

Authenticity and Imitation

WHY YOU'VE NEVER HAD SALEP

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Cafés in the United States offer the same few categories of hot beverages; coffee, black or herbal tea, and occasionally hot chocolate are standard fare for most Americans. However, across the world, from Japan to Spain, Argentina to Jordan, different drinks are popular in the café and teahouse scene, from matcha to chocolate, mate to *chai karak*. In Turkey, the Balkans, and parts of the Middle East, salep is a very popular hot drink, though relatively few outside the region are likely to know of it. Salep is somehow quite unlike any other drink: it is hot, thick, and milky, often served with a sprinkling of cinnamon on top. But its key flavor is utterly unique and impossible to describe—a gentle, almost-but-not-quite floral sweetness that arises from the drink’s key ingredient: ground orchid root, or “salep”. While salep-makers across generations have frequently used *Orchis morio*¹ and *Orchis mascula*² for salep

orchid flour, people have used over thirty-five other orchid varieties from the genera *Orchis*, *Anacamptis*, and *Dactylorhiza* to make the requisite powder.³

Today, due to a variety of factors, it has become nearly impossible to find salep made from real orchid root outside of Turkey and the surrounding regions.⁴ However, cafés and homes across the eastern Mediterranean Middle East—and other areas where salep is enjoyed—have made do with substitutes for the eponymous ingredient. Imitations attempt to recreate the beloved original drink using chemical reproductions of salep orchid flour⁵ or more readily available flavorings and thickeners, such as rosewater and corn starch.⁶ However, without the orchid root that gives the drink its name, what makes salep, salep? And can salep exist without the salep orchid root?

Whether salep can exist in the absence of orchids approaches a ship-of-Theseus-style problem. At what stage does one thing become a different thing? Orchid-less recreations of salep originated as just that—intentional recreations of the flavor and texture of the original, meant to replace a beverage towards which many drinkers feel a nostalgic appreciation. As time has passed, however, and ground orchid root has become increasingly inaccessible, these imitations have become, in the minds of many, what salep truly is and tastes like, especially in the absence of an original with which to compare it.

So how key, exactly, is salep's key ingredient? Can salep exist without orchids? This question is difficult, and the only answer is: sort of. Without orchids, the drink we can access today is sort of salep. Though the homemade, orchid-less approximations are in some ways a different drink with the same name, they have also become a kind of salep in their own right, emulating the features of the original even as they fail to perfectly reproduce them. Even orchid-less salep is heir to the history and social and cultural associations of the original drink. However, true salep from the orchid root still exists, even if it has become extremely scarce. In comparison to the original, enthusiasts of orchid salep may judge the drink's corn starch copy as a product that strays too far from its source.

In my paper, I have standardized the spelling of "salep". The name of this beverage has been transliterated into English and the Latin alphabet in many different

ways, from many different languages. Among salep's alternate spellings are sahlep, salip, sahlab, saloop, and sachlav. I have chosen to use "salep" in this paper as it was the spelling that I have seen most frequently, as well as the one considered standard in prominent English dictionaries.⁷ However, I have also found it necessary to draw a distinction between salep made from salep orchid powder and salep made with substitute ingredients. For convenience, I will henceforth refer to the latter as "sahlab", using the Arabic version of the word, to distinguish it from orchid salep. This choice of spelling does not reflect existing literature on the distinction between these two kinds of salep, as a spelling convention for this distinction does not exist; "sahlab" just happens to be the spelling with which I first encountered the orchid-less variety of the drink, as I sat in a café in Amman, Jordan, perplexed at the delicious yet clearly not-quite-salep drink in front of me. Again, for the sake of consistency, I will refer to the drink as salep or sahlab, according to this distinction, even if my sources refer to it otherwise. In situations in which the distinction is unclear, or not relevant, I will default to "salep".

