

FASHIONING PROVINCIAL VISIBILITY: THE CIHANZADE FAMILY'S  
ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE IN THE 18TH CENTURY OTTOMAN  
EMPIRE

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EMPIRE**

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## ABSTRACT

### FASHIONING PROVINCIAL VISIBILITY: THE CIHANZADE FAMILY'S ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE IN THE 18TH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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In the 18th century, the Ottoman Empire experienced a significant shift in architectural style, with a movement from Istanbul to the provinces. The rise of provincial notables, known as *ayans*, played a crucial role in shaping the architectural and cultural landscapes of these localities during this period. This thesis focuses on the Cihanzade family, a prominent *ayan* lineage that governed near the port of Izmir from the mid-18th to early 19th centuries. It explores why the family embarked on extensive architectural patronage in the region, employing a style that blended traditional elements with cross-cultural motifs. The thesis concludes that, alongside other indicators of wealth and status, the Cihanzades' architectural choices reflected their socio-political ambitions and mirrored the shifting global dynamics of the 18th century.

**Keywords:** Patronage, Cihanzade, *ayan*, Meander Valley, Aydın

## ÖZ

### TAŞRADA GÖRÜNÜRLÜĞÜ SAĞLAMAK: 18. YÜZYIL OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞUNDA CİHANZADE AİLESİNİN MİMARİ HAMİLİĞİ

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18. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda mimari tarzda önemli bir değişim yaşandı; bu değişim, İstanbul'dan taşraya doğru bir hareketlilik ile kendini gösterdi. Bu dönemde, ayan olarak bilinen taşra yöneticilerinin yükselmesi, yerel mimari ve kültürün şekillendirilmesinde hayati bir rol oynadı. Bu tez, 18. yüzyıl ortalarından 19. yüzyıl başlarına kadar İzmir limanı yakınlarında hüküm süren, önemli bir ayan hanedanı olan Cihanzade ailesine odaklanmaktadır. Tez, ailenin bölgede neden kapsamlı bir mimari yapılaşma sürecine girdiğini ve geleneksel unsurları ile kültürlerarası motifleri harmanlayan bir tarzı nasıl benimsediklerini incelemektedir. Sonuç olarak, diğer zenginlik ve statü göstergeleriyle birlikte, Cihanzade ailesinin mimari tercihlerinin, yer edinmeye çalıştıkları sosyo-politik sınıfı ve 18. yüzyılın değişen global küresel dinamiklerini yansıttığı sonucuna varılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Patronaj, Cihanzade, ayan, Büyük Menderes, Aydın

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Approximately a hundred kilometers from the port of Izmir lies the fertile coastal basin of the Meander Valley, known today as the Büyük Menderes. Often referred to as the “economic backbone of Anatolia,” this valley has been a crucial hub of agricultural production in Western Anatolia since ancient times.<sup>1</sup> With its meandering river running through its center, the valley’s proximity to the Aegean Sea made it a continuous epicenter for urban and commercial activities.<sup>2</sup> In the 18th century, under Ottoman rule, the valley reached new heights of importance as international trade flourished through the port of Izmir. This growth prospered both small and large commercial and agricultural centers, such as the city of Aydın (known as Güzelhisar-ı Aydın or Aydın Güzelhisarı during the Ottoman period), which was situated in the heart of the valley and served as the principal administrative seat until the early 19th century.

This thesis explores how the architecture of the city of Aydın was shaped during the 18th century by a local notable (*ayan*) family, the Cihanzades, in the context of contemporary developments in the region and the broader Ottoman Empire.<sup>3</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Rudolf Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 36; Peter Thonemann, *Meander Valley: A Historical Geography*. (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> The flourishing of trade in the 18th century was not limited to the Aegean coast but was a wider phenomenon throughout the Ottoman Empire - and on a global scale - especially in the coastal centers such as Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Alexandria. However, Izmir emerged as the most important port due to its strategic location, trading and warehouse capacity, and extensive hinterland, which included the Meander Valley to the east and the islands to the west. Izmir utilized this hinterland, reachable within a day by caravans, as a market to supply its exports and sell its imports. The port’s outer hinterland extended as far as Iran, with products from these distant lands reaching İzmir and being distributed to Europe and other Mediterranean ports. Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century 1700-1820* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), 8-13.

<sup>3</sup> The name "Cihanzade" is the form used in official Ottoman documents and building inscriptions. Later, during the Turkish Republic era, the Persian suffix "-zade" (meaning "son" or "child") was replaced with the Turkish word "-oğlu."

family is renowned for commissioning public and residential buildings that blend traditional Ottoman style with cross-cultural motifs, such as Baroque embellishments and neoclassical patterns that reflected the multiculturalization and prosperity brought to the region in this period.<sup>4</sup> This thesis argues that the Cihanzade family's adoption of the cross-cultural architectural style is part of a broader project to cultivate a cosmopolitan identity for themselves in a region where international trade and other trends fostered an increasingly multicultural environment.

This study will explore the family's architectural choice by examining not only the structural elements of their buildings and stylistic similarities with the contemporary built environment, but also the socio-political and cultural framework in which the family operated, which may have influenced their adoption of a multicultural architectural style. To do this, we will particularly examine the other areas that Cihanzade family's ostentatious display of their wealth and prestige can be seen, such as their conspicuous consumption, which we believe complements their flamboyant architectural preferences.

### **1.1. Aim and Scope**

What aspects render the Cihanzade family particularly noteworthy? The Cihanzades are among the few provincial notables who adopted a cross-cultural architectural style around the same time (the Aydın Cihanzade Mosque was built just two years after the construction of Istanbul's Nuruosmaniye Mosque) with Istanbul. Early studies by Arseven and Kuban introduced the terms "Turkish Baroque" and "Ottoman Baroque" to describe these new architectural developments within the empire, though there is no fixed terminology. However, scholarship, including Ünver Rüstem's recent monograph "Ottoman Baroque," has primarily focused on the architectural transformation in Istanbul alone.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, there remains a

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<sup>4</sup> The term "Baroque" is used throughout this thesis to describe the selective motifs and symbols—C and S scrolls, seashells, voluptuous cartouches, and medallions—that were incorporated into Ottoman architecture during the 18th century. Although its origins were initially linked to religious transformations in Europe, this ornate style soon spread to other parts of the world, including Russia, China, and Latin America, among others.

<sup>5</sup> Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, trans. Adair Mill (Antique Collectors Club, 2010), 8.



significant gap in understanding 18th-century Ottoman architecture as a whole, particularly in the provinces during this period, which this thesis aims to address.

Unlike previous studies that have focused on the history of the Cihanzade family and their architectural patronage, this thesis aims to provide a more holistic contextualization of the family's architectural endeavors. The goal is to situate the family's deliberate cross-cultural architectural choices within the broader context of their 18th-century identity formation.

## **1.2. Methodology**

To interpret the family's architectural choices and patronage, this thesis posits that architectural findings should be correlated with the family's other self-fashioning tools. The premise is that these tools did not develop in isolation but operated within a complex socio-political environment. Cihanzades engaged in various forms of cultural exchange daily such as commerce, scholarly discussions, marriages, and official duties with other individuals and entities. Therefore, we viewed the family's architectural preferences as a culmination of these alliances, hostilities, and negotiations. This method required the use of a wide range of sources in the research: written, tangible and visual.

Written materials included, endowment deeds (*vakfiye*), contemporary manuscripts (*el yazması*), probate inventories (*tereke*) and travel writings. Family's endowment records were utilized to gather information on ownership, construction dates, and locations. These records were particularly valuable as they also provided details about vanished structures that were once owned by family members. Contemporary manuscripts from the 18th and early 19th centuries written by the Ottoman scholars, such as Akkirmani's *İklilüt Teracim*, were for the first time used to showcase the family's direct connection with the Izmir port. In Akkirmani example, the writer, judge (kadı) of Izmir, directly references one of the most prominent members of the family, Cihanzade Abdülaziz and identifies him as a prominent figure in the scholarly circles of Izmir, from which we can elucidate that Cihanzade Abdülaziz was someone who traveled to and from Izmir, closely followed the scientific and

cultural discussions there, and was well acquainted with the prominent state officials in the area.

A probate inventory belonging to Cihanzade Abdülaziz, which was transcribed for the first time and included in the Appendices, detailed his assets and belongings at the time of his death. This document, which is the only *tereke* record of the family, details the family's luxury consumption patterns and the exchange relations with the network of people from non-muslim merchants to architects in the 1750s. The inventory highlights types of consumables that became globally widespread and produced in Europe for global markets in the 18th century, such as pendulum clocks. Finally, the travel writings of the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly those of European residents of Izmir, elucidate the contemporary geography, demographics, and politics of Western Anatolia.

In terms of tangible materials, an extensive field trip allowed us to examine the built environment of the Cihanzade family, along with several other contemporary structures. Additionally, tombstones belonging to members of the Cihanzade family provided crucial insights into the household members and family lineage. Regarding visual materials, the most extensively used collection has been Ali Sami Ülgen's photographs from the 1940s and 50s. His photographs offer valuable documentation of some vanished buildings of the Cihanzade family and provide an assessment of the original conditions of some structures before their restoration.

Using these resources, this thesis deconstructed the network within which the Cihanzade family operated, categorizing it into four main areas. These categories encompass the family's daily political, social, and cultural interactions and exchanges: the central government and its agent, other ayan dynasties in the Western Anatolian region, the local populace of Aydın, and the Izmir port. Due to the complex network of domestic and international socio-political relations, the family had to engage with numerous actors across various segments of society to maintain their authority and status. Ali Yaycıoğlu elucidates this delicate power dynamic of the late Ottoman period, stating:

The battle was not between old and new, state and people, elites and the crowd, center and periphery, Muslims and non-Muslims as monolithic blocks. Rather many battles and coalitions took place between various groups and interests in a messy political landscape.<sup>6</sup>

In this context, the Cihanzade dynasty was actively engaged in a series of conflicts and alliances – referred to as “negotiations” throughout this thesis – with various actors. They negotiated to assert the family’s authority, secure their titles, and establish permanence in the Meander Valley. Their motto “Mazın Taht, Sobuca Yamak” (Mazın – a small village from which the Cihanzade family claims descent – is the throne, and Sobuca – an agriculturally rich center 20 km north of Mazın – is the fief), reflects their aspiration for enduring authority.<sup>7</sup> The family’s adoption of an ostentatious style served as a strategic maneuver to enhance their visibility and influence among other actors.

### **1.3. Resources and Literature**

Late Ottoman architecture, particularly the 18th century, including its provincial variations, has often been overlooked by the historians, which left a significant gap within the narrative of Ottoman architectural history. Architectural developments in the provinces during this period have often been viewed either as mere imitation of Istanbul or acts of defiance by local dignitaries. However, in an empire that once spanned three continents, the architectural preferences of the capital alone cannot fully account for the architectural production found across such an expansive territory. Therefore, there is a pressing need for a comprehensive study that thoroughly examines the provincial architectural heritage, exploring its relationship with the capital while also considering its unique independent evolution.

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<sup>6</sup> See, Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1; also see, Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 8.

<sup>7</sup> Though in Ayda Arel’s works the motto is attributed to the local population as a “folk saying”, the family accounts strongly suggest that it was used as a motto by the dynasty. Both local population accounts and those of living family members emphasize the dynasty’s founding figure, Mehmet Bey who was residing in the mountains of Mazın. According to this story; as a result of their success in this war, the Sultan granted the dynasty the right to rule and harvest lands of Mazın. This suggests that the motto, “Mazın is the throne,” refers to this story, serving to legitimize the family’s rule over the Mazın. Ayda Arel, “Une Famille de notables de la région d’Aydın: les Cihanoğlu et l’architecture,” *Anatolia Moderna* 8 (1999), 252.

One of the earliest studies to briefly mention the provincial architecture of *ayans* was Celal Esad Arseven's book, *Türk Sanatı* (Turkish Art), published in 1928. In this work, he refers to these provincial patrons as "small governors or tribal leaders", whose architectural patronage primarily consisted of "tower-like" residences. This statement not only downplays the significant political role played by *ayans* in the 18th century but also disregards the diverse range of architectural typologies they employed, ranging from mosque complexes to caravan inns.<sup>8</sup> Contrary to Arseven's assertions, *ayans* such as Ali Pasha of northern Greece demonstrated political acumen by establishing direct diplomatic relations with British and French ambassadors.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, these provincial power magnates used their personal wealth to commission opulent mansions and monuments throughout the empire, marking an important shift in regional prosperity and growth in the 18th century.

Rudolf M. Riefstahl's 1931 book *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia* directs the attention to the provincial Ottoman architecture of Western Anatolia, a subject that had not been fully addressed before his time. He aptly depicts the Cihanzade family's monuments in Aydın and engages in interviews with local residents regarding the remnants left by the family. Riefstahl seems to have been impressed by the lavish Baroque embellishments of the Cihanzade Abdülaziz's mosque complex. He explains them as:

The whole is not orthodox at all but shows creative imagination...rather than condemn a work of the 'decedent' period, I will join the present tenants of the medrese in admiration of this fountain...the charming mosque of Cihanzade ought certainly to be duly emphasized.<sup>10</sup>

Other early works, such as Doğan Kuban's 1954 monograph *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (An Essay on Turkish Baroque Architecture), which explores the "Ottoman Baroque" phenomenon, largely overlook provincial examples. However, his more recent works, such as the seminal *Ottoman Architecture* published in 2010, dedicate an entire chapter to provincial architecture. This chapter

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<sup>8</sup> Celal Esad Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (İstanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1928), 136-78.

<sup>9</sup> Emily Neumeier, "The Architectural Transformation," 39.

<sup>10</sup> Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture*, 39-40.

does not mention the monuments of the Cihanzade family, focusing on a few selected examples like Ilyas Ağa Mosque in Söke and other well-known sites such as the Çapanoğlu Mosque in Yozgat and Ishak Paşa Palace in Doğubayazıt. Similarly, Sedad Hakkı Eldem's 1974 work *Türk Mimari Eserleri* (Turkish Architectural Works) briefly mentions some provincial examples, including vernacular residential buildings constructed by *ayans*.<sup>11</sup> Godfrey Goodwin's survey book, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, stands out among early works for devoting a chapter to both the 18th century and the provincial variations of Ottoman architecture. About the Aydın Cihanzade Mosque, he wrote:

There is an immediate predecessor to this portico [of Ayazma Mosque in Istanbul] at Aydın in the Cihanzade Cami, completed in 1170/1756...the şadırvan is decagonal with pretty baroque devices...the new style not only spread immediately in the provinces but some of the finest work was to be done there.<sup>12</sup>

Günsel Renda's 1977 book *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı 1700-1850* (The Turkish Art of the Westernization Period 1700-1850) and Rüçhan Arık's 1988 work *Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı* were among the earliest survey books to explore interior wall painting depictions from the 18th century, encompassing a wide range of provincial examples. Both studies discuss the prevalent use of Baroque elements in wall paintings and moldings, reflecting the Ottoman Empire's gradual embrace of Western influences and the arrival of European painters.<sup>13</sup> However, while these studies provided foundational insights, they overlooked the questions of "why" and "how" in the decision-making processes of provincial governors who actively and strategically chose to adopt this new stylistic language.

The significant surge in publications primarily focused on 18th-century provincial architecture began only after the 1980s. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu's studies highlighted

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<sup>11</sup> Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1954); Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Mimari Eserleri* (Binbirdirek Matbaa Sanayii Yayınları, 1974).

<sup>12</sup> Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 387-388.

<sup>13</sup> Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Türk Resim Sanatı 1700-1850* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1977), 9-29; Rüçhan Arık, *Batılılaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanatı* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1988), 133.

the *ayan* architecture of the Western Anatolia, showcasing a bold utilization of novel architectural trends.<sup>14</sup> In her article "Architectural Patronage of Ayan Families in Western Anatolia," Yenişehirlioğlu argues that the provincial monuments of the 18th century display an erudite execution of the Baroque style, distinct to the region and surpassing the decorative elements found in contemporary buildings in the capital. Her work is particularly significant as it explores the involvement of the *ayan* families in Izmir's international trade and their cross-cultural daily practices. According to Yenişehirlioğlu, the unique architectural vocabulary in Western Anatolia stems from the *ayan* families' direct engagement in international trade through the port of Izmir, thereby circumventing the dominant influence of the capital.<sup>15</sup> This factor is crucial, especially in the material culture of the Cihanzade family, which we will further discuss in subsequent chapters.

Ayda Arel is another pioneering historian who focused on the buildings of the Cihanzade family, combining archival materials and on-site structural analysis for the first time. Her studies, conducted from the 1980s to the early 2000s, aim to elucidate the cultural influences that may possibly introduced Baroque elements into the architectural vocabulary of Western Anatolia. Arel's work has been crucial in demonstrating that the elites of Izmir and its surrounding region did not confine themselves to the trends set by Istanbul. Like Yenişehirlioğlu, she argues that they forged a unique style by blending diverse elements arriving through Izmir's port. To explain this, Arel highlights the cross-cultural interactions fostered by the Aegean islands, which had been under Venetian and Genoese influence in earlier centuries. However, the exact pathway through which Italian artistic traditions reached Izmir and Aydın remains unclear, despite notable structural resemblances between monuments of the Cihanzade family and 17th-century Baroque designs.

Since the 1980s, studies in Ottoman architectural historiography have been influenced by a revisionist approach aimed at reevaluating established narratives and highlighting previously overlooked subjects. This has sparked increased interest in exploring 18th-century Ottoman architecture, particularly its various sub-categories.

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<sup>14</sup> Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Architectural Patronage of Ayan Families in Anatolia," 333-339.

<sup>15</sup> Yenişehirlioğlu, "Architectural Patronage," 328.

Tülay Artan focuses on the ostentatious and ceremonial patronage along the Bosphorus, where lavish kiosks of the court elites flourished during this period. Her work draws attention to the tensions between the patronage of the Ottoman court and the newly emerging non-elite, whose increased participation reshaped cultural dynamics.<sup>16</sup> Artan's perspective on how non-elites negotiated their position within Ottoman cultural and architectural patronage could be extended to developments in the provinces during the same era. The rise of *ayans* in the provinces reflects a similar dynamic, as they became prominent patrons consolidating their newfound status. Unlike Istanbul, where the court's influence balanced out the non-elite patronage, in the provinces *ayans* adorned their regions excessively, projecting their authority almost without court intervention.

Another notable work that extensively contextualizes 18th-century patronage dynamics in Istanbul is Shirine Hamadeh's book *The City's Pleasures* (2008). This seminal work primarily examines the capital's evolving recreational and artistic practices, as well as the decentralization of literary and artistic patronage, which Hamadeh refers to as "décloisonnement" (opening up).<sup>17</sup> Although her focus is mainly on the capital, the term "opening up" aptly describes the situation of the *ayans* during the same period. Similar to the emerging affluent classes in Istanbul, the *ayans* represented a rising social group in the provinces during the late 17th century, accumulating power, wealth and land. By the 18th century, influence over the provinces shifted into their hands, extending beyond the Sultan and his inner circle as the primary patrons and arbiters of architectural preferences.

Overall, Rüstem's *Ottoman Baroque* (2019) stands as the most comprehensive monographic work on the novel style of the 18th century. He offers a fresh perspective on the motivations behind the Ottoman sultans' adoption of the Baroque style as their preferred aesthetic expression. Rüstem integrates and harmonizes various perspectives on 18th-century Istanbul, including the works of Artan, Hamadeh, and Peker, applying these to explore why the increase in sultanic mosque

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<sup>16</sup> Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus." (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989).

<sup>17</sup> Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the 18th Century* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007), 7.

construction coincided with the use of the Baroque style.<sup>18</sup> Utilizing an “international” perspective throughout his work, he argues that this new style was a “successful” transformation that was reinforced both locally and internationally. According to Rüstem, the global turn of the new style was particularly driven by the increasing prominence of Ottoman non-Muslim architects and craftsmen, whose communities gained expanded roles within the globally burgeoning diplomatic and commercial landscapes.

On the other hand, Rüstem’s perspective is exclusively focused on Istanbul, disregarding the provincial architectural endeavors of local notables during the same century. He acknowledges in his conclusion chapter that an examination of provincial architecture would significantly enhance our understanding of this era in the Empire’s overall architectural trajectory:

My focus on Istanbul has almost entirely excluded the architecture of the provinces, study of which would provide a fuller context for the shifts of the capital and shed light on their wider ramifications...even within Istanbul I paid scant attention to the patronage of non-sultanic mosques and other patronage types.<sup>19</sup>

Different than the studies focusing on the socio-political dynamics of Istanbul and their transformative effects on the Ottoman capital in the 18th century, studying provincial architecture from the same period requires considering the central role played by the *ayans* in disseminating this new style in the provinces. As demonstrated by Arel and Yenişehirlioğlu’s research on Western Anatolia, merely analyzing the structural and stylistic features of these monuments cannot fully elucidate the cultural, political, and social history behind these structures. Instead, it is crucial to scrutinize and expand upon the *ayans*’ relationship with capital and international channels, drawing a comprehensive picture that includes their consumption patterns and official records.<sup>20</sup> Our understanding of the *ayans*’ cultural

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<sup>18</sup> Ünver Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 267.

<sup>19</sup> Ünver Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 273.

<sup>20</sup> For example, Ali Pasha's patronage of Western-style paintings when combined with his mansions’ interior design reveals much about his artistic and architectural preferences. Similarly, the Tahazade



tastes and preferences remains limited to this day, hindering further exploration in this area. Similarly, our knowledge of the Cihanzade family is constrained to a few functional government documents, scant remains of buildings, oral histories from living family members and the locals, and sporadic mentions in contemporary manuscripts. Nonetheless, as Cemal Kafadar notes, these fragments of information become significant when viewed within the broader contemporary social structures and processes.<sup>21</sup> The Cihanzades' patronage in the provinces serves as a microcosm of global events in the 18th century, echoing Kafadar's analytical approach. Yet, despite various informative studies on the family, few delve into their patronage alongside broader cultural trends and influences.

#### 1.4. Structure

In developing its argument, the thesis will follow a sequence that first explains the political landscape of the Ottoman Empire, then focuses on its provinces, and finally examines the Cihanzade case. Chapter 2 sets the stage with the 18th-century Ottoman Empire, detailing its political, diplomatic, and economic turmoils which directly and indirectly led to the rise of *ayans* as semi-autonomous power centers in the provinces. Then the chapter delves into the origins of the Cihanzade family, explores their influence over Aydın and the Meander Valley, and briefly outlines the roles of different family members. Chapter 3 begins by describing the architectural scene of 18th-century Istanbul, then shifts to provincial architecture and its examples. The focus turns to the architectural monuments associated with the Cihanzade family, analyzing their structures and their relationship with the surrounding urban landscape. The examined built environment falls into two main categories: monumental architecture (mosque complexes, public fountains, defensive structures) and in Chapter 4, residential architecture (family mansions and estates). Chapter 5 scrutinizes the monuments of the Cihanzade family in relation to their interactions

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family of Aleppo's book collection and reading preferences may illustrate the cultural milieu that they lived in. See, Neumeier, "Architectural Transformation," and Charles Wilkins, "The Self-Fashioning of an Ottoman Urban Notable: Ahmad Efendi Tahazade (d. 1773)," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* XLIV (2014): 411.

<sup>21</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken, Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun* (Metis Yayınları, 2019), 16-18.

with locals, other *ayans*, Istanbul, and European residents in the region. It explores the family's roles in international trade, agricultural activities, regional security, scholarly pursuits, and their patronage activities in detail.

