Ottoman Olfactory Traditions in a Palatial Space: Incense Burners in the Topkapı Palace

by

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This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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Statement of Authorship

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Ottoman olfactory traditions in residential spaces through a group of incense burners in the Topkapı Palace Museum collections and contextualizes the objects within their multisensory settings. This study aims to explain various connotations of olfactory practice in residential spaces, and to do so it will focus on the Topkapı Palace as a case study. Islam attributes great importance to "pleasant" scent, and Muslim society used perfume and fragrances frequently in both public and residential spaces, such as mosques, tombs, and houses. The Ottomans were no exception. Visual sources depict censers in residential spaces such as mansions of Ottoman elites and the sultan. In addition, primary sources describe the olfactory practices in the Ottoman society. Today, the Topkapı Palace Museum contains incense burners in six different sections of the collection. The present survey does not aim to present a quantitative survey of censers, but rather to compile and describe in greater detail the published thirty censers in order to offer some general conclusions on their form, function, and symbolic meaning. Therefore, this research will hopefully contribute to the study of Ottoman smellscape by bringing new perspectives to the meaning of olfactory usage in residential spaces in the Ottoman world.

Keywords: Incense burner, Ottoman olfactory practices, smellscape, Topkapı Palace

ÖZET

Bu tezde Osmanlıların evsel alanda ıtriyat kullanma geleneği Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi koleksiyonunda bulunan bir grup buhurdan aracılığıyla incelenmektedir. Daha önce yayınlanmış olan çalışmalardan farklı olarak buhurdanlar, tarihsel arka planları ve çeşitli duyulara hitap eden diğer çevre unsurlarıyla birlikte değerlendirilmektedir. Osmanlı'da evsel alanda tütsü kullanma geleneğinin ortaya çıkardığı çeşitli manaları anlamak için bu çalışmada, Topkapı Sarayı örnek bir evsel mekân olarak ele alınmaktadır. İslam, "güzel" kokuya önem atfeder. Dolayısıyla Müslüman toplumlar parfüm ve tütsüyü cami, türbe ve ev gibi hem kamusal hem de evsel alanlarda sıklıkla kullanmıştır. Osmanlılar bu konuda istisna değildir. Görsel kaynaklara bakıldığında buhurdanların, Osmanlı elitlerinin ve sultanlarının konaklarında kullanıldıkları görülmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra, birincil kaynaklarda da Osmanlı toplumunda tütsü kullanımından bahsedilmektedir. Günümüzde Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'nin altı farklı seksiyonunda buhurdanlar bulunmaktadır. Bu araştırmayla buhurdanları nicel olarak incelemekten ziyade daha önce ayrı ayrı yayınlanmış olan otuz adet buhurdan belirlenip detaylı bir biçimde incelenerek biçimsel, fonksiyonel ve sembolik anlamları üzerine bir takım genel sonuçlara varmak hedeflenmiştir. Netice olarak bu çalışmayla, Osmanlı'da evsel alanlarda tütsü kullanımına yeni bakış açıları getirmek ve Osmanlı koku kültürü çalışmalarına katkıda bulunmak amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Buhurdan, Osmanlı'da tütsü geleneği, Osmanlı koku kültürü, Topkapı Sarayı

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstractiv
Özetv
Acknowledgmentsvi
Table of Contentsvii
List of Tablesviii
List of Abbreviationsix
List of Figuresx
Introduction1
Chapter 1- The History of Olfactory Practices11
1.a. Olfactory Tradition in the Islamic World11
1.b. Olfactory Tradition in the Ottoman Empire14
Chapter 2- Incense Burners in the Topkapı Palace Museum23
2.a. The Incense Burners: Style and Iconography23
2.b. The Spatial Context: Incense Burners Usage in the Palace's Rooms
Chapter 3- Fumigatories84
3.a. Popular Aromatics in the Ottoman Empire84
3.b. Religious Meanings of Scents92
Chapter 4- The Production of Incense Burners and Incense for the Palace96
4.a. Craftsmen of the Sultan: The <i>Ehl-i hiref</i> 96
4.b. Patrons of Incense Burners
Conclusion119
Figures125
Appendix 1
Appendix 2
Bibliography229

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Distribution of the censers in the Topkapi Palace (according to the Commission Records)
Table 2: The number of anberinecis and buhurcus in the Topkapı Palace

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TSM Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi (Topkapı Palace Museum)

TSK Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Topkapı Palace Library)

TSA Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi (Topkapı Palace Archive)

İÜK İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (Istanbul University

Library)

SK Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Süleymaniye Library)

TİEM Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (Museum of Turkish and

Islamic Art)

TDVİA Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (Turkish

Religious Foundation Encyclopedia of Islam)

LIST OF FIGURES

- **Figure 1.** Ground plan of the Topkapı Palace, 1453-79 and later additions. A. second courtyard, B. third courtyard, C. harem, D. pavilion garden of the third courtyard. Source: Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteen and Sixteen Centuries* (New York: The MIT Press, 1991), plate 11.
- **Figure 2.** A Public Bath, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la Législation Mahométane; l'autre l'Histoire de l'Empire Othomane, vol. 1, Paris, De l'imprimerie de Monsieur, 1787, The Gennadius Library. Source: <eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=53771>.
- **Figure 3.** Photograph of the Surre Procession in Yıldız Palace during the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909), 19th century. Source: Çağlar, Yusuf, and Salih Gülen, *Dersaadet'ten Haremeyn'e Surre-i Hümayun*, (Istanbul: Yitik Hazine Yayınları, 2008), 23.
- **Figure 4.** Photograph of the Enthronement Ceremony of Mehmed V, 1909. Source: After Jacques Bénoist-Mechin, *Turkey 1908-1938: The End of the Ottoman Empire: A History in Documentary Photographs* (Zug: Swan Productions, 1989).
- **Figure 5.** A Vizier's mansion, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la Législation Mahométane; l'autre l'Histoire de l'Empire Othomane,* vol. 2, Paris, De l'imprimerie de Monsieur, 1790, The Gennadius Library. Source: http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=53793>.
- **Figure 6.** Detail of figure 5.
- **Figure 7.** The palace of Hatice Sultan, Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage* pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore, Παρίσι, Treuttel et Würtz, 1819, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library. Source: http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=50251.
- **Figure 8.** Detail of figure 7.
- **Figure 9.** Lying-in Room of a Distinguished Turkish Woman, Jean Baptiste Vanmour, c. 1720 c. 1737, Rijkmuseum. Source: https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-2003>.
- **Figure 10.** Reception of French Ambassador Kont de Vergennes by the grand vizier in Istanbul, anonymous copy of Antoine de Favray (1706-1781), 63.8 x 86.1cm, inv. no 398 MŁ Castle Museum in Łańcut. Source: Zeynep Tarım,

- "Osmanlı Devlet Teşrifatında Kahve İkramı," in *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2015), 202.
- **Figure 11.** Four officials in charge of coffee service. Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1787, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Y.B. 3441, ill. 60, 58, 61, 59. Source: Zeynep Tarım, "Osmanlı Devlet Teşrifatında Kahve İkramı," in *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2015), 209.
- **Figure 12.** Haseki Sultana, Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, *Recueil de cent estampes representant differentes nations du Levant tirées sur les tableaux peints d'après Nature en 1707, et 1708 par les Ordres de Mr. de Ferriol ambassadeur du Roi a la Porte..., Paris, 1714, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library. Source: http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=42928.*
- **Figure 13.** Composite stationary censer, 16th century and 1617/18, TİEM, no. 29. Source: Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 80, fig. 13.
- **Figure 14.** Composite stationary censer, early 17th century or slightly earlier, TSM, no. 15/2771. Source: *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, ed. Hande Eagle, (Istanbul: BKG, 2010), 163.
- **Figure 15.** Composite stationary censer, early 17th century, TSM, no. 15/2773. Source: *Topkapı Palace the Imperial Harem: House of the Sultan* (Istanbul: BKG, 2012), 364.
- **Figure 16.** Composite stationary censer, 16th and 17th century, TSM, no. 15/2758. Source: Regina Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue* (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 2: 842.
- **Figure 17.** Composite stationary censer, second half of the 17th century, TSM, no. 2/2140. Source: Nurdan Erbahar, *Çin Porselenleri*, tr. Virginia Taylor-Saçlıoğlu, (Istanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1984), 39.
- **Figure 18.** Composite stationary censer, 18th century, TSM, no. 15/2768. Source: Regina Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue* (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 2: 881.
- **Figure 19.** Composite stationary censer, 19th century, TSM, no. 15/2770. Source: Serkan Gedük, "Osmanlı Saray Kültüründe Buhur ve Gülsuyu Geleneği," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 6 (2013), 151, fig. 11.
- **Figure 20.** Gilt-copper censer, 16th or 18th century, TSM, no. 2/6781. Source: *Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 112.

- **Figure 21.** Gilt-copper censer, early 17th century, TSM, no. 25/3830. Source: *Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 116.
- **Figure 22.** Gilt-copper censer, 17th century, cat. no. 11. Source: *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, ed. Hande Eagle, (Istanbul: BKG, 2010), 205.
- **Figure 23.** Gilt-copper censer, 17th century, TSM, no. 25/3777. Source: *Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 115.
- **Figure 24.** Gilt-copper censer, 18th century, TSM, no. 25/3864. Source: *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2015), 354.
- **Figure 25.** Gilt-copper censer, 18th century, TSM, no. 25/3862. Source: *Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 114.
- **Figure 26.** Silver censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, cat. no. 16-17. Source: *Topkapı Palace* (Istanbul: Akbank, 2000), 438.
- **Figure 27.** Silver censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no. 16/139-40. Source: Serkan Gedük, "Osmanlı Saray Kültüründe Buhur ve Gülsuyu Geleneği," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 6 (2013), 152, fig. 16.
- **Figure 28.** Silver censer, 19th century, TSM, no. 16/824. Source: Nurhan Atasoy, *Splendors of the Ottoman Sultans* (Memphis: Lithograph Pub, 1992), 218.
- **Figure 29.** Silver censer, 19th century, TSM, no. 21/200. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.
- **Figure 30.** Silver censer, 19th century, TSM, no. 21/198. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum.
- **Figure 31.** Detail of figure 30.
- **Figure 32.** Gold censers, 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3515-16. Source: *Imperial Surre* (Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Culture Co., 2008), 156.
- **Figure 33.** Gold censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no.2/3373-74. Source: *Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 225.
- **Figure 34.** Gold censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3495-96. Source: Fahreddin Pasha's Notebook, Ottoman, 1919, 40.3 x 28.5 cm. TSK Y.Y.827.

- **Figure 35.** Gold censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3371-72. Source: Serkan Gedük, "Osmanlı Saray Kültüründe Buhur ve Gülsuyu Geleneği," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 6 (2013), 152, fig.16.
- **Figure 36.** Photograph from Fahreddin Pasha's Notebook, Ottoman, 1919, 40.3 x 28.5 cm. TSK Y.Y. 827.
- **Figure 37.** Gold censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3490-91-92. Source: J.M. Rogers, *Topkapı Sarayı Objets d'art* (Paris: Ditions du Jaguar, 1987), fig. 103.
- **Figure 38.** Gold censer, early 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3384-85. Source: *Imperial Surre* (Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Culture Co., 2008), 158.
- **Figure 39.** Gold censer, early 20th century, TSM, no. 2/3502. Source: J.M. Rogers, *Topkapi Sarayi Objets d'art*, (Paris: Ditions du Jaguar, 1987), fig. 95.
- **Figure 40.** European Porcelain censer and rosewater sprinkler set, late 18th or early 19th century, TSM, no. 26/4567. Source: Göksen Sonat, Ömür Tufan, *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2005), 37.
- **Figure 41.** The marble mortar (*buhur dibeği*) at the corner outside the entrance of the *Has Oda* section in the third courtyard. Photograph by the author.
- **Figure 42**. The marble mortar (*buhur dibeği*) features a Persian inscription. Photograph by the author.
- **Figure 43**. Plan of the Topkapı Palace by Bobovi. Room number 53 indicates the hospital room of the pages of the *Has Oda* Chamber. Source: Ali Ufkî, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam: Albertus Bobovius ya da Santurî Ali Ufkî Bey'in Anıları*, ed. Stephanos Yerasimos and Annie Berthier; transl. Ali Berktay (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 31.
- **Figure 44**. Ahmed III's Library in the third courtyard. Source: Topkapı Palace Museum < http://topkapisarayi.gov.tr/tr/content/iii-ahmedk%C3%BCt%C3%BCphanesi-enderun-k%C3%BCt%C3%BCphanesi>.
- **Figure 45.** Süleyman I conversing with his son in his private library, Talikizade, *Şehname*, c. 1596-1600, TSK, A 3595, fol. 79r. Source: Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, Zeren Tanındı *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010), 179.
- **Figure 46.** Detail of figure 45.
- **Figure 47.** The observatory of Taqi al-Din Ibn Ma'ruf, Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşahname*, c. 1581, İÜK, Ms. F 1404, fol. 57a. Source: Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, Zeren Tanındı, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010), 127.

- **Figure 48.** Detail of figure 47.
- **Figure 49.** The Sultan's Bath, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman, 1787, TSK, Y.B. 3441, vol. 3, ill. 167. Source: *Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 137.
- **Figure 50.** Detail of figure 49.
- **Figure 51.** *Anberdan* (small box to hold raw ambergris) made from gold and decorated with emeralds and rubies, 17th century, Treasury Section, TSM, no. 2/3669, diameter 10.3 cm x 7.6 cm. Source: *Hamam: Osmanli'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 226.
- **Figure 52.** Ground plan of the Topkapı Palace shows the *Elçi Hazinesi* (the Envoy Treasury) next to the Inner Treasury (*Fatih Köşkü*) in the third courtyard. Source: Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapı Sarayı: İçince Geçen Vak'alar, Eski Saray Hayatı ve Teşkilatı ile Beraber Adım Adım, Köşe Köşe* (Istanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat, 1975).
- **53.** Detail of figure 52.
- **Figure 54.** Vizier Mehmed Pasha conversing with Şehzade Mehmed in the Harem room, Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşahaname II*, 1597-98, TSK, B. 200, fol. 82b-83a. Source: Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, Zeren Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting* (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2010), 129.
- **Figure 55.** The fountain (*selsebil*) from Murad III's room in the Harem. Source: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,52083/topkapi-sarayi-muzesinden-haberler.html.
- **Figure 56.** Hünkar Sofası (Imperial Hall) in the Harem. Photograph by the author.
- **Figure 57.** Detail of the walls and the ceiling of the *Yemiş Odası* (Fruit Room) in the Harem. Source: Topkapı Palace Museum http://topkapisarayi.gov.tr/tr/content/h%C3%BCnk%C3%A2r-sofas%C4%B1.
- **Figure 58.** Golden container with incense pastilles made by the pages of the *Has Oda*, 19th century, TSM, no. 21/576. Source: Sevgi Ağca, *Kutsal Hırka-i Saadet*, *Teşkilatı, Törenleri ve Kutsal Emanetleriyle Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi* (Istanbul: Korpus Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2013), 234.
- **Figure 59.** Anonymous, *Ahval-i Kıyamet* (Circumstances of the Day of Resurrection), 1600-1610, SK, M. Hafid Efendi, 139, fol. 50b. Source: Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, Zeren Tanındı, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010), 198.
- Figure 60. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Topkapı Palace grounds in the nineteenth century. Number 41 is the Tiled Kiosk. Source: Gülru Necipoğlu,

Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteen and Sixteen Centuries (New York: The MIT Press, 1991), plate 11.

Figure 61. Nakkaş Osman, procession of the guild of candle-stick makers, *Surname-i Hümayun*, 1582, TSK, H. 1344, fol. 159a. Source: Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 88, fig. 27.

Figure 62. Detail of figure 61.

Figure 63. Incense burner from the *Has Oda*, gilt copper and silver, donated by Selim III (1793/4), still contains incense pieces in the shape of pastilles, TSM, no. 21/198. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Topkapı Palace.

Figure 64. Guild of *Buhurcus*, *Surname-i Hümayun*, 1582, TSK, H. 1344, fol. 112b. Source: Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 89, fig. 29.

Figure 65. Detail of figure 64.

Figure 66. Nakkaş Osman, procession of the guild of herbalists (*attars*), *Surname-i Hümayun*, 1582, TSK, H. 1344, fol. 164b. Source: Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 89, fig. 28.

Figure 67. Detail of figure 66.

Figure 68. Levni, procession of the guild of farmers, millers and bakers, *Surname-i Vehbi*, c. 1720, TSK, A. 3593, fol. 71b. Source: Esin Atıl, *Levni ve Surname: Bir Osmanlı Şenliğinin Öyküsü* (Istanbul: Koçbank Yayınları, 1999), 182.

Figure 69. Detail of figure 68.

Figure 70. Levni, procession of the butchers, cooks and tanners (*debbağlar*), *Surname-i Vehbi*, c. 1720, TSK, A. 3593, fol. Source: Esin Atıl, *Levni ve Surname: Bir Osmanlı Şenliğinin Öyküsü*, (Istanbul: Koçbank Yayınları, 1999), 181.

Figure 71. Detail of figure 70.

Figure 72. Stationary censer, parcel-gilt silver, h. 45, 1624, TİEM, no. 18. Source: Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 79, fig. 11.

Figure 73. Rosewater sprinkler, gilt copper, early 19th century, TSM, no. 25/3815. Source: *Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 224.

Figure 74. Hanging censer, silver sheet around mortar base, with decoration of semiprecious gemstones and gold wire, canopy made from silver wire, total h. 31 cm, second half of the sixteenth century, TİEM, no. 25. Source: Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 85, fig. 24.

INTRODUCTION

This multisensory study examines incense burners in the Topkapı Palace within the Islamic olfactory tradition. It aims to explain various connotations of Ottoman olfactory practices in residential space, and to do so it will focus on the Topkapı Palace as a case study. Multisensory studies enhance the field of art and architectural history because they provide a wider perspective to the historic context of objects and monuments. The development of sensory studies within the field of anthropology started in the 1990s. Art historians soon started to adapt this concept into the study of art and architecture, because multisensory studies help to explore and understand the culture of a society from a broader perspective. With multisensory studies, the field of art history started to reconsider the

¹ Since the methodological background of this thesis is based on multisensory studies, it is crucial to points to *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (1994) by Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott. This book is one of earliest publications which discuss the cultural role of smell in different periods and focus mainly on Western history. *Aroma* became a reference work for other multisensory studies such as *The Smell Culture Reader* (2006), and *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (2007). To understand the cultural context of smell in various societies I benefited from these publications. In addition, these sources helped me to conceptualize the reasons and modes of Ottoman incense burner usage in residential spaces. Constance Classen, David Howes and Anthony Synott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994); *The Smell Culture Reader*, Jim Drobnick, ed. (Oxford: Berg, 2006); Mark M. Smith *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (University of California Press, 2007).

² Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 70.

perception of object and buildings not only in terms of vision, but also in terms of other sensory modalities, such as smell, sound, touch and taste. In the last decade, art historians introduced prominent publications that discuss art and architecture within the multisensory context. Bissera Petcheva's *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (2010) discusses the perception of the mixed-media relief icon and how viewers became part of and interacted with the divine.

Sound and Space in Renaissance: Venice Architecture, Music, Acoustics (2009) by Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti investigates the relation between sacred music and architectural design of Venetian churches in the sixteenth century.

These kinds of studies provide an understanding of architecture's context as a whole. Through this sensory study, I aim to enhance the understanding of Ottoman court life. To study scent usage will help to reconstruct one element of the residential spaces' of the Ottoman dynasty in their political, religious and cultural context.

Previous publications about Islamic incense burners are mostly descriptive and not very much concerned with the social context of the object.⁵ The only study that considers context in a more comprehensive way is by Nina Ergin. "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context" concerns incense burners and their different layers of meaning.⁶ Ergin contextualizes the

³ Bissera Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

⁴ Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti, *Sound and Space in Renaissance: Venice Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (New Haven: Yale University, 2009).

⁵ M. Zeki Kuşoğlu, "Milletlerin ve Dinlerin Ortak Mirası Buhurdanlar," *İlgi Dergisi* 51 (1987), 33-35. Şevket Rado, *Aletler ve Adetler* (Istanbul: Akbank, 1987). Şinasi Acar, "Buhurdan ve Gülabdanlar," *Osmanlı'da Günlük Yaşam Nesneleri* (Istabul: Yem Yayınevi, 2011), 352-363.

subject within an olfactory tradition of the Islamic world. She starts with historical information about the incense burning tradition and examines how this tradition became a part of Ottoman culture. Then, the article continues with the typology and contextualization of Ottoman incense burners. It shows the connection between typology and iconography of the incense burners according to their spatial context. This thesis aims to take Ergin's study of censers in mosques and tombs as an example and carry this research into the residential space. Studying the usage of incense burners in the Topkapı Palace helps to understand the religious, political, and social meanings of scent in the Ottoman Empire.

In order to understand the multiple meanings of incense usage in the palace, this thesis revolves around several questions: What are the connotations of Islamic olfactory practice in residential spaces? What was the primary motivation behind the incense usage in events, ceremonies and daily life in the Ottoman Empire? How was the form of the censers changed according to their areas of usage? Did different fumigatories have different meanings? By investigating these research questions, this study attempts to reconstruct the smellscape of the Topkapı Palace.⁷

The first chapter presents an overview of olfactory practices with a focus on the Islamic world. In addition, it aims to explain why and where the Ottomans employed olfactory practices. The second chapter starts with the visual analysis of

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⁷ Fumigation probably was not always used to create a pleasant atmosphere, since it is known that incense burners were used in food storages where they would have functioned as insect repellent. For information on the subject, see Chapter 2.b. However, this thesis mainly focuses on olfactory practices intended to create a pleasant atmosphere in residential spaces.

the thirty published incense burners in the Topkapı Palace Museum, which are investigated in detail for the first time. Unfortunately, this thesis cannot present the exact total number of the incense burners in the collection because of limited access; hence, it will only focus on published ones. The present survey does not aim to present a quantitative survey of censers, but rather to compile and describe in greater detail the published thirty censers in order to offer some general conclusions on their form, function, and symbolic meaning. The second part of Chapter 2 focuses on the spatial context of the objects. In order to reconstruct the smellscape of the Topkapı Palace, I tried to determine the rooms which most likely hosted olfactory practices in the palace and their functions. Chapter 3 is devoted to the fumigatories used in the Ottoman Empire, especially in the palace. In addition, the chapter explores religion's impact on material choices. Chapter 4 seeks to understand the design and production process of the incense burners presented in Chapter 2. Preparation of incense for the palace is also discussed in the same chapter. The first part of the final chapter focuses on the royal guilds that likely took part in incense and censer production, while the second part tries to determine the patrons of these objects.

This thesis does not focus on a single period; rather, it traces objects and practices from the late fifteenth to the early twentieth century. This choice is based on two considerations: First, the published incense burners' dates show a great variety; the earliest censer in this study is dated to the sixteenth century, whereas the latest one dates to the early twentieth century. Second, since this research focuses on one single location, the Topkapı Palace, as a case study, it is

reasonable to take the late fifteenth century as a starting point and continue throughout the centuries until the end of the Ottoman Empire.

The main purpose of this study is to offer a preliminary survey and analysis of the incense burners in the Topkapı Palace Museum in order to construct a comprehensive picture about their usage in residential spaces, which can serve as basis for future research. This survey will hopefully contribute to the study of Ottoman smellscapes by bringing new perspectives to the meaning of olfactory usage in residential spaces as one element of the representation of the imperial image in the Ottoman world.

Residential Spaces: The Topkapı Palace

The Topkapı Palace had both administrative and residential functions (Fig. 1). The palace was formed by three main courtyards, with three gates connecting the courtyards to each other. The Topkapı Palace contains public, semi-public and residential spaces. The first gate, *Bab-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Gate), opens to the first courtyard which served as an open space for the public; people could enter and from here proceed to hand their petitions to the sultan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The second gate, *Bab-üs Selam* (Gate of Salutation), is a tangible representation of the hierarchy of the palace because one cannot pass into the second courtyard without permission. This courtyard was the place where state matters were discussed in the Imperial Council (*Divan-ı Hümayun*). In this courtyard, celebrations took place with the participation of the sultan, such as

religious holidays (*bayram*), enthronements (*cülus*), and *ulûfe*⁸ ceremonies. Thus, we can consider the second courtyard (Figure. 1, key A) as a semi-residential space.

In addition to the administrative role, the palace was also the house of the sultan and his "family." This distinction began with the third gate the *Bab-ūs Saâde* (Gate of Felicity). The Persian word *Enderun* was specifically used for the residential parts of the palace (Figure. 1, key B). *Enderun* means interior and included the Imperial Harem, the third courtyard and the pavilions and inner gardens of the palace. The *Enderun* was closed to outsiders and entirely belonged to the sultan and his family. The term "family" needs explanation because it differs from present-day conceptions. The closest members of the Ottoman sultan's family included the mother of the sultan, his sisters and brothers, male cousins, and his consorts (*haseki*). The "family" also encompassed servants who had no blood relation to the sultan, such as concubines, pages, and black and white eunuchs. To sum up, the first two courtyards of the palace functioned to maintain the relationship with the outer world. The Imperial Harem, the third

⁸ *Ulufe* is the day when the three-monthly salaries of the Janissaries were distributed in the second courtyard of the palace. On this day, the sultan was also serving a meal to the Janissaries. Generally, ambassador visits were accepted on this day to show the military power of the Ottoman army.

⁹ Ali Ufkî, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam: Albertus Bobovius ya da Santurî Ali Ufkî Bey'in Anıları*, ed. Stephanos Yerasimos and Annie Berthier; transl. Ali Berktay (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 25

^{25.}There were a few exceptions. The teachers of the sultans, as well as pages, physicians, musicians, masons, carpenters, goldsmiths, and clockmakers were able to enter the residential area with permission. Ali Ufkî, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda* Yaşam, 25.

¹¹ Haseki is the title for a concubine who had given birth to a son.

¹² Gülru Necipoğlu, Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (New York: The MIT Press, 1991), 8.

courtyard and the fourth quarter (pavilion gardens)¹³ constituted a residential zone that belonged to the sultan and his households. This thesis will mainly focus on residential spaces in the palace: the Harem, the third courtyard, and the fourth quarter. However, I will also provide information about olfactory practices in the second courtyard.

History of the Topkapı Palace

According to historical sources, the official name of the Topkapı Palace was saray-i cedid (New Palace). ¹⁴ The name Topkapı was derived from a kiosk that stood near one of the sea gates of the palace. ¹⁵ This palace was called "new" because only a few years earlier another palace had been built by Mehmed II in Istanbul. Shortly after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, Mehmed II ordered to build a palace in the Forum Tauri (today's *Beyazut*). ¹⁶ The majority of the first palace's construction was completed in 1455, but the construction lasted three more years. ¹⁷ While the first palace was still "new," Mehmed II ordered the construction of a new (second) palace in 1459 or 1460, which was built on the ancient acropolis of Byzantium. ¹⁸ There are two different arguments to explain the

¹³ Sofa-i Hümayun refers to the fourth quarter.

¹⁴ Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekânları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun: Topkapı Sarayı* (Istanbul: Denizbank, 2002), 7; Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 4; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1984), 15.

¹⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, 15; Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekânları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 40.

¹⁶ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekânları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun* 14.

¹⁷ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 3.

¹⁸ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 4.

reasons behind constructing the New Palace. ¹⁹ The first view suggests that the sultan needed more space to expand his palace. According to the second opinion, the New Palace was constructed as a fortress. Both of the statements do not seem convincing, since the first palace was established on a vast empty space and because Mehmed II had already built the fortress of Yedikule. According to Gülru Necipoğlu, the New Palace was built to establish an imperial image that could promote Mehmed II as a world ruler. ²⁰

The location of the New Palace was superior because it provided a magnificent view over the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara. According to the inscription on the *Bab-ı Hümayun*, Mehmed II saw himself as the ruler of "the two continents and the two seas." This statement shows that Mehmed II chose a site with a significant Byzantine past and that he turned it into an Ottoman space which would emphasize his "world dominion." Concurrent with the construction of the palace, Mehmed II created his own dynastic law code (*kanunname*). The *kanunname* is a document that establishes the Ottoman court ceremonial and determines the hierarchy of the state officers. This law code is particularly important for the history of the Topkapı Palace, because it shows how the palace's architecture was formed according to these ceremonial rules. With the *kanunname* the visibility of the sultan became more limited. For example, he was no longer eating together with his court officials. Mehmed II created a new

¹⁹ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 10.

²⁰ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 12.

²¹ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 13.

Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 13. Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 12.

²³ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 16.

imperial image for the Ottoman dynasty as he became the ruler of an empire rather than of a principality. He was influenced by the tradition of seclusion of both Byzantine and Mamluk rulers.²⁴ Mehmed II brought the concept of seclusion to Ottoman palace architecture: the sultan how became a sacred subject.²⁵ The concept of seclusion contributed to the formation of the public and residential spaces of the palace. As one walked from the first gate to the inner courts of the palace, the space became increasingly more private. Accordingly, the third courtyard and fourth quarter of the palace were designed as residential area for the sultan and his household.

The initial construction of the Topkapı Palace was completed in 1478, during Mehmed II's reign. After the first phase of the construction, the palace was rebuilt over the centuries according to the needs and tastes of the new rulers. Thus, nearly every sultan made some changes to the palace, adding new rooms or kiosks in order to meet new requirements. However, the initial architectural structure was preserved: The palace formed a collection of separate kiosks, connected by gardens. The first building phase included the palace walls (*Sur-u Hümayun*), the three main gates (*Bab-ı Hümayun*, *Bab-üs Selam*, *Bab-üs Saâde*), the *Divan-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Council), the kitchens (*Matbah-ı Amire*), the *Deavi Kasrı* (Petiton Kiosk), the *Ağalar Camii* (Mosque of Aghas), the Privy Chamber (*Has Oda*), the Fatih Kiosk, and the *Hekimbaşı* Kiosk.

²⁴ Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 15-16.

²⁵ Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 16.

Since the majority of the Ottoman sultans made architectural changes to the palace during the last three centuries, this thesis will primarily focus on the most significant architectural patronage activities of several sultans. The reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520-66) can be considered as a second major construction phase of the Topkapı Palace. During the reign of Süleyman I, the Imperial Harem moved from the Old Palace to the Topkapı Palace. After Süleyman I, Murad III (r. 1574-95) enlarged the Harem complex. However, the harem was rebuilt by Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87) after a fire in 1665. Murad IV (r. 1623-40) enlarged the Enderun organization and added two kiosks (Bağdat and Revan) in the Marble Sofa of the fourth court. During the eighteenth century, Ahmed III (r. 1703-30), Abdülhamid I (r. 1774-89) and Selim III (r. 1789-1807) built rooms and kiosks in the harem and in the third courtyard. In the reign of Abdülmecid (r. 1839-61), the dynastic family moved to the Dolmabahçe Palace. However, the family had to visit the Topkapı Palace for certain ceremonies: enthronements (cülus), funerals, visiting the Holy Mantle during Ramadan, and the two religious holiday ceremonies (muayede). For ceremonial purposes, Sultan Abdülmecid built the Mecidiye Kiosk and the final gate of the palace, which today is called Kule Kapısı. Even though the palace experienced many changes over the last four centuries, its main structure was more or less preserved. The final version of the Topkapı Palace may be seen as a barometer of the changing taste during the years in the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORY OF OLFACTORY PRACTICE

1. a. Olfactory Tradition in the Islamic World

Islam, which emerged in Arabia in the early seventh century, attributes great importance to pleasant smell. However, Islam was not the first or only religion that attributes importance to olfactory usage and perfuming. Perfuming is an ancient habit, and various societies from different religions pursued these traditions, such as pagans, Jews and Christians. Odors were mostly used for sacred, sanitary and practical reasons. For example, the Jews have a divine recipe for incense to use during worship. Ancient Romans also used aromatics for religious purposes; by perfuming their houses they believed that it would purify the house from evil spirits. They also used fragrance to protect themselves from diseases. When Christianity first emerged Christians refused to use incense during worship because it was perceived as a pagan tradition. However, after the fourth century, with the incense burner gifted by Emperor Constantine, usage of censers

²⁶ Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 71; Amar Zohar and Lev Efraim, "Trends in the Use of Perfumes and Incense in the Near East after the Muslim Conquest," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23/1

became formalized in churches.²⁷ The usage of aromatics was also very common in the pre-Islamic context of Arabia since the region had access to fumigatories.²⁸

Scent holds a significant place in Islam. There are Qur'an verses that give reference to the smell of musk and camphor to describe Paradise. ²⁹ In addition, incense and perfume usage played an important role in the lives of Muslims. Arab-Muslim societies perceived pleasant odor as purifier, protector, and pleasure. ³⁰ One reason for the usage of incense and perfume can be found in the *hadiths* of the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet himself enjoyed incense, and he frequently used agar wood, camphor and musk. ³¹ The sources show that he would perfume himself with incense before going to the mosque. ³² A *hadith* that was recorded by Sahih Buhari and narrated by 'Azra bin Thabit Al-Ansari illustrate the Prophet's love of "pleasant smell." ³³ The Prophet Muhammad encouraged the Muslim community to use incense to smell pleasantly in daily life, especially during the congregational prayer on Friday. ³⁴ Even though the Prophet

²⁷ Mark M. Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (University of California Press, 2007), 62.

²⁸ Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 72.

²⁹ Sura 83:25-26; Sura 76:5. For detailed information, see Chapter 3.b.

³⁰ Françoise Aubaile-Sallenave, "Bodies, Odors and Perfumes in Arab-Muslim Societies," *The Smell Culture Reader*, ed. Jim Drobnick (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 391-399.

³¹ Abdülhalik Bakır, "Ortaçağ İslam Dünyasında Parfümcülük," *Kutsal Dumandan, Sihirli Damlaya: Parfüm* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), 43.

³² Bakır, "Ortaçağ İslam Dünyasında Parfümcülük," 42.

All hadith references are from USC-MSA Compendium of Muslim Texts http://www.cmje.org/religioustexts/hadith. "The Prophet used not to reject the gifts of perfume." Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 3, Book 47, Number 756.

34 Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 13, Number 5. "The taking of a bath on Friday is compulsory

³⁴ Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 13, Number 5. "The taking of a bath on Friday is compulsory for every male Muslim who has attained the age of puberty and (also) the cleaning of his teeth with Siwak, and the using of perfume if it is available."

A companion of the Prophet, Abu Juhaifa, narrated that he smelled nicer than musk.³⁵

There are many *hadiths* about "good" and "bad" scent, perfume and incense. The Prophet used scent as a metaphor when describing Paradise. Moreover, the religious aspects of scent, as emphasized in the *hadiths*, concern piety, afterlife, and the Day of Judgment.³⁶ There are also some *hadiths* that recommend using incense as medicine,³⁷ for purification,³⁸ and for practical reasons such as to prevent foul odor.

Since the usage of incense, perfume and aromatics was encouraged by the Prophet himself, Muslims used fumigatories in daily life and ceremonies quite frequently, in both public and residential spaces. To give one example of olfactory usage, during the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813-833), every Tuesday an assembly was gathered by the caliph. Before the meeting started, the learned men and the guests of the caliph were served a meal, and thereafter they fumigated themselves before seeing the caliph. Olfactory usage was not limited to residential spaces, but it also occurred in public spaces. For example, the Caliph

³⁵ Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 4, Book 54, Number 753.

³⁶ Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 4, Book 55, Number 544. "The first group of people, who will enter Paradise, will be glittering like the full moon and who will follow them, will glitter like the most brilliant star in the sky. They will not urinate, relieve nature, spit, or have any nasal secretions. Their combs will be gold, and their sweat will smell like musk. The aloes-wood will be used in their..." Sahih al-Bukhari, Book 20, Number 4626

³⁷ Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 7, Book 71, Number 596. "Treat with the Indian incense, for it has healing for seven diseases; it is to be sniffed by one having throat trouble, and put into one side of the mouth of one suffering from pleurisy."

³⁸ Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 1, Book 6, Number 311. "Narrated Aisha: A woman asked the Prophet about the bath which is take after finishing from the menses. The Prophet told her what to do and said, 'Purify youself with a piece of cloth scented with musk.""

³⁹ Mehmet Aga-oglu, "About a Type of Islamic Incense Burner," *The Art Bulletin* 27, (1945), 28.

