'lower' middle classes in coffeehouses is merely represented in the contemporary visual accounts. From the images analyzed here, only the coffeehouse interior that was associated with *De Gekroond coffeehouse* (Fig. 12) depicts a humbly dressed person who could fit into the social category of the working class. This shows that the belonging of the vast majority of the middleclass to the elite coffeehouse public, which identified itself through educational and intellectual standards, was a debatable topic.[266] In line with the fact that the bourgeoisie used to differentiate itself from the broader middle classes, the social echelons that tended to be excluded from urban places of leisure could less likely afford time and money for a visit in coffeehouses. They were day laborers, workers, service providers and – at least in the understanding of the local bourgeois elite – the rural population.[267]

Yet, the coffeehouses *were* visited by the 'lower' social classes. The newspaper *De Hollandsche Spectator* reported about a man who usually spent the first half of the day in a coffeehouse at the Dam square. But on Mondays this coffeehouse would normally be highly frequented by peasants, causing the loyal client to avoid this favorite establishment of his and

---

United Provinces. See Schama, *Embarrassment of riches*, 182; 186. In this sense, cultural capital can be differentiated from actual possession of financial means.

[263] Markman Ellis, "An introduction to the coffee-house: a discursive model," *Language & Communications* 28 (2008): 159-160. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," *48-49*

[264] Anonymous, *Koffy en thee weereld*, 472. ["[…] dat meen tegenwoordig niet alleen in alle steden van eenige consideratie dese koffie-huisen in overloed sind, maar ook in eenige doorpen, die dagelijkst' allen tijdje van den das, en des avonds, van allerhande soorten van menschen, snijders en wevers incluis, werden besogt."]. The translation is mine. The term '*snyder*' can relate to a variety of professions. The translation 'cobbler' is therefore used as interchangeably with tailor or other professions where fabrics and materials are cut.

[265] Ostrom, „rond de theestoof," 62.

[266] For the intellectual principles of the early modern coffeehouse, see Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 61.

[267] Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 105-109; 179. For the distinction of the bourgeoisie from the working class, see Dejung, Motadel, and Osterhammel, "Worlds of the bourgeoisie," 8. This underlying exclusionary dynamic of social distinction is related to the incentive of coffeehouse-keepers to differentiate themselves from drinking houses. Wijsenbeek, Panhuysen and Toledo, "Koffiehuizen," 48-49.

to visit another house instead.[268] On the one hand, this suggests that the ritual of gathering in coffeehouses was not limited to a 'coffeehouse elite' that determined the discourse on such places. In turn, this means that the coffeehouse bourgeoisie was not a uniform group.[269] On the other hand, it can be followed that the social contact with peasants and other groups was avoided. Whereas the new riches were criticized for a lack of gallantry by some aristocratic coffeehouse clients, comparisons with peasants, representing the *cliché* of an uncivilized person, seem to have been a common practice. Forms of stigmatization formed part of this social distinguishment of the urban elites in the coffeehouses.[270] Satirical poems, for instance the works of Jan Appelaer and Timotheus ten Hoorn, relate to the figure of the peasant as an uncivilized person who burns his mouth, while trying to drink coffee.[271] The rural population is portrayed here as if it was not used to the new exotic beverages from Asia and the accompanying porcelain vessels. Coffee-drinking, together with the correspondent refined porcelain equipage, was evidently regarded as a luxury preserved for the urban upper- and middleclass which assigned itself a civilized identity.[272]

The preceding observations suggest that the porcelain items used for coffee-drinking served as a means of social distinction, even if they were part of a process in which this distinction among classes was gradually subdued.[273] From a critical edge, one could ask if porcelain and coffee did not rather consolidate the class-based biases among different social layers within the coffeehouse, instead of bringing these diverse milieus together. Notably, it has been argued that the coffeehouse culture was founded on equality principles of a liberal intelligentsia. Its progressive ideal is described in the context of a 'radical Enlightenment' by Jonathan Israel.[274] The aristocrats who visited coffeehouses became, in Jonathan Israel's words, "*philosophes*, regularly rubbing shoulders with non-noble scholars, writers, publishers, as well as professionals, pseudo-gentry, and *bourgeois gentilhommes*".[275] But did all these social milieus cooperate smoothly with each other? Evidently, there were aristocratic

[268] *De Hollandsche Spectator*, December 12, 1732, no. 116, consulted via DBNL (KB, National Library), https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/effe001holl04_01/effe001holl04_01_0017.php, 102-103. See also Hell, "Amsterdamse herberg," 211.
[269] Cowan, *Social life*, 259.
[270] For the social conflict between the aristocracy and the new riches, see Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 184-185.
[271] Jan Appelaer, *Het suynigh en vermaeckelijck coffy-huys ofte eene versamelinge van een party vermakelijcke en koddige kluchten* (Zaendyck: Appealaer 1678), 27-28, wit no. 38. Timotheus ten Hoorn. *Het vol-vrolike thee-geselschap ofte de vergadering der blijmoedige geesten zijnde het twede deel van 't Zuinig en vermakelik coffi-huis* (Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1687), 4-5, wit no. 3. For a concise review of these anecdotes and their interpretation, see Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 179-181.
[272] For the cultural-historical context, see Prak, "Bourgeois Society," 110-138.
[273] Brewer, "Culture as a commodity ," 349
[274] Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 59-61.
[275] Ibid., 61.

coffeehouse visitors who disliked the way how fashionable practices, coffee-drinking among others, which had formerly assured their hegemonic social position, were now assimilated by 'lower' classes. In fact, civil as well as noble aristocrats commonly criticized the new riches for a lacking elegance in the usage of luxuries like coffee or porcelain.[276] Both items belonged to these Asian luxuries that were transformed into vastly accessible commodities with differently-nuanced luxury connotations. In this context, the risen accessibility of luxuries caused social frictions among the coffeehouse visitors.[277] While most of the imported porcelain pieces were produced at cheap prices in Jingdezhen, due to the exceptional position of the VOC in the porcelain trade, also coffee reached a relatively broad public from around 1700. Different sorts of an overall cheaper supply were offered to coffeehouse guests, accompanied by the shift from coffee "Arabia Felix" from Moccha towards coffee "Batavia" from Java.[278] Concurringly, these members of the society from which the coffeehouse elite wanted to distinguish itself had hence learned how to drink the luxurious beverages. In the United Provinces, tea, coffee and the respective porcelain vessels were widely distributed among the rural population and the middle classes.[279]

Moreover, the outlined social tensions within the coffeehouse were provoked by a conflation of a high and low style of porcelain.[280] The porcelain coffee ware used by the 'lower' social echelons differed from the mostly more refined accoutrements of aristocratic coffee-drinkers. In the specialized porcelain shops where the ordinary burgher could choose between different sizes and components since the mid-18th century, the respective decorations followed common wood models and graphic designs rather than high-quality export ware.[281] In comparison, aristocratic coffee circles usually included costly pieces of armorial porcelain with family crests which were ordered individually in the private trade. Above all, the porcelain of wealthier clients had normally personalized decorations.[282] Even if the quality of the coffee ware in the separate coffeehouses varied with the social milieu that it attracted, it is

[276] Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 184-185.
[277] Berg, "New commodities," 65.
[278] See Reinders, Wit and Nijboer, "'Een specie van swarte boontjes,'" 27-32. For the changed terminology of coffee sorts in the explained context see Ellis, *Coffee house*, 144. For the porcelain trade of the VOC, see Jörg, *Dutch china trade*, 98-101.
[279] McCants, "Porcelain for the poor," 409.
[280] John Brewer explains this dynamic of the popular culture in the commercialized bourgeois space in the context of the English society in the 18th century. See Brewer, "Culture as a commodity," 348.
[281] Jörg, *Dutch china trade*, 101-102. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain*, 103. Christiaan J.A. Jörg, "Der Porzellanhandel der VOC," 151-154.
[282] Yang Enlin, *Chinesische Porzellanmalerei im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1986), 114. Shelagh Vainker, *Chinese pottery and porcelain. From prehistory to the present* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), 154-155. Stacey Pierson, "Chinese porcelain, the East India Company, and British cultural identity, 1600-1800," in *Picturing commerce in and from the East Asian maritime circuits, 1550–1800*, ed. Tamara Bentley (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 279.

more likely that it tended towards a standardization in simpler shapes and decorations and was therefore not comparable with aristocratic table ware. In this sense, the polychrome *chinoiserie* pieces and the other refined components of coffee sets that had been identified in the analysis probably did not follow exclusive trends such as the copying of European motifs from engravings or drawings unto Chinese porcelain, as it had been the case with the so-called Pronk-porcelain.[283] A wealthy connoisseur ("*liefhebber*") would have noted if a coffee cup lacked thinness and shininess in texture or technical refinement in decoration. Why did the wealthy coffeehouse visitor, who knew to distinguish such assorted pieces like an original Pronk piece from its European copy or, in general, a costly piece from the regular junk trade, agree on using the rather standardized and less personalized ware in coffeehouses?[284]

From a cultural historical perspective, the stated question can be answered with the concept of social respectability. In the particular context of the coffeehouse, as argued by Woddruff Smith, the correspondent set of self-regulated behaviors encompassed the ideal of "rational masculinity".[285] This most important characteristic trait is depicted in the images of early modern coffeehouses, in which the gentlemen debate. (e.g. Fig. 10-Fig. 11). The culture of debate represented here demonstrates a willingness to acknowledge that social status was based on "individual virtue and self-discipline rather than wealth or genteel birth".[286] Thus the polite behavior, including this of the wealthy aristocrat, was no longer oriented towards the gentility and the court etiquette with which exotic tea and coffee ceremonies had first been associated.[287] Instead, as conveyed in the rather informal poses of the guests, the respectable way to "dress, speak, and spend like a gentleman" was linked to the idea of individualism, even if the same was experienced through the social constraints of *civilité*.[288] As shown in the following, it can be noted that coffee consumed together with porcelain in

[283] Enlin, *Chinesische* Porzellanmalerei, 80. The designs were made by renowned artists such as Cornelius Pronk. These designs were high-class luxury pieces, often executed in sets, which combined Dutch highlife genre paintings with Asian motifs and colors at the margins in the fanciful *chinoiserie* designs. Ho, "Pronk porcelain," 179; 191. Regarding the quality of coffeehouse porcelain, it had been stated earlier in chapter 3.1 that the porcelain and earthenware pieces can mainly be classified as standard tableware. Gawronski and Jayasena, *Ons' Lieve Heer*, 170-171.
[284] Ho, "Pronk porcelain," 189-193.
[285] Smith, *Consumption*, 139. See ibid., 41-42; 123-129. Respectability is explained by Woodruff Smith as "a significant cultural pattern in the Western world in the eighteenth century, as one of the basic factors in the cultural construction of the bourgeoisie." Cit. Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 144.
[286] Smith, *Consumption*, 128. See ibid., 128, 144-145. Ellis, "Discursive model," 150.
[287] Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour,"143.
[288] Smith, *Consumption*, 145. For the bourgeois ideal of personal accomplishment and individuality, see Dejung, Motadel, and Osterhammel, "Worlds of the bourgeoisie," 10. For the respective idea of individualism in the Enlightenment theory, see Ehrenburg, *Civil society*, 108-109.

the coffeehouse formed part of this process, during which class-boundaries became unstable.[289]

On the one hand, coffee participated in the social or discursive codex for which the early modern coffeehouse is commonly known. It supported a sociability in coffeehouses which was characterized, according to Ellis, by a "rational, critical, skepticl, polite, calm and reasoned" debate.[290] Coffee enabeld such debates because the ingested caffeine accelerated the neural activity of the coffeehouse clients.[291] Even though coffee was useful as a remedy for different kinds of afflictions, it was drunk in coffeehouses primarily for the caffeine it contained, which affected the nervous system and thereby lead to the alertness of the visitors in coffeehouses.[292] The intellectual conversations between business men, artists, scholars and other citizens with an educational background required an accessible quick state of mind. Being typically inolced into this ritual, coffee channelled the debate into controlled, highbrow and rational manners.[293] It cannot be denied that the thereby applying discursive values of coffee-drinking had a tolerant aspect. The acknowldegment of the atitude of the autonomous subject in combination with a respectable behavior was broadly encouraged in the debates. For the sake of a rational conversation, the interlocutors cultivated politeness in correlation with a tolerant attitude towards divergent opinions. The performed opinions were seen as valid because they reflected the rationality of the individual who expressed them.[294]

At the same time, the rational and tolerant individual was clearly influenced by the aesthetic code which was internalized thorugh the usage of porcelain ware. Nicola Perullo describes the consumption of drinks and food as an act of internalizing their taste and their correlated aesthetic meanings.[295] Against this background, and building on Robert Campell's argument of a rather emotional consumption, I suggest that the visually striking *chinoiseries* on the porcelain table ware imparted the rational debate a sense of lightness and pleasurable enjoyment.[296] Their asymmetrical compositions, organic shapes and bright colors, I would

[289] Albrecht, "Coffee-drinking as a symbol," 91-101.
[290] Ellis, *Discursive model,* 160.
[291] Martín, Montial and Iturbe, "Introduction," 36-39. See also Ellis, *Discursive model,* 160.
[292] Clarence-Smith, "Global consumption," 47; 42. Ellis, *Discursive model,* 156-160. Steven Blankaart recommended coffee as a remedy that makes people talkative, describing coffee-drinking as "[…] amusing because with this drink [coffee] there is a chat that is pleasant." Blankaart, "Verhandelinge van de coffeé," 191. ["en vermakelijk om dat by dese drank een praatjen wil wesen dar genoeglijk is."]. The translation is my own.
[293] Ellis, *Discursive model,* 160.
[294] Ellis, *Discursive model,* 159-163.
[295] Perullo, *Taste,* 8-9.
[296] Robert Campell explains a rationalist consumer attitude during the Enlightenment as counterpart to an emotional and sentimental consumption mode against in the historical context of Calvinism. Campell, *Romantic ethic,* 131-140. The emotional aspect in consumption, which I interpret as being affected be porcelain ware, favors the free imagination and individual pleasure. Campell, *Romantic ethic*, 190-194.

argue, had an immediately perceived visual effect.[297] In this sense, as remarked earlier, the *chinoiserie* ornament stimulated a taste which defied a 'pure' identification of the clients with civility, rationality, politeness and other Enlightenment values for which the early modern coffeehouse is in fact known.[298] The Chinese and Japanese aesthetics entered thereby into a material dialogue with coffee, whose rational quality was affectively counterbalanced. The coffeehouse was thus only in part the intellectual space as which it is portrayed by Jürgen Habermas.[299] To a certain degree, this highly rationalized world of philosophical thought was generated from the imaginary foreign worlds which were present through the fantasy-evoking *chinoiserie* ornaments.

Regarding the socially connective element in this perceptive process, it should be noted that the highly sensual 'internalization' of coffee and its aesthetics, represented in the coffee ware, triggered not only an individual experience of pleasure.[300] Such an experience, as argued earlier, implied symbolic ambiguities which were collectively received. It can be assumed, at least to a certain degree, that these ambiguities of porcelain, beautiful and vulgar, and coffee, polite and despotic, stimulated the debates. Their materiality offered a wide range of potential meanings, ideas and thoughts. In this way, the shared experience of a delightful cup of coffee entailed the valorization of an individual argument, idea, taste and social background of a person. In short, a cup of coffee made the intellectual pleasure that lies in the mutual dialogue more meaningful. Its materiality favored the constant reassessment of the tastes and behaviors which the interlocutors demonstrated. The coffeehouse bourgeoisie found hence more than a mood-changing drink and enjoyment in coffee. What coffee allowed was the constantly redefined positioning of the self to the demonstrated taste of the other.[301] The coffeehouse bourgeoisie, in turn, was formed as a socially diverse construct of identities which had learned to relate to each other.

[297] For the spatial organization and the ornamental structure in Asian porcelain, see Finlay, *Pilgrim art*, 170-174.
[298] Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 59-61. See also Smith, *Consumption*, 139-143.
[299] Habermas, *The structural transformation*, 19-31.
[300] For the material cultural context, see Perullo, *Taste*, 9-12
[301] For the relevant context of an inconsistent public sphere, see Cowan, "Public sphere,"717.

5. Conclusion

The coffeehouses in Amsterdam have turned out to be an exemplary case to illustrate the evolvement of the bourgeoisie from porcelain and coffee. The questions what stimulated the desire for the novel beverage coffee and which values were attached to it were answered by looking at porcelain, the accompanying material of coffee.[302] Served with the widely spread and yet highly luxurious Chinese porcelain, the novel beverage from Arabia assumed meanings that urged the early bourgeoisie in Amsterdam into the Enlightenment in the 18th century.[303]

In the context of the coffeehouse, the main virtue that coffee entailed was a discursive form of rationality. But also cleanliness, civility and politeness were conveyed to the consumers through the interplay of coffee with porcelain. With the ceramic vessels and items which were developed for this purpose, moderation in temper and diet as well as bodily hygiene were performed by the new middleclass who emulated the aristocratic lifestyle. Thereby, the coffee equipage was adopted by the early bourgeoisie in a transcultural and transformational process. Chinese, Turkish and other cultural influences transfused with a European style repertoire of new variations and forms of pots, cups and saucers, as well as additional utensils. These items were materialized representations of the 'other' and participated in this embodied form in the construction of the bourgeoisie.[304] The associations with coffee as a drink of the splendid world of the Ottoman and Chinese elites derived from the romanticized and yet meticulous accounts of travelers. As shown in chapter 1.1, the European visual modes of perception on the side of the coffee-consumers, including a broad middleclass public in the United Provinces, were grounded in the traditions of a representational discourse or, in the words of Benjamin Schmidt, an "exotic geography".[305] In this sense, the discussed travel literature as well as the coffee literature that evolved from it operated as mediators of an exoticized world, which complies with the Saidian theory of the integration of an imaginary construct of the Orient into the European way of living and thought. [306]

---

[302] For the relevance of this question, see Cowan, *Social life*, 261.
[303] For the Enlightenment concept of civilization, see Ricuperati, [s.v.] "Enlightenment," 657-659.
[304]For the made observation regarding goods which represented the Orient in the early modern era, see Ballaster, *Fabulous* orients, 18.
[305] Schmidt, *Inventing exoticism*, 17.
[306] For respective discussions of the Saidian argument, see ibid., 16-17. North, "Fashion and luxury," 90-91 Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-García, "Introduction: The dialectics of early modern orientalism," in *The dialectics of orientalism in early modern Europe*, ed. Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-García (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1-5.