## CHAPTER 2

### EMERGENCE OF THE NOTABLE HOUSEHOLDS

The villages surrounding Aydın exude charm with their tall trees, sharp minarets, and comfortable houses. (...) Indeed, no region of Asia Minor combines material wealth and picturesque beauty to the same degree (...) A multitude of small Turkish hamlets cluster around the springs amidst clumps of greenery, their houses exhibiting whimsical and picturesque forms.<sup>22</sup>

In 1877, two European archaeologists, influenced by the philhellenic sentiments of the era, made a stop in Aydın on their way to visit the archaeological site of Tralles.<sup>23</sup> While exploring the region, which was a vivid trading hub in Western Anatolia at the time, they also meticulously documented its urban and natural features. The architectural and civic portrait of the Aydın province praised in their book owes much to the Cihazade family, a notable dynasty that wielded significant influence in the region and its surrounding towns' administration between the mid-18th and early 19th centuries. The family members acquired significant wealth and authority by securing administrative offices and investing in local agriculture and trade. Consequently, this led to a surge in their cultural and architectural patronage activities. They commissioned numerous mosque complexes, public fountains and residential buildings around Aydın province, characterized by their distinctive Baroque features. The architectural style of these public edifices markedly diverge from those commissioned approximately a century prior within the corresponding

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<sup>22</sup> “Aux villages des environs d'Aïdin, si coquets avec leurs grands arbres, leurs minarets aigus, leurs maisons confortable(...) Aucune contrée de l'Asie Mineure ne réunit en effet au même degré la richesse matérielle et la beauté pittoresque(...) Une foule de petits hameaux turcs groupent autour des sources, au milieu de touffes de verdure, leurs maisons aux formes capricieuses et pittoresques.” (translated by the author) Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et Le Golfe Latmique*, 1877, 19-34.

<sup>23</sup> The prevailing “widespread philhellene” sentiments among Western Europeans were a significant driving force for European travelers to visit the domains of the provincial notables. These travelers were intrigued by the “supposed vestiges of Greek Antiquity contained within” and along with that they provided us with details about these notable figures. See, Katherine E. Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 6.

locale, eliciting a palpably distinct sense of spatiality for those who traverse them. The stylistic shift in architecture and extensive urban revitalization of Aydın under the Cihanzades' patronage was intricately intertwined with the broader socio-political currents of the period, coursing through the Ottoman Empire and the globe at large. This chapter aims to set the scene for the Ottoman Empire's socio-political climate during the 18th century and to explain how these developments led to the decentralization of power to provincial notables or *ayans* throughout the empire. Following this, the origins of the Cihanzade family and their historical trajectory will be discussed.

### **2.1. Rise of Ayans (Provincial Notables) in the Late Ottoman Empire**

In the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire became embroiled in a multitude of lengthy wars across various fronts, and the military crisis was compounded by internal problems, presenting formidable challenges to its stability and governance.<sup>24</sup> The climax of these armed conflicts was the War of the Holy League, which stretched from the siege of Vienna in 1683 to the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699 and resulted in the empire relinquishing a significant portion of its Central European territories.<sup>25</sup> This forfeiture of land, namely Transylvania and much of Hungary, led to pressing challenges concerning both security and finances. Landholders and peasants who lost their domains, finding themselves landless and jobless, began flocking to the cities, where banditry and discontent were already on the rise due to the increased frequency of emergency tax collections and the absence of military guards who had departed for these prolonged wars.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, Sultan Mustafa II, reigning during

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<sup>24</sup> The empire was deeply involved in conflict most notably with Poland and Russia. Poland saw increasing success against the Ottoman Empire. Concurrently, in Ottoman Syria, the empire confronted a coalition led by the Lebanon Emirate and Duchy of Tuscany. Naval skirmishes also erupted in Dalmatia and Crete, against Venice. Along the eastern border, the war with the Safavids resulted in territorial gains for the Ottoman side, however; the eventual treaty of Nasuh Pasa also led to a decrease in the annual tribute paid by the Safavids. the Ottoman Empire. See, Suraiya Faroqhi, Bruce McGowan and Şevket Pamuk, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 291.

<sup>25</sup> See , Anders Ingram, "The War of the Holy League 1683-1699" in *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England*, ed. Cedric C. Brown and Andrew Hadfield (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Christoph Neumann, "Political and Diplomatic Developments" in *Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 44-62.

<sup>26</sup> The emergency taxes, collected to cover the expenses of war and other extraordinary situations, were named "imdad-ı seferiyye", "imdad-ı hazeriyye" and "avarız". With wars becoming lengthier

this period, primarily located the court in Edirne, resulting in Istanbul losing its former economic vitality and administrative focus. The rising concerns stemming from the Treaty of Karlowitz, coupled with internal turmoil culminated in the overthrow of Sultan Mustafa II and the ascension of Ahmed III to the throne in 1703.<sup>27</sup>

Amidst this unrest, the empire was in dire need of a consistent cash flow to sustain its continuous military expenditures. Starting in the mid-17th century, financial crises ran so deep that even after resorting to traditional measures such as currency devaluation and imposing additional taxes, the state budget remained in deficit.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the central authority opted for more drastic steps, leading to the introduction of a new tax-farming system called *malikane* in 1695. *Malikane* agreements, commonly instituted for a village or district, were secured by an officer who offered the highest bid at an auction held in Istanbul. The contract endured until the demise of the landholder, granting them the right to collect all state taxes from the designated area.<sup>29</sup> The new sultan, Ahmed III's (1703-1730) reign marked a relatively peaceful interval characterized by diplomatic, military and cultural reforms. The wars and territorial losses of previous years prompted the Ottomans to seek new strategies, both hard and soft power, such as advancements in military tactics with the help of foreign experts and the expansion of diplomatic connections in an increasingly interconnected world.<sup>30</sup> In the 18th century, diplomacy became the primary means of

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and costlier, these taxes began to be collected more frequently in the 17th century and annually after 1718. Barkey, *The Empire of Difference*, 203.

<sup>27</sup> This janissary led revolt of 1703 is also known as the Edirne Incident (Edirne Vakası). See, Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 206.

<sup>28</sup> See, Yavuz Cezar, "From Financial Crisis to the Structural Change: the Case of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century," *Oriente Moderno* 79, no.1 (August 1999): 49.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> One such figure was Claude Alexandre Comte de Bonneval (1675-1747), who later embraced Islam and adopted the name Humbaracı Ahmet Paşa. Initially, he was tasked with reorganizing the Turkish artillery, and after his success in various military campaigns against Russia and Iran, he was given the governorship of Chios. During his governorship, he fostered trade and peace negotiations with Sicilyateyn (Kingdom of the Two Sicilies). Another case is the Hungarian İbrahim Müteferrika (1674-1745), who introduced the printing press to the Ottomans. He entered the Ottoman diplomatic service and converted to Islam. See Mehmet Demiryürek, "The Legal Foundations of the Commercial Relations between the Ottomans and Neapolitans," *Bilig* no. 69 (2014): 61; also Neumann, "Political and Diplomatic Developments," 55-56.

maintaining a significant role within the global arena. The portrayal of the Ottoman diplomatic advancement during this period can be envisioned through numerous paintings by the European artists residing in the empire.<sup>31</sup> As depicted in Natalie Rothman’s book, “The Dragoman Renaissance,” these representations often feature a halo of Ottoman and foreign dignitaries and interpreters encircling the Sultan within the Divan – a space frequented by a multitude of entities from various corners of the world.<sup>32</sup> Beyond the sultan’s court, both the capital and provinces welcomed a diverse array of new sojourners. (See, Figure 1) Diplomats, engineers, merchants, missionaries, scholars and travelers engaged in daily interactions ranging from commercial transactions to religious and matrimonial alliances. Notably, the Western shores of the empire played a vital role in this global chain of networks.



**Figure 1.** Dinner at the Palace in Honour of an Ambassador by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (Pera Museum)

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<sup>31</sup> A significant number of painters, architects, and other professional groups were brought along with the diplomatic envoys of European countries. Among the most renowned painters were Jean Baptiste Vanmour, Antoine de Favray, Franz Hernann, Hans Gemminger, Valentin Mueller, and Etienne Jeaurat. For further information, refer to Eveline Sint Nicolaas, Duncan Bull, Günsel Renda and Gül İrepoğlu, *Jean Baptiste Vanmour: An Eyewitness of the Tulip Era* (Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Koçbank, 2003); Daniel O’Quinn, *Engaging the Ottoman Empire Vexed Mediations, 1690-1815* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019); Janet Starkey, “Sources of Inspiration: Jean Baptiste Vanmour and other artist-travelers in Ottoman Lands” in *Journeys Erased by Time: The Rediscovered Footprints of Travellers in Egypt and the Near East*, ed. Neil Cooke (2019); 204.

<sup>32</sup> Natalie Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance: Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism* (Cornell University Press, 2021), 1-5.

Ports like Izmir (Smyrna), Thessaloniki, and Alexandria emerged as pivotal hubs of trade and cultural exchange, particularly drawing the attention of Europeans who spearheaded an unparalleled wave of globalization in industrialization and commerce.<sup>33</sup> The deepening of the relations with Europe and appropriation of novel cultural and technical ways was quite conspicuous in this era. However, it is still open to debate how deeply the absorption of Western knowledge influenced society at large.

Ahmed III's peaceful reign came to an abrupt end in 1730, following an urban uprising in Istanbul orchestrated by a coalition of janissaries and artisans. This event led to the ascension of Sultan Mahmud I to the throne. During much of the new Sultan's first year, the central government grappled with quelling the rebellion. Over the subsequent years, until 1768, the Ottoman Empire found itself embroiled in numerous conflicts, most notably with Russia and emerged with the upper hand from these engagements. They successfully recaptured Belgrade and compelled the Austrians to make peace.<sup>34</sup> The turning point in Ottoman history came with the defeat at the hands of Russia during the 1768-1774 war. The subsequent signing of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774) resulted in the loss of Crimea and solidified Russia's presence in the Black Sea region. An important indirect consequence of this defeat was the escalation of regional rebellions and the emergence of regional powers seeking to secede from the Ottoman Empire. Succeeding sultans attempted to implement drastic reforms in the hopes of reversing this trajectory. The reform movement initiated by Sultan Selim III (1789-1807), known as the Nizam-ı Cedid (New Order), aimed to address the deep-rooted disorder and weakness within the military, which had been entrenched since the 17th century, as well as the establishment of private treasuries for military spending. However, this endeavor

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<sup>33</sup> Elena Frankagis-Syrett, *Commerce of Smyrna*, 36. and David Celetti, "France in the Levant: Trade and Immaterial Circulations in the Long-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Early Modern History*, 397.

<sup>34</sup> In May 1736, Russian attempts to seize Bender and later, Crimea in 1738 failed and they encountered significant losses due to diseases and logistical challenges. Austria entered the war on the Russian side in 1737, however in the Battle of Grocka, they were defeated against the Ottomans. By 1739, Ottomans reclaimed Belgrade which compelled Austria to seek peace. Russia, abandoned by its allies, also pursued peace by relinquishing its conquests except for Azov. Overall, the wars spanning from 1710 to 1746 yielded neither outright losses nor triumphs, as discussed by Neumann, "Political and Diplomatic Developments," 54-55.

ultimately led to his demise in 1808, paving the way for Mahmud II to ascend to power.<sup>35</sup>

The state's political and financial instability during the late 17th and 18th centuries stands in stark contrast to burgeoning opportunities for individuals to ascend within Ottoman society.<sup>36</sup> The introduction of life-tenure tax farming (*malikane*) marked significant transition in the social structure of the empire. Initially monopolized by affluent cliques of Istanbul, the *malikane* privileges were gradually subcontracted to *ayans*, a transition stemmed from logistical challenges encountered by primary contractors in their efforts to personally oversee the tax collection operations. As a result, provincial entrepreneurs, either individually or collectively, started to engage in tax farming ventures, thereby assuming control over revenue collection and administration in their localities. This enabled a broader spectrum of individuals, outside the Sultan's immediate circle, in Istanbul and provinces to transform into burgeoning power magnates engaging in bureaucratic affairs. In addition to the newly established institution of the *malikane*, one could also enhance their social standing through thriving channels like diplomacy and trade, with brokerage and interpretation emerging as ubiquitous and crucial professions. With the escalating significance of mercantile and diplomatic affairs, brokers and dragomans seamlessly integrated themselves into the upper echelons of Ottoman society, leveraging the burgeoning demand for their services.<sup>37</sup>

Furthermore, during this era, particularly ambassadors and non-Muslim communities exhibited increased mobility by frequenting the burgeoning European and Eastern centers of attraction, thus enriching the complex fabric of cultural exchange.<sup>38</sup>

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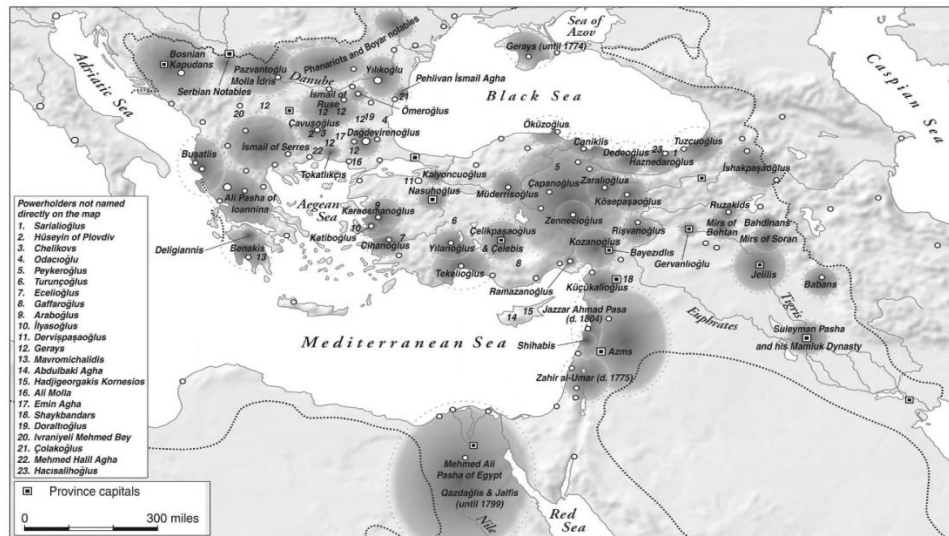
<sup>35</sup> Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 220.

<sup>36</sup> When we talk about "individuals," it is essential to clarify that we are not referring to all members of Ottoman society. If we aim to examine the history of the 18th-century Ottoman Empire from the standpoint of peasants and those in the lower strata of Istanbul society, we might uncover a different narrative. However, when we consider the perspective of the elite or notable figures in the provinces, the 18th century stands out as a period characterized by economic opportunities and advancement, which they undoubtedly seized upon.

<sup>37</sup> Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 226-233.

<sup>38</sup> Natalie Rothman's *The Dragoman Renaissance* refers to one of the finest memoirs that encapsulates intriguing snapshots. She recounts the story of an incoming bailo to Ottoman Istanbul in the late





**Figure 2.** Leading provincial notables and their influence area (Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire*, 2016, p.)

This heightened integration of the Ottoman Empire with the global sphere is notably reflected in its architectural landscape, a theme that will be thoroughly examined in Chapter 3. Shortly, royal patronage took on a vibrant and ostentatious style, characterized by representations of cross-cultural references.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the Sultan no longer retained exclusive authority over taste-making; by the 18th century, the emerging “nouveaux-riche” actively participated in lavish patronage, embellishing both the capital and provinces with kiosks, gardens, mosques, and fountains.<sup>40</sup>

Amid these unfolding developments, the *ayans* emerged as influential figures, amassing wealth and consolidating authority in the provinces by using their newly

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1700s, who resolves to learn Turkish. To accomplish this, he enlists the help of Giovanni Agop, an Istanbul-born Armenian Dominican missionary working for the Pia Casa dei Catecumeni of Venice at the time. Agop had previously attended the College of Propaganda Fide in Rome and the Jesuit College in Lyon. He later moved to Livorno and then Marseille, where he played a crucial role in establishing the Armenian press, which was not confined to these regions. From the 16th century onwards, Armenian printing houses had proliferated across various European cities, including Venice, Rome, Paris, London, Istanbul, Izmir, Saint Petersburg, Bombay and many more. In 1685, Agop published several Ottoman language books in Italian, which garnered significant attention throughout Europe. See, Rothman, *Dragoman Renaissance*, 141. Also see, Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (University of California Press, 2014), 18-21.

<sup>39</sup> Rustem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 100.

<sup>40</sup> Tülay Artan, “Architecture as a Theatre of Life,” 143.

acquired land-tenure rights (*malikane*) for lucrative trade ventures.(Figure 2) For instance, the Karaosmanzade family of Manisa, a city in western Anatolia approximately 100 kilometers north of Aydın, wielded significant influence as landholders. They oversaw regional affairs and actively participated in global trade, primarily through their extensive cotton fields. A family member, Karaosmanzade Hacı Osman Ağa's (d. 1801), had an endowment deed from 1793 that reveals a substantial accumulation of cotton fields and properties yielding rental revenues from various sources. These included houses leased to brokers of Greek and Jewish descent, as well as ownership of shops, vineyards, and gardens around Manisa and İzmir.<sup>41</sup> Fleming's book *The Muslim Bonaparte* examines the diplomatic and commercial endeavors of another provincial notable, Ali Pasha of Ioannina (?1750-1822). He was among the most prominent *ayans*, governing northern Greece in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Ali Pasha diligently pursued strategies to enhance agricultural productivity within his domain and foster local trade with the West. His vast land-holdings enabled him to market the bulk quantities of raw products produced on his territories. His influence in the region grew so much that a de facto diplomatic envoy from London was placed at his court. Eventually, after accruing considerable military power, wealth, and diplomatic support from European powers such as Britain, France, Russia and Venice, he attempted a secession from the Ottoman Empire, which ultimately failed.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to accumulating a vast personal wealth through agricultural production and trade, these provincial notables shoulder a plethora of other responsibilities which rendered them nearly irreplaceable for the security and order of the provinces. Throughout prolonged conflicts across various fronts, they emerged as the central administration's most relied-upon resource for tax collection, provision of soldiers and food for wars. Upon assuming power in their regions, their first move was to gather a local army, composed mainly of locals and unemployed males seeking refuge in the estates of powerful landholders to escape harsh taxation and banditry.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Münir Aktepe, "Karaosmanoğlu Hacı Osman Ağa'ya ait İki Vakfiyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi*, no. 10 (1972); 170-71.

<sup>42</sup> Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte*, 39-40.

<sup>43</sup> Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık*, 45, 104.2

These armies, led by *ayans*, were deployed to fronts when the need for soldiers arose during times of war. For instance, in 1731, Karaosmanoğlu Hacı Mustafa Ağa led 350 men to Revan (today's Yerevan, Armenia) to assist Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha in the battle against Persia.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, by utilizing their local armies, they played a crucial role in maintaining the security of their domains by quelling upheavals and safeguarding important trade routes and passages used by travelers and the official treasury.<sup>45</sup>

One of the most illustrative cases showcasing Istanbul's reliance on local notables' small armies to quell unrest in their respective regions is the Saribeyoğlu upheaval of the early 18th century during which a group of rebels entrenched themselves in a castle, thwarting four successive attempts by government officials to suppress them. By disrupting the agricultural and commercial activities in western Anatolia, Saribeyoğlu upheaval became a serious issue for both the locals and the European residents. From a contemporary account, namely J.G. Nanninga, who was a resident in the Dutch settlement in Izmir at the time, the uprising's effect can be traced. He wrote that:

The Janissaries are getting ready to join the Ottoman army. All the high-ranking soldiers of the local militia will also go with them. Thus, there will be no one left in the city to conquer the people or no *ayan* (notable) to protect the city. The notables, who use these chaotic times to increase their wealth, are constantly plotting. The people of Izmir felt abandoned to the mercy of the riff-raff during the revolt of July 8, 1770, and the subsequent massacres. The threat of such events happening again is making the common people and foreigners uneasy. At the moment, the city is in a state of complete chaos.<sup>46</sup>

In 1739, the central administration appointed Hacı Mustafa Ağa from the Karaosmanzade family to restore order. Mustafa Ağa successfully subdued the revolt

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<sup>44</sup> Münir Aktepe, "Manisa Ayanlarından Kara Osman oğlu Mustafa Ağa ve Üç Vakfiyesi Hakkında Bir Araştırma," *Vakıflar Dergisi* IX (1972); 370.

<sup>45</sup> Fleming recounts the trade routes in northern Greece, which were safeguarded by Ali Pasha of Ioannina during his governorship. She notes that traders were immensely pleased with the secure passes and well-maintained roads within Ali's territory. The suppression of banditry and the execution of public works consequently served as the dual pillars supporting a thriving and expanding economy. Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte*, 46.

<sup>46</sup> Dr. J. G. Nanninga, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel Derde Deel: 1727-1765* ('S-Gravenhage verk rijgbaar bij Martinus Nijhoff, 1952), 53.

and was subsequently promoted. Engaging in activities ranging from administration, trade and security provision, occasionally undertaking the maintenance of public buildings in their areas, *ayans* interacted with a diverse array of actors including the state, peasantry, Muslim and non-Muslim intermediaries, interpreters, and foreigners. Consequently, each *ayan* found themselves ensnared in a complex network of interests over time. To secure administrative offices and obtain contracts for these lands, *ayans* had to forge strong connections with centrally appointed provincial officials, such as the *kadı* (judge) or *vali* (governor-general). At times, they would even form alliances with bandits and intentionally incite unrest in their territories to maintain their influence and significance.<sup>47</sup>

## 2.2. The Cihanzade Family

According to local folklore, during his expedition to the island of Rhodes in 1522, Suleiman the Magnificent and his retinue made a pit stop at Mazın. This settlement was nestled in the Aydın province of southwestern Turkey and is said to be home to a tribe that had migrated from Turkistan.<sup>48</sup> As the story goes, upon meeting the Sultan, the tribe's leader, Mehmet Bey, decided to join the campaign along with his 250 men. Following the successful capture of the island, the Sultan's victorious entourage once again stopped in Mazın on their return journey. It was during this stop when Mehmet Bey celebrated the birth of his son and the Sultan bestowed upon the baby, the name "Cihan."<sup>49</sup> It is believed that in recognition of the tribe's contribution to the campaign, the Sultan granted Mehmet Bey utilization rights of an extensive territory (known as *yurtluk*), surrounding Mazın, spanning from the

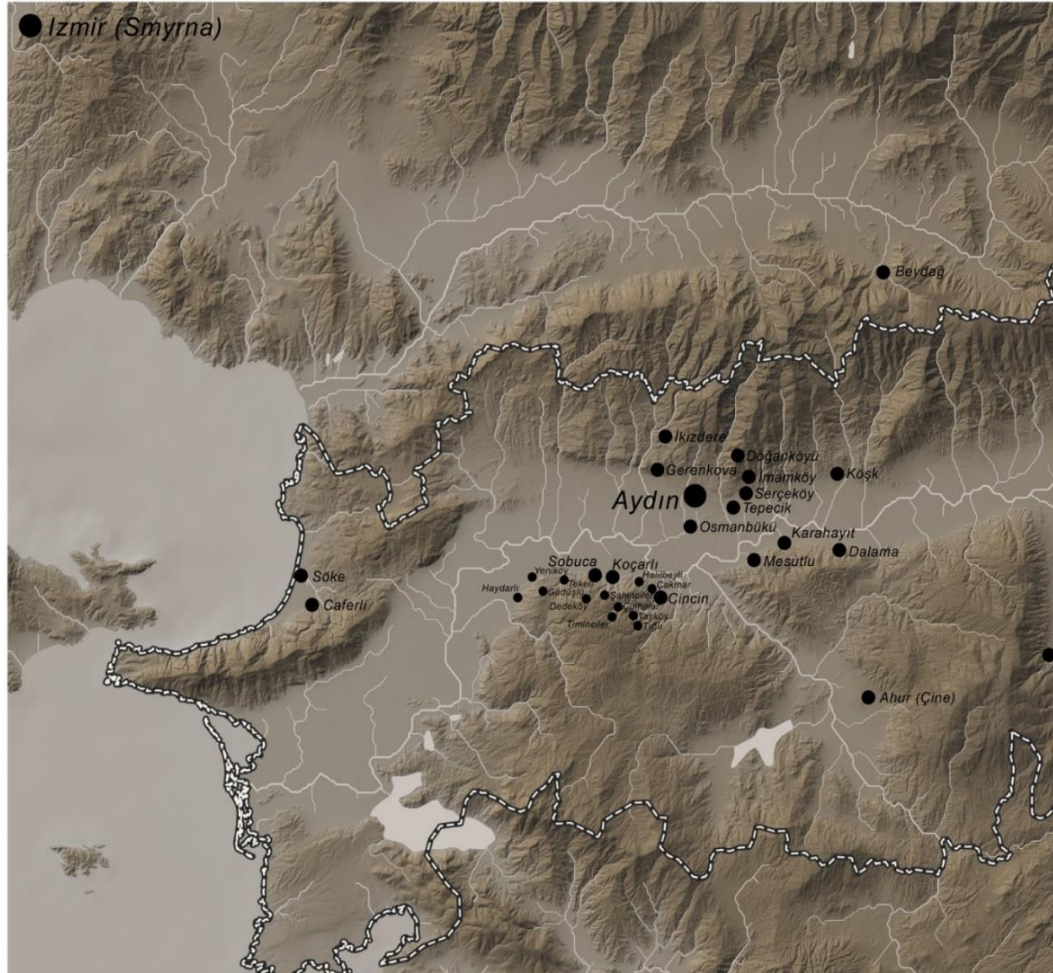
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<sup>47</sup> Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık*, 11.