Salep's Historical Roots

Though the details of salep's invention are not attested, Greek and Roman naturalists such as Dioscorides and Pliny the Elder mentioned it as early as the first



A cup of salep garnished with cinnamon and nuts (Author submission)

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century.⁸ However, it was not until the eighth century, following the conversion of the region's inhabitants to Islam, that the drink rose to prominence in Anatolia. Due to Islam's proscription of alcoholic beverages, locally popular nonalcoholic drinks like salep became more significant.⁹ With the rise of the Ottoman Empire, salep consumption "boomed,"¹⁰ and spread to other parts of the empire, especially in Greece and the eastern Mediterranean region.¹¹ Salep became—and continues to be—especially popular in winter in Turkey and Greece, when street vendors sell it by the steaming cupful to warm up drinkers.¹²

Medical experts historically believed that the drink could clear up problems as diverse as mouth sores, chest phlegm, scrofula,¹³ and diarrhea,¹⁴ could "[encourage] mucus production and [promote] recovery from stroke,"¹⁵ and had "a curative effect on cough, bronchitis, and cold."¹⁶ Though many of these touted benefits are rooted only in folk belief, scientific studies of salep's medicinal properties in 1989 and 1995 have shown the drink to help relieve constipation and to mildly improve colon health in some cases, due to salep's high levels of glucomannan, a "bulk-forming laxative."¹⁷ Glucomannan has also been shown to reduce post-meal blood sugar elevation and LDL cholesterol.¹⁸

In addition to being hot and filling, as well as delicious and surprisingly healthy, the drink was also widely known as an aphrodisiac, because of orchid roots' resemblance to genitalia.¹⁹ The word "salep," in fact, originated in Arabic as *khasyu 'th-tha'lab*, a term for orchid roots which translates literally to "fox testicles."²⁰ Salep was also used to fatten up brides, and despite its associations with virility, was more often drunk by women than men in the Ottoman Empire.²¹ In the larger scheme of hot beverages in the region, salep may have also benefited from Islamic controversies about coffee, which, because of its properties as a stimulant, was viewed by some to be *haram*, or forbidden.²² Salep, conversely, was entirely pure of alkaloids,²³ and was also not associated with that den of vice and depravity that some more pious

Muslims believed coffee shops had become.²⁴ That being said, salep was also popular in Greece, especially among the working classes in the winter, and salep orchids were commonly harvested by non-Muslim groups such as the Aromanians and Albanians.²⁵

Outside of the Ottoman Empire, salep also became popular in Europe²⁶ and as far afield as England and North America, from the seventeenth century on.²⁷ In England, the drink was known as "saloop" and, as in Turkey, was popularly sold at street stalls.²⁸ Though it was enjoyed by middle-class drinkers as well, salep had a reputation as a beverage of the English working class.²⁹ It was warm, filling, and relatively nutritious, and was considered to be especially common as a drink for men working in professions that required hard manual labor, such as sailors (for whom salep constituted part of their rations),³⁰ coal-heavers, and chimney-sweeps.³¹ According to Maud Grieve's *A Modern Herbal*, nineteenth-century English essayist Charles Lamb describes salep, along with a slice of bread and butter, as "an ideal breakfast for a chimney sweep."³² Salep was also viewed in England as a hangover cure and a treatment for syphilis.³³ Grieve however extols the drink as "a strengthening and demulcent agent . . . from time immemorial [which] forms a diet of especial value to convalescents and children" and praises it as being "very nutritive."³⁴

Though today salep has largely been superseded by tea and coffee as the United Kingdom's beverages of choice, English journalist Henry Mayhew remarked in 1851 that "[t]he vending of tea and coffee, in the streets, was little if at all known twenty years ago, saloop being then the beverage supplied from stalls to the late and early wayfarers."³⁵ However, when introducing this "greasy-looking beverage," Mayhew paused to explain what salep is "for the information of [his] younger readers," showing that the drink had already begun to decline in popularity at this time, as salep stalls were replaced by coffee stalls³⁶—coffee being both cheaper, after 1824 tariff reductions, and easier to adulterate with inexpensive chicory.³⁷ Tea also benefited from reduced duties, thus edging salep

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out of the market.³⁸

Though the drink salep has historically been globally popular, salep orchid flour is used in food items as well. Among these is *dondurma*, or "Turkish ice cream", famous for its stickiness. Salep has also been used in a varied selection of other dessert items, especially in the Ottoman period, "including sherbet *çevirme* (a soft confection made with spices and nuts), ice cream, [and] salep jam."³⁹ In Greece, salep powder has also been used as a gelatin for a type of porridge, as well as for a brand of lozenges and cough syrup sold in pharmacies in Thessaloniki.⁴⁰ Turkish ice cream and salep itself, however, remain orchid flour's most popular uses today, with salep in particular growing in popularity. Increased focus on "national cuisines" and traditional local recipes and styles of food preparation have focused attention on salep, and promoted its presence in café and restaurant menus, especially those geared towards tourists.⁴¹ Along with other orchid root products, salep is also increasing in popularity due to recent global trends towards natural and traditional foods, which have "revived demand for authentic salep."⁴² These factors have led to increased gathering of the tubers that produce the orchid flour required for products like salep.