Umar donated a silver incense burner to the Mosque of al-Madina. Also, during the month of Ramadan the Kaaba was fumigated with the help of an incense burner, a practice that continues today.

1. b. Olfactory Tradition in the Ottoman Empire

Since Islam attributes great importance to "pleasant" scent, Muslim societies used perfume and fragrances frequently in both public and residential spaces, such as mosques, tombs, and houses. Like Muslim societies elsewhere, the Ottomans used incense in public and residential spaces. The two major public spaces where the Ottomans deployed incense were mosques and tombs. Fumigation was an important part of the mosque and tomb visit experiences. In mosques, they employed incense on Friday before the congregational prayer, during Qur'an recitation and religious ceremonies such as the birthday of the Prophet (*Mevlid*) and the ratification ceremony of a madrasa student (*icazet töreni*). ⁴² Incense usage in tombs and mosques was determined by the patron of the monument, and the conditions of usage were written down in the respective endowment deeds. In addition, to prepare the incense and buy the necessary raw materials, a *buhurcu* would attend to the mosque. The Atik Valide Mosque (1571-86), the Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque (1578-81), the Mihrimah Sultan the Mosque in Edirnekapı (1563-70), the Rüstem Paşa Moque (1561-63) and the Süleymaniye Mosque (1548-59)

⁴⁰ Aga-oglu, "About a Type of Islamic Incense Burner," 28.

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı *Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), 82.

are some examples of complexes that used to employ a *buhurcu*. Hiring a *buhurcu* was an indicator of the wealth of the patron because fumigatories were expensive. Moreover, incense burners were a significant aspect of the tombs' atmosphere because olfactory practice was a daily routine there. Since fumigation was an everyday activity in the Ottoman tombs, there were also fragrant candles that scented the interior. Apart from religious public spaces, the Ottomans also used incense burners to create a pleasant atmosphere in the baths. The engraving dated 1787 from Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau general de l'Empire Ottoman* (1788) depicts a caldarium (*sıcaklık* or *hararet*) of a public bath for women, where one of the women carries an incense burner in her hands (Fig. 2). It goes without saying that this engraving must be a reflection based on oral reports since it was not possible for d'Ohsson to be present in a women's bath; yet it is a valuable source to visualize the usage of incense in a public bath.

Moreover, visual sources indicate the usage of incense during Imperial Processions (*Surre-i Hümâyun*) and the Enthronement Ceremony (*cülus*) of the Ottoman sultans. These ceremonies can be considered a two-stage event. The first part of both the *Surre* Procession and Enthronement Ceremony took place in the Palace, ⁴⁶ while the second part was held on the streets and therefore was open to the public. The nineteenth-century Surre Procession photographs show *buhurcus*

⁴³ Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 92-93.

⁴⁴ Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 88.

⁴⁵ Ömür Tufan, "Hamam Malzemeleri," *Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı*, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 61.

⁴⁶ The Enthronement Ceremony took placed in the Topkapı Palace until the end of the empire. Until 1864, the *Surre* procession started in the Topkapı Palace. After that period, the procession began in the Yıldız Palace or the Dolmabahçe Palace.

holding an incense burner in front of the *mahmil*⁴⁷ (Fig. 3). Another nineteenth-century photograph that shows the enthronement ceremony of Mehmed V (r. 1909-1918), which took place in Eyüp, one can clearly see the *buhurcu* carrying a censer in front of the new sultan (Fig. 4).

Ottoman society used incense as a part of various ceremonies or for daily life rituals in their houses. Incense usage was very common especially in the mansions of the Ottoman elites. Abdülaziz Bey (1850-1918), the grandson of the Ottoman

⁴⁷ A procession camel, called *mahmil* carried the *Surre* treasury. The word *mahmil* was originally used during the Prophet Muhammad's period.

⁴⁸ Surre refers to money and gifts sent by Muslim rulers to Mecca and Medina. According to the sources, sending money and gifts started in the Abbasid period, in the eighth century. However, it became a regular tradition during the tenth century. To promote their dynasty the Abbasids also started to send a cloth cover for the Kaaba. Sending gifts to Mecca and Medina was a common practice among the Muslim dynasties, such as the Umayyads, Fatimids, Mamluks, and Ilkhanids. The Ottoman sultans also sent money and gifts to Mecca and Medina before they became caliphs. Even though the exact starting date of the Surre Procession is not known, it became an annual event starting from the sixteenth century, after Selim I conquered the Holy Lands and became a caliph. The Surre Procession then became an official ceremony. Every year, before Ramadan, the Ottoman sultan sent money to the poor who live in the *Haremeyn* (Mecca and Medina). They also sent precious gifts, such as Qur'an manuscripts, ornamented Qur'an cases, emerald hangers, inlaid candlesticks, oil-lamps, locks and keys, caftans (hilat), rosaries made of coral, pearl and amber, carpets, incense burners and rosewater sprinklers. Starting from the time of Süleyman I (r. 1520-66), the Ottoman sultans also sent a tailored cover for the Kaaba. Apart from the gifts, the sultan also assigned laborers to complete necessary maintenance in Mecca. To provide the security for both pilgrims and the Surre Procession was the duty of the sultan. It was an important indicator to show his power and legitimacy. Starting from the Abbasid period, the Surre Procession was a religious as well as political event by means of which the Muslim dynasties showed their cultural, economic, and religious power. Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Surre," TDVİA (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009), vol. 37: 567-569; Sevgi Ağca, "Tradition of Imperial Surre," Imperial Surre (Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Culture Co., 2008), 34.

⁴⁹ Until the second half of the eighteenth century, the new sultan accepted the greetings of the grand vizier and the *şeyhülislam* in the *Has Oda*. Following that, a more ostentatious and formal ceremony took place in front of the *Bab'üs-Saade* (Gate of Felicity) in the Topkapı Palace. The second step of the enthronement ceremony took place in Eyüp. Starting with Mehmed II, the Ottoman Sultans would gird the sultan's sword in Eyüp, because the shrine is sacred space for Muslims. It is believed that Eyüp El Ensari, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad, died during the siege of Constantinople in the seventh century, and his grave was found during the reign of Mehmed II. The sultan ordered the construction of a tomb and mosques, marking this site as both sacred and public. The Ottoman sultans would come here and to receive the sword from the *şeyhülislam*. This ceremony was open to the public; people could attend as viewers. The second part of the ceremony included an olfactory dimension: When the Ottoman sultan arrived there, a *buhurcu* would hold an incense burner. Abdülkadir Özcan, "Cülus," *TDVİA* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1993), vol.8: 111; İlber Ortaylı, *Mekanlar ve Olaylarıyla Topkapı Sarayı* (Istanbul: Kaynak, 2007), 87.

dignitary Pertev Pasha, narrates that an incense burner would be placed in a room ten to fifteen minutes before breaking the fast during Ramadan. In the Ottoman elite's residences, incense burners were also used during the visit of the Prophet's beard (*lihye-i saadet*), ⁵⁰ the *Mevlid* ceremony, and the evening worship (*Teravih namazı*) during Ramadan. ⁵¹

Ottoman honorary and culinary customs also included olfactory usage. For example, in the mansions of dignitaries (*Ekâbir Konakları*) one of the servants of the house would bring a silver or gold-plated incense burner to the guest room according to the status of the host on religious holidays (*Kurban* and *Ramazan Bayramı*). After that, the servant sprinkled rosewater on the guests from a rosewater sprinkler (*gülabdan*) made of precious metal. The third step of the treatment was the offering of candy and coffee to the guests. For example, an engraving in the *Tableau general de l'Empire Ottoman* (1788) helps us to visualize the ceremony of honor. It depicts a vizier's mansion where all the male guests are smoking pipe (*çubuk*) and waiting for coffee to be served. The engraving features six male servants who are kneeling down to serve the guests, and the first to the far left is offering an incense burner to one of the guests (Fig.5-6).

The wife of the British ambassador, Lady Mary Montague (1689-1762), narrates a visit to the wife of the grand vizier in their mansion. After having a

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⁵⁰ Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri, 248.

⁵¹ Agarwood and amber were used for worship, as in the *Has Oda* (Privy Chamber) in the Topkapı Palace. Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri*, 255.

⁵² Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri, 267.

meal she was perfumed by the hostess' slave girls. In addition, they perfumed the room before the coffee service. ⁵³ An engraving by Antoine Ignace Melling (1763-1831) shows the ceremony of serving coffee to a guest in the palace of Hatice Sultan, sister of Sultan Selim III (r.1789-1807) (Fig.7-8). Even though this scene can only be an imaginative representation based on what the artist heard, it is still a useful source to understand the usage of incense in an elite residence. Finally, in Ottoman households even the coffee cups were sometimes fumigated with amber before drinking the coffee. ⁵⁴ As the engravings indicate, using incense or aromatic materials constituted an essential part of drinking coffee. ⁵⁵ According to Pakalın, coffee was sometimes flavored with ambergris, by placing a small amount into the cup before filling it. ⁵⁶ In addition, Abdülaziz Bey narrates that the coffee cups were sometimes fumigated with amber or a drop of rose-water added before drinking the coffee to enhance the taste. ⁵⁷

Incense also formed a part of the wedding ceremonies and the dowry. On wedding days, several women from the bride's family encountered the groom's family with a rosewater sprinkler and a silver incense burner emitting scent of agar wood (ödağacı). In Ottoman elite society, an incense burner and a rosewater sprinkler were expected to be included in a girl's dowry. According to

⁵³ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters* (London: William Pickering, 1993), 88.

⁵⁴ Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri*, 278.

⁵⁵ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, 88. Göksen Sonat and Ömür Tufan, eds., *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri*, (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2005), 14.

⁵⁶ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarihi ve Deyimleri ve Terimleri* Sözlüğü (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1946), vol. 1: 245

⁵⁷ Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri, 278.

⁵⁸ Musahipzade Celal, *Eski İstanbul Yaşayışı* (Istanbul: Türkiye Basımevi, 1946), 13.

⁵⁹ Şinasi Acar, "Buhurdan ve Gülabdanlar," *Osmanlı'da Günlük Yaşam Nesneleri* (Istanbul: Yem Yayınları, 2011), 355.

archival documents, the Ottoman sultans gave various types of incense burners and rosewater sprinklers made from materials such as gold, silver, copper, and porcelain as dowry to their daughters. ⁶⁰ For example, the dowry of the daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid, Cemile Sultan, included silver incense burners. ⁶¹

In his book, Abdülaziz Bey (1850-1918) lists the activities and objects that the Ottomans employed to protect a newborn baby and his/her mother from the evil eye. In that list fumigating the room is crucial. During the forty days after birth, the women of the house fumigated the room with nigella (*çörek otu*) and *peganum harmala* (*üzerlik otu*). ⁶² For example, a painting dated to the early eighteenth century, by Jean Baptiste Vanmour, illustrates a room in a Turkish house (Fig. 9). The scene features the visitation of a puerperal woman who is lying in the bed. The painting shows two standing women, one of them carrying an incense burner and the other holding a rosewater sprinkler. Along with the usage of incense burners as mentioned above, it was used for various purposes, such as breaking a spell, ⁶³ and as medicine. ⁶⁴

Since the Topkapı Palace was the residence of the sultan and his family, the types of daily rituals outlined above must have also taken place in the palace.

Olfactory practices held a significant role in the palace's customs, and the *buhur dibeği* (marble mortar) next to the *Has Oda* gives strong evidence of the

⁶⁰ Osman Kademoğlu, Çeyiz Sandığı (Istanbul: Duran Ofset, 1999), 85-98.

⁶¹ Kademoğlu, Çeyiz Sandığı, 98.

⁶² Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri*, 15.

⁶³ Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri*, 370.

⁶⁴ Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri, 357.

frequency of incense usage. 65 The Topkapı Palace hosted various official and religious ceremonies that include olfactory usage.

As stated above, culinary and honorary customs of the Ottomans involved incense and perfume. Therefore, it is common to see incense usage during various ceremonies in the Topkapı Palace since most of the ceremonies contained a meal or coffee service. For example, after the grand vizier and the Russian ambassador shared a meal in the Imperial Council (Divan-1 Hümayun), the servants offered a gülabdan (rosewater sprinkler) and buhurdan (incense burner) to the guests. 66 Especially, starting with the early seventeenth century, a ceremony called *kahve* ve buhur resmi (coffee and incense) became a part of official events such as the reception of ambassadors, weddings and circumcisions ceremonies.⁶⁷ In addition, the eighteenth-century chronicler Mehmed Es'ad also narrates that incense was a part of the ceremonies that the high state officials attended, such as, the *ulufe*.⁶⁸ Visual sources also help to imagine these ceremonies. For example, an eighteenthcentury painting shows the reception of the French ambassador Conte de Vergennes by the grand vizier. During the reception servants offered coffee and incense. ⁶⁹ The servant with the green attire to the right side of the scene is holding an incense burner, while the one in red attire is carrying a coffee cup on a tray (Fig. 10). Another visual source dated to eighteenth century, published by d'Ohsson, also features four officials who are in charge of the coffee service.

⁶⁵ For detailed information on the *buhur dibeği*, see Chapter 2.b.

⁶⁶ Ahmet Aslantürk, Miraç Tosun, and Serdal Soyluer, Mehmed Es'ad Efendi'nin Teşrifat-ı Kadime'si Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Teşrifat (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2012), 108, 165-166. ⁶⁷ Zeynep Tarım, "Osmanlı Devlet Teşrifatında Kahve İkramı," *Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin* 500 Yıllık Öyküsü (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2015), 199, 203, 207-208.

⁶⁸ Aslantürk, Tosun, and Soyluer, Mehmed Es'ad Efendi'nin Teşrifat-ı Kadime'si, 108, 166-167.

⁶⁹ Tarım, "Osmanlı Devlet Tesrifatında Kahve İkramı," 202.

Among these four male servants, one holds an incense burner and a rosewater sprinkler (Fig. 11).

Furthermore, the palace produced a perfume called *buhur suyu* (incense water); it was made by the members of the *Seferli Koğuşu* to be presented to the sultan. According to Arslan Terzioğlu, an archival document dated 1708 shows that Ankaralı Mustafa Agha, who was a member of the Seferli Koğuşu, was the inventor of *buhur suyu*. Thanks to the *Helvahane Defteri*, we know the exact recipe of *buhur suyu*. Some of the ingredients are sandalwood, musk, agar wood, and flower water (*çiçek suyu*). *Buhur suyu* was offered to ambassadors. It was also sent to high officials as an invitation to the visit of the Holy Mantle (*hırka-ı saadet ziyareti*). Moreover, fragrance was heavily used during the religious ceremonies that took place in the palace, such as the two major religious holiday ceremonies (*Muayede*).

Along with the usage of scent during official and religious ceremonies in the palace, it is known that the sultan used fragrance for personal purposes. Albert Bobovi, a page who lived in the third courtyard of the palace in the seventeenth century, gives information about the preparation of the sultan's bedroom. Every evening, before the sultan went to bed, aloe and amber scented candles were

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Arslan Terzioğlu, Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayı'nda Eczacılık (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat, 1992), xxxv.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² The *Helvahane Defteri* includes medicine, cosmetic and incense recipes that were produced in the Topkapı Palace. For detailed information, see Chapter 3.

⁷³ Nejat Yentürk, "Osmanlı Parfümleri," *Kutsal Dumandan, Sihirli Damlaya: Parfüm* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), 65.

lightened by the servants to perfume his bedroom. Also, Bobovi narrates that the clothes of the sultan were fumigated after being washed by the members of the Seferli Koğuşu. 75 Since the Topkapı Palace's eating customs included olfactory usage, as in the elites' houses, after the sultan had a meal, both the room and the sultan were fumigated with amber and aloe by his servants. ⁷⁶ These examples indicate that olfactory usage played a significant role among the customs of the Topkapı Palace life. In summary, incense and perfumes were used for various purposes including religious, cultural and political contexts to create a pleasant smellscape that enveloped the residential and administrative parts of the imperial palace.

⁷⁴ Ali Ufkî, Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam: Albertus Bobovius ya da Santurî Ali Ufkî Bey'in Anıları, ed. Stephanos Yerasimos and Annie Berthier; transl. Ali Berktay (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 94. ⁷⁵ Ali Ufkî, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam*, 66.

⁷⁶ Gerry Oberling and Grace Martin Smith, *The Food Culture in the Ottoman Palace* (Istanbul: Ministry of Culture, 2001); Ali Ufkî, Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam, 91.

CHAPTER 2

INCENSE BURNERS IN THE TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM

2. a. The Incense Burners: Style and Iconography

The incense burner collection of the Topkapı Palace Museum mainly consists of objects that were used in the palace in daily life, for special events, and ceremonies. According to the Topkapı Palace Museum Commission Records (*Komisyon Defterleri*), fifty-nine incense burners remained in the palace in different rooms when it was turned into a museum.⁷⁷ In addition, the Commission Records indicate that twelve incense burners, such as those donated by the sultan's family members to the Prophet's Tomb, were brought to the palace during World War I.⁷⁸ Finally, the fourth volume shows that three incense burners

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⁷⁷ After the palace was turned into a museum in 1924, a commission was established by the Ministry of Finance to count and register all the objects on the premises. At the end of this process the commission prepared four registers. However, these records do not include information about the dates, or photographs of the objects. For detailed background information, see Göksel Erdoğan, Ali Kararkuş, and Abdülmecid Şentürk, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Tahrir Komisyonu Çalışmaları," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 6 (2013), 27-81. Detailed information on the fifty-nine incense burners can be seen in Appendix 2.

⁷⁸ TSK Y.Y.827. *Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı*, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 225. Sevgi Ağca, *Kutsal Hırka-i Saadet*, *Teşkilatı, Törenleri ve Kutsal Emanetleriyle Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi* (Istanbul: Korpus Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2013), 185.

were added to the collection of the museum through purchase after 1926.⁷⁹ Before the Topkapı Palace started to serve as museum, some of the objects in the palace were sold or sent to other places to be used for purposes such as dinner service in the Yıldız Palace.⁸⁰ Very likely the actual number of incense burners was more than fifty-nine, but they were removed from the Topkapı Palace. On the other hand, over the years the incense burner collection in the Topkapı Palace Museum grew via purchases and donations from private collections or other museums (such as the Yıldız Palace).

Except for two of the incense burners, it was not possible to examine the censers in the museum first-hand due to limited access to the objects. Therefore, this section will only describe the published ones. Even though the total number of incense burner in the Topkapı Palace Museum is unknown, according to the Commission Records' number of twenty-six incense burners, silver was the most popular material, at least in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Golden incense burners decorated with jewels (*murassa buhurdan*) made up the second-highest number, with sixteen. Twelve of these were gifts sent to Medina and returned to the palace in 1919 (cat no. 22-28, 30-34). Distribution of the other

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⁷⁹ The recording was completed in 1926; however, the new objects that arrived after this year, registered under the title "*Tahrirden sonra gelen*" (comes after the registration). For detailed background information, see Göksel Erdoğan, Ali Kararkuş, and Abdülmecid Şentürk, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Tahrir Komisyonu Çalışmaları," 27-81. Detailed information on the four incense burners can be seen in Appendix 2.

⁸⁰ Hülya Utkuluer, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'nin İlk 50 Yılı," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 6 (2013), 59.

⁸¹ In addition, most of the auction catalogues (such as *Artam* and *Portakal*) show silver incense burners from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁸² The book, which is today kept in the Topkapı Palace Library, contains the registers of the items that were brought by Fahrettin Pasha from Medina to the Topkapı Palace in 1919. TSK Y.Y.827. For detailed information, see the Commission Records catalogue IV in Appendix 2, censers were registered as "Medîne-i Münevvere'den Gelen ve Hazîne Eşyası Meyânında Ankara'dan bi'l-vürûd."

censers based on their materials and numbers as is follows: brass (7), unspecified metal (*maden*) (7), metal yellow in color (*sarı maden*) (3), gilt copper (*tombak*) (5), Chinese porcelain (*Çinkâri buhurdan*) (6), and European porcelain (2). ⁸³ Unfortunately, the records do not give any information about the dates of the objects, and there are no visuals provided, so it is very difficult to identify them by reading only their descriptions. However, some of the definitions are very precise and thus enable us to identify and match twenty of the already published censers, such as the ones made of Chinese porcelain (cat. no. 3-8), silver incense burners that belonged to the *Has Oda* (cat. no. 20-21), and golden objects in the Treasury Section (cat. no. 22-34). In addition, the Commission Records are useful sources that provide information on the original location of the objects, which will be discussed below.

Today, there are six separate sections in the Topkapı Palace Museum that contain incense burners: the Holy Relics, the Treasury, the Copper, the Silver, the Chinese and the European Porcelain collections. The total number of the censers in the Chinese Porcelain (6), the Holy Relics (4) and the Treasury sections (21) are known; however, there is no visual information about ten incense burners in the Treasury Section, so that this thesis can only discuss eleven of them. ⁸⁴ In addition, this study can only include the nine published incense burners from the European Porcelain (1), the Copper (5) and the Silver (3) sections. Thus, I will present here in total 30 incense burners.

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⁸³ For detailed information see, Appendix 2.

⁸⁴ A copper incense burner (inventory number 2/6781) was registered in the Treasury section; however, today it is stored in the Copper section.

The censers are made from materials such as gold, silver, brass, copper, gilt copper (tombak), and Chinese and European porcelain. Their forms range from cup-shaped to canopied censers. Apart from the material differences of the incense burners in the collection, the objects can be classified in three different categories as stationary, portable, or hanging, based on their manner of usage in space. 85 This classification has been introduced in Ergin's article, and a reconsideration of this typology in light of this research confirms its validity. Twenty-eight of the censers in the catalogue can be classified as stationary. In contrast, there is only one portable and one hanging censer each. As indicated by the numbers, the most common typology in the collection is the stationary incense burner. Twenty-two of the stationary incense burners have a tray or a foot in tray form, whereas eight of them have no tray underneath the flared foot. The Commission Records also present information about other objects that were used together with incense burners such as trays, rosewater sprinklers (gülabdan), and incense burner stools (buhurdan iskemlesi). For example, both the Library of Ahmed III and the *Has Oda* contained censers, trays, rosewater sprinklers, and incense burner stools. 86 These sets can be perceived as complementary items that would complete the interior decoration of the palace rooms. For instance, an engraving drawn by the Flemish-French painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour helps us to visualize the usage of these items in the palace (Fig. 12). The engraving shows a beautifully room that contains an incense burner, a rose-water sprinkler and a perfume bottle on a small table which was probably called an incense burner

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⁸⁵ Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 75.

⁸⁶ For detailed information, see the Commission Records I in Appendix 2.

stool. In addition, the visual sources show that stationary censers could also function as portable ones during ceremonies, such as the enthronement ceremony in Eyüp and the *surre* processions in front of the Dolmabahçe Palace (Fig. 3-4). The following section will categorize and describe the thirty incense burners based on the section where they are now located, which also generally reflects their material from which they are made.

Incense Burners from the Chinese Porcelain Section

The Chinese porcelain collection of the Topkapı Palace was formed through purchases, gifts and inheritance (*muhallefat*). Some of the most interesting censers can be found in the Chinese Ceramics Collection. Cups, dishes and even stools were transformed into incense burners by Ottoman craftsmen, the most famous one being the Ming garden-seat-turned-censer in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art (Fig. 13). Ottoman craftsmen combined metalwork and porcelain objects, often bejeweling them with precious stones. It is rare to find Chinese porcelain with Ottoman jeweled decoration outside of the palace. These objects could leave the palace only as part of a princess's dowry or as gift to government officials such as grand viziers, because they were most likely designed and produced for the sultan by the *ehl-i hiref*. In addition, *valide* sultans could own

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⁸⁷ In the Ottoman legal system, the term *muhallefat* means the goods which were property of a deceased person. If the deceased person was a member of the Ottoman dynasty or statesman without heir, their property was transferred to the treasury after an elimination of worthless objects. Regina Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue* (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 1: 33.

⁸⁸ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol. 2: 833-34.

mounted and bejeweled Chinese porcelains. 89 Therefore, these types of censers indicated the owner's high status. The Topkapı Palace Museum's Chinese Porcelain (*Çinkâri*) collection has six such incense burners, dating from the late sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The records of these six incense burners can be also seen in the Third Volume of the Commission Records: they had been kept in the Treasury (*Hazine*) when the palace was converted to a museum.

Mounting a Chinese ceramic object was a practice used for conservation or conversion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Ottoman Empire. This was more a practical necessity, rather than an aesthetic concern for the Ottomans. 90 Still, utilitarian mounts also served as decorative additions and functioned as embellishment. Ottomans were not the only ones who were mounting East Asian ceramics; it was also a common tradition in England, France, Germany, and Italy, especially in the eighteenth century. The roots of European mounting practices date back to the Middle Ages. 91 However, Europeans were adding metal mounts to Chinese ceramics exclusively for aesthetic reasons. In other words, their purpose was solely decorative, whereas the Ottomans' primary concern was practical. 92 There are two ways of conversion: First, one can add a metal mount to a single porcelain piece such as the censer with catalogue no. 8. The second way of conversion was to use two or more

⁸⁹ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol. 1: 47.

⁹⁰ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol. 1: 49.

⁹¹ Gillian Wilson, Mounted Oriental Porcelain in the J. Paul Getty Museum, revised edition, (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999), 1.

92 Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol.1: 49; Wilson, *Mounted Oriental Porcelain*, 1.

porcelain pieces to create a composite object, such as the remaining five incense burners in the collection (cat. no. 3-7). 93

Decorating Chinese porcelains with jewels became popular during the first half of the sixteenth century; however, the earliest composite incense burner in the Topkapı Palace Museum is dated to the early seventeenth century or slightly earlier. 94 Five of them are of a similar type: the metal mounts of gilt-silver or gold are decorated with jewels, and they have a tray converted from a Chinese porcelain dish. There is only one exception: this censer has a gilt-silver metal mount and no tray. Even though mounting and bejeweling practices can be combined, these two practices were applied to the Chinese ceramics with different intentions because the underlying concepts diverged.⁹⁵ Modifying Chinese Porcelains by adding jewels and precious metals such as gold and silver was a typically Ottoman practice that cannot be seen in other Islamic societies. ⁹⁶ Although mounting Chinese porcelains was a common practice in Europe, there exist no bejeweled examples. Bejeweling Chinese ceramics was a way to express a distinct Ottoman taste. Mounting and bejeweling the porcelains should be perceived as appropriation.⁹⁷ Three of the Chinese porcelain incense burners in the collection have an openwork dome-shaped metal lid, whereas the other three have lids made from a Chinese porcelain bowl (cat. no. 3-4, 8). Three of the

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⁹³ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol.1: 50.

⁹⁴ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.1: 48.

⁹⁵ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.1: 49.

⁹⁶ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.1: 16.

⁹⁷ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.1: 47.

censers belonging to this group have a finial in the shape of a crescent moon, which gives them a distinct Ottoman character.

Figure 14 shows a composite incense burner, which is a good representative reflecting an Ottoman taste for objects of this kind. The two bowls and the dish date to the second half of the sixteenth century, but the metal mounts to the seventeenth century. 98 It is put together from two plain white porcelain bowls (h. 25 cm) and a dish (20.5 cm) with a flat rim. The bowls are mounted together and riveted to the dish with the help of a flaring gold foot in openwork and studded with rubies, emeralds and tiny pearls. The plain white bowls were finely decorated by Ottoman craftsmen specializing as hakkak (an artisan who cut and set precious stones), zergerân (gold-smith) and kuftegerân (working in gold inlay and decoration). The upper bowl serves as a lid, and the craftsman inserted openwork panels in different shapes to allow smoke to escape. In addition to the openwork panels, there are stylized flower-shaped patterns made with inlaid gold wire and precious stones. The base of the upper bowl was cut and covered with a lobed gold cone in openwork, which is decorated with rubies and pearls and terminating in a crescent moon. The lower bowl is also embellished with jewels and gold wires forming three rows of "fishscales." A golden receptacle inside the lower bowl is to hold the burning fumigatory without damaging the porcelain. The porcelain dish serving as tray supported on three small metal feet shows a landscape with a waterfall; it has a flat rim that the Ottoman craftsman decorated with gold wire and precious stones.

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⁹⁸ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.2: 842-43.

The basic elements of the other composite censer (h. 16, 5 cm) consists of a blue-and-white Chinese porcelain stemcup and a dish, dated to the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 15). 99 The golden mounts and precious stones were added by an Ottoman craftsman in the late sixteenth century. Cranes among clouds decorate the surface of the stemcup, together with rubies and emeralds. The plain white flaring foot of the stemcup is also studded with rubies and emeralds. Inside the stemcup, there is a shallow golden bowl to hold the fumigatory. The Ottoman craftsman covered the stemcup with a lobed gold domeshaped lid terminating in a crescent moon. The hinged lid has golden chains that hang down from both sides. The openwork lid is decorated with foliate patterns that allow smoke to escape and features precious stones. The stemcup is riveted to a Chinese porcelain dish (d. 13, 5 cm) with a flat rim which shows a landscape with a pine tree, birds and a lotus pond. The exterior of the dish is decorated with birds on branches and flowers and more precious stones. The dish serving as tray rests on three short metal feet. This incense burner looks very similar to the following object.

The last composite incense burner dated to the seventeenth century or slightly earlier (h. 16 cm) consists of a late sixteenth-century Chinese porcelain stemcup and a mid-sixteenth-century dish (d. 15 cm) (Fig. 16). The porcelain pieces were tastefully decorated with gold and jewels by Ottoman craftsmen. The hinged and lobed openwork gold lid with leaf motifs is studded with green and red precious stones. The dome-shaped lid terminates in a crescent moon, just like the

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⁹⁹ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.2: 842.

¹⁰⁰ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.2: 842.

previous objects from the same period. The bowl boasts two painted dragons chasing flaming pearls and is decorated with zigzag-shaped gold wire that has red and green precious stones interested at each corner. The plain white flaring foot of the stemcup is riveted to the dish; it is bejeweled with red and green precious stones. Again, like the other Chinese porcelain censers, this one also has a golden receptacle inside the stemcup to hold the burning fumigatory. The Chinese porcelain dish serving as tray sits on three small metal feet and has a mark reading "chang ming fui gui," which means "a long life with wealth and honor." It contains peaches and flower sprays and beribboned emblems on both the rim and the exterior, and each emblem is decorated with precious stones. ¹⁰²

Another incense burner is slightly different from the composite censers in the collection (Fig. 17). This Ottoman incense burner is the only example without tray among the Chinese porcelain censers. In addition, it was not decorated with precious stones like the others, and is just formed by a porcelain bowl and metal mounts. This porcelain bowl has been turned into an incense burner by adding a tall pointed silver lid and tall flaring feet. With the additional metal mounts, the overall height of the censer is 41 cm. The general height of the Chinese porcelain incense burners varies between 16 and 27 cm; hence, this is the tallest among them. The censer dates to the second half of the seventeenth century, but the Chinese porcelain bowl to the late sixteenth century. The openwork lid is mainly decorated with entwined scrolling flowers and divided into eight lobes

¹⁰¹ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.2: 842.

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.2: 715.

with stylized flower petals (cypress trees?). The Chinese porcelain bowl has medallions that include various flower motifs such as lotus, peony, camellia and chrysanthemum. ¹⁰⁴ The bowl has a mark reading "da Ming Chengua nian zhi," which means "made in the Chengua period of the great Ming dynasty," and there exists one more identical porcelain bowl in the collection. The bottom of the porcelain bowl is surrounded by a cast silver-gilt floral border in openwork, and it rests on four feet with engraved floral patterns. ¹⁰⁵

The last two composite incense burners belong to the later periods. The eighteenth-century incense burner (h. 26.5 cm) is formed by two celadon-colored glazed cups, a blue-glazed flared foot that once belonged to a stemcup and a Longquan celadon dish (Fig. 18). The two plain cups and the foot are dated to the mid-seventeenth century, whereas the dish is dated to the fifteenth century. Just like with the previous censer (cat. no. 6), the base of the upper bowl was removed and covered with an openwork dome, decorated with leaf motifs and a flower-shaped knob. The lower cup contains a shallow silver-gilt bowl to hold the fumigatory. Both the hinged lid and the firepot are decorated with arched openwork panels, with pearls that are linked to each other with golden-spray lines, and each juncture is embellished with precious stones. The lower cup, riveted to the porcelain flared foot, is decorated with precious stones and supported by three metal feet in the form of stylized dragon heads with coral beads in their mouths and with claws. The dish serving as a tray sits on three hoof-shaped metal feet,

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¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, vol.2: 715.

and it contains three floral sprays and is studded with turquoise and red jewels. Only one emerald decorates the center of the dish.

The basic elements of the nineteenth-century Ottoman incense burner (h. 26 cm) consist of two porcelain bowls and a dish (d. 20 cm) (Fig. 19). The two white bowls are from the Qing Dynasty period, dating to the early eighteenth century, and the dish belongs to the Ming Dynasty, dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. 106 The two bowls are joined together and connected to the dish with a metal tripod stand decorated with coral beads and terminating in animal-shaped feet. The upper bowl serves as lid: its base was removed and crowned with a silver and gilt-copper openwork finial that allows smoke to escape. The finial features floral motifs as well as pearls, emeralds and rubies. With an additional silver-gilt shallow inner cup, the lower bowl functions as a firepot. Ottoman craftsmen decorated both the hinged lid and the firepot with jeweled and flower-shaped openwork panels. The saucer-shaped porcelain dish serving as tray is decorated with a landscape that contains scrolling flowers and three deer standing by a lake. 107 The edge of the round dish has a metal (silver?) scalloped rim similar to the rim that surrounds the edge of the bowls. In addition, one circular and three triangular metal openwork panels are decorating the dish. This incense burner shows that the tradition of transforming Chinese Porcelains into censers still existed in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.

Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.2: 478.
 Krahl, Chinese Ceramics, vol.2: 881.

Incense Burners from the Copper Section

The Commission Records show that there were five gilt copper (tombak) and three copper incense burners in the Topkapı Palace when it was turned into a museum. In total, there were four tombak censers in the Emânet Hazinesi (Consignation Treasury) of the Holy Relics Section and in the Elçi Hazinesi (Envoy Treasury). The fifth one came to the palace through purchase in 1937. In addition, there was one copper censer in the mosque of the Yakalı Baltacılar Koğuşu (Chamber of the Halberdiers with Collars) and the other two copper objects stood in the Zülüflü Baltacılar Mosque (Mosque of the Halberdiers with Tresses), together with a rosewater sprinkler. However, it is not possible to recognize these incense burners from their description in the records; thus, I cannot discuss them here.

The six published gilt-copper examples from the Topkapı Palace copper collection will be presented in this section. Five of them are stationary, and four of the censers have a tray. There is only one portable example, and it has a cylindrical handle. The six gilt-copper censers are dating from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. They are mostly decorated with *rumi* and *hatayi* motifs, which constitute typical motifs. According to Necipoğlu, these motifs were the most common elements of the international-Timurid decorative vocabulary that the Ottomans appropriated. Starting from the early period of the Ottoman Empire, craftsmen commonly used both *rumi* and *hatayi* motifs to decorate

¹⁰⁸ For detailed information, see Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁹ Gülru Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles," *Mugarnas* 7 (1990), 138.

various media such as illumination, bookbinding, wall painting, stone, marble, woodwork, metalwork, textiles and carpets.

As is evident from its name, the *hatayi* motif's origin can be traced back to Chinese Turkestan. This motif was introduced to Central Asia by the Timurid Dynasty. ¹¹⁰ Earliest examples of *hatayi* can be seen in the wall paintings by Uyghur Turks, belonging to the seventh and ninth centuries. ¹¹¹ *Hatayi* is a stylized form that is derived from vertical sections of various flowers. Even though the Ottomans preserved the main characteristics of the motif, especially during the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1451-81), it later acquired a different character and flourished into something unique. ¹¹² Since it constitutes the representation of a flower, *hatayi* is one of the most often used compositions in Ottoman Art.

The *rumi* motif is also a major ornament for all branches of decorative arts. The origin of the *rumi* motif is debatable, and there exist different opinions about the subject. However, art historians have agreed on its Central Asian roots, because its earliest surviving examples can be seen on frescos painted by Uyghur Turks in the ninth and tenth centuries. Since then the *rumi* motif has been used in decoration, during the reigns of the Karakhanids, Ghaznavids, Great Seljuk, Seljuks of Rum and the Anatolian Principalities. Under the Seljuks of Rum and the Anatolian Principalities, the *rumi* motif was mostly used for design of animal

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¹¹⁰ İnci Birol and Çiçek Derman, *Türk Tezyini San'atlarında Motifler* (Istanbul: Kubbealtı Nesriyatı, 1995), 65.