<sup>48</sup> Until 1827, the whole western and a portion of central Anatolia were administered as a single and vast province designated as Anadolu (Anatolia). Among the fifteen districts (fourteen before 1700) within Anatolia, the Aydın district, or *sancak*, held a significant position. As part of the reforms implemented in 1827, Anatolia underwent a restructuring, leading to the division of the region into distinct administrative provinces, with Aydın emerging as one of these entities. Throughout much of the 18th and 19th centuries, the capital of the Aydın province alternated between the city of Aydın (also referred to as Güzelhisar-ı Aydın or Güzelhisar) and İzmir (known as Smyrna). Mazın was one of the settlements affiliated with the greater Aydın Province. For further insights into the administrative structure of the Ottoman Empire, please refer to Çetin Varlık, "Anadolu Eyaleti Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesi", *Osmanlı*, (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999),125.

<sup>49</sup> The name "Cihan" means "world" or "universe", possibly suggesting a potential as a "world conqueror".

Beşparmak Mountains to the Koçarlı Plain (refer to Figure 3). It is said that, gradually, the tribe settled down on this fertile agricultural land, and the descendants of Mehmet Bey’s son Cihan, known as the “Cihan-zade” or “Cihan-oğlu” family, emerged as notables of the Aydın province in the upcoming centuries. (See, Figure 3)



**Figure 3.** Map of the Cihanzades’ patronage and real estates in and around the Meander Valley (Made by the author)

Throughout the 18th and until the mid-19th century, the family held a series of high-ranking administrative positions within the city of Aydın and its surrounding vicinities. This is evident from official records of decrees and petitions exchanged between Istanbul and provincial officials.<sup>50</sup> However, the mechanisms by which the Cihanzade family secured these positions remain elusive. As per the folklore above,

<sup>50</sup> Members of the Cihanzade family held key administrative positions in Güzelhisar-ı Aydın and its surrounding villages, including roles such as *voyvoda* (governor), *muhassıl vekil* (deputy tax collector), *dergah-ı ali ser-bevvabı* (chief doorkeeper), *katip* (scribe), *kadı* (judge).

it is believed that the distinguished status held by the family's forebear was a result of their valorous acts on the battlefield in the 16th century. Nevertheless, the veracity of this narrative remains uncertain and it presents as dubious reliability as precise historical sources.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the narrative must have been utilized to justify the family's rapid accumulation of wealth and authority in the 18th century, by establishing their ancestors as pivotal figures in the local history. The complex tapestry of Ottoman society during the 18th century is intricately woven with ancestral narratives, which serve not only to emphasize a desire for familial prestige but also to illuminate the interplay between power and the pursuit of legitimacy.<sup>52</sup> The construction of myths surrounding their origins served as a common tool for notables, often employed as a strategy for self-fashioning. This practice of myth-making was prevalent among notable individuals seeking to ascend to power and affluence in 18th-century Ottoman society, aiming to assert a distinguished lineage and legitimize their authority. For example, the Chanzade family traced their ancestry back to a folkloric saga of Turkic origins, claiming a connection to Suleiman the Magnificent. Similarly, many prominent families intertwined their emergence with illustrious figures from Ottoman history to bolster their governance legitimacy. The Tahazade family of Aleppo, rising in social stature during the same era, boldly claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad. On the other hand, the Arpazlı family of Aydın traced their lineage to Istanbul, specifically to Gedik Ahmet Pasha, renowned for his service under Mehmet the Conqueror during the Otranto campaign in Italy.

In line with other *ayans* mentioned earlier, who wielded “newfound quasi-proprietary rights” over public lands, this emerging cadre of governors seized upon every opportunity and power vacuum to ascend the social hierarchy of Ottoman society. Identifying favorable circumstances, Cihazade family members successfully

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<sup>51</sup> See, Ayda Arel, "Müderriş Cihazade Abdülaziz Efendi ile Aydın Güzelhisarındaki Camisi ve Diğer Vakıfları Hakkında," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* (Istanbul, 2008); Ayda Arel, "Aydın ve Yöresinde bir Ayan Ailesi ve Mimarlık: Cihanoğulları," *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Problemler, Araştırmalar, Tartışmalar Sempozyumu* (Ankara, 1993), as well as İlker Gümüş, "Cihazade Ailesi Vakıfları," *ERDEM* 82 (June 2022); 46-72.

<sup>52</sup> See, Charles Wilkins, "The Self-fashioning of an Ottoman Urban Notable: Ahmed Efendi Tahazade (d.1773)" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 30 (2014), 393-425; Olcay Pullukçuoğlu Yapucu, "Büyük Menderes Bölgesinde Kuleli Yapılar ve Arpaz Kulesi" *Bozdoğan II: Bozdoğan Belediyesi Kültür Yayını* (2010); 416-433.

asserted control over the Meander Valley, spanning from Aydın in the north to the Dedeköy-Koçarlı-Cincin line in the south (see Figure 3). As the family's prominence burgeoned throughout the 18th century, they deployed an array of economic, political and social strategies to augment and solidify their influence. The principal source of authority for the Cihanzade family lay predominantly in two key regions: the Meander Valley, wherein the family's administrative influence enveloped a vast expanse of fertile agricultural terrain, and Izmir (Smyrna), a burgeoning trading port located within one to two days' horse ride from their domain. The Meander Valley constituted a significant locus of their economic power, with the Cihanzade family exerting considerable control over the agricultural productivity of the region. On the other hand, the Izmir port served as a nexus connecting Iran, Anatolia, and the West, thereby drawing European settlers who founded semi-permanent mercantile outposts to facilitate the acquisition of raw materials. The Cihanzade family assumed a dual role concerning these localities: firstly, they engaged directly in Izmir commerce by exporting agricultural commodities cultivated in their tax-farming lands, notably dried figs, olive oil, and fruits highly sought after by Europeans. Secondly, they oversaw the safeguarding of the extensive trading network within their domain, erecting facilities to support caravans and travelers.<sup>53</sup>

Similar to other notable households that wielded influence in the provinces, the Cihanzades were expected to raise soldiers and maintain a small army for deployment during times of conflict and local uprisings. Archival documents indicate that they served as both soldiers and grain suppliers, relied upon by the Istanbul government in times of crisis. Between 1730 and 1830, when the Cihanzade family exerted influence in the region, the province became a focal point of armed violence.<sup>54</sup> While official documentation confirming their involvement in subduing these upheavals is lacking, there is little doubt that the Cihanzade family was among

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<sup>53</sup> In 1787, one family member had an outstanding debt owed to him by a French merchant residing in Izmir, a clear testament to the Cihanzade's commercial networks extending westwards. BOA, C..ADL. 98-5900.

<sup>54</sup> For the upheavals that took place in the Western Anatolian provinces, see, Çağatay Uluçay, *18 ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkıyalık ve Halk Hareketleri* (Istanbul, 1955); and N. Feryal Tansuğ, "Communal Relations in Izmir/Smyrna, 1826-1864: As Seen Through the Prism of Greek-Turkish Relations," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2008); and Hakan Karagöz, "Bir Alman Kaynağının İzlenimlerine Göre Sarıbeyoğlu İsyanı ve Batı Anadolu'daki Etkileri" *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* (Isparta, 2013); 193-215.

the notable families chosen by the government to provide military support during such events. These rebellions were pivotal in disrupting regional trade, a situation the family undoubtedly sought to avoid. Consequently, serving as the hand of the Istanbul government's authority in the region for the maintenance of safety and order, bolstering their military capabilities, and augmenting their economic prosperity became imperative for the Cihanzade family to emerge as a formidable power in the region.

### 2.3. Family Members

The earliest documented reference to the family name "Cihanzade" traces back to a foundational deed (*vakfiye*) dated 1737, associated with an individual named Hacı Mehmet Ağa. According to this endowment deed, Hacı Mehmet Ağa resided in Cincin, an agriculturally prosperous village in Aydın province. Records from the State Archives indicate that Mehmet Ağa and a certain Ahmet Bey served as *mutasarrıf* (administrator in a district) on the lands in Koçarlı in 1736 (H. 1127).<sup>55</sup> The term "mutasarrıf", having different connotations, began to encompass a new meaning in the 18th century, referring to the proprietors of malikane lands.<sup>56</sup> This suggests that Cihanzade Mehmet Ağa, in collaboration with another investor, Ahmet Bey, vied for the rights to tax collection over the Koçarlı lands, consequently assuming nominal administrative roles over the territory. His endowment further underscores Hacı Mehmet Ağa's contributions to the restoration of several mosques and madrasa within Güzelhisar-ı Aydın. Notably, his ownership of two cellars at Öküz Mehmet Paşa Inn (Han) of Kuşadası hints at his involvement in the burgeoning trade activities along the Aegean coast during this era.<sup>57</sup> Kuşadası, situated eighty kilometers southwest of İzmir, emerged as a significant port city in the 17th century and its prominence dwindled over time, partly due to the ascendancy of İzmir (formerly Smyrna) as a bustling commercial hub.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Ayda Arel, "Aydın ve Yöresinde bir Ayan ailesi ve Mimarlık: Cihanoğulları," 190.

<sup>56</sup> Ali Fuat Öreñç, "Musasarrıf," TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mutasarrif>

<sup>57</sup> İlker Gümüş, "Cihanzade Vakıfları," 52-53.

<sup>58</sup> Olcay Yapucu and Cihan Özgün, "Batı Anadolunun Yol Ağı: Araştırmalar - II Kuşadası Limanı ve Kervan Yolları," Tarih Okulu, no. 10 (Mayıs-Ağustos 2011); 68-69.



One of Mehmet Ağa's three sons, belonging to the second generation, was Cihanzade El-hac Abdülaziz (d. 1782), who served as a teacher in the madrasa commissioned by himself in central Aydın. He formed a close relationship with Istanbul and Izmir (Smyrna) through engagement in wars and tactical marital unions. In the years 1770 and 1776, moves from Istanbul were dispatched to Aydın, calling Cihanzade Abdülaziz, the *ayan* of Güzelhisar-ı Aydın to furnish a robust and well-armed force (“güçlü silahlı nefer tedariki”) to counter the Iranian and Russian forces.<sup>59</sup> He led a contingent of 300 men. Subsequently, he was entrusted with roles in the Tuna and Baghdad armies in 1774 and 1776 respectively.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, Cihanzade Abdülaziz was married to Atike Hanım, daughter of Abdullah Paşa, a former vizier of Istanbul and who was married to Emine Sultan, the daughter of Mustafa II.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, the daughter of Abdülaziz was married to his nephew Cihanzade Hüseyin who later assumed the governorship of Aydın following his uncle.

Cihanzade Abdülaziz was notably the family member who spearheaded the most expensive and innovative building projects in terms of both style and scale, a subject that will be further explored in subsequent chapters. However, throughout his governorship in Aydın, grievances were frequently aired regarding the tax impositions he instituted and his perceived unjust enrichment. Moreover, criticism was levied against the extravagance of his mosque, prompting complaints to be lodged with the central authorities.<sup>62</sup> After his death, he was buried in the cemetery adjacent to his Cihanoğlu Mosque complex in Güzelhisar-ı Aydın. His successor, Cihanzade Hüseyin began to experience economic difficulties from the year 1775 onwards, and found himself indebted to İlyaszade Halil Ağa, who was the deputy of Suğla district of Aydın province and to Raşit Süleyman Efendi who was the chief secretary of the grand vizier.<sup>63</sup> In 1790, an order was issued for the collection of his debt to a person named Sakızlı Dimitri (Dimitry of Chios) and to the Aydın’s tax

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<sup>59</sup> BOA, C..AS. 693-29082.

<sup>60</sup> BOA, C..AS. 42351-973.

<sup>61</sup> Arel, “Müderris Cihanzade Abdülaziz Efendi,” 91-109.

<sup>62</sup> Olcay Pullukçuoğlu-Yapucu, *Modernleşme Sürecinde Bir Sancak Aydın* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007), 111-116.

<sup>63</sup> İlker Gümüş, “Cihanzade Ailesi Vakıfları,” 51.

collector at the time, Karaosmanzade Hüseyin Bey.<sup>64</sup> To pay his overdue debt, in 1797 (H.1212) Cihanzade Hüseyin sold the “Tepecik Farm” which he inherited from his father. Based on the tombstone found in the depot of Aydın Cihanzade Mosque, Hüseyin Bey died in 1802. His children, Ahmet Atıf, Nimetullah and Şerife Fatma also record that Ahmet Atıf Bey was a member of the Ministry of Public Security (Zaptiye Nezareti) of Güzelhisar-ı Aydın. Due to financial difficulties that continued at this time, Ahmet Atıf Bey had to sell his farm and vineyards in Osmanbükü, a neighborhood in Aydın province, to a Frenchman named Monsieur Karanun.<sup>65</sup>

Cihanzade Mustafa Ağa (d. 1775), another son of Cihanzade Hacı Mehmet Ağa and brother of Cihanzade Abdülaziz; served as the deputy tax collector (*muhassıl*) of Aydın from 1770 to 1774. He was married to el-Hacce Fatma Şerife Hanım, from the influential Hamzabalizade family of Aydın. Official records indicate Mustafa Ağa faced lawsuits related to public and personal debts.<sup>66</sup> His son Cihanzade İbrahim Efendi was the governor of Sobuca district of Aydın. Meanwhile, his cousin Cihanzade Hüseyin assumed the title of *subaşı* of Mazın and Sobuca following the passing of his father-in-law (and uncle) Cihanzade Abdülaziz. Complaints of “excessive oppression and tyranny” (“zulm ve taaddiyat”) during the Cihanzade Hüseyin’s rule led to a petition to the governor of Menteşe province, advocating for his cousin Cihanzade İbrahim of Sobuca as a replacement. In response to grievances against him, Cihanzade Hüseyin (“istidalarımız miri mumaileyhin mesmuu olunca”) dispatched groups of armed men from Greeks and Muslims of Samos Island to lay a siege to İbrahim Ağa’s mansion at night and remove him to protect his own position. The conflict resulted in casualties, prompting Samos recruits to flee to Aydın, while Cihanzade İbrahim Ağa escaped to Istanbul. The central government appointed Karaosmanzade Elhac Ahmet Ağa from Manisa to resolve the dispute. Despite this intervention, conflicts over property intensified among family members in subsequent generations, as noted by Ayda Arel.<sup>67</sup> Mismanagement of family assets

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Arel, “Müderriş Cihanzade Abdülaziz Efendi,” 91-109.

and resulting eroded family's economic power and influence by the mid-19th century.

## CHAPTER 3

### PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE OF THE FAMILY

#### 3.1. Setting the Scene: Istanbul

The 18th century brought a substantial shift to Ottoman architecture, driven by the broad socio-political developments discussed in Chapter 2. This period saw an increase in architectural patronage in the capital, showcasing a new style influenced by Baroque features.<sup>68</sup> This novel aesthetic, often referred to as “Ottoman Baroque” by architectural historians, was embraced by a wide segment of Ottoman society and gradually transformed the classical style of earlier centuries.<sup>69</sup> From the perspective of the Ottoman palace, Sultan Ahmed III’s return to the capital marked the initial steps toward cultivating a new, mature style with confidence. To restore the Sultan’s fragmented authority, the revitalized capital, Istanbul, was adorned with monumental mosque complexes and ornate fountains, emphasizing the sovereign’s splendor and reaffirming his presence amidst the prolonged unrest in the city.<sup>70</sup>

This new style choice, aside from the political developments, was part of what Rüstem describes as “an international early modern culture of consumerism and display” in which “Ottomans were equal sharers.”<sup>71</sup> In this context, various social

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<sup>68</sup> Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, 10.

<sup>69</sup> The Ottoman “classical” style refers to the architectural language officially adopted by the Ottomans under the architect Sinan. Aptullah Kuran summarizes it as use of a square plan, an octagonal base, and corner towers in mosque architecture. On the other hand, Gülru Necipoğlu describes the classical style as reflecting “Sinan’s affinity for centrally planned domed mosques and Italian Renaissance churches, an affinity rooted in the shared Romano-Byzantine architectural heritage of the Eastern Mediterranean basin.” See, Aptullah Kuran, “Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Architecture,” in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. T. Naff and R. Owen (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2016), 304; Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 13.

<sup>70</sup> See, Peker, “Return of the Sultan,” 144.

<sup>71</sup> See, Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 24.

groups, from the Sultan and his immediate circle to the newly emerging riches, (re)fashioned their social and political identities through their cultural choices, particularly their architectural patronage. In the early 18th century, the most conspicuous example of this new ethos was the Sadabad Palace (Abode of Happiness), a set of pavilions and vast gardens located on the shores of the Kağıthane river.<sup>72</sup> Unlike the secluded Topkapı Palace, Sadabad was semi-open to the public gaze. Later illustrations of the complex, as seen in the Figure 4, reflects this openness, while Okçuoğlu's depiction perfectly captures the scenery:

Gardens became a space where the leading dynasty made itself visible to the public by hosting garden festivities and official meetings. The dynasty's choice of exposure over secrecy led to the creation of a new imperial decor. For the Ottoman dynasty, producing cityscapes and disseminating them allowed for the exhibition of their authority, wealth and power to the ordinary public as well as to the other stakeholders in the political power structure.<sup>73</sup>

Ahmed III's peaceful reign came to an abrupt end in 1730, following an urban uprising in Istanbul orchestrated by a coalition of janissaries and artisans. This event led to the ascension of Sultan Mahmud I to the throne. During much of the new Sultan's first year, the central government grappled with quelling the rebellion. Over the subsequent years, until 1768, the Ottoman Empire found itself embroiled in numerous conflicts, most notably with Russia and emerged with the upper hand from these engagements. They successfully recaptured Belgrade and compelled the Austrians to make peace. Peker argues that this event had a profound effect on the architectural trajectory of Istanbul. After a prolonged period of reduced royal mosque patronage, during which the court was nominally relocated to Edirne, the return of Ahmed III to Istanbul, along with the revolt of Patrona Halil and his subsequent dethronement, prompted the next sultan, Mahmud I, to seek reconciliation with particularly the traders in the Bedestan who played a central role in the rebellion.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Marinos Sariyannis, "Sociability, Public Life, and Decorum," in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 484.

<sup>73</sup> Tarkan Okçuoğlu, "Late Ottoman Painted Trays: Figuring the Transition to Modernity," in *Rituals of Hospitality: Ornamented Trays of the 19th Century in Greece and Turkey*, ed. Flavia Nessi and Myrto Hatzaki (Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 2013), 215.

<sup>74</sup> Ali Uzay Peker, "Return of the Sultan: Nuruosmaniye Mosque and the Istanbul Bedestan," in *Constructing Cultural Identity, Representing Social Power* ed. Niyazi Kısakürek, Olafur Rastrick, Kim Esmark and Cana Bilsel (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2010), 139-157.

This led to the construction of the famous Nuruosmaniye Mosque, which was completed during the reign of Osman III in 1755 (H. 1169).<sup>75</sup>



**Figure 4.** Kağıthane Promenade (D’Ohsson, *Tableau Général de L’Empire Othoman*, 1790)

Nuruosmaniye is widely recognized as the first comprehensive example of Baroque within the Ottoman Empire, marked by its departure from classical features and norms. For instance, as Goodwin notes, there was a deliberate departure from the traditional rectangular courtyard (*avlu*), with Nuruosmaniye featuring a horseshoe-shaped courtyard instead (Figure 5). Moreover, the arrangement of buildings within the complex deviated from the typical flat terrain layout, varying in elevation according to the natural contours of the land. This introduced a new dynamic to the spatial arrangement, creating a layered effect in physical perception, a concept later echoed in the Cihanzade Abdülaziz Mosque of Aydın, completed just two years after Nuruosmaniye.<sup>76</sup> Throughout the remainder of the century under subsequent sultans such as Mustafa III, Abdülhamit I, and Selim III, this novel patronage tradition continued. Elements such as height, fan-shaped stairs leading to ornate entrance portals, extensive use of marble, and Baroque motifs including acanthus leaves, dentils, scrolls, Corinthian-inspired columns, vibrant wall-paintings, and naturalistic

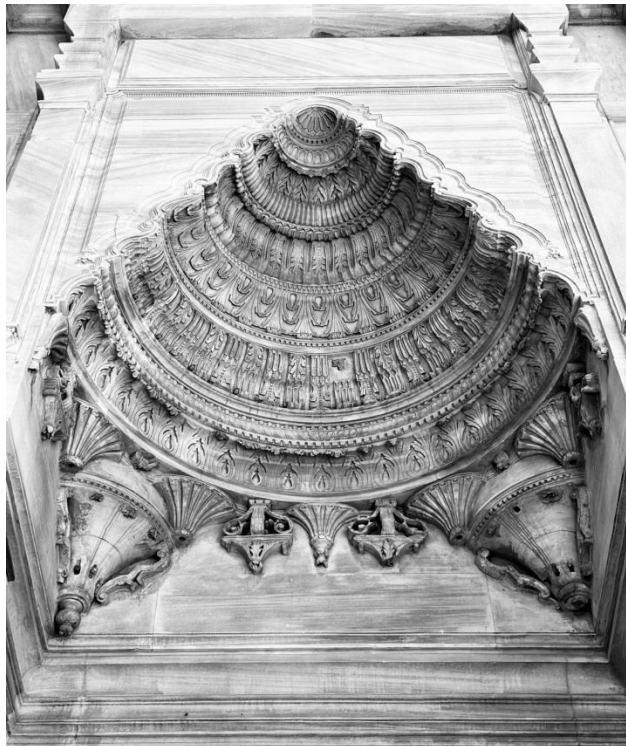
<sup>75</sup> Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 382.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

displays of vases, flowers, and fruits became indispensable and widely utilized features.<sup>77</sup> (See, Figure 6)



**Figure 5.** Courtyard of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque of Istanbul (Suman, “An Icon of Change,” 151)

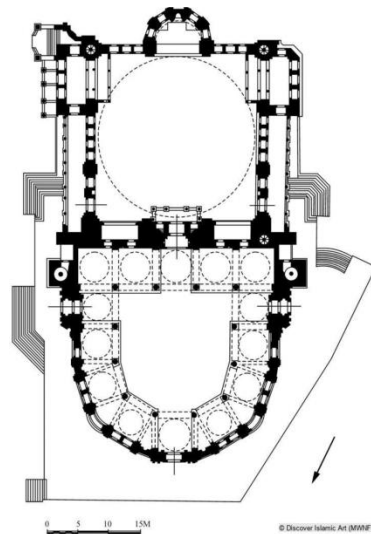


**Figure 6.** Details of the portal at Nuruosmaniye Mosque of Istanbul (Suman, “Questioning an Icon of Change,” 151)

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<sup>77</sup> Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*; Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*; and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*.