At the same time, coffee and porcelain were highly admired and it is for this reason that they became means of social distinction while being consumed. The inquisitive attitude towards the world on the side of aristocrats, wholesale traders, rentiers, artists, scholars and in general Amsterdam burghers of a cosmopolitan mindset manifested itself in a particular consumer culture in coffeehouses. As explained in chapter 2.2, it was especially characteristic for the coffeehouses in Amsterdam that goods from the successful long-distance trade of the VOC were embraced by a broad local public. This public was keen to participate in the international trading networks of the VOC with Chinese porcelain or Arabian and Javanese coffee. The *Quincampoix* and the *Franse Koffiehuis* were certainly places where a conspicuous consumption of coffee and its accompanying shiny porcelain bowls was meaningfully enhanced by the speculations surrounding the same commodities.[307] It was thus one important aspect of the Amsterdam coffeehouse that the local cultural elite disposed of the relevant cultural knowledge and financial means to participate in the market of exotic commodities. [308] But most importantly, it can be concluded that porcelain and coffee were agents that connected the public consumers with each other in the coffeehouse.[309]

As central gathering places within the economic and intercultural hub Amsterdam, coffeehouses such as the '*Gekroond Koffiehuis*', the '*Royale Koffiehuis*' and the '*Rode Leeuw*' allowed a culturally interested audience to construct their personas through the distinctive usage of the provided drinking ware. Metal coffee urns and coffee pots, cups with saucers, napkins and other tableware items became integrated into lifestyles that fancied the Oriental world as well as the trendsetting French court style. The trends of the imported vessels changed throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, as demonstrated in chapter 3.1, either in terms of their materials, especially with respect to the transference of metals into ceramics, or in their form, including the multiplied coffee ware in the form of the coffee service. As illustrated further in reference to Pierre Bourdieu, the correlated habits to use the resultant fashionable variety of coffee-related items reflects a fashion codex.[310] Clearly, this underlying social dynamic in which taste was linked to the proper forms of conduct constituted the driving force behind the adoption of porcelain coffee ware into the public sphere and in particular into coffeehouses in Amsterdam.[311] The analysis showed that

[307] For the description of the setting of an early modern Amsterdam coffeehouse, see Smith, *Consumption*, 140-151.
[308] For the global character of Amsterdam in the 17th century, see Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum*, 120-137.
[309] For the relevance of this aspect of a things which connect social subjects within the public sphere, see Cowan, "Public sphere," 717.
[310] Sassatelli, *Consumer identities*, 239-240.
[311] For Bourdieu's theory of a social hierarchy which is constructed through distinctive forms of fashionable behaviors, see Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 1-18; 260-267.

especially blue-and-white coffee ware was used and that the general assortment of items was less differentiated, above all before the second half of the 18th century. However, a high number of matching coffee ware items as well as the stated references to polychrome porcelain in Arnoldus van Bergen's coffeehouse close to the *Schouwburg* suggest that the upper- and middle classes reacted to changing patterns of taste and integrated the mostly aristocratic styles into the exoticized setting of coffeehouses. Performing their refined manners, they followed the instructions of good taste with regard to coffee-drinking that were widely promoted by Nicolas de Blegny's and Philippe Sylvestre Dufour's treatises. In this way, not only tastes but identities were constructed, as shown in the chapters 3.2 and 4, through an intricate relation between coffee, porcelain and the consumers.[312]

A collectively shared bourgeois identity which characterized the coffeehouse public was described as shifting between the collective ideal of civilized manners on the one hand and the individual pursuit of pleasure on the other hand. While this conflict is typical for the cultural phenomenon of the bourgeoisie and can also be assigned to the bourgeois ethic in early modern France or England, it underlies the dynamic relations behind the adoption of coffee within the Dutch middleclass.[313] The *chinoiserie* decoration on porcelain tableware in coffeehouses was the most visible marker of the luxurious status of the novel 'Indian' goods. These desired, exotic and fashionable objects triggered ambivalent meanings, especially when displayed in such a discerned, Orientalizing and eclectic mixture of rococo, baroque, *turquerie* and *chinoiserie* forms. In the Calvinist United Provinces, the new middleclass appropriated these goods for the ostentatious display of their cultural capital and negotiated moral values through coffee and porcelain, while adopting an Arminian mindset in the context of the early modern luxury debate.[314] Consequently, neither the meanings of coffee and porcelain nor the bourgeois public were consistent. The 'pureness' of porcelain in combination with the typically hot and therefore healthy quality of coffee, along with the stimulating neurophysical effects of coffee in general, characterized the coffee-drinking public as civil and respectable.[315] However, another symbolical layer of the drink involved meanings of uncontrolled tyranny and sexuality. I have argued that porcelain triggered these meanings of coffee, when the bitter and unfamiliar drink was served in the excitingly adorned

[312] This relationship between things and humans is a premise in the material culture studies, whereby I referred to Bruno Latour and Pierre Bourdieu. For the context of the construction of identities through consuming, see Sassatelli, "consumer identities," 238-245.
[313] For the French case, see Magraw, *France*, 303-306. For the English case, see Brewer, "Culture as a commodity," 341-353.
[314] Van Campen, "Porcelain in the interior," 204-205. The luxury debate was also a typical cultural phenomenon in other places throughout Europe at the time. Berg, "New commodities," 66.
[315] Ellis, "Discursive model," 156-160. Weststeijn, "Reflections on porcelain," 213-225.

chinoierie vessels. The distant lands where these highly sensual and pleasurable goods came from were hence experienced and incorporated during a symbolically multilayered act of consumption.[316] In this way, coffee and porcelain, and the combination of both objects, testify the inconsistency of a bourgeois public which John Brewer described as a "body of arbiters of taste, morality, and policy."[317] If the bourgeois coffeehouse clientele was such a group with a collective identity, it was characterized by contradictive tastes and attitudes which were generated by mutually perceived interactions with these objects within the public sphere of the coffeehouse. This finding supports the argument made by Brian Cowan for the English coffeehouse and the current emphasis of the Post-Habermasian scholarship on versatile and adaptive "publics" instead of one uniform public.[318]

Yet, the Habermasian paradigm of the Enlightenment public constitutes an important context for the obtained insights into a form of bourgeois consumption which caused the coffeehouse to be a unique public setting. Notably, coffee and porcelain fostered a certain rational and tolerant attitude for which the coffeehouse bourgeoisie is known.[319] In this regard, chapter 4 showed that the highly refined drinking ware, which had been adopted in the outlined transcultural process, was less often approached with the purpose of performing gentility or class-based superiority. Instead, coffee and its equipment imparted the user of such sets a sense of respectability that was principally achievable by everyone.[320] Clearly, it mattered that 'luxuries' became more accessible. That porcelain and coffee became increasingly popularized as "semi-luxuries" and that they triggered individual tastes that by time made social class-boundaries superfluous has certainly been presented before.[321] Yet, this thesis elucidated the finely nuanced differences between the meanings of two consumer goods and how these meanings became entwined, among others, over the aesthetic code of the *chinoiserie* ornament. This includes that the attitudes towards and meanings around new consumer goods were manifold, constantly shifting and not necessarily anticipating the progressive construct of modernity which dominated the traditional research on the public sphere. Rather, the coffeehouse publics subjected themselves to a constant reassessment of

[316] For the importance of the bodily engagement with objects in regard to ingestible things, see Perullo, *Taste*, 9-12.
[317] Brewer, "Culture as a commodity," 344. See ibid., 344.
[318] Cowan, "Public sphere," 716. See ibid., 715-717. See also Cowan, *Social life*, 2-5; 9-10.
[319] Habermas, *The structural transformation*, 30-49.
[320] For the changed meanings in tea and coffee in this regard, see Smith, "From coffeehouse to parlour," 144.
[321] Berg, "New commodities," 69. Maxine Berg and others have shown that coffee and porcelain were among the 'new luxuries' which ranged between the status of traditional luxuries, used by the monarchy in self-glorifying rituals, and the standardized category of 20th-century widespread commodities. See ibid., 66-70. This argument includes the historical outset of a popular culture, during which the boundaries between low arts and fine arts became lose. Brewer, "Culture as a commodity," 348-349.

aesthetic and moral values.[322] This said, the key finding of this thesis is that the individual choice to consume coffee in the explained format was a conscious act that involved the recognition of the material interplay of coffee and porcelain.[323] Such a choice was not only influenced by the role of coffee as a tonic drink during discursive practices, but also by the affective and cognitive impacts of porcelain coffee ware. *Chinoiserie* porcelain in particular envisioned an exciting world and presented a counter-element to the controlled code of conduct in coffeehouses. Here, further research could clarify the motifs which stood behind the choice to integrate a material which was widely received as female, *chinoiserie* porcelain, into the male public sphere of the coffeehouse.[324]

For now, it can be concluded that a cup of porcelain from which coffee was drunk could bring to mind how manifold fantasies, attitudes and meanings coexisted within the controlled and rational public space with its fixed discursive and social standards. While being driven by this material appeal of varying realities, the coffeehouse bourgeoisie created the charismatic flair that makes a visit in the café worth up until today.

[322] Again, it should be noted that this argument defies the Habermasian assumption of a progressively modern ideal of the coffeehouse or its bourgeois audience. Instead, this argument of historically flexible constructs of the bourgeoisie and the coffeehouse. See Cowan, "Public sphere," 716-717.

[323] A further investigation could clarify in how far the rather 'excluded' working and rural classes could take part in the process. For a critical thought on this subject, see Ellis, "Discursive model," 160-164.

[324] Such an investigation, settled within the research field of gender history, would relate the findings presented here about the material qualities of the male drink coffee to the rather female *chinoiserie* style in the interior decoration in the coffeehouse.In this sense, the approach of my thesis could be widened to include a cultural historical analysis of the social the space in female private and male public settings in regard to porcelain and how these spheres were related to each other with look at their respective material cultures. The cultural historical influence of a private female sphere with respect to the *chinoiserie* cabinet was, for instance, investigated for the case of the female princesses of the House of Orange by Bischoff, "Women collectors," 171-190.

Illustrations

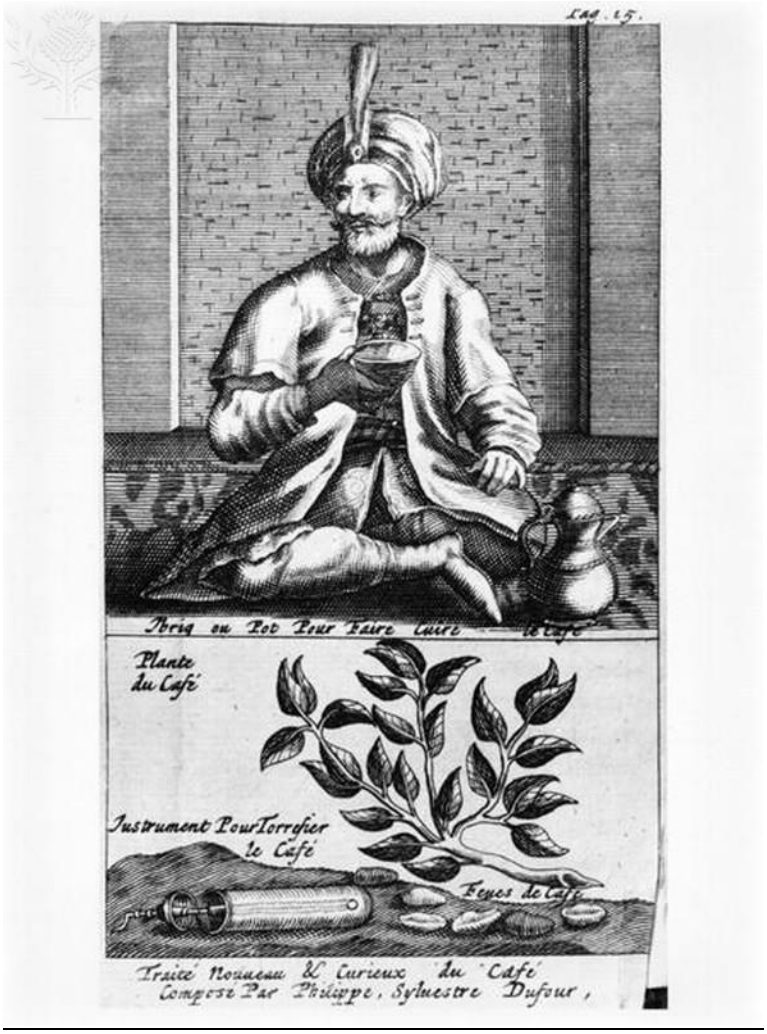

Fig. 1: A Turkish coffee-drinker, 1693, engraving, dimensions N.A., illustration from *Traitez Nouveau et Curieux du Cafe, du The et du Chocolat* by Philippe Sylvestre Dufour, La Haye, published 1693, (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 8-TC24-11 (B)).

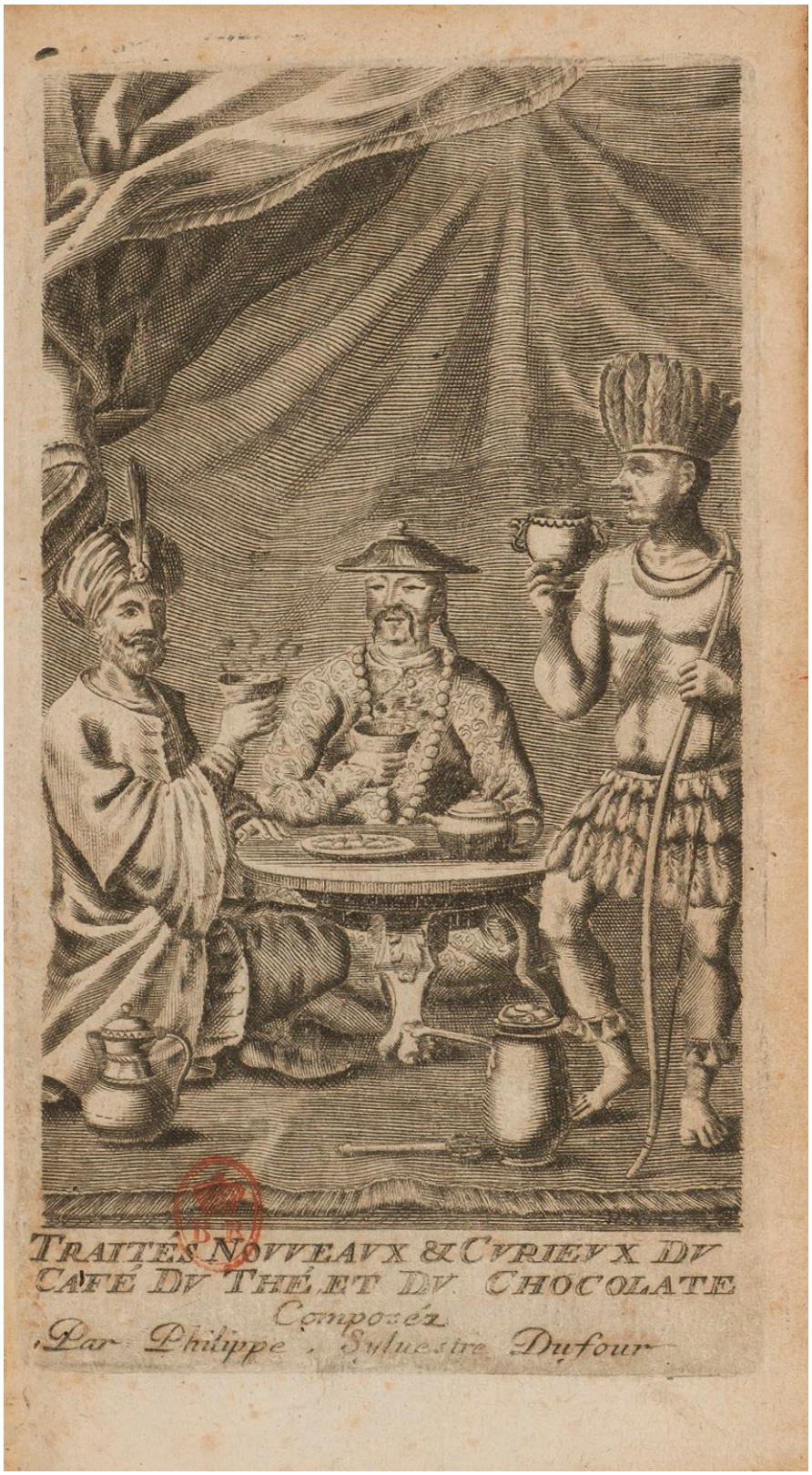

Fig. 2: Frontpiece engraving from *Traitez Nouveau et Curieux du Cafe, du The et du Chocolat* by Philippe Sylvestre Dufour, Lyon, published 1688, dimensions N.A., (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 8-TC24-11 (A)).