Neşriyatı, 1995), 65.

111 Cahide Keskiner, *Turkish Motifs*, *Seventh edition*, (Istanbul: Turkish Touring and Automobile Association, 2007), 72-73.

¹¹² Keskiner, Turkish Motifs, 72-73. Birol and Derman, Türk Tezyini San'atlarında Motifler, 65.

¹¹³ Keskiner, *Turkish Motifs*, 72-73. Birol and Derman, *Türk Tezyini San'atlarında Motifler*, 65. Şeyda Yavuz, *Süsleme Sanatlarında Rumi Motifi ve Tarihsel Gelişimi*, unpublished MA thesis (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi, 2008), 13.

motifs such as bird wings, or tigers. ¹¹⁴ This motif was also known as *islimi* or *islami* in the Timurid world. ¹¹⁵ Under the Ottomans, notably in the fifteenth century, this motif became more stylized and lost the animal figures. It developed into a major motif that was to decorate all kinds of media, much like the *hatayi* motif. ¹¹⁶ Four of the gilt-copper censers and one silver censer (Fig. 20-22, 25, 27) contain *hatayi* and *rumi* motif decorations; these objects are dated to the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. These traditional decorations were almost lost in the nineteenth-century incense burners, however.

The gilt copper incense burner seen in Figure 20 resembles an architectural structure in terms of design. ¹¹⁷ The date of this censer is debatable. Filiz Çağman states that the censer is dated to the eighteenth century, whereas Ömür Tufan suggests that it belongs to the sixteenth century. ¹¹⁸ The stationary gilt-copper censer (h. 22.5 cm) is placed on a round tray (d. 23 cm) made from the same material. ¹¹⁹ The hinged openwork lid features nine domes, the central one surrounded by eight smaller domes, reminding of the nine celestial spheres of both Ancient Greek and Islamic cosmology. ¹²⁰ Each has a point-shaped knob at the pinnacle. The openwork *rumi* and *hatayi* scrolls on the lid are decorative as much as functional because the small holes in the lid allowed smoke to escape.

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¹¹⁴ Birol and Derman, *Türk Tezyini San'atlarında Motifler*, 185. Şeyda Yavuz, *Süsleme Sanatlarında Rumi Motifi*, 18.

¹¹⁵ Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman," 138.

¹¹⁶ Keskiner, Turkish Motifs, 10.

Today, this incense burner is registered to the Treasury Section, but kept in the Copper Section because of its material.

¹¹⁸ *The Anatolian Civilisations: Seljuk/Ottoman* (Ankara: Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1983), vol. 3: 275. *Hamam*, 112-113.

¹¹⁹ *Hamam*, 112-113.

¹²⁰ I am grateful to Tim Stanley for pointing out this iconographic meaning.

Openwork *hatayi* and *rumi* patterns also decorate the scalloped edge of the lid.

The engraved *hatayi* motifs in the form of full and half medallions continue on the cabochon surface of the lower part, the firepot. The foot of the goblet-shaped censer is fluted and sports a thick ring with openwork floral motifs. The tray also has engraved medallions with *hatayi* motifs and an upright rim with openwork decoration.

The only portable incense burner in the catalogue is dated to the early seventeenth century, and its overall height is 21 cm (Fig. 21). This gilt-copper incense burner has a cylindrical handle curving from the side of the firepot that connects to a foot with a short panel. Unlike the other gilt-copper incense burners in the present catalogue, this one has no tray. The dome-shaped lid is decorated with openwork flower-shaped medallions and diamond-shaped geometrical patterns. The hinged lid terminates in a round finial formed by two metal leaves that surround a coral piece. The engraved *talik* inscription on the lid reads *Misk-ü amber ve dimağa gider* (*Musk and ambergris reach to the mind*), which refers to the relieving effect of amber and musk on the mind by giving a soft and agreeable odor to the environment. The jointed side of the handle is also decorated with two corals. The firepot features spiraling engraved lines. The flared part of the foot is decorated with engraved half medallions enclosing *rumi* motifs as well as stylized tulips in between the half medallions.

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¹²¹ *Hamam*, 116.

¹²² Hamam, 116.

The other gilt-copper (cat. no. 11) stationary censer, dated to the seventeenth century, has an elliptical shape supported by serpentine feet (Fig. 22). 123 The hinged openwork lid is mainly decorated with interlacing *rumi* scrolls, but there are also *hatayi* motifs hidden inside the scrolls. The rim that wraps around the edge of the lid is again decorated with openwork rumi scrolls. The finial takes the form of a tepelik, which is a symmetrical rumi motif used to show the starting point of the design. 124 The firepot of the censer has an engraved rumi scroll rim, which mirrors the openwork rim on the lid. The incense burner sits on a round tray, which is supported on small feet and is plain except for the two engraved circles in the center.

The next seventeenth-century stationary gilt-copper censer (h. 25 cm), is placed on a round tray (d. 20 cm). 125 The shape of the hinged lid reflects the form of a coconut, and it has diamond-shaped openwork that allowed smoke to escape (Fig. 23). The coconut-shaped lid terminates in a crescent-moon finial. There is a firepot inside the base of the censer. The base embellished with engraved diamond motifs is connected to the tray by means of a flared lobed foot. Three serpentine feet support the censer. The tray, raised on three paw-shaped feet, is decorated with three blue and green enameled medallions.

Figure 24 shows a stationary gilt-copper censer dated to the eighteenth century. The height of the censer is 12 cm, which is quite small in comparison with the other gilt-copper incense burners. The engraved flowers and leaves

¹²³ Hande Eagle (ed.), *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi* (Istanbul: BKG, 2010), 205. ¹²⁴ Birol and Derman, *Türk Tezyini San'atlarında Motifler*, 189.

¹²⁵ *Hamam*, 115.

decorate the *buhur* receptacle and the flared foot of the incense burner. The domeshaped perforated lid is decorated with scrolling petals. The overall design of this gilt-copper censer is very similar to the one belonging to the European porcelain section (Fig. 40).

The last stationary gilt-copper incense burner (h. 22.5 cm), dated to the first half of the eighteenth century, consists of a hinged onion-shaped dome lid and a bowl-shaped firepot that connects to the flat tray with a flared foot (Fig. 25). The lid is decorated with ten tear-shaped lobes, and each of them has openwork that combines vertical *hatayi* and *rumi* motifs. The shape of the finial completes the onion-shaped appearance. The lower part of the object for the fumigatories is decorated with several engraved arches. The bands surrounding the rim of the firepot and the flaring foot feature lotus blossoms and *rumi* scrolls. The round tray (d. 20.5 cm) has engraved lotus flowers and *rumi* motifs of entwined scrolling branches and leaves. The

Incense Burners from the Silver Section

As stated above, the Commission Records give information about 26 silver incense burners which belonged to the various rooms and treasuries of the palace. ¹²⁸ In addition, there is one silver censer that came from Abdülmecid's

¹²⁶ Topkapı Palace the Imperial Harem: House of the Sultan, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: BKG, 2012), 362.

¹²⁷ The Anatolian Civilisations: Seljuk/Ottoman, 274.

¹²⁸ The names of the twelve rooms and five treasuries will be given in the section 2.b.

tomb which is located in the courtyard of the Yavuz Sultan Selim Mosque. ¹²⁹ The records describe some of the censers in great detailed; however, this section will discuss only the previously published three incense burners from the Topkapı Palace Museum Silver Collection.

The following three incense burners from the Silver Section of the Topkapı Palace are dated to the nineteenth century. Two of them were produced as an incense burner and a rosewater sprinkler set, and these two objects also have inscriptions. The first incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set belonged to Seyyid Mehmed Agha and is dated to 1812 (Fig. 26). The stationary incense burner consists of a stemcup-shaped firepot and a lid. The censer is crowned by a flower-shaped knob, placed on embossed leaf patterns. The lid of the censer is decorated with openwork including leaf-shaped motifs that allowed smoke to escape. The stemcup is surrounded by a rim decorated with engraved half-circle patterns. The single-footed censer seems riveted to the plain tray which is sitting on point-shaped feet. Both the censer and the rosewater sprinkler are made from silver and look very similar in terms of design. The only difference between them is the decoration on the lid, because of the functional requirements: The lid of the rosewater sprinkler has engraved leaf-patterns, whereas the censer has openwork leaf patterns to emit smoke from the small holes.

The second silver incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set dates to 1871 (H. 1288). According to the inscription on the incense burner, this set was donated

¹²⁹ For detailed information, see the Commission Records IV in Appendix 2.

¹³⁰ Topkapı Palace, transl. Ender Gürol, (Istanbul: Akbank, 2000), 438.

by Pertevniyal Valide Sultan, the mother of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-76) (Fig. 27). ¹³¹ The body of the stationary incense burner is designed to resemble a pinecone, while its firepot narrows and terminates in a bunch of grapes. The entire incense burner (h. 32 cm) is placed on three S-shaped feet, and the round tray with scalloped edge (d. 24 cm) on three short pointed feet. The incense burner is decorated with niello technique and has three medallions with flower motifs as well as a blossom-shaped finial. The rosewater sprinkler (h. 32 cm) has a pear-shaped body and a slender neck terminating in finial shaped like a bunch of grapes. The body is decorated with medallions containing flower patterns, just like the incense burner. In addition, the rosewater sprinkler has three seashell-shaped feet.

The last silver incense burner (h. 22 cm) dated to the nineteenth century is a stationary one very similar to the one that belongs to the *Has Oda*, in terms of material and design. The hinged, egg-shaped lid has openwork foliate patterns that merge with larger inlaid leaf motifs and create a bouquet, which is tied with a ribbon (Fig. 28). The openwork pattern of the lid allowed smoke to escape. Like the other silver object (cat. no. 20), this censer is also crowned by a blossom-shaped finial. The cabochon part of the bowl-shaped firepot is decorated with engraved flowers and spiraling stems, which reflect the Rococo style. The incense burner is supported by three concave feet which extend from the sides of the

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¹³¹ Serkan Gedük, "Osmanlı Saray Kültüründe Buhur ve Gülsuyu Geleneği," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 6 (2013), 151-152.

¹³² Nurhan Atasoy, *Splendors of the Ottoman Sultans* (Memphis: Lithograph, 1992), 218.

firepot and join the round tray. The edge of the tray is decorated with a rim of leaves, like the other silver censer in the Holy Relics section (Fig. 29).

Incense Burners from the Holy Relics Section

While many censers cannot be linked to any specific space within the Topkapı Palace, four silver incense burners certainly belonged to and were used in the *Has Oda*. The first volume of the Commission Records gives information about one golden censer (decorated with jewels) and four silver ones that belonged to this room. The golden one (cat. no. 29) was transferred to the Treasury Section at a later time, and therefore will be presented in the Treasury section. Apart from the censers, according to the Commission Records there were three *buhur şamdan* (candlesticks), three *buhur tepsisi* (censer trays) and one *buhur iskemlesi* (incense burner stool) in the same room. This private apartment constituted one of the most privileged spaces in the palace and, as container for the Holy Relics, the *Has Oda* never lost its importance over the centuries. As it was explained in the first chapter, the *Has Oda* also hosted various ceremonies that included incense burner and rosewater usage. The following paragraphs will present the four silver incense burners registered to the Commission Records; these censers are still kept in the *Has Oda* Section.

The stationary silver censer belonged to the *Has Oda* and therefore must have been fueled with incense beaten in the mortar (*buhur dibeği*) that is

mentioned below; there exist two more identical censers (Fig. 29). ¹³³ It stands on a tray (h. 21cm, d. 22 cm), like most other censers in the collection. It can be dated to the nineteenth century based on its design and its similarity to another nineteenth-century silver censer housed in the silver section (cat. no. 19). The hinged lid is bell-shaped and terminates in a flower-like finial. The incense burner emitted smoke from small holes in the shape of stylized flowers and palmettes, linked to each other with C-shaped curves. The rim surrounding the firepot contains nine embossed flower patterns. The firepot then narrows to a gadrooned knob and terminates in a flower. The entire censer sits on three concave feet, and the round tray on three short pointed feet, with its edge decorated with a row of leaves.

The other incense burner (h. 30 cm) from the *Has Oda* is an unusual piece in terms of design. A canopy of thick wire contains a more often seen goblet-shaped censer with a hinged openwork lid (Fig. 30). The four arches of the canopy rise from the base, merge at the top and terminate in a finial anchoring a ring. Thus, this object was probably suspended from the ceiling, unlike the stationary ones with a footed tray. The actual censer (h. 14 cm) is riveted to a square, inscribed base (side 14.5 cm) with a small drawer (length 12.5 cm, width 5.5 cm) to keep spare fumigatory. The censer combines two different materials; *tombak* and silver, which together give it an exquisite appearance. The openwork lid is mainly decorated with silver *rumi* scrolls and divided into lobes with eight

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Hilmi Aydın, *Hırka-ı Saadet Dairesi ve Mukaddes Emanetler* (Istanbul: Kaynak Kitaplığı, 2004), 255. Another identical nineteenth-century silver incense burner also exists in the collection of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art (TİEM) in Istanbul. The inventory number of the censer is 17

stylized *tombak* cypress trees. The dome-shaped lid terminates in a round finial. The plain firepot still contains residue, probably the combination of agallochum and amber mentioned in the inscription. The continuous inscription text reads:

As long as agallochum and ambergris burn and smoke in this censer, God shall keep sorrow away from the sovereign's fate [.] Because being connected to the Glory of the World [the Prophet] befits the honor of the exalted Sultan Selim Khan—may his rule be continuous—he dedicated in perpetuity this silver censer to the most exalted chamber of the Holy Mantle of the Prophet, [in the] year 1208 [1793/4]. 134

Each chamfered corner of the base is embossed with the *tuğra* of Selim III (r. 1789-1807) (Fig. 31). The inscription clearly shows the very strong symbolic link that olfactory practices could forge between donor and beneficiary, across vast temporal and geographical distances.

¹³⁴ The original reads: *Ud u anber bu buhurdanda yanup tüttükçe Hak / Dûd-ı gamdan hüsrev-i devrân-ı etsûn der-emân / Hazret-i Sultan Selim Han-ı cihâna dâima / İntisâb-ı fahr-ı âlem olduğuçün hâl-i şân / Hırka-i pâk-i Resûlün hücre-i ulyâsına / Eyledi bu micmer-i sîmîni vakf-ı câvidân / Sene semâni ve mî'eteyn ve elf.* As transcribed by Mustafa Uzun.

Incense Burners from the Treasury Section

As stated above, the Topkapı Palace Museum's Treasury section has twenty-one incense burners, but this study can include only eleven of them. The following section will present ten gold incense burners, while the eleventh (cat. no.13), which is made from gilt-copper, is explained under the copper section because it is kept in that section today. Nine gold incense burners were brought to the Topkapı Palace from Medina during World War I by the Ottoman commander Fahrettin Pasha (cat. no 22-28, 30-34). These objects had been sent to the Holy Lands as a gift to the Prophet Muhammad's tomb. It is known that three of them were donated by the daughters of the sultans, and one was gifted by the wife of the sultan (cat no. 25-28, 30, 31). The fourth volume of the Commission Records shows twelve gold and bejeweled incense burners that were brought from Medina. The tenth incense burner (cat. no. 29) belonged to the *Has Oda*, but it was sent to the Treasury section when the museum sections were established. This censer will be presented in this section because it is kept in the Treasury section today. The ten objects discussed below can be recognized from the registers in the Commission Records based on their distinctive descriptions and new inventory numbers, which are still in use today. In sum, the incense burner collection of the Treasury Section was mainly formed from the objects that were stored in the treasury as well as the objects brought from Medina. In addition, there may have been donated objects from other museums and private collections, or purchase. Since the inventory registers of the museum were not kept very carefully, it is

very difficult to find specific information about the original location of all the objects.

Two stationary pear-shaped gold censers were gifts to the mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina. According to the inscriptions, both of them were donated by Hatice Sultan, the daughter of Mustafa III (r. 1757-74). Even though the censers look very similar, they were produced in subsequent years: one (h. 26 cm) dated 1816, and one (h. 26 cm) dated 1817 (Fig. 32). The feet of the censers are riveted to their trays. Both terminate in pine-cone-shaped finials. The lid of the incense burner dated 1816 has engraved foliate patterns. The censer dated 1817 has also engraved leaf-shaped and trefoil patterns. In addition, the censer dated to 1817 includes a shallow bowl to hold fumigatories. The incense burners emitted smoke from abstract floral and dot-shaped openwork. The decorative motifs thus have both decorative and functional roles.

The rosewater sprinkler and incense burner set both have flared golden feet, which are decorated with a leaf-shaped rim and sport inscriptions. According to the inscriptions written in *talik*, the censer (h. 22 cm) and rosewater sprinkler (h. 20 cm) dated to 1885 (H. 1303), and were gifted to the Prophet Muhammad's tomb by Cemile Sultan, daughter of Abdülmecid (r. 1839-61). The golden set is mainly decorated with green enamel and bejeweled with diamonds (Fig. 33). The

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¹³⁵ *Imperial Surre*, exhibition catalogue (Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Culture Co., 2008), 156-157.

¹³⁶ The original reads: "Abdülmecid Han kerimelerinden Cemile cariyelerinin rutbe-i Hazret-i risalet penahilerine âcizane takdimesidir, sene 1303 (1885)." As transcribe in in Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 225, with corrections by Mustafa Uzun. "[This censer] is a humble gift to the Holy Tomb of the Prophet [Muhammad] by his slave Cemile[,] daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid[,] [in the] year 1303 [1885]." Translation from Turkish to English by the author.

stationary censer consists of two parts: a single-footed firepot, and a lid with a blossom-shaped finial decorated with diamonds. Apart from its foliate patterns formed by diamonds, the lid has a golden cabochon rim with openwork with stylized tulip motifs that allowed smoke to escape. The diamond leaves, the lobed green enameled surface and the rim in the shape of small petals give the appearance of a flower to the firepot.

The next incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set is dated to the nineteenth century and was gifted to the Prophet Muhammad's tomb by Hoşyâr Hatun (d. 1859), wife of Mahmud II (r. 1808-39) (Fig. 34). The flared foot of the incense burner has an inscription reading "Hoşyar Cariyeleri," which shows the donor's name. The censer consists of two parts: a single-footed firepot, and a conic perforated lid that allow smoke to escape. Both incense burner and rosewater sprinkler are made from gold and terminate in flower-shaped finials decorated with diamonds (cat. no. 30-31). Inside the firepot, there is a shallow gilded bowl to hold the fumigatory without damaging the incense burner. The edges and the flared foot of the censer are mainly decorated with purple enamel. The stationary set has a golden tray (d. 25 cm) supported on four point-shaped feet.

Figure 35 shows the pear-shaped incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set (cat. no. 22-23), probably dating to the nineteenth century. The photo from Fahreddin Pasha's book proves that this set was brought from Medina (Fig. 36).

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¹³⁷ Unfortunately, there exists no color photo of the incense burner. The only photograph of the censer is the one in Fahreddin Pasha's Book. Hoşyar Hatun was married to Mahmud II in 1811, and she died in Mecca in 1859. J.M. Rogers, *Topkapı Sarayı Objets d'art* (Paris: Ditions du Jaguar, 1987), 215.

The height of the stationary censer is 16.5 cm, and it consists of two pieces: the *buhur* receptacle with a flared foot and the perforated lid. The flower-shaped holes have both decorative and functional roles. The overall set was made from gold, and both the incense burner and the rosewater sprinkler are decorated with flower-shaped diamonds.

The last incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set that came from the mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad is again dated to the nineteenth century (cat. no. 32-34). This French-made set was probably designed for the Ottoman market and it consists of two incense burners (h. 24 cm) and one rosewater sprinkler (h. 32 cm) (Fig. 37). The overall design of the objects looks like a vase. Both the incense burners and the rosewater sprinkler are placed on a tray (l. 52 cm, w. 37 cm) on four palmette-shaped feet. The entire set is made from gold and decorated with enameled floral motifs in pink, green and purple. The incense burners are supported by three concave feet. The censers have flower-shaped finials, whereas the rosewater sprinkler is crowned by a conical knob with pearls. The firepot of the censers are decorated with embossed flowers and spiraling stems, which reflect the Rococo style.

The other stationary golden incense burner (h. 20 cm) is dated to the nineteenth century; there exists one more identical censer (Fig. 38, cat. no. 24). This incense burner is quite different in terms of its design because it is mainly decorated with acanthus leaves in the Empire style. The firepot has the shape of

¹³⁸ In Figure 37, the object in the center is a rosewater sprinkler, whereas the other two on each side are incense burners.

bowl and is covered with a dome-shaped openwork lid that consists of acanthus leaves and terminates in a bud-shaped finial. The firepot stands on a stem decorated with spiraling leaf motifs. The single-footed censer is riveted to a tray (d. 15 cm), which in turn is supported by four small feet.

The last censer was donated to the *Has Oda* in 1910 (H. 1328) by Sultan Mehmed V Reşad (r. 1909-1918). This ostentatious incense burner was transferred from the *Has Oda* to the Treasury Section after the palace became a museum, probably because of its material (Fig. 39, cat. no. 29). The stationary censer (h. 14 cm, d. 13.5 cm) stands on a round tray with a scalloped edge. The golden tray has an inscription and is decorated with embossed flower motifs and diamonds. The entire censer sits on three concave leaf-shaped feet. The hinged lid is bell-shaped and terminates in a flower-like finial entirely decorated with diamonds. The lid is decorated with three red enameled and bejeweled elliptical panels as well as stylized palmettes in between the panels. The firepot of the censer is also lavishly studded with diamonds in the shape of flowers. The rim surrounding the firepot is decorated with elaborately entwined diamond scrolls. Even though this is a highly ornamented censer, its overall appearance seems similar to the silver censer housed in the *Has Oda* (cat. no. 20).

Incense Burners from the European Porcelain Section

Starting from Ahmed III's reign (1703-1730), European porcelains came into vogue in the Ottoman Empire. The European Porcelain collection of the Topkapı Palace was formed very much like the Chinese Porcelain Collection, through purchase, diplomatic gifts and inheritance (*muhallefat*). In 1731, the Meissen Manufacture started to specifically adapt design and decoration to meet the demands and tastes of Ottoman customers. Porcelain pieces such as incense burners, rosewater sprinklers, coffee cups, and sets of basin and ewer (*leğen-ibrik*) were produced specifically for the Ottoman market.

The Topkapı Palace collection thus also contains European porcelain incense burners. On page 241, the first volume of the Commission Records shows two such incense burners. According to the description, they featured openwork lids and floral patterns on white surfaces, and they were produced in Vienna. These two objects were kept in the room called *Büyük Hazine/Üçüncü Hane* (Grand Treasury/Third Residence). This information shows that these European porcelain incense burners were considered valuable enough to be kept in the Treasury. There is no visual information about these two incense burners, and the total number of European porcelain incense burners is not known today. However, there is one concrete example that can give a general idea. This object, or rather set of objects, is of a very different character than the ones discussed above: this

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¹³⁹ Göksen Sonat and Ömür Tufan, eds., *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri*, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2005), 13.

¹⁴⁰ Sonat and Tufan, eds., Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri, 14.

¹⁴¹ Sonat and Tufan, eds., Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri, 14, 17.

¹⁴² For detailed information, see Appendix 2. *Büyük Hazine/Üçüncü Hazine* probably refers to the third room in the Fatih Köskü (*İc Hazine*).

incense burner and rosewater sprinkler belong to a porcelain coffee set, produced in Germany by the Meissen Manufacture and based on its design dating to Marcolini period between 1774 and 1805 (Fig. 40). These two objects continue the tradition of typical earlier *buhurdan* and *gülabdan*. The height of the stationary censer is 11.5 cm, and it consists of two pieces: the *buhur* receptacle with a flared foot and the dome-shaped perforated lid terminating in a gilt flower. Both lid and cup are decorated with naturalistic flowers—such as tulips, roses and carnations—in pink, yellow and blue, framed with golden scrolling stems. As in this set, floral motifs such as tulip, carnation, narcissus, hyacinth, rose and sprays of golden patterns mainly constituted the decorative repertoire of these objects. This set serves as a reminder of the significant role that olfactory practices played in the palace's culinary customs, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

2. b. The Spatial Context: Incense Burners Usage in the Palace's Rooms

This section contains a description of the rooms where we know the sultan and his household used incense as well as the rooms that contained incense burners. The Topkapı Palace's different areas evolved over time due to the rulers' diverse requirements, and as a consequence the functions of some rooms in the palace are ambiguous. In addition, there were no distinct differences between the rooms' functions in the past. For example, one could eat, study, pray and sleep in the

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¹⁴³ Sonat and Tufan, eds., *Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri*, 24, 34, 37; Tülay Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010), 120, 113-147.

¹⁴⁴ Sonat and Tufan, eds., Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri, 24.

same room, with moveable furniture transforming the space. On the other hand, there are several rooms that had distinct functions, such as the *Has Oda* (Privy Chamber), the Large Bath, Murad III's room, the *Hünkar Sofası* (Imperial Hall), and the *Yemiş Odası* (Fruit Room). Based on the daily life routines of the sultans and the ceremonial rules and regulations, we can say that the *Has Oda*, the Large Bath in the third courtyard, and the three rooms in the Imperial Harem, which were used by sultans as dining room, bedroom and ceremony hall, included incense usage. We also have evidence for incense usage in other rooms of the palace. As stated above, the Commission Records give information about the original location of the incense burners (Table 1). However, if a room contains an incense burner, it does not always mean that it was used in that same room; in some instances the objects were just stored there, especially where treasuries are concerned.

According to the Commission Records, many rooms in the second and third courtyards and the Imperial Harem contained incense burners. In addition, the records show a number of other, complementary objects related to the usage of incense, such as incense trays (*buhur tepsisi*), candlesticks (*buhur şamdanı*), incense burner stools (*buhurdan iskemlesi*), incense containers (*buhur kutusu* or *mahfazası*), a drawer to hold incense, a sieve for incense (*elek*), and a bowl to beat raw materials. When the palace was turned into a museum, ten different rooms and three different treasuries contained incense burners and complementary objects. While the commission was registering the objects, they numbered each room in the palace, but at the end of this process took the numbers off the doors.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify all the locations from their names in the records, for example the room in the Harem registered as *Harem dairesi*. However, some of the room names are very precise and thus enable us to identify the locations, such as the Library of Ahmed III, the Privy Chamber (*Has Oda*), and the Mosque of the Halberdiers with Tresses (*Zülüflü Baltacılar Cami*). Unfortunately, some of the rooms such as the *Elçi Hazinesi* (the Envoy Treasury) next to the Inner Treasury (*Fatih Köşkü*) in the third courtyard no longer exists today. Most of the rooms survived to the present day; however, the majority lost their original design and decoration. In addition, while interpreting the data of the Commission Records, we should be aware of the ruined condition of the Topkapı Palace in 1924. The information given by the Commission Records may represent what was left in the palace at that point in time. The following section will describe the rooms that contained incense burners or the rooms where we know incense was used on specific occasions.

The Second Courtyard

The Commission Records show nine incense burners found in four different locations in the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace. Six of the censers were kept in two different parts of the Imperial Kitchens (*Matbah-ı Âmire*): the Imperial Commissary (*Kiler-i Âmire*) and the Confectionary (*Helvahâne*). The initial layout of the Imperial Kitchens dates to the reign of Mehmed II, but the complex was extended and renovated by Mimar Sinan at the end of the sixteenth century. Under Mehmed II, the Imperial Kitchens had two separate units, private

and public. The private part was for the preparation of the sultan's food, and the public one served the household, the staff and the servants. 145 After the Imperial Kitchens were enlarged in Süleyman I's reign, the complex served the different groups within the palace hierarchy, including viziers and other statesmen who met in the Council Hall (*Divan-ı Hümayun*). ¹⁴⁶ The Imperial Kitchens have three main entrance: the Gate of the Commissariat (kilar-i amire) (Fig. 1, no. 7), the Gate of the Royal Kitchens (hass matbâh) (Fig.1, no. 8), and the Gate of the Confectionary (helvahâne) (Fig.1, no. 9). The complex also included all the necessary buildings for the kitchen staff, such as masjids, dormitories, a bath and a library. 147 Today, the buildings in the complex have been replaced by modern buildings. 148 According to the Commission Records, the chamber called the Helvahane (registered as room number 183) contained two brass incense burners. The duty of the *Helvahane* was to prepare sherbets, confections and jams. ¹⁴⁹ In addition, the *Helvahane* Section was responsible for producing medicine and scented soap. Moreover, it is known that fumigatories and other aromatics prepared in the Helvahane. A manuscript the so-called helvahane defteri, which contains recipes for fumigatories and other aromatics shows that the Helvahane played a significant role to actualize the olfactory practices in the palace. ¹⁵⁰ Therefore, it seems only logical that this room should have more than one censer.

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¹⁴⁵ Gülru Necipoğlu, Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, (New York: MIT Press, 1991), 70.

 ¹⁴⁷ Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekânları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun: Topkapı Sarayı* (Istanbul: Denizbank, 2002), 121. Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 72.
 ¹⁴⁸ Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 72.

¹⁴⁹ Arif Bilgin, "Matbah-ı Âmire," *TDVİA* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), vol. 28: 116.

¹⁵⁰ For detailed information on the Helvahane Defteri, see Chapter 3.

During the reception ceremony for ambassadors the sherbets or *macun* (paste) prepared in the *Helvahane* were offered to guests in the Council Hall. ¹⁵¹ Also, after the meals served performed in the Council Hall, the *Helvahane* section was offering rosewater (gülâb) and incense (buhur), as it was expected. Thus, the censers in the Helvahâne would have been used at the end of the meals served in the Council Hall.

The other four brass censers were found in the Erzak Ambarı (registered as room number 191). Although the commission identified this room as Erzak Ambarı (food storage), it was probably known as kilar-i amire in the Ottoman period. There were two main food storages in the palace, one in the third courtyard, under the control of the *Kilercibaşı*, and the other inside the Imperial Kitchens, under the control of the Kiler Ağası. 153 As we can understand from the room numbers, the Commission Records refer to the one in the Imperial Kitchen area, which is now serving as the Topkapı Palace Museum's archives. The four brass incense burners were probably used to protect the stored food items from insects; in other words, fumigation there would have functioned as insect repellent. There is also one example in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art which came from the "Hamidiye food storage" (erzak ambarı), and this shows that it was common to use incense burners in food storages. 154

The other rooms that contained incense burners are located in the Quarters of the Halberdiers with Tresses (Zülüflü Baltacılar Koğuşu) (Fig. 1, no. 15). The

¹⁵¹ Ahmet Aslantürk, Miraç Tosun, and Serdar Soyluer, Mehmed Es'ad Efendi'nin Teşrifat-ı Kadime'si Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Teşrifat (İstanbul: Okur Kitaplığı, 2012), 110.

¹⁵² Aslantürk, Tosun, and Soyluer, Mehmed Es'ad Efendi'nin Teşrifat-ı Kadime'si, 112, 114.

¹⁵³ Arif Bilgin, "Matbah-ı Âmire," vol. 28: 116. ¹⁵⁴ Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 75.

commission did not clearly write down the names of the rooms, and there are two different locations registered as room number 168 and 174. Room 168 was entitled *Yakalı Baltacılar Koğuşu/ Câmi* (Mosque of the Halberdiers with Collar) and room 174 *Yakalı Baltacılar Koğuşu/Zülüflü Baltacılar Koğuşu/Zülüflü Baltacılar Koğuşu/Zülüflü Baltacılar Câmi* (Quarter of Halberdiers with Collar/Quarter of Halberdiers with Tresses/Mosque of the Halberdiers with Tresses). As we can understand from the registers, the Commission Records are not clear enough for us to be sure about the exact location of the objects; however, the three incense burners must have been contained in the Quarter of the Halberdiers with Tresses (*Zülüflü Baltacılar Koğuşu*).

The duty of this corps was to carry wood to both the Harem and the third courtyard of the palace. There is no clear difference between the Halberdiers with Tresses (Zülüflü Baltacılar) and the Halberdiers with Collars (Yakalı Baltacılar). Uzunçarşılı states that he could not find any archival documents that mention the Halberdiers with Collars (Yakalı Baltacılar) as a different corps. According to him, their attire had tall collars popped up so as to prevent them from seeing their surroundings. The halberdiers who wore this attire probably served the Harem, and this group was called the Yakalı Baltacılar afterwards. Necipoğlu also says that the Halberdiers with Tresses formed two groups: the first group was under the service of the Black Eunuchs in the Harem, and the second group of the Council Hall and male-dominated sections of the palace. Since there is no certain division, it is not clear why the Commission Records registered the rooms under

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¹⁵⁵ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi,1984), 438.

¹⁵⁶ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 74.

the name of *Yakalı Baltacılar*. The quarter contains dormitories, mosque, bath, and the so-called *Çubuk Odası* (Pipe Room). The existing dormitories were expanded under the reign of Murad III (r. 1574- 1595) and the complex renovated over the centuries. The walls of the *Zülüflü Baltacılar* dormitory are decorated with tiles. The three incense burners were made from copper; one of them was located in room number 168 and the other two in room number 174. The usage of incense burner in mosques was a common tradition as mentioned in Chapter 1.

The Third Courtyard (Enderun Avlusu)

The Commission Records show five chambers and three treasuries that contained incense burners in the third courtyard of the palace in 1924. The *Has Oda* is one of the oldest parts of the palace where incense burners were used during specific events. This room was built as a residential apartment for Sultan Mehmed II in the fifteenth century and is located in the third courtyard (*Enderun Avlusu*) (Fig. 1, no. 49-52). It was designed as a bedroom, throne room and reception room for the sultan, and it was one of the most important rooms in the palace. This room possessed forty servants, and one of the frequent users of this room was the sultan himself. As it was understood, becoming a member of the *Has Oda*'s staff was the highest position that a page (*acemoğlan*) could achieve during his education in the Palace School. The *Has Odalılar* were also the servants closest to the sultan. During Selim I's reign (r. 1512-20), the *Has Oda* gained religious importance.

¹⁵⁷ Aydın, Hırka-ı Saadet Dairesi, 17.

Muhammad from his Egypt campaign to the palace in 1517. After he returned to the palace, the sultan stored the Holy Relics in the *Has Oda*, and the tradition of Qur'an recitation in this room also started in the sixteenth century. This room has never lost its importance over the centuries; Ottoman sultans always appreciated and showed the necessary respect to this room. For example, Murad IV, Ahmed III, Mahmud I, Abdülhamid I, Selim III, and Mahmud II all added inscriptions on the walls of the *Has Oda*.

The Has Oda in fact consists of several rooms and hosted the visitation of the Holy Mantle, which involved purification. The Has Oda section includes four rooms: the Şadırvanlı Sofa (Fountained hall), the Destimal Odası (Chamber of Privy Chamber Pages), the Arzhane (Petition hall), and the Has Oda (Throne Hall or Privy Camber). The main entrance opens to the Şadırvanlı Sofa, which has a marble fountain. The Şadırvanlı Sofa has connections to the other rooms. The Destimal Odası is on the left side, and the Arzhane and the Has Oda is to the right side of the Şadırvanlı Sofa. The Arzhane has a door that opens to a smaller room where today Qur'an recitation is performed during the visiting hours of the museum (Fig. 1, no. 49). This smaller room links to a bigger room with a dome, and together they make up of the Privy Chamber Treasury (Emanet Hazinesi). Today, the Emanet Hazinesi is used to exhibit the Holy Relics Section's objects (Fig.1 no. 48). There is no inscription that shows the construction date or function of this room. According to Atâ Bey, who wrote the five-volume Tarih-i

¹⁵⁸ Aydın, Hırka-ı Saadet Dairesi, 40.

coins and valuable arms belonging to the sultan. ¹⁵⁹ After the Holy Relics started to be kept in this area, the room was known as *Emânât-i Mübâreke Hazinesi* or *Silahdar Ağa Hazinesi* (Treasury of the Swordbearer). These two rooms that constituted the *Emanet Hazinesi* have now completely lost their original interior decorations. In the Commission Records, the *Emanet Hazinesi* was registered as room number 245, and it contained one silver and two gilt copper (*tombak*) incense burners. In addition, there were one steel and two silver candlesticks, one incense burner stool (*buhur iskemlesi*), and one drawer made from walnut tree to store agarwood in this treasury.