The increased prominence of new imperial mosques in Istanbul was primarily driven by the state’s concern about the city’s evolving social environment. This evolution, as Hamadeh explains, was spurred by increased global commerce, communication and consumerism, which led to a greater mobility among Ottoman society and growing wealth within the empire.<sup>78</sup> Hamadeh’s studies, focusing on 18th-century patronage in the capital and poetic inscriptions on public monuments, reveal a remarkably broad social and professional spectrum of patrons compared to previous centuries. This burgeoning group of new patrons, including “lesser dignitaries, retired jurists, Islamic scholars, guild administrators, non-Muslim merchants, goldsmiths, moneylenders, and physicians who were closely connected with the court” engaged in architectural patronage in the capital, “placing them in a parallel pursuit of prominence with the Sultan’s circle.”<sup>79</sup>



**Figure 7.** Plan of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque and its courtyard (Kuyulu-Ersoy, “Nuruosmaniye Mosque,”

[https://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database\\_item.php?id=monuments;ISL;tr;Mon01;35;fr](https://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=monuments;ISL;tr;Mon01;35;fr))

One of the most striking examples of non-sultanic architectural patronage can be observed in the newly developing extra-mural Bosphorus area, extending all the way to Bebek and Tarabya. This is where the “nouveaux riches” increasingly built their

<sup>78</sup> Hamadeh, *City’s Pleasures*, 36-78.

<sup>79</sup> Artan, “Royal Weddings and the Grand Vizirate: Institutional and Symbolic Change in the Early Eighteenth Century,” in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires*, ed. Jeroen Duindan, Tülay Artan, Metin Kunt (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2011), 385; Artan, “Days of Reconciliation”, 305.



residential buildings.<sup>80</sup> While many of these structures have either vanished or undergone extensive restoration, the few remaining ones offer valuable insights into the architectural preferences of their inhabitants. The interiors of these residences exemplify the flourishing new style of the 18th century, evident in their lavish ornamentation. Notably, wall paintings were extensively used to decorate every room, reflecting a newfound obsession that spread throughout even the empire's most remote villages and evolved into a unique tradition persisting into the 19th and 20th centuries.<sup>81</sup> As scholars such as Renda and Arik point out, this new trend in wall painting, incorporating perspective, three-dimensionality, and anatomical accuracy, gradually emerged within Ottoman art during the 18th century, influenced by increased global interactions.<sup>82</sup> Through deliberate thematic choices, patrons expressed their cultural preferences and socio-political status, creating distinct coherent narratives and styles that gave rise to their own painters.<sup>83</sup>



**Figure 8.** Painted and carved panels in Topkapı Palace, living room of the Valide Sultan (Google Images)

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<sup>80</sup> Artan, in her PhD thesis' chapter "People of Bosphorus" looks into the house owners along the Bosphorus. She finds out that many of the owners were from Ottoman central bureaucracy like cavalry corps or janissaries who sometimes also worked as crafts or small traders. She sees a pattern that these "nouveaux riches" constituted of these people settled in the fashionable districts of Bosphorus.

<sup>81</sup> For instance, the Lübbey Village Mosque—a secluded settlement perched atop the mountains in the Ödemiş district of İzmir, which I believe dates to the 20th century—serves as an illustrative example. The themes of these wall paintings are consistent with 18th-century examples; however, the dating to the 20th century is evident from the Latin-script inscriptions such as "Sultan Ahmet" or "Sultan Selim" beneath certain mosque depictions. Examples from late 19th and early 20th-century Anatolia depict steam-powered ships and we observe trains. See, Mehmet Top and Gülcan Özbek, "Osmanlı Batılılaşma Dönemine Ait Ödemiş'te Bulunan Duvar Resimli İki Camii," *Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 46 (2019): 249 - 253.

<sup>82</sup> Anık, *Batılılaşma Dönemi*, 11.

<sup>83</sup> The identities of these painters largely remain unknown; however, the stylistic consistency observed across a wide geographical area suggests the existence of a common apprenticeship network. This network likely trained traveling artists in a shared atelier, thereby disseminating a uniform artistic style over a broad region.



**Figure 9.** Wall painting within a niche in Sadullah Paşa Mansion on Bosphorus (SALT Research, Ali Sami Ülgen Photograph Collection)

The contemporaneity and similarity of themes found on the wall paintings in sultanic residences, non-sultanic kiosks in Istanbul and provincial mansions suggests the existence of various groups of painters working independently from the palace bureaucracy.<sup>84</sup> (see Figure 8 and Figure 9) The subjects and themes in these wall paintings, despite variations in figures and craftsmanship, are almost always the same. Most frequently depicted themes are landscapes and naturalistic portrayals of flowers and fruits. These depictions cover the walls of the rooms almost entirely, leaving virtually no empty space. Different scenes are separated by frames adorned with decorations such as C and S scrolls, branches, leaves, curtain motifs, and medallions. In the landscape paintings, one can find depictions of pavilions by the sea, solitary mosques, cityscapes, ships, boats, trees, and occasionally, more pastoral

<sup>84</sup> See, Wendy M.K. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic* (Londra-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 15-17.

backgrounds featuring mills, fountains with water jets, and toppled columns.<sup>85</sup> (See, Figure 9)

One striking example of this wall-painting fashion from the extra-mural Istanbul is the Kavafyan Kiosk in Bebek. Built in the 1750s and later acquired by the Kavafyan family, it is the oldest surviving mansion along the Bosphorus today.<sup>86</sup> State archives provide documents indicating the Kavafyan family's active participation in trade and commercial logistics. Furthermore, records show that some family members owned notable printing houses in Istanbul.<sup>87</sup> These underscore their considerable wealth and probable high social standing within the 18th century Ottoman world. The interior decorations of this kiosk reflect a certain worldview that the patrons of these wall paintings embraced. For instance, the mural found in the bride's room (*gelin odası*) portrays a vibrant garden scene. Drawing inspiration from the opulent French horticultural style of the era, it depicts lush orange trees in full bloom, alongside balustrades and marble fountains. The garden is presented in layers, resembling a tiered cake, with ascending staircases. At the center of it all, a vase containing an orange tree adds a surreal touch of beauty to the scene. Framing the entire composition, curtains drape along the edges, further enhancing the illusion of stepping into a whimsical paradise. (See, Figure 10 and Figure 11)

To conclude, in 18th-century Istanbul, both the Sultan and his court, as well as the "nouveaux riches," employed various cultural instruments to assert and reiterate their positions within a complex socio-political landscape. As elucidated in Tülay Artan's study on the collections of Ottoman princesses, conspicuous consumption and collecting were significant means of demonstrating status.<sup>88</sup> However, the most

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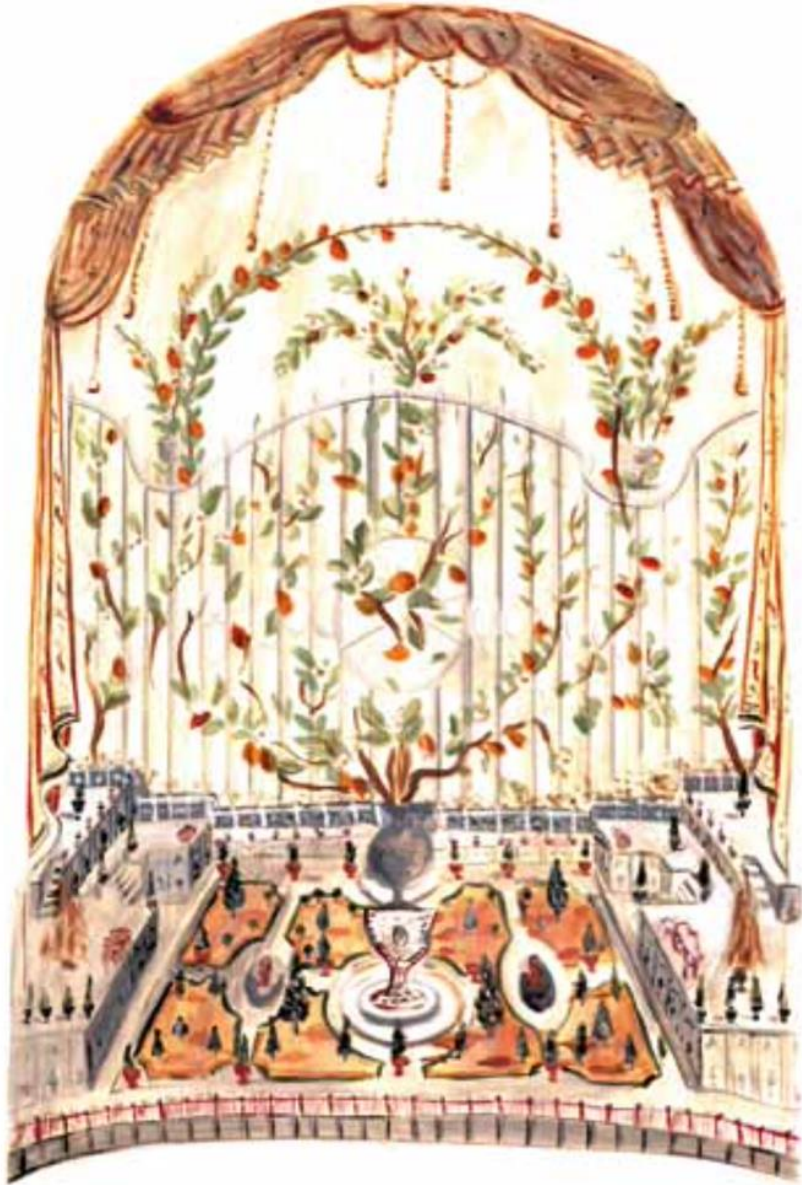
<sup>85</sup> Istanbul examples: Sadullah Paşa Yalısı, Living of Valide Sultan Wall paintings ile alakalı tüm kaynakları ve makaleleri sırala burada see, Ayşenur Akdin, "Topkapı Sarayı Harem Dairesinde Yapılan Tamiratlar ve Eklemeler (18. Yüzyıl)" (Master's Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, 2019), 38.

<sup>86</sup> "The construction date is confirmed by an inscription on a fountain in its garden, which reads 1751, though the name of the owner is lost to history." See, Burak Çetintaş, "The Sleeping Beauty: The Kavafyan Konak, Bebek," *Cornucopia Magazine*, Issue 57, May 2018.

<sup>87</sup> BOA, Y..A..RES., 10/89.

<sup>88</sup> Tülay Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2011): 132.

prominent and impactful tool was architectural sponsorship, as evidenced by the flourishing patronage activities across different segments of the society. This strategic utilization of architecture and new stylistic elements for identity reformation extended beyond the capital. The adoption of Baroque-inspired designs, marble and vibrant wall paintings appeared in provincial areas as well. Throughout the empire, in towns where wealth and power dynamics were at play, the new Ottoman style of the 18th century made a lasting impression.



**Figure 10.** Copy of the wall painting within the niche of Bride’s Room of the Kavafyan Mansion (Hidayet Arslan, “Boğaziçinde 18. Yüzyıldan Kalma bir İstanbul Evinin Durumu Hakkında,” 110)



**Figure 11.** Detailed photograph of the garden scene from Bride’s Room (Gelin Odası) of the Kavafyan Mansion (Hidayet Arslan, “Boğaziçinde 18. Yüzyıldan Kalma bir İstanbul Evinin Durumu Hakkında,” 110)

### 3.2. Setting the Scene: Provinces

In his 2019 monograph, *Ottoman Baroque*, Rüstem asserts that the emergence of the Ottoman Baroque style was closely linked to Istanbul, the heart of the empire.<sup>89</sup> Considering that the Sultan and his close associates have traditionally been the primary arbiters of the Empire’s aesthetic preferences, this assertion appears intuitively compelling. However, by the 18th century, this perspective no longer encapsulated the evolving reality. The developments within the capital, particularly the rise of new riches who previously did not hold significant political or social leverage, were also occurring in the provinces. One of these burgeoning actors in these localities were the *ayans*. As explained in Chapter 2, they rose to political prominence and accumulated considerable wealth during this period. Similar to what occurred in the capital, they crowned their rise with intensive architectural patronage by actively using the new decorative vocabulary. Across the Balkans and Anatolia, especially in emerging towns and ports, a diverse array of architectural projects adorned semi-rural and rural centers. These new constructions were on par with those

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<sup>89</sup> Ünver Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 13-14.

in Istanbul, both in physical grandeur and splendor. Some art historians even argue that architects and craftsmen in the provinces did not strictly adhere to the emerging Baroque style from the capital. Instead, they interpreted it through local cultural influences, leading to subtly distinct regional variations, different from Istanbul.<sup>90</sup>

Western Anatolia, where the Cihanzade family held influence over a small portion, served as one of the pivotal centers for 18th-century provincial architectural flourishing in the Ottoman Empire. Notably, İzmir, a bustling commercial hub, along with its agrarian hinterland, including Manisa and Aydın, became the epicenters of this transformation. The opulence of the new built environment mirrored the wealth generated by İzmir's vibrant commercial activities, with their stylistic choices heavily influenced by the cultural currents entering through its port. In the subsequent section, we will delve into the patronage activities of the 18th and early 19th centuries in İzmir, highlighting the architectural commonalities and symbolic motifs shared with the edifices commissioned by the Cihanzade family.

### 3.2.1. İzmir

Izmir, located a day's caravan journey from central Aydın, emerged as one of the Mediterranean's foremost trading ports in the 18th century. It flourished as a hub for a diverse community, hosting foreign merchants, Ottoman brokers, translators, craftsmen, soldiers, and immigrants from Aegean islands and cities such as Thessaloniki.<sup>91</sup> By the end of the 18th century, İzmir's population reached 100,000, surpassing Thessaloniki and rivaling other important trading centers in the Mediterranean, such as Marseilles and Bordeaux.<sup>92</sup> At the heart of İzmir's

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<sup>90</sup> Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu and Metin Sözen, in their works especially highlights the fact that the Cihanzade family's architectural production was rivaling Istanbul's architectural patronage in terms of the artistic quality. See, Yenişehirlioğlu, "Architectural Patronage of Ayan Families," 332; Metin Sözen, *The Evolution of Turkish Art and Architecture* (Istanbul: Haşet Kitabevi, 1987), 158.

<sup>91</sup> For instance, in Goffmann's work, it is stated that Jewish families of Balkans, who engaged with textile weaving and commerce started seeking alternative occupations and migrating towards İzmir and Manisa, starting with the 17th century. At the same time, in 1618, Armenian merchants started establishing silk trade businesses in İzmir port. See, Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World (1550-1690)*, trans. Ayşen Anadol and Neyyir Kalaycıoğlu (İstanbul: Türk Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995), 56.

<sup>92</sup> Serap Yılmaz, "XVI. Lui'nin Coğrafyacısından Kemeraltı," *Kebikeç* 4 (1996): 45.

commercial activity was the Kemeraltı district, renowned as the primary bazaar area. This locale boasted a rich tapestry of utilitarian and communal structures, including *bedestens*, caravanserais, shops, mosques, libraries, and fountains. Barbie du Bocega's 1782 map meticulously delineated the district's landscape, illustrating a predominantly Muslim presence in residential quarters, warehouses, and coffeehouses, while European residents congregated around taverns and churches in adjacent areas.<sup>93</sup> This spatial arrangement vividly highlights Kemeraltı's pivotal role as a nexus of intercultural exchange during the 18th century, orchestrated by Izmir's burgeoning urban milieu.



**Figure 12.** The upper section and decorations of Emine Hanım's tombstone in Izmir Agora Museum (Gül Tunçel, *Batı Anadolu Bölgesinde Cami Tasvirli Mezar Taşları*, 1989)

In Izmir, the earliest manifestations of the new eclectic style are apparent in more modest artifacts like tombstones and everyday objects. A prominent example is the tombstone of a certain Emine Hanım, currently housed in the Izmir Agora Museum, dating back to 1737-38 (H. 1150).<sup>94</sup> This tombstone is adorned with intricate carvings depicting a mosque surrounded by downward and sideways C-scrolls, columns reminiscent of the Corinthian order, and a palmette-shaped seashell (see

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Gül Tunçel, *Batı Anadolu Bölgesinde Cami Tasvirli Mezar Taşları* (Ankara: Mas Matbaacılık, 1989), 14-15.

Figure 12).<sup>95</sup> Subsequent tombstones from the 18th to the mid-19th century found in Agore exhibit increasingly elaborate Baroque ornamentation, incorporating similar stylistic elements. This evolution suggests a transformation of the new style from a fleeting trend into a cultural tradition embraced by diverse segments of Izmir society.<sup>96</sup> Another early example from Izmir is a Kıblenüma, a compass that indicates the direction of the Kible based on its location, found at Hisar Mosque in the Kemeraltı district, dating from 1738-9 (H. 1151). This object showcases a rich ornamentation on all sides with confident use of Baroque motifs and symbols. It was signed by “Barun al-Muhtari,” also known as “Petros Baronian,” an Armenian dragoman from Kayseri who served Dutch ambassador Justin Colyer in Istanbul.<sup>97</sup> Apart from inventing the Kıblenüma, he was renowned for translating French engineering and geographic works.<sup>98</sup> Baronian collaborated with “Mıgırdıç Galatavi,” a notable copper engraver known for his engravings on *Cihannüma* published by İbrahim Müteferrika.<sup>99</sup> The piece itself was crafted in Istanbul and likely transported to Izmir’s Hisar Mosque upon commission by a prominent figure from the city. Tekeli describes its style and ornamentations as:

In the upper part of the inside lid we see the depiction of the Masjid al-Haram in Mecca, with the Ka’ba in the courtyard...The empty space in the background is filled with illustrations of pomegranates in a bowl, representing plenty. A cartouche framed with leaf motifs extending from among the pomegranates is decorated with a bouquet of roses on a gold background...Fruits in a bowl, symbolizing fertility, abundance and immortality, were a typical motif of the period. The inscription in the lower part of the inside lid states that the instrument was made by Barun al-Muhtari in Istanbul in AH 1151 / AD 1738. It also includes instructions on how to use the instrument...The outside of the lid is decorated in the naturalistic style known as Turkish Baroque-Rococo on a gold background. It features vases

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid

<sup>96</sup> Necmi Ülker, “İzmir-Agora Ören Yerindeki Osmanlı Dönemi Mezar Kitabelerinden Örnekler,” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 22, no. 2 (2007): 215-218.

<sup>97</sup> Kıblanuma was taken to Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul from the Hisar Mosque of Kemeraltı in 1959.

<sup>98</sup> Feza Günergün, “La traduction de l’Abrégé de la sphère de Jacques Robbe, géographe du Roi de France par Petros Baronian, dragoman à Istanbul: Cem-nüma fi fenn el-coğrafya,” *La Révolution française* 12 (2017).

<sup>99</sup> Evident from signatures found on preliminary drafts before crafting the Kıblenüma. See, Ünver Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism: An Eighteenth Century Printed Ottoman Atlas and the Turn to Baroque,” *Ars Orientalis* 51 (2022).



filled with roses and flowers surrounded by garlands of acanthus leaves and scrolling tendrils. Six oval medallions placed in this composition feature figureless landscape depictions, which are also found on wall paintings of the same period. The landscape depictions include views of lakes, houses amid trees on the shore, mansions, and villages on the opposite shore, all drawn with the illusion of depth.<sup>100</sup> (Figure 13 and Figure 14)

Pedros Baronnian's translation work from French, coupled with his design of the Kıblenüma, offers valuable insights into the integration of Baroque elements within the Ottoman milieu, thereby enriching the eclectic style of the 18th century. As a member of the Ottoman non-Muslim community, Baronnian benefited from extensive commercial and cultural networks, uniquely positioning him to encounter European ideas.<sup>101</sup> These exchanges facilitated the incorporation of novel stylistic features such as C and S scrolls, sea-shells, and naturalistic landscape portraits into the Ottoman forms, notably through the design of the Kıblenüma introduced to the elite of Izmir. This artifact, exemplifying the "Ottoman Baroque" style and prominently displayed in one of Izmir's central mosques, serves as a singular instance illustrating how architectural transformations disseminated throughout Izmir and its surrounding regions during the 18th century. Further exploration of lesser-known artifacts and structures is essential to comprehensively grasp the adoption and evolution of this new artistic and architectural vernacular.



**Figure 13.** Upper-outer lid of the Kıblenüma of İzmir Hisar Mosque. (Gönül Tekeli, "Kıblenüma,"

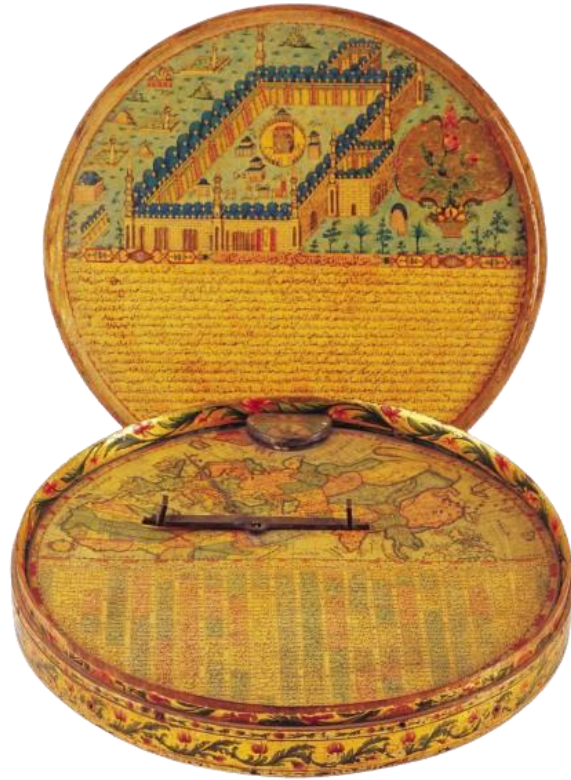
[https://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database\\_item.php?id=object;ISL;tr;Mus01;41;tr](https://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=object;ISL;tr;Mus01;41;tr))

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<sup>100</sup> Gönül Tekeli, "Astronomical Instrument: Qiblanuma" in *Discover Islamic Art (Museum With No Frontiers)*, 2024. [https://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database\\_item.php?id=object;ISL;tr;Mus01;41;en](https://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=object;ISL;tr;Mus01;41;en)

<sup>101</sup> See, Sushil Chaudhury, "Armenians in Bengal Trade and Politics in the 18th century" in *Les Arméniens dans le commerce asiatique au début de l'ère moderne*, ed. Sushil Chaudhury and Kéram Kévonian (Paris: éditions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 2007), 149-167.

The Hisar Mosque, nestled in the heart of Kemeraltı, served as the repository for Baronian's Kıblenüma during this period. However, the identity of the mosque's benefactor remains unknown. The exact construction date is also obscure, though a documented restoration in 1813 enriched its interior with opulent gold-gilded Baroque ornamentations.<sup>102</sup> The mosque occupies a central position within the main bazaar area; to its west stands the Kızlarağası Inn, erected by Hacı Beşir Ağa, the Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman palace from 1717 to 1746.<sup>103</sup> Historically the Inn was situated by the port of Smyrna, before the reclamation of land from the sea which likely contributed to their prominent visibility and importance in the area.<sup>104</sup> (See, Figure 14)



**Figure 14.** Inside the Kıblenüma of İzmir Hisar Mosque.

(Gönül Tekeli, "Kıblenüma,"

[https://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database\\_item.php?id=object;ISL;tr;Mus01;41;tr](https://islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=object;ISL;tr;Mus01;41;tr))

<sup>102</sup> The main inscription written on top of the entrance portal says the earliest restoration date is 1813.