The Scarcity of Salep Orchids

Outside of the countries in which it is produced, it is extremely difficult to obtain pure salep orchid flour today. If they have a hankering for salep, Turkish people in the United States like Meral Kaya, living in Queens, must buy the requisite powder on trips back to Turkey or online, where the price for 75 grams of real orchid flour can reach almost \$60—and that without any guarantee of the product's purity. According to Oya Topcuolgu of Northwestern University's Middle East and North African Studies program, most salep powder mixes sold online are "basically corn starch."⁴³ Middle Eastern grocery stores in the United States are likewise unable to provide salep orchid flour. When asked about the

powder, grocery owner Nihat Yildiz recommended "[checking] Amazon or fly[ing] back to Turkey for the weekend."⁴⁴

The scarcity of salep powder has to do with the orchids themselves. Salep orchids can be found in some regions of West Asia, especially Turkey, and the Balkans,⁴⁵ and as far east as northern India.⁴⁶ In the present day, salep orchids are harvested in Turkey, Greece, Iran, Iraq, and Albania.⁴⁷ Due to high demand, the orchids are being heavily overharvested; orchids used for salep are not cultivated, but instead collected from the wild, usually in a way "which limits regeneration in wild populations."⁴⁸ In Greece and Albania, "an increasing number of salep harvesters . . . [are] scouring the mountains for harvestable tubers."⁴⁹ Furthermore, when gathering orchids, harvesters "left only a few smaller plants standing" and observers have "recorded neither dispersal of young tubers nor replanting of old tubers" despite claimed attempts by harvesters to collect orchid roots in a more sustainable fashion.⁵⁰ Though it is theoretically possible to cultivate salep and produce it sustainably, short-term pressures and the need for sources of income have driven harvesters to over gather, despite an awareness of the practice's negative effects.⁵¹

In Turkey alone, as much as 80 metric tons of salep orchid tubers are harvested each year.⁵² Each plant is uprooted and its tuber boiled, dried, and milled to produce the prized orchid flour,⁵³ which requires between 1,000 and 4,000 orchid roots per kilogram.⁵⁴ These numbers suggest that between 30 and 120 million orchids are harvested each year in Turkey alone. Meanwhile, in Iran, where most orchid harvests are exported to Turkey, the number falls between 5.5 and 6.1 million orchids.⁵⁵ On a more local level, the proprietor of one salep stand in northern Greece estimated that he used "up to 750 g of ground salep per day to prepare 150 cups of hot salep beverage."⁵⁶ Because of the extreme overexploitation of this resource, many orchid species are facing extinction as harvesters rush to keep up with impossibly high

demand.⁵⁷ Faced with a dwindling supply and increasing demand, harvesters themselves are turning to new, less preferred varieties of orchid as the more traditional species become rarer and rarer.⁵⁸

As a consequence of the increasingly alarming environmental danger faced by orchids, including the orchids used to make salep, a boggling number of orchid species are regulated by the wide-reaching Convention on the International Trade of Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES).⁵⁹ Though most orchids regulated by CITES can be legally traded, they "require import and export permits, and a demonstration that any export will not be detrimental to the survival of the species,"⁶⁰ which can be difficult, economically draining, and a bureaucratic hassle to obtain.⁶¹ Individual countries also legislate export restrictions on orchids with the use of "protected species lists, restrictions on harvest . . . and agricultural and trade legislation, including regulations that operationalize commitments to CITES," which does not itself regulate the commitments that its member states set out to follow.⁶²

In Turkey, for example, harvesters of wild tubers can be fined,⁶³ and the export of harvested orchid tubers is illegal.⁶⁴ Despite CITES's best intentions, the logistical difficulties of harvesting orchids legally cause many orchid harvesters to turn to illegal, unregulated harvesting methods.⁶⁵ Smugglers on the Iran-Iraq and Iran-Turkey borders carry orchid tubers between countries packaged as almonds,⁶⁶ and harvesters surveyed in northwest Greece "claimed not to be aware that collecting is forbidden."⁶⁷ This does not bode well for the future of salep orchids, though some conservationists are working to promote more sustainable practices.⁶⁸