All the rooms in this section have domes, but the highest dome is in the *Has Oda*, which indicated that this room belonged to the sultan. The walls of the *Destimal Odasi*, the *Arzhane*, the *Şadurvanlı Sofa* and the *Has Oda* are covered with very fine İznik tiles. The rooms were decorated with Qur'an and hadith inscriptions, which were added by different Ottoman sultans. The room for the sultan where the Holy Relics of the Prophet Muhammad are kept today is the most extensively decorated one and the only room with a fireplace. It was renovated under Selim I, and the dome was designed in Mamluk style with gilt wood *muqarnas* squinches. Under the reign of Murad III (r. 1574-95), windows were added to the dome to create a brighter space. ¹⁶⁰ There is a precious silver throne with a canopy, made during the reign of Murad IV (r. 1623-40) to store the Holy Relics of the Prophet in the *Has Oda*. ¹⁶¹ When the Ottoman sultans started to

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¹⁵⁹ Sakaoğlu, Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun, 120.

¹⁶⁰ Aydın, Hırka-ı Saadet Dairesi, 23; Necipoğlu, Architecture, 146.

¹⁶¹ Aydın, Hırka-ı Saadet Dairesi, 23.

reside on the Bosporus after 1808, this section was entirely dedicated to conserve the Holy Relics. 162 The *Has Oda* used to be home to the visitation of the Holy Mantle of the Prophet Muhammad every Ramadan. The visit occurred under the leadership of the sultan after the fifteenth day of that month. State officials and clergymen such as the *şehülislam* attended the ceremony. In addition, the female family members of the sultan could participate in the ceremony. Before the ceremony, the *Has Oda* used to be cleaned with rose water and fumigated with incense, and during the cleaning, everything in the room was removed to the Revan Köşkü. This cleaning ritual known as pars temizliği was a very important event, and the sultan himself was a part of the cleaning activities since he was a member of the *Has Oda*. Finally, there is an important architectural detail in the courtyard just outside the entrance to the Has Oda section: a marble mortar (buhur dibeği) (Fig. 41). This buhur dibeği features a Persian inscription reading: "It was made of marble for grinding and beating incense[.] You may say it is a complete dome[.] It has an illuminated and transparent body[.] Its beauty reminds of the full moon[.]" (Fig. 42). 163 The mortar was specifically used for preparing incense for the palace. The buhur dibeği possesses great importance for the purposes of this study, because it indicates the frequency and quantity of incense usage in this part of the palace.

In the Commission Records, the *Has Oda* (Privy Chamber) was registered as room number 237 under the name of *Hırka-i Saadet-i Oda-i Âlisi*. The room

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¹⁶² Aydın, Hırka-ı Saadet Dairesi, 17.

¹⁶³ The orginal reads: "Li-eclis sahkı sunia min ruhâmın[.] Kid-te tasıfu bi-kubbet-it temâmı[.] Lehü cirmün müstenirûn ve şefifün[.] Gırârü'l-hüsni kel kamer't-temâmı[.]" As transcribed in Ahmet Şimşirgil, Taşa Yazılan Tarih Topkapı Sarayı (Istanbul: Düşünce Kitapları, 2005), 137.

contained one gold censer decorated with jewels and four silver incense burners. Today, the four silver censers are still kept in the *Has Oda* Section (cat. no 20-21). The gold one (cat. no. 29) was sent to the Treasury Section when the museum sections were formed. In addition, there were two incense burner trays (*buhur tepsisi*), three candlesticks (*buhur şamdanı*), and one case to store incense in this room. The *Şadırvanlı Sofa* also contained a case to store agarwood (*öd ağacı*).

The Commission Records also mention a hospital quarter that served only the pages of the *Has Oda* Chamber. This room registered with number 208 was entitled *Hurka-i Saadet Dairesi Me'mûrînine Mahsus Koğuş/ Hastahane*. Usually, it is hard to immediately pinpoint the location of the rooms from the records, because the same number was used to indicate different rooms in some instances. The commission registered these censers between 1924 and 1926; thus, wherever the hospital was located, it must still have been visible at that time. The well-known seventeenth-century accounts Albert Bobovi and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier give detailed information about the hospital in the first courtyard of the palace. Bobovi also left a drawing that shows the quarters of the palace, and there he indicates the exact hospital room of the pages of the Has Oda Chamber (Fig. 43, no. 53). However, this hospital completely burned in 1856/57, thus it cannot be the hospital registered in the Commission Records because it did not exist in 1924. ¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Arslan Terzioğlu, *Helvehane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayı'nda Eczacılık* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat, 1992), XIV.

Uzunçarşılı states that there was a hospital (or infirmary) in the Chamber of Commissary Pages. 165 In his book Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayında Eczacilik (1992), Terzioğlu says that, other than the one in the first courtyard, there was another hospital in the third courtyard for the Chamber of Expeditionary Force (Seferliler Koğuşu), but he does not point out the exact location (Fig. 1, no. 38). 166 In addition, in the article published in 2006, Terzioğlu mentions the presence of a hospital in the Chamber of Commissary Pages (*Kiler-i Hassa*). 167 This statement overlaps with the information that Uzunçarşılı gives. However, the Chamber of Commissary Pages was rebuilt as a treasury chamberlain's room (Hazine Kethüdâsı Dairesi) in 1847 and registered as room numbers 218 to 232. Thus, the hospital registered in room number 208 should be in a different a chamber. Unfortunately, due to the lack of information it is not possible to make a definite statement about this hospital (*Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi Me'mûrînine* Mahsus Koğuş/ Hastahane). Abdülaziz Bey gives information that the Ottomans used incense to treat various diseases. 168 This is not surprising because, as stated in Chapter 1, the Prophet Muhammad recommended using Indian incense to treat seven diseases. 169 In addition, it is know that during the visitation of the patients who were treated in the hospital (Enderun Hastanesi) located in the first courtyard

¹⁶⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, 315; Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekânları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 227.

¹⁶⁶ Terzioğlu, Helvahane Defteri, XVIII.

¹⁶⁷ Arslan Terzioğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Hastaneler ve Hastane Tarihi Bakımından Önemi," *Türk Dünyası Tarih ve Kültür Dergisi* 238, (2006), 18.

¹⁶⁸ Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı *Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), 357.

¹⁶⁹ Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 7, Book 71, Number 596. "Treat with the Indian incense, for it has healing for seven diseases; it is to be sniffed by one having throat trouble, and put into one side of the mouth of one suffering from pleurisy."

servants offered coffee, sherbet or *buhur suyu* and incense to the visitors.¹⁷⁰ Thus, it is quite logical to find an incense burner recorded in the palace hospital.

The Chamber of the Commissary Pages is another location where the commission found four silver incense burners, one candlestick, one sieve for incense (*elek*), and one bowl to beat fumigatories (Fig. 1, no.47). These objects were recorded in the room numbers 221 and 226, entitled Hazine Kethüdâsı Dairesi Medhali, meaning the entrance to the treasury chamberlain's room (hazine kethüdâsı). The Chamber of the Commissary was first built in Mehmed II's period, but rebuilt in the first half of the nineteenth century by the *Hazine* Kethüdası Dayezâde Seferli Mehmed Bey. The original structure of the chamber was completely changed during the restoration in 1951-1967. Since then the building serves as Museum Directorate. The pages in this chamber were responsible for the preparation of the sultan's meals and for setting his table. In addition, they prepared paste (macun), spice (baharat), syrup (şurup), and sherbet. Moreover, the staff of this chamber were producing the candles that in the palace. 171 If the chief of the chamber, the *Kilercibaşı*, was promoted, he became the *Hazinedarbasi*. ¹⁷² The *Hazinedarbasi* was the head of the *ehl-i hiref*, and he was also responsible for both the Hil'at Hazinesi and the Muhallefat Hazinesi. In addition, the *hazinedarbaşı* had to accompany the sultan whenever he left the palace. 173 He was even responsible for spreading the sultan's prayer rug before he arrived at the mosque for Friday prayer, and then he had to examine the rug to see,

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¹⁷⁰ Terzioğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki Hastaneler", 17.

¹⁷¹ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi*, *Mekanları*, *Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 176-177.

¹⁷² Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 176.

¹⁷³ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 179.

whether there was anything on it that could hurt the face of the sultan. ¹⁷⁴ On religious holidays before the sultan went to an imperial mosque, the *hazinedarbaşı* spread not only his prayer rug, but also lit an incense burner in the sultan's loge (*hünkâr mahfili*). ¹⁷⁵ The sultan's dinner sets were also kept in the Chamber of the Commissary Pages; thus, the four silver incense burners would have been used at the end of the meal service.

The Library of Ahmed III was built in 1719 by the eponymous sultan (r. 1703-30) in the center of the third courtyard (Fig.1, no. 37). ¹⁷⁶ It was the first pavilion designed exclusively as library for a sultan and the pages who were educated in the palace. Before it was built, books were stored in different locations, such as the Harem, the Privy Chamber, and the Inner Treasury. ¹⁷⁷ The library consists of a single room with a central dome and is elevated on a basement floor (Fig. 44). The interior was divided into three reading areas by means of raised platforms, and the one in the center was reserved for the sultan, called *hūnkār sekisi*. The bookshelves, placed between the sofas, were categorized according to the subjects of the books that they contained, and the subject names were written on each bookshelf. ¹⁷⁸ The library has thirty-two windows, placed in two rows to create a bright space. The walls of the library are decorated with very fine sixteenth-century İznik tiles that were brought from other kiosks and palaces. ¹⁷⁹ The ceiling of the library features paintings of bouquets, vases, tulips,

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¹⁷⁴ Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı, 318.

¹⁷⁵ Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı, 209.

¹⁷⁶ Sakaoğlu, Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun, 198.

¹⁷⁷ İlber Ortaylı, Mekanlar ve Olaylarıyla Topkapı Sarayı (Istanbul: Kaynak, 2007), 115.

¹⁷⁸ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 200.

¹⁷⁹ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 199.

roses, carnations and leaves. 180 Together with the smell of incense, the floral interior decoration of the library evoked a natural setting. The exterior walls of the library are covered with marbles. The entrance opens to the double staircase which contains two fountains. The smaller and plain one sits across the entrance, whereas the bigger and more ostentatious one is decorated with rumi motifs and tulips, placed in the middle of the double staircase. The books endowed to the library were accessible to pages in the *Enderun* School, so that they could read and study in the library. Ahmed III himself attached great importance to the library, as he even wrote the first page of the endowment deed himself. The endowment deed shows the rules and terms of the library usage, such as the regulation that no one could take a book away from the library, or that the building would be used only on Mondays and Thursdays. 181 The languages of the donated books were Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Greek and Latin. As Sultan Ahmed III indicated in his endowment deed, the pages took classes in the Islamic sciences, a tradition which continued until the Second Constitutional Era (1908).

The Commission Records present evidence for the usage of incense inside the Library of Ahmed III, showing four incense burners (two silver, two of unknown metal, but likely gilt), one incense burner tray, one candlestick and one incense burner stool. 182 Visual sources also indicates the usage of incense in a palace library: a miniature from Talikizade's *Şehname-i Hümâyûn* (c. 1596-1600) shows Süleyman I seated and conversing with his son in his private library, while

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 200.

¹⁸² Two of the censers are made from silver, while the other two consist of metal of yellow color, probably made from gilt copper (tombak).

next to the sultan a chest with a censer emits tendrils of smoke (Fig. 45- 46). Abdülaziz Bey narrates that it was a common practice to offer agarwood incense to strengthen the memory. Especially government dignitaries and ulemas were carrying or putting on their writing desk a small piece of amber that was called *şemmame*. Having an incense burner in a library is indeed very similar to this practice. A miniature from the first volume of Seyyid Lokman's *Şehinşehname* (c. 1581) shows a scene from the observatory where Taqi al-Din Ibn Ma'ruf (1521-1585) and his colleagues are working while an incense burner is standing in the center of the table (Fig. 47- 48).

The chamber of the White Eunuchs was another building that contained censers. The building is located to the left of the third gate (*Bâbüssâde*) of the palace (Fig. 1, no. 29). The initial buildings were renovated after the fire in 1857, during Abdülmecid's reign (r. 1839-61). The commission recorded two incense burners made of unknown metal found in room number 198. They registered this space as *Bâbüssâde Medhali (Ak Ağalar Koğuşu)/Yemekhane*, meaning the dining hall of the White Eunuchs' chamber. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the culinary customs of the palace included incense usage after meals. Thus, one can expect to find incense burners in a dining hall.

The Large Bath in the third courtyard was built under the reign of Mehmed II and completed in 1465. 186 It was remodeled under the reign of Selim II (r.

¹⁸³ Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı Adet, Merasimler ve Tabirleri, 353.

¹⁸⁴ Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010), 126-127.

¹⁸⁵ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 138.

¹⁸⁶ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 124.

of Murad III (r. 1574-95), because he ordered to construct a new bath in the Imperial Harem, which is today known as hünkâr hamamı. The Large Bath no longer exists today, as its place is occupied by the Chamber of the Expeditionary Forces (Seferli Koğuşu) since 1719.¹⁸⁷ The structure also contained a music chamber (meşkhâne). Bobovi narrates that musicians were performing while the sultan was being shaved every Tuesday.¹⁸⁸ Thus, this bath functioned both for hygiene and royal entertainment for the sultan.¹⁸⁹ Literary sources present evidence on the usage of incense in the bath. For example, the poet Cafer Çelebi wrote a poem in 1493-94 about this bath, entitled "Characteristics of the Bath," (Stfât-1 Hamâm) where he describes the interior decoration and the smell of the bath: it smelled of the incense of musk, saffron, sandalwood and aloes.¹⁹⁰ In addition, in the 1630s, when he was a page at the court of Murad IV (r. 1623-40), Evliya Çelebi depicted the bath in a fashion similar to Cafer Çelebi and also mentions smell:

On its four sides are the bathing places for royal pages. The exemplary bath in the middle belongs to the emperor. At its corners are numerous pools, jets of water, and fountains. The water spouts and bowls of the fountains and basins are of gold and silver. Into some basins cold and hot water flow at the same time. Its

¹⁸⁷ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 227.

¹⁸⁸ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 127.

¹⁸⁹ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 124.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

pavements are all of pieces of valuable stones. Its walls are scented with musk and amber. The glimmer of the crystals and rock crystals in its domes floods the bath with light. ¹⁹¹

He continues to describe how the bath was lavishly decorated and describes its magnificent view of Üsküdar and Kadıköy. 192 As it is understood from the literary sources, this bath created a paradisiacal atmosphere for its users. According to Necipoğlu, the bath complex was a center of royal entertainment and reminded of the tradition of Umayyad baths. 193 In addition, the engraving published in the Tableau general de l'Empire Othoman (1788) supports that the idea of the bath as a royal entertainment space for the sultan. This visual source shows the sultan seated in his private bath with his female slaves holding different objects, and one slave girl carries an incense burner and rosewater flask set (Fig. 49-50). Evidently, it was not possible for d'Ohsson to see the sultan in his bath. However, this engraving must be a reflection of what he heard and therefore can be cautiously accepted as realistic.

The Commission Records present information on twenty-eight incense burners located in the Inner Treasury. In the records, the objects belonging to the treasury were mostly registered as *Hazine* (room 233). In addition, some of the censers were written down together with more precise room names within the treasury complex, such as Büyük Hazine/Üçüncü Hane (Major Treasury/Third Hall). The

¹⁹¹ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 132.

¹⁹³ Umayyad baths were based on Roman models in the Mediterranean; they were monumental structures that hosted music performances, wine drinking and relaxation in great luxury. Necipoğlu, Architecture, 133

treasury was located in the Fatih Köşkü (Conquers' Pavilion) (Fig. 1, no. 40, 43, 44, 45) and today consists of four main halls. The Fatih Köşkü was built as a royal mansion (kasr) for Mehmed II around 1462-63; however, there is no inscription dating from that period. 194 After the completion of the Privy Chamber, this pavilion turned into a treasury. 195 The structure of the pavilion changed over time. At the beginning, the pavilion consisted of the suite of the three main halls with the projecting latrine and the open loggia with a fountain. The disrobing chamber of the Large Bath Complex, which the sultans used until Murad III built a new bath in the Harem (r. 1574-95), was inserted as a fourth hall to the treasury. The Fatih Köşkü has a two-storey basement where the gold and silver coins and jewels of the sultan were kept. 196 The basement connects to the ground floor with two narrow staircases from the second and the third halls. The general inventory of the treasury, which was compiled under the reign of Beyazid II (r. 1481-1512), shows various objects stored both upstairs and downstairs in the Fatih Köşkü. The treasury also functioned as storage for manuscripts, archival documents, clothing, practical equipment and household furnishings. 197 Moreover, there were incense burners and fumigatories (ambergris, musk, lignum aloes, and sandalwood) recorded in the treasury. 198 Apart from its storage function, the Treasury also served as exhibition area for the dynasty starting from the period of Mehmed II. The inbuilt niches shows that even in Mehmed II's reign, the Treasury was used

¹⁹⁴ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi*, *Mekanları*, *Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 215.

¹⁹⁵ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 134.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 134-135.

¹⁹⁸ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 140.

to exhibit valuable objects as an indicator of his universal monarchy. ¹⁹⁹ It is known that the sultans visited the Treasury on special occasions or sometimes just for looking at his objects. ²⁰⁰ The role of the Treasury as exhibition hall continued until the end of the Ottoman Empire. Starting from the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839-61), the Inner Treasury was open to ambassadors with the permission of the sultan. The objects in the Treasury represented the wealth and glory of the dynasty. The last inventory register of the Treasury prepared in the Ottoman Empire was recorded under the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) in 1878. ²⁰¹ This source shows eight censers and twenty-two incense burner and rosewater sprinkler sets. According to this inventory there were also objects specifically designed to hold ambergris such as three *anberdan* (small box to hold raw ambergris) and two ambergris cases made from gold decorated with jewels (Fig. 51). ²⁰²

According to the Commission records, the distribution of the other twenty censers in the Treasury based on their materials and numbers is as follows: metal (maden) (2), gold decorated with jewels (3), silver (9), and Chinese porcelain (6). In addition, two porcelain incense burners made in Vienna were registered as belonging to the Büyük Hazine/Üçüncü Hane (Major Treasury/ Third Hall) in the Commission Records. These two porcelain censers were not recorded in the last inventory register of the Treasury. The first director of the Topkapı Palace

¹⁹⁹ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 135.

²⁰⁰ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 140.

Nedret Bayraktar and Selma Delibaş, Sultan II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi 1294/1878 Tarihli Envanter Defteri (Istanbul: İslam, Sanat ve Kültürünü Araştırma Vakfı, 2010), 14.

²⁰² Bayraktar and Delibaş, Sultan II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 37, 39, 160.

Museum, Tahsin Öz, narrates that most of the European porcelains found in the Topkapı Palace Museum were brought from the Yıldız Palace Museum, probably after the reign of sultan Abdülhamid II. ²⁰³

There existed another section in the Commission Records, registered as room number 247 under the name of *Elçi Hazinesi* (Envoy Treasury). This room was built by Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730-54). It was formed by enclosing the portico in front of the first and second halls (Fig. 52-53, no. 106); however, this room no longer exists because it was demolished during the restoration in the 1940s. As can be understood from its name, the *Elçi Hazinesi* was used for keeping the presents that came from ambassadors and the objects that were use in during receptions given for ambassadors.²⁰⁴ Two gilt copper (*tombak*) and four silver incense burners were recorded in the *Elçi Hazinesi* (Envoy Treasury). According to the Treasury Records, one can say that incense burners were always considered objects of such great value that they deserved to be kept in the treasury throughout the centuries.

The Imperial Harem

As stated above, the palace was in a ruined condition by 1924; however, the Imperial Harem was completely abandoned before the palace became a museum and most of its windows were broken.²⁰⁵ According to the Commission Records, there was no furniture left in most of the rooms. Thus, the numbers of the incense

²⁰⁵ Öz, *Hayatım*, 11.

²⁰³ Tahsin Öz, *Hayatım* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1991), 33.

²⁰⁴ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekânları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 215.

burners found in the Harem probably do not reflect the real numbers. When the palace was turned into a museum, there were three incense burners remaining in two different rooms of the Imperial Harem. The room registered as number 152 under the name *Harem/Dâire* contained two silver censers. The other room recorded as number 31/4 and entitled *Harem Dâiresi/Sofa* had one incense burner made from metal of yellow color, probably a gilt copper (*tombak*) object. It is impossible to identify these two rooms because there is no specific feature that can give us a clue. Even though there are no entries in the Commission Records concerning Murad III's room, the *Hünkâr Sofası* (Imperial Hall) and the *Yemiş Odası* (Ahmed III's room) are the other rooms in the Imperial Harem of which we know the functions, which included incense usage. Also, there is pictorial evidence such as a miniature in the second volume of the *Şehinşahaname* written by Seyyid Lokman 1597-98, representing Prince Mehmed conversing with the Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha in a room in the Harem (Fig. 54).

Sultan Murad III's room in the Harem section is another residential space where we find clues of incense usage (Fig. 1. no. 71). As stated in Chapter 1, Bobovi gives information about the ritual of preparing the sultan's bedroom before he went to sleep. According to him, the servants prepared the sultan's bed by first laying down precious bedding and then lighting two large candles that scented the room with amber and aloe. Murad III's room was the first bedroom built for a sultan in the harem, designed by Mimar Sinan in 1578-79. The room of

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²⁰⁶ Ali Ufkî, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam: Albertus Bobovius ya da Santurî Ali Ufkî Bey'in Anıları*, ed. Stephanos Yerasimos and Annie Berthier; transl. Ali Berktay (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 94

Murad III has a central dome that reflects sixteenth-century Ottoman taste. The sixteenth-century İznik tiles in the room are the only examples in the Harem section. ²⁰⁷ The room has a *selsebil* (fountain) with nineteenth-century faucets and floral decoration, which created a pleasant soundscape of flowing water in the room (Fig. 55). When this room was designed there were no adjoining buildings around it, but today only one side offers a view. The room probably had a magnificent view and much light before the additions obstructed it. ²⁰⁸ Lokman, the author of the *Şehinşahname*, draws a parallel between the kiosks (*kasr*) of Paradise and Murad III's room. ²⁰⁹ In addition, a poetic inscription on the room's door emphasizes the paradisiacal atmosphere; the poem likens the floor of the room to amber and the fountain to *kevser* (holy lake-fount), ²¹⁰ which smells nicer than musk according to the *hadith*. ²¹¹ Taking into account the descriptions of Murad III's room and the *hadith*, the similarity between Murad III's fountain and the Prophet Muhammad's holy lake-fount in terms of their fragrance and purity is worth noting.

The *Hünkar Sofası* (Imperial Hall) built in the early seventeenth century in the Harem presented an experience similar to Murad III's room (Fig. 1, no.72).

This hall is the biggest room of the Harem, and it possesses three ostentatious wall

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²⁰⁷ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 170.

²⁰⁸ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 170-171.

²⁰⁹ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 165.

[&]quot;Hâki anber, yîli can pervert ü âb-ı kevser, (Yeri anber, yeli canpenver, suyu kevser), Yeridir cennete teşbih olunsa bu makam (Yeridir cennete benzetilse bu makam)." As translated in Şimşirgil, Taşa Yazılan Tarih Topkapı Sarayı, 207. "Its floor is [made of] ambergris, [its] wind pleases the sole, [its] water is kewser[.] It is appropriate to resemble this location to Paradise." Translation from Turkish to English by the author.

²¹¹ Sahih al-Bukhari, Volume 8, Book 76, Number 581. Narrated by Abdullah bin Amr: the Prophet said, "My Lake-Fount (*kevser*) is (so large that it takes) a month's journey to cross it. Its water is whiter than milk, and its smell is nicer than musk."

fountains with inscriptions on them (Fig. 56). The fountains were elaborately decorated with fruits and grape leaves. 212 The water sound of these fountains was an important part of the experience in the space, as in Murad III's room. The names of God were written inside the dome, and several verses of the sura Al-Baraka (2:258, 259, 260, 261) decorated the walls of the hall. The decoration of the Hünkar Sofasi also includes some Baroque elements. Even though the function of this hall is not certain, it is known that the Imperial Hall served as the formal assembly place of the harem.²¹⁴ The throne in the hall can be considered as evidence for this room being used for ceremonies. Primary sources, such as the accounts of the Italian physician of Murad III, Domenico Hierosolimitano, and of the French Orientalist La Croix (1653-1713) mention that the room was used by the sultan to meet with the female court for religious holiday gatherings. ²¹⁵ In addition, in his book Descrizione del Serraglio del Gransignore (1608) Ottaviano Bon states that singers, comedians and female musicians entertained the sultans in the Imperial Hall.²¹⁶ Moreover, according to Sakaoğlu, this room probably hosted ceremonies and events such as the Mevlid, and âmin alayı, also known as bed-i besmele cemiyeti. 217 The hall has a projecting balcony (sahnişin) that probably served female slaves watching the ceremonies, whereas the closest female family members such as the mother of sultan, his sisters and the male members of the dynasty such as princes (*sehzadeler*) were sitting under the projecting balcony

²¹² Ortaylı, Mekanlar ve Olaylarıyla Topkapı Sarayı, 265.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 177.

²¹⁵ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 176.

²¹⁶ Necipoğlu, Architecture, 177.

²¹⁷ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 370.

according to their hierarchy. ²¹⁸ On the other hand, the projecting balcony may have been used by musicians during the *Mevlid* ceremonies.²¹⁹

The beginning date of the *âmin alayi* is unknown. The *âmin alayi* was a celebration for a male child who was an incoming student. The ceremony was generally performed on holy nights, and after the ceremony the family of the child offered a meal and gifts such as fabric and money to the teacher and other students who sang during the ceremony. ²²⁰ Probably at the end of the meal service incense was offered to the guests; however, there is no supporting evidence. The only ceremony that certainly included incense usage is the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, the Mevlid Ceremony. This ceremony was celebrated in both public and residential spaces. The sultan attended the public ceremony that was generally performed in imperial mosques such as the Sultanahmed or Hagia Sophia Mosque in the later period. According to the eighteenth-century chronicler Mehmed Es'ad Efendi, the ceremony performed in the mosque consisted of four main steps. First, servants put incense burners in front of clergymen who would started to read the sura al-Fath (Victory, sura 48). After the Qur'an recitation, three preachers (vaiz) had sermons, and before each sermon started, servants offered sherbet and incense to the congregation. The preachers received gifts from the sultan. The ceremony ended with the reading of a text entitled Mevlid and written by Süleyman Çelebi in the fifteenth century. ²²¹ In addition, the sultan

²¹⁸ Ortaylı, Mekanları ve Olaylarıyla Topkapı Sarayı, 265.

²¹⁹ Sakaoğlu, *Tarihi, Mekanları, Kitabeleri ve Anıları ile Saray-ı Hümayun*, 269.

Mustafa Öcal, "Âmin Alayı," *TDVİA* (Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı, 1991), vol. 3: 63.
 Aslantürk, Tosun, and Soyluer, *Mehmed Es'ad Efendi'nin Teşrifat-ı Kadime'si*, 39, 41.

offered dates (*hurma*) sent the emir of Mecca to his high state officials (*devlet erkânı*). 222

The Ottoman statesman Pertev Pasha's grandson Abdülaziz Bey describes the celebration of the *Mevlid* in residential spaces based on what he saw in his family's mansion. According to Abdülaziz Bey, for the celebration, his family invited guests to dinner. As the guests arrived, two incense burners were placed on two small tables with brocade table cloths. Before the dinner service, the first step of the reception was the offering of a pipe (*çubuk*) and coffee to the guests. At the end of the meal, the guests attended congregational worship. Before starting to recite the *Mevlid* text, again the room was fumigated with incense burners. At the end of the ceremony, the servants offered rosewater from a flask, incense, and candy (*elvan şeker*). The final steps were again the offering of pipe and coffee to the guests. The *Mevlid* ceremony ended with gifting fabrics to the reciter (*mevlidhan*).²²³

Finally, there is the *Yemiş Odası* (Fruit Room) built by Ahmed III (r. 1703-30) in 1705 (Fig. 57). According to the sources, this room functioned as a dining room.²²⁴ As stated in Chapter 1, the culinary customs of the palace included incense after the meals or together with coffee. After the sultan had finished his meal and washed his hands, he drank a cup of coffee. Finally, the sultan was

²²² Mehmet Şeker, "Osmanlılar'da Mevlid Törenleri," *TDVİA* (Istanbul: Diyanet Vakfı, 2004), vol. 29: 479-80.

²²³ Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasimler ve Tabirleri*, 247-48.

²²⁴ Ortaylı, *Mekanlar ve Olaylarıyla Topkapı Sarayı*, 271; Şimşirgil, *Taşa Yazılan Tarih Topkapı Sarayı*, 205.

fumigated with amber, whereas the room was censed with aloe. ²²⁵ The decoration of the room reflects the architectural taste of Ahmed III's period, which is today known as Tulip Period: it is covered with wooden panels featuring bouquets and fruit motives. ²²⁶ The mirrors on the walls enhance the atmosphere of the room and create a very pleasant space with the reflection of the many different flower motives. When the smell of the incense and the floral decoration of the room came together, this room must have given the impression of a Paradise garden.

In the second courtyard, which we can consider semi-residential space, only incense burners made from copper or brass were found. The copper ones were located in the Chamber of Halberdiers with Tresses, which shows their status. In addition, the Imperial Kitchens contain brass censers, which may have been used after meals eaten in the Council Hall, as well as to fumigate kitchen spaces themselves. Thus, as can be expected, the ones in the kitchens were more valuable than the copper ones in terms of material.

The rooms in the third courtyard as a space for the sultan and his closest household members contained the most valuable incense burners and complementary objects. As can be expected, the most valuable objects, such as gold decorated with jewels, Chinese and European porcelains, silver and gilt copper (tombak) censers were stored at the Inner Treasury. In addition, in regard to its religious and imperial importance the Has Oda and its treasury (Emanet Hazinesi) also contained gold, silver and gilt copper (tombak) censers. Moreover,

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²²⁵ Ali Ufkî, *Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam*, 91.

²²⁶ Ortaylı, *Mekanlar ve Olaylarıyla Topkapı Sarayı*, 271; Şimşirgil, *Taşa Yazılan Tarih Topkapı Sarayı*, 272.

the Library of Ahmed III reflects its hierarchy with silver censers. Even though the Chamber of White Eunuchs was located at the entrance of the third courtyard, the two unspecified metal (*maden*) censers, which were probably cheaper material, show their status among the palace hierarchy. The silver and yellow metal (probably gilt copper) censers found in the Imperial Harem also indicate the status of the household members who lived in the Harem.

The material of the censers reflects the hierarchy between the different sections of the palace. The official price register (*narh defteri*) dated to 1640 encompasses the prices of the various metal objects such as candlesticks and incense burners made from copper, brass and bronze under the title of *es 'âr-ı bakırcıyân* (prices of goods for coppersmiths).²²⁷ The prices of copper, brass and bronze goods help us to determine the status of the objects made from these metals. The price register does not contain any copper censer; however, it contains the prices of copper and brass candlesticks. Thus, a comparison between the prices of copper and brass candlesticks would help us to make more reliable interpretation about the value of the censers made from these metals.²²⁸According to the price register, a copper candlestick weighting 170 *dirhem* (510 g) was 33 *akçe*.²²⁹ On the other hand, a brass candlestick weighting 135 *dirhem* (405 g) was

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²²⁷ Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), 195-201.

According to a miniature from the *Surname-i Hümayun* (Imperial Book of Procession, 1582), the guild of candlestick makers were producing both candlesticks and incense burners. For detailed information, see Chapter 4.

²²⁹ Sade şamdan (undecorated candlestick) -170 dirhem gelür- 33 akçe. Kütükoğlu, Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi, 197.

38 *akçe*.²³⁰ In addition, I would like to give price of a "basic" brass and bronze incense burners that appeared in the same price register. A brass incense burner weighting 160 *dirhem* (480 g) was 100 *akçe*.²³¹ A bronze censer weighting 110 *dirhem* (330 g) was 50 *akçe*.²³² There is no bronze incense burner registered in the Commission Records; however, there could be some bronze censers among the ones registered as unspecified metal (*maden*).

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²³⁰ Pirinçten yassı dipli şamdan (flat bottomed candlestick made from brass) -135 dirhem gelür-38 akce. Kütükoğlu, Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi, 199.

³⁸ akçe. Kütükoğlu, Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi, 199.
²³¹ Pirinçten buhurdan (incense burner made from brass) -160 dirhem gelür- 100 akçe. Kütükoğlu, Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi, 199.

²³²Tunçtan buhurdan-ı sagir (small incense burner made from bronze) -110 dirhem gelür- 50 akçe. Kütükoğlu, Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi, 199.

Table 1. Distribution of the censers in the Topkapı Palace (according to the Commission Records)

Room	Incense Burner Number	Additional Objects	Ground Plan (room number)
The Second Courtyard	5		A
Zülüflü Baltacılar Koğuşu/ Cami (Mosque of Halberdiers with Tresses)	2 copper	None	15
Yakalı Baltacılar Koğuşu /Cami (Chamber of the Halberdiers with Collars/ Mosque)	1 copper	None	15
Matbah Devâiri/ Helva Ocağı Kısmı (Confectionary in the Royal Kitchens)	2 brass	None	9
Erzak Anbarı (Commissariat in the Royal Kitchens)	4 brass	None	7
The Third Courtyard	7		В
Bâbüssâde Medhali (Ak Ağalar Koğuşu)/ Yemekhane	2 unspecified metal (maden)	None	29

(Chamber of White Eunuchs/ Dinning Hall)			
Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi Me'mûrînine Mahsus Koğuş/ Hastahane (Chamber of Hospital for the Has Oda pages)	1 metal of yellow color (sarı maden)	None	?
Hırka-i Saadet Oda-i Âlîsi (The Throne Room in the Privy Chamber Complex)	Total 5/3 silver, 1 gilt copper, 1 gold and bejeweled	3 Buhur Şamdanı (candlesticks), 2 Buhur Tepsisi (incence burner trays), 1 Buhurdan Mahfazası (incense burner case)	50
Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi'nin Emânet Hazinesi (The Treasury of the Privy Chamber)	Total 3/1 silver, 2 gilt copper	1 Buhurdan İskemlesi (incense burner stool), 1 Çekmece (içinde buhur malzemesi bulunan) (drawer to hold fumigatories)	48
Hazine Kethüdası Dairesi Medhali (giriş) Kapısı	4 silver censers	1 Buhur Şamdanı (candlestick), 1 Elek (sieve), 1 Tas (bowl)	46
Hazine (The Inner Treasury) Büyük Hazine/ Üçüncü Hane (The third room in the Inner Treasury)	Total 22/2 unspecified metal (maden), 3 gold and bejeweled, 9 silver, 6 Chinese porcelain, 2 European porcelain	1 Buhurdan Mahfazası (incense burner case)	40 (first hall), 43 (second hall), 44(third hall), 45 (fourth hall)

Elçi Hazinesi (The Envoy Treasury)	Total 6/ 4 silver, 2 gilt- copper(tombak)	none	106 (Figures 51-52)
Ahmed-i Sâlis Kütüphanesi (The Library of Ahmed III)	Total 4/2 silver, 2 unspecified metal (maden)	1 Buhur Şamdanı (candlestick), 1 Buhurdan İskemlesi (incense burner stool), 1 Buhur Tepsisi (incense burner tray)	37
The Imperial Harem			С
Harem Dairesi/Sofa'da Mevcud Eşya (Chamber in the Harem)	1 metal of yellow color (sari maden)	None	?
Harem Daire (Chamber in the Harem)	2 silver censers	None	?