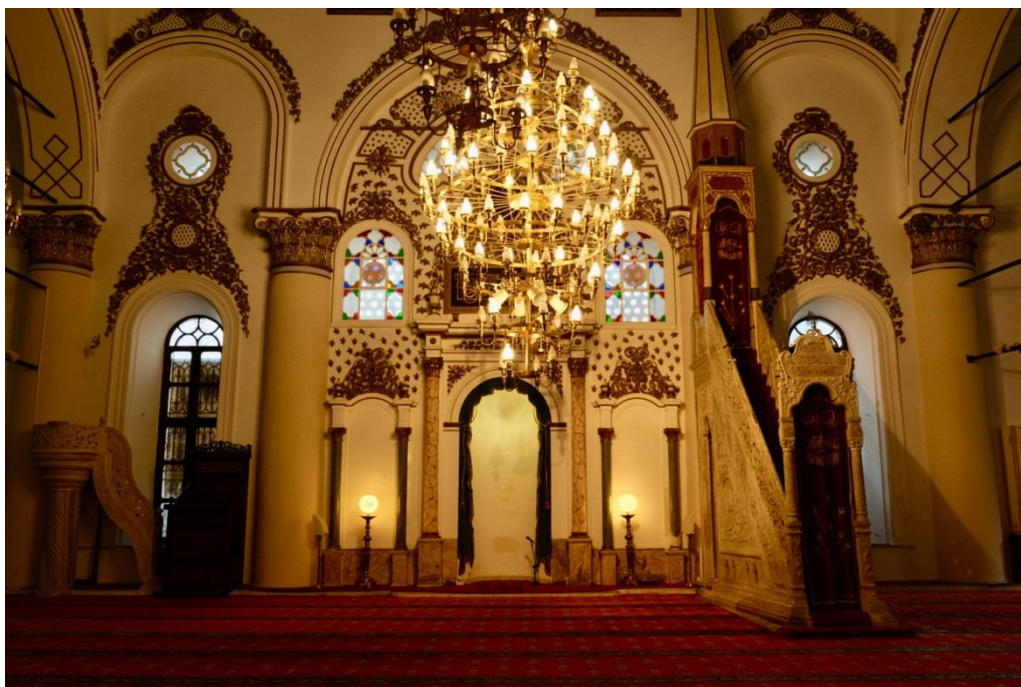
<sup>103</sup> Lokman Tay, "Hacı Beşir Ağa'nın İnşa Ettirdiği Çeşmeler," *Akdeniz Sanat* 8, no. 16 (2015): 44.

<sup>104</sup> Münir Aktepe, "İzmir Hanları ve Çarşıları Hakkında Ön Bilgi," *Tarih Dergisi* 25 (2011): 133-134.

The stylistic choices in the restoration of the mosque in 1812, highlight a blend of Ottoman and Baroque motifs. Especially, the *mihrab* and *minber* embellishments closely resemble those found in numerous other mosques that were constructed or restored in the earlier and same period. The footed portal of the Hisar Mosque's *minber* (pulpit), entirely crafted using the marble carving technique, features two slender and twisted columns topped with Corinthian-like colonnets. Each side of the pulpit showcases parallel decorations heavily influenced by scrolls, acanthus leaves, and curtain drapes, recurring motifs throughout Anatolian region and Istanbul. Wherever possible the carver incorporates figs, pears, pomegranates and mosque depictions. At the deepest part of the side section, separated into four openings, two figs and their leaves are placed inside a curtain hanging at the very center of the openings. On the strip parallel to the *minber*'s stair railings, symbols of pomegranates and either pears or figs are depicted within curtains hanging among scrolling acanthus leaves. In the very middle of the stair railings, a faint silhouette of a mosque can be discerned. To the right, directly above the entrance to the pulpit, an intricate carving depicts a landscape-like silhouette, composed of several distinct mosques, their domes, and minarets. (See, Figure 16 and Figure 17)



**Figure 15.** Hisar Mosque in the center, with Kızlarağası Inn on the left (SALT Archives, Ali Sami Ülgen Photograph Collection)



**Figure 16.** Mihrab (Altar) and Minber (Pulpit) of Hisar Mosque (Photographed by the author)

The prevalent features found in these examples from Izmir, including curtain motifs, Baroque cartouches, scrolls, and mosque carvings, are emblematic of the 18th-century architectural production in the Western Anatolian region. While similar motifs are present in contemporary Istanbul architecture, the combination and execution of these Baroque elements differed significantly.

In Istanbul, as illustrated by the Nuruosmaniye Mosque and other 18th-century examples such as the Laleli Mosque, Baroque motifs like scrolls, acanthus leaves, and dentils are primarily executed through marble carvings, with wall painting techniques confined to the apse and other limited areas. This results in a restrained and controlled aesthetic in these Istanbul examples.

In contrast, the examples from Izmir display a more liberal use of Baroque elements, with gilded cartouches, scrolls, and other naturalistic features created with plaster covering most of the interior walls and elements. As will be discussed in the next section, the Cihanzade family's patronage reflects a similar approach to execution and decoration of the Izmir's built environment.



**Figure 17.** Minber (Pulpit) of the Hisar Mosque (SALT Archives, Ali Sami Ülgen Photograph Collection)

### **3.2.2. Architectural Legacy of the Cihanzade Family**

During the 18th century, the city of Aydın and its surrounding region underwent substantial urban and architectural developments, largely attributable to the patronage of the Cihanzade family. From the mid-18th to the early 19th century, the Cihanzade family played a crucial role in the city's transformation, leaving a lasting legacy through a variety of significant public and private architectural projects. Their contributions embraced the "new style" of the period, characterized by the integration of elements such as wall paintings and marble carvings. This section will examine three extant public complexes and their associated architectural elements, all patronized by the Cihanzade family. These include the Aydın Cihanzade Mosque complex (1756) and the Cincin Mosque (1785), both commissioned by Cihanzade Abdülaziz, as well as the Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque, which was commissioned by Cihanzade Mustafa Ağa in 1834/35 (H. 1250).

### 3.2.2.1 Aydın and Cincin Mosques

According to its inscription, Aydın Cihanzade Mosque was built in 1756 (H. 1170) by Cihanzade el-hac Abdülaziz. Similar to Nuruosmaniye Mosque discussed earlier, this mosque features various facilities spread across multiple levels.<sup>105</sup> At the heart of its design is an elevated courtyard, accessed through a cross-vaulted portico with a staircase entrance. This expansive open space accommodates the mosque itself, an ablution fountain (*şadırvan*), and a U-shaped madrasa. Upon entering the courtyard, visitors are greeted by grand staircases arranged in a fan-like pattern in front of the mosque's portico. Such expansive and elevated stairways, reminiscent of the Baroque churches and 18th-century Istanbul mosques, were absent in Ottoman architecture until this period. Previous building entrances typically maintained uniform levels within the courtyard.<sup>106</sup> To emphasize its elevated position, the mosque is situated atop an artificial substructure, raised by a low arcade of pointed arches, thereby asserting a commanding presence over its surroundings. Ascending the monumental staircase in front of the mosque leads to a porticoed narthex (*son cemaat yeri*) featuring three pointed arches crafted from brick. Originally covered with plaster and adorned with painted ornamentations, as evidenced by old photographs of the mosque (Figure 18 and Figure 19), the portico deviates from tradition with its robust stone columns and Corinthian-style capitals, enriched with acanthus leaves and curls. The mosque's entrance is marked by a marble portal and an inscription plaque, while the door jambs are adorned with elaborate vegetal scrolls set upon marble blocks resembling an entablature, all framed by a bead and reel framework.

The mosque adheres to a traditional plan, featuring a single dome supported by an eleven-sided drum resting on a square base, with squinches positioned in the corners for support. Despite extensive renovations to the overall complex, remnants of original interior ornaments are still discernible. Today, the refurbished sections boast vibrant blue and red hues, contrasting with the original faded parts (Figure 19 and Figure

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<sup>105</sup> Esin Atıl, *Turkish Art* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1980), 128-129.

<sup>106</sup> Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası), 9; Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influence on the Ottoman Architecture in the 18th Century," in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heiss, Grete Klingenstein (Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1983), 169.

20). The dome's embellishments are exuberant, with painted reliefs and plasters adding an additional layer of exaggeration. The decorative approach is voluptuous, featuring scrolls and overflowing rose bouquets that are entirely non-local. The spandrels of pointed arches, the niches between them, and the concave triangular surfaces are adorned with C- and S-scrolls, floral and naturalistic motifs, and circular polychrome medallions. The *mihrab* follows the same gaudy style and incorporates these elements seamlessly. The nearly three-dimensional and vivid plaster decorations of the interior, executed with such maturity. The repetitive application of this voluminous effect throughout the design creates a distinctive sense of space, likely having a profound impact on both the local population and travelers. Abundant fenestration, primarily of round- and mixtilinear-arched windows with crisply molded marble jambs, bathes the interior in luminosity, enhancing its openness.<sup>107</sup>



**Figure 18.** Aydın Cihanzade Mosque photographed from the main caravan route of Köprülü district (SALT Archives, Ali Sami Ülgen Photograph Collection)

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<sup>107</sup> Today, the *minbar* and other elements are not in their original condition but have been heavily renovated and replaced. However, from photos taken in the early 20th century, we know that the dome's appearance has remained largely the same.

The exterior of the structure, directly across from the grand fan-shaped stairs, features an ablution fountain (şadırvan) whose exuberance and grandeur suggest the patron's intention to leave a distinctive mark. This ten-sided marble structure is crowned with a dome supported by ten uniquely designed columns, each differing in their base, shaft, and capital. The columns exhibit a variety of styles, including twisted and fluted forms, as well as elements reminiscent of Doric and Corinthian orders. Notably, some columns display a simpler Doric style, while others incorporate more elaborate Corinthian bases. The most remarkable aspect, demonstrating both stylistic maturity and localization of the Baroque, is a column base adorned with encircling arcades filled with various fruit depictions (Figures 21 and 22).

According to Riefstahl's 1932 book *Architecture of the Southwestern Anatolia*, the complex was initially constructed adjacent to a residence owned by Abdülaziz Efendi.<sup>108</sup> This information is supported by the endowment deed of the mosque, which specifies its proximity to the owner's dwelling on the eastern side ("*vaki kibleten tarik-i am ve şarken sahibü'l hayrat menziline muttasıl*").<sup>109</sup> The presence of a tunnel on the eastern side of the courtyard further suggests a direct, covered passage connecting residence to the complex, emphasizing his desire for a private access to site.

At the rear of the mosque, precisely in the southern corner and at the same level as the courtyard, a substantial terrace unfolds, extending perpendicularly from the building. This balcony overlooks the principal thoroughfare of the neighborhood, once a bustling trade route frequented by caravans and travelers. Approaching the complex from the town center through this road, one encounters an architectural ensemble comprising a fountain (*çeşme*), a water dispenser (*sebil*) and a vaulted corridor, aligned in a harmonious sequence. The water dispenser, nestled within a niche, is crowned by two successive pointed arches and at their junction, two columnheads and a scallop shell embellish the structure. The upper part of the facade

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<sup>108</sup> Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture*, 38-39.

<sup>109</sup> "Şarkan sahibül hayrat menziline muttasıl..." see, Ayda Arel. "Müderris Cihanzade Abdülaziz Efendi," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 10 (Ege Yayınları, 2006), 89.



is framed with marble molding, with its lower left and right sides anchored by two column bases exhibiting Classical design. Enclosed within the frame are four diamond-shaped ornaments, with each corner adorned with acanthus leaves. The same symbol is employed as a wall-painting on the exterior wall of the mosque, situated right on this side (Figure 23). The door, positioned between two marble-framed windows, is topped by a blind curvilinear arch, terminating in scrolls and two colonnettes. Bounded by these colonnettes is a medallion set within a draped motif. The medallion, adorned with curves and acanthus leaves, exudes a distinctively Baroque ambiance. Adjacent to the dispenser, the fountain on the left has a more modest appearance, constructed of brick and featuring a marble, rectangular recess ornamented with a feather-like leaf decorations and houses a spigot and basin. An inscription on the fountain indicates that both the fountain and the sebil were commissioned by Abdülaziz Cihanzade in 1782.<sup>110</sup>



**Figure 19.** Aydın Cihanzade Mosque's dome before the restoration (SALT Archives, Ali Sami Ülgen Photograph Collection)

<sup>110</sup> “Meram-ı Sahibü'l-hayr ve'l-hasenat / İnnelhasenat yüzehhibine's-seyyi'at / Bina itdi bu sebilü rıza en lillah / Dergahında kabul ide ta'ala Allah / Cihanzade el-hac Abdül-'aziz / Aleyhi Rahmetullah el-mülkül-aziz sene 1197” See, Arel, “Müderris Cihanzade,” 91.



**Figure 20.** Aydın Cihanzade Mosque's dome after the restoration (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 21.** Aydın Cihanzade Mosque ablution fountain (şadırvan) ((SALT Archives, Ali Sami Ülgen Photograph Collection)



**Figure 22.** One of the column bases from the ablution fountain (*şadırvan*) of Aydın Cihanzade Mosque (Photographed by the author)

Facing the main trade thoroughfare, these architectural elements also include a vaulted corridor-like structure extending from east to west. The specific purpose of this structure remains undetermined today. The portico appears somewhat isolated and unused, with its original intent obscured by time. Its design, particularly the vaults and arches, imparts a Gothic essence, further accentuated by detailed cavetto moldings. Reflecting upon the 18th-century context and the significance of the thoroughfare, it is conceivable that this portico, with its arches facing the road and providing nearby shelter, may have functioned as a small marketplace. The entire complex is situated in the Köprülü neighborhood, a commercial district in central Aydın, in close proximity to the *Zincirli Han*, an inn that hosted merchants and visitors, located directly on the historic trade route to Izmir (Smyrna). The Köprülü area also boasts several other significant structures including Nasuh Pasa Complex that encompass a mosque, madrasa and a bath. Dating back to 1708, this complex likely served as a pivotal facility for caravans entering the city. The strategic placement of the Cihanzade Abdülaziz Complex, its proximity to the vital routes and other surrounding structures make its location particularly intriguing. The renovation of the bath on the downhill street by Abdülaziz Cihanzade, along with the proximity of another notable structure, Gümrükönü Inn (rumored to be named as Cihanzade Inn), highlights Abdülaziz's commitment to spectacle and increasing his visibility through acts of patronage. The construction of his mosque complex on an elevated prime hilltop further underscores this dedication, showcasing his intent to leave a lasting impression. Abdülaziz was clearly aware that merchants, travelers, and other visitors would inevitably gravitate towards the mosque complex after catching sight of it from the facilities constructed and renovated for their accommodation and use. These monuments that were presented with a new and flamboyant style not only illustrate his personal wealth but also underscored the commanding authority of his family over the region. The lavish outlook of the Baroque style played a pivotal role in vividly expressing this opulence and influence, leaving an indelible impression on anyone fortunate enough to see it.

The Cincin Mosque, another notable structure patronized by Cihanzade el-Hac Abdülaziz, is situated in the agrarian village of Cincin, approximately 20 kilometers west of Güzelhisar-ı Aydın. Constructed in 1785, the mosque has undergone

extensive restoration in the 20th century, which unfortunately resulted in the loss of much of its original wall paintings that once adorned both its interior and exterior surfaces. Despite these changes, the mosque’s distinctive mihrab remains a significant architectural feature. Scholars Yenişehirlioğlu and Arel draw attention to its striking resemblance to St. Peter’s Basilica in the Vatican.<sup>111</sup> This plaster mihrab, notable for its elaborate design, stands in stark contrast to the relatively modest scale of the mosque. (Figure 25) It incorporates twisted columns, a design motif also observed in the *minber* of the Hisar Mosque and the ablution fountain (*şadırvan*) of the Aydın Cihanzade Mosque.

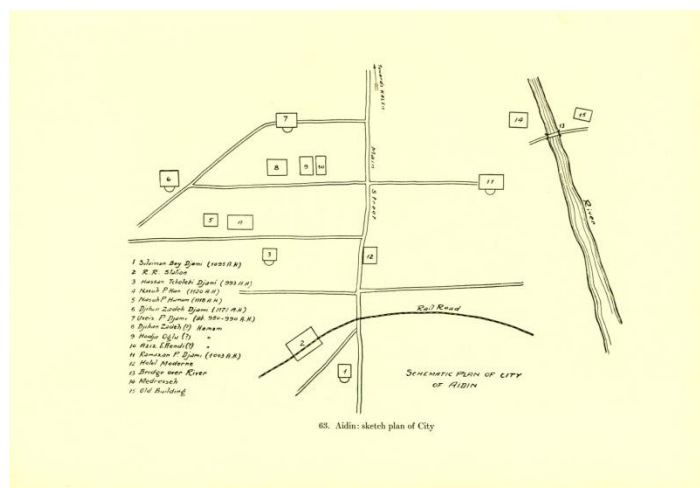


**Figure 23.** Fountain and water dispenser on the southern facade of the Aydın Cihanzade Mosque complex (Photographed by the author)

This mihrab offers deeper insights into provincial Ottoman Baroque in the Western Anatolian region. The twisted columns of the Cincin Cihanzade Mosque’s mihrab, the crosswise arrangement of the bases supporting these columns, and the placement of these elements around the apse closely resemble the "Baroque high altar" found in Baroque-style churches of the 17th and 18th centuries. (Figure 26) While Arel argues that the mihrab in Cincin draws inspiration from St. Peter’s Basilica in Italy—where the concept of “Solomonic” columns originated—suggesting a strong Italian

<sup>111</sup> Ayda Arel, “18. Yüzyılda İzmir Çevresinde Mimari Ortam,” in *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kültür Ortamı*, ed. Ayda Arel, Semavi Eyice, Gül İrepoğlu (İstanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği Yayınları, 1998), 28.

influence in Western Anatolia, it is more appropriate to focus on the entire composition's similarity to the “high altars” in Baroque churches stretching from Germany to China. The Cincin example, though much more modest and constructed with plaster, shares a similar style with several notable churches: the Carmelite Church of St. Joseph in Germany (late 17th and early 18th century), the Ursuline Church in Austria (constructed between 1736-1772), the Church of Santa Maria Assunta in Venice (early 18th century by the Jesuits), St. Dominic’s Church in Macau (17th century by Spanish Dominican friars), and the Church of the Trinity in Russia (late 17th century).



**Figure 24.** Map of Aydın’s Efeler district (Rudolf Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*, 1931)



**Figure 25.** Cincin Mosque’s Mihrab (Google Images)



**Figure 26.** Example of “high altar” by Andrea Pozzo (1683) (Victoria and Albert Museum Collection, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O975501/the-altar-of-st-louis-engraving-andrea-pozzo/>)

The commonality among these examples is that almost all were either constructed or encouraged by missionaries who increasingly settled in these lands during the 16th and 17th centuries. The cultural reflections of these missionary activities are distinctly evident in the architecture. Another prominent example in Izmir is the Santa Maria Catholic Church, built by the Franciscans. In the case of the Cincin Cihanzade Mosque, it is apparent that missionary activities and the accompanying European and global connections of Izmir had an indirect yet discernible influence. The mihrab of this mosque, the only high altar in the Western Anatolia region (and perhaps the whole Ottoman Empire), suggests that craftsmen likely brought along with the missionary envoys, due to the fundamental role of church building in missionary work, may have

been involved in its construction. These itinerant architects, irrespective of their religious backgrounds, might have been employed during the mosque’s construction in the increasingly globalized 18th century. Alternatively, local apprentices employed in missionary structures could have applied their acquired skills here.

The identities and contributions of the craftsmen and architects responsible for the construction of the Cihanzade monuments remain a subject of scholarly inquiry and intrigue. The only discernible information regarding the architects involved in the construction of the two mosques commissioned by Cihanzade Abdülaziz can be inferred from his probate inventory, also known as “tereke,” compiled posthumously (see the original document, Appendix 1). This document details Abdülaziz's belongings such as household items, fields, and livestock, alongside records of his commercial transactions and debts owed to and by individuals in Aydın and its vicinity during his lifetime. For instance, it indicates debts totaling 2,500 *akçe* to two non-Muslim merchants, Agop and Foti, and a combined debt of 1,900 *akçe* to *sarraç* Ali Usta and furniture maker Hacı Halil. Notably, the inventory highlights a figure of architectural interest named Yapıcı Alexander, identified by the title suggesting he was a master builder. It documents a debt of four hundred *akçe* owed to him at the time of Abdülaziz's death. This serious amount of financial transactions likely arose from architectural services rendered by Alexander, who appears to have been one of the prominent non-Muslim Ottoman architects of the era. It is plausible to associate him with the completion of the recently finished Cincin Mosque near the time of Abdülaziz's demise. However, if Yapıcı Alexander indeed contributed to the construction of the Cincin Mosque, it prompts further inquiry into how and where he acquired motifs from the extensive repertoire of Baroque artistic styles.

The widespread availability of symbols, motifs, and materials influenced by both Baroque and Ottoman styles across the Ottoman geography in this century—from the Peloponnesian Peninsula to Yozgat in the east, as well as in other provincial centers like Damascus and Egypt—suggests that architects and patrons were familiar with this style through travel, circulating objects and engravings, or European architects and craftsmen who accompanied diplomatic envoys they served.<sup>112</sup> The rise of Greek and Armenian architects likely influenced the thorough development of this “new style.” Similar to the Baronnian case, the emerging Greek and Armenian architects must have served as intermediaries between the different architectural cultures circulating within the empire. The significant role played by non-Muslim builders has been a long-standing phenomenon, though previously their role was confined to

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<sup>112</sup> For other architectural examples please see, Appendix B.

the “imperial corps.” By the 18th century, they emerged “as an enterprising and semi-autonomous force.”<sup>113</sup> Thus, it is possible that Yapıcı Alexander was one of these Christian *kalfas* who was the part of a central group of architects that catalyst provincial architectural development by reshaping the “Ottoman Baroque”, fusing it with foreign influences, and ultimately defining it as quintessentially Ottoman.

In summary, akin to other influential members of the *ayan* families, the Cihanzade Abdülaziz bolstered his prominence through extensive patronage, primarily directed towards Christian *kalfas*, predominantly centered in Aydın—an important trading hub situated along the route connecting central Turkey and Izmir—and smaller administrative centers surrounding the city. The buildings erected by him significantly heightened the family's visibility in the region, frequented by a diverse mix of locals and foreigners engaged in trade, who utilized these monuments for lodging. Establishments such as mosques, fountains, baths, madrasas, inns, and coffeehouses, all bearing the family's name, catered to this diverse population by providing amenities for eating, bathing, prayer, and leisure activities. Additionally, amidst the turmoil of the devastating Celali revolts and earthquakes during the late 17th century, the family's patronage likely positioned them as pivotal figures in the area's urban revitalization efforts.

### **3.2.2.2. Koçarlı Mosque**

Located approximately 17 kilometers southwest of Güzelhisar-ı Aydın, Koçarlı is a modest market town situated along the southern banks of the Meander River. Central to its bustling bazaar area stands the Cihanzade Mosque, erected in 1834 (H.1250) by Cihanzade Mustafa Ağa, the *ayan* of Sobuca during that era. He emerged as the local leader at the beginning of the 19th century, succeeding his father Cihanzade İbrahim Ağa, who had erected the tower in Koçarlı. In 1848, Cihanzade Mustafa Ağa established a foundation through which he endowed the Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque and its fountain. According to the foundation deed, a portion of the endowment revenues was allocated to salaries for permanent staff such as preachers, imams and

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<sup>113</sup> Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 169.



muezzins in the mosque. Living in the Koçarlı estate (as referenced in Chapter 4), Cihanzade Mustafa Ağa, much like Cihanzade Abdülaziz, asserted his influence by strategically situating himself and his mosque at the center of Koçarlı's bustling commercial district and overseeing the mosque's maintenance, thereby solidifying his sphere of authority in the locality.

