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Review Article

Historical background of Turkish gastronomy from ancient times until today

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ABSTRACT

This study has focused on Turkish culinary culture from ancient times until today. Horse meat and mutton were prominent foods of ancient Turks. The journey of Turkish food culture has been in continuous development from the past beginning from Central Asia, Seljuk, Ottoman Empire to Republican eras and has excelled. Today, Turkish cuisine has an important place in the world. During the Ottoman Empire, the cuisine survived and developed because of three factors: palace, mansion, and chefs in Istanbul. The culinary culture of the Ottoman Empire was divided into palace kitchens and public kitchens. Beginning with reform in the Republican period, the impact of foreign cuisine has been observed in Turkish cuisine. The food culture differs from region to region; Eastern Anatolia, South-eastern Anatolia, the Black Sea, Marmara, Aegean, and Mediterranean have their own particular food culture. In recent years, the culinary culture has been influenced by globalization.

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1. Introduction

Food is one of the main necessities for human beings and is essential for all living beings to survive. People require nutrition as long as they live. Since ancient times, mankind has been creating an environment of food culture. As is known, culture encompasses anything that mankind adds to nature [1]. The dining habits in Turkey vary historically and even regionally with regard to village, city, and settlements. Despite all these differences in the Turkish society, there are still common features in this subject. Turks have a long historical background, and they possess a rich culinary culture [2].

Eating habits are considered a cultural element; therefore, they differ according to the culture of a society. The taste, quality, and food types in the Turkish society are rather different than those of other societies. The Turkish nation possesses a very well-established history and high cultural structure. Unquestionably, a subelement belonging to a rich culture is also correspondingly rich. The art of cooking, imparting nutrition, cooking and storage methods, use of tools, and food and drink services show the crux of this culture. Cultures are in constant interaction with each other. Although a country's food culture is a result of accumulation of

years of knowledge transferred from generation to generation, some old habits, in complete or partial have been exterminated through the recent years' advances in technology [3].

Turkish cuisine comprises a wide variety of foods, with pastries taking the first place. Bread is the core food ingredient. A variety of kebabs and some meat dishes, including the juicy types such as *yahni* (stew), are available. Without water, onion, ground beef, meat, tomato, and vegetables are added to foods after being roasted in oil. Vegetables are consumed as raw salad. Onion and tomato paste are the primary ingredients for all Turkish dishes. Oil is given great importance in the Turkish cuisine. Lard, butter fat, or butter is used in meat dishes, pastries, and meaty or meatless vegetable dishes. Olive oil is used in vegetable dishes based on necessity and condition but is mainly used in pans. Turkish cuisine is among the richest cuisines in the world and will greatly contribute to branding of destinations with correct positioning and creation of attractive image [4]. Turkish cuisine is among the few popular cuisines in the world and is one of the three main cuisines besides Chinese and French cuisines. Undoubtedly, the richness of the Turkish culture is due to the old history of Turks, and furthermore, Turks have migrated in huge numbers from past until today. Thus, Turks own a rich culinary culture synthesized as a consequence of migration to different geographical areas and interaction with different cultures [5].

There is a very close connection between the food and nutrition culture and gastronomic values of each nation. Gastronomy is a

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branch of science studying aesthetics in eating and drinking as well as seeking beauty and quality. In a broad sense, gastronomy is a field that examines the relationship between the nations' cultures and the food varieties they consume, and it also concerns the field of knowledge related to human life and food. Gastronomy science benefits from both science and social science [6]. Gastronomy examines the relationship between culture and food and is defined as the art and science of eating and drinking. Gastronomy experts refer to Turkish cuisine as one of the world's major cuisines. When we observe the relation between gastronomy and Turkish cuisine, it could be understood that the roots of Turkish cuisine date back to the Central Asian Turks [7]. The gastronomic richness of different regions was added to Turkish cuisine in the later periods, in parallel with geographic expansion of the Ottoman Empire [8]. This compilation has been done by analyzing studies on culinary culture and gastronomic values throughout Turkish history.