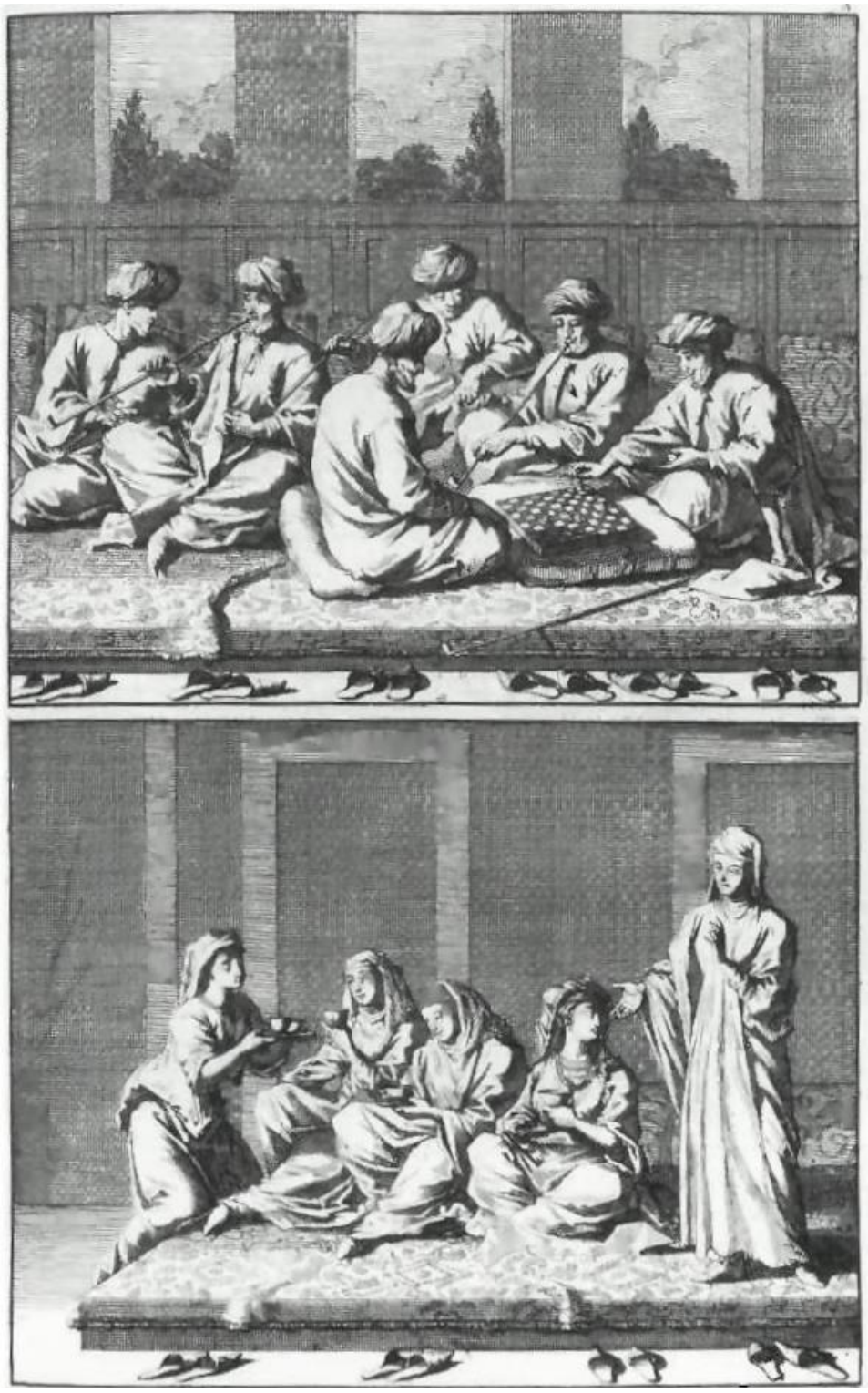

Fig. 3: Cornelis de Bruyn, *Men playing chess and women drinking coffee in Constantinople*, 1698, engraving, dimensions N.A., illustration from *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn. Door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asia, De Eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio & Mitsgaders de voornaamste Steden van Aegypten, Syrien En Palestina* by Cornelis de Bruyn, Delft: Hendrik van Kroonveld, published 1698, (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek).

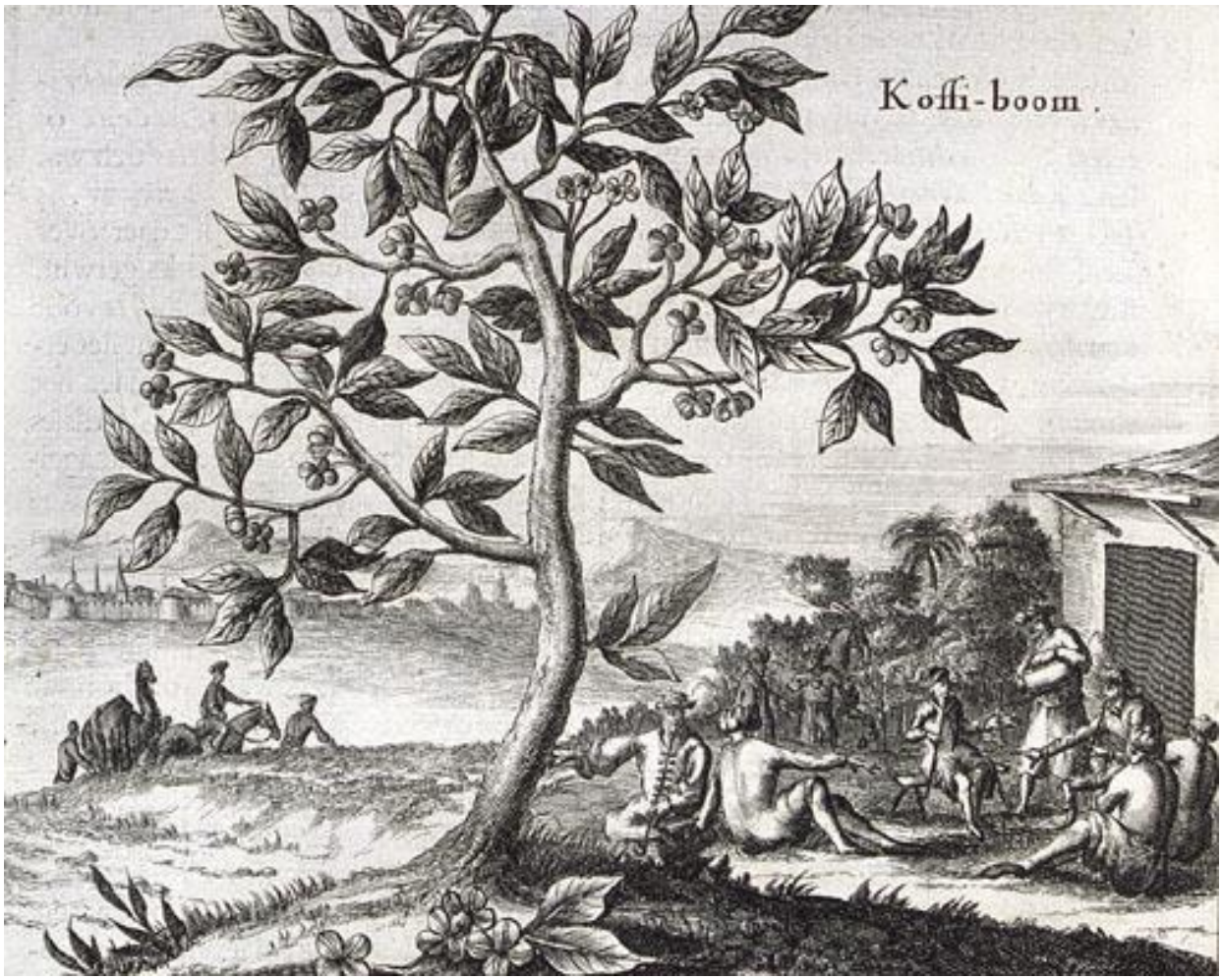

Fig. 4: *Coffee tree*, 1680, engraving, dimensions N.A., illustration from *Naukeurige Beschryving van Asie: Behelsende De Gewesten van Mesopotamie, Babylonie, Assyrie, Anatolie, of Klein Asie […]* by Olfert Dapper, Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, published in 1680, (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek).

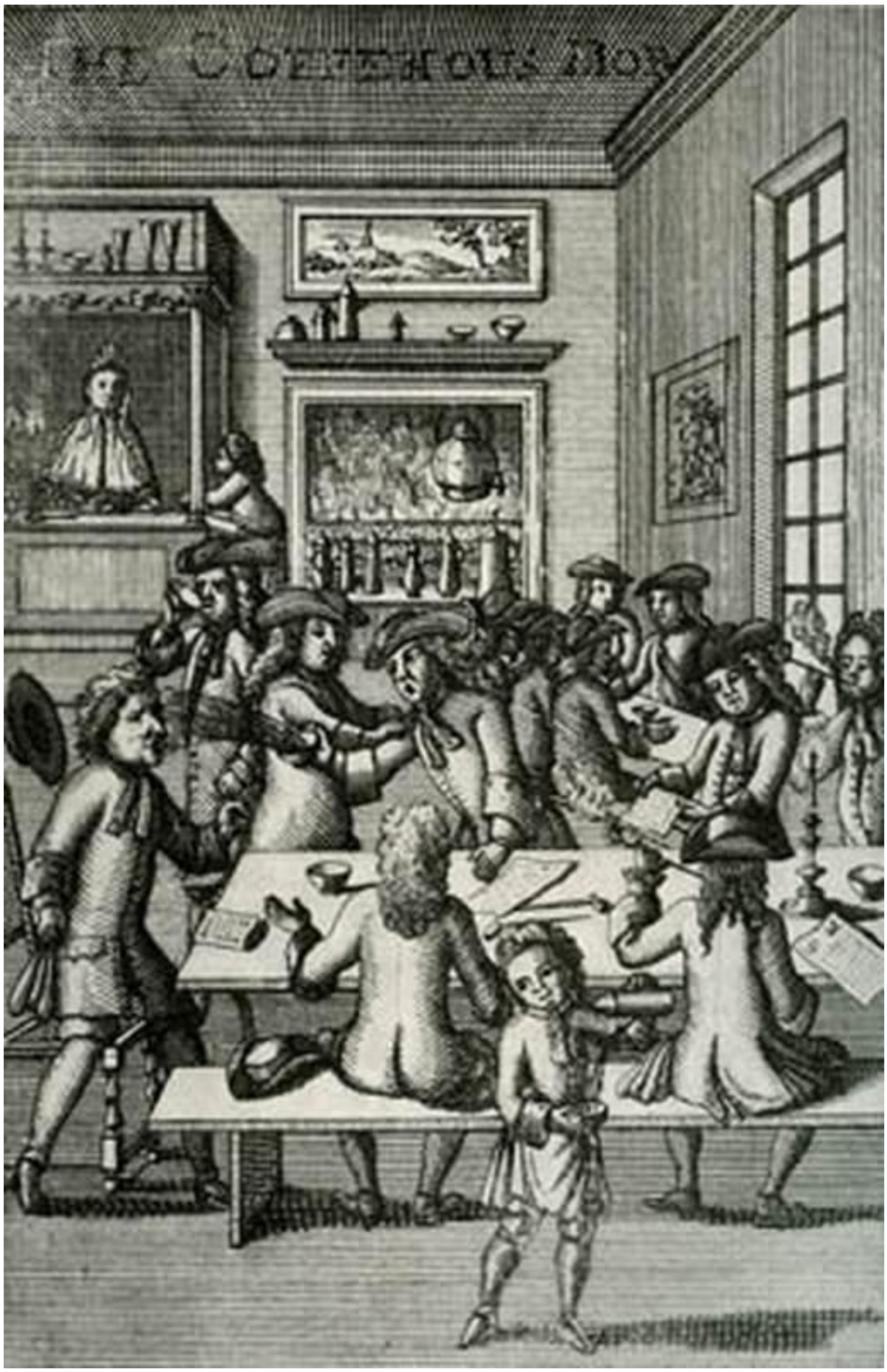

Fig. 5: Anonymous, *A coffee house in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century*, circa 1700, copper engraving, dimensions N.A., (place N.A.).

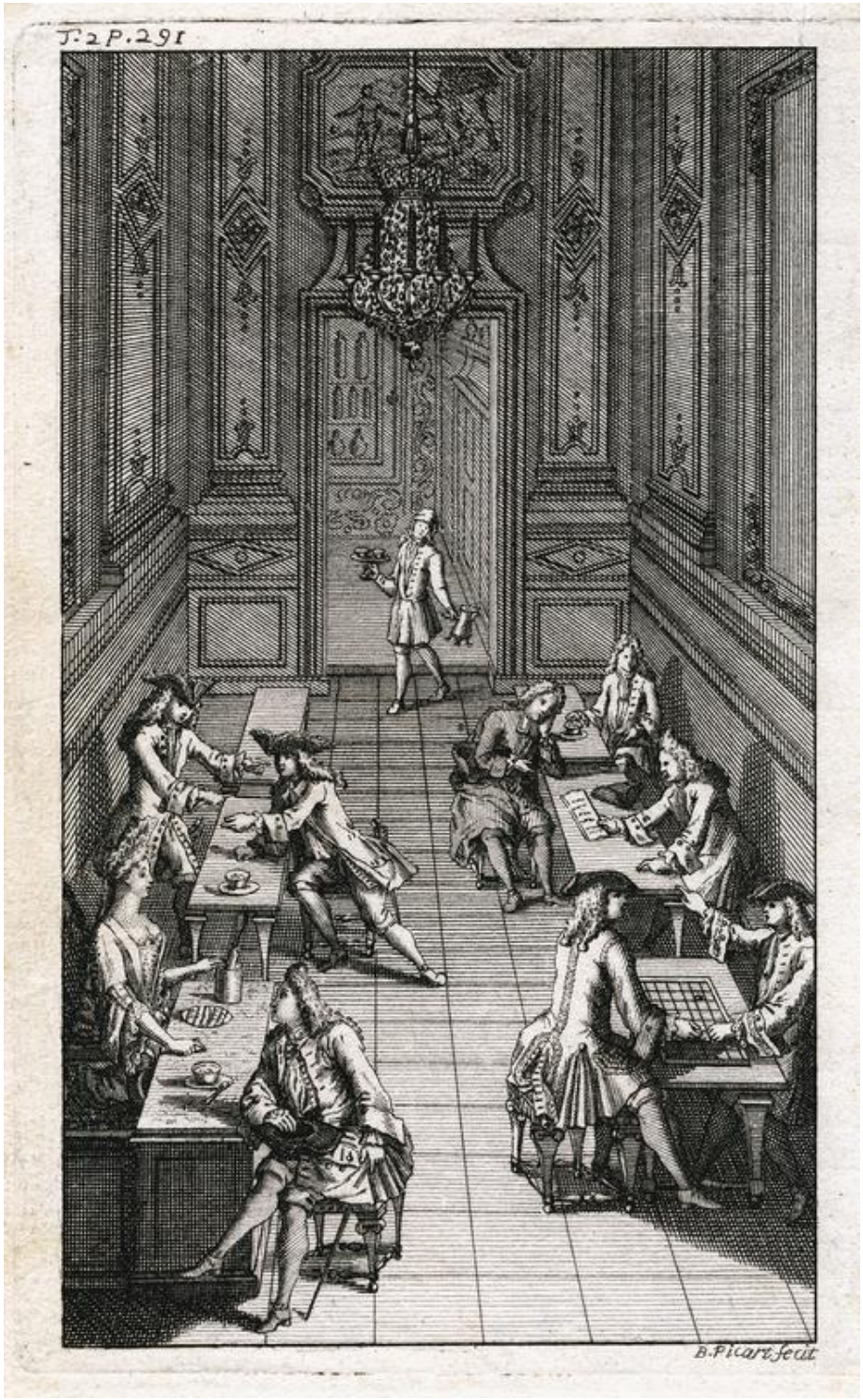

Fig. 6: Bernard Picart, *People drinking coffee and playing games*, 1714, engraving, dimensions N.A., (Leiden, Leiden University Library Print Room, inv. nr. PK-P-106.737).

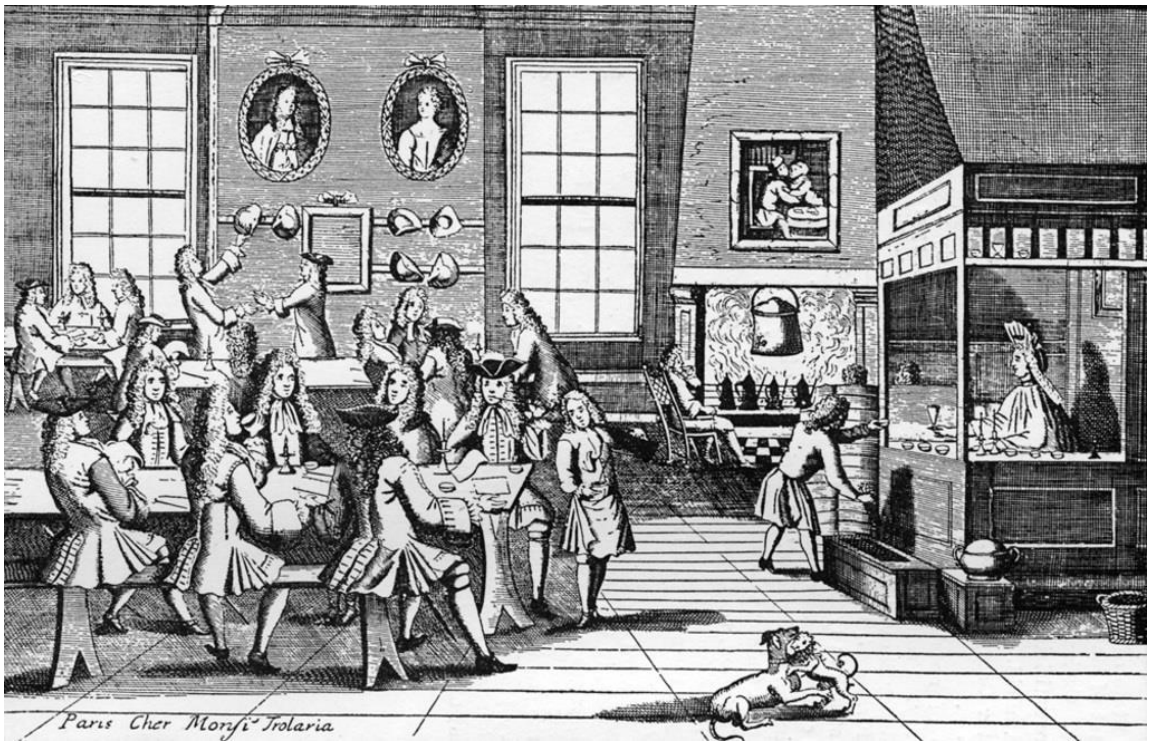

Fig. 7: Anonymous, *Interior of a coffeehouse in London*, circa 1700, engraving, dimensions N.A., (Zurich, Johann Jacobsmuseum, inv. nr. N.A.).