Upon entering the courtyard of Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque, one's initial encounter with symbolic representations occurs at the base of the stairs leading to the narthex, specifically at the marble-clad fountain. This structure consists of eight sides, each of dual vertical elements, with fifteen panels adorned in the elaborate decorative idiom characteristic of the 18th century. Notably, one panel at the upper center is later covered with an iron lid. Moving from the leftmost to the rightmost panel, the observer encounters profiles of double-headed eagles, representations of cypress trees, depictions of mosques and urban landscapes, and curtains opening to the right, featuring vases or cups adorned with curved handles. The interstitial spaces between these motifs are filled with vines, branches, and clusters of grapes, leaving scarcely any vacant area. These symbols and motifs are clearly purposeful and systematic rather than random in selection, forming part of a cohesive program directed by its patron, Cihanzade Mustafa, and his artisans responsible for them.

The motifs gracing this ablution fountain and interior adornments of Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque encapsulate essential elements emblematic of authority and effective governance. For instance, the double-headed eagle prominently featured on the fountain bears iconographic significance historically associated with imperial authority. Originating from the Bronze Age and subsequently adopted in Anatolia by both the Byzantine and Seljuk empires, this symbol on the mosque's fountain underscores the Cihanzade family's dynastic linkage to imperial power, affirming the historical legitimacy and authority of the sultan.<sup>114</sup> It serves as a testament to the family's role in manifesting imperial power within the region, an assertion further reinforced by their tombstones within the mosque's courtyard. These tombstones display carvings of the Ottoman coat of arms alongside other Baroque and 18th-century Ottoman motifs, exemplifying their enduring influence and status.

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<sup>114</sup> Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Figural Stone Reliefs on Seljuk Sacred Architecture in Anatolia," *Kunst des Orients* 12, no.1/2 (1978/1979): 114.

The mosque, in general, adheres to a traditional square plan, complemented by an open-plan wooden-columned portico (*son cemaat yeri*), typical of Western Anatolia. The opulent marble minbar and sermon pulpit further enhance the lavish wall frescoes that characterize the mosque's interior decor. They incorporate designs akin to the ablution fountain. The pulpit rests upon a marble column. The stairs leading to it feature a rectangular ornamental panel facing the congregation. Both this panel and the pulpit itself are adorned and arranged with no surface left vacant. The most prominent embellishments consist of fluid, curvilinear motifs resembling S-shaped scrolls. The upper and right edges of the panel are framed with voluted scrolls. At the top of the panel, a motif of roses and branches fills the space. Adjacent to the mihrab on the right side, the minbar's every corner is similarly adorned without any gaps. In the manner familiar from Hisar Mosque, the right and left panels of the minbar are distinct, each filled with similar thematic decorations such as scrolls, branches, flowers, and mosque motifs.



**Figure 27.** Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque, Fountain (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 28.** Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque, Fountain (Photographed by the author).

The use of symbolism and motifs reached its peak in the interior design of the Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque. Today, the upper parts of the interior walls and the dome drum are adorned with wall paintings that cover every inch of the canvas. The upper sections feature similar symbols that have been previously discussed, painted in bright colors. The most prominent and vivid depictions include pears hanging from branches tied with a bow, fruits depicted within curvaceous baroque cartouches, a carpet with rose patterns painted as if hanging on the wall, a vase with fruits on either side placed on a U-shaped chest, and grapes hanging from branches tied with a bow. (Figure 29 & 30 & 31)



**Figure 29.** Photo of the wall painting of branches of pears in Koçarlı Mosque (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 30.** Cartouche paintings on interior walls of Koçarlı Mosque, shaped like curtains with various fruits in the center (Photographed by the author)

The dome drum features a continuous 360-degree mural depicting a pastoral panorama. Following this painting from one point around the entire drum, we see an estate surrounded by protective walls, rising among fruit and cypress trees. Similar to the Cihanzade estate in Koçarlı, there is a two-story mansion at one corner of the protective wall, and across from it, a more square-based structure resembling a tower. To the right of this complex, on a hill, a well with a bucket is visible. The hill slopes down to a body of water, either a sea or a river, on which two different types of ships are depicted (Figure 32). Continuing on, we observe fruit trees on the hills and, to the right of these trees, a large and sturdy structure with high walls. The area surrounding this building is also adorned with a well and additional fruit trees.

(Figure 33) In continuation of the drum, the composition becomes more intricate and colorful, with the addition of new buildings and pastoral elements. On the first hill after the water well, we observe three mills depicted consecutively. These mills were typically water-powered and used for grinding grain. Moving forward, the trees become denser, and we see an orchard with a small structure resembling a vineyard house. Beyond the hill with the vineyard house, there is a mosque depicted in a style that is uncommon in the wall paintings and marble decorations around Istanbul and Izmir. This mosque appears notably elongated, with its dome's eaves extended significantly. Further along, there is a large mansion surrounded by protective walls. As the composition continues around the drum, we notice that the same elements, such as ships, mills, vineyard houses, estates, and fruit trees, are repeated at various intervals, creating a cohesive and continuous scene. (Figure 33 & 34 & 35)



**Figure 31.** The photo captures the wall paintings inside the Cihanzade Mosque in Koçarlı (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 32.** Panoramic wall painting on the Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque's dome's drum (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 33.** Panoramic wall painting on the Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque's dome's drum (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 34.** Panoramic wall painting on the Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque's dome's drum (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 35.** Panoramic wall painting on the Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque's dome's drum (Photographed by the author)

## CHAPTER 4

### RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE CIHANZADE FAMILY

Unveiling an Ottoman provincial notable's residential architecture and his life within it is a challenging task. Patrons of these lavish mansions left behind few, if any, written accounts. Surviving residential structures dating back to the 18th and early 19th centuries are rare, making it difficult to glean insights into their design and construction. Extant official records prioritize information aligned with the administrative concerns of the Ottoman bureaucracy, emphasizing aspects such as dates, zoning, and occasionally, the material used. In rare instances, foreign travelers and ambassadors claimed to have ventured inside these mansions.<sup>115</sup> However, regarding the residences of the Cihanzade family, there is a notable absence of firsthand observations.<sup>116</sup> Apart from the photographs captured by Ali Sami Ülgen in the 1930s and few mentions in the official documents and secondary sources, no records exist today that offer any glimpse into the appearance and characteristics of these residences.<sup>117</sup> As a result, our scholarly understanding of the family's residential architecture remains incomplete, leaving unanswered questions about the craftsmen responsible for construction, the factors influencing layout and style choices, and the artisans behind the ornamental work.

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<sup>115</sup> See, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. Teresa Heffernan and Daniel O'Quinn (Broadview Press, 2012); and Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan, and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

<sup>116</sup> The only surviving residential structure, intermittently used by the family during periods of peril and turmoil is Koçarlı Cihanzade İbrahim Tower, and it will be explored in the following chapter within the context of defensive structures. This tower was presumably erected in the 18th century and served multifunctional roles, including defense, lodging and food storage during times of crisis. See, Ayda Arel, "Gothic Towers and Baroque Mihrabs: The Post-classical architecture of Aegean Anatolia and Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Muqarnas* 10, no. 1 (January 1992): 214; and İlker Gümüş, "Aydın'da Cihanzade İbrahim Ağa Kulesi," *ANASAY* 4, no.13 (August 2020): 167-190.

<sup>117</sup> The Ülgen family's archives can be found on SALT Archives.

Despite these acknowledged challenges, this chapter aims to reconstruct the architecture and lifestyle within the mansions of the Cihanzade family by leveraging previously known sources and incorporating newly explored ones uncovered during the research for this thesis. These sources encompass endowment deeds (*vakfiye*), which offer clues regarding ownership and dates, providing; tombstones for identifying kinship and household members; and previous studies on contemporaneous provincial notables, their architectural patronage and household structure.

#### **4.1. Aydın Mansion of Cihanzade el-hac Abdülaziz (d. 1782)**

In the 18th century, the city of Aydın occupied a pivotal position as a crossroads where the fertile mid-Meander Plain converged with the southern slopes of the Aydın Mountains.<sup>118</sup> This strategic location enabled the city to assert its dominance over crucial transit routes, connecting the inland regions of Anatolia with the vibrant ports along the Aegean coast. During the 18th and 19th centuries, caravan routes traversed what is now the Köprülü-Veysipaşa district, home to the city's primary bazaar, inns, coffeehouses, and craftsmen quarters (Figure 24). Within this district stood the mansion of Cihanzade el-hac Abdülaziz, likely utilized as his main residence during his tenure as the *ayan* of Aydın.<sup>119</sup> Adjacent to this building was his mosque complex, the Aydın Cihanzade Mosque of 1756, which was discussed in the previous chapter.

In Aydın's urban landscape, which gently ascends from the southern plains to the foothills of the mountains, the mosque and mansion once prominently stood at the base of these heights. Although Abdülaziz's mansion no longer exists, a tunnel remains, likely serving as a passage between the mansion's courtyard and that of the mosque complex. This tunnel, a private entrance for him and his family, reflects the function of the ramps leading to the private prayer chambers of the Sultan, a feature increasingly incorporated into 18th-century Istanbul sultanic mosques. This exclusive

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<sup>118</sup> Olcay Pullukçuoğlu-Yapucu and Cihan Özgün. "Batı Anadolu'nun Yol Ağı Araştırmaları-III: İzmir'in Ardalanında Kervan Yolları." *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 26, no. 2 (2011): 527-549.

<sup>119</sup> Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture*, 45.



entrance and passage to the mosque were reserved solely for the Sultan and his entourage. Similarly, the passageway connecting the eastern side of the Cihanzade mosque complex to the mansion's courtyard facilitated a convenient corridor for Abdülaziz Cihanzade, who served as a teacher (*müderris*) at the madrasa within the mosque complex. Built only two years after the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, the jewel of Ottoman Baroque architecture, Abdülaziz likely sought to incorporate a similar privacy strategy that sultans employed in their own mosques.

The strategic placement of Abdülaziz's mansion in proximity to his monumental mosque complex underscores a strategic locational choice. Caravans and travelers entering the city via the principal caravan route were greeted with a striking panorama. The cityscape, dominated by the imposing silhouettes of mosques and their minarets, soared above the modest mudbrick and timber dwellings that formed the urban fabric. Among these prominent structures were the mosque and mansion commissioned by Cihanzade Abdülaziz, strategically positioned beneath the ancient ruins of Tralles. As discussed in Chapter 3, the mosque's elevation on an artificial platform not only enhanced its prominence but also provided a commanding view of the surrounding neighborhood.

## 4.2. Koçarlı Estate

Despite the lack of surviving remnants of the Cihanzade mansions in Koçarlı today, photographs taken by Ülgen reveal a layout strikingly similar to the Çakırağa Mansion in Birgi and Beyler Mansion in Arpaz (Figure 36, 37 and 44). Early twentieth-century images document an adjacent mansion to the tower, both of which suffered destruction in the late eighteenth century due to intra-family conflicts (see, Chapter 2). These structures were subsequently restored in the late nineteenth century. The tower's interior underwent a comprehensive redesign, incorporating a bath (*hamam*), rooms with molded fireplaces, and walls and roofs adorned with eighteenth and nineteenth century style moldings.<sup>120</sup> (Figure 38, 39, 40 and 41) Strategically placed loopholes served as defensive measures against potential

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<sup>120</sup> İlker Gümüş, "Aydın'da Cihanzade İbrahim Ağa Kulesi," *Anasay* 13 (2020): 171.

attackers. The proximity of the mansion and the existence of granaries beneath the tower suggest its use during periods of danger, such as the upheavals and plagues common in the eighteenth century.<sup>121</sup> Both the tower and the mansion offer commanding views of the Meander Valley, an essential and fertile agricultural expanse that the Cihanzade family ruled over and utilized for commercial crop cultivation (Figure 38). The Koçarlı Tower not only enabled the Cihanzade family to oversee the local population but also served as a prominent and enduring symbol of their authority. This imposing structure, likely the tallest and most notable of its time, made the family highly visible to the community, reinforcing their status and influence.

The tower and the mansion are situated within an estate-like complex, enclosed by extensive walls. Accessed via a narrow street and a modest portal, the courtyard encompasses the mansion, the tower, fountains, fruit trees and structures essential for household production, such as a hand mill (Figures 42 and 43). Reflecting contemporary traditional house designs and as documented by Ülgen's photographs, the ground floor was constructed from stone and served as a service area and kitchen, while the upper floors were designated for family accommodation and daily living. Analogous to the Birgi Çakırağa Mansion and the Arpaz Beyler Mansion (Figure 37 and 44), the largest room on the upper floor functioned as a reception room, or *selamlık*, where guests were entertained, and discussions took place. These rooms featured ornate fireplaces and flanking cupboards as standard elements. Analyzing the Birgi and Arpaz mansions, which are geographically proximate and contemporaneously constructed, in conjunction with the remnants of the Cihanzaade family's residences, it becomes apparent that their residential structures served dual purposes. Firstly, these estates functioned as operational hubs, integrating various facilities such as kitchens, mills, vegetable gardens, barns, and ancillary buildings, thus providing shelter for both the family and its extended retinue. Secondly, these structures were characterized by meticulously curated interior and exterior spaces,

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<sup>121</sup> Çağatay Uluçay, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri* (Istanbul: Berksoy Yayınevi, 2019); N. Feryal Tansuğ, "Communal Relations in Izmir/Smyrna, 1826-1864: As Seen Through the Prism of Greek-Turkish Relations" (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2008); Hakan Karagöz, "Bir Alman Kaynağının İzlenimlerine Göre Sarıbeyoğlu İsyanı ve Batı Anadolu'daki Etkileri," *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* (2013): 193-215.

designed by prominent families to project an esteemed self-image among their contemporaries. The domestic life within these mansions mirrored a microcosm of the seraglio in Istanbul. The family, akin to the Sultan in his palace, was attended by a substantial retinue, including positions such as the chief coffeemaker and the architect, as will be elucidated in subsequent sections.



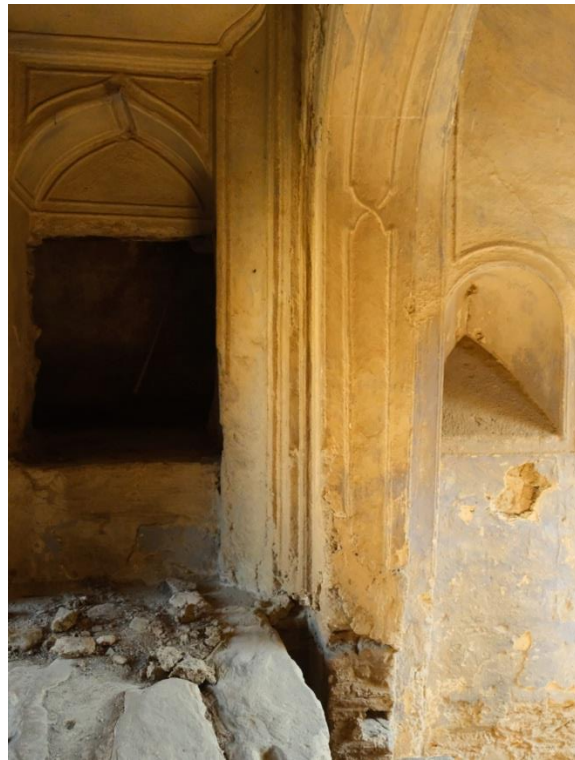
**Figure 36.** Cihanoğlu Mansion in Koçarlı, Aydın (SALT Archives, Ali Sami Ülgen Photograph Collection)



**Figure 37.** Birgi Çakırağa Mansion (SALT Archives, AHIZM203)



**Figure 38.** Koçarlı Cihanzade Tower (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 39.** Koçarlı Cihanzade Tower's Interior Moldings (Photographed by the author)



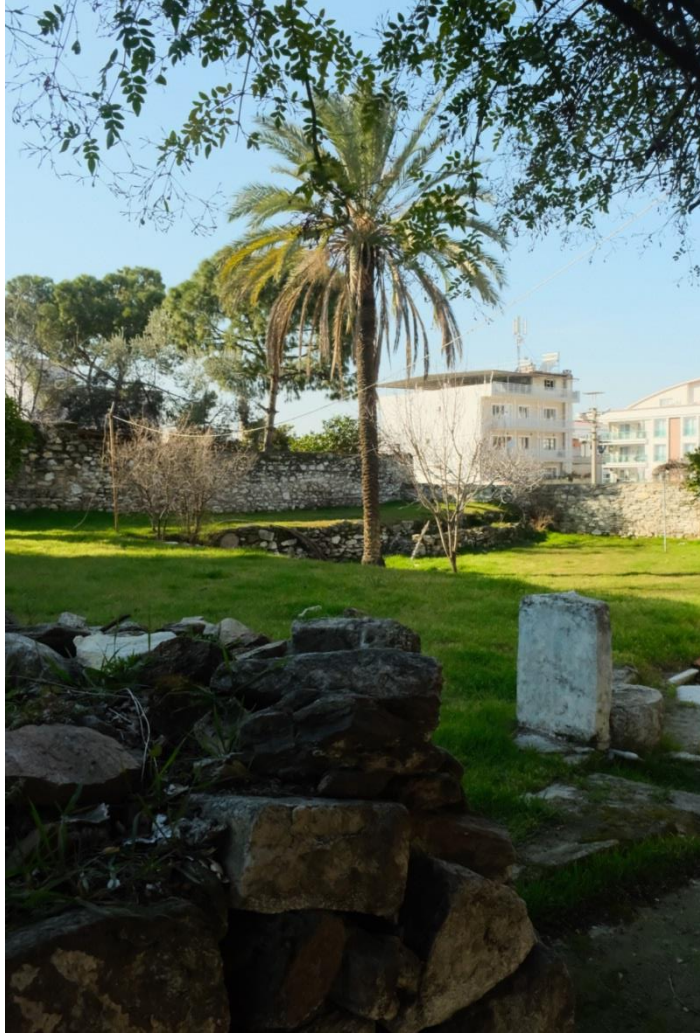
**Figure 40.** Koçarlı Cihanzade Tower's Interior Moldings (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 41.** Koçarlı Cihanzade Tower's Fireplace (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 42.** Courtyard of Koçarlı Estate, Fountain (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 43.** Courtyard of Koçarlı Estate (Photographed by the author)

### 4.3. Cincin Estate

Capitalizing on the burgeoning Western demand for commodities such as cotton and tobacco, the *ayans* restructured their territories into expansive plantations resembling estates. These vast agricultural enterprises focused on cultivating lucrative cash crops destined for the European market, yielding substantial profits.<sup>122</sup> The Cihazade family exemplifies this transformative trend, undergoing significant social ascendance during this epoch. Through adept negotiation and strategic alliances with the Istanbul government, they consolidated their authority as governors and patrons over specific domains within the Aydın region. Economically dominant in the fertile

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<sup>122</sup> See, Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kısa Sosyal Tarihi: Ayanlar, Bürokrasi, Demografi ve Modernleşme*, (Istanbul: TİMAŞ Yayınları, 2019), 59-87.

Meander Valley, renowned for its production of figs, olives, olive oil and raisins, the Cihanzades controlled extensive agricultural lands. Visitors like Rayet and Thomas, documenting Aydın in the latter half of the 19th century, vividly depict the scale and profitability of commerce in this region as:

Figs are harvested at the end of July and beginning of August. They are simply dried in the sun and then packed in baskets for shipment to Smyrna (Izmir), where after a special preparation that enhances their sweet flavor, they are packed in crates. Three-quarters of the figs known in Europe as Smyrna figs come from Aydın. The average production of the Meander Valley is indeed 30.000 camel loads, each containing four “canthares” (kantar).<sup>123</sup> (Figure 45)

As the *ayan* of Aydın who was also deeply engaged in multifaceted endeavors encompassing educational initiatives and the management of the region’s expansive agricultural production and trade networks, Cihanzade Abdülaziz undertook responsibilities that necessitated frequent travel across various locales.<sup>124</sup> Among these, the village of Cincin, positioned on the precipice of the Meander Plain approximately 23 kilometers south of central Aydın (refer to Figure 3). Within this verdant village, enveloped by fig and olive groves, stands a modest mosque commanding a hilltop. Here, amidst the remnants of what likely constituted an ancient citadel, lies the extensive estate of Cihanzade Abdülaziz, enclosed within fortified walls. According to Yenişehirlioğlu, this terrace featured a mansion and adjunct structures, indicative of a feudal organizational scheme.<sup>125</sup> The expansive fortifications, likely renovated by Cihanzade Abdülaziz for personal use, incorporated earlier structures and materials, thereby forming a sprawling terrace settlement designed to ensure both security and economic control of the area (Figure

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<sup>123</sup> Rayet and Thomas. *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, 35.

<sup>124</sup> Veinstein’s article “Ayan de la région”, recounted the travels of the Karaosmanzades to Izmir to inspect the city and maintain order. Another notable example is Ali Pasha of Ioannina, who travels between villages for tax collection and trade regulation. See, Yuzo Nagata, *Tarihte Ayanlar: Karaosmanoğulları Üzerinde bir İnceleme* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1997), 176; Nanninga, J.G. *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel Derde Deel: 1727-1765*. ’s-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1964; Gilles Veinstein, “Ayan de la région d’Izmir et le commerce du Levant (deuxieme moitié du XVIIIe siecle).” *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 20 (1975): 131-147; about Ali Pasha, see, Kate Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha’s Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zvj7v>

<sup>125</sup> Yenişehirlioğlu, “Architecture of Ayan Families,” 327.

47).<sup>126</sup> The citadel itself comprises three distinct levels, with residential quarters likely situated atop the highest tier, affording a commanding vista over the citadel's functional domains. During her on-site investigations, Ayda Arel identified structures such as an oil mill, a camel stable, a caravanserai, and an olive processing facility within the citadel walls. Given the vast expanse of the citadel and Abdülaziz's retinue, which included domestic staff and a standing army maintained during his governance, it is conceivable that at least a segment of the military contingent resided within these extensive precincts.<sup>127</sup> Adjacent to the citadel terrace lies a leveled patch of land, likely utilized for agricultural cultivation of vegetables and fruits intended for internal consumption within the estate. In the middle of this garden is a well-constructed stone well, likely sourced from the nearby ancient city of Amyzon and repurposed as *spolia*. A photograph by Ali Sami Ülgen, dating back to the 1930s, showcases a mansion nestled within the citadel, exemplifying the traditional open-plan design characteristic of Ottoman residences (Figure 46). Spanning two or three floors, the structure features rooms that extend into open-air spaces accommodating various functional areas, including cozy sofa beds and designated corners for coffee and food service.



**Figure 44.** Arpaz Beyler Mansion and Tower (SALT Archives, Ali Sami Ülgen Photograph Collection)

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<sup>126</sup> During Ayda Arel's surface surveys in the citadel, locals recounted a legend suggesting that the stones of the castle were transported individually from the ancient city of Amyzon. While the accuracy of this account remains uncertain, it echoes a similar narrative found in a petition written by Ankara locals in the 18th century. In the petition, they complained about being forced by their provincial notable (*ayan*) to carry stones for the renovation of his mansion in the city. See, Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık*, 215.