2. Eating and drinking habits in ancient Turks (before the Seljuk period)

Food and drinks have a significant position in beliefs of Turkish people and have been shaped based on the region they lived in and beliefs they followed. The Uyghurs, one of the Turk tribes, followed Manichaeism before Islam. They shaped up their lifestyles and eating habits in accordance with their religion. It could be easily stated that these religions affected the way of thinking, belief, tradition, customs, and culture of ancient Turks. Animal milk and milk product consumption was important because ancient Turks were mostly engaged in livestock farming. In view of that, they find mentions in Turkish mythology. Portraits of camels, cattle, sheep, and goats drawn by Turks have been seen on the rocks in their settlements. This might indicate that they had drawn the pictures of animals while they used their meat before they domesticated these animals [1].

Information in regard to the Central Asian region before the year 1037 is limited based on available evidence. Some information related to the types of food in the Seljuk period such as muffins, thin dough, bread, *halvah*, *koumiss*, buttermilk, and molasses, excluding meaty dishes, has been mentioned in Kaşgarlı Mahmud's work (book). Based on information about various food preparations mentioned in "Divanü Lügat'it-Türk", it could be understood that there was high demand for sour yogurt and sour foods mixed with ingredients such as vinegar among Turks in the 11th century. This indicates that sour foods had a special place in the Turkish cuisine and probably appeared to be a characteristic feature of Turkish cuisine after the 11th century [9].

Some information about Turkish cuisine can be found in old Turkish inscriptions written several years ago. For instance, in the Dede Korkut stories, some food items such as tumescence, stew, and *toyga soup* with additions such as skimmed cheese and drinks such as milk, buttermilk, and *koumiss* were mentioned. Some other foods of the Seljuk period such as *tutmaç*, thin dough, and *kuvat* (a kind of candy) are mentioned in "Divanü Lügat-it Türk. The other notable works of this period are Maulana Rumi's *Masnavi* and *opus Kutadgu Bilig*. Meal ceremony, meal orders, meal banquet along with table manners, and table information had more importance than meals [10].

Turkish epics are valuable resources related to lifestyles of Turks. Statements in the Oghuz epic indicate that meat held a significant place in the lifestyle of Turks. Meat, especially that of horses and sheep, was the most important nutrition source of Turks living in deserts [11]. It is understood from most Turkish epics and stories that because of the living conditions of Turks and their social life requirement, especially during war, important food items

consumed by Turks mostly originated from animals [1]. Since the Central Asian period, Turks have been consuming vegetative foods besides foods originating from animals. In Anatolia (Turkey now), especially in prehistoric excavations done in Anatolia, evidence for agricultural products and irrigation cultures has been found. Thus, it could be understood that Turks engaged in agriculture and consumed agricultural products [9]. The Huns were engaged in agricultural work alongside their nomadic lives. In the past, Turks cultivated wheat, barley, maize, corn, rice, and vetch and planted apples, grapes, watermelon, melon, and berries [1].

3. Gastronomy in the Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate

Konya cuisine was developed in Seljuk castles and shaped by customs of Mawlawi dignitaries. Other enlightening sources of food culture during Seljuk period were Maulana Rumi's works in the 13th century and then information on the ordered structured Mawlawi food table along with rules regarding table setting and meals. The Seljuk period had a significant effect on Turkish cuisine culture. During this period, meat, wheat, and fat were the main ingredients used in dishes. Many delicacies were created during the Seljuk period through a variety of cooking techniques and by addition of one nutritive element with another or mixing them up [6].

The Turks came to Anatolia in 1071 and settled down after establishment of the Anatolian Seljuk state; they established the most outstanding civilization during the period with their state capital at Konya. An excellent culinary culture evolved during the Anatolian Seljuk period, and cuisine-related information could also be found in Seljuk letters [12]. Along with the arrival of Turks in Anatolia, many important changes took place in their understanding of cuisine (Fig. 2). The people, including the Seljuk sultans, were not very much interested in showy tables and banquets. As a matter of fact, such a change could be expected because of both climatic and geographic conditions. In terms of vegetation, Anatolia is very different from Central Asia. Turks even after transitioning to settled life had not left livestock farming. Therefore, mutton was dominant in Seljuk cuisine. Provision of milk and the work done by cattle in farms prevented them from being slaughtered. None of the ingredients has been forgotten, beginning from nuts, hazelnuts to locust beans. The grape, from unripe grapes to raisins, is a fruit that is often mentioned in the Maulana's works. Foods and beverages such as thin dough, meat bread, *tandır bread*, pastries, *tutmach*, baked head, bulgur, soup, eggplant pickles, candy, sweet pastry, *kadayıf*, rose jam, and zede are all dishes served at Maulana's *Masnevi* is seen [13].