Despite this significant black market trade in salep orchid tubers and orchid flour, orchids remain "among the best-protected plant taxa globally."⁶⁹ As Ms. Kaya's story at the beginning of this section illustrates, the international laws established to hinder the products' export has, to a large extent, been successful. This process of trade regulation in the last few decades, combined with trade disruptions and tariffs favoring other hot drinks in countries like England, are the clearest contributors to salep's slow shift from international prominence to the position of relative obscurity it holds today. Salep is simply not available

to consumers outside of the eastern Mediterranean to the extent it used to be. Some, like the smugglers and over harvesters, have tried to increase the availability of salep by getting more orchid tubers and flour onto the markets, and by casting a wider net in search of new orchid species to be sold as salep orchids. Others, encouraged by the prohibitively expensive price and scarcity of the original, have instead turned towards artificial substitutes for salep orchid flour's distinctive texture and flavor.

Sahlab: Salep Substitutes

In Turkey today, it is possible to buy pure salep powder, but the price—about eight times that of coffee by weight—dissuades potential purchasers. Meanwhile, an artificial powder mix, with a price about twice that of coffee, is more economically appealing.⁷⁰ Despite sahlab's lower price and accessibility overseas, salep drinkers like Ms. Kaya and Cemal Kadem, a salep wholesaler in Istanbul, believe that the difference between the two is significant. Kaya calls the flavor of the imitation drink "dusty"⁷¹ and Kadem notes the extended cooking time of the original orchid powder when compared with the synthetic, "supermarket kind."⁷² Chef Anissa Helou also comments that "you can recognize [real salep] from the slightly greyish colour of the fine powder."⁷³ Though imitations of salep are widely drunk without



A salep merchant in present-day Skopje, Macedonia in 1907. (Bajazid Elmaz Doda via Wikimedia Commons)

complaint—chef Özlem Warren describes them as “still quite satisfactory”—it is details like these that differentiate synthetic from genuine salep.⁷⁴ However, these differences do not stop cafés, restaurants, and supermarkets from selling the synthetic imitation mixtures—sahlab rather than salep. Canan Ece Tamer complains that in Turkey specifically, “there is an adulteration problem of salep” and blames a lack of “standard and legislation” about what can and cannot be sold as salep.⁷⁵ Since it is easier to find the artificial sahlab than the pure orchid salep sold on the street and in Turkish cafés, many people associate the drink with the flavor of the artificial imitation mixes rather than the original orchid flour.⁷⁶ And due to CITES regulations and Turkish trade laws, even exporters of the drink powder outside of Turkey “generally deal in flour that has been artificially flavoured.”⁷⁷ Synthetic imitations of salep can take many forms. In countries like Turkey, where the original salep is still accessible, these imitations cleave much more closely to salep than those in countries like Jordan, where orchid salep is not sold at all. Thus, in Turkey, sahlab powders contain “artificial flavours and guar gum,” and other imitations frequently contain chemical



A flowering *Orchis mascula*, one of the species commonly used to make Salep (Patrice Bon via Wikimedia Commons)

flavorings and a variety of thickeners.⁷⁸ In the United States, the sahlab available is “often made with just a hint – or maybe just the idea – of the real thing,” but is sold (and purchased) as “salep” nonetheless.⁷⁹ In Levantine countries, where salep is less common in its original form, sahlab has developed into a type of drink all its own – so much so that British-Jordanian casual food blogger Diana writes with surprise that she “was very excited about the fact that I could find Sahlab sold in the streets [of Turkey,] but with a new name ‘Salep.’”⁸⁰ While seemingly unaware of sahlab’s Turkish origin in salep, Diana does still recognize both as the same beverage. However, sahlab in Jordan, for example, is quite markedly different from salep, and is a thicker beverage somewhat reminiscent of a milky pudding. Because of its thickness, tourism company Tourist Israel seems especially skeptical of sahlab’s classification as a drink, referring to it as a “not quite food-not quite beverage” and a “porridge/custard like ‘beverage.’”⁸¹ Different iterations of sahlab use different thickeners to attain the drinker’s desired texture, be that the texture of salep or the texture of a liquid pudding. In addition to the previously referenced guar gum, these thickeners can include corn starch, sorghum flour,⁸² cereal starch, cellulose gum,⁸³ rice flour,⁸⁴ and glutinous rice flour.⁸⁵ Some sahlab recipes suggest a thickener as a direct replacement for salep powder, while other (usually orchid-less) recipes include additional flavorings. Still others do not include salep powder in their recipes at all, and simply proceed with the assumption that the readers do not possess it. Recipes also emphasize drink-makers’ freedom to add more of the chosen thickening agent to their tastes, allowing for variety in viscosity from milk to porridge. Along with differences in thickeners, varieties of sahlab also include an array of flavorings, possibly to replace the missing taste of orchid.⁸⁶ Popular additives include vanilla extract, rose water,⁸⁷ orange blossom water, and occasionally even geranium water,⁸⁸ with the now vanished English version of the drink idiosyncratically including chips of sassafras bark⁸⁹ or lemon peel and wine.⁹⁰ While salep in Turkey is commonly garnished with a sprinkling of cinnamon and occasionally crushed pistachios, sahlab throughout the Middle East