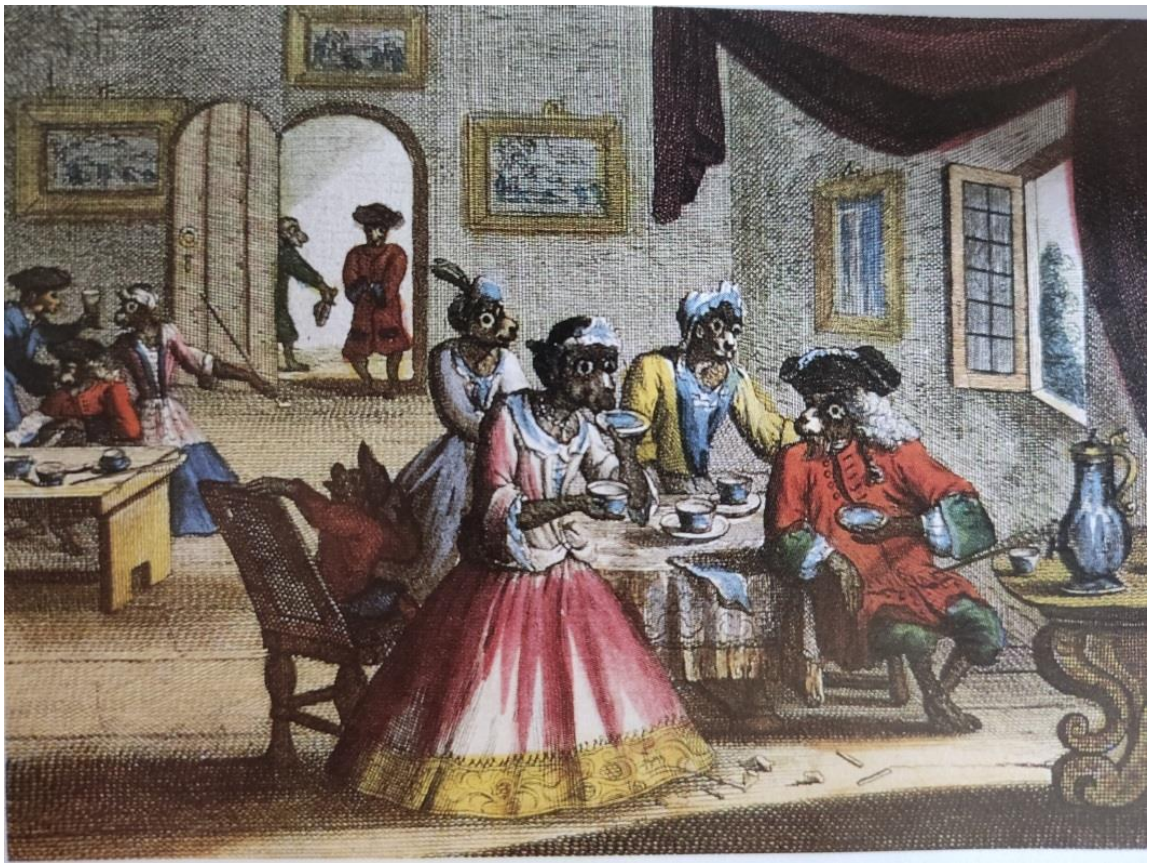

Fig. 8: Anonymous, *Interior of a coffeehouse in Amsterdam*, circa 1730, engraving, copperplate, dimensions N.A., (Zurich, Johann Jacobsmuseum, inv. nr. N.A.).

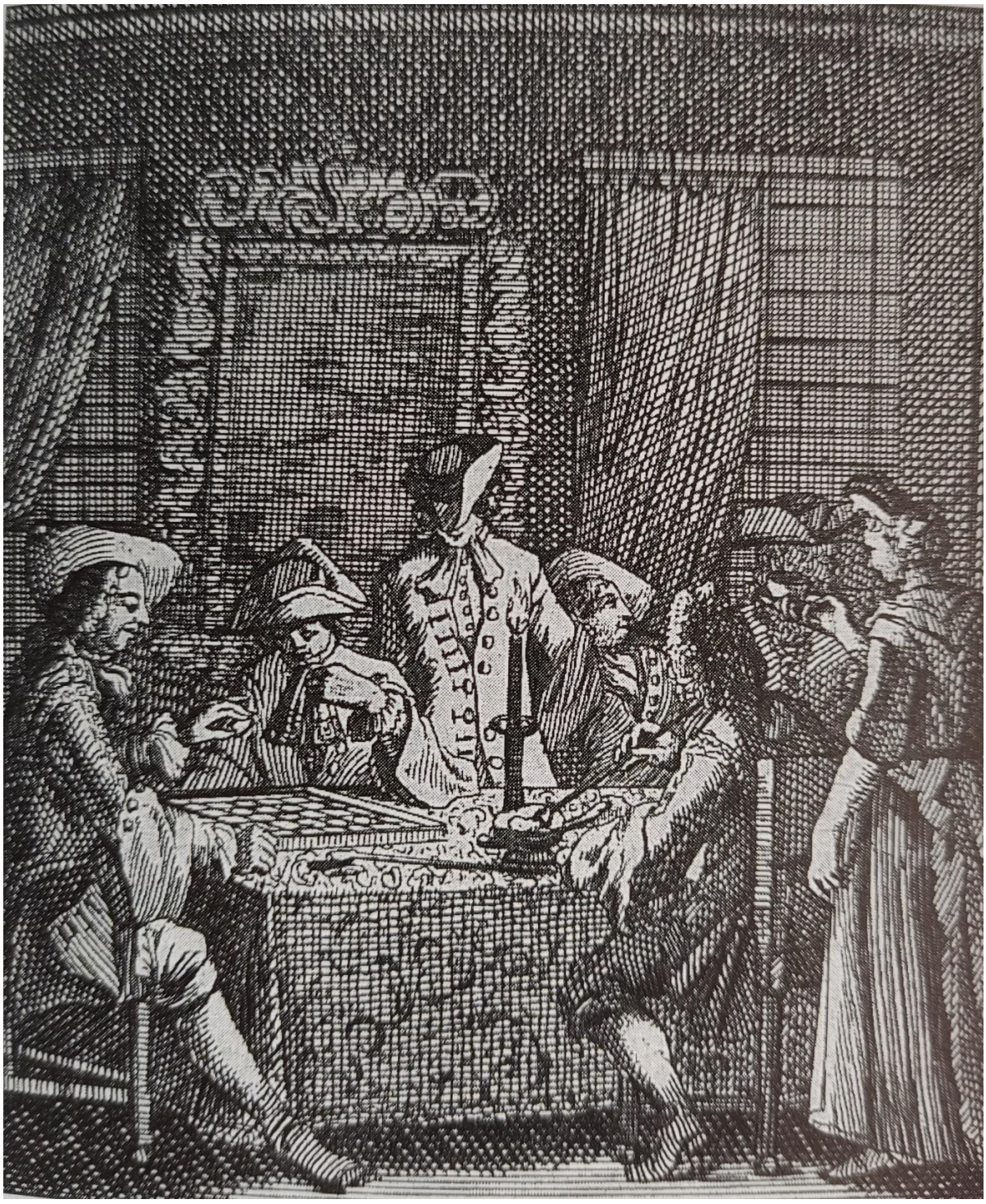

Fig. 9: Jan Luyken, *The coffeehouse / Het Coffy-huys*, circa 1700, engraving, dimensions N.A., (Zurich, Johann Jacobsmuseum, inv.nr. N.A.).

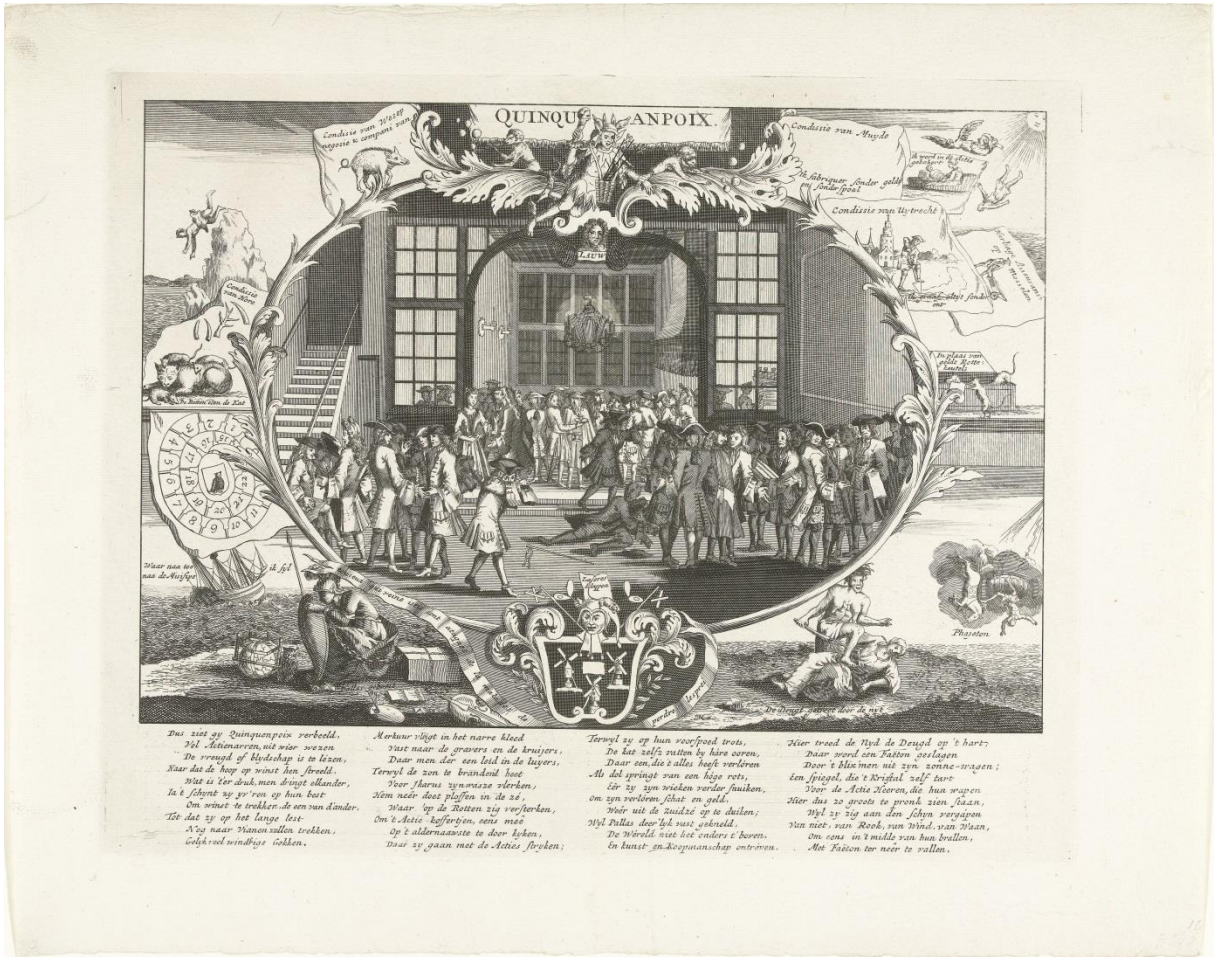

Fig. 10: Anonymous, *The coffeehouse Quincampoix in Amsterdam*, 1720, etching, 31 x 39 cm, series *Het Groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid*, (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. nr. RP-P-OB-83.514).

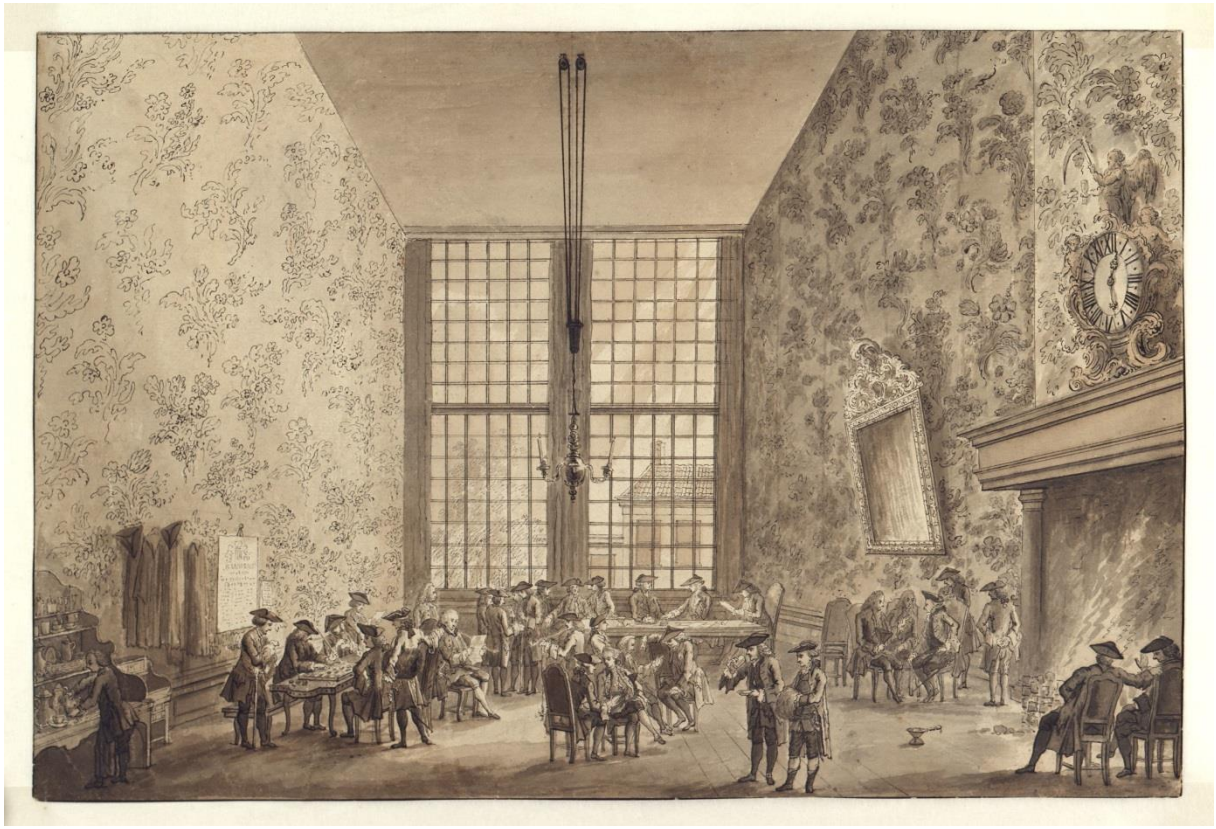

Fig. 11: Isaäc Lodewijk la Fargue van Nieuwland, *Interior of the Franse Koffiehuis*, 1761, drawing, (Amsterdam, Amsterdam City Archives, collection Van Eeghen, inv. nr. 010055000023).

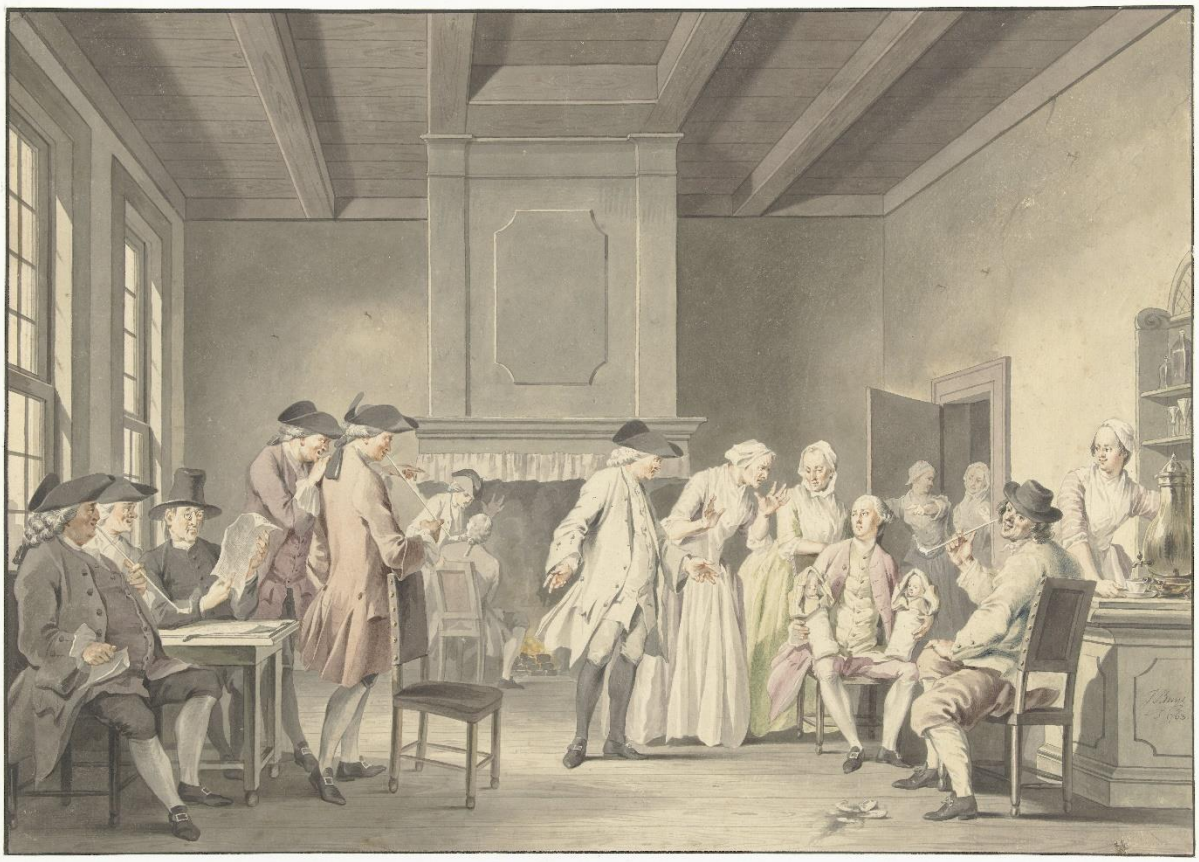

Fig. 12: Jacobus Buys, *The unexpected twins*, coffeehouse scene of the farce play '*t Koffi-huys*' (1712), prob. *Gekroond Koffiehuis*, 1763, drawing, ink and watercolor on paper, 28.3 x 39.7 cm, (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. nr. RP-T-1905-55).