Seljuks ate meals twice a day. The first meal was a "midmorning meal" and the second one was "dinner." Except during Ramadan, elaborate meals were not seen in the Seljuk state. Humble dishes, without a variety of food, were served among themselves on dining tables. Most people ate a part of meal (breakfast) at sunrise. This dish generally consisted of soup, cheese, and bread. At the end, coffee was served. During Ramadan, parents gathered together with their closest friends. Charity, philanthropy, and hospitality were not forgotten. When people came up to the table during a meal, welcoming them to the table and opening the meal was the most natural thing [15].

During the Anatolian Seljuk and Principalities period, sherbets prepared from a variety of fruit and honey or sugar were the most common type of beverages and a source of income. During these periods, wine was among the main drinks consumed widely. A drink produced from barley or wheat mixed with vinegar and

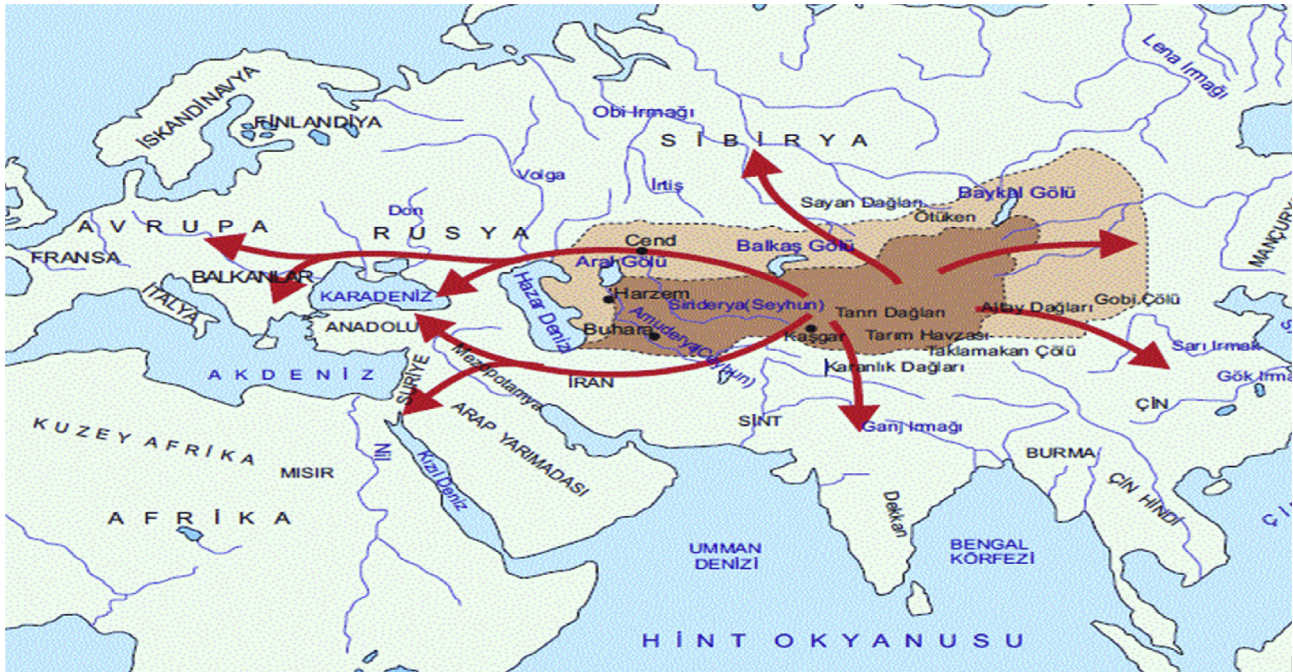


Fig. 1. Immigration maps of Turks from east to west throughout history. (1) The main homeland of Turks was in Central Asia with the Khyang Mountains in the east, the Caspian Sea in the west, Siberia in the north, and the Himalayas in the south. (2) Turks have been migrating for thousands of years and have spread out from the mainland to various parts of the world. (3) Migrations of Hun and Oghuz Turks in particular have been made by overcoming long distances. (4) It is not easy for people in a nation to leave the land they lived in. However, owing to economic, political pressure (by China and Mongol), climate, and ecological reasons, they migrated to regions with warmer climates. (5) One of the places they settled in, most importantly, was Anatolia (now Turkey).



Fig. 2. A Seljuk family eating at a ground-level table [14] (Akkor, 2014; p. 58). (1) Seljuks lived during the richest period of Anatolia. (2) Most of this wealth was seen in the kitchen as well. (3) The culinary cultures they brought from the places from which they migrated added richness to their own kitchens. (4) The Anatolian Seljuks mostly sat on a tray while eating their food. (5) The picture shows a small family eating their dinner in the kitchen. This picture was taken by a local newspaper (www.sabah.com.tr) from Ömür Akkar's book (written by) named "Seljuk Cuisine", this website has published an article about Seljuk cuisine. This is that website: <https://www.sabah.com.tr/aktuel/2013/03/21/selcuklu-mutfagindan-yemek-tari775fleri775> Please you can find this Picture in that website.

honey was known as Maulana's admired mixture "sirkencubin" and was, however, prohibited by religion [16].

4. Gastronomy in the Ottoman Empire

The culinary culture of the Ottoman Empire was divided into two: the palace kitchen and the public kitchen. The palace kitchen was further divided into the sultan and harem cuisines and consisted of showy tables meant for the sultana and the council people. To feed the crowds in palace surroundings, the cooks often