"The division between salep and sahlab is not a line, but a gradient"

can involve a dazzling array of toppings. Though cinnamon is nearly universal, pistachios, walnuts, shredded coconut, and golden raisins are also common, especially in Egypt and the Levant.⁹¹ Israeli salep/sahlab recipes seem to be the most experimental as far as garnishes go, adding peanuts,⁹² chopped dried figs, dried cherries, chopped dates, and cacao nibs,⁹³ with a mention of bananas and caramel as even more unorthodox options.⁹⁴ Garnishes have also influenced perceptions of the drink outside of the Middle East. In England, the flavor of added sassafras chips may have become associated with the flavor of the drink, causing the meaning of “salep” in the minds of its drinkers to develop beyond its orchid origins. Thus, before salep disappeared entirely but after salep roots had become more difficult to access, sassafras root was sometimes substituted for the original orchid root.⁹⁵ As the English example also illustrates, synthetic orchid substitutes are widespread, and have a long history. Though salep retains a position of prominence and emulation in discussions and recipes of sahlab, the varieties of sahlab and the drinkers who enjoy them are numerous.

Conclusion

Most online recipes, regardless of their country of origin, recognize salep as the original version of the drink and sahlab as a substitute, and many (though not all) include instructions for making the drink from both orchid flour and substitutes. Since most people who use these recipes are unlikely to get their hands on authentic salep powder, it is unclear how much of this reflects an expectation that readers will actually drink salep and how much is simply a nod to the possibility. Since it is so difficult to tell what really is salep powder and what is simply a careful reproduction (or even a mixture of real and artificial powder), the question of who is and is not drinking genuine salep is complicated even further. The division between salep and sahlab is not a line, but a gradient, and to draw a clean line between the two is nearly impossible. Even my chosen typographic distinction has, at points, required clarification or

represented the situation as simpler than it is. Salep orchid root is the crucial ingredient that has historically defined this drink. The beverage, be it salep or sahlab or somewhere in between, is inextricably tied to orchid flour. However, salep without orchid flour—sahlab—is still salep of a kind, and exists within a category whose definitions, historical and modern, may be loose but still encompass a specific real-world category of beverage. Sahlab may not contain salep, and it may not adhere to the strictest and most literal of classifications for the drink. But salep and sahlab do, nonetheless, share this same category, and both remain equally delicious and comforting hot beverages worth trying, drinking, and sharing.

Heba’s Jordanian Sahlab (serves 1)

Family recipe of Heba A., translated by Heba and sent to the author via text message, April 16, 2020. Adapted slightly in use and comparison with other recipes.

Ingredients:

1 cup of milk
1 ½ tablespoons corn starch
1 tablespoon of sugar
2 tablespoons of thick cream (optional)
1 teaspoon vanilla extract
½ teaspoon rose water

Toppings:

Ground cinnamon
Shredded coconut
Chopped walnuts or pistachios

Mix the corn starch into a small amount of water. In a saucepan, combine milk, corn starch slurry and sugar. Beat with a whisk over medium heat. Bring to a boil (then add thick cream, if using). Let the mixture boil while stirring for two minutes, or until sahlab becomes thick and creamy. As soon as it becomes thick, add rose water and vanilla extract. (If the mixture is not thick enough, return the pot to medium heat and add more corn starch.) Remove from heat and pour sahlab into mugs. Add a pinch of ground cinnamon, shredded coconuts and pistachios or walnuts on top.