CHAPTER 3

FUMIGATORIES

3. a. Popular Aromatics in the Ottoman Empire

The Ottomans used materials of plant and animal origin to prepare incense. The most popular fumigatories were musk, ambergris, agallochum, sandalwood, rose oil, balm and camphor. ²³³ Before the emergence of Islam, agallochum, sandalwood, ambergris, musk and camphor were not very popular in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. ²³⁴ These materials were under control of the Arab world because they were imported from China and India via the Indian Ocean. Since these materials were rare, especially musk and ambergris constituted very expensive materials. They counted as precious goods among rulers both of the Pre-Islamic and Islamic periods. For example, the seventeenth-century traveler Tavernier gives information about the incense materials employed in the Topkapi Palace: Materials such as *sartsabtr* (aloe), öd (agallochum), *akanber* (white/pure ambergris), *sandal ağacı* (sandal wood) and *misk* (musk) were part of the

²³³ Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002); Arslan Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri ve Topkapı Sarayı'nda Eczacılık* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat, 1992).

ve Sanat, 1992).

²³⁴ Amar Zohar and Lev Efraim, "Trends in the Use of Perfumes and Incense in the Near East after the Muslim Conquest," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 23/1* (2013), 18.

treasury.²³⁵ In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the treasury register belonging to Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) shows cases designed specifically to hold ambergris (Fig. 51).²³⁶ Furthermore, different fumigatories were an indicator of the wealth of an Ottoman family. For example, people generally used agallochum; however, if a family was wealthy enough it was expected to use ambergris to fumigate the rooms of the family residence.²³⁷

Incense materials were also sent as diplomatic gifts since the pre-Islamic periods; for example, the rulers of India and China sent camphor $(k\hat{a}f\hat{u}r)$ to their Persian peers in the sixth century. ²³⁸ In addition, the eleventh-century manuscript entitled *Book of Treasures and Gifts* presents information about the diplomatic gift exchanges between Mediterranean rulers, and these precious luxury items included scents such as camphor, sandalwood and musk. ²³⁹ In this book, account 31 shows that the seventh Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813-833) sent musk as a gift to the Byzantine emperor. ²⁴⁰ Account 91 also provides detailed information about the gifts that the Seljuk ruler Tughrilbek sent to the Byzantine emperor in

²³⁵ Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *17. Yüzyılda Topkapı Sarayı*, ed. Necdet Sakaoğlu, transl. Teoman Tunçdoğan (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007), 89.

²³⁶ One case to hold ambergris is made from gold and decorated with diamonds and emeralds. Nedret Bayraktar and Selma Delibaş, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi* 1294/1878 Tarihli Hazine Defteri (Istanbul: İslam, Sanat ve Kültürünü Araştırma Vakfı, 2010), 37. The other three cases are made from gold, but without jewels. Bayraktar and Delibaş, *Sultan II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, 39.

²³⁷ Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı *Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri*, 254.

²³⁸ Zohar and Efraim, "Trends in the Use of Perfumes and Incense in the Near East after the Muslim Conquest," 19-20; Oleg Grabar, "The Shared Culture of Objects," *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), 65; *Book of Gifts and Rarities = Kitab al-hadaya wa al-tuhaf: Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-Century Manuscript on Gift and Treasures*, transl. Ghada al Hijjawi al-Qaddumi (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 62, 247.

⁽Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 62, 247.

²³⁹ Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *The Art Bulletin* 96/1 (2014), 71; Grabar, "The Shared Culture of Objects," 51, 53, 58.

²⁴⁰ Grabar, "The Shared Culture of Objects," 53.

1057: "ten drum-shaped scent baskets lined with leather and filled with camphor and aloes-wood." ²⁴¹ The Mongol ruler Genghis Khan (r. 1206-1227) also sent musk as diplomatic gift to the ruler of the Khwarezmid Empire, Shah Alâ' al-Din Muhammad II (r. 1200-1220), in 1218. 242 The Ottomans continued the tradition of sending expensive fumigatories to other rulers. For example, Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95) gave purses of musk to the Austrian ambassador in 1591. 243 In addition. gifting spices and aromatics to the sultan was a common practice among Ottoman dignitaries.²⁴⁴ For example, during the circumcision festival of Ahmed III's sons in 1720, the grand vizier presented raw ambergris (ham anber) weighing more than 200 miskal (240 g) and one bottle of royal scent (*itr-i şâhî*) weighing 300 miskal (360 g).

Mouradgea d'Ohsson mentions the most popular materials used in the eighteenth century, such as aloe (sarısabır), ambergris, musk, neroli (orange flower fragrance), rosewater and rose oil. 245 A manuscript written by Muhammad Ağa, the so-called *helvahane defteri*, is the most valuable source that provides information about the Ottoman fragrance production and materials found in the palace. The first recipes in the *Helvahane Defteri* are dated to 1608/9; however, additional ones show that it was used at least until 1767/8. In other words, the manuscript was used for 159 years, and at the end it amounted to 52 folios. The Helvahane Defteri mainly contains detailed recipes for medicines in the form of

²⁴¹ Grabar, "The Shared Culture of Objects," 58.

²⁴² Mehmet İpşirli, "Elçi," *TDVİA* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), vol. 11: 8. ²⁴³ İpşirli, "Elçi," 11.

²⁴⁴ Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri: Vehbi Surnamesi* (Istanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2009), vol. 3: 47.

²⁴⁵ M. de M. D'Ohsson, XVIII. Yüzyıl Türkiyesinde Örf ve Adetler, transl. Zehra Yüksel (Istanbul: Tercüman, 1979), 65.

pastes (macun) and liquids (sarab), and only two pages were saved for recipes of confections such as jam and helva.²⁴⁶ In addition, the Helvahane Defteri contains recipes for fumigatories and other aromatics such as incense water (buhur suyu), camphor disks (kurs-i kafur), incense pastilles (fitil-i buhur), and Sultan's Incense (buhur-i sultani). 247 Through the Helvahane Defteri, we are able to determine the fragrance materials and amounts that were used to fumigate the Ottoman court.

Here it is appropriate to give in detail the recipe for *fitil-i buhur* and *amel-i* buhur-i sultani, since they contain ingredients rather typical for incense mixtures used in the Topkapı Palace. According to the recipe in the Helvahane Defteri, the fitil-i buhur contains fifteen ingredients including the most popular materials, such as ambergris (1 dirhem), musk (denk?), agallochum (5 dirhem) and styrax (15 dirhem). 248 To prepare incense, all the materials were beaten until they became a powder and then mixed with rosewater and willow coal (söğüt kömürü). 249 Then the mixture was molded into a pastille. Before the end product, the pastille, was finally used, it found a home in various storage containers such as the gold incense case belonged to the Has Oda in the nineteenth century (Fig. 58). The recipe of *amel-i buhur-i sultani*, which means incense for the sultan, deserves further attention because of its name. The mixture of buhur-i sultani combined a cekirdek (0.4 g) each of ambergris and musk, 1 dirhem (0.75 g) each of

²⁴⁶ Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defeteri*, XXVI.

²⁴⁷ Terzioğlu, Helvahane Defteri, XXXV.

²⁴⁸ In its entirely, *Fitil-i buhur* combined 1 *dirhem* (3 gram) of *anber* (ambergris) and *kâfur* (camphor), 3 dirhem of kisr-i turunc (pericaprium auranti/ turunc kabuğu), mey'a (sytrax liquids/ kara günlük ağacı) and kesîrâ (gum tragacanth), 4 dirhem of mukl (commiphora africanum/ mekke pelesengi) and mastaki (gummi mastixs), 5 dirhem of ud (agallochum), sümbül (hyacinth), varakü'ûl-as (myrtle leaf/ Mersin ağacı yaprağı) and za'feran (saffron), 6 dirhem of laden (cistus), 8 dirhem of sükker (sugar) and denk? of misk (musk). Terzioğlu, Helvahane Defteri, 53. ²⁴⁹ Terzioğlu, Helvahane Defteri, XXXV.

agallochum (öd), styrax (asılbend), hyacinth (sünbül), gum tragacanth (kesira) and *engüşt* (?).²⁵⁰

Another archival document also indicates the materials that were commonly used and sent as gifts.²⁵¹ The white eunuch Osman Ağa, the patron of the Mosque of Osman Ağa (completed in 1612) in Kadıköy, known as Buhuri Osman Ağa because of his love of incense, donated various gifts to Mecca and Medina, including incense materials and salary for a buhurcu. 252 His endowment deed indicates the amounts, prices and names of each fumigatory, such as agallochum, ambergris, musk, styrax (asılbend) and günlük (olibanum). 253

A provision about the trading of musk, ambergris and agallochum in Istanbul shows the importance of these materials for the Ottoman court. According to the document, it was forbidden to sell musk, ambergris and agallochum before the palace had purchased enough for the usage of sultan. The provision proves that the Ottoman court was the foremost customer for the merchants; they knew that these materials were essential and that a palace official would purchase those materials for use in the palace. Thus, to increase the price, they were black-marketing the goods.

²⁵⁰ Terzioğlu, *Helvahane Defteri*, XXXV-XXXVI.²⁵¹ TSMA-EV 973/14.

²⁵² Ayvansarayi Hüseyin Efendi, Ali Satı Efendi, and Süleyman Besim Efendi, *Hadikatü'l*-Cevami' (İstanbul Cami ve Diğer Dini-Sivil Mi'mari Yapıları), ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001), 656-657; TSMA-E 484/28.

²⁵³ TSMA.D. 8601; TSMA.D. 8844.

A provision to the people of Istanbul. The musk, ambergris and agallochum that merchants brought to Istanbul have been purchased for a long a time for the needs of the palace in exchange for its value (currency) by the *miskci başı* (head of the muskseller's guild) [.] Although the *miskci başı* has a *emr-i şerif* (royal order) that shows the rule [,] some merchants still distribute the goods in defiance of the *emr-i şerif* and have left no goods for us [,] thus I ordered [:] When this *emr-i şerif* reaches you, you must consider the ruler and gather the people (merchants) to firmly admonish [:] Before the musk, agallochum and ambergris brought by the merchants to Istanbul has been purchased properly [and] in a sufficient amount in exchange of its worth by the *miskci başı*, the merchants cannot sell (those goods). You should write down the names and identities of the merchants who disobey. Year 11 June 1706/1707.²⁵⁴

The previously mentioned official price register (*narh defteri*) dated to 1640 contains the prices of the various quality grades of agallochum, ambergris, musk

²⁵⁴ İstanbul Efendisine hüküm ki. Mahmiyei İstanbul'a bazirganlar getürdükleri misk ve anber ve ödden nefsi nefisim içün lazım olanı miskci başı değer beha ile ala gelüb ve olvechile elinde emr-i şerif dahi var iken hâliyâ hilâfı emr-i şerif bazirganlar tevzi ve telef eyledikleri ilâm olunmağın buyurdum ki... varduk da bu hususa bizzat mukayyed olub lazım olanları ihzar idüb dahi mühkem tenbih ve te'kid eyliyesin ki mahmiye-i İstanbul'a getürdükleri misk ve öd ve anberi miskci başı hazır olub emr-i şerif mucibince nefsi nefisim içün değer behası ile kifayet mikdarı alınmayınca tevzi etmiyenler eslemiyenleri isim ve resimlerile yazub bildiresin. Fi 29 s 1018. Ahmed Refik Altınay, Onbirinci Asr-ı Hicri'de İstanbul Hayatı (1592-1688) (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1988), 37. Transcribed by Mustafa Uzun. Translation from Turkish to English by the author and Nina Ergin.

and styrax (asilbend) under the title of es'âr-ı misk-furûşân (prices of goods for musk sellers). ²⁵⁵ The register presents three different quality grades for ambergris and musk, such as âlâ (best), evsat (medium), and ednâ (low). As distinct from others, so-called *öd-i maverdi* was registered in four quality grades; 13 *akçe* per dirhem (3 gr) for âlâ, 8 for evsat, 4 for ednâ and 3 for en aşağısı (worst). According to the price register, musk and ambergris were the most expensive materials. For example, *misk-i Buhara* (musk from Bukhara) was 400 *akce* per miskal (4.5 g) for âlâ, 300 for evsat, and 200 for ednâ. The price register dated to 1640 shows that ambergris was sold as three different types such as anber-i semmâme, anber-i tabaka and anber-i buhur. Different from others, ambergris for or as fumigatory (anber-i buhur) was sold in tiny pieces; one piece cost 1 akçe and it was equal to a quarter dirhem (0.75 g). The other material mentioned in the register is styrax for or as fumigatory (asilbend-i buhur), which was also sold in tiny pieces weighing one-third of a dirhem (1 gr); in contrast to anber-i buhur it was quite cheap because 4 pieces cost only 1 akçe. ²⁵⁶ The same price register shows that the price of bread was determined as 1 akçe for 150 dirhem (450 g). 257 This information helps us to clarify the value of fumigatories that were sold in the Ottoman market.

The Ottomans imported their musk, ambergris, agallochum and camphor from India and the Far East, via the Indian Ocean, to Istanbul. ²⁵⁸ There, these

²⁵⁵ The official price register (*narh defteri*) dated to 1640 shows the ceiling prices for goods and services available in Istanbul.

²⁵⁶ Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), 101-102.

²⁵⁷ Kütükoğlu, Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi, 91.

²⁵⁸ Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 86.

goods were sold by various guilds such as the above-mentioned musk sellers (*misk saticulari*) and the seller of medicinal herbs and incense materials (*attar*). From 1663/64 onwards, Istanbul *attars* were mainly located in the market known since the eighteenth century as Egyptian Bazaar (*Misir Çarşısı*).²⁵⁹ Except for producing pleasant smell, these materials were also used for medical purposes as pastes (*macun*) and liquids (*şarab*) and incense.²⁶⁰ For example, musk was thought to have a pain-relieving effect.²⁶¹ Furthermore, it was believed that ambergris relieves stress on one's mind and enhances memory.²⁶² As mentioned in Chapter 2, Ottoman dignitaries used to carry *şemmâme* or put ambergris on their writing desk to benefit from its memory-enhancing effects. As stated above, the official price register (*narh defteri*) dated to 1640 shows that this type of ambergris was sold in the Ottoman market.²⁶³

Musk and ambergris are materials of animal origin. Genuine musk is derived from the gland of the male musk deer living in Tibet and Mongolia by discharging the secretion from the musk pouch near the belly of small deer. ²⁶⁴

Ambergris is a secretion of the gall-bladder of the sperm whale. It is obtained from the intestines of the whale which is found on the surface of the tropical seas,

²⁵⁹ Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 86.

²⁶⁰ Terzioğlu, Helvahane Defteri. Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri, 357.

²⁶¹ Turhan Baytop and Nebi Bozkurt, "Misk," *TDVIA* Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2005), vol. 30:181

²⁶² Sargon Erdem, "Amber," *TDVİA* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1991), vol. 3: 7.

²⁶³ Kütükoğlu, Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi, 101.

²⁶⁴ Encyclopaedia of Islam Online, s.v. "Misk," accessed June 2015, http://www.brill.com/publications/online-resources/encyclopaedia-islam-online.

or lying on the coast.²⁶⁵ Both musk and ambergris have a strong sweet and earthy smell.²⁶⁶

Another aromatic with a memory-enhancing effect is agallochum. In addition, agallochum has a dehumidifying effect, and because of that it was frequently used as incense. Agallochum is a tropical tree found in India, Southeast Asia and the islands beyond, and it emits a heavy, sweet smell when burned. In addition to its pleasant scent, the tree is also used as a raw material for furniture, and rosary beads. Camphor, which is found in tropical South and East Asia, also served as a medical treatment for pains, headaches, and fevers. To produce camphor, its tree needed to be incised at a certain season to obtain its resin, however, at the end of this procedure the tree dies. Even though, camphor was unknown among Greek and Roman societies in antiquity, it was popular in the Near East since the Sasanid period and the Arabs encountered with this aromatic when they conquered Ctesiphon in 637.

3. b. Religious Meanings of Scents

The reason why musk, ambergris, rose, agallochum and camphor were more popular than other aromatics is found in their religious connotations. Qur'an

²⁶⁵ Encyclopaedia of Islam Online, s.v. "Anbar."

²⁶⁶ Zohar and Efraim, "Trends in the Use of Perfumes and Incense in the Near East after the Muslim Conquest," 25.

²⁶⁷ Abdülaziz Bey, Osmanlı Adet, Merasimleri ve Tabirleri, 353.

²⁶⁸ Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 86.

²⁶⁹ Zohar and Efraim, "Trends in the Use of Perfumes and Incense in the Near East after the Muslim Conquest," 19, 21.

²⁷⁰ Encyclopaedia of Islam Online, s.v. "Kafûr."

Zohar and Efraim, "Trends in the Use of Perfumes and Incense in the Near East after the Muslim Conquest," 19-20.

verses and hadiths give reference to those materials while explaining the smell of paradise or of the body of the Prophet Muhammad. For example, according to the hadiths, the favorite scents of the Prophet were musk and ambergris. Furthermore, in the sura Al-Mutaffifin (30:83), the twenty-sixth verse points out that believers will have a drink that tastes like musk in Paradise.²⁷² The other verse from the sura Al-Insan (76:5) again mentions a drink consisting of a mixture of water and camphor. ²⁷³ Moreover, in Islamic literature the usage of ambergris and musk as a metaphor for Paradise or for a lover was very common.²⁷⁴ For example, a miniature from the seventeenth-century manuscript Ahvâl-i Kıyamet (Circumstances of the Day of Resurrection) depicts Paradise. The scene shows how men and women drink wine inside and outside an ostentatious mansion surrounded by a landscape of hills and trees (Fig. 59). According to the text, when the so-called *nahiye* wind blows in Paradise, the scent of musk and ambergris would emanate from the hills and imbue the minds of the believers. ²⁷⁵ Camphor is also used to perfume a dead body's forehead, nose, hands, feet and knees, because those areas touch the prayer rug during worship. ²⁷⁶ Perfuming a dead body therefore means preparing the deceased person for Paradise.

²⁷² "Their thirst will be sleaked with Pure Wine, sealed, the seal thereof will be Musk: And for this let those aspire, who have aspirations:" *The Holy Qur'an*, transl. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, (Medina: King Fahd Holy Qur'an Complex, 1987), 312-313.

²⁷³ "As to the Righteous, they shall drink of a Cup (of Wine) mixed with Kafur," *Qur'an*, 304.

Erdem, "Amber," vol. 3: 8.
 Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, *Ottoman Painting* (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2010), 200.

²⁷⁶ Françoise Aubaile- Sallenave, "Bodies, Odors and Perfumes in Arab-Muslim Societies," *The Smell Culture Reader*, ed. Jim Drobnick (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 397.

As stated above, another material favored in the preparation of incense was rose. Rosewater was frequently used in the Ottoman Empire in religious ceremonies such as the *Mevlid*. Rose water served as cleaning liquid in the *Has Oda* and in mosques newly opened to worship. The importance of rose water usage in Ottoman society shows itself in the form of precious rosewater sprinklers (*gülabdan*). The importance of rose smell is based on the belief that the Prophet Muhammad himself naturally smelled like roses. According to an unauthentic hadith, the Prophet Muhammad stated that whoever wants to smell his fragrance should smell a red rose. Even though the source of this hadith is unknown, it probably became an inspiration for Turkish literary sources such as Bektashi and Sufi poems which resemble the scent of the Prophet's sweat to roses.

Since scent can directly address people's emotions, one can recall the past or memories depending on exposure to certain smells. The Ottoman dynasty used rosewater especially in religious ceremonies and places to create a link between the Prophet Muhammad and themselves. Starting from the emergence of the Ottoman dynasty, their legitimacy was to a great extent derived from Islam. In addition, the sultan's religious status was strengthened in 1517 by gaining the title

²⁷⁷ Edirne, a former capital of the Ottoman Empire, was one of the main cultivation regions of roses, and there even existed a rose garden called *gülhane* near the palace. In order to produce rose oil and rose water, a rose distillation facility was established near the hospital in Edirne as well. After the conquest of Constantinople, the city also became an important place for rose production, and another *gülhane* and rose distillation facility near the Topkapı Palace were founded. In the eighteenth century, Bulgaria turned into another significant rose cultivation center in the Ottoman Empire until the end of the nineteenth century. For detailed information, see Neşet Arslan and Kemal Hüsnü Can Başer, "Oil Rose," *Medicinal and Aromatic Plants of the Middle-East*, eds. Zohara Yaniv and Nativ Dudai (New York: Springer, 2014), vol. 2: 281-305, 283.

²⁷⁸ Abdülhalik Bakır, "Ortaçağ İslam Dünyasında Parfümcülük," *Kutsal Dumandan*, *Sihirli Damlaya: Parfüm* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), 69.

²⁷⁹ Cemal Kurnaz, "Gül," *TDVİA* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1996), vol. 14: 219-222; Mustafa Uzun, "Fatıma," *TDVİA* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), vol. 12: 224.

of caliph. Thus, it was important for the sultan to connect himself with the Prophet Muhammad, and to do so they created a "trademark scent" for usage during ceremonies.

The Ottoman dynasty probably did not assume a conscious attitude towards scent comparable to that of modern companies. 280 However, they deliberately maintained the tradition of fumigatories such as musk, ambergris, agallochum, camphor and rosewater over the centuries. The religious connotations of these materials were significant to establish a pious dynastic image. However, religion was not the only reason for using these fumigatories. Perfuming is an ancient habit that distinguished rulers from the common public, both spiritually and financially. To smell pleasant was not peculiar to the Ottoman sultans, as other rulers also used fragrance to present themselves and certain spaces as divine and wealthy; other examples as Alexander the Great (r. 336-323 BC) and Louis XV of France (r. 1715-74). 281 As it can be understood from the official price register, fumigatories --especially musk and ambergris-- were very expensive materials. Thus, to have the privilege of access to these materials reflected the owner's high status. The Ottoman sultans used certain fumigatories to create the image of a divine and wealthy ruler image.

²⁸⁰ For a general discussion of scent usage in retail, see Eric R. Spangenberg, Ayn E. Crowley, and Pamela W. Henderson, "Improving the Store Environment: Do Olfactory Cues Affect Evaluations and Behaviors?," *Journal of Marketing* 60 (1996), 67-80; Aradhna Krishna, May O. Lwin and Maureen Morrin, "Product Scent and Memory," *Journal of Consumer Research* 37 (2010), 57-67. ²⁸¹ Constance Classen, David Howes, and Anthony Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994), 39, 73.

CHAPTER 4

PRODUCTION OF INCENSE BURNERS AND INCENSE FOR THE PALACE

4. a. Craftsmen of the Sultan: The Ehl-i hiref

In the Topkapı Palace, there existed various guild groups called *ehl-i hiref-i hâssa* (royal artisans) who produced goods and services for the palace. The *ehl-i hiref-i hâssa* belonged to the *birûn* (external) community of the palace. The role of the guild was to design and construct buildings for the sultan, palace officials and dignitaries. In addition, they were responsible for producing clothes, accessories, books, and weapons. However, the *ehl-i hiref* not only included craftsmen or artists; for example, the group was also responsible for training nightingales to use in the palace (*cemaât-i būlbūlciyân-ı hâssa*) and the royal physicians (*cemaât-i cerâhîn-i hâssa*) were also part of the organization. The production of most of the incense burners presented in Chapter 2 needed

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²⁸² The term *ehl-i hiref* was also used to describe the "free-lancing" guilds that worked outside of the palace. However, the word *hassa* shows that these craftsmen worked exclusively for the imperial court. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi,1984), 462.

²⁸³ Hilal Kazan, "Topkapı Sarayında Katipler Cemiyetinin (Cema 'at-İ Katiban-ı Kütüb) Eğitimleri Ve Görevleri," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 24 (2004), 214; Pelin Bozcu, *Osmanlı Sarayında Sanatçı ve Zanaatçı Teşkilatı Ehl-i Hiref*, unpublished theis, (Istanbul: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010), 9

²⁸⁴ Bahattin Yaman, *Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları: 18. Yüzyılda Ehl-i Hiref* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: 2008), 10.

²⁸⁵ Yaman, Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları, 119, 123.

collaborative work, because the different parts of the objects required particular knowledge and separate professions. The divisions of the *ehl-i hiref* must have worked together to make composite censers such as the Chinese porcelain ones (Cat. no. 3-8). On the other hand, the production of incense was the duty of certain members of the ehl-i hiref called cemaat-i buhurciyân-ı hassa and/or cemaat-i anberîne.²⁸⁶

The establishment date of the *ehl-i hiref* is not certain due to the lack of sources. The term *ehl-i hiref* appears for the first time in an account book (ruznamce defteri) dated to 1472.²⁸⁷ According to the source, there were eleven craftsmen in the guild. Even though the document gives the number of craftsmen, it does not indicate the professions of the craftsmen separately. ²⁸⁸ There are two main sources that provide information about the guilds in the palace: the in'âmât defterleri and the ehl-i hiref defterleri. Some of the ruznamçe defterleri contain mostly registers of the gifts that were given to the sultan by artisans and ambassadors, hence the name in'âmât defterleri (gift registers). According to the in'âmât defteri that covers the last eight years of Beyazid II's reign (r. 1481-1512), the number of the craftsmen who gave presents to the sultan increased from 146 to 469. In addition, 33 separate guild branches can be determined from this source. 289 Even though the number of craftsmen remained stable under Selim I (r. 1512-1520), the organization of the guilds was rearranged by Süleyman I (r.

²⁸⁶ Yaman, Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları, 114.

²⁸⁷ Ruznamçe Defterleri were prepared between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. This source contains various tax revenues, salary payments and expenditures. In addition, it includes money, silver, gold, fabric, furs, gifts and so forth, which were to enter or leave the treasury. Hilal Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi (İstanbul: İslam, Sanat ve Kültürünü Araştırma Vakfı, 2010),

²⁸⁸ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 130.

²⁸⁹ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 130.

1520-1566) with new rules. ²⁹⁰ The above-mentioned *ehl-i hiref defterleri* started to be kept in this period.²⁹¹ An *ehl-i hiref defteri* is an account book or register that shows the name of the guild and the craftsmen with their daily wages. In addition, the account book dated to 1526 provides information about the position of the craftsmen within their division. ²⁹² Some account books also show the hometown or ethnicity of the craftsmen.²⁹³

According to the first ehl-i hiref defteri, dated to 1526, there were 39 guild groups and 582 craftsmen during Süleyman I's reign. Starting from the sixteenth century, the numbers of the craftsmen increased and decreased according to the needs of the palace and the personal interests of the sultans. For example, in 1545 there were 776 employees, but after twenty years the number of craftsmen had decreased to 580. During the reign of Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) the number of the craftsmen reached 1,451 in 1596. However, starting from the seventeenth century, the number of employees decreased and remained around 700 until 1688, when the number fell to 312. During the eighteenth century the number was around 200 people. 294 Thus, the number of the craftsmen who worked for the ehl-i hiref during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was much higher than in the eighteenth century.

Taking into account the number of craftsmen and especially the sharp growth in the sixteenth century, it was not possible to keep each workshop in the

²⁹⁰ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 131.

There are nearly 150 account books that survived to the present day; the first *ehl-i hiref defteri* is dated to 1526 and the last one to 1796. Bozcu, Osmanlı Sarayında Sanatçı ve Zanaatçı Teşkilatı

²⁹² Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 131.

²⁹³ Bozcu, Osmanlı Sarayında Sanatçı ve Zanaatçı Teşkilatı Ehl-i Hiref, 16.

²⁹⁴ Yaman, Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları, 32-33.

first courtyard. However, the document dated to 1547 gives information about the "workshop in the imperial garden."²⁹⁵ In Süleyman I's reign the workshops of the gold-smiths, gold-thread embroiderers, and jewelers were located near the Tiled Kiosk as dependencies of the imperial mint (Fig. 60, no. 41).²⁹⁶ In addition, the first volume of Seyyid Lokman's *Hünername* (c. 1584-85) states that the Corps of the Royal Architects was placed in the first courtyard.²⁹⁷ The other workshops belonging to the *ehl-i hiref* were stationed in the outer gardens and outside of the palace boundaries. For example, the *nakkaşhane* (workshop of the court painters) was located near the Hippodrome.²⁹⁸

With the new conquests in the sixteenth century, the ethnicity of the craftsmen who worked in the guilds became even more diverse than it had already been in the fifteenth century. For example, Selim I conquered Tabriz in 1514 and brought artists who had lived under the reign of the Safavids. These artists worked as court painters (*nakkaş*).²⁹⁹ By the end of the reign of Süleyman I, the number of the craftsmen of Balkan origin had increased considerably.³⁰⁰ For example, there were 153 Bosnian (*Boşnak*), 44 Austrian or German (*Nemçe*), and 33 Hungarian (*Macar*) craftsmen working in the *ehl-i hiref*.³⁰¹ This diversification was reflected in the documents; the court painters (*nakkaş*) and the jewelers (*zergerân*) were

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²⁹⁵ "Bağçe-i âmire kârhânesinde," Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, (New York: MIT Press, 1991), 271. ²⁹⁶ For the "workshop of goldsmiths and gold-thread embroiderers at the imperial palace," or the "workshop of engravers at the imperial garden," (*kârhâne-i zergerân der sarây-i âmire, zerdûzân der sarây-i âmire, or kârhâne-i hakkâkân der bağçe-i âmire*) Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 48, 271.

²⁹⁷ Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 48, 271.

²⁹⁸ Necipoğlu, *Architecture*, 47-48; Bozcu, *Osmanlı Sarayında Sanatçı ve Zanaatçı Teşkilatı Ehl-i Hiref*, 14; Alan W. Fisher, and Carol Garrett Fisher, "A Note on the Location of the Royal Ottoman Ateliers," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985), 118-119.

²⁹⁹ Yaman, Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları, 17.

³⁰⁰ Yaman, Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları, 20; Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 135.

³⁰¹ Yaman, Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları, 20-21.

classified as *acemiyan* (Persian) and *rumiyan* (Anatolian/Rumelian). ³⁰² In the eighteenth-century documents, the names of the craftsmen were recorded together with their father's name instead of their ethnicity or hometown, as the majority of the craftsmen were Muslims at this period.

There were several ways to be a craftsman in the *ehl-i hiref*. If a page boy exhibited talent, he would be accepted into a workshop to be trained by a master. Also, if a person was brought to the palace as a captive, he could be gifted to a master-artist to be trained. Another way to become a member of the *ehl-i hiref* was to have a male relative who already working there. ³⁰³ As stated above, foreign artists entered the guilds on the request of the sultan. As might be expected, the education method of the *ehl-i hiref* was based on a master-apprentice relationship. Yet, if needed, the palace could recruit a self-employed craftsman. ³⁰⁴

The salary of the craftsmen was paid out once every three months in front of the Council Hall (*Divan-ı Hümayun*) under the supervision of the *Hazinedarbaşı*. However, the members of the *ehl-i hiref* had the chance to earn additional income in several ways. For example, when a new sultan was enthroned, their income was increased, just like that of the other staff of the palace. Also, they could earn income by doing additional work. As stated above, the craftsmen presented precious gifts to the sultan and in return were granted money and caftans (*hi'lat*), which was called *in'am*. There were various reasons for presenting gifts to the sultan, such as the two religious holidays, circumcision

³⁰² Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 132.

³⁰³ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 133.

³⁰⁴ Yaman, Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları, 19.

festivals, wedding ceremonies, enthronement ceremonies, or when the construction of a new building was completed. Even though there are archival documents (*in'âmât defteri*) available, the only period for which we know the exact nature of the gifts was the reign of Süleyman I. The money that the Ottoman sultans gave to the craftsmen as gift greatly exceeded their daily wage. According to the *ehl-i hiref defteri* dated to 1526, *anberineci* Mehmed b. Pir Ahmed was earning 10.5 *akçe* per day; however, he managed to receive 3,000 *akçe* by presenting gifts to Süleyman I. 307

Here, I would like to explain the role of the royal guilds that likely took part in incense and incense burner production. As stated above, there is no single guild that produced incense burners among the royal artisans or the guilds of Istanbul. However, the *Surname-i Hümayun* (Imperial Book of Procession, 1582), written by Seyyid Lokman and illustrated by Nakkaş Osman, which narrates the circumcision festival of Prince Mehmed, the son of Murad III (r. 1574-1595), shows the procession of the guilds including the candlestick makers. A miniature depicts two candlestick makers working in a wheeled miniature workshop. On a shelf above the candlestick makers' heads, there are two stationary incense burners with dome-shaped lids, very similar to the eighteenth-century gilt-copper one in the Topkapi Palace Museum collection (cat. no. 9), standing next to tulip-shaped candlesticks (Fig. 61-62). This miniature gives an idea about the production of a "basic" incense burner. There was no candlestick maker's guild

³⁰⁵ Yaman, Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları, 29-30; Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 134.

³⁰⁶ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 44; TSMA.D. 6503, TSMA.D. 9603.

³⁰⁷ Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayında Sanatkârları, 30-31.

among the royal artisans; however, various guilds mentioned in the following section were likely responsible for producing censers for the palace.

The cemaât-i zergerân-ı hâssa, the jewelers, were responsible for preparing objects from precious metals and stones. 308 In addition to jewelery, this group was also producing a great range of objects such as rosewater sprinklers, candlesticks, oil lamps, Qur'an cases, daggers, and basin and ewer sets. Moreover, they made composite objects such as the above-mentioned Chinese porcelain incense burners. The *cemaât-i zergerân-ı hâssa* was one of the major groups in the organization and therefore quite crowded until the eighteenth century. 309 As can be understood from its name, the duty of the *cemaât-i kazganyân-ı hassa* (royal coppersmiths) was to produce various items from copper, silver, and composite metals. 310 In addition, it is known that the guildsmen presented various gifts to the sultans such as copper and silver trays, a silver inkpot, and a ewer. Starting from the early sixteenth century, this guild served the palace until the nineteenth century. 311 Like the *cemaât-i zergerân-ı hâssa*, this guild was also one of the largest groups in the ehl-i hiref; for example, in 1596 the guild contained 47 staff members.³¹² However, the number fluctuated, and after 1715 the number of craftsmen remained at 6.³¹³

The role of the *cemaât-i hakkâkân-ı hassa* was to cut and set precious materials such as jade, topaz, agate (*akik*), crystallized quartz (*necef*) and mother

³⁰⁸ Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayı Sanatkârları, 58.

³⁰⁹ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 195.

³¹⁰ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 201.

³¹¹ Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayında Sanatkârları, 90.

³¹² Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 201; Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayında Sanatkârları,

³¹³ Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayında Sanatkârları, 90.

of pearl (sedef). In addition, these craftsmen were engraving and inscribing decoration and figures on metal and wood. 314 They were inscribing seals and book covers. The above-mentioned price register (narh defteri) dated to 1640 shows the record of an incense burner inlaid with ebony (buhurdan-ı sadefkari an abanos) under the title of the joiner (*doğramacı*) guild of Istanbul. ³¹⁵ There appears no joiner guild in the imperial palace; however, this kind of incense burners might have been produced by the *cemaât-i hakkâkân-ı hassa* for the imperial palace. The guild was always a small one; the number of its members fluctuated between 3 and 9 during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. ³¹⁶ The *cemaât-i kuftegerân* denotes the guild working in gold inlay and decoration. They also worked with silver, copper and composite metals, like the *cemaât-i kazganyân-ı hassa*. 317 In addition to these groups, there were other guilds that might have been involved in the production of incense burners in the Topkapı Palace, such as the *cemaât-i* zernişâniyân-ı hassa and the cemaât-i dımişkigerân-ı hassa. 318 The cemaât-i zernişâniyân-ı hassa was responsible for embellishing iron and steel objects by mounting gold. The *cemaât-i dimişkigerân-ı hassa* also decorated various metal objects made from steel, iron, and copper by incising the metal and inlaying gold or silver wires.

As stated above, incense or fumigatory production belonged to the guild called the *cemaât-i anberine* and the *cemaât-i buhurciyân*. The difference between

³¹⁴ Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayı Sanatkârları, 68.

³¹⁵ Cost of this type of incense burner was 150 *akçe*. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri*, (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983), 323.

³¹⁶ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 248-49.

³¹⁷ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 211.

³¹⁸ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 208-211; Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayı Sanatkârları, 93.

the roles of these two groups is not clear. According to Hilal Kazan, both of the guilds existed until the late sixteenth century. The archival documents show that both the members of the *cemaât-i anberinecî* and the *cemaât-i buhurciyân* gave gifts to Beyazid II and Süleyman I.³¹⁹ Yet, Bahattin Yaman states that the *cemaât-i buhurciyân-ı hâssa* took the place of the *cemaât-i anberîne* in the eighteenth century.³²⁰ They were fulfilling the same tasks, but the name of the guild changed.