invented new dishes. The cooking team, reaching up to 1200 personnel, prepared food for not only people in the palace surroundings but also incoming guests [17].

4.1. Palace cuisine

The development of the palace kitchen was started through building new kitchens inside the Topkapi Palace in the second half of the 15th century by Mehmed the Conqueror. These kitchens, with its many domes and chimneys, were located in the southern part of



Fig. 3. An Ottoman Sultan eating along with his closest colleagues using a high table (picture taken from Yerasimos, 2014: 102) [19]. (1) The Ottoman cuisine, one of the world's richest cuisines, is being kept alive today with some traditions and recipes. (2) Many Ottoman dishes, which were eaten at showy palace meals, were prepared with *kuşcubaşı*, which was assigned to kitchens called *kuşhane*. (3) The Ottoman sultans generally ate the meal on tall tables. (4) All the plates were made of solid gold, and the table covers were made of gold. Sweets have an important place in palace kitchens. (5) The first thing that comes to mind in Ottoman desserts is *halva*, putty, and compote.

the Topkapi Palace; the name “New Palace” was granted. When Istanbul was captured in 1453 by Mehmed the Conqueror, many changes occurred in Ottoman palace foods (Fig. 3). During this period, the consumption of seafood increased considerably. For Ottomans, cuisine was an important part of palace life. They considered the gathering of sultan and senior officers along with noblemen a social activity; therefore, the palace cuisine was always looking for improvements, became a place to look for a variety of tastes, and brought rich food into existence. The cooks competed with each other to prepare the dishes preferred by the sultan and people surrounding him and to make the banquets attractive, which contributed to enrichment of Turkish cuisine [18].

4.2. Sultan dining table

The meals for a sultan often included poultry meat and were prepared by the top responsible chef and were brought to the dining table by maids on duty. During this period, meals in the palace were eaten twice a day. In contrast to the breakfast that we are accustomed to today, the palace breakfast was a meal that always included hearty soup. The sultan sat according to certain Turkish practices with his knees crossed and a valuable towel placed in the front to prevent his clothes from staining. A second towel was placed in his left hand to clean his mouth and fingers. The meat served to the sultan was brought intact and was not torn into pieces. The sultan himself tore the meat into pieces, and he never used a fork or knife for the same. As the meat served in his meals was very soft, he could easily eat it with the use of his fingers without the need for a knife. The sultan drank only soup with stewed fruit during his meal; after the meal, some sherbet was served [1].