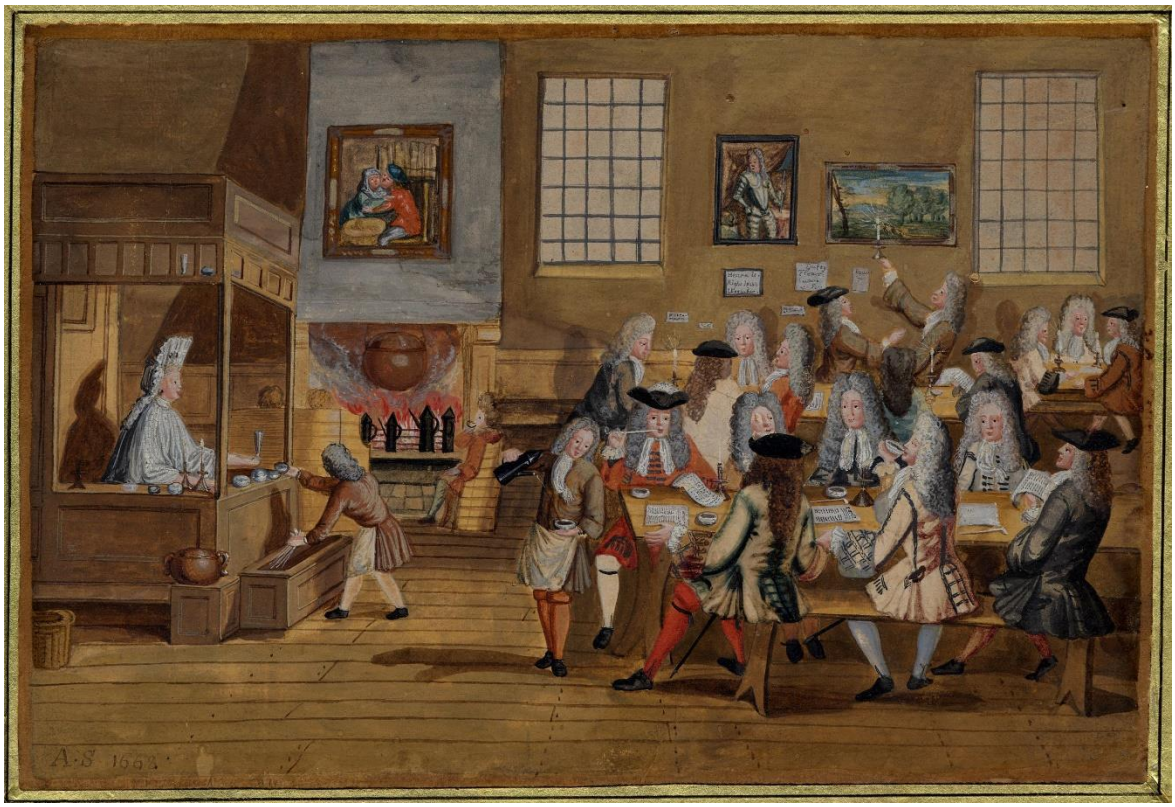

Fig. 13: Anonymous, *Interior of a coffeehouse in London*, 1690-1700, drawing, 14.7 x 22 cm, (London, The British Museum, inv. nr. 290256001).

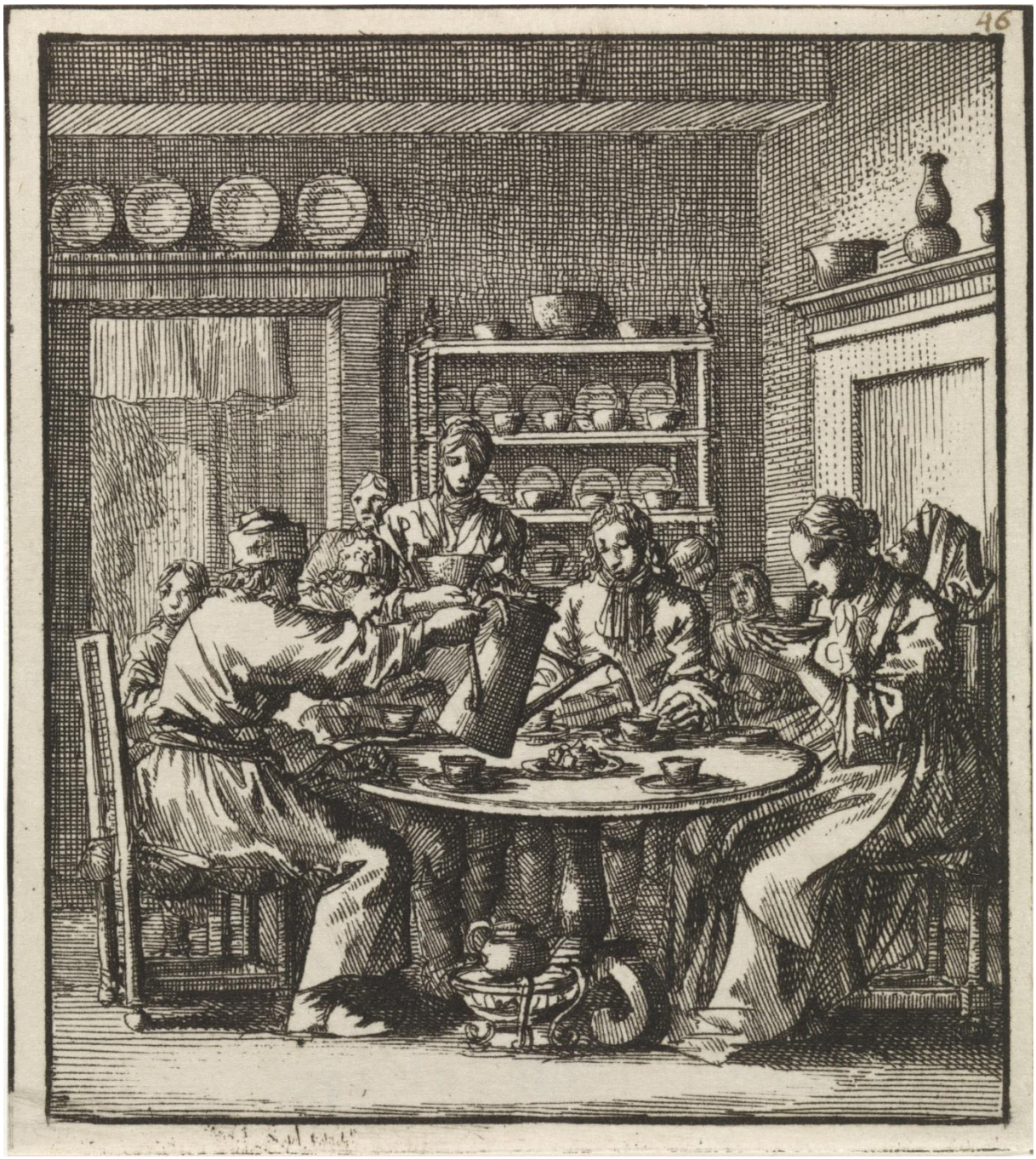

Fig. 14: Jan van Luyken, *Het Thee en Koffy-gereedschap*, 1711, etching, 9.6 x 8.6 cm, emblem 37 from *Het leerzam huisraad. Vertoond in Vyftig konstige figuren met godlike sprueken en stichtelyke verzen* by Jan van Luyken; Amsterdam: Pieter Arentsz. II (wed.) en Cornelis van der Sys: 1711, (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. nr. RP-P-OB-45.680).

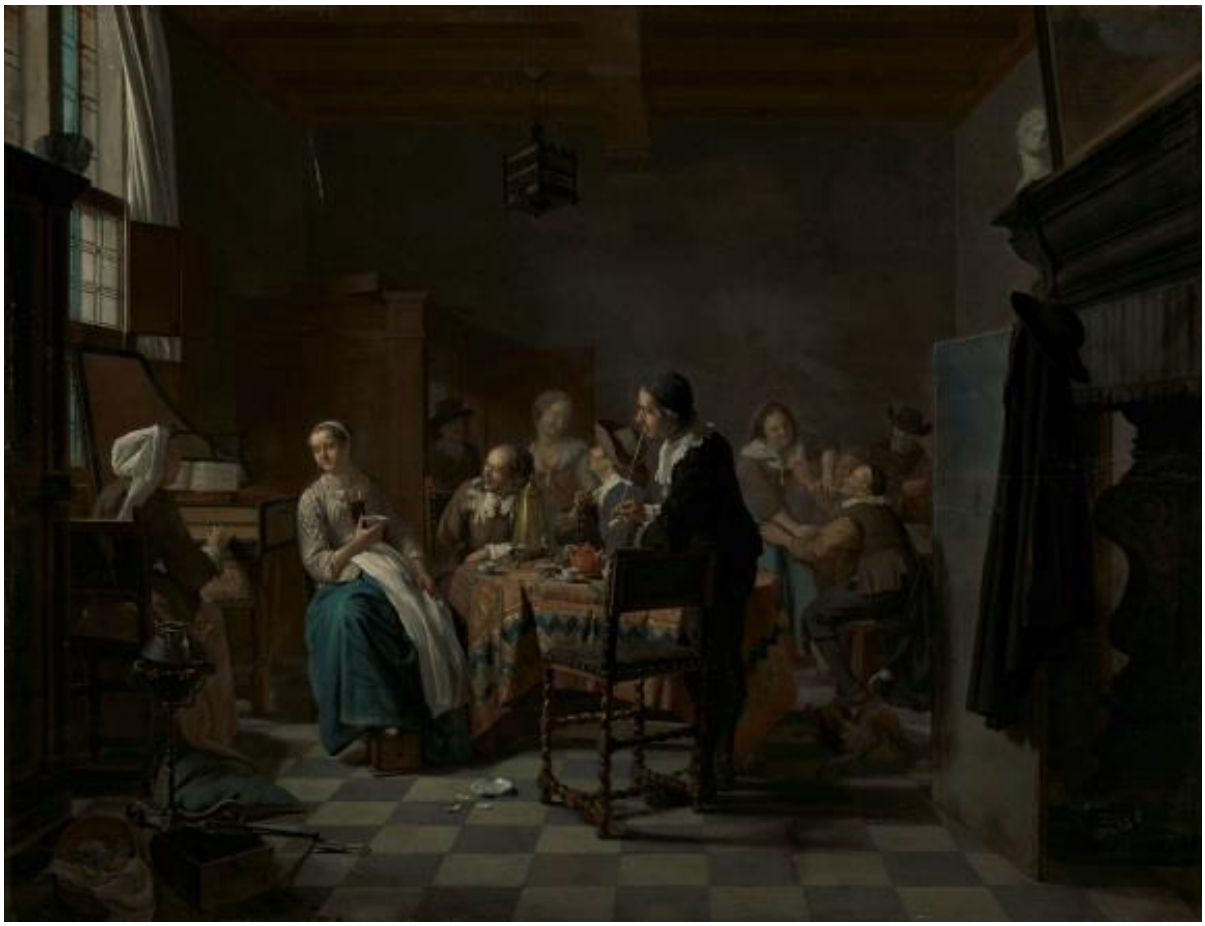

Fig. 15: Jan Josef Horemans (II), *The New Song / Het nieuwe lied*, 1740-1760, oil on panel, 60 x 77 cm, (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv.nr. SK-A-1614).

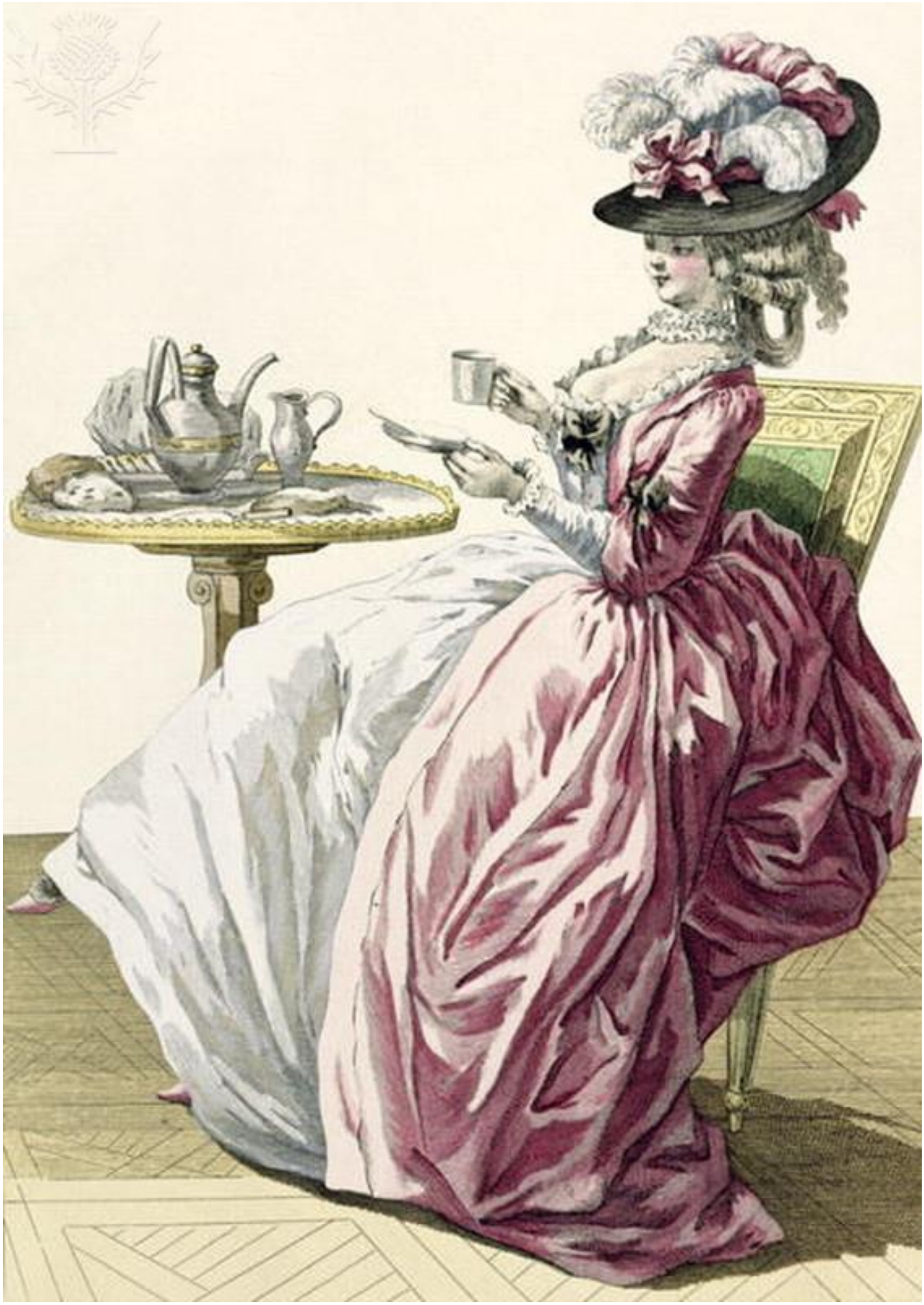

Fig. 16: Pierre Thomas Le Clerc, *Elegant Woman in a Dress 'a l'Anglaise' Drinking Coffee*, 1778, colored engraving, 30 x 20 cm, plate 183 from 'Galerie des Modes et Costumes Francais', engraved by Bacquoy, (private collection).

Fig. 17: Louis Marin Bonnet, *Buste van een jonge vrouw die koffie drinkt. A young woman drinking coffee*, 1774, etching, 32.4 x 25.1 cm, published by François Vivares, (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. nr. RP-P-1918-2219).