<sup>127</sup> Abdülaziz Efendi, during his tenure as a local leader (*âyan*), joined the army with 300 men in the Battle of Moskof in 1770 and with 400 men in 1772. In 1774 and 1776, he was appointed as the chief commander for the Tuna and Bağdat regions and was entrusted with military supplies and responsibilities. In the year 1190 in the Islamic calendar, which corresponds to 1776 in the Gregorian calendar. Arel, "Aydın ve Yöresinde Bir Ayan Ailesi," 193.





**Figure 45.** “Renowned Fig Orchards in Aydın” (SALT Archives, Muhammed Ali Cumhuriyet Kitaphanesi Aydın İstasyon Caddesi)



**Figure 46.** Cincin Castle and Cincin Estate (Google Images)



**Figure 47.** Cincin Cihanzade Mansion (SALT Archives, Ali Sami Ülgen Photograph Collection)

The grandeur and complexity of their residential structures reveal the necessity of contextualizing them within their extensive households. Similar to other eminent families of the Ottoman Empire, the domestic organization of the Cihanzade family mirrored the hierarchical structure of the Sultan's palace, incorporating resident domestic servants and soldiers.<sup>128</sup> Therefore, when envisioning figures like Cihanzade El-Hac Abdülaziz - whether reclining with a cup of coffee or traveling between his winter and summer residences - it is imperative to imagine these scenes not as isolated moments but as part of a broader communal context that includes his extended family and entourage. This collective presence is intricately woven into the architectural layout of the family's estates, reflecting a communal spirit that permeated their domestic spaces.

#### 4.4. Domestic Life of the Cihanzade Family

The principal repository of information regarding the composition of the Cihanzade household is the family graveyard nestled within the courtyard of the Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque. (Figure 48) This burial site, exclusively designated for the interment of the family members, contains forty-one inscribed tombstones erected not only for close relatives but also for dependents and servants who were integral to their domestic environment. Among the tombstones lies one dedicated to Uteka Hanife Hanım (d. 1837 (?), H. 1253 (?)), whose appellation *uteka* implies her status as a liberated former slave. (Figure 49) The inscription on her tombstone indicates her affiliation with Cihanzade Ibrahim Ağa, the benefactor of the opulent Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque (refer to Chapter 3), who resided in a grand mansion adjacent to the renowned Cihanzade Tower. While her grave does not explicitly denote her domestic role, it is inferred that she shared a close relationship with the family, evident in her commemoration with a marble tombstone adorned with a triangular top featuring vertical lines, alongside other members of the household. The reference in Cihanzade Ibrahim's endowment deed (*vakfiye*) stipulating that his freed slaves

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<sup>128</sup> Karen Barkey suggests that the newly formed elite households mirrored the structure of the Sultan's household. Rather than being autonomous magnates, these households relied on the Sultan's authority, wielding power alongside him. They were supported by a retinue that offered protection and information within a complex web of patronage and elite networks. See, Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference*, 260.

would inherit his property in the event of the demise of all his children and immediate family members further reveals the nature of this relationship.<sup>129</sup>

Another noteworthy tombstone belongs to the family's chief coffeemaker (*kahvecibaşı*, a prestigious role within the Ottoman palace) Mustafa Ağa, adorned with a simple slab dating back to 1820 (H. 1235) (Figure 50).<sup>130</sup> In Istanbul, the position of the chief coffeemaker held a ceremonial significance.<sup>131</sup> He would be stationed at the court to oversee the preparation and service of coffee, which was offered to visiting Ottoman statesmen and foreign envoys. In private homes such as Cihanzades', the chief coffeemaker would preside over private gatherings and women's social events. The elaborate ceremonial ritual accompanying the serving of coffee by Mustafa Ağa likely functioned as an exhibition of the host's affluence to their guests, accentuating their social status. The inscription on his tombstone indicates his link with the same household as the Uteka Hanife Hanim. He perhaps resided in an annex within the expansive Cihanzade estate in Koçarlı, enclosed by lofty walls and filled with service spaces. His duties would have included attending to Cihanzade İbrahim Ağa and the diverse array of guests hailing from various backgrounds, including Ottoman statesmen, other local landlords, brokers and merchants. One of these guests currently rests in the same graveyard and inscription on his tombstone, which is embellished with acanthus leaves and crowned by the customary headgear, indicates that it belonged to Esseyid Mehmet Ağa, who passed away while sojourning as a guest in Koçarlı in 1843 (H.1259).<sup>132</sup> Hailing from Alaşehir, a town situated in the northern region of Aydın, the specific style of turban adorning his tomb may have signified his status as a lower/middle-class *ulema*. In a gesture of reverence towards their departed guest, the Cihanzades commemorated him with a burial slab featuring a fusion of baroque and Ottoman elements. (Figure 51)

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<sup>129</sup> İlker Gümüş, "Cihanzade Ailesi Vakıfları," 53.

<sup>130</sup> The inscription reads as follows: "Hüve'l Hallaku'l-Baki. Ziyaretden murad hemen duadır. Bugün bana ise yarın sanadır. Cihanzade İbrahim ağa. Kahveci başı, merhum el hac. Mustafa Ağa ruhu için Fatiha. Sene 1235."

<sup>131</sup> Zeynep Tarım, "Coffee Service in Ottoman Protocol," in *A Drop of Pleasure 500 Years of Turkish Coffee*, ed. Ersu Pekin (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2016), 200.

<sup>132</sup> The inscription reads as follows: "...Alaşehir'den olub Koçarlı'da müsafirken ikamet üzere iken / Azim-i dar-ı beka olan merhum ve / Mağfur Esseyid Mehmed Ağa'nın / Ruhuna Fatiha fi Muharrem sene 1259".



**Figure 48.** Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque, Family Graveyard (Photographed by the author)



**Figure 49.** Uteka Hanım’s Tombstone in Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque Graveyard (Abdül Halim Varol, “Aydın Koçarlı Cihanoğlu Camii Haziresi Mezar Taşları,” 2015)



**Figure 50.** Chief Coffeemaker Mustafa Ağa’s Tombstone in Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque Graveyard (Abdül Halim Varol, “Aydın Koçarlı Cihanoğlu Camii Haziresi Mezar Taşları,” 2015)



**Figure 51.** Guest Mehmet Ağa’s tombstone in Koçarlı Cihanzade Mosque Graveyard (Abdül Halim Varol, “Aydın Koçarlı Cihanoğlu Camii Haziresi Mezar Taşları,” 2015)

When statesmen or foreign dignitaries embarked on an official journey, they would be hosted in the mansions belonging to prominent families along their routes or at their final destinations. Their entourages would either establish camps within the walls of these estates or, as indicated in various records, they were provided accommodations in nearby inns (referred as *hans*) or rooms in a local madrasa. Usually, a letter from Istanbul is sent to the local administrator, detailing arrangements for lodging and meals for the upcoming official guest.<sup>133</sup> The example of Esseyid Mehmed Ağa highlights that the Cihanzade estate, like numerous other notable residences across the empire, regularly welcomed guests from outside its immediate circles. These visitors often included individuals of high standing such as governors, ambassadors, or merchants. The Cihanzade estate played a multifaceted role, serving as both a residence for the household, a venue for the family’s self-representation and negotiation efforts, and a symbol of the Ottoman state. It functioned as an extension of the Ottoman court and the provincial outposts of the imperial administration, hosting high-ranking state officials.

<sup>133</sup> For instance, a receipt from 1693 (H. 1104) found in the archives shows the amount spent on the repair of the Demirtaş Paşa Mansion of Edirne, allocated for the residence of the British ambassador. In another document from 1717 (H. 1129), it is stated that near Edirne’s Mihal Bridge, Hasan Ağa Mansion was allocated for the temporary residence of the British ambassador for one penny for each day. .BOA İE.HR.3-299..H-02-07-110, BOA YB..04.4-24..H-11-06-1129, BOA A.MKT..43-69..H-15-06-1262.

## CHAPTER 5

### A CONTEXTUAL EXPLORATION OF THE CIHANZADE FAMILY'S ARCHITECTURE

The architectural works commissioned by the Cihanzade family, alongside other edifices throughout Western Anatolia (additional examples are detailed in Appendix 2), manifest a coherence in their decorative programs. These buildings embody an essence rooted in the Ottoman classical tradition, enriched by Baroque influences. This fusion is seamlessly integrated into the regional artistic milieu through coherent methodologies. The craftsmen involved in these projects adeptly absorbed novel motifs and techniques, reinterpreting them within a local context, thus marking a significant period of innovation in the provincial architectural history of the Ottoman Empire. This connectivity extends beyond shared backgrounds, permeating diverse religious structures and showcasing an all-encompassing 18th-century architectural paradigm. For instance, the interior decorations of Aydın's Cihanzade Mosque and İzmir's Hisar Mosque (see, Chapter 3), with their Baroque motifs crafted from gilded plaster, exhibit remarkable similarities to the ornamentations found in the churches of the Aegean coastal towns Çeşme and Güllübahçe (Söke) (Figures 52 and 53).<sup>134</sup>

This posits that the architectural patronage of the Cihanzade family was an integral part of a larger movement of architectural flourishing that transcended cultural and geographical boundaries. Firstly, it paralleled a global trend wherein Baroque elements were extensively integrated with local traditions. Secondly, it echoed a concurrent trend within the Ottoman Empire, reflecting the architectural transformation of the capital. Thirdly, it significantly contributed to the architectural rejuvenation of Western Anatolia, which commenced in the 18th century, catalyzing the transformation of public and residential edifices in the region, driven by the

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<sup>134</sup> Arel, *Tanzimat Öncesi*, 65.

prosperity and burgeoning economic conditions of the era. The architectural agenda of the Cihanzade family was profoundly influenced by their intricate social, political, and cultural interactions with a diverse array of actors within each of these contexts. This section endeavors to identify these actors and elucidate the Cihanzade family's interactions with them, during a period that was characterized by complex negotiation processes, alliances, interactions, and power struggles between these groups and the family, within a tumultuous political landscape. Furthermore, it examines the role of the family's architectural patronage and the novel styles they employed in reinforcing their status and relationships within this intricate network.



**Figure 52.** Çeşme Agios Haralambos Church (Google Images)



**Figure 53.** Church of St. Nicholas in Güllübahçe (Gelebeç) (Google Images)

### **5.1. Istanbul Government and Its Central Agents**

The relationship between the *ayans*, including the Cihanzade family, and the central Ottoman government was characterized by volatility and complexity. The interests of these regional magnates frequently diverged from those of the central authority, resulting in intermittent tensions. To assert and sustain their influence over their respective localities, the *ayans* engaged in continuous negotiations with Istanbul and its provincial agents, such as the *vali* (governor) and *kadı* (judge), who represented the central authority's legal and administrative interests in the provinces. These daily alliances and political exchanges were essential for securing and maintaining critical privileges, such as tax-collection rights, land ownership, and appointments to official positions.

*Ayans*, as the local notables of the Ottoman Empire, were entrusted with numerous responsibilities, as outlined in Chapter 2. These included ensuring security, collecting taxes, and providing soldiers to the central government within their respective



territories. From the 18th century onwards, they increasingly acted as intermediaries for the central government in the provincial localities. This shift was necessitated by the immense financial and military burdens of ongoing wars, which impeded Istanbul's capacity to manage provincial affairs effectively. A prominent example is Cihanzade el-Hac Abdülaziz and his contribution of 700 soldiers in total during the Russo-Ottoman wars between 1700-1772. In recognition of his support, he was appointed commander of the Danube in 1774 and of Baghdad in 1776, with the added duty of providing troops.<sup>135</sup>

Procurement of soldiers and security provision by the *ayans* was deeply intertwined with their local identities. The French consul to Izmir (Smyrna), Peyssonnel, noted in 1772 that the effectiveness of these local magnates derived less from their administrative skills and more from their ability to mobilize local resources in times of crisis. Peyssonnel specifically highlighted the Karaosmanzade family of Manisa, whose local roots and community ties enabled them to marshal resources more efficiently than an Istanbul-appointed governor.<sup>136</sup> In certain cases, such as this one, the central government intervened when the Karaosmanzade family began to consolidate excessive power and garnered substantial loyalty from soldiers and actors. In 1772, to curtail the growing influence of the Karaosmanzade family, the government dispatched the governor of Bornova, Ayvaz Ağa to Izmir and upon arrival, he set fire to the building where Karaosmanoglu was hiding. In retaliation, local governors including members of the Cihanzade family, numbering between 10,000 and 12,000 men, rallied to Karaosmanoglu's defense. To prevent further escalation, officials persuaded Karaosmanoglu to acquiesce to the government's demands.<sup>137</sup>

In certain instances, some notable figures incited resistance against the Sultan's rule, escalating conflicts to the extent of engaging in combat with the soldiers of the

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<sup>135</sup> BOA, C..AS. 693-29082, "The deputy of the Shah of Iran...Ayдын and Menteşe sanjaks' ayan Cihanzade Abdülaziz Ağa hastily appointed for equipping two hundred cavalry soldiers from his own property, and set out for Baghdad" (1776)

<sup>136</sup> Veinstein, "Ayan de la Region," 134.

<sup>137</sup> Frangakis Syrett, *Commerce of Smyrna*, 54.

Istanbul government to assert their autonomy over their localities. Prominent examples include Ali Pasha of Ioannina, the Çapanzades of Yozgat, and Pazvandzade. However, uprisings for independence were exceptional cases. Generally, the ayans functioned as integral provincial actors within the expansive Ottoman bureaucracy. Their positions afforded them significant financial and influential advantages, as evidenced by the Cihanzade family's income generating assets noted in their endowment deeds. A comparison between the first endowment deed, which documented the income-generating assets of Cihanzade Mehmet Ağa in 1737, and a subsequent deed by Cihanzade Abdülaziz in 1755, reveals a substantial increase in the family's assets, the acres of land, and the salaried personnel responsible for maintaining these resources more than doubled.<sup>138</sup>

The relationship between the provincial notables and the central state was characterized by a dynamic and fluctuating interplay. As the *ayan* adhered to the directives of the central government and maintained security and other administrative responsibilities in the provinces on its behalf, they ascended in prominence. However, when the *ayan* accrued excessive power and influence, the central state endeavored to curtail their authority to prevent them from becoming overly dominant. Architectural patronage emerged as a tangible manifestation of this negotiation process between the *ayan* and the central government in two significant ways. Firstly, the public and residential edifices commissioned by the *ayans* served multifaceted roles as accommodations, and assembly points for central government officials stationed in the provinces (refer to Chapter 4, Misafir Esseyid Mehmed Ağa case). These structures, analogous to the *ayans* themselves, embodied the authority and presence of the central government of Istanbul in the provincial regions. Secondly, the *ayans* assumed responsibility for the upkeep of pious buildings and infrastructural projects within their jurisdictions. By ensuring the maintenance and functionality of regional infrastructure and public works, they demonstrated their administrative competence and commitment to public welfare.

How did these responsibilities shape the stylistic preferences of the Cihanzade family in their architectural patronage? As elaborated in Chapter 4, the tombstone of

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<sup>138</sup> Gümüş, "Cihanzade Ailesi," 52-55.

Mehmet Ağa in the courtyard of the Cihanzade Koçarlı Mosque provides evidence of frequent visits from officials and dignitaries from Istanbul and other cities. During a period when public and private accommodation options were scarce in the provinces, the expansive mansions and other substantial public edifices constructed by the provincial magnates served as lodging for central governors and officials. Consequently, the Cihanzade family likely designed their buildings with the expectation of hosting visitors from Istanbul and other central authorities, thus reflecting an architectural style that combined functionality with the need to impress and accommodate these distinguished guests. The architectural adornments of the buildings were imbued with symbolic significance. The coat of arms on the tombstones of the Cihanzade family members signaled their unwavering loyalty to the central state and underscored their role as its agents to visiting officials. (Figure 54) The intricate decorations embellishing their mosques, fountains, and public water sources underscored the developmental activities initiated in the villages under their jurisdiction, thereby showcasing their influence. Concurrently, these embellishments served as potent symbols of the family's power and, at times, functioned as implicit warnings. The opulence, dramatic flair, and monumental grandeur of the Baroque style, as evidenced by the estates in Cincin Village with their formidable castle walls designed to house soldiers alongside the family, and the imposing towers of the Koçarlı estates, were strategically crafted to both reassure and intimidate the central state.



**Figure 54.** Cihanzade Family Graveyard, Ottoman Coat of Arms (Photographed by the author)

The second significant aspect pertains to municipal governance and infrastructure development. In the latter half of the 18th century, the philanthropic activities of the Cihanzade family are meticulously recorded in their endowment deeds. Particularly noteworthy is the 1755 deed (H. 1168) of Cihanzade el-Hac Abdülaziz, which delineates the establishment of numerous public facilities, including a madrasa, a fountain, a water disposal system, and a mosque. This endowment deed specifies that the income generated from the *vakıf*'s assets was to be allocated for the provision of candles, beeswax, and olive oil, thereby ensuring that the minaret lamps of the Aydın Cihanzade Mosque would remain illuminated throughout Ramadan.<sup>139</sup> Another noteworthy instance involves the charitable foundations established by the wives of Cihanzade Abdülaziz, specifically Ümmühan Hanım and Atike Hanım. Ümmühan Hanım's 1786 endowment decree mandated the daily provision of chilled water and honey sherbet cooled with snow during the summer months at the fountain located on the street-facing wall of Abdülaziz's külliye in Aydın. Additionally, in her 1215 foundation, she directed that the proceeds from the endowment be allocated towards the maintenance of aqueducts in the region now recognized as Aydın İncirliova.<sup>140</sup> Atike Hanım's 1788 endowment notably encompassed the establishment of fountains and water dispensers within Aydın's central Kubbe-i Ala district. Her endowment decree specified regular inspections of water channels servicing the mosque, fountains, and lodges. Furthermore, it mandated the daily distribution of chilled water and sherbet cooled with snow from the fountains situated in another neighborhood.<sup>141</sup>

## 5.2. Other Ayan Families in the Western Anatolian Region

Situated amidst the fertile landscape of the Meander Valley, the Cihanzade family found themselves in the company of numerous *ayan* households, all deeply involved in a spectrum of activities ranging from patronage to governance and commerce. Northward, Aydın bordered the city of Manisa, renowned for its expansive cotton

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Gümüş, "Cihanzade Ailesi," 55-56.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

fields, which constituted a major source of export to Smyrna. These fields were overseen by the influential Karaosmanzade family, who wielded considerable authority throughout the Meander Valley. The Karaosmanzades maintained close relations with the Ottoman central administration and were tasked primarily with ensuring regional security and stability.<sup>142</sup> Their political stature was bolstered by their pivotal role in aiding the central government during the Vienna War of 1691, notably in the apprehension of non-compliant timar holders.<sup>143</sup>

Moreover, during the 18th century, the Katipzade family emerged as a prominent *ayan* lineage exerting considerable influence in Izmir. Ottoman archival sources attest to their widespread presence as *ayans* and voivodes in the region. Noteworthy among them, Katipzade Ahmed Reşid, in the 1760s, demonstrated his influence through significant endowments including a mosque, school, madrasa, and fountain in Izmir's Cami-i Atik neighborhood.<sup>144</sup> Similarly, the Hamzabalizade and İlyaszade families constituted other influential *ayan* dynasties, particularly in the Güzelhisar-ı Aydın. As the city gained political prominence in the 18th century, these families solidified their positions. By the late 18th century, the Hamzabalizade family had amassed extensive properties in and around Aydın, underscoring their regional stature. Meanwhile, the İlyaszade family, serving as *mütesellims*, played a crucial role in maintaining public order across Western Anatolia and the Aegean islands, such as Samos and Chios, during periods of occasional unrest. In addition to these notable lineages, several lesser-known families wielded moderate yet significant influence in the 18th-century Aydın region. Among them were the Balcızade family of Izmir, Musa Ağa and his kin in Köşk, *ayan* Mehmed Bey and his household in Arpaz, the Tayanzade family in Birgi, the Camuszade family in Yenişehir, and the İlıcazade family in Balyanbolu, among others. Collectively, these families contributed to the intricate socio-political fabric of the era, each playing a pivotal role in local governance and economic affairs.

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<sup>142</sup> Veinstein, "Ayan de la Region," 134.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Nergiz Çelen, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlar ve Bir Ayan Ailesi Olarak Katipzade Ailesi" (Master's Thesis, Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi, 2019), 56.

In the Western Anatolian region, the *ayan* families, bound by common geography, engaged in a dynamic quest for favor from the Istanbul government, contending for limited resources across commerce, agriculture, and other vital sectors. For instance, the Cihanzade family relied significantly on the Meander River as a crucial economic artery, while the Hamzabalizade family utilized the same river for the transportation of their commercial goods via small vessels.<sup>145</sup> Both families strategically leveraged matrimonial alliances to solidify their shared commercial interests into potential partnerships. Notably, Cihanzade Mustafa Agha, brother of Cihanzade Abdülaziz, formed a marital union with el-Hacce Fatma Şerife Hanım of the Hamzabalizade family, exemplifying their strategic approach to consolidating influence and resources.<sup>146</sup> However, relations among the *ayans* were characterized not by enduring alliances but rather by volatile rivalries, exacerbated by the Istanbul government's policy of power balancing. This approach intensified tensions within the region as the government alternately supported and undermined powerful *ayans* to prevent any single faction from dominating. An illustrative example of this dynamic is found in the conflict between the Karaosmanzade family of Manisa and Çelik Paşa of Aydın. Çelik Paşa's acquisition of "18 barrels of powder from Holland in Izmir" emboldened him to launch an offensive against the Karaosmanzade and their supporters, highlighting the competitive and occasionally confrontational nature of *ayan* interactions. Moreover, the observations of the French consul Peyssonel underscored similar rivalries, noting the ongoing competition between the Arabzade family of Pergamon and the Karaosmanzade family of Izmir and Manisa.<sup>147</sup>

In the domain of architectural representation and conspicuous consumption, the *ayans* (local notables) of the 18th century endeavored to assert their social distinction through elaborate and pioneering architectural ventures. As highlighted by Jerzy Lukowski in Chapter 1, the pursuit of a "sense of exclusivity" served as the

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<sup>145</sup> Tanju Demir, "Aydınlı bir Ayan Hamzabalizade İbrahim Beye Ait Arşiv Kayıtları," in *Sosyal, Beşeri ve İdari Bilimler'de Akademik Araştırmalar* ed. Mehmet Yavuz Erler and Abdullah Şevki Duymaz (Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2018), 341.

<sup>146</sup> Gümüş, "Cihanzade Ailesi," 50.

<sup>147</sup> Veinstein, "Ayan de la Region," 133.

paramount motivation driving elite consumption and patronage during this period.<sup>148</sup> Situated in the Meander Valley, the Cihanzade family confronted challenges to their perceived exclusivity from rival *ayan* clans. Consequently, they commissioned architectural projects of heightened opulence and innovation to assert their unique identity. A survey of the Western Anatolian landscape reveals that 18th-century structures sponsored by the *ayans* exemplify meticulous craftsmanship and monumental scale. Prominent illustrations encompass the Karaosmanzade Sebil (Figure 55) and the Çakırzade Mansion, showcasing the region's architectural splendor under the aegis of elite patronage.



**Figure 55.** Karaosmanzade Atike Hanım fountain in Akhisar, Manisa (1801)  
(Google Images)

### 5.3. Local Residents

The *ayans* exhibited a deep integration with the local populace under their authority. Within Aydın, governed by the Cihanzade family, residents were predominantly composed of reaya—tax-paying peasants, guild workers, and soldiers of diverse backgrounds. According to Milet et Latmique, the city was geographically segmented into four distinct districts of varying sizes. The southwestern sector

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<sup>148</sup> Lukowski, *The European Nobility*, 18.

housed the Jewish quarter, notable for its prosperous Jewish community primarily engaged in commerce, notably as brokers and money changers.<sup>149</sup> Adjacent lay the city's core, predominantly Muslim, hosting significant religious and commercial landmarks like the Cihanzade Abdülaziz Mosque, numerous inns, and a vibrant bazaar (*çarşı*).<sup>150</sup> Across the Aydın Çayı river, the Christian district of "Monastiri and Képassi" housed Greeks and Armenians, marking another crucial socio-economic sector of the city.