4.3. Harem dining table

The meals of harem people, princes, and sultans were prepared in a special kitchen. Women called *Iqbal* took part in the harem kitchen. An *Iqbal* with a child was designated as woman. The harem ate their meal in the order asked by the sultan. All meals were served in tinned copper plates. The plates were always clean and bright. Some plates were made of white porcelain. The harem had a unique dish for itself. The sultana, wives of sultans, Haseki sultans, treasurer masters, and the primary dearest women each had a

separate dining table. The meals were eaten together on these dining tables; the sultan had no connection with the food ceremony there. It is seen that the organizational structure of palace cuisine began to be institutionalized during Murad II's period [1].

4.4. The simple public kitchen

Compared to palace cuisine, public cuisine was fairly simple and had fewer varieties. The meals were eaten twice a day following the *haremlük–selamlık* order (men and women sat separately at that time). In modest houses where the *haremlük–selamlık* order was not practiced, everyone, including men, women, and children, ate their meals on the same dining table. In such houses and in institutions where collective meals were served, a soup was served with a main meal, although the Ottoman dining tables had a rich variety of food. Based on religion, collective meal invitations were offered on festival days, *sahur*, *iftar* (early breakfast during Ramadan), and prayers for rain besides weddings, engagements, circumcision ceremony, and funerals. During the Ramadan month, master cooks were brought to mansions to prepare varied good meals. It is possible to find different food samples in different parts of Anatolia in the Ottoman period [1].

There were cook assistants who carried the meals from the kitchen to dining tables in mansions (Fig. 4). In the Ottoman dining table, there were 5–10 types of food even when there was no special banquet or wedding. Based on Ottoman public cuisine, there was no dining room in any Muslim house. At the time of dining, everyone set up a dining table and ate in their apartment, room, or garden depending on the weather condition. To perform this task, the dining table service was simply done on a tray [20].

The culinary characteristics along with some traditional services in the Ottoman palace cuisine and the corresponding public cuisine could be seen in every period. However, these traditions and practices varied from sultan to sultan and from palace to palace. In the Ottoman era, a dining room did not exist like in the Western culture. The practice of using dining trays in the Turkish culture showed no diversity, and trays were generally placed on the ground. First, a dining cloth was spread and a sizeable tray made of wood or metal was placed on the cloth, and thereon, the meals



Fig. 4. Ottoman people's dining table spread out during a meeting (picture taken from Yerasimos, 2014: 121) [19]. (1) The table was usually set on top of a tablecloth and people sat on cushions. They sat on the table after spreading the fabric on it. (2) The meals were mostly made by the women living in that dwelling. Underprivileged families preferred to eat foods made from cereals. (3) In the old times when there was no cutlery for eating, the right hand was used to eat with the first three fingers. However, if the fingertips were greased, they were cleaned with a cloth. (4) Families with good economic conditions served desserts in sherbet or plates alongside normal meals. (5) It was possible to eat foods without oiling the fingers; if the fingertips were greased, they were cleaned with a cloth. (6) Greasing of fingers during meal, smacking of mouth, and starting to eat without saying “*Bismillah*” (in the name of Allah) were condemned.

were eaten. At mealtime, a round tray or table was placed on top of a small table; people who wanted to eat gathered around the tray. Nonetheless, except for foreign guests, the palace lifestyle and dining traditions did not break away largely from the old and Islamic traditions. From the 19th century onward, some practical applications such as eating food on the table and using forks and knives began to be used [21].

5. Gastronomy in modern Turkey

Foreign impact is seen along with reforms in the cuisine manners of the Republican period. The habit of eating meal in a different dish is increasing day by day. The reason for this change is that everyone around the dining table shall benefit with equal amounts of food on the table or get enough food as per their capacity (Fig. 5). Even now, the majority of the rural areas continue to dine around the tray. In recent years, cuisine has been influenced by globalization; all kinds of food and spices in the world have entered all cuisines [20].