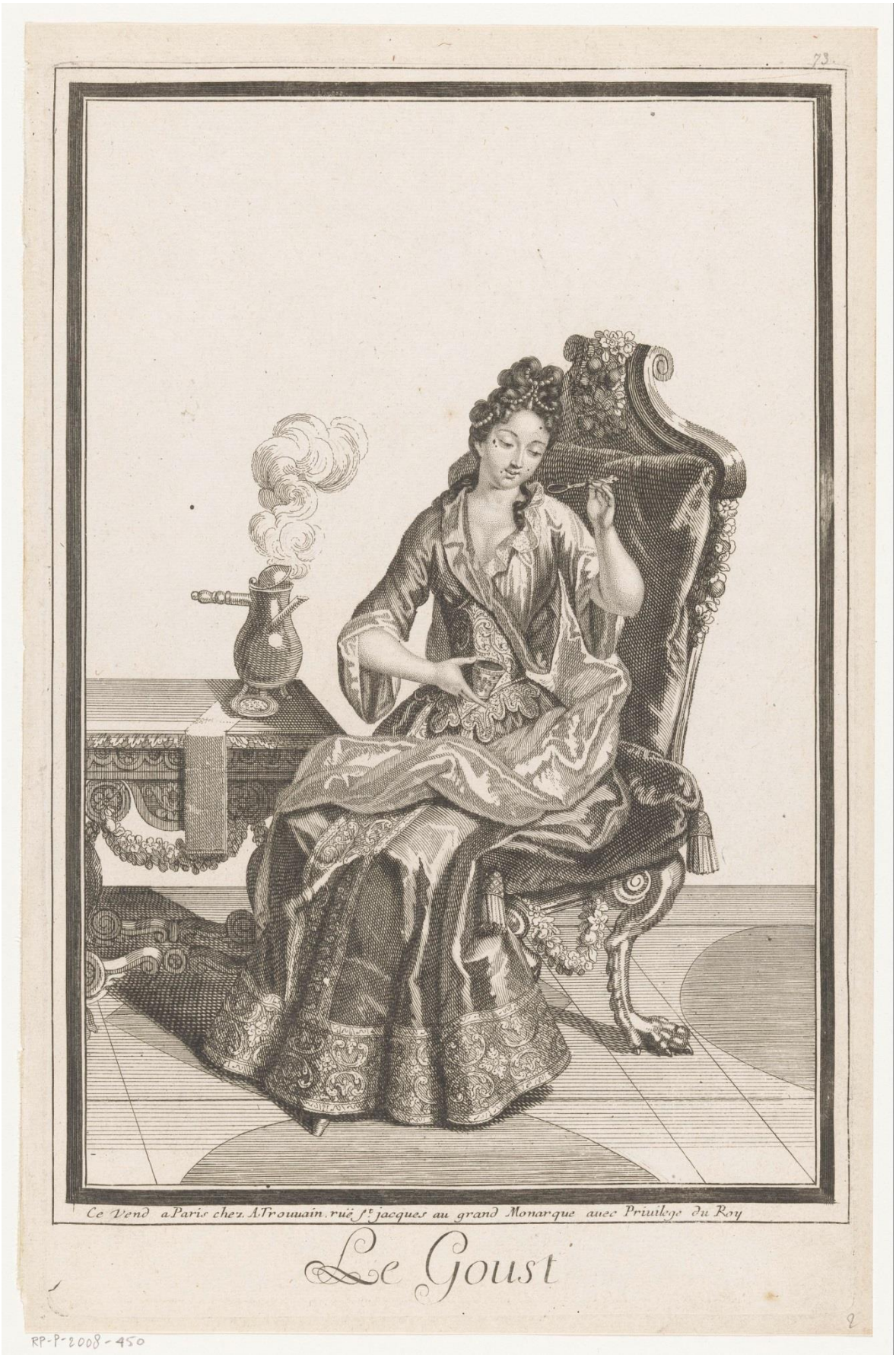

Fig. 18:Antoine Trouvain (?), *Le Goust / The taste*, 1666 – 1708, etching, 30.9 x 20 cm, illustration from *Les cinq sens*,(Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. nr. RP-P-2008-450).

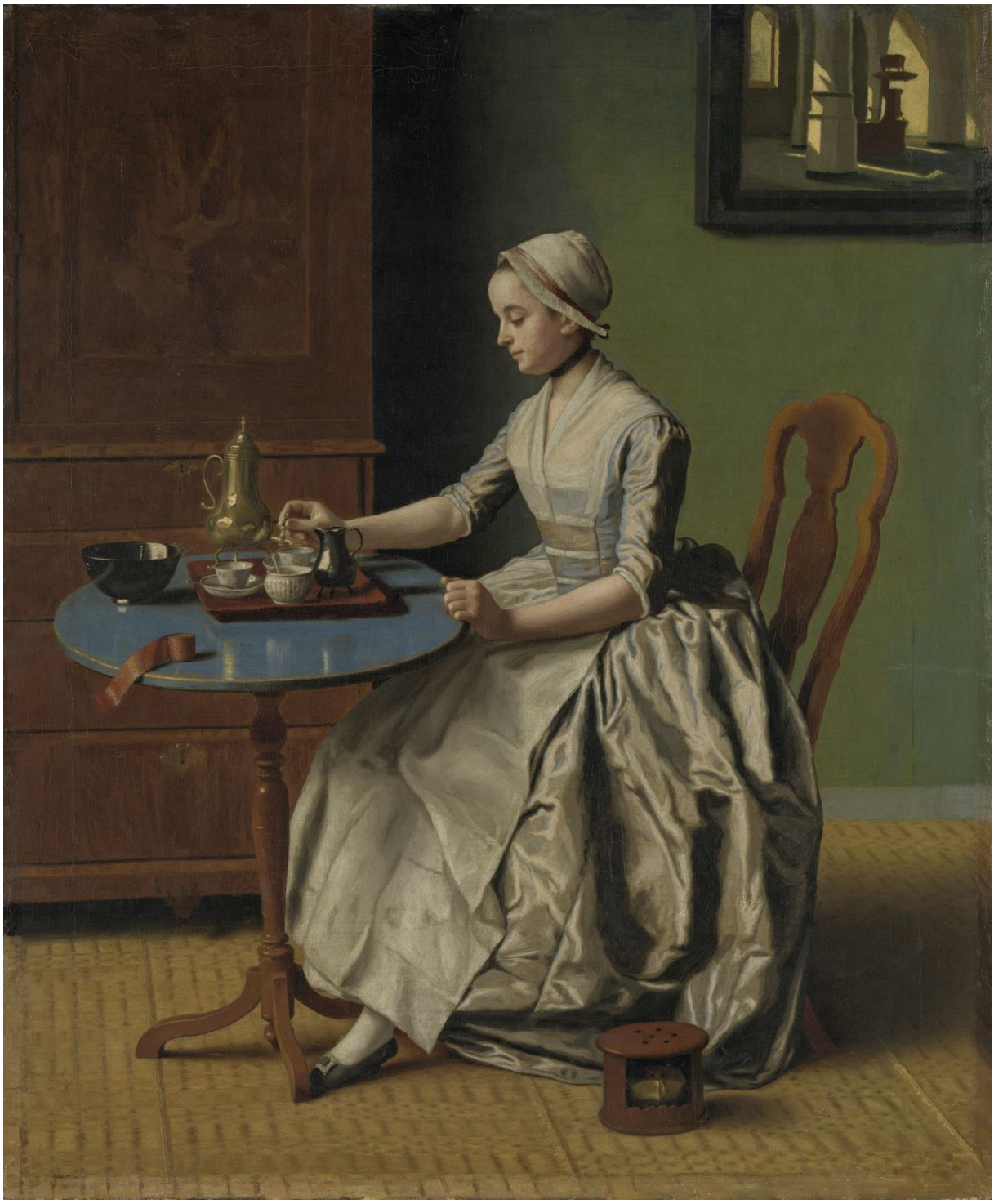

Fig. 19: Jean-Etienne Liotard, *A Dutch Girl at Breakfast*, around 1756, oil on canvas, 46.8 x 39 cm, (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. nr. SK-A-5039).

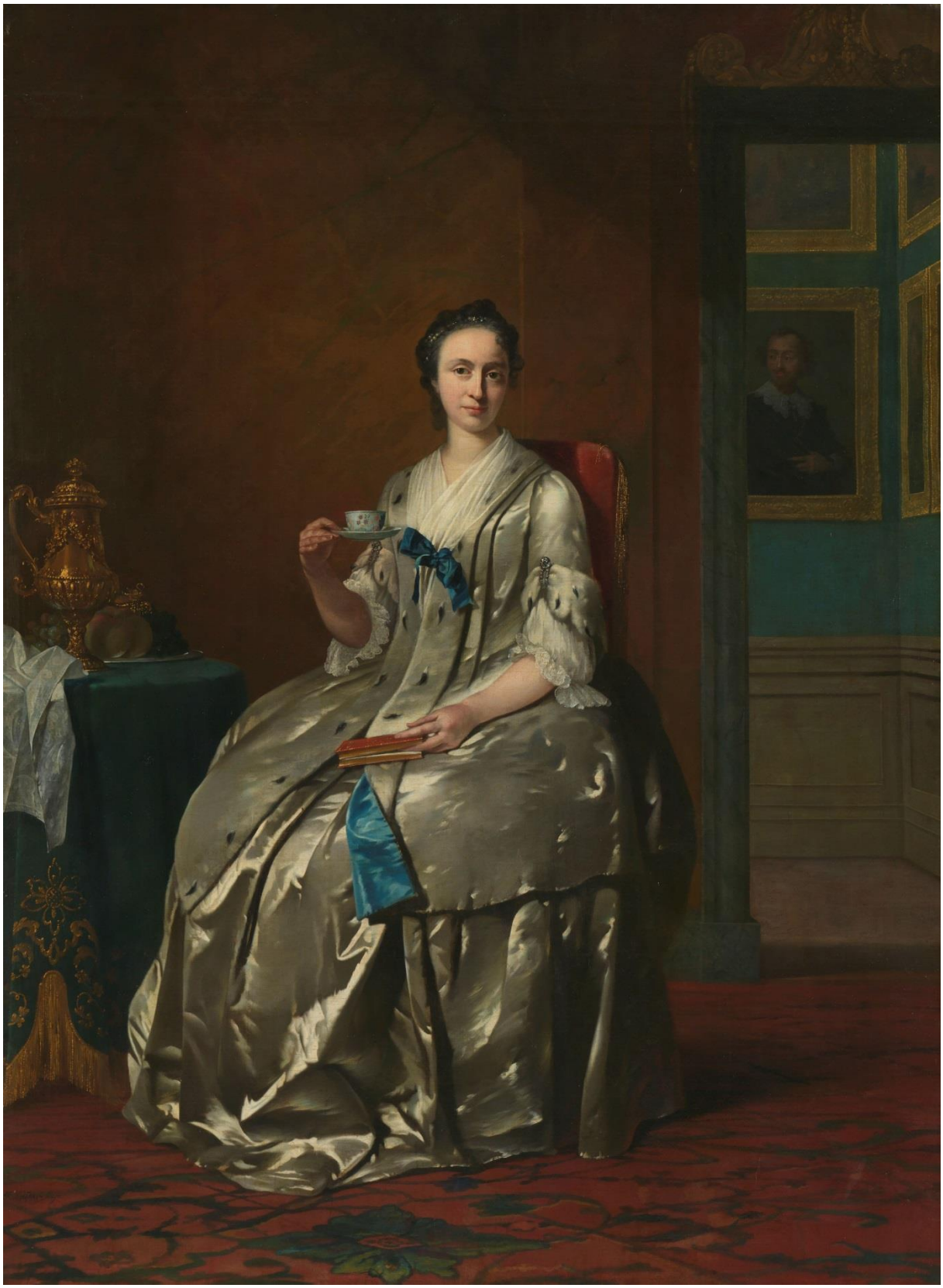

Fig. 20: Frans van der Mijn, *Portrait of Machteld Muilman*, 1745-1747, oil on canvas, 210 x 154.5 cm, (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. nr. SK-A-2249).

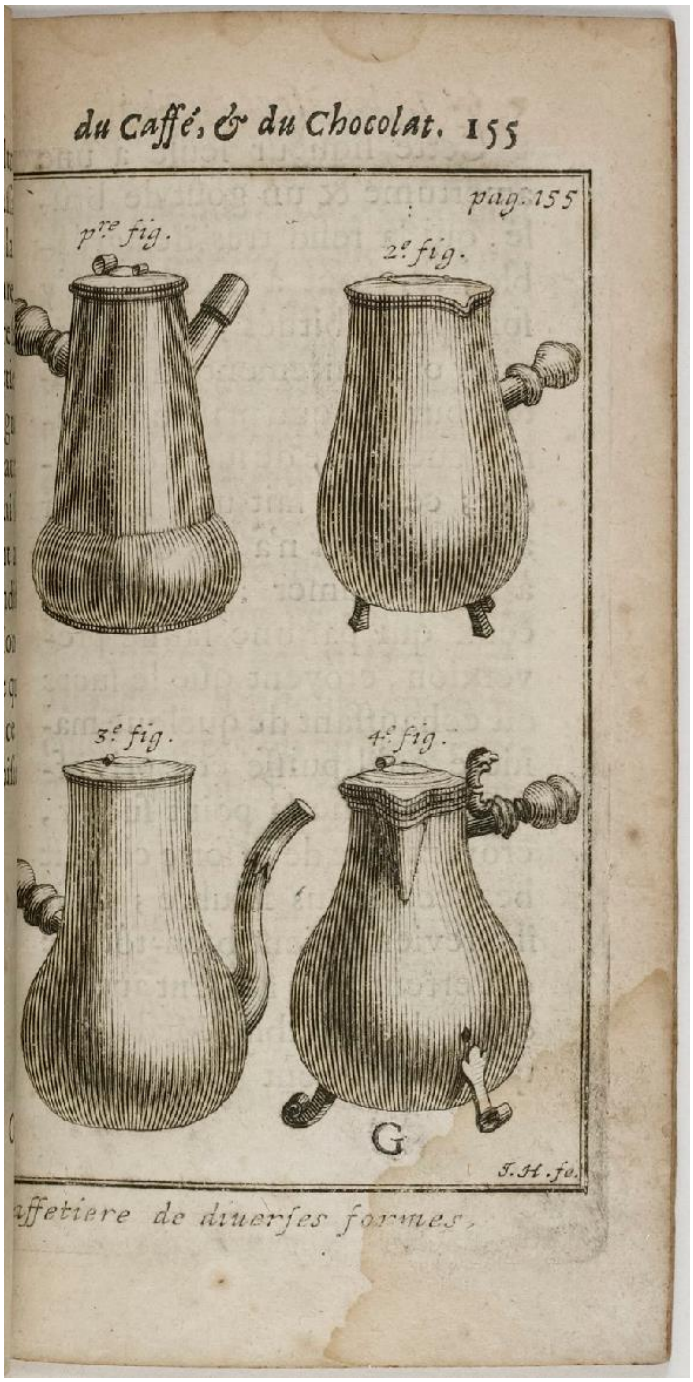

Fig. 21: Illustration of coffee pots from *Le bon usage de thé, coffeeet du chocolat* by Nicolas de Blegny, illustrator Johann Hainzelmann, Lyon, published 1687, dimensions N.A., (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 8-S-9777).

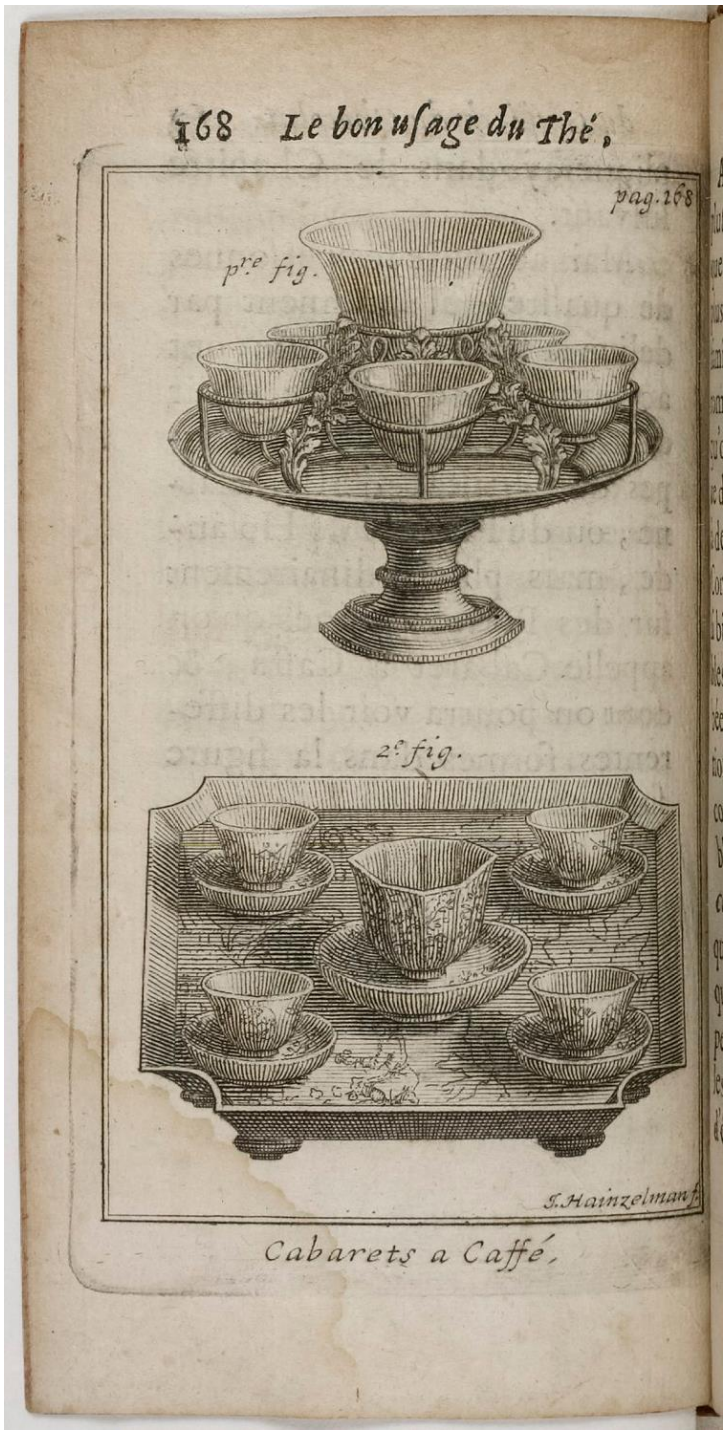

Fig. 22: Illustration of a porcelain bowl stand and a portable tray with coffee ware from *Le bon usage de thé, coffeeet du chocolat* by Nicolas de Blegny, illustrator Johann Hainzelmann, Lyon, published 1687, dimensions N.A., (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 8-S-9777).