One of the responsibilities of the *cemaât-i buhurciyân-ı hâssa* was to supply the necessary aromatics and to prepare incense to fumigate the sultan and the palace. As mentioned in Chapter 3, fumigatories and other aromatics such as incense water (*buhur suyu*), camphor disks (*kurs-i kafur*), incense pastilles (*fitil-i buhur*), and Sultan's Incense (*buhur-i sultani*) were probably prepared by this guild. In addition, they might also have been responsible for preparing perfumes such as scented oils and pastes (*galiye*). The other duty of the *buhurcu* of the palace was probably to fumigate the sultan himself and the palace rooms before he entered them. For example, during the religious holidays, the sultan was dressed and fumigated with agallochum and incense in the *Has Oda* before he met with the court for religious holiday greetings.³²¹

According to the numbers given by Hilal Kazan and Bahattin Yaman, the number of the *buhurcus* who exclusively worked in the imperial palace changed over the years. The number of *anberineci* who received money (*in 'am*) during

³¹⁹ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 281-282.

³²⁰ Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayı Sanatkârları, 114.

³²¹ Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı, 203.

³²² For detailed information, see Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi* (Istanbul: İslam, Sanat ve Kültürünü Araştırma Vakfı, 2010); Bahattin Yaman, *Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları: 18. Yüzyılda Ehl-i Hiref* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: 2008).

the reign of Beyazid II (r. 1481-1512) was 5; however, only 4 of them were registered in the undated salary book found in the Topkapı Palace Archive. During the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566), there were 4 anberineci and 1 buhurcu who received an in'am. The expense ledger dated to 1567 shows only 1 buhurcu and 1 anberineci who worked for the imperial palace in Selim II's reign (r. 1566-1574). 323 As stated above, after the sixteenth century the guild of the anberinecis does not appears in the archival documents. During the reign of Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) the number of craftsmen who worked in the guild of the buhurcus increased to 6 and remained almost stable until Mehmed IV's reign (r. 1623-1640). The number of buhurcus who worked for the palace increased to 9, making it the largest number for the guild of royal buhurcus. Maybe Mehmed IV or his mother Turhan Hatice Sultan (d. 1683) had a special interest in olfactory practices. 324 After the reign of Mehmed IV, the number of guildsmen decreased to 5 during Süleyman II's period (r. 1687-1691). The population of the guild of royal buhurcus fluctuated until the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730). At the end of his reign the number of employees amounted to 5, and it remained stable until Selim III's reign (r. 1789-1807) (Table 2). 325

When it comes to the nature of the objects produced by these guildsmen, we have one specific example: The gifts that the *anberineci* Mehmed gave to Süleyman I consisted of; two boxes of incense pastilles (*fitil buhuru*) and a box of

³²³ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 246.

³²⁴ The issue of gendered dimensions of olfactory practices would be a very worthwhile research topic, but are outside of the scope of the present thesis.

Table 2 shows the number of *buhurcus* and/or *anberineci* who worked between late fifteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 245-246; Yaman, *Osmanlı Sarayı Sanatkârları*, 228-231.

small circular shape incense (*pul buhuru*). In addition, there was one small (1 *küçük anberine*) and one big pieces of ambergris (1 *top anberine*), and a sculpture made from ambergris (*anber heykel*). There is no surviving example of a sculpture made from ambergris, but this should have been a very interesting object. However, we can imagine what the *fitil buhuru* and the *pul buhuru* looked like. The incense burner donated to the *Has Oda* by Selim III (cat. no. 20) still contains incense pieces in the shape of pastilles (Fig. 63). In addition, as noted in Chapter 3 there is a golden case dated to the nineteenth century and once belonging to the *Has Oda*, which still holds many small pieces of circular-shaped incense that can call *pul buhuru* (Fig. 58).

The daily wage of the *buhurcus* depended on their job performance, as there was no set salary amount. Each *buhurcu* was paid according to his productivity and based on how well they pleased the sultan. For example, *buhurcu* Hacı Seyyid Ahmed Veled-i Seyyid Seydi (*ser buhuri*) who worked for the imperial palace for 25 years between 1698 and 1723 was paid 3 *akçe* per day, until his twenty-third year when his salary became 5 *akçe*. On the other hand, the daily wage of *buhurcu* Hasan Abdurrahman who worked during the reigns of both Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) and Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754) was much higher than that of the other *buhurcus* of his time who earned approximately 10 *akçe*. In 1722, his daily wage was 24 *akçe*, and after one year his salary increased to 28 *akçe* per day. Surprisingly, *buhurucu* Hasan Abdurrahman's daily wage became 46 *akçe* in

³²⁶ Kazan, XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi, 248.

1732 during the reign of Mahmud I, which is a raise almost eighty percent after removing the effect of the inflation during ten years.³²⁷

As far as is known, this was the highest amount that was paid to a royal guildsman between the late sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries. His work must have greatly pleased the sultan. In addition, when we compare the daily wages of the guilds of *buhurcus* with those of the other royal craftsmen, it is clear that *buhurcus* had an important position in the imperial palace. Other guild members earned approximately 5 *akçe* per day in the eighteenth century, while *buhurcus* were earning 10 *akçe*. 329

The visual sources that provide information on the guilds of Istanbul help us to form a detailed image of the royal guildsmen. The above-mentioned *Surname-i Hümayun* (Imperial Book of Procession, 1582) also provides information about the procession of the *buhurcus* and *attars* (seller of medicinal herbs and incense materials) of Istanbul, who had a guild of their own, in addition to the royal *buhurcus* and *anberinecis*. A miniature from the manuscript shows eight well-dressed *buhurcus* holding incense-sticks or pieces of aromatic wood. Two of the *buhurcus* are walking ahead of the others while carrying a display with one large stationary spherical incense burner and four candlesticks with incense-

³²⁷ Yaman, *Osmanlı Sarayı Sanatkârları* 228- 229; Süleyman Özmucur and Şevket Pamuk, "Real Wages and Standards of Living in the Ottoman Empire, 1489-1914," *The Journal of Economic History* 62 (2002), 301, 293-321.

³²⁸ For detailed information, see Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayı Sanatkârları, 117.

³²⁹ Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayı Sanatkârları, 117.

sticks (Fig. 64-65). 330 A miniature that depicts the procession of the *attars* is quite similar to that of the guild of buhurcus. According to the manuscript, the guildsmen were carrying Chinese porcelains filled with ambergris, agallochum, and camphor. A miniature from the Surname-i Hümayun shows each of them holding an agallochum stick in their right hand, and a handkerchief in their left (Fig. 66-67).³³¹

4. b. Patrons of Incense Burners

Incense burners played an important role in Ottoman palaces, houses, mausoleum and mosques. The significance of incense burners and rosewater sprinklers can be also understood by looking at the gifts that were presented to the sultan by the guilds of Istanbul. The manuscript entitled Surname-i Vehbi (c. 1720) contains both images and textual description of the circumcision festival for the sons of Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) which was celebrated in 1720, and it also provides information about the procession of the guilds. An interesting point about the procession of the guilds of Istanbul was the content of the gifts that they gave to the sultan. Even though their professions were not related with producing incense burners, most of the guilds gifted sets of incense burner and rosewater sprinkler. For example, according to the text of the manuscript, the guild of millers (değirmenci) gave a silver incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set, and the

³³⁰ Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," The Art Bulletin 96/1 (2014), 87; Procession of the guild of buhurcus, Surname-i Hümayun, 1582, TSK, H. 1344, fol.112b- 113a.

Nurhan Atasoy, 1582 Surname-i Hümayun: Düğün Kitabı (Istanbul: Koçbank, 1997), 103.

guild of bovine butchers (siğir kasabı) also gifted a silver incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set weighting 283 dirhem (501,43 g). 332 The guilds of the bakers, sheep butchers (koyun kasabı), tailors, whitesmiths (kalaycılar), barley seller (arpacılar), boatmen (sandalcılar), tailors (terziler) and kelleciler who sold cooked sheep head also gave censers and rosewater sprinklers to the sultan. 333 These gifted incense burners and rosewater sprinklers appear clearly in Levni's miniatures. The miniature depicts the procession of the guilds of farmers, millers and bakers and shows one guildsmen carrying a three-footed spherical censer and a rosewater sprinkler with a globular body and a tall slender neck on a round tray (Fig. 68-69). A different miniature that shows the procession of the butchers, cooks and tanners (debbağlar) also containing two craftsmen holding spherical incense burners, rosewater sprinklers and a ewer on a tray (Fig. 70-71). In addition, as one would expect, the guilds of jewelers and coppersmiths also presented incense burners to the sultan. 334 Among 57 guilds, 13 gifted incense burners to the sultan, even though only two were directly related to the production of incense burners (jewelers and coppersmiths). Since the aim of gift-giving was

³³² Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri: Vehbi Surnamesi* (Istanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2009), vol. 3: 64-65.

³³³ Sheep butchers (*koyun kasabı*) presented a silver incense burner weighting 136 *dirhem* (408 g) and rosewater sprinkler weighting 67 *dirhem* (201 g). Whitesmiths (*kalaycılar*) gave a silver incense burner and rosewater sprinkler weighting 230 *dirhem* (690 g). Barley seller (*arpacılar*) presented an incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set weighting 330 *dirhem* (990 g). Tailors (*terziler*) gifted a silver incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set weighting 287 *dirhem* (861 g). *Kelleciler* who sold cooked sheep head presented a silver rosewater sprinkler weighting 105 *dirhem* (315 g). Interestingly, the guild of *sandalcılar* presented a Chinese porcelain incense burner and rosewater sprinkler (*çin işi gülabdan ve buhurdan*). Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri: Vehbi Surnamesi*, vol. 3: 65-66, 69, 71, 73.

³³⁴ Jewelers (*zergerler* or *kuyumcular*) presented a silver incense burner and rosewater sprinkler weighting 1 *okka* (1282 g). Another group of jewelers also gifted an incense burner and rosewater sprinkler weighting 380 *dirhem* (1140 g). Coppersmiths (*bakırcılar*) gave an incense burner and rosewater sprinkler. Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri: Vehbi Surnamesi*, vol. 3: 68-69, 71.

to receive gifts of money in return from the sultan, the guilds of Istanbul probably chose objects that would please him. Thus, the content of the gifts indicates that incense burners were an integral part of the culture of gift giving and in great demand in the imperial palace.

The incense burners presented in Chapter 2 prove that these objects were ordered by the sultans and their family members, including the mother of the sultan (*valide sultan*), his children, and his consorts (*haseki*). In addition, viziers, other dignitaries, and black and white eunuchs could be the patrons of censers. The order to produce an incense burner was given via the above-mentioned *hazinedarbaşı* who was the head of the *ehl-i hiref* and thus also responsible for keeping the account books (*ehl-i hiref defterleri*). The *hazinedarbaşı* was the middleman between the patrons and the *ehl-i hiref*. When he received an order, he sent a message via the Halberdiers with Tresses to the head of the relevant guild to relay the requests of the patrons to the craftsmen.³³⁵

There were various reasons to commission an incense burner. As Mouradgea d'Ohsson states, incense burners were one of the most popular household goods used in the Ottoman palaces and dignitaries' mansions. An archival document dated to 1764/65 shows the names and quantities of wares commissioned for Mihrişah Sultan, daughter of Mustafa III (r. 1757-1774). According to the document, the objects were purchased to use in her apartment located in the Imperial Harem. The document contains one gold and nine silver

³³⁵ Yaman, Osmanlı Sarayında Sanatkârları, 15-16.

³³⁶ M. de M. D'Ohsson, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Türkiyesinde Örf ve Adetler*, transl. Zehra Yüksel (Istanbul: Tercüman), 110.

incense burner and rosewater sprinkler sets.³³⁷ As stated in Chapter 2.b., three incense burners that remained in the Imperial Harem appear in the Commission Records; they show that censers were part of the households items used in the apartments of the Imperial Harem.³³⁸

As mentioned in Chapter 1, in Ottoman society, it was expected to include an incense burner and a rosewater sprinkler among a woman's dowry. Thus, censers also became an integral part of dowries of the sultans' daughters. For example, the manuscripts that narrate the circumcision festival of the two sons of the Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687) celebrated in Edirne in 1675 also give information about the dowry of his daughter Hatice Sultan who was married to Musahib Mustafa Pasha during the ceremony. Mehmed IV gave various gifts to her, including 66 very precious incense burners made from gold, silver, gilt copper, and Chinese porcelains. Two centuries later, the dowry of Cemile Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839-61), included silver incense burners.

The wish to donate was another reason to commission an incense burner.

The family members of the sultan frequently donated incense burners to the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad. There are 9 incense burners in the Topkapı Palace

Museum collection that had been sent to the mausoleum of the Prophet

³³⁷ TSMA.D 2409-36

³³⁸ For detailed information, see Chapter 2.b.

³³⁹ Şinasi Acar, "Buhurdan ve Gülabdanlar," *Osmanlı'da Günlük Yaşam Nesneleri* (Istanbul: Yem Yayınları, 2011), 355

³⁴⁰ According to the sources, the dowry contained a Chinese porcelain censer decorated with precious stones (*faĕfur taşlıca buhurdan*). In addition, the list of gifts includes silver incense burners decorated with enamel (*gümüş mineli buhurdan*) and corals (*gümüş mercanlı buhurdan*). Mehmet Arslan, *Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri: Lebib Surnamesi Hafiz Mehmed Efendi (Hazin) Surnamesi - Abdi Surnamesi - Telhisü'l-Beyan'in Surname Kısmı* (Istanbul: Sarayburnu Kitaplığı, 2011), vol. 4-5: 651-654.

³⁴¹ Osman Kademoğlu, *Çeyiz Sandığı* (Istanbul: Duran Ofset, 1999), 98.

Muhammad (and then returned). Only four of the censers show the donor's name. The censer and rosewater sprinkler set gifted by Mahmud II's wife, Hoşyar Hatun (d. 1859), (Cat. No. 30-31) is dated to the nineteenth century. Both incense burner and rosewater sprinkler are made from gold and terminate in flower-shaped finials decorated with diamonds. The other incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set donated by Cemile Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839-61), is mainly decorated with green enamel and bejeweled with diamonds (Cat. No. 27-28). The last two gold censers that were sent by Hatice Sultan, the daughter of Mustafa III, are dated to 1816 and 1817 (Cat. No. 25-26). All the incense burners sent to the mausoleum of the Prophet Muhammad were made from gold, and some of them were decorated with diamond, pearls and/ or enamel. The precious materials clearly signified the status of both beneficiary and donor.

A total of 68 censers taken from 22 tombs have survived to the present day and are now kept in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul. Among them, two incense burners were donated to the mausoleum of Ahmed I (r. 1603-17). The Chinese porcelain garden seat was transformed into an incense burner by Ottoman craftsmen, similar to the ones in the Topkapı Palace's Chinese Ceramic Collection. The Ottoman craftsmen covered the garden-seat with an openwork metal dome and drilled holes into it to allow the smoke of the incense to escape. It has a metal base with lion-paw-shaped feet and a little drawer for the fumigatory. The detailed inscription on the objects reads "The endowment of the noble tomb of the late deceased Sultan Ahmed Khan, son of [Mehmed], [from] the Pilgrim

24

³⁴² For detailed information, see Chapter 2.a.

³⁴³ For detailed information, see Ergin, "The Fragrance of Divine,"75.

Mustafa Aga, Chief of the Black Eunuchs of the Imperial Palace[,] 1027 [1617/18]."³⁴⁴ As the inscription show, it was gifted to the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmed I by the Chief Black Eunuch, Mustafa Ağa. 345 The detailed inscription on the censer was a telling indicator of the donor-beneficiary relationship. The guardian of the Imperial Harem was probably a lover of Chinese ceramics because there are two celadon dishes in the collection of the Topkapı Palace Museum inscribed with "Mustafa Ağa." Thus, we may infer the role of a patron's personal taste in this example. The Chinese porcelain garden seat was a very special piece because it is the only surviving example of its kind (Fig. 13.). This stationary incense burner, which is dated to the seventeenth century, is an interesting piece in terms of its material and size, because of its height of 95 cm. 347 On the porcelain garden-seat, there are dragons, horses, clouds and lotus flower motifs. However, the Ottoman craftsmen superimposed golden flower motifs so as to decrease the visibility of the animal figures which were not appropriate for the religious setting of a tomb. 348

The other donated incense burner is also from the mausoleum of Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), but was gifted to Osman II (r. 1618-22), the son of Ahmed I. According to an inscription on the censer, it is dated to 1624 and was donated by Havva, the

³⁴⁴ The original reads: "Vakf-i turbe-i şerif merhum ve mağfurleh hazret-i Sultan Ahmed Han bin [Mehmed] el-hacı Mustafa Ağa-i Darüssa'ade 1027." As transcribed in Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 79, 96.

345 Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 79.

³⁴⁶ Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 79; Regina Krahl, Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 1: 32.

Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 79.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

wet nurse of Osman II.³⁴⁹ The height of the stationary incense burner is 45 cm, and it is made of silver (Fig. 72). The shape and the iconography of the censer are quite meaningful for its originally intended location. It is placed on a tray, which is a common form. However, the tall conical lid of the censer is in the shape of a cypress and moreover features three stylized cypress tree motifs. The cypress tree has a significant relation with death in Ottoman culture. The Ottomans planted cypress trees in the cemeteries and placed their stylized design on gravestones.³⁵⁰

Two incense burners given as gifts by Selim III (r. 1789-1807) and Mehmed V (r. 1909-1918) to the *Has Oda* prove that the sultans themselves were patrons of these kind of objects as well (cat. no. 21, 29). As mentioned in Chapter 2.a., both of these censers are ostentatious in terms of material and design and thus they reflect the status of the sultan in the best possible way. Another royal incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set that was gifted by a member of the dynasty is conserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum's Silver Collection was a donation from Pertevniyal Valide Sultan (d. 1883), the mother of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-76) in 1871. The location to which the set was donated is unknown; however, since it is in the Topkapı Palace collection today, it may have been gifted to the *Has Oda* to use during events such as the previously mentioned the *pars temizliği* or the sultan's visitation of the Holy Mantle on the fifteenth day of Ramazan. In the museum collection there is also another silver incense burner and rosewater sprinkler set, which belonged to Seyyid Mehmed Ağa and is dated to 1812. The

³⁴⁹ It was inscribed with the following text: "Mistress Havva[,] wet nurse of Sultan Osman[,] 1033 [1624]." As transcribed in Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine," 78.

³⁵⁰ Ibid

position of Mehmed Ağa is unknown; however, *seyyid* demonstrates a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. The Ottomans showed great respect to *seyyids* and generally assigned them important positions, such as *şeyhülislam*. The inscriptions on the objects do not give detailed information. The set was maybe commissioned for personal use or donated to the palace. The gilt-copper rosewater sprinkler donated by the head barber of the Sultan, Gridî Ali Ağa to the *Enderun* for the visitation of the *Lihye-i Şerif* (Holy Beard of the Prophet Muhammad) in 1812/13 shows that gifting this kind of objects to the palace constitute a very common practice among many different ranks of the court (Fig. 73). 352

Even though incense burners were mostly commissioned for personal usage or further donation, it is difficult to determine the impact of personal choice on the design of the incense burners, due to the lack of sources. Among the donated incense burner examples, the only indication that appears as personal choice is the Chinese porcelain garden seat transformed into an incense burner, which was gifted by the Chief Black Eunuch Mustafa Ağa, who was probably a lover of Chinese ceramics, to Ahmed I's tomb. This short survey leads to the conclusion that gender, however, did not play a significant role in terms of personal choice,

³⁵¹ Tahsin Özcan, "Seyyid Mehmed Şerif Efendi," *TDVİA* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2009), vol. 37: 69.

³⁵² The gilt-copper (tombak) rose water sprinkler has a globular body and a tall slender neck (h. 21 cm). It was inscribed with the following text: "Ser-berber-i Hazret-i Şehriyârî devletlu Giridî Ali Ağa Lihye-i Şerif ziyareti için Enderun'a, 1227." As transcribed in Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006), 224, with corrections by Mustafa Uzun. "The head barber of the Sultan, honorable Gridî Ali Agha [donated this rose water sprinkler] to the Enderun for the visitation of the Lihye-i Şerif (Holy Beard of the Prophet Muhammad) [in the] year 1227 [1812/13]." Translation from Turkish to English by the author and Nina Ergin.

because the censers donated by men and women were of the same types and materials, and decorated in a similar fashion.

Table 2. The number of anberinecis and buhurcus in the Topkapı Palace. 353

Reign	Date	Name of the Sultan	Number of anberineci and buhurcu
(r. 1481-1512)		Beyazid II	4 anberineci registered
			(5 anberineci awarded by
			the sultan)
(r. 1512-1520)		Selim I	? unknown
(r. 1520-1566)		Süleyman I	3 anberineci and 1
			buhurcu awarded by the
			sultan
(r. 1566-1574)		Selim II	1 anberineci and 1
			buhurcu
(r.1574-1595)		Murad III	unknown
(r. 1595-1603)	1596	Mehmed III	6
(r. 1603-1617)	1606	Ahmed I	7
(r.1623-1640)	1624	Murad IV	6
(r.1623-1640)	1638	Murad IV	5
(r. 1648-1687)	1650-51	Mehmed IV	7
(r. 1648-1687)	1654	Mehmed IV	8
(r. 1648-1687)	1655-56	Mehmed IV	9
(r. 1687-1691)	1688	Süleyman II	5
(r. 1695-1703)	1698-99	Mustafa II	4
(r. 1695-1703)	1700-01-02	Mustafa II	3
(r. 1703-1730)	1710-11	Ahmed III	3
(r. 1703-1730)	1715	Ahmed III	2
(r. 1703-1730)	1722	Ahmed III	4
(r. 1703-1730)	1723	Ahmed III	5

³⁵³ For the distribution of buhurcus under different reigns, see Kazan, *XVI. Asırda Sarayın Sanatı Himayesi*, 245-246; Yaman, *Osmanlı Sarayı Sanatkarları*, 228-231.

(r. 1730-1754)	1732-33-40-42	Mahmud I	5
(r. 17757-	1757-73	Mustafa III	5
1774)			
(r.1774-1789)	1775-89	Abdülhamid I	5
(r. 1789-1807)	1790-96	Selim III	5

CONCLUSION

Examining censers by studying first their material and form and then making inferences by considering the way in which they were used is illuminating in order to have a grasp of the olfactory traditions in the Ottoman Empire. Their peculiar function of holding a burning fumigatory and emitting the fragrant smoke through a perforated lid was a prior determinant of their shape and material. Metals such as brass, copper, silver and gold were the prominent materials. In addition, porcelain censers with the necessary metal inserts also existed. While the composite Chinese porcelain censers were rare and more likely a work of a distinctive taste in terms of design, metal censers were more common. It would even be appropriate to say that some of them—such as the identical three nineteenth-century silver censers in the Has Oda (cat. no. 20) and two gold censers in the Treasury section (cat. no. 24)—give the impression of "mass production." The materials of the censers corresponded to the different sections of the palace in terms of hierarchy and decorum: more expensive ones such as golden, bejeweled, and composite Chinese porcelain objects were stored at the Inner Treasury. Objects made of less expensive materials, such as brass and copper, were used by the lower ranking members of the court and in the palace's

service areas, such as the kitchen. Ottoman elite maintained the same practice regarding the hierarchy and decorum in their mansions by offering a gold-plated or silver incense burner to their guests depending on their status.

Except for the expensive and distinguished composite Chinese porcelain censers which reflected the specific patron's taste, it is not easy to detect the patron's impact on the choice of material and design of incense burners due to lack of sources. The diversity of decorative elements and forms of censers such as lids with five domes, canopies, gadrooned cups, rumi scrolls, and Rococo flower arrangements changed over the centuries in addition to the basic functional requirements. Even though, it is possible to observe certain fashions and trends of censers, it would be inappropriate to generalize these changes in style.

As stated in the preceding chapters, it is appropriate to classify incense burners in the collection of the Topkapı Palace as stationary, portable and hanging, based on how they were deployed in space, a categorization introduced by Ergin. In terms of hanging censers, Selim III's *buhurdan* was used in the holy space of the *Has Oda*; an incense burner in the tomb of Eyüp (now in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, inventory no. 25, Fig. 74) shows that the hanging type was commonly used in holy spaces, not in a domestic context. On the other hand, there was no distinct separation in terms of usage between stationary and portable censers, and visual sources prove that small-scale stationary censers were employed on many different occasions.

While the stylistic and decorative elements of censers varied in years, aromatics almost remained unchanged due to their strong historical and religious roots. According to the Qur'an and the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammed, musk, ambergris, camphor, and agallochum were the most pleasant fragrances. They were also the most common materials used by the Ottomans in order to adhere to an almost universal Islamic taste shaped by Qur'an and hadith. In addition to these aromatics, sandalwood, aloe, and rose water were other rather typical materials for incense mixtures used in the Topkapı Palace over the centuries. Among these fragrances, rose scent had a significant religious connotation since it was believed that the Prophet Muhammad naturally smelled like roses.

To fully grasp the significance of olfactory practice in residential space in the Ottoman Empire, it is necessary to understand the meaning behind this tradition in addition to examining the objects' material, form and design.

Olfactory usage had multiple meanings which often overlapped. Especially after the sultan became caliph and brought the Holy Relics to the palace, fumigatory usage of aromatics coherent with Islamic taste took on a heightened meaning. For example, rose scent was widely used at the Ottoman court especially in religious ceremonies to indicate its relationship to the Prophet. By using such fragrances with strong religious connotations, the Ottomans established a smellscape that created a link between the dynasty and the Prophet. In addition, certain rooms were scented by considering their religious connotations such as the Holy Relics section was fumigated with ambergris, agallochum, and musk which were also used to perfume the Kaaba in Mecca, the holiest place of Islam. With regard to the

descriptions mentioned in the Qur'an and the hadiths, some rooms—such as Murat III's and Ahmed III's—in the Topkapı Palace were fumigated to create a multi-sensory impression of a paradisiacal environment.

The Prophet Muhammad had a significant olfactory persona given that he enjoyed incense and used odors like musk. In order to create the image of a divine ruler, the Ottoman sultans managed to forge a strong relation between the Prophet and their fragrance by means of the *buhur-i sultani* which also contains musk and odors respected as pleasant in Islam. Therefore, the *buhur-i sultani* is a great sensory evidence for the sultans' status as the caliph and successor of the Prophet. Moreover, by donating precious censer to the Holy Relics section, sultans—such as Selim III and Mehmed V—created both spiritual and ideological connection between them and the Prophet Muhammad just as sultan's family members did by gifting incense burner and rosewater sprinkler sets to the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad.

As we do today with modern air fresheners, the Ottomans used olfactory practices to purify objects or spaces. The cleaning process of the sultan's clothing and rooms such as the *Has Oda* contained perfuming in its final stage. Also, cleanliness is a major element of sacrality within the Islamic context, and certain fumigatories mentioned in the Qur'an and the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad especially contributed to cleanliness. The Holy Relics being washed with rose water and fumigated with incense are good examples for the overlapping meanings of olfactory practice, since rose water purifies the object, but also creates a scent that was attributed to the Prophet himself.

Olfactory was a significant part of the culinary tradition of Ottoman palace and elites. Perfuming hands with rose water and fumigating at the end of a meal constitutes instances of personal hygiene and purification on the daily occasion of a meal, whether eaten privately or shared with guests in a more public manner. Furthermore, perfuming was an important part of coffee service since sometimes the coffee cups were fumigated with amber or a drop of rose-water added before drinking the coffee. The frequency of censers included in the Ottoman princesses' dowries proves that these materials constituted an important part of the household goods used in the elites' residences for the purposes such as the culinary practices.

The Ottomans also used scent by considering its psychological effect on people including its contribution to the mental health and stimulation of related memories and ideas. It was believed that certain aromatics strengthened the memory and relieved stress on one's mind. The seventeenth-century gilt-copper censer's inscription supports that belief by referring to the relieving effect of amber and musk (cat. no. 10). Furthermore, exposure to certain strong fragrances with deep religious connotations allowed people to recall the religious connections of these scents and recognize the difference between the sacred and ordinary. For example, an incense burner would be placed in a room ten to fifteen minutes before breaking the fast during Ramadan which helped people to recognize the spirituality of the event.

The imperial image of the Ottoman sultans evolved during the reign of Mehmed II and concepts supporting this image such as the smellscape of the sultan and his palace emerged over the centuries. Ottoman sultans built

"trademark" elements addressing different senses in order to enhance their imperial image. Therefore, like they did with palace-specific patterns repeated across textiles, rugs and ceramics, the sultans shaped their smellscape with the help of olfactory practices in order to build a comprehensive imperial image. According to a provision in the eighteenth century, it was forbidden to sell musk, ambergris and agallochum before the palace had purchased enough for the usage of sultan, which proves that these materials were top priority for the sultan since these fumigatories were essential for his divine and wealthy imperial image. As they followed the palace issued patterns of various practices, Ottoman elite imitated imperial fashions in olfactory practices for both religious and cultural reasons by also adopting the necessary hierarchy. To understand the olfactory tradition within the Ottoman domestic context and to reconstruct the smellscape of the Ottoman court it is important to understand not only its religious connotations but also its cultural and political aspects. Studying the materials and forms, realizing how frequently they were used and understanding the meanings behind their usage shows us that olfactory tradition's importance in the Ottoman court life.

FIGURES

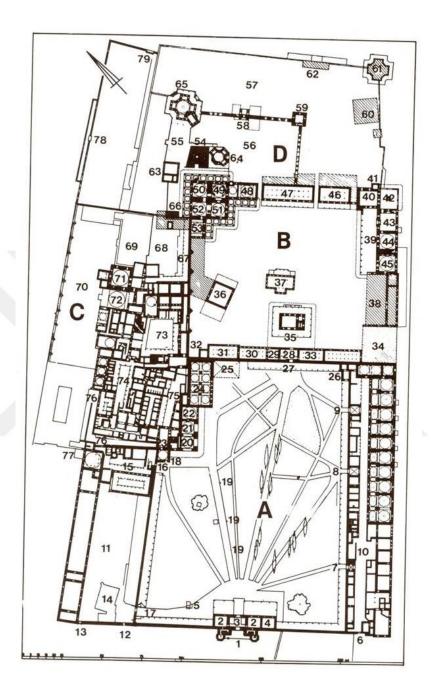


Figure 1. Ground plan of the Topkapı Palace, 1453-79 and later additions. A. second courtyard, B. third courtyard, C. harem, D. pavilion garden of the third courtyard.

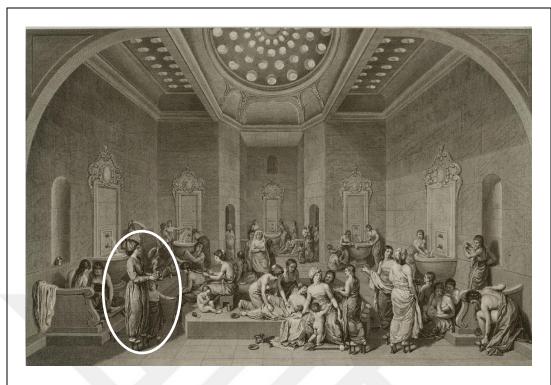


Figure 2. A Public Bath, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la Législation Mahométane; l'autre l'Histoire de l'Empire Othomane, vol. 1, Paris, De l'imprimerie de Monsieur, 1787, The Gennadius Library.*



Figure 3. Photograph of the Surre Procession in Yıldız Palace during the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909), 19th century.

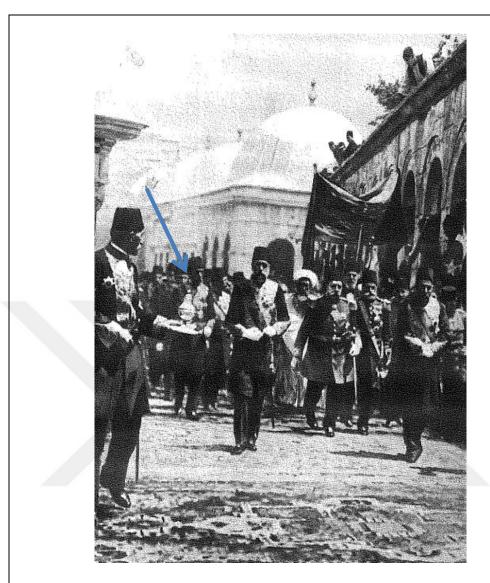


Figure 4. Photograph of the Enthronement Ceremony of Mehmed V, 1909.

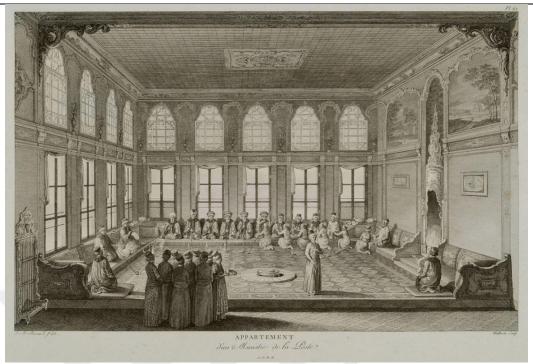


Figure 5. A Vizier's mansion, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la Législation Mahométane; l'autre l'Histoire de l'Empire Othomane, vol. 2, Paris, De l'imprimerie de Monsieur, 1790, The Gennadius Library.*



Figure 6. Detail of figure 5.

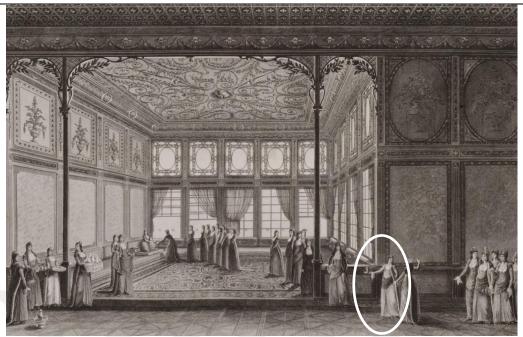


Figure 7. The palace of Hatice Sultan, Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage* pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore, Παρίσι, Treuttel et Würtz, 1819, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.



Figure 8. Detail of figure 7.



Figure 9. Lying-in Room of a Distinguished Turkish Woman, Jean Baptiste Vanmour, c. 1720 - c. 1737, Rijkmuseum. c. 1720 - c. 1737, Rijkmuseum.



Figure 10. Reception of French Ambassador Kont de Vergennes by the grand vizier in Istanbul, anonymous copy of Antoine de Favray (1706-1781), 63.8 x 86.1cm, inv. no 398 MŁ Castle Museum in Łańcut.



Figure 11. Four officials in charge of coffee service. Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1787, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Y.B. 3441, ill. 60, 58, 61, 59.



Figure 12. Haseki Sultana, Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, Recueil de cent estampes representant differentes nations du Levant tirées sur les tableaux peints d'après Nature en 1707, et 1708 par les Ordres de Mr. de Ferriol ambassadeur du Roi a la Porte..., Paris, 1714, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation Library.



Figure 13. Composite stationary censer, 16th century and 1617/18, TİEM, no. 29.



Figure 14. Composite stationary censer, early 17th century or slightly earlier, TSM, no. 15/2771.



Figure 15. Composite stationary censer, early 17th century, TSM, no. 15/2773.



Figure 16. Composite stationary censer, 16th and 17th century, TSM, no. 15/2758.



Figure 17. Composite stationary censer, second half of the 17th century, TSM, no. 2/2140.



Figure 18. Composite stationary censer, 18th century, TSM, no. 15/2768.



Figure 19. Composite stationary censer, 19th century, TSM, no. 15/2770.



Figure 20. Gilt-copper censer, 16th or 18th century, TSM, no. 2/6781.



Figure 21. Gilt-copper censer, early 17th century, TSM, no. 25/3830.



Figure 22. Gilt-copper censer, 17th century, cat. no. 11.



Figure 23. Gilt-copper censer, 17th century, TSM, no. 25/3777.



Figure 24. Gilt-copper censer, 18th century, TSM, no. 25/3864.



Figure 25. Gilt-copper censer, 18th century, TSM, no. 25/3862.



Figure 26. Silver censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, cat. no. 16-17.



Figure 27. Silver censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no. 16/139-40.



Figure 28. Silver censer, 19th century, TSM, no. 16/824.



Figure 29. Silver censer, 19th century, TSM, no. 21/200.



Figure 30. Silver censer, 19th century, TSM, no. 21/198.