5.1. The effect of Western food culture on the Turkish culture

Turkish food culture has begun to change under the Western influence with each passing day. Today, meat of animals which are forbidden according to Islam still has no place in Turkish culinary culture. Under the influence of Islam, the existence of Arabic cuisine began to be more perceived in Turkish cuisine culture [22].

It is also not possible to accept something that is so degrading. But the most unpleasant aspect is the disappearance of dining rooms in many houses in the modern era. Furthermore, the habit of eating together has disappeared, and individualism and selfishness among individuals have emerged. The demand of both men and women in a family to work outside causes the extinction of stoves in homes and causes people to further prefer readymade foods. In recent years, fast food has been dispersed in the Turkish dining culture, which has become an encouraging source for fast-food manufacturers. Our children get used to the fast-food culture and are no longer in a condition to like the Turkish traditional foods prepared by their mother and grandmother. Fast-food firms have been opened almost in all corners, causing disruption of nutritional balance [19]. In Western countries, the habit of eating outside greedily has become a custom. Among the young families in the Republic of Turkey, an obese generation has emerged because of consumption of drinks and food with excess energy by children.

One of the traditional behaviors of Turks, especially those living in the rural areas, was that food is eaten fast.

In today's Turkey, food culture varies from region to region. Eastern Anatolia, Southeastern Anatolia, Black Sea, Marmara, Aegean, and Mediterranean regions have their own food cultures. In the Black Sea region, we can give a few examples representing the food wealth. For example, over 20 dishes are made from the known mixture of corn. Dishes made from anchovies such as stuffed fried anchovies, anchovy bread, anchovies rice, anchovies pan and meatballs, anchovies boiled, anchovies grill, and anchovy patty show how rich the Black Sea cuisine is.

Vegetable and olive oil–based dishes are common in Mediterranean cuisine, specifically in the Mediterranean regions of Turkey. Olives have been used in Mediterranean cuisine for 2500 years [13]. After olive oil, the most important factor shaping the Aegean cuisine is herbs available in the region. Countless types of herbs exist therein. In case we count the main herbs used in Izmir, we get a long list: vine, hibiscus, nettle, arugula, parsley, radish sprouts, thistle, chicory, poppy, dock, Kushto of plantain, blessed thistle, dandelion, Helvajik, asparagus, tangle, samphire, etc. These herbs are more consumed in Izmir and the entire Aegean coast. In addition, there are many types of herbs that are edible and grown in nature and are very important for their economic and cultural value in Turkey. These herb salads are commonly consumed in season. These wild herbs grow in spring and contribute to human nutrition [8].

Traditional Mediterranean cuisine is generally based on grains (especially wheat), olive oil, fruit and vegetables, seafood, dairy, and spices. In the Aegean, Marmara, and Mediterranean regions, olive oil–based vegetable dishes are generally consumed in cold conditions. Salads prepared from raw or cooked vegetables are mostly flavored with lemon, vinegar, and olive oil. The shepherd salad made with onion, tomato, beans, and pepper and served as an accompaniment to the main dish; lettuce salad prepared with green vegetables; the salad known as haricot bean salad prepared with legumes also exist in Turkish cuisine. Bulgur salad with walnuts and salad prepared with vegetables and bulgur are available as well. Vegetable dishes are also important in the Aegean cuisine. Artichokes, beans, and eggplant belt are often cooked [23].