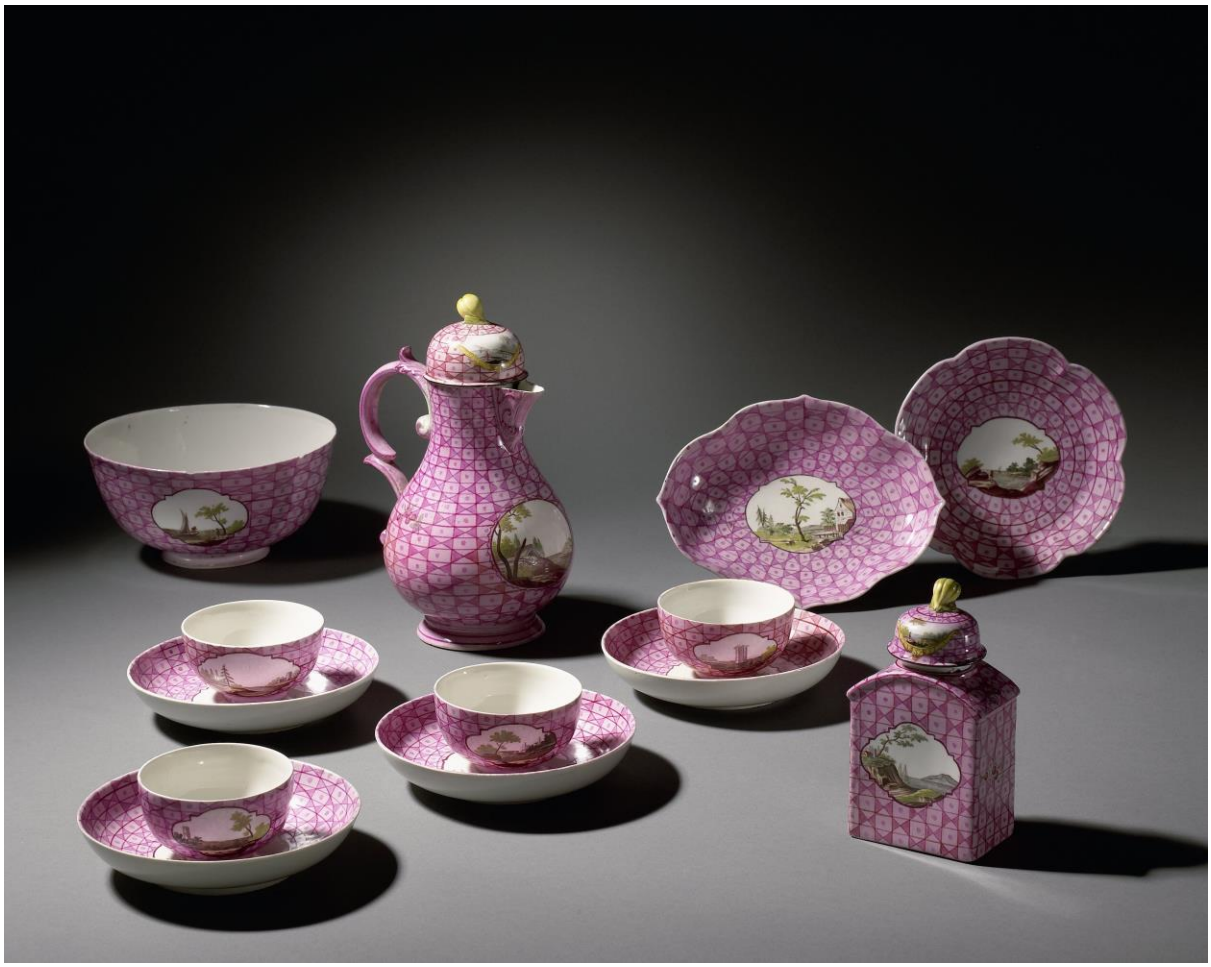

Fig. 23: Weesp porcelain manufactory, *Coffee and tea service*, ca. 1759-1771, porcelain with enamel paintings, dimensions N.A., made in Weesp, Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-14559-M).

Images Group

Illustration Credits

Fig. 1 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
https://quest-eb-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/search/coffee/27/108_250348/A-Pot-for-Making-Coffee-illustration-from-Traite-Nouveau.

Fig. 24 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k855985n/f5.item.zoom.

Fig. 25
Bitterli, 1988, p.35.

Fig. 26
Reinders and Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 1994, p. 18.

Fig. 27
https://quest-eb-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/search/113_921284/1/113_921284/cite.

Fig. 28 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1623442.

Fig. 29 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
https://quest-eb-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/search/113_1843279/1/113_1843279/cite.

Fig. 30
Reinders and Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 1994, p. 45.

Fig. 31
Reinders and Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 1994, p. 41.

Fig. 32 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-OB-83.514.

Fig. 33 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
https://archief.amsterdam/beeldbank/detail/47611ca6-4825-94e2-4193-301983fde270.

Fig. 34 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.174221.

Fig. 35 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/290256001.

Fig. 36 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.147063.

Fig. 37 Downloaded 5 February 2022.
http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.7442.

Fig. 38 Downloaded 5 February 2022.
https://quest-eb-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/search/108_270333/1/108_270333/cite.

Fig. 39 Downloaded 5 February 2022.
http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.41429.

Fig. 40 Downloaded 5 February 2022.
http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.468640.

Fig. 41 Downloaded 5 February 2022.
http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.648832.

Fig. 42 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.7685.

Fig. 43 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8626503x/f173.item.

Fig. 22 Downloaded 2 June 2022.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8626503x/f186.item.

Fig. 23 Download on 20 May 2022.
http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.57641.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Anonymous. *De gedebaucherde en betoverde koffy en thee wereld*. Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1701.

Anonymous, *Het koffy-huis der nieusgierigen, of de klapbank der nouvelisten*. Amsteldam: Anonymous, [with Steeve van Esveldt], 1744.

Appelaer Jan. *Het suynigh en vermaeckelijck coffy-huys ofte eene versamelinge van een party vermakelijcke en koddige kluchten*. Zaendyck: Appealaer 1678.

Blankaart, Steven. "Verhandelinge van de coffeé." In *Gebruik en misbruik van den thee*, edited by Cornelis Bontekoe, 137-192. 's Gravenhage: Pieter Hagen, 1686.

Blegny, Nicolas de. *Le bon usage de thé, coffeeet du chocolat*. Lyon: Thomas Amaulry, 1687. Consulted via gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb30113383t.

Bontekoe, Cornelis. *Tractaat van het excellenste kruyd thee: 't welk vertoond het regte gebruyk, en de grootste kragten van 't selve in gesondheyd en siekten*. 's Gravenhage: Pieter Hagen, 1678.

De Hollandsche Spectator. December 12, 1732, no. 116. Consulted via DBNL (KB, National Library). https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/effe001holl04_01/effe001holl04_01_0017.php.

Dufour, Phillippe Sylvestre. *Traitez nouveaux & curieux du café, du thé et du chocolate*. The Hague: Adriaen Moetjens, ^{4}1693 (1685). Consulted via gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb30368707d.

Hoorn, Timotheus ten. *Het vol-vrolike thee-geselschap ofte de vergadering der blijmoedige geesten zijnde het twede deel van 't Zuinig en vermakelik coffi-huis*. Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1687.

Leonhart Rauwolf, Leonhart. *Aigentliche beschreibung der Reiß*. Laugingen: Georgen Willers, ^{2}1583 (1582).

Luyken, Jan. *Het leerzam huisraad*. Amsteldam: P. Arentz and K. van der Sys, 1711.

Paludanus, Jan Bernardus. Description of the coffee bean and the coffee ritual in Asia. In *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*, edited by Huyghen van Linschoten. Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1596.

Parival, Jean Nicolas de. *Délices de la Hollande*. Amsterdam: Henri Wetstein, 1697.

Rosselli, Lucius. *D'ongelukkige napolitaen of zeldzaem levensbedrijf van Roselli*. Utrecht: Jakob van Poolsum, 1710.

Inventories

HGA: Haags Gemeentearchief (The Hague City Archives)
SAA: Stadsarchief Amsterdam (Amsterdam City Archives)

HGA-0372-01 (Notarial Archives) The Hague, inv. no. 4504, pp. 143-306, [piece no. 12], (12 August 1772), inventory of Jean Baptiste Coussée.

HGA-0372-01 (Notarial Archives), The Hague, inv. no. 927, pp. 579-583, (27 March 1713), inventory of Catharina van der Wiele, https://hdl.handle.net/21.12124/5B2CA518553840EC820E68C4705312A3.

Roever, Nicolaas de. *Uit onze oude Amstelstad. Schetsen en tafereelen betreffende de geschiedenis der veste, het leven en de zeden harer vroegere bewoners*, [inventory of Mathis van Erevan (1673), 121-122]. Amsterdam: Van Looy, 1890.

SAA-5075 (Notarial Archives) Amsterdam, inv. no. 14223, [piece no. 980], (3 February 1793), inventory of Arnoldus van Bergen and Francina Louisa Mouvé.

SAA-5075 (Notarial Archives) Amsterdam, inv.no. 5972, pp. 805-819, [piece no. 79], (August 1704), inventory of Jan Vroom, *De Levantse Koffiebal* / *Het Reijgertje*, https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5075/239.2.4/start/320/limit/10/highlight/2.

Secondary Literature

Albrecht, Peter. “Coffee-drinking as a symbol of social change in continental Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.” In *Studies in eighteenth-century culture* 18 (1989): 91-103.

Appadurai, Arjun. *The social life of things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013 (1986).

Ayers, John. “The early China trade.” In *The origins of museums. The cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth century Europe*, edited by Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor, 259-266. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

Ball, Daniela. “Einleitung.” In *Kaffee im Spiegel europäischer Trinksitten.* [*Coffee in the context of European drinking habits*], edited by Daniela Ball, 11-16. Zurich: Johann-Jacobs-Museum, 1991.

Ballaster, Rosalind. *Fabulous orients fictions of the East in England, 1662-1785*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Berg, Maxime. “New commodities, luxuries and their consumers in eighteenth-century England.” In *Consumers and luxury. Consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850*, edited by Maxime Berg and Helen Clifford, 63-87. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.

Berg, Maxine. “In pursuit of luxury: global history and British consumer goods in the eighteenth century.” *Past & Present* 182 (February 2004): 85-142.

Bevilacqua, Alexander and Helen Pfeifer. “Turquerie: culture in motion, 1650-1750.” *Past & present* 221 (November 2013): 75-118.

Bisboer, P (ed.). *China-Delft-Europa. Chinoiserie*. Exhibition from 5 June to 15 August 1976, Delft, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof. Delft: Het Prinsenhof, 1976.

Bischoff, Cordula. “Women collectors and the rise of the porcelain cabinet.” In *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns, 171-190. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam in coll. with Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, Groninger Museum, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014.

Bitterli, Urs. “Der Kaffee – Ein Stimulans der kolonialen und europäischen Geschichte.” In *Vom Kaffee in frühen Reiseberichten. Chaube, Kahwe, Copha, Caffe*, edited by Urs Bitterli, 7-10. Zurich: Jacobs-Suchard-Museum, 1988.

Bödeker, Hans Erich Bödeker. “Das Kaffeehaus als Institution aufklärerischer Geselligkeit.” In *Sociabilité et société bourgeoise en France, en Allemagne et en Suisse (1750-1850)*, edited by Étienne François, 65-80. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. [First published as *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1979]. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Translated by Richard Nice [First published as *Esquisse d'une theorie de la pratique, precede de trois etudes d'ethnologie Kabyle*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1972]. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Braat, Steven and Pim Reinders. "Koffiegoed van aardewerk en porselein." In *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, edited by Reinders, Pim and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 75-106. Exhibition from 26 March to 19 June 1994, Delft, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof / Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara / Museum Lambert van Meerten. Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994.

Brewer, John. "'The most polite age and the most vicious.' Attitudes towards culture as a commodity, 1660-1800." In *The consumption of culture 1600-1800. Image, object, text*, edited by Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, 341-361. London: Routledge, 1995.

Brown, Peter (ed.), *In praise of hot liquors. The study of chocolate, coffee and tea-drinking 1600-1850*. Exhibition from 1 September to 20 November 1995, York, Fairfax House. York: York Civic Trust, 1995.

Campell, Collin. *The romantic ethic and the spirit of modern consumerism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, ^{2}2005 (1987).

Campen, Jan van. "Chinese and japanese porcelain in the interior." In *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns, 191-212. In *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns, 231-248. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam in coll. with Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, Groninger Museum, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014.

Cassidy-Geiger, Maureen. "Porcelain and prestige: princely gifts and 'white gold' from Meissen." In *Fragile diplomacy. Meissen porcelain for European courts ca. 1710-63*, edited by Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 3-24. Exhibition from 15 November 2007 to 10 February 2008, New York, The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

Claflin, Kyri and Peter Scholiers (eds.). *Writing food history. A global perspective*. Oxford: Berg, 2012.

Clarence-Smith, William G. "The global consumption of hot beverages, *c.* 1500 to *c*. 1900." In *Food and globalization. Consumption, markets and politics in the modern world*, edited by Alexander Nützenadel and Frank Trentmann, 37-56. New York: Berg, 2008.

Clemente, Alida. "Luxury and taste in eighteenth-century Naples: representations, ideas and social practices at the intersection between the global and the local." In *A taste for luxury in early modern Europe. Display, acquisition and boundaries*, edited by Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart, 59-76. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.

Coke, Arthur (ed.). *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies. From the Old English Translation of 1598. The First Book, Containing His Description of the East*. 2 vols., vol. 1. Translation by William Phillip. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Conrad, Sebastian . *What is global history?*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016.

Cowan, Brian. *The social life of coffee. The emergence of the British coffeehouse*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.

Cowan, Brian. "Public sphere." In *Information. A historical companion*, edited by Ann Blair, Paul Duguid, Anja-Silvia Goeing and Anthony Grafton, 713-717. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021.

Çrakman, Ash. "From Tyranny to despotism. The Enlightenment's unenlightened image of the Turks." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33 (2001): 49-68.

DaCosta Kaufmann, Thomas and Michael North. "Introduction. Mediating cultures." In *Mediating Netherlandish art and material culture in Asia*, edited by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, 9-23. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014.

DaCosta Kaufmann, Thomas. "The 'Netherlandish model'? Netherlandish art history as/and global art history." In *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, vol. 66, no. 1, 272-295. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Dam, Jan Daniël van. *Gedateerd Delfts aardewerk. Dated Dutch Delftware*. Inventory catalogue, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. Zwolle: Waanders, 1991.

Dejung, Christof, David Motadel, and Jürgen Osterhammel. "Worlds of the bourgeoisie." In *The global bourgeoisie. The rise of the middle classes in the age of empire*, edited by Christof Dejung, David Motadel, and Jürgen Osterhammel, 1-40. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Diercks, Femke. "Inspired by Asia: responses in the Dutch decorative arts." In *Asia in Amsterdam. The culture of luxury in the Golden Age*, edited by Karina H. Corrigan, Jan van Campen, Femke Diercks, [with Janet C. Blyberg], 246-335. Exhibition from 17 October 2015 to 17 January 2016, Amsterdam Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam in coll. with Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusettes. New Heaven: Yale University Press: 2015.

Drews, Wolfgang and Christian Scholl. "Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne. Zur Einleitung." In *Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse in der Vormoderne*, edited by Wolfram Drews and Christian Scholl, VII-XXIII. Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung 3. Boston: De Gruyter 2016.

Drouard, Alain. [s.v.] "Food, sociology of." In *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, edited by James D. Wright, 311-315. 25 vols., vol. 9. Amsterdam: Elsevier, ^{2}2015 (2001). Accessed online on May 7, 2022.http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.32188-2.

Ehrenburg, John R. *Civil society. The critical history of an idea*. New York: NYU Press, ^{2}2017.

Schmidberger, Ekkehard. "Chine de Commande." ["Catalogue," cat. no. 183a-p]. In *Porzellan aus China und Japan. Die Porzellangalerie der Landgrafen von Hessen-Kassel*, edited by Ulrich Schmidt, 394. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel. Exhibition from 1 July to 23 September 1991, Kassel, Museum Fridericianum. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990.

Elias, Norbert. *The court society*. Translation by E. Jephcott. [First published as *Die höfische Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie*. Neuwied: Luchterhan, 1969]. New York: Pantheon, 1983.

Ellis, Markman. *The coffee house. A cultural history*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004.

Ellis, Markman. "An introduction to the coffee-house: a discursive model." *Language & Communications* 28 (2008): 156-164.

Enlin, Yang. *Chinesische Porzellanmalerei im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Munich: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1986.

Erkelens, Anna Maria Louise Elisabeth. *'Delffs Porcelijn' van koningin Mary II. Ceramiek op het Loo uit de tijd van Willem III en Mary II*. [*Queen Mary's 'Delft porcelain'. Ceramics at Het Loo from the time of William and Mary*]. Apeldoorn: Paleis Het Loo. Zwolle: Waanders, 1996.

Feenstra, J. "Waacht u vorr koffie praat. De eerste koffiehuizen in Amsterdam en hun ontwikkeling." In *Ons Amsterdam* 14 (1962): 106-109.

Finlay, Robert. *The pilgrim art. Cultures of porcelain in world history*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

Fock, Cornelia. "Semblance or reality? The Domestic interior in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting." In *Art and Home. Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, edited by Mariët Westermann, 83-102. Exhibition from 30 September 2001 to 20 January 2002, New Jersey, The Newark Museum / 2 March 2002 to 26 May 2002, Denver (Colorado), Denver Art Museum. Zwolle: Waanders, 2001.

Gaehtgens, Barbara. "Hofkunst – Staatskunst – Bürgerkunst. Bemerkungen zur Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts in Den Haag." In *Götter und Helden für Berlin. Gemälde und Zeichnungen von Augustin und Matthäus Terwesten (1649-1711) (1670-1757). Zwei niederländische Künstler am Hofe Friedrichs I. und Sophie Charlotte*, edited by Director General Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg in coll. with Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 10-23. Exhibition from 16 December 1995 to 18 February 1996, Berlin, Charlottenburg Palace. Berlin: Foundation Prussian Palaces and Gardens Berlin - Brandenburg, 1995.