ENDNOTES

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65. Hinsley, et al., "A review of the trade in orchids and its implications for conservation," 447.
66. Ibid., 443.
67. Kreziou, de Boer, and Gravendeel, "Harvesting of Salep Orchids in North-Western Greece," 394.
68. Ibid., 396; "Project Overview," The Salep Orchid Project, Laboratory of Ecology, Department of Biological Applications & Technology, University of Ioannina. <https://saleporchidproject.gr/impacts>.
69. Hinsley, et al., "A review of the trade in orchids and its implications for conservation," 440.
70. Brownbook Team, "Salep."
71. Nierenberg, "For Many U.S. Turks."
72. Brownbook Team, "Salep."
73. Anissa Helou, "Salep or Sahlab in Arabic, a Rare Ingredient," *Anissa's Blog*, September 1, 2010, <https://www.anissas.com/salep-or-sahlab-in-arabic-a-rare-ingredient/>.
74. Özlem Warren, "Comforting Sahlep Drink with Cinnamon and Pistachio Nuts," *Özlem's Turkish Table* (blog), March 5, 2014, <https://ozlemsturkishtable.com/tag/salep/>.
75. Ece Tamer, Karaman, and Utku Copur, "A Traditional Turkish Beverage: Salep," 48; The use of non-standard orchid species, or the roots of non-orchid species, in the production of salep can also be considered an adulteration of the drink, though the line I have drawn between salep and sahlab is much hazier in this case, especially when the tubers being used are still orchids. (Hinsley, et al., "A review of the trade in orchids and its implications for conservation," 444.)

76. Brownbook Team, "Salep."
77. Teoh, "An Ancient Fantasy," 46.
78. Brownbook Team, "Salep."
79. Nierenberg, "For Many U.S. Turks."
80. Diana, "Sahlab (Middle Eastern Milk Pudding)," *Little Sunny Kitchen* (blog), May 26, 2020, <https://littlesunnykitchen.com/sahlab-middle-eastern-milk-pudding/>.
81. "Israeli Food: Sachlav," *Tourist Israel: The Guide*, Tourist Israel, <https://www.touristisrael.com/israeli-food-sachlav/7908/>.
82. Dadoun, "Egypt: Sahlab."
83. Kreziou, de Boer, and Gravendeel, "Harvesting of Salep Orchids in North-Western Greece," 393.
84. Charitonidou, Martha, Kalliopi Stara, Konstantinos Kougioumoutzis, and John M. Halley. "Implications of salep collection for the conservation of the Elder-flowered orchid (*Dactylorhiza sambucina*) in Epirus, Greece." *Journal of Biological Research-Thessaloniki* 26, no. 18 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40709-019-0110-1>.
85. Eric Grundhauser, "Salep," *Gastro Obscura*, Atlas Obscura, accessed November 27, 2020, <https://www.atlasobscura.com/foods/salep-turkey>.
86. Some, but fewer, salep recipes also include flavorings. Most salep recipes that include flavorings also include an alternate thickener as an option within the recipe. For a salep recipe with flavorings and no alternate thickener option, see Dimah Mohd, "Sahlab," *Orange Blossom Water* (blog), January 31, 2019, <http://orangeblossomwater.net/index.php/2019/01/31/sahlab/#more-25263>.
87. Heba Almasarweh, text message sent to author, April 16, 2020.
88. Dadoun, "Egypt: Sahlab."
89. Teoh, "An Ancient Fantasy," 45.
90. Eaton, *The Cook and Housekeeper's Complete and Universal Dictionary*, 331. The recipe suggesting lemon peel and wine is the second of the two orchid salep recipes I found to include additional flavorings.
91. Dadoun, "Egypt: Sahlab.;" "Israeli Food: Sachlav."
92. ElissaBeth, "Sahlab (Sachlav)," *The Taste of Kosher* (blog), <https://www.thetasteofkosher.com/sahlab-sachlav/>.
93. Jamie Geller, "Sachlav," *Jamie Geller* (blog), November 1, 2020, <https://jamiiegeller.com/recipes/sachlav/>.
94. "Israeli Food: Sachlav."
95. "Saloop."