People in the Republican era sit at the table after washing their hands first. Generally, the father starts eating by saying “bismillah.” He opens the meal by saying “enjoy” or “scar.” A Turkish dining table without soup is unthinkable. Soup is consumed with any kind of meal in Turkish cuisine and is served at the beginning of the meal; it is served hot. There are other soup types even more



Fig. 5. A black-and-white picture taken during the Republican period with M. Kemal Atatürk who was the founder of the Turkish republic. The colored picture shows regular folk dining at a table. (1) During the Republican era, kitchens have shrunk because of change of mansions to apartments, food items are losing their taste because natural products have disappeared, and the time devoted to cooking has reduced. (2) Today, Turkish cuisine is preserved and developed in houses. (3) In this kitchen, cooking knowledge is passed from mother to daughter or mother-in-law to bride. (4) Our tableware varieties include family sofas, guest sofas, mass meals, and special day meals; and these table types have continued to this day from Central Asia. (5) Generally, in the Republican era, men and women sit together and eat at dinner tables.

important than scalded meat and soups made from aquatic chicken, which generally may be divided into three groups: floury, grain, and strained-grind soups. *Toyga* (soup made with yogurt, hazelnut, rice, egg, and mint), *arabashe* (a kind of spicy chicken soup), wedding soup, and tomato soup are examples of floury soups; tutmach, grain soup, strained-grind rubbed noodle soup, lentil soup and vegetable soup can be given as examples of strained-grind soups. In terms of nutrition; especially Tarhana soup, yogurt soup and lentil soup adding mincing meat is common. Yogurt and rice together with chickpea being served with a vegetable salad and a vegetable dish forms a balanced food. Turkish cuisine is famous in the world for its meat dishes such as raw and *doner kebab* made from mutton and lamb. In Turkish cuisine, *doner*, fried food, roast, grilled *kebabs*, pot *kebabs*, stews, casseroles, field food, fish stews, boiled, meatballs, meaty stuffing, fruity meat dishes and a many more varieties of food are cooked [8].

Meatballs are the most commonly cooked meat. Besides mixing meatballs with ground beef and various ingredients, the types prepared with bulgur are also available, especially in the southeast, east, and Mediterranean regions. On the basis of health, mixing ground beef or bulgur with vegetables and baking it in the furnace, plate or in the aqueous medium is considered a very healthy practice. Foods cooked in pans, jerks, *moussaka*, wrapped and stuffed food, and vegetable and olive oil-based dishes are the types of vegetable dishes available in Turkish cuisine. Eggplants, peppers, or zucchini are prepared directly or with flour by being fried in oil and are served with sauce. Vegetables are fried before using ground beef in *moussaka* [24].

Today, Konya cuisine has become distinctively and incredibly enriched in kitchen architecture, tools, dishes, cooking methods, table layouts, service procedures, and food prepared for winter. In Seljuk palaces, dishes were organized in plates and golden trays in accordance with the Oghuz picture. The first teaming of chefs in Turkish cuisine began in Mevlevi cuisine, the first head chef was from Konya and probably a mausoleum was built in his name; this may be enough to express the magnificence of Konya cuisine. In Konya cuisine, many enrichments, such as eating desserts, are found in all transition periods including birth and marriage everywhere in Anatolia [25].

Bread is a sacred food among Turks. It has a religious importance. They have infinite respect toward bread, mankind's main food. Sometimes, even vows had taken place onto bread. Bread is the most irreplaceable food item on Turkish dining tables and is the most respected nutrient and placed in safe corners. Bread is considered the most precious divine blessing; thus, it is always referred to with special reverence. In general, three kinds of breads, namely, loaves, flatbread, and *yufka* are consumed. Most of the time, bread is used as a meal with one or two additives [18].

6. Conclusion

Findings from Chalathoyuk state that the Turkish culinary culture has been brought into being from the combination of Central Asian steppes and Anatolian civilizations. Central Asian Turks were mostly engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. Among meals, pastries mostly made from wheat and wheat flour came into prominence. The Seljuk period had significant impact on Turkish cuisine culture. In this period, meat, flour, and fat were the essential constituents of dishes. Many delicacies were created during the Seljuk period through a variety of cooking techniques and by addition of one nutritive element with another or mixing them up. In the Ottoman period, the cuisine developed on the basis of three factors: palace, mansion, and chefs and thus brought out famous

Turkish cuisine in Istanbul. For Ottoman Turks, cuisine was an important part of palace life. Palace cuisine was always looking for innovations and became the place where tasty and rich types of food came into being.

Conflicts of interest

All authors have no conflicts of interest to declare.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data related to this article can be found at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jef.2018.05.002>.

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