Figure 31. Detail of figure 30.



Figure 32. Gold censers, 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3515-16.



Figure 33. Gold censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no.2/3373-74.



Figure 34. Gold censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3495-96.



Figure 35. Gold censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3371-72.

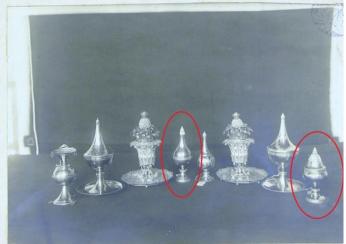


Figure 36. Photograph from Fahreddin Pasha's Notebook, Ottoman, 1919, 40.3 x 28.5 cm. TSK Y.Y. 827.



Figure 37. Gold censer and rosewater sprinkler set, 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3490-91-92.



Figure 38. Gold censer, early 19th century, TSM, no. 2/3384-85.



Figure 39. Gold censer, early 20th century, TSM, no. 2/3502.



Figure 40. European Porcelain censer and rosewater sprinkler set, late 18th or early 19th century, TSM, no. 26/4567.

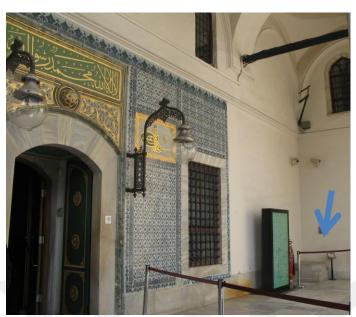


Figure 41. The marble mortar (buhur dibeği) at the corner outside the entrance of the Has Oda section in the third courtyard.



Figure 42. The marble mortar (buhur dibeği) features a Persian inscription.

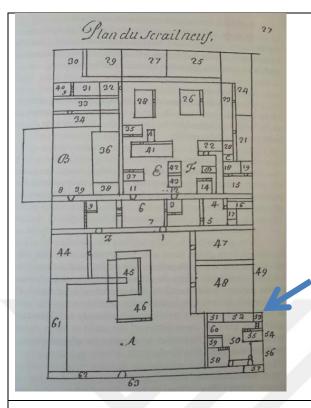


Figure 43. Plan of the Topkapı Palace by Bobovi. Room number 53 indicates the hospital room of the pages of the *Has Oda* Chamber.



Figure 44. Ahmed III's Library in the third courtyard.



Figure 45. Süleyman I conversing with his son in his private library, Talikizade, Şehname, c. 1596-1600, TSK, A 3595, fol. 79r.

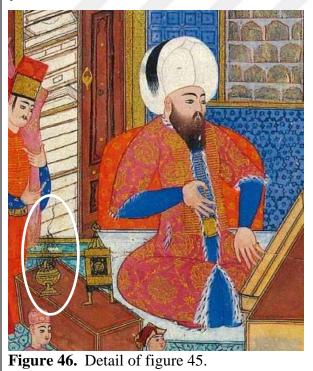




Figure 47. The observatory of Taqi al-Din Ibn Ma'ruf, Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşahname*, c. 1581, İÜK, Ms. F 1404, fol. 57a.



Figure 48. Detail of figure 47.

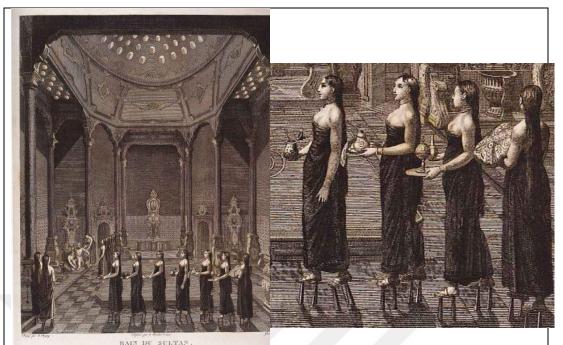


Figure 49. The Sultan's Bath, Mouradgea d'Ohsson's Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman, 1787, TSK, Y.B. 3441, vol. 3, ill. 167.

Figure 50. Detail of figure 49.



Figure 51. *Anberdan* (small box to hold raw ambergris) made from gold and decorated with emeralds and rubies, 17th century, Treasury Section, TSM, no. 2/3669, diameter 10.3 cm x 7.6 cm.

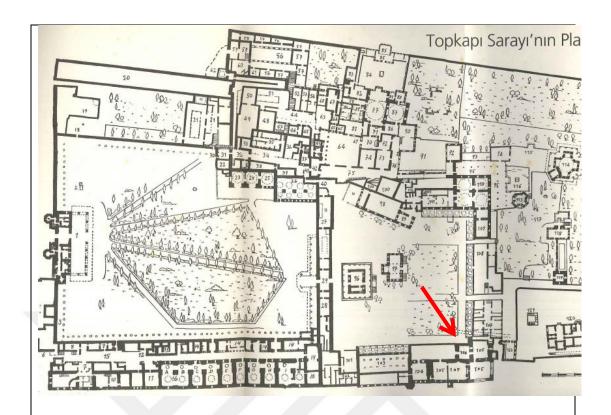
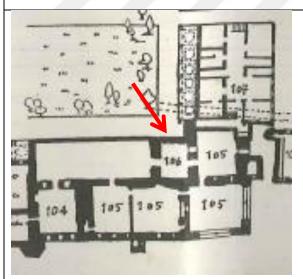


Figure 52. Ground plan of the Topkapı Palace shows the *Elçi Hazinesi* (the Envoy Treasury) next to the Inner Treasury (*Fatih Köşkü*) in the third courtyard.



53. Detail of figure 52.

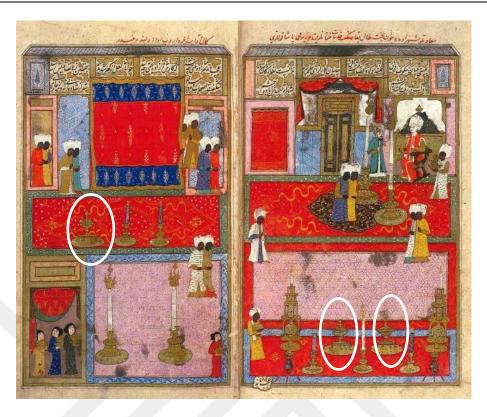


Figure 54. Vizier Mehmed Pasha conversing with Şehzade Mehmed in the Harem room, Seyyid Lokman, *Şehinşahaname II*, 1597-98, TSK, B. 200, fol. 82b-83a.



Figure 55. The fountain (selsebil) from Murad III's room in the Harem.



Figure 56. Hünkar Sofası (Imperial Hall) in the Harem.



Figure 57. Detail of the walls and the ceiling of the *Yemiş Odası* (Fruit Room) in the Harem.



Figure 58. Golden container with incense pastilles made by the pages of the *Has Oda*, 19th century, TSM, no. 21/576.



Figure 59. Anonymous, *Ahval-i Kiyamet* (Circumstances of the Day of Resurrection) depicts Paradise, 1600-1610, SK, M. Hafid Efendi, 139, fol. 50b.

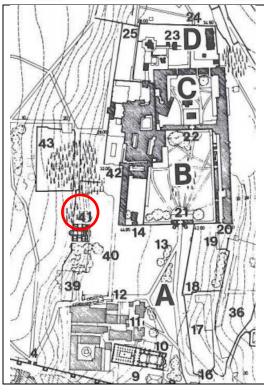


Figure 60. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Topkapı Palace grounds in the nineteenth century. Number 41 is the Tiled Kiosk.



Figure 61. Nakkaş Osman, procession of the guild of candlestick makers,

Surname-i Hümayun, 1582, TSK, H. 1344, fol. 159a.



Figure 62. Detail of figure 61.



Figure 63. Incense burner from the *Has Oda*, gilt copper and silver, donated by Selim III (1793/4) still contains incense pieces in the shape of pastilles, TSM, no. 21/198.



Figure 64. Guild of *Buhurcus*, *Surname-i Hümayun*, 1582, TSK, H. 1344, fol. 112b.



Figure 65. Detail of figure 64.

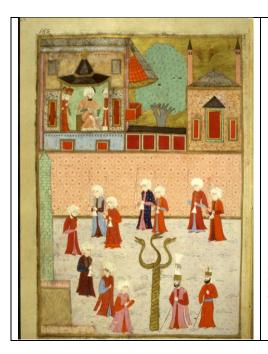




Figure 67. Detail of figure 66. **Figure 66.** (left) Nakkaş Osman, procession of the guild of herbalists (*attars*), *Surname-i Hümayun*, 1582, TSK, H. 1344, fol. 164b.

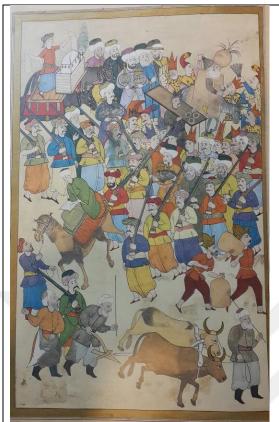


Figure 68. Levni, procession of the guild of farmers, millers and bakers, *Surname-i Vehbi*, c. 1720, TSK, A. 3593, fol. 71b.



Figure 69. Detail of figure 68.

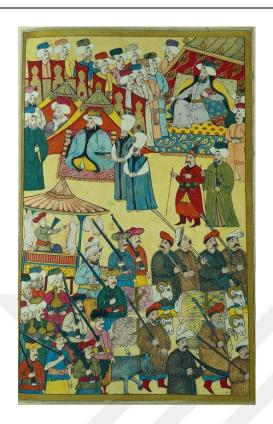


Figure 70. Levni, procession of the butchers, cooks and tanners (*debbağlar*), *Surname-i Vehbi*, c. 1720, TSK, A. 3593, fol.



Figure 71. Detail of figure 70.



Figure 72. Stationary censer, parcel-gilt silver, h. 45, 1624, TİEM, no. 18.



Figure 73. Rosewater sprinkler, gilt copper, early 19th century, TSM, no. 25/3815.



Figure 74. Hanging censer, silver sheet around mortar base, with decoration of semiprecious gemstones and gold wire, canopy made from silver wire, total h. 31 cm, second half of the sixteenth century, TİEM, no. 25.

Appendix 1: Topkapı Palace Museum Censers Catalogue

Century/ Catalogue No	Object	Inventory Number	Height & Diameter	Material	Photo	Typology	Owner/ inscription	Visible in the Commission Records	Source of Photographs and Information
Cat. No. 1-2 Late 18th or early 19th century	Censer	European porcelain section, TSM, no. 26/4567	h. 11.5cm, d. 6.5cm	European Porcelain		Stationary censer	No information	Not identified	Göksen Sonat and Ömür Tufan, eds., Osmanlı Sarayında Avrupa Porselenleri, exhibition catalogue,
	Rosewater sprinkler	European porcelain section, TSM, no. 26/4566	h. 13.2 cm						(Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2005).

Cat. No. 3 Second half of the 16th century Chinese cup and plate; early 17th century or slightly earlier Ottoman censer	Censer	Chinese porcelain section, TSM, no. 15/2758	h. 16.5 cm, 13.5 cm	Chinese Porcelain, Gold, and Precious Stones	Composite stationary censer	No information	Vol. II, registered to the Inner Treasury	Regina Krahl, Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 2.
Cat. No. 4 dish from mid-16th century, stemcup form late 16th century, the Ottoman censer from early 17th century	Censer	Chinese porcelain section, TSM, no. 15/2773	h. 16 cm, d. 15 cm	Chinese Porcelain, Gold, and Precious Stones	Composite stationary censer	There is a mark on the dish says "a long life with wealth and honor."	Vol. II, registered to the Inner Treasury	Regina Krahl, Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 2; Topkapı Palace the Imperial Harem: House of the Sultan, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: BKG, 2012).

Cat. No. 5 Porcelain parts from second half of 16th century, the Ottoman censer from early 17th century	Censer	Chinese porcelain section, TSM, no. 15/2771	h. 25 cm, 20 cm	Chinese Porcelain, Gold, and Precious Stones	Composite stationary censer	No information	Vol. II, registered to the Inner Treasury	Regina Krahl, Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue Catalogue (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 2; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, ed. Hande Eagle, (Istanbul: BKG, 2010).
Cat. No. 6 dish from 15th century, cups from mid-17th century, the Ottoman censer from 18th century	Censer	Chinese porcelain section, TSM, no. 15/2768	h. 26.5 cm	Chinese Porcelain, Gold, and Precious Stones	Composite stationary censer	No information	Vol. II, registered to the Inner Treasury	Regina Krahl, Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue Catalogue (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 2.

Cat. No. 7 dish from the second half of the 16th century, bowls from early 18th century, the Ottoman censer from 19th century	Censer	Chinese porcelain section, TSM, no. 15/2770	h. 26 cm, d. 20 cm	Chinese Porcelain, Silver, and Precious Stones	Composite stationary censer	No information	Vol. II, registered to the Inner Treasury	Regina Krahl, Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 2; Serkan Gedük, "Osmanlı Saray Kültüründe Buhur ve Gülsuyu Geleneği," Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık 6 (2013), 38-155.
Cat. No. 8 The Ottoman censer from the second half of 17th century	Censer	Chinese porcelain section, TSM, no. 2/2140	h. 41 cm	Chinese porcelain (Ming Dynasty) and silver	Composite stationary censer	No information	Vol. II. Registered to the Inner Treasury	Regina Krahl, Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum: A Complete Catalogue (London: Sotheby's, 1986), vol. 2; Nurdan Erbahar, Çin Porselenleri, tr. Virginia Taylor- Saçlıoğlu, (Istanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1984).

Cat. No. 9 18th, Ottoman	Censer	Copper section, TSM, no. 25/3862	h. 22.5 cm, d. 11 cm	Gilt- copper (Tombak)	Stationary	No information	Not identified	Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006); Topkapı Palace the Imperial Harem: House of the Sultan, exhibiton catalogue, (Istanbul: BKG, 2012).
Cat. No. 10 early 17th century, Ottoman	Censer	Copper section, TSM, no.25/3830	h. 21cm, d. 15 cm (with handle)	Gilt-copper (tombak), bejeweled with coral bead	Portable censer	"Misk-ü amber ve dimağa gider" (Musk and ambergris reach the mind.)	Not identified	Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006.

Cat. No. 11 17th century, Ottoman	Censer	Copper section TSM		Gilt- copper (tombak)	Stationary censer	No information	Not identified	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, ed. Hande Eagle, (Istanbul: BKG, 2010).
Cat. No. 12 17th century	censer	Copper section, TSM, no. 25/ 3777	h. 23 cm, d. 20 cm (tray), d.19cm (censer)	Gilt- copper (tombak)	Stationary censer	No information	Not identified	Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006); Ender Gürol, transl., Topkapı Palace (Istanbul: Akbank, 2000).

Cat. No. 13 16th or 18th century, Ottoman	Censer	Copper section, TSM, no. 2/6781	h. 22.5 cm, d. 23 cm (tray)	Gilt- copper (Tombak)	Stationary	No information	Not identified	Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006).
Cat. No. 14 18th century, Ottoman	Censer	Copper section, TSM, no. 25/3864	h. 12 cm	Gilt copper (Tombak)	Stationary censer	No information	Not identified	Bir Taşım Keyif: Türk Kahvesinin 500 Yıllık Öyküsü, exhibtion catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2015).

Cat. No. 15 1812, Ottoman	Censer	Silver section, TSM	Silver		Stationary	Belonged to Seyyid Mehmed Ağa.	Not identified	Topkapı Palace, tr. Ender Gürol, (Istanbul: Akbank, 2000).
Cat. No. 16 1812, Ottoman	Rosewater sprinkler	Silver section, TSM	Silver	·				

Cat. No. 17 1871 (H. 1288), Ottoman	Censer	Silver section, TSM, no.16/139	h. 32 cm, d. 24 cm	Silver	Stationary censer	Inscription reads this censer and rosewater sprinkler set donated by Pertevniyel Valide Sultan, mother of Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-76).	Not identified	Serkan Gedük, "Osmanlı Saray Kültüründe Buhur ve Gülsuyu Geşeneği," Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık 6 (2013), 38-155.
Cat. No. 18 1871 (H. 1288), Ottoman	Rosewater sprinkler	Silver section, TSM, no. 16/140	h. 32 cm	Silver	pear- shaped, three sea shell shaped foot			

Cat. No. 19 19th century	Censer	Silver section, TSM, no.16/824	h. 22 cm, d. 23 cm	Silver	Stationary censer	No information	Not identified	Nurhan Atasoy, Splendors Of The Ottoman Sultans (Memphis: Lithograph Pub, 1992).
Cat. No. 20	Censer	Holy Relics section, TSM, no. 21/200	d. 22 cm	Silver * 3	Stationary censer, 2 more identical censers	No information	Vol. I. Registered to the Has Oda, today registered to the Holy Relics Section of the Museum.	Hilmi Aydın, Hırka-ı Saadet Dairesi ve Mukaddes Emanetler, (Istanbul: Kaynak Kitaplığı, 2004).

Cat. No. 21 1280, 18th century (1793/94)	Censer	Holy Relics section, TSM, no. 21/198	h. 30cm	Silver	Hanging censer	The censer has Selim III's tughra and inscription.	Vol. I. Registered to the Has Oda, today registered to the Holy Relics Section of the Museum.	Hilmi Aydın, Hırka-ı Saadet Dairesi ve Mukaddes Emanetler, (Istanbul: Kaynak Kitaplığı, 2004).
Cat. No. 22-23	Censer and rosewater sprinkler	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3371 (censer) TSM, no. 2/3372 (rosewater sprinkler)	h. 16.5 cm, d. 8 cm	Gold and Diamonds	Stationary censer	No information	Vol. IV. Brought from Medina by Fahreddin Pasha.	Serkan Gedük, "Osmanlı Saray Kültüründe Buhur ve Gülsuyu Geşeneği," Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık 6 (2013), 38-155.

Cat. No. 24 19th century, Ottoman	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3384-3385	AND COLORS	No information Vol. IV. Brought from Medina by Fahreddin Pasha i	Imperial Surre, exhibition catalogue (Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Culture Co., 2008).
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Cat. No. 25 1816 (1232 Hijri),Ottom an	Censer	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3515	h. 26 cm, d. 15 cm	Gold	Stationary censers	The censers have inscription that shows the date, the donor, Hatice Sultan (daughter of Mustafa III).	Vol. IV. Brought from Medina by Fahreddin Pasha.	Imperial Surre, exhibition catalogue (Istanbul: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Culture Co., 2008).
Cat. No. 26 1817 (1233 Hijri),Ottom an	Censer	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3516	h. 26 cm, d. 22 cm	Gold				

Cat. No. 27 1885(H. 1303), Ottoman	Censer	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3373	h. 22 cm, d. 14 cm	Gold, Green enameled diamonds.		The censer has an inscription that shows the date, and the donor,	Vol. IV. Brought from Medina by Fahreddin Pasha.	Hamam: Osmanlı'da Yıkanma Geleneği ve Berberlik Zanaatı, exhibition catalogue, (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2006).
Cat. No. 28 1885, Ottoman	Rose water flask	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3374	h. 20 cm, d. 8 cm		Stationary	Cemile Sultan (daughter of Sultan Abdülmeci d)		
Cat. No. 29, 1910/11 (H. 1328), Ottoman	Censer	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3502	h. 14 cm, d. 13.4 cm	Gold, enameled, diamonds,	Stationary	The censer has an inscription that shows donor (Sultan Mehmed V) and beneficiary place (the Has Oda).	Vol. I. Registered to the Has Oda, today in the Treasury Section of the Museum.	J.M. Rogers, Topkapı Sarayı Objets d'art, (Paris: Ditions du Jaguar, 1987).

Cat. No. 30 19th century	Censer	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3496	d. 25cm (tray)	Gold, blue and purple enameled, diamonds,	Stationary censer	The censer has an inscription that shows donor, Hoşyâr Hatun (married with Sultan Mahmud II in 1811)	Vol. IV. Brought from Medina by Fahreddin Pasha in 1918.	Fahreddin Pasha's Notebook, Ottoman, 1919, 40.3 x 28.5 cm. TSK (Topkapı Palace Library) Y.Y.827.
Cat. No. 31 19th century	Rosewater	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3495		Gold, blue and purple enameled, diamonds,				J.M. Rogers, Topkapı Sarayı Objets d'art, (Paris: Ditions du Jaguar, 1987).

Cat. No. 32, 19th century, French	Censer	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3490	h. 24 cm	Gold, enameled, pearls,	Stationary censers	Vol. IV. Brought from Medina by Fahreddin Pasha.	J.M. Rogers, Topkapı Sarayı Objets d'art, (Paris: Ditions du Jaguar, 1987).
Cat. No. 33, 19th century, French	Censer	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3491	h. 24 cm	Gold, enameled, pearls			
Cat. No. 34, 19th century, French	Rosewater sprinkler	Treasury section, TSM, no. 2/3492	h. 32 cm	Gold, enameled, pearls,			

Total number of censers 30

Appendix 2. Topkapı Palace Museum Commission Records vol. I-IV

General Register/ Topkapı Palace Museum Commission Records I (Genel Defter/TSM Komisyon Defteri I)	Fixture Number (Demirbaş No)	Page Number (Sayfa No)	Location of the Object (Bulunduğu Mahal)	Room Number (Oda no)	Object Number (Eşya no)	Material and kind of the object (Eşyanın Cinsi)	Quantity (Adedi)	Qualities of the Object (Evsafi)	Observations/ Notes about the Object (Mülahazatı)	Inventory Number (Envanter no)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3025	33	Room in the Harem/ Object in the Anteroom (Harem Dâiresi/Sofa'd a Mevcud Eşya)	31/4	5751	Censer (Buhur- dan)	1	Made from metal of yellow colour. (Sarı madenden ma'mûl.)		

Censer (Buhurdan)	3025	117	Room in the Harem (Harem/Dâire)	152	13159	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	1	One large and one small censers sit on a leaf and a branch, [they] have a pine cone-shaped, the overall [objects] was made from silver (Bir yaprak ve dal üzerine biri büyük, diğeri küçük, fistik kozası şeklinde tamamen gümüşten ma'muldür)	117 gram	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3025	117	Room in the Harem (Harem/Dâire)	152	13160	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	1	Likewise, the censer has the same qualities [as the above-mentioned one] (Kezâ aynı evsafta buhurdân)	112 gram	
Censer (Buhurdan)& Rosewater sprinkler (Gülabdan)	3025	119	Mosque of the Halberdiers with Collar (Yakalı Baltacılar Koğuşu/Câmi)	168	13216	Copper Censer (Bakır buhurdan)	1	Has a tray by itself, few parts are gilded (Kendinden tablalı küçük kıt'ada yaldızlıdır)		

Censer (Buhurdan) (2) & Rosewater sprinkler (Gülabdan)	3025	124	Halberdiers with Collar/ Halberdiers with Tresses/ Mosque of the Halberdiers with Tresses (Yakalı Baltacılar Koğuşu/Zülüfl ü Baltacılar Koğuşu/Zülüfl ü Baltacılar	174	13334	Copper Censer (Bakır buhurdan)	3 (2 censer & 1 Rose- water sprinkle)	Two gilded censers and one rosewater sprinkler were made from copper (Bakırdan ma'mûl, yaldızlı iki adet buhurdan ile bir adet gülabdan)	Only one has a number on it. (Yalnız birine numara konulmuştur.)	
Censer (Buhurdan) (1) & Rosewater sprinkler (Gülabdan)	3025	144	Confectionary in the Royal Kitchens (Matbah Devâiri/Helva Ocağı Kısmı)	183	14411	Brass Censer (Pirinç buhurdan)	2 (1 censer & 1 rose- water sprinkle)	Made from brass (Pirinçtendir)		
Censer (Buhurdan)	3025	153	Commissariat in the Royal Kitchens (Erzak Ambarı)	191	15133	Brass Censer (Pirinç buhurdan)	4	One of them has a large lid and has a tray by itself (Biri büyük kapaklı ve kendisinden tablalıdır)		

Unspecified metal Censer (Madeni buhurdan)	3025	159	Chamber of White Eunuchs/ Dinning Hall (Bâbüssaâde Medhali (Ak Ağalar Koğuşu)/Yeme khâne)	198	15418	Unspecified metal Censer (Madeni buhurdan)	2	It has six lobes? (Şişhaneli?) and [it is] silver gilded (Şişhaneli ve gümüş yaldızlıdır)	[The objects] were registered to numbers 13/4881 and 4882 (24.6.1946) (13/4881 ve 4882 numaraya kaydedildi) (24.6.1949). A number was given. (Bir numara konulmuştur.)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3025	197	Chamber of Hospital for the Has Oda pages (Hırka-i Saâdet Dâiresi Me'mûrînine Mahsus Koğuş/Hastah âne)	208	16816	Censer (Buhur- dan)	1	[It] has a tray riveted to the censer, has a handle, made from metal of yellow colour. (Tablalı, kulplu, tablası kendine merbût sarı madendir)		

Candlestick (buhur şamdanı)	3025	222	The entrance door of the Treasury Chamberlain's room (Hazine Kethüdası Dâiresi Medhali Kapısı)	221	17966	Candle- stick (buhur şamdanı)	1	[It] is in the middle of a stick [and] riveted to a metal tray, [made from] metal, has three arms (Madeni bir tablaya merbût bir çubuğun ortasında, madeni, üç kolludur)		
Sieve (Elek)	3025	223	The entrance door of the Treasury Chamberlain's room (Hazine Kethüdası Dâiresi Medhali Kapısı)	221	17993	Sieve (Elek)	1	[It] is peculiar to sift incense (Buhur elemeye mahsustur)		25/3045
Censer (Buhurdan) (4)	3025	226	The entrance door of the Treasury Chamberlain's room (Hazine Kethüdası Dâiresi Medhali Kapısı)	221	18069- 18072	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	4	[They] were made from silver and have trays. Together with their inner parts? (fumigatory receptacles?) (Gümüşten ma'mûl ve kendinden tablalıdır. İçleriyle beraberdir)	18069 no. 361 dirhem, 18070 no. 362 dirhem, 18071 no. 748 dirhem, 18072 no. 348 dirhemdir.	

Bowl (Tas)	3025	231	The entrance door of the Treasury Chamberlain's room (Hazine Kethüdası Dâiresi Medhali Kapısı)	226	18243	Marble Bowl (Mermer Tas)	1	[It] is to beat incense fumigatories (Buhur ezmek içindir)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3025	241	The third room in the Inner Treasury (Büyük Hazine/Üçünc ü Hâne)	233	18620- 18621	Porcelain Censer (Porselen Buhurdan)	2	[Censers] have a white background, colourful flowers, [their] borders are blue, [they] have openwork (latticed) lids, made in Vienna. (Beyaz Ze- minli, elvan çiçekli, kenarları mavi, kapağı müşebbek, Viyana ma'mûlâtındandır)

Censer (Buhurdan)	3025	250	The Library of Ahmed III (Ahmed-i Sâlis Kütüphânesi)	236	19730- 19731	Unspecified metal Censer (Madeni buhurdan)	2	One of them is large and goldgilded, [it] has a tray by itself, [it] has a crescent-shaped finial (Biriufak diğeri büyük ve altın yaldızlı, kendinden tablalı, ay tepelidir)	
Candlestick (buhur şamdanı)	3025	250	The Library of Ahmed III (Ahmed-i Sâlis Kütüphânesi)	236	19734	Candle- stick (buhur şamdanı)		[It] is gold-gilded, [and] small (Altın yaldızlı, küçüktür)	
Censer Tray (buhur tepsisi)	3025	250	The Library of Ahmed III (Ahmed-i Sâlis Kütüphânesi)	236	19735	Censer Tray (buhur tepsisi)	1	[It] was made from metal of white and yellow colour (Beyaz ve sarı madenîdir)	

Censer stool (buhur iskemlesi)	3025	251	The Library of Ahmed III (Ahmed-i Sâlis Kütüphânesi)	236	19742	Censer stool (buhur iskemlesi)	1	[It] has a walnut colour, four feet, globe-shaped and small (Cevizî renkte dört ayaklı müdevver ve küçüktür)		
Censer (Buhurdan)	3025	253	The Library of Ahmed III (Ahmed-i Sâlis Kütüphânesi)	236	19791- 19792	Censer (Buhur- dan)	2	[Two censers] have the same qualities [,] [their] lids are latticed and made from silver. [It] has a case. (Aynı vasıfta kapakları kafesli ve gümüştür. Mahfazalıdır)	Number 19791 is 215 dirhem. Number 19792 is 218 dirhem. (19791 numara 215 dirhem. 19792 numara 218 dirhem.)	

Candlestick (buhur şamdanı)	3025	380	The Throne Room in the Privy Chamber Complex (Hırka-i Saâdet Oda-i Âlîsi)	237	24911	Candle- stick (buhur şamdanı)	1	The height is 0.20, base and top have trays, made from gold (0.20 irtifa'ında, alt ve üst tablalı, altından ma'mûldür)	It is small. It is 86 dirhem. (Ufaktır. 86 dirhem.)	196
Candlestick (buhur şamdanı)	3025	380	The Throne Room in the Privy Chamber Complex (Hırka-i Saâdet Oda-i Âlîsi)	237	24912	Candle- stick (buhur şamdanı)	1	The height [of the candlestick] is 0.32, [its] base has a tray and the top consists of five incense candles and the middle part of the object is in the shape of round lattice, [it] is gold gilded, made from silver (0.32 irtifâ'ında, alt kısmı tablalı ve yukarısı beş adet buhurdân şamdanlığı ve vasat kısmı daire şeklinde kafes çenberli, altın yaldızlı, gümüştendir)	It is 294 dirhem. (294 dirhem.)	197

Censer	3025	380	The Throne	237	24913	Censer	1	The height [of the	It is 1.232	198
(Buhurdan)			Room in the			(Buhur-		censer] is 0.30, [it]	dirhem.	
,			Privy			dan)		has cage-shaped	(1.232	
			Chamber			ŕ		with eight sides and	dirhem.)	
			Complex					its base has a small	,	
			(Hırka-i					drawer and attached		
			Saâdet Oda-i					to the center which		
			Âlîsi)					has a globe-shaped,		
			,					[it] has an open-		
								work lid and the		
								overall object is		
								made from silver.		
								(0.30 irtifâ'ında,		
								sekiz vecheli kafes		
								şeklinde ve alt kısmı		
								ufak çekme gözlü ve		
								ortasına merbût		
								küre şeklinde, mü-		
								şebbek kapaklı ve		
								kâmilen gümüşten		
								ma'mûldür.)		

Censer	3025	380	The Throne	237	24914-	Censer	3	The diameter of the	199
(Buhurdan)			Room in the		24916	(Buhur-		censer's tray is 0.22	
			Privy			dan)		cm and has a leaf-	
			Chamber					shaped rim and the	
			Complex					three feet of the	
			(Hırka-i					[censer] are riveted	
			Saâdet Oda-i					to this tray and has	
			$\hat{A}l\hat{\imath}si$)					a lid on the top and	
			·					the overall object is	
								made from silver.	
								One of three ateşlik	
								(fumigatory	
								receptacle?) is	
								made from metal of	
								yellow color, the	
								other two are made	
								from silver.	
								(Tablası 0.22	
								santimetre kutründe	
								ve kenarları	
								kendinden yaprak	
								dilimli ve işbu	
								tablaya üç ayakla	
								merbût ve üstünden	
								kapaklı ve umûmen	
								gümüşten	
								ma'mûldür. Üç adet	
								ateşlikten biri sarı	
								madenden, diğer	
								ikisi gümüştendir.)	

Candlestick (buhur şamdanı)	3025	381	The Throne Room in the Privy Chamber Complex (Hırka-i Saâdet Oda-i Âlîsi)	237	24918	Candle- stick (buhur şamdanı)		The diameter of its tray is 0.16 and [its] height is 0.30 and sıravârî? (in series of) and has four candlesticks, made from silver. The tray is inscribed and dated 1172 and [it] is 137 dirhem. (Tablası 0.16 kutründe ve 0.30 irtifâ'ında ve sıravârî ve dört adet buhur şamdanlıklı, gümüşten ma'mûldür. Tablası yazılı ve 1172 tarihli ve 137 dirhem muharrerdir.)	
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Censer Tray	3025	381	The Throne	237	24919	Censer	1	The diameter of	
(buhur			Room in the			Tray		[the object] is 0.35,	
tepsisi)			Privy			(buhur		[its] rim has a	
			Chamber			tepsisi)		decoration by itself,	
			Complex					made from silver	
			(Hırka-i					and engraved the	
			Saâdet Oda-i					date 1283 and	
			Âlîsi)					inscribed. (0.35	
								kutründe, kenarları	
!								kendinden işlemeli,	
!								gümüşten ma'mûl	
								ve 1283 tarihi	
								mahkûk ve	
								muharrerdir.)	
!									
!									
!									
!									
!									

Incense case (Mahfaza)	3025	381	The Throne Room in the Privy Chamber Complex (Hırka-i Saâdet Oda-i Âlîsi)	237	24920	Incense case (Mahfaza)	1	The dimensions of the object is 0.22 x 0.5, has a rectangle-shaped and a lid in the center and has embossed flowers by itself, made from silver, to hold incense. The date 1310 is engraved on [the object] and inscribed. (0.22x0.5 ebatında, müstatilü'ş-şekl ortadan kapaklı ve	It is 86 dirhem. (86 dirhem.)	
			11000)					incense. The date		
								[the object] and		
								ebatında,		
								kendinden kabartma çiçekli,		
								gümüşten ma'mûl, buhur vaz'ına		
								mahsustur.		
								Üzerinde 1310 tarihi mahûk ve		
								muharrerdir.)		

Censer	3025	381	The Throne	237	24922	Bejeweled	1	The diameter of its	It is 150	Inven-
(Buhurdan)			Room in the			and Gold		tray is 0.14 and [it]	dirhem with	tory no
			Privy			Censer		has a flower-shaped	its diamonds.	2/3502
			Chamber			(Altın ve		rim and lobed and	Treasury	(envanter
			Complex			Murassa		the edges of the	display.	no
			(Hırka-i			Buhurdan)		lobes have six		2/3502)
			Saâdet Oda-i					pieces of diamonds	(150 dirhem,	
			Âlîsi)					of mediocre quality	elmaslarıyla	
								and [its] tray has	ma'an.	
								three medallions		
								(paftalı)which are inscribed [,] and	Hazine teşhir.)	
								each of the		
								medallions are		
								surrounded by a		
								flower and branch		
								decoration and the		
								three feet [of the		
								censer] are riveted		
								to this tray [,] the		
								diameter of [the		
								censer] is 0.6 cm		
								and [it] has a globe-		
								shaped and has a		
								conic-shaped lid [.]		
								The lower part of		
								the censer has a		
								bunch of flowers		
								with six diamonds		
								and [it] has a circle-		
								shaped enameled		
								part which is		

	decorated with a diamond branch and [its] lid is again entirely decorated with a diamond flower with branch and the three red enameled medallions (paftalar) has three large diamonds and [its] finial is decorated with diamonds [,] the
	decorated with diamonds [,] the overall object is
	made from gold and
	bejeweled.
	(Tablasının kutru
	0.14 ve kabartma
	çiçek kenarlı ve
	dilimli ve
	kenarlarının dilim
	uçlarında vasat
	kıt'ada altı adet elmas taşlı ve tabla
	üzeri ortaları yazılı
	ve üç paftalı ve her
	pafta elmas çiçek ve
	dallarla muhât ve
	müzeyyen ve işbu
	tablaya üç ayakla
	merbût 0.6

			santimetre kutründe ve küre şeklinde ve mahrûti kapaklı bu- hurdanlığın alt kısmı altı adet elmas salkım çiçekli ve çenberi mine üzerine elmas dal işlemeli ve kapak üzeri yine kâmilen elmas dal çiçekli ve üç kırmızı mine paftalar ortasında üç adet büyücek kıt'ada elmas taşlı ve tepe başlığı dahi yine elmas taşlarla işlenmiş umûmen altından ma'mûl ve murassa'dır.)
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Censer Tray	3025	381	The Throne	237	24923	Censer	1	The diameter of	It is gold and	Inventor
(buhur			Room in the			Tray		[its] rim is 0.20 and	it is 103.5	y no 2/
tepsisi)			Privy			(buhur		has matting inlaid,	dirhem.	3505
			Chamber			tepsisi)		gold-gilded, made	(103.5 dirhem	(envanter
			Complex					from silver. [It is]	altın.)	no
			(Hırka-i					gold.		2/3505)
			Saâdet Oda-i					(0.20 kutründe		
			Âlîsi)					kenarlı ve		
								kendinden hasır		
								örgü işlemeli, altın		
								yaldızlı, gümüşten		
								ma'mûldür.		
								Altındır.)		