Gawronski, Jerzy and Ranjith Jayasena (eds.). *Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder. Archeologisch onderzoek Oudezijds Voorburgwal 38-40*. AAR (Amsterdamse Archeologische Rapporten) 100, Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017.

Gernet, Alexander von. "Nicotian dreams. The prehistory and early history of tobacco in eastern North America." In *Consuming habits. Global and historical perspectives on how cultures define drugs*, edited by Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt, 65-85. London: Routledge, 1995.

Gerritsen, Anne. "Domesticating goods from overseas: global material culture in the early modern Netherlands," *Journal of design history* 29, no. 3 (September 2016): 228-244.

Goodman, Jordan. “Excitantia: or, how enlightenment Europe took to soft drugs.” In *Consuming habits. Global and historical perspectives on how cultures define drugs*, edited by Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt, 121-142. London: Routledge, 1995.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The structural transformation of the public sphere. An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989.

Hailwood, Mark. “Popular culture.” In *Understanding early modern primary sources*, edited by Laura Sangha and Jonathan Willis, 206-223. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.

Harvey, Karen. “Introduction: historians, material culture and materiality.” In *History and material culture. A student’s guide to approaching alternative sources*, edited by Karen Harvey, 1-28. Routledge guides to using historical sources 8. Abingdon: Routledge ^{2}2018 (2009).

Hatt, Michael and Charlotte Klonk (eds.). *Art history. A critical introduction to its methods*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Hattox, Ralph S. *Coffee and coffeehouses. The origin of a social beverage in the medieval Near East*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985.

Heise, Ulla. *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus. Eine Kulturgeschichte*. Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1987.

Hell, Maarten (a). “De Amsterdamse herberg 1450-1800. Geestrijk centrum van het openbare leven.” PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2017. https://hdl.handle.net/11245.1/2caa072f-e73f-4428-9793-5af42c1a3ff5.

Hell, Maarten (b). *De Amsterdamse herberg 1450-1800. Geestrijk centrum van het openbare leven*. Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2017.

Heukensfeldt Jansen, Marie-Anne (ed.). *Delfts aardwerk.* [*Dutch Delftware*]. Facetten der verzameling 6. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1967.

Hicks, Dan. “The material-cultural turn: event and effect.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, edited by Mary Beaudry and Dan Hicks, 25-98. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Ho, Angela. “Exotic and exclusive. The Pronk porcelain as products for the connoisseur.” In *Connoisseurhip and the knowledge of art*, [*Kennershap en kuunst*], edited by H. Perry Chapman, Thijs Weststeijn, and Dulcia Meijers, 175-210. Netherlands yearbook for history of art 69. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Hollander, Martha. “Vermeer’s robe: costume, commerce, and fantasy in the early modern Netherlands.” *Dutch crossing. Journal of Low Countries studies* 35, no. 2 (July 2011): 177-195.

Impey, Oliver. *Chinoiserie. The impact of Oriental styles on Western art and decoration*. London: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Israel, Jonathan. *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall. 1477-1806*. The Oxford History of Early Modern Europe, edited by R.J. Evans. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Israel, Jonathan. *Radical Enlightenment. Philosophy and the making of modernity 1650-1750*. Oxford: University Press, 2001.

Iturbe, M., A. Martín and A. Quintano. "Caffeine consumption." In *Caffeine. Consumption, side effects and impact on performance and mood*, edited by Aimée S. Tolley, 41-46. New York: Nova Publishers, 2014.

Jörg, Christiaan J.A. *Porcelain and the Dutch china trade*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982.

Jörg, Christiaan J.A. "Der Porzellanhandel der VOC im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert." In *Porzellan aus China und Japan. Die Porzellangalerie der Landgrafen von Hessen-Kassel*, edited by Ulrich Schmidt, 143-156. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel. Exhibition from 1 July to 23 September 1991, Kassel, Museum Fridericianum. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990.

Jörg, Christiaan J.A. *Fine and curious. Japanese export porcelain in Dutch collections*. Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2003.

Jörg, Christiaan J.A. "A change in taste: the introduction of enammeled export porcelain in the 17th century." In *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns, 129-150. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam in coll. with Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, Groninger Museum, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014.

Jones, Colin and Rebecca Spang. "Sansculottes, sans café, sans tabac. Shifting realms of necessity and luxury in eighteenth-century France." In *Consumers and luxury. Consumer culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, edited by Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, 37-62. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.

Karababa, Emİnegül and Güliz Ger. "Early modern Ottoman coffeehouse culture and the formation of the consumer subject." *Journal of consumer research* 37, no. 5 (February 2011): 737-760.

Keller, Marcus and Javier Irigoyen-García. "Introduction: The dialectics of early modern orientalism." In *The dialectics of orientalism in early modern Europe*, edited by Marcus Keller and Javier Irigoyen-García, 1-16. .London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Korsten, Frans-Willem. *A Dutch republican baroque. Theatricality, dramatization, moment, and event*. Amsterdam studies in the Dutch Golden Age. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017.

Kuiper, Yme. What about the Moorish footman? Portrait of a Dutch nabob as a dedicated follower of fashion." In *A taste for luxury in early modern Europe. Display, acquisition and boundaries*, edited by Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart, 77-98. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.

Laan, Cornelia. *Drank and drinkgerei. Een archaeologisch en cultuurhistorisch onderzoek naar de alledaagse drinkcultuur van de 18de-eeuwse Hollanders*. Amsterdam: Bataafsche Leeuw, 2002. (PhD diss., Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2002).

Laan, Menno van der (ed.). *Uit verre landen. Koffie, thee en andere koloniale waren*. Exhibition from 6 June to 13 September 2015, 's-Hertogenbosch, Het Noordbrabants Museum. 's-Hertogenbosch: Het Noordbrabants Museum; Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2015.

Lambooy, Suzanne van. "Imitation and inspiration: the artistic rivalry between Delft earthenware and Chinese porcelain." In *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns, 231-248. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam in coll. with Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, Groninger Museum, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014.

Landweber, Julia. "'This marvelous bean': adopting coffee into Old Regime French culture and diet." *French historical studies* 38, no. 2 (2015): 193-223.

Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the social. An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Leitch, Stephaine. "Burgkmair's peoples of Africa and India (1508) and the origins of ethnography in print." In *The art bulletin* 91, no. 2 (June 2009): 134-159.

Looijen, T.K.. *Herbergen en koffiehuizen van Amsterdam. Een bloemlezing uit de geschiedenis*. Amsterdam: Thespa, 1977.

Lunsingh Scheurleer, D.F. (ed.). *Chinese export porcelain. Chine de commande*. London: Faber, 1974.

Lunsingh Scheurleer, Th. H. "The Dutch at the Tea table." *The connoisseur* 193, no. 776 (October 1976): 85-93.

Lunsingh Scheurleer, Th. H. "Early dutch cabinetas of curiosities," in *The origins of museums. The cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe*, edited by Oliver Impey and Arthur MyGregor, 115-120. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.

Magraw, Roger. *France, 1800-1914. A social history*. London: Routledge, ^{2}2014 (2002).

Mak, Geert. *Amsterdam. A brief life of the city*. Translated by Philipp Blom. [First published as *Een kleine geschiedenis van Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: Atlas, 1995]. Revised paperback edition. London: The Harvill Press, 2001.

Martín, A., RN. E. Montial and M. Iturbe. "Introduction." In *Caffeine. Consumption, side effects and impact on performance and mood*, edited by Aimée S. Tolley, 36-41. New York: Nova Publishers, 2014.

McCants, Anne E. C. "Popular consumption, and the standard of living: thinking about globalization in the early modern world," *Journal of world history* 18, no. 4 (December 2007): 433-462.

McCants, Anne. “Porcelain for the poor: the material culture of tea and coffee consumption in eighteenth-century Amsterdam.” In *Early modern things: objects and their histories*, 1500-1800, edited by Paula Findlen, 388-411. London: Routledge, [2]2021 (2013).

McKendrick, Neil, J.H. Plumb, and John Brewer. *The birth of a consumer society. The commercialization of eighteenth-century England*. London: Europa, 1982.

Menell, Stephen. *Norbert Elias. Civilization and the human self-image*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

Morrall, Andrew. “Ornament as evidence.” In *History and material culture. A student’s guide to approaching alternative sources*, edited by Karen Harvey, 51-70. Routledge guides to using historical sources 8. New York: Routledge [2]2018 (2009).

Nijboer, Harm and Benno van Tilburg. “Tussen Compagnie en handelmaatschappij. De Nederlandse koffiehandel in de achttiende eeuw,” In *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, edited by Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 25-34. Exhibition from 26 March to 19 June 1994, Delft, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof / Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara / Museum Lambert van Meerten. Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994.

North, Michael . “Fashion and luxury in eighteenth-century Germany.” In *A taste for luxury in early modern Europe. Display, acquisition and boundaries*, edited by Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart, 99-118. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.

Oostrum, Pim van. “Trammelant rond de theestoof: over de sekse van thee (en koffie).” *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 29, no.1. (2006): 49-70. Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman. Consulted via DBNL (KB, National Library). //www.dbnl.org/tekst/_med009200601_01/colofon.php.

Ostkamp, Sebastian. “Beerput in t’Catgen: keramiek.” In *Ons’ Lieve Heer op Solder. Archeologisch onderzoek Oudezijds Voorburgwal 38-40*, edited by Jerzy Gawronski and Ranjith Jayasena, 36-90. AAR (Amsterdamse Archeologische Rapporten) 100. Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017.

Perullo, Nicola. *Taste as experience. The philosophy and aesthetics of food*. New York: Colombia University Press, 2016.

Pierson, Stacey. “Chinese porcelain, the East India Company, and British cultural identity, 1600-1800.” In *Picturing commerce in and from the East Asian maritime circuits, 1550–1800*, edited by Tamara Bentley. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019.

Porter, David L. “Monstrous beauty: eighteenth-century fashion and the aesthetics of the Chinese taste.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (2002): 395-411.

Prak, Maarten. *The Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
Prak, Maarten. “The Dutch Republic as a bourgeois Society.” *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 125, no. 2-3 (2010): 107-139.

Prak, Maarten. “The Dutch Golden Age: growth, innovation and consumption.” In *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns, 9-18. Published by Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, Groninger Museum, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014.

Prown, Jules David. “Mind in matter. An introduction to material culture theory and method.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (1982): 1-19.

Reinders, Pim, Annette de Wit and Harm Nijboer. “‘Een specie van swarte boontjes’. Voorspel van de koffie in Nederland.” In *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, edited by Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 11-24. Exhibition from 26 March to 19 June 1994, Delft, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof / Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara / Museum Lambert van Meerten. Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994.

Reinders, Pim and Steven Braat. “Het ‘koffy-gereedschap’. Drie eeuwen koffiegerei.” In *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, edited by Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 55-76. Exhibition from 26 March to 19 June 1994, Delft, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof / Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara / Museum Lambert van Meerten. Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994.

Peyton, Lucy Zillah. *From the grotesque to the exotic. The evolution of rococo ornament in the decorative arts in France*. MPhil(R) thesis, University of Glasgow, 2000. ProQuest LLC.

Ricuperati, Giuseppe. [s.v.] “Enlightenment.” In *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, edited by James D. Wright, 656-663. 25 vols., vol. 7. Amsterdam: Elsevier, ^{2}2015 (2001). Accessed online on May 7, 2022. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.62004-4.

Robbins, Derek. *Bourdieu and culture*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2000.

Said, Edward. “Orientalism.” In *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory. A Reader*., edited by Padmini Mongia, 20-36. London: Routledge, 1996.

Sassatelli, Roberta. “Consumer identities.” In *Routledge handbook of identity studies*, edited by Anthony Elliot, 237-255, Abingdon: Routledge, ^{2}2020 (2014).

Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of riches. An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.

Schmidt, Benjamin. *Inventing exoticism. Geography, globalism, and Europe’s early modern world*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

Schnyder-von Waldkirch, Antoinette. “‘Chaube’ / ‘Kahwe’ / ‘Copha’/ ‘Caffé’. Vom Kaffee in frühen Reiseberichten.” In *Vom Kaffee in frühen Reiseberichten. Chaube, Kahwe, Copha, Caffe*, edited by Urs Bitterli, 11-39. Zurich: Jacobs-Suchard-Museum, 1988.

Siegrist, Hannes. [s.v.] “Burgeoisie and middle classes, history of.” In *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences*, edited by James D. Wright, 784-789. 25 vols., vol. 2. Amsterdam: Elsevier, ^{2}2015 (2001). Accessed online on May 7, 2022. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.62013-5.

Smith, Woodruff D. “From coffeehouse to parlour: the consumption of coffee, tea and sugar in north-western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries.” In *Consuming habits. Global and historical perspectives on how cultures define drugs*, edited by Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherrat, 148-164. London: Routledge, 1995.
Smith, Woodruff D. *Consumption and the making of respectability, 1600–1800*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Smith, S. D. “Accounting for taste. British coffee consumption in historical perspective.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 2 (1996): 183-214.

Sohn, Sooyun. *Fully integrated household objects. Jan Luyken’s Het leerzaam huisraad (1711)*. PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011. ProQuest Dissertations & UMI.

Spriggs, A. “Oriental porcelain in western paintings 1450 - 1700.” *Transactions of the oriental ceramic society* 36 (1967): 73-87.

Stobart, Joan. “Making an English country house: taste and luxury in the furnishing of Stoneleigh Abby, 1763-1765.” In *A taste for luxury in early modern Europe. Display, acquisition and boundaries*, edited by Johanna Ilmakunnas and Jon Stobart, 143-160. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.

Tilley, Christopher . “Materials against materiality.” In *archaeological dialogues* 14, no. 1 (2007): 11-16.

Um, Nancy. *The merchant houses of Mocha. Trade and architecture in an Indian Ocean port*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009.

Vainker, Shelagh. *Chinese pottery and porcelain. From prehistory to the present*. London: British Museum Press, 1991.

Veen, Jaap van der. “East indies shops in Amsterdam.” In *Asia in Amsterdam. The culture of luxury in the Golden Age*, edited by Karina H. Corrigan, Jan van Campen, Femke Diercks, [with Janet C. Blyberg], 134-228. Exhibition from 17 October 2015 to 17 January 2016, Amsterdam Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam in coll. with Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusettes. New Heaven: Yale University Press: 2015.

Vinhais, Luísa and Jorge Welsh (eds.). *Out of the Ordinary. Living with Chinese export porcelain*. Exhibition from 1 November to 8 November 2014, London, Gallery Jorge Welsh Works of Art / 14 November to 6 December 2014, Lisbon, Gallery Jorge Welsh Works of Art. London: Jorge Welsh Books, 2014.

Voskuil, J.J. “De verspreiding van koffie en thee in Nederland.” *Volkskundig bulletin* 14, no. 1 (1988): 68-93.

Vries, Jan de. “The industrious revolution and economic growth, 1650-1830.” In *The economic future in in historical perspective*, edited by P.A. Davis and M. Thomas, 43-72. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Vries, Jan de. *The industrious revolution. Consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Vries, Jan de and Ad van der Woude. *Nederland 1500-1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei*. Amsterdam: Balans,[2]2005 (1995).

Weber, Max. "Die protestantische Ethik und der 'Geist' des Kapitalismus." *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 20, no. 1 (1904): 1-54.

Weatherill, Lorna. "The meaning of consumer behavior late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England." In *Consumption and the world of goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, 206-227. London: Routledge, 1993.

Weststeijn, Thijs. "Cultural reflections on porcelain in the 17th-century Netherlands." In *Chinese and Japanese porcelain for the Dutch Golden Age*, edited by Jan van Campen and Titus Eliëns, 213-230. Published by Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, Groninger Museum, Keramiekmuseum Princessehof. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 2014.

Wijsenbeek, Thera, Annette de Wit and Thomas Müller. "Van medicijn tot statussymbool. Koffie thui in de zeventiende an echttiende eeuw." In *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, edited by Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 107-118. Exhibition from 26 March to 19 June 1994, Delft, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof / Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara / Museum Lambert van Meerten. Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994.

Wijsenbeek, Thera, Bibi Panhuysen and Annelies van Toledo. "Koffiehuizen tijdens de Republiek." In *Koffie in Nederland. Vier eeuwen cultuurgeschiedenis*, edited by Pim Reinders and Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 35-54. Exhibition from 26 March to 19 June 1994, Delft, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof / Volkenkundig Museum Nusantara / Museum Lambert van Meerten. Zutphen: Walburg Pers; Delft: Gemeente Musea Delft, 1994.

Williams, Haydn. *Turquerie. An eighteenth-century European fantasy*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2014.

Wilson, Thomas M. "Food, drink and identity in Europe. Consumption and the construction of local, national and cosmopolitan culture." In *Food, drink and identity in Europe*, edited by Thomas M. Wilson, 11-30. European Studies 22. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006.

Yonan, Michael. "Toward a fusion of art history and material culture studies." *West 86th. A Journal of decorative arts, design history, and material culture* 18, no. 2 (2011): 232-248.

You, Yao-Fen. "From novelty to necessity: the Europeanization of coffee, tea, and chocolate." In *Coffee, tea, and chocolate. Consuming the world*, edited by Yao-Fen You, 11-68. Exhibition *Bitter/Sweet: Coffee, tea, and chocolate*, from 20 November 2016 to 5 March 2017, Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

You, Yao-Fen. "The Detroit Fürstenberg service and the politics of coffee and tea in eighteenth-century Germany." In *Coffee, tea, and chocolate. Consuming the world*, edited by Yao-Fen You, 85-98. Exhibition Bitter/Sweet: Coffee, tea, and chocolate, from 20 November 2016 to 5 March 2017, Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Websites

The Royal Delft Museum, “How was it made?” Discover Delfts aardewerk, 2022. Accessed on 1 June 2022, <https://www.delftsaardewerk.nl/en/discover/how-was-delftware-made>.