Total Number of censers in the Commission Register vol. I: 29

Number of Metal of Yellow Colour Censers: 3 Number of Unspecified Metal Censers: 4 Number of Porcelain Censers: 2

Number of Porcelain Censers: 5 Number of Brass Censers: 5 Number of Copper Censers: 3

Number of Copper Censers: 3 Number of Gold (bejeweled) Censers: 1

Number of Silver Censers: 11

General Register/ Topkapı Palace Museum Commission Records II (Genel Defter/TSM Komisyon Defteri II)	Fixture Number (Demirbaş No)	Page Number (Sayfa No)	Location of the Object (Bulunduğu Mahal)	Room Number (Oda no)	Object Number (Eşya no)	Material and kind of the object (Eşyanın Cinsi)	Quantity (Adedi)	Qualities of the Object (Evsaft)	Observations/ Notes about the Object (Mülahazatı)
Incense case (buhur kutusu)	3028	2	Fountained hall in the Holy Relics Section (Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi'nde Şadırvanlı Sofa)	239	25104	Incense case (buhur kutusu)	1	The upper part of [the incense case] is mantled of paper [,] it is to hold fumigatory and agallochum [,] has a lid. (Üstü kâğıt kaplı buhur ve öd ağacı mahfazasına mahsus kapaklıdır.)	
Drawer [to hold incense] (Çekmece)	3028	67	The Treasury of the Privy Chamber (Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi'nin Emânet Hazinesi)	245	27506	Walnut Drawer (Ceviz Çekmece)	1	The size [of the drawer] is 0.25 x 0.14 [.] The walnut drawer has metal medallions (pafta) which are decorated with flower motifs [.] [The drawer] contains one coconut rosary with	

								pieces of agallochum and incense and sandalwood salt? (or dust?). (0.25x0.14 Cesametinde çiçek işlemeli madeni paftalı ceviz çekmece derûnunda bir adet narcil tesbih ile öd ağacı parçaları ve buhur ve sandal tuzu vardır.)	
Candlestick (buhur şamdanı)	3028	110	The Treasury of the Privy Chamber (Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi'nin Emânet Hazinesi)	245	28175- 28176	Candlestick with leather hot pad (Buhur Şamdanıyla Meşin Nihalisi)	2	The length of the [candlesticks] are 0.23 [,] two pieces [,] made from silver. (0.23 Tülünde iki adet gümüşdendir.)	It is 93 dirhem, It is 89 dirhem. (93 dirhem, 89 dirhem.)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3028	110	The Treasury of the Privy Chamber (Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi'nin Emânet Hazinesi)	245	28177	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	1	The diameter of [censer's] tray is 0.20 cm and the three feet of the [censer] are riveted to the tray and the lid of [the censer] is perforated and [it] has floral decorations and has a flower-shaped finial and has a case. (Tablasi 0.20	It is 363 dirhem. (363 dirhem)

								santimetre kutründe ve üç ayakla tablaya merbût ve kabağı müşebbek ve çiçek işlemeli ve kapak tepesi kabartma çiçekli ve mahfazalıdır.)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3028	116	The Treasury of the Privy Chamber (Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi'nin Emânet Hazinesi)	245	28302	Gilt Copper Censer (Tombak buhurdan)	2	The gilt-copper censers with trays [,] one of them is riveted to its tray [.] Two pieces and [they] are small [,] [censers] have cup-shaped and have lids [.]Besides they have parts (receptacles) to hold fumigatory [.] Two censers. (Tombaktan ma'mûl tablalı ve birisinin tablasına merbût iki adet kapaklı ufak zarf şeklinde ayrıca buhur vazına mahsus mahalleri havi 2 adet buhurdan.)

Censer stool (buhur iskemlesi)	3028	124	The Treasury of the Privy Chamber (Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi'nin Emânet Hazinesi)	245	28441	Censer stool (buhur iskemlesi)	1	The diameter [of the censer stool] is 0.58 and [its] height is 0.58 as well [,] has six feet and a cage-shaped (kafes) rim [,] [it is] decorated with gilded embossed branches on a blue colored surface. (0.58 Kutründe ve yine 0.58 irtifaında altı ayaklı ve kafes kenarlı mavi boya üzerine yaldızla kabartma dallıdır.)	To the Treasury. (Hazine'ye)
Candlestick (buhur şamdanı)	3028	124	The Treasury of the Privy Chamber (Hırka-i Saadet Dairesi'nin Emânet Hazinesi)	245	28445	Candlestick (buhur şamdanı)	1	[The candlestick] has two arms and has three incense burners [,] and has a foot, [it is] made from steel. (Çift kollu ve üç buhurdanlı ve ayaklı, polattan ma'mûldür.)	

Censer (Buhurdan)	3028	171	The Envoy Treasury (Elçi Hazinesi)	247	30259- 30260	Gilt-copper Censer (Tombak buhurdan)	2	[The censer] has a tray by itself [.] One of them has three feet, the other one has one foot and [they] have leather lid [,] made from gilt-copper. (Kendinden tablalı biri üç ayaklı diğeri tek ayaklı ve meşin kapaklı tombaktandır.)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3028	208	The Envoy Treasury (Elçi Hazinesi)	247	31235- 31238	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	4	The diameter of the tray is 0.22 and has a ttrtl?-shaped rim [.] The three feet of the [censer] are riveted to the tray [.] [The four censers] have tactless perforated lids decorated with flowers. 235/265 dirhem, 236/272 dirhem, 237/232 dirhem, 238/245 dirhem (0.22 kutründe ve ttrtl kenarlı bir tablaya üç ayakla merbût kendinden çiçek işlemeli müşebbek ve kaba	The fumigatory receptacles are made from copper. Düzüne dahil değildir? (İçlerinin ateşliği bakırdır. Düzüne dahil değildir.)

		kapaklı dört adettir.235/265 dirhem, 236/272 dirhem, 237/232 dirhem, 238/245 dirhem)	

Total Number of censers in the Commission Register vol. II: 9 Number of Silver Censers: 5

Number of Gilt-copper Censers: 4

General Register/ Topkapı Palace Museum Commission Records III (Genel Defter/TSM Komisyon Defteri III)	Fixture No. (Demirbaş No)	Page No. (Sayfa No)	Location of the Object (Bulunduğu Mahal)	Room No. (Oda no)	Object No. (Eşya no)	Material and kind of the object (Eşyanın Cinsi)	Quantity (Adedi)	Qualities of the Object (Evsafi)	Observations/ Notes about the Object (Mülahazatı)
Censer & Rosewater sprinkler (Buhurdan& Gülabdan)	3029	91	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	37852- 37853	Bejeweled censer and rosewater sprinkler (Murassa Buhurdan ve gülabdan)	2 (1 censer and 1 rosewater sprinkler	The trays [of the objects] consist of eight pieces and the tree feet of [the objects] are riveted to the trays, [the objects] have six lobed (sishaneli?) pear-shaped and entirely decorated with enameled and	Censer is 138 dirhem [,] rosewater sprinkler is 139 dirhem. (Buhurdan 138 dirhem 37852 Gülabdan 139 dirhem 37853)
								[the objects] have a finials in the shape of bouquet decorated with leaves which are studded with diamonds and [the finials] are surrounded by ten	Inventory no. 2/3499 and 2/3500 (env. No 2/3499 ve 2/3500)

1 11 2 1 1 1
small diamonds and
[the diamonds on the
finials] are large. One
of the objects'
diamonds are made
from silver and
enameled, one
bejeweled censer,
with one bejeweled
rosewater sprinkler.
One diamond piece
of the leaves of the
rosewater sprinkler is
missing. (Tablaları
müsemmen şeklinde
ve üç ayakla tablaya
merbut, armudi şekl
şişhaneli ve umumen
mine işlemeli ve
tepesi buket şeklinde
elmas işlemeli
yapraklarla
müzeyyen ve etrafi on
adet ufak elmas taşlı
ve tepe üzerleri büyük
kıt'ada. Bir adedinin
elması gümüşten
ma'mul mine işlemeli,
bir aded murassa
buhurdanla, bir aded
murassa gülabdan.
Gülabdanın

								yapraklarından birinde bir tek elmas taş noksandır.)
Incense case (Mahfaza)	3029	103	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	38194	Incense case (Mahfaza)	1	[The incense case] made from pink sateen decorated with gilded brocade (Pembe atlas üzerine sarı sırma kabartma işlemeli ve sırma şeritli çiftli gözlü.)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	129	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	38712	Gold Censer (Altınlı Buhurdan)	1	The diameter of [the censer] is 0.16 [,] it has a tray which is decorated with inlayed gold wire and has three gold feet in the shape of a leave and has a gold lid and the lid is decorated by small rubies [,] [the lid] has four bracelets (rings), made from jade, one item. (0,16 irtifaında, üzeri altın tel işleme tablalı ve üç altın yaprak ayaklı

								ve altın kapaklı ve kapak etrafi ufak kıt'a yakutlarla müzeyyen dört bilezikli, yeşim taşından ma'mul, bir adet.)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	129	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	38779	Gold and Jade Censer (Altınlı yeşim taşlı Buhurdan)	1	The diameter of [the censer] is 0.15, The tray [of the censer] consists of eight pieces and base of the tray with its the brim are made from gold and the overall object is decorated with gold embossed branches, made from jade, one item. (0,15 irtifaında, tablası müsemmen şeklinde ve tabla altıyla ağız çenberi altın ve her tarafı kabartma altın dallarla müzeyyen, yeşim taşından ma'mul, bir adet.)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	113	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	38856	Chinese Porselain censer (Çinkari Buhurdan)	1	The diameter of [the censer] is 0.26 [,] it has three golden feet [,] has a white background

	d d
	decorated with blue
	bellied (göbekli?)
	flowers [,] studded
	with emerald and
	rubies [,] riveted to a
	plate with a gold
	rounded foot and has
	a dome-shaped lid
	and the lid has an
	openwork gold cone-
	shaped finial and on
	the top of the lid
	there are three gold
	medallions (paftalı)
	and the overall censer
	is decorated with
	rubies and emeralds
	[,] there are pearls at
	the pinnacle of the lid
	and on the foot, made
	from Chinese
	porcelain
	(Çinkaridir). Eight
	stones are missing.
	(0,26 irtifaında üç
	altın ayaklı beyaz
	zemin mavi çiçek
	göbekli zümrüt ve
	yakutlarla müzeyyen
	bir tabağa altın
	müşebbek ve müdev-
	ver ayakla merbut ve
	, or a jaiwa merene ve

								kubbe kapaklı ve kapak tepesi mah- ruti'ş-şekl müşebbek altın ve kapak üzeri üç altın paftalı ve her tarafı umumen yakut ve zümrütlerle müzeyyen kapak tepesiyle ayak kısmı incili, Çinkâridir. Sekiz taş noksandır.)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	220	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	4229-42230	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	2	The diameter of [the censer] is 0.22 [,] it has three feet and has a tray and [it] has a column in the middle and has a lid, has a finial in the shape of a rose and a rosebud [,] two items [,] number 42229 is (480) dirhem and number 42230 is (465) dirhem. (0,22 irtifaında üç ayaklı ve tablalı ve ortası sütunlu ve kapaklı, kapak tepesi gül ve gonca şekilli iki adet 42229 numara (480) dirhem ve 42230 (465) dirhemdir.)

Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	220	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	42231	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	1	The diameter [of the censer] is 0.24 [,] it has a foot by itself and has a tray and has six lobed (\$\iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	235	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	42715- 42716	Chinese Porselain censer (Çinkari Buhurdan)	2	The diameters of [of the censers] are 0.14 and 0.15 [,] has a silver foot and [it] is decorated with rubies and emeralds [,] has a Chinese porcelain tray (plate) with a white background decorated with blue flowers [,] and [the other censer] has the same qualities and decoration [,] [its] height is 0.15 [,] has a porcelain plate and has a gold openwork lid and at the pinnacle of its lid is entirely

Censer	3029	236	The Inner	233	42717	Censer	1	The diameters of [of	Four stones are
(Buhurdan)			Treasury			(Buhurdan)		the censer] is 0.17	missing. One
,			(Hazine)					silver circle and has a	medallion (pafta) is
								foot [,] the middle of	missing.
								the [object] has a	
								egg-shaped [,] has a	(Dört taş
								large piece of	noksandır. Bir
								emerald and	paftası yoktur.)
								decorated with inlaid	
								gold wire and	
								decorated with small	
								pieces of rubies and	
								turquoises [,] three	
								silver feet [of the	
								object] are riveted to	
								an elevated tray [,]	
								which has the same	
								qualities and	
								decoration, silver	
								bracelet (ring) and	
								medallion (paftalı)	
								and has five pearls [,]	
								has an elevated cup	
								(zarflı) [,] one piece.	
								(0,17 kutrunda gümüş	
								çenber ve ayaklı	
								ortası beyziu'ş şekl	
								büyücek kıt'a tek	
								zümrüt taşlı ve altın	
								tel kakma nakışlı ve	
								ufak kıt'a yakut ve	
				1				firuzelerle müzeyyen	

								mertabani tablaya üç gümüş ayakla merbut aynı vasıf ve tezyinatta, gümüş bilezik ve paftalı ve beş adet incili mertebani zarflı bir adet.)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	236	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	42718	Chinese Porselain censer (Çinkari Buhurdan)	1	Four of its stones are missing. One of its medallions (pafta) of missing. (Dört taş noksandır. Bir paftası yoktur.)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	236	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	42719	Chinese Porselain censer (Çinkari Buhurdan)	1	The height [of the censer] is 0.22 [,] has four gold gilded silver feet with embossed decoration [,] [the censer] has a Chinese porcelain cup with white background and blue flowers and its brim has an openwork silver bracelet (ring) and with circle and its height is 0.18 [,] [the censer] has a cone-	[The censer] is roughly 811 dirhem. (Hey'eti umumyesi (811) dirhemdir.)

								shaped silver lid [,] one piece. (0,22 irtifaında altın yaldız dört gümüş ayaklı kabartma nakış beyaz zemin ve mavi çiçekli Çinkari kaseli ve ağzı müşebbek gümüş bilezik ve çemberli ve (0,18) irtifaında külah şeklinde müşebbek gümüş kapaklı bir adet.	
Censer (Buhurdan) (1) & Rosewater sprinkler (1) (Gülabdan)	3029	281	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	43792- 43793	Silver Censer and rosewater sprinkler (Gümüş buhurdan ve gülabdan)	2 (B1& G1)	The height [of the censer] is 0.18 [,] has entirely blue decoration on silver background and [it is] makvi? to a colored flowers tray and the four feet [of the censer] which are decorated with strings are riveted to the tray and one piece silver rosewater sprinkler and one piece silver censer [,] 43782 numbered rosewater sprinkler is 185 dirhem. 43793 numbered censer is	Inventory no. 2/1894-1895

								182 dirhem. (0.18 irtifalarında gümüş üzerine serâpâ mavi işleme ve elvan renk çiçekli bir tablaya makvi ve araları kordonlu müzeyyen dört ayakla merbût ve aynı vasıfta mavi mine işleme elvan çiçek paftalarla ziynetli ve şişhane kapaklı bir adet gümüş gülabdanla bir adet gümüş buhurdan 43792 numaralı gülabdan 185 dirhemdir. 43793 numaralı buhurdan 182 dirhemdir.)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	324	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	44997	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	1	The diameter of the censer is 0.17 [,] has a globe-shaped tray and has three circular-shaped feet [,] the height of the censer is 0.22 [,] has an openwork lid which is decorated. The net weight is 330 dirhem. Its

								fumigatory receptacle (ateşliği?) is made from copper. (0.17 kutründe müdevver tablalı ve üç yuvarlak ayaklı 0.22 irtifaında müşebbek kapaklı ve üzeri nakış işlemeli bir adet. Safi 330 dirhemdir. Ateşliği bakırdır.)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	341	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	45580- 45581	Unspecified metal Censer (Madeni buhurdan)	2	The height of the censer is 0.20 [,] has a circle-shaped foot, has six-lobed (\$\sishane\$?) decoration and [it] has embossed flower-shaped finial [,] two pieces. (0.20 irtifaında müdevver ayaklı, \$\sishane nakışlı ve kapaklı ve kapak tepeleri kabartma çiçek şekilli iki adet.)

Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	351	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	46153	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	1	The height of the censer is 0.20 [,] has an ostentatious globeshaped and has a finial in the shape of trumpet-flower [,] one piece. (0.20 irtifaında küre-i musannea şeklinde ve kapak tepesi boru çiçekli bir adet.)	It is 282 <i>dirhem</i> . (282 dirhem.)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3029	351	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	46154	Silver Censer (Gümüş buhurdan)	1	The height of the censer is 0.16 [,] has a tray by itself and has a spiral six-lobed (sishane?) decoration and has a lid with a finial in the shape of a trumpet-flower [,] one piece. (0.16 irtifaında kendinden ayaklı ve helezoni şişhane nakışlı ve kapaklı ve kapak tepesi boru çiçekli bir adet.)	It is 126 dirhem. (126 dirhem)

Censer	3029	351	The Inner	233	46155	Silver	1	The height of the	It is 211 dirhem.
(Buhurdan)			Treasury			Censer		censer is 0.22 [,]	
			(Hazine)			(Gümüş		riveted to a tray	(211 dirhem)
						buhurdan)		which has curved	
								decoration around its	
								rim [,] has a vase-	
								shaped with two	
								handles and its	
								bottom has gilded	
								embossed flower	
								strings and has a	
								finial in the shape of	
								wild flowers [,] one	
								piece. (0.22 irtifaında	
								kenarı mukavves	
								nakışlı tablaya	
								merbût çift kulplu	
								vazo şeklinde ve	
								tarafını yaldızlı	
								kabartma çiçek	
								kordonlu ve kapak	
								tepesi mücessem kır	
								çiçekli bir adet.)	
Censer	3029	355	The Inner	233	46336	Silver	1	The height of the	Total weight [of the
(Buhurdan)			Treasury			Censer		censer is 0.24 [,] [it	object] is 190
			(Hazine)			(Gümüş		is] decorated with	dirhem.
						buhurdan)		silver wire-netting [,]	
								its diameter is 0.17 [,]	(Mecmûi 190
								riveted to a round	dirhem.)
								tray with a column	
								and three stands	
								(feet) which have the	

								same qualities and its lid is decorated with various shapes [,] made in Prizren [,] one piece. (0.24 irtifaında gümüş tel örgü nakışlı 0.17 kutründe müdevver bir tablaya aynı vasıfta bir sütun ve üç mesnetle merbût ve kapak üzeri eşkâl-i muhtelife tezyinatlı Prizrenkâri bir adet.)	
Candlestick (buhur şamdanı)	3029	399	The Inner Treasury (Hazine)	233	47441	Silver Candlestick (gümüş buhur şamdanı)	1	The length of [the candlestick] is 0.07 [,] made from silver. (0.07 tûlünde gümüşten ma'mûl).	It is 41 <i>dirhem</i> . (41 dirhem)

Total Number of censers in the Commission Register vol. III: 20

Number of Unspecified Metal Censers: 2 Number of Gold/ Bejeweled Censers: 3 Number of Silver Censers: 9

Number of Chinese Porcelain Censers: 6

General Register/ Topkapı Palace Museum Commission Records IV (Genel Defter/TSM Komisyon Defteri IV)	Fixture No. (Demirbaş No)	Page No. (Sayfa No)	Location of the Object (Bulunduğu Mahal)	Room No. (Oda no)	Object No. (Eşya no)	Material and kind of the object (Eşyanın Cinsi)	Quantity (Adedi)	Qualities of the Object (Evsafi)	Observations/ Notes about the Object (Mülahazatı)	Inventory No. (Envanter no)
Censer (Buhurdan) & Rosewater sprinkler (Gülabdan)	3026	23	Brought from Medina and came from Ankara together with treasury objects (Medîne-i Münevvere'd en Gelen ve Hazîne Eşyası Meyânında Ankara'dan bi'l-vürûd)	245	47997- 47998	Gold Censer (Buhurdan) & Rosewater sprinkler (Altın Buhurdân ve Gülâbdân)	2 (1 Censer & 1 Rosewater sprinkler)	[The object] is inside a red leather coated case [and] the height [of the object] is 0.24 [,] has a round foot riveted to a tray which has havâî and mâî colored (tones of blue?) enamel decoration and its foot is surrounded by strings and on the top [there is] lobed decorations with a circle hole (yuvali?) and decorated with colored flowers on a pink enamel and a golden platform with 0.19 diameter with an opening garnished with	To the Treasury. (Hazine'ye)	env.no 2/3497

	embossed flowers and with leaves sliced and green enamels engraved in the middle and upper levels with pineapple flower and netting sides engraved with green enamel and decorated with gilt on top of it and one piece of completely golden rosewater sprinkler and a golden censer with an identical quality. 47997 numbered rosewater sprinkler with its platform is 570 dirhem, 47998 numbered censer with its platform is 591 dirhem. (Kırmızı meşin kaplı mahfazalar derûnunda 0.24 irtifâ'larında altı mukavves ayakla havâî mâî mine işleme bir kâideye merbût ve ayaklar etrafi kordonlu ve üstleri dilim nakışlı müdevver yuvalı ve penbe mine üzerine elvan renk çiçeklerle müzeyyen ve ağızları
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								kabartma çiçek ve dilimli ve ortaları yeşil mine işleme yapraklarla zînetli ve bâlâları ananas çiçekli ve 0.19 kutürlerinde üzerleri yeşil mine işlemeli yaldız nakışlı ve müşebbek kenarlı birer adet altın tablalı ve umûmen altından ma'mûl bir adet gülâbdanla aynı vasıfta altın buhurdan. 47997 numaralı gülâbdanla tablası 570 dirhem, 47998 numaralı buhurdânla tablası 591 dirhemdir.)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3026	23	Brought from Medina and came from Ankara together with treasury objects (Medîne-i Münevvere'd en Gelen ve Hazîne	245	47999- 48000	Gold Censer (Altın Buhurdan)	2	[The object] is inside a red leather coated case [and] the height of the censer is 0.26 [,] has an openwork and coneshaped lid and has a tray which is 0.15 diameter [,] made from gold, two pieces. (Kırmızı meşin kaplı mahfaza derûnunda 0.26 irtifa'larında müşebbek	env.no 2/3515- 3516

			Eşyası Meyânında Ankara'dan bi'l-vürûd)					ve mahrûtî kapaklı ve 0.15 kutründe tablalı, altında ma'mûl, iki adet.)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3026	23	Brought from Medina and came from Ankara together with treasury objects (Me dîne-i Münevvere'd en Gelen ve Hazîne Eşyası Meyânında Ankara'dan bi'l-vürûd)	245	48003- 48004	Gold Censer (Altın Buhurdan)	2	[The objects] are inside the same (abovementioned) leather case [.] The height of the censers are 0.23 [,] [they] have three deershaped (geyik) feet and have colored enameled decorations with [precious] stones and surrounded by strings with embossed flower decoration and have lids in the same qualities and the lid 48003 numbered is 216 dirhem, 48004 numbered [object] is 220 dirhem. There are flower decorations at their pinnacles, the overall objects are made from gold [,] two pieces. Their interior cups (fumigatory receptacles) are made from silver.	env.no 2/3490- 3491

								(Aynı mahfaza derûnunda 0.23 irtifa'larında üçer adet geyik ayaklı ve taslar üzeri elvan renk mine nakışlı ve etrafi kabartma çiçek kordonlu ve aynı vasıfta kapaklı ve kapak 48003 numaralı 216 dirhem, 48004 numaralı 220 dirhemdir.tepeleri mücessem çiçekli, umûmen altından ma'mûl iki adet. İç tasları gümüştür.)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3026	24	Brought from Medina and came from Ankara together with treasury objects (Me dîne-i Münevvere'd en Gelen ve Hazîne Eşyası Meyânında Ankara'dan	245	48006- 48007	Censer (Buhurluk)	2	[The objects] are inside the same (abovementioned) leather case [.] The diameters [of the objects] are 0.05 [,] [they] have three feet in the shape of grapevine leaves and brunches and decorated with blue enameled [,] each of them has one small cup (<i>çanak</i>), two pieces. 48006 numbered is 45 <i>dirhem</i> , 48007 numbered is 41 <i>dirhem</i> .	env.no. 2/3493- 3494

			bi'l-vürûd)					(Aynı mahfaza derûnunda ve 0.05 irtifâ'larında üçer adet asma dal ve yaprak ayaklı ve mavi mine işleme birer adet ufak çanaklı, iki adet. 48006 numaralı 45 dirhem, 48007 numaralı 41 dirhemdir.)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3026	25	Brought from Medina and came from Ankara together with treasury objects (Medîne-i Münevvere'd en Gelen ve Hazîne Eşyası Meyânında Ankara'dan bi'l-vürûd)	245	48032- 48033	Gold Censer (Altın Buhurdan)	2	The height of the each [censers] is 0.22 [,] [the censers] have four round-shaped feet and have a tray, with embossed decoration [and] the diameter of the tray is 0.18 and [the censers] have domeshaped which is riveted to a column (sütun) and have embossed decoration and have an openwork lids, have an Indian style, two pieces, 48032 numbered is 205 dirhem, 48033 numbered is 205 dirhem. (Beheri 0.22 irtifa'larında dörder	env.no.2/33 84-3385

								adet yuvarlak ayaklı ve 0.18 kutürlerinde kabartma nakış tablalı ve ortasından sütuna merbut müdevverü'ş-şekl ve kabartma nakışlı ve müşebbek kapaklı, Hindkârî, iki adet, 48032 numaralı 205 dirhem, 48033 numaralı 205 dirhemdir.)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3026	26	Brought from Medina and came from Ankara together with treasury objects (Me dîne-i Münevvere'd en Gelen ve Hazîne Eşyası Meyânında Ankara'dan bi'l-vürûd)	245	48035	Bejeweled Censer (Murassa Buhurdan)	1	The diameter [of the censer] is 0.25 [,][the censer] has four round-shaped feet [,] [the censer] has an egg-shaped with openwork (müşebbek) rim, has a tray which is decorated with niello technique and [the censer] is riveted to the tray [.] The height is 0.16 [,] has round-shaped foot and has the same niello technique decoration and the lid has a finial in the shape of a flower with seven leaves [and	env.no.2/34 96

	the finial] is decorated	
	with small diamonds,	
	inside the censer there is	
	a silver cup and the	
	other parts of the object	
	is entirely made from	
	gold, one piece. [The	
	censer] is approximately	
	is 304 <i>dirhem</i> . (0.25	
	kutründe dört yuvarlak	
	ayaklı beyzî şeklinde	
	müşebbek kenarlı, savat	
	işleme tablalı ve tabla	
	ortasına merbût 0.16	
	irtifâ'ında müdevver	
	ayaklı ve aynı vasıfta	
	savatlı ve kapak tepesi	
	sağir kıt'a elmaslarla	
	yedi yapraklı çiçek	
	şekilli, derûnu gümüş	
	taslı ve aksâm-ı sâiresi	
	umûmen altından	
	ma'mûl, bir adet. Hey'et-	
	i Umûmiyesi 304	
	dirhem.)	

Censer	3026	26	Brought	245	48037	Bejeweled	1	The height [of the	env.no.2/33
(Buhurdan)			from			Censer		censer] is 0.17 [,] [it]	71
			Medina and			(Murassa		has a round-shaped foot,	
			came from			Buhurdan)		its lid has an openwork	
			Ankara					decoration and almost	
			together					half of the top of the lid	
			with treasury					has tree branch and	
			objects (Me					flower figures	
			dîne-i					decoration made of	
1			Münevvere'd					diamonds. It is made	
			en Gelen ve					from gold, one piece.	
			Hazîne					Inside it is made from	
			Eşyası					copper. Approximately	
			Meyânında					the weight is 191	
1			Ankara'dan					dirhem. (0.17 irtifâ'ında	
			bi'l-vürûd)					müdevver ayaklı ve	
								kapağı müşebbek nakışlı	
								ve kapak tepesi kapağın	
								nısfına karib mahalline	
								kadar elmaslarla dal ve	
								çiçek nakışlı, altından	
								ma'mûl, bir adet. İçliği	
•								bakırdır. Hey'et-i	
1								umûmiyesi 191 dirhem.)	
i									
1									
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Incense case	3026	27	Brought	245	48049	Incense	1	The diameter [of the	To the Treasury.	env.no.2/37
(buhur			from			case (buhur		censer] is 0.08 [,] [it]	(Hazine'ye)	00
kutusu)			Medina and	///		kutusu)		has an egg-shaped, its	·	
			came from					sides are		
			Ankara					colored <i>fistikî</i> and both		
			together					sides are decorated with		
			with treasury					pink enamel and it		
			objects (Me					shows a landscape and		
			dîne-i					with colored flowers and		
			Münevvere'd					around the lid is		
			en Gelen ve					engraved with embossed		
			Hazîne					flowers decorated with		
			Eşyası					round <i>mâdâr</i> diamonds,		
			Meyânında					made from gold, one		
			Ankara'dan					piece. It is 42 dirhem.		
			bi'l-vürûd)					(0.08 kutründe beyzî		
								şeklinde, etrafi fistikî ve		
								tarafeyni penbe mineli		
								ve manzara resimli ve		
								elvan çiçekli ve kapak		
								etrafi dâiren mâdâr		
								pırlantalarla müzeyyen		
								kabartma çiçekli,		
								altından ma'mûl, bir		
								adet. 42 dirhem.)		

Censer	3026	30	Brought	245	48082	Bejeweled	1	Inside a red leather	It is 249 dirhem.	Inventory
(Buhurdan)			from			Gold		coated case [,] the height	Its fumigatory	no. 2/3337
			Medina and			Censer		[of the censer] is 0.21 [,]	receptacle is	
			came from			(Altın		[the censer] has a round	made from brass.	(env.no.2/3
			Ankara			Murassa		tray by itself and the		373)
			together			Buhurdan)		diameter of the tray is	(249 <i>dirhem</i> .	
		4	with treasury					0.14 [,] around the tray	İçliği bakırdır.)	
			objects (Me					and the other parts of the		
			dîne-i					object are decorated		
			Münevvere'd					with bluish green (tirşe)		
			en Gelen ve					color enameled and		
			Hazîne					various parts of its lid		
			Eşyası					and base are decorated		
			Meyânında					with sixteen branches		
			Ankara'dan					and flower with		
			bi'l-vürûd)					diamonds and [its] finial		
								is in the shape of a		
								jasmine flower, which is		
								decorated with		
								diamonds and [it] has an		
								inscription under the		
								name of Cemile Sultan,		
								the daughter of		
								Abdülmecid, dated		
								1303, has a vase-shaped,		
								made from gold, one		
								piece. (Kırmızı meşin		
								kaplı bir mahfaza		
								derûnunda 0.21		
								irtifâ'ında kendinden		
								müdevver tablalı ve		
								tablası 0.14 kutründe		

							olup tabla kenarıyla aksâm-ı sâiresi tirşe mineli ve kapak üzeriyle alt kısmı muhtelif kıt'a elmaslarla müzeyyen 16 dal ve çiçekli ve kapak tepesi elmaslarla müzeyyen yâsemîn çiçeği şekilli ve Abdülmecid kerîmesi Cemile Sultan namıyla 1303 tarihi mahkûk saksı şeklinde altından ma'mûl, bir adet.)		
Censer (Buhurdan)	3026	57	Comes after the registration (Tahrirden Sonra gelen Eşya)	49078	Brass Censer (Pirinç Buhurdan)	1	The height of the censer is 0.23 [,] has a foot by itself, bellied and has a lid, made from brass. (0.23 irtifa'ında, kendinden ayaklı, karınlı ve kapaklı, pirinçten ma'mûl.)	Found inside a cupboard in the Chamber of the Halberdiers with Tresses 22/10/1929. (Zülüflü Baltacılar Koğuşu'nda dolaptan çıkmıştır. 22/10/1929.)	

Censer	3026	77	Comes after	49426	Silver	1	The height [of the	Donated to the	
(Buhurdan)			the		Censer		censer] is 26 cm [,] it is	Topkapı Palace	
			registration		(Gümüş		made from silver and its	Museum in	
			(Tahrirden		buhurdan)		tray has a round lobed	24.10.1932 from	
			Sonra gelen				rim and on top of the	the tombs of	
			Eşya)				platform the censer'	Selim I,	
							joint is decorated with	Abdülmecid,	
							leaves, the lid is high	Fatih.	
							and lobbed and the joint	(15 21/384.	
							area between the pear-	49417 no.dan	
							shaped button on the lid	49480 no.ya	
							and the leaf behind the	kadar yazılı olan	
							lid is ringed. "Sultan	eşya Ümûmi	
							Murad b.	müdüriyetin	
							Abdülmecid" was	16122/1087 no.,	
							inscribed under it. (26	18.10.1932	
							santim irtifâ'ında	tarihli tezkeresi	
							gümüşten olup alt	ile Selim I,	
							tablasının kenarı	Abdülmecid,	
							münhani dilimli ve	Fatih türbelerin-	
							üzerindeki buhurdanın	den alınarak	
							boğum kısmı yapraklı,	24.10.1932	
							kapağı yüksekçe ve	tarihinde	
							dilimli ve kapak	Topkapı Sarayı	
							üzerindek armut	Müzesi'ne vakf	
							şeklinde düğme ile	olunmuştur.	
							altında yaprak arasında	Dosya No:	
							bulunan boğum mahalli	999/464; 1004,	
							halkalıdır. Altında	999/464.	
							"Sultan Murad b.	Mecid türbesin-	
							Abdülmecid" yazısı	den alınanlar	
							mahkûktur.)	49417-49444;	

								Selim I'den 49445-)
Censer (Buhurdan)	3026	82	Comes after the registration (Tahrirden Sonra gelen Eşya)	49451	Brass Censer (Pirinç Buhurdan)	1	The dimensions [of the censer] are 0.29x0.22 [,] made from brass, stands on a round platform and it has 3 feet. Ateşliği (fumigator y receptacle) and the lid is lobbed and with flowers. Top of the lid is star and crescent shaped. Both at the right and left side of it, there are two other censers with star and crescent shaped tops. (0.29x0.22 ebatında pirinçten olup müdevver bir tabla üstüne müstenid, üç ayaklıdır. Ateşliği, kapağı dilimli ve çiçeklidir. Kapak tepesi ayyıldız şeklindedir. İki yanında tepeleri ayyıldızlı ufak iki tane daha buhurdân vardır.)	Donated to the Topkapı Palace Museum in 24.10.1932 from the tombs of Selim I, Abdülmecid, Fatih. (49417 no.dan 49480 no.ya kadar yazılı olan eşya Umûmi müdüriyetin 16122/1087 no., 18.10.1932 tarihli tezkeresi ile Selim I, Abdülmecid, Fatih türbelerinden alınarak 24.10.1932 tarihinde Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi'ne vakf olunmuştur.

								dosya No: 999/464; 1004, 999/464. Mecid türbesinden alınanlar 49417- 49444; Selim I'den 49445-)	
Censer (Buhurdan)	3026	202	Comes after the registration (Tahrirden Sonra gelen Eşya)	50773	Gilt Copper Censer (Tombak buhurdan)	1	The height of the censer is 0.19. The tree feet censer is riveted to a round tray which has a lid with engraved flower decoration. Outside of its tray and fumigatory receptacle are decorated with engraved branch, leaf, [and] flower. (0.19 yüksekliğindedir. Yuvarlak tepsi üstüne muttasıl üç ayaklı olup kapağı üzeri çiçek oymalıdır. Tablasıyla ateşliğinin dışının üzeri dal, yaprak, çiçek mahkûkatlıdır.)	Purchased for 4 liras. (4 liraya satın alınmıştır. 11/1/1937.)	

Total Number of censers in the Commission Register vol. IV: 16

Number of Gilt Copper Censers: 1 Number of Brass Censers: 2

Number of Gold and/or Bejeweled Censers: 12 Number of Silver Censers: 1

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