Cihanzade family wielded influence over this markedly diverse populace of Güzelhisar-ı Aydın, which was profoundly affected by the tumultuous upheavals of the 18th century. These disruptions left a lasting imprint on locals' agricultural practices, trade dynamics and daily life. A notable instance is the Sarıbeyoğlu rebellion of 1738, led by a local marauder who targeted the region encompassing İzmir, with raids extending to Denizli, Manisa and Aydın. In response, the central government entrusted Karaosmanzade Mustafa, the *ayan* of Manisa, with the responsibility of defending local communities and safeguarding trade routes. Karaosmanzade's strategic response included fortifying İzmir against Sarıbeyoğlu's incursions. According to Frankagis-Syrett, Karaosmanzade also negotiated a substantial financial settlement with Sarıbeyoğlu's faction to quell further hostilities.<sup>151</sup>

Moreover, the interaction between the *ayans* and the local populace extended to encompass significant trade dynamics. Peasants and artisans, despite cultivating cash crops desired for sale, faced barriers in accessing European traders and İzmir's commercial networks directly. As a result, they turned to local *ayans* to facilitate the inclusion of their agricultural produce into commercial circulation. For instance, in Bergama, situated near İzmir, the community relied on the Arabzade family to transport their wheat via carts to French vessels, thereby illustrating the pivotal role of *ayans* in facilitating local economic interactions with broader commercial

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<sup>149</sup> Rayet and Thomas. *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, 37.

<sup>150</sup> Rayet and Thomas. *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, 38.

<sup>151</sup> Frankagis-Syrett, *Commerce of Smyrna*, 52.



entities.<sup>152</sup> Within this intricate socio-political landscape of 18th-century Ottoman provincial governance, the tensions between the *ayans* (local notables) and the local populace were frequently pronounced. Özkaya's scholarly investigations illuminate numerous grievances lodged by the locals to the regional judge, highlighting allegations of excessive and unlawful taxation by the provincial ruler. A recurring theme in these petitions is the assertion of rampant corruption and the imposition of unauthorized levies by the *ayans*.<sup>153</sup> For instance, a petition from 1713, authored by the inhabitants of Ayvalık and addressed to the Bardacık qadi and the commander of Bozcaada Castle, chronicles the illicit tax interventions by the *ayan* Karaalizade, who is accused of unlawfully extorting money. Similarly, a 1713 decree sent to the qadi of Sis in Adana documents escalating oppression under the notable Divanzade.<sup>154</sup> These petitions sometimes prompted significant responses from governmental authorities, resulting in severe punitive measures against the offending *ayans*. The official response often entailed the confiscation of the *ayans'* assets and, in certain instances, their execution, as exemplified by the case of Karaosmanzade.<sup>155</sup>

In the perception of the local populace, the *ayans* embodied a duality of authority. On one hand, they represented a source of security and order; on the other, they were seen as oppressive figures who exacted exorbitant levies and exerted tyrannical control over the community. The architectural patronage of the Cihanzade family symbolized this duality. Their contributions to infrastructural renewal and the provision of public facilities underscored their role in maintaining order. However, the imposing nature of their constructions also served as a stark reminder of the family's iron-fisted control. Through their architectural endeavors, the Cihanzades sought to encapsulate this duality by employing a variety of symbols and motifs, thereby reinforcing both their benevolent and authoritarian roles within the community. For instance, the interior wall paintings of the Koçarlı Cihanzade

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<sup>152</sup> Veinstein, "Ayan de la Region," 137.

<sup>153</sup> Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık*, 53.

<sup>154</sup> Özkaya, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ayanlık*, 61-62.

<sup>155</sup> Yuzo Nagata, "Karaosmanoğulları," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/karaosmanogullari>

Mosque offer a compelling amalgamation of pastoral and urban motifs, indicative of a society with sophisticated infrastructure and architectural prowess. These visual elements draw a parallel to Ambrogio Lorenzetti's 14th-century "The Effects of the Good Government in the City/Country" and "The Effects of Bad Government in the City/Country" (Figures 56, 57 and 58) frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena. Commissioned during a period of Siena's economic and political prosperity, dominated by merchants and bankers, Lorenzetti's frescoes encapsulate the era's political dynamics. Similarly, the 14th-century Siennese experience of frequent political turmoil among city-states mirrors the strife in the 18th-century Ottoman provinces. Lorenzetti's "Good Government" fresco depicts a harmonious urban landscape, underscored by themes of justice and peace, illustrated through fortified city walls, flourishing agriculture, and communal activities such as fishing, dancing, and harvesting. In contrast, "Bad Government" fresco showcases a tyrannical figure amidst a chaotic, desolate cityscape with burning homes and barren lands, symbolizing the ravages of misrule.<sup>156</sup> The parallels between the Cihanzade Mosque's wall paintings and Lorenzetti's frescoes underscore the universal theme of "governance" and its impact on societal order and prosperity. This comparison illuminates the Cihanzades' vision when commissioning their extensive dome drum panorama. This panorama, emphasizing peace and order, features sturdy houses, grand mansions, and modest homes within an idyllic setting. Ships navigate a secure and thriving environment, while abundant wells, fertile lands, and fruit trees suggest a prosperous life for both locals and rulers. The portrayal of stability and prosperity serves as a testament to the Cihanzades' aspiration to project an image of stability and abundance in a region previously beset by wars, upheavals, and internal conflicts during the preceding century.

Overall, this example showcases a significant transformation in the architectural patronage of Aydın. The novel approach integrated traditional Ottoman motifs with emergent Baroque influences to convey symbolic messages and assert authority. Prior to this period, local governance in regions like Aydın was dominated by

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<sup>156</sup> Wolfgang Drechsler, *Good and Bad Government: Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Frescoes in the Siena Town Hall as Mission Statement for Public Administration Today* (Budapest: e Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative Open Society Institute, 2001), 9-10.

absentee central governors, contrasting with the subsequent rise of ayans. Families of notable lineage, such as the descendants of Egypt Beylerbeyi Kara Üveys Paşa (1529-1591), notably invested in their native Aydın through architectural patronage. Üveys Paşa, reputedly from one of Aydın's oldest families, commissioned the Üveys Paşa Mosque, while subsequent generations, including Süleyman Bey and Ramazan Paşa, erected prominent mosques such as the Bey Mosque (1683) and the Ramazan Paşa Mosque (1595). These constructions primarily served as acts of piety rather than mere demonstrations of power, as these families predominantly resided in Istanbul, the empire's political and cultural hub. Consequently, their architectural styles often mirrored central Ottoman tastes while incorporating local ornamentation. In contrast, the Cihanzades of the 18th century emphasized their local heritage by adopting Baroque aesthetics to create theatrically expressive spaces. Their mosques were intentionally designed for public accessibility, featuring vivid wall paintings and symbols easily comprehensible to lay audiences, departing from the abstract and calligraphic styles prevalent in earlier eras. This stylistic shift underscored a broader evolution in architectural patronage from distant bureaucratic governance to more localized community engagement.

#### **5.4. Residents of Izmir**

In the 18th century, amidst the industrialization of European economies and the concurrent pressures of diminishing arable land and burgeoning populations, there arose a heightened demand for sustenance and raw materials. The Ottoman Empire emerged as a pivotal supplier to Europe, exporting commodities such as silk, mohair yarn, cotton, grain, and olive oil, while concurrently importing manufactured goods and colonial products.<sup>157</sup> Izmir, in particular, assumed a central role as the Empire's principal entrepôt for these exchanges. Influential *ayan* families of Izmir and its hinterlands, including the Karaosmanoğlu and Araboğlu, wielded substantial influence in international trade, notably in cotton and wheat transactions.

The Cihanzade family, as evidenced by various endowment deeds and contemporary manuscripts, also played a role in Izmir's commercial life and social fabric. Notably,

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<sup>157</sup> Frankagis-Syrett, *Commerce of Smyrna*, 36.

Atike Hanım, the spouse of Cihanzade el-Hac Abdülaziz, is documented to have owned an inn near Izmir's Ramazan Paşa Mosque, along with several rental properties designated for Greek tenants.<sup>158</sup> Cihanzade Hüseyin Ağa's son Ahmet Atıf, engaged in financial dealings with Monsieur Karanun, a French individual. Additionally, Cihanzade Abdülaziz had outstanding financial obligations to merchants belonging to the non-Muslim communities of the region at the time of his demise, as detailed in preceding chapters.<sup>159</sup> These Christian intermediaries acted as brokers and translators, organizing sales and shipments for local Muslims. According to Panzac, they also served as mediators between cargo ship captains, notables and the producers. Moreover, Cihanzade Abdülaziz was actively engaged in scholarly circles during his tenure in Izmir, as attested in a philosophical manuscript addressing him directly:

In my tenure as judge in Izmir, amidst the challenges of judicial responsibility and administrative duties, the philosophical and theological treatises from the esteemed Cihanzade Abdülaziz Efendi, may his renown endure and his honor be preserved, revealed profound depths and complexities that captivated those who encountered them, serving as a beacon for discerning scholars.<sup>160</sup>

The family's engagement with Izmir and its diverse milieu is vividly illustrated through these interactions. Izmir's prominence as a commercial hub attracted a mosaic of Europeans, Levantens, and non-muslim Ottomans, fostering a vibrant cosmopolitan atmosphere. Europeans primarily settled in areas such as "Frenk Street," adjacent to the bustling Kemeraltı bazaar (refer to Chapter 3). Alongside traders and diplomats, professionals including doctors, missionaries, craftsmen and scientists were drawn to Izmir, initially in service of diplomatic missions, gradually integrating into local life.<sup>161</sup> These European arrivals often maintained close ties with Ottoman non-Muslim communities, facilitated by shared linguistic and religious affinities. For instance, this proximity led to significant conversions to Catholicism

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<sup>158</sup> Gümüş, "Cihanzade Ailesi," 57.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Refer to Footnote 9.

<sup>161</sup> Daniel Panzac, "International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, no. 2 (May, 1992): 193.

among Armenians, influenced by missionary efforts and cultural exchanges, particularly evident in Istanbul. Many Armenian Catholics pursued education abroad, notably in Italy, becoming immersed in the cultural milieu of Renaissance Europe and its intellectual currents.<sup>162</sup>

During the 18th century, Aydın, a prominent commercial center in Asia Minor, maintained its economic significance despite diminishing political influence subsequent to the decline of the Karaosmanoglu dynasty and the quelling of the uprisings. Consular figures such as the Peyssonnel father and son actively supported local leaders like Mustafa and Ahmed Agha, advocating on their behalf within the Ottoman bureaucracy and offering strategic counsel to navigate their complex political and economic landscapes. This dynamic underscored the pivotal role of the ayans in Izmir as guardians of trade. For instance, during the 1787 Russo-Ottoman War, European merchants and diplomats perceived threats to their safety, prompting them to organize an ad hoc policing initiative funded privately to safeguard against potential disruptions such as fires and civil unrest during the conflict.<sup>163</sup> Security vulnerabilities were recurrent in Izmir, resulting in damage to European property and physical harm, including instances of arson, looting, and attempted uprisings. These incidents, while not directly targeting Europeans, fostered an atmosphere of uncertainty in the city.<sup>164</sup> Historical records document notable episodes, such as the burning of foreign residences and the abduction of consular officials in 1707 and 1732. Karaosmanoglu's appointment as a protector and his initiative to fortify the city with defensive measures, such as the construction of fortified walls, underscored his role in safeguarding Izmir during periods of instability.

During the 18th century, Izmir thrived as a bustling hub where diverse cultures and communities intersected harmoniously. This vibrant social tapestry is vividly portrayed in the accounts of traveler Chevalier Laurent d'Arvieux in 1657, who documented the city's dynamic character. The cultural milieu was enriched by events

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<sup>162</sup> Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 89.

<sup>163</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *Commerce of Smyrna*, 50.

<sup>164</sup> Arel, *Bir Şehri Ruşenabad*, 22-30.

such as theatrical performances of Corneille's *Nicomede*, spirited carnivals, and enchanting music recitals, which predominantly captivated European audiences. This cultural exchange permeated everyday life, as evidenced by the establishment of a café in the early 19th century, funded by the European community. This café not only provided a haven with a variety of newspapers and a reading room but also served as a social nexus for chess, billiards, and card games, fostering dialogue and interaction among diverse cultural groups.

Diplomatic and social bonds flourished during this period, exemplified by the frequent visits of figures like French Consul Peyssonel and his son to prominent Turkish families such as the Karaosmanoğlu. These encounters underscored the depth of personal relationships that transcended formal protocols, highlighting a significant era of burgeoning social integration and cultural exchange between the Turkish and European communities in Izmir. This era marked a period of increasing social integration and cultural exchange between the Turkish and European communities in Izmir.<sup>165</sup> For instance, Ayda Arel finds out from MacFarlane's travel writings that:

It appears that the Europeans living in Izmir had a fairly free and autonomous way of life, which was not greatly frowned upon by the Turks. Foreign travelers who came to Izmir wrote that Turks came to watch circus games or outdoor celebrations in the Frank neighborhood, and even some official figures like Katiboglu Hacı Mehmet, who was the governor of Izmir in the first quarter of the 19th century, or Customs Chief Süleyman Aga, did not hesitate to associate with foreigners and adopt a Westernized lifestyle. According to Katiboglu, who was fond of card games, wine, and balls, Süleyman Aga was a more rough and uncultured man who held parties for foreigners in his well-maintained gardens around his mansion, which he built on extensive land outside Izmir. One of these parties was held for Admiral Moore of England.<sup>166</sup>

During this era of close contact, significant cultural exchange fostered the emergence of novel artistic and architectural sensibilities. The influx of European trade directly influenced architectural styles in Western Anatolia, as noted by Yenişehirlioğlu, who

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<sup>165</sup> Frangakis-Syrett, *Commerce of Smyrna*, 31.

<sup>166</sup> Arel, *Bir Şehri Ruşenabad*, 22-30.

posits that this facilitated the direct integration of decorative forms, distinct from those originating in the imperial capital.<sup>167</sup> The Cihanzade family's architectural patronage, flourishing during a period marked by vibrant trade, extensive travel, and diplomatic activity, exemplifies heightened cross-cultural references. Kafadar further illustrates these shifts, detailing their impact on diverse domains such as commercial practices (e.g., the concept of "policy"), agricultural innovations (such as the cultivation of tobacco), culinary techniques (including the introduction of tomato paste), decorative arts (such as interior wall paintings), leisure pursuits (such as the adoption of playing cards), and personal possessions (like pocket and wall clocks).<sup>168</sup> The material culture of the Cihanzade family, exemplified in the probate inventory of Cihanzade Abdülaziz, vividly reflects this cultural exchange, showcasing intricately adorned firearms imported from Europe, as well as, as cited by Kafadar, a pendulum clock (*sim pandiül saat*).

During the Baroque era, its influence extended beyond Europe to become a global artistic movement. This phenomenon was significantly propelled by colonialism, particularly through Portuguese and Spanish efforts to disseminate the Baroque style in their Latin American colonies. Throughout their empires, diverse manifestations of Colonial Baroque emerged, each enriched by local nuances that departed from European prototypes, resulting in original and culturally productive expressions. For the Cihanzade family, the adoption of Baroque represented an opportunity to demonstrate their cultural discernment to the diverse populations of Izmir, Aydın, and various regional powers. Patronage of Baroque art conferred status and prestige, aligning them with global trends in wealth and influence. In the context of the Cihanzade family, the utilization of Baroque art diverged from its colonial connotations; rather, it signified a departure from being merely a European style and evolved into a globally adapted language tailored to local tastes in different corners of the world. The Cihanzade family enthusiastically embraced this artistic innovation, understanding its expansive significance beyond the Ottoman world, owing to their extensive political and cultural connections with Istanbul, Izmir, and

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<sup>167</sup> Yenişehirlioğlu, "Architecture of Ayan Families," 328.

<sup>168</sup> Kafadar, *Kim Var İmiş*, 112-114.

beyond. In the 18th century Ottoman Empire, they chose to assert their hard-earned status through the adoption of Baroque aesthetics across the empire's vast geographical reach.



**Figure 56.** Effects of the Good Government in the City by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Fondazione Musei Senesi)



**Figure 57.** Effects of the Good Government in the Country by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Fondazione Musei Senesi)





**Figure 58.** Effects of the Bad Government in the City by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Web Gallery of Art)

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

The Cihanzade family emerged as one of the prominent provincial dynasties within the 18th-century Ottoman bureaucracy. By integrating into the cultural and commercial networks of Western Anatolia, they amassed significant influence and wealth in the Meander Valley region. This newfound prestige quickly manifested in infrastructural and architectural projects, with the region becoming adorned with numerous structures bearing the symbols and inscriptions of various family members' patronage. The Cihanzades' opulently decorated architecture was complemented by their conspicuous consumption of luxury items and their interest in activities that set them apart from the rest of the society. Overall, the family's increasingly ostentatious architecture and consumption aligned perfectly with the trends of the 18th century, reflecting the widespread trade, expanding world of luxury; and a *nouveau riche* that fashioned their identities through merchandise and a visually extravagant lifestyle.<sup>169</sup>

Family's architectural patronage showcased a distinct architectural style compared to the pre-18th-century buildings in the same region. The buildings, akin to contemporary buildings in Istanbul and other provinces, successfully blended traditional Ottoman structural elements with prominent cross-cultural features, such as Baroque scrolls, seashells, acanthus leaves, and imperial symbols like double-headed eagles and the Ottoman coat of arms. This thesis argues that the widespread use of these so-called elements were due to the fact that the Ottoman nouveaux riches, including the Cihanzade family, were part of a broader global phenomenon of which its defining paradigm was the displays of material possessions

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<sup>169</sup> Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Everyday Luxuries: Art and Objects in Ottoman Constantinople, 1600-1800," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 23, no. 1/2 (2017): 117.

and imitative consumption.<sup>170</sup> During the 18th century, an opulent lifestyle and ostentatious aesthetic, rich and Baroque elements, were increasingly integrated into local cultures, especially in regions with growing commercial and diplomatic ties to broader global networks.<sup>171</sup> Studies on this period indicate that a rising group of *nouveaux riches*, including the Cihanzade family, were “shaping their identities through consumables” and a showy architectural style. It contends that this deliberate act of self-fashioning can only be understood when coupled with their pattern of luxury consumption and ostentatious lifestyle, that were the products of the far-reaching 18th-century dynamics shaped by the surge in commerce, travel, and diplomacy.<sup>172</sup>

To evidence this, we turned into the family’s power dynamics and social connections which their built environment and lifestyle were deeply intertwined with. According to this thesis, the family's relationship with the four main actors was pivotal in shaping the family’s way of fashioning their identities through the architectural patronage. These key actors included, the central government and its agents, other *ayan* dynasties, the local populace and the port of Izmir.

In the 18th century both globally and within the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman capital was consciously transformed through a new, internationally resonant style of building that sought to reaffirm the empire’s relevance on a changing world stage. Cihanzade’s relationship with the central government was dynamic, marked by both loyal service and controversy. As the Cihanzade Abdülaziz was married to someone as close as the Sultan's granddaughter herself, the trends within the Ottoman court’s circle and extra-mural fashions were likely reached to Aydın. Moreover, the family's residential buildings were used as accommodations for these governors and their public buildings were constantly visited by them. Consequently, these edifices acted as extensions of the central government in the provinces, therefore there was a strategic adoption of Istanbul's tastes and manners to showcase their loyalty and power.

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<sup>170</sup> Pinar Ceylan, “Was there a consumer revolution in Ottoman Empire?” *The Economic History Review* 77, no. 3 (August 2024), 824.

<sup>171</sup> Swee, Helen Hills, *Rethinking the Baroque* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

With other ayan dynasties, Cihanzades' relationship was marked by both the support in times of crisis and controversies arising from the capital's balance of power politics to balance the provincial notables. To display their newly acquired positions and wealth, they adopted the most fashionable and flamboyant styles of the 18th century. This choice fostered a shared stylistic language and symbolism, through which they communicated their power and status challenges to each other.

The complaints of the local populace regarding the ayans, especially their correspondence with the central government, led to significant disruptions in the authority and wealth of certain ayan dynasties. Moreover, the provinces, particularly Western Anatolia, were shaken by upheavals and plundering during the 17th and 18th centuries, compelling ayans to protect their localities. To the local populace, ayans had to appear as promoters of order and peace, and their role in maintaining local order and community became crucial for these reasons. Consequently, as exemplified by the architectural works of the Cihanzade family, originally intended as public edifices, the wall paintings and carvings almost always symbolized what can be described as "pastoral order and peace," "production," and "prosperity."

Finally, the port of İzmir served as a gateway to the world for the Cihanzade family. Due to its extensive commercial capacity during the 17th and 18th centuries, İzmir attracted a diverse community comprising European merchants, diplomats, missionaries, and Ottoman commercial groups. Consequently, it became a melting pot of various cultures. As detailed in earlier chapters, the Cihanzade family cultivated robust commercial and intellectual connections within the city and its populace. This interaction prompted the family to assert their status by embracing the Baroque style as a symbol of global and international prestige. The world saw increasing interconnectedness through expanding opportunities for trade and travel. Within this evolving global context, the Cihanzade family operated within a highly intricate network. Their relationships within this network significantly influenced their architectural choices. Architectural patronage emerged as their primary strategy for asserting presence and influence over others with whom they engaged in negotiations.

In conclusion, the Cihanzade family's architectural revitalization efforts, characterized by their embrace of the Baroque style, were deeply intertwined with both the internal dynamics of the Ottoman Empire and global influences. The Baroque style symbolized transformation, prestige, and authority, both within and beyond the empire. By choosing to adopt this style, the Cihanzade family not only revitalized their regions architecturally but also positioned themselves within a broader narrative of cultural and political evolution. furs, silver-ornamented rifles, and silver coffee cups. This display of extravagance and distinction from the lower classes highlights the family's role as a notable actor in the Meander region, reflecting the broader 18th-century trend of luxury and ostentation extending to a wider segment of societ

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## APPENDICES

### A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

İzmir limanının yaklaşık yüz kilometre uzağında, bugün Büyük Menderes olarak bilinen verimli kıyı ovası yer alır. Sıklıkla "Anadolu'nun ekonomik belkemiği" olarak adlandırılan bu vadi, antik çağlardan bu yana Batı Anadolu'nun önemli bir tarımsal üretim merkezi olmuştur. Ovası yatay olarak ikiye bölen kıvrımlı Menderes Nehri ve Ege Denizi'ne yakınlığı sayesinde bu ova tarih boyunca kentsel ve ticari faaliyetlerde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. 18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı yönetimi altında, İzmir limanı ve çevresindeki uluslararası ticaret faaliyetlerinin gelişmesiyle Menderes ovası yeni bir öneme kavuştu. Bu önem, ovanın içerisinde ve çevresinde yer alan Aydın (Osmanlı döneminde Güzelhisar-ı Aydın ya da Aydın Güzelhisarı olarak da bilinirdi) gibi küçük ve büyük ticari ve tarımsal merkezlerin oluşmasına ve bu merkezlerin refah seviyelerinin yükselmesine katkıda bulundu. Aydın şehrinin gelişen önemi, 19. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar Batı Anadolu Osmanlı eyaletinin başlıca idari merkezi olarak hizmet vermesinden anlaşılmaktadır.

Bu tez, 18. Yüzyılda Aydın şehrinin mimarisinin, o dönemdeki bölgesel ve genel olarak Osmanlı'daki gelişmeler bağlamında yerel bir ayan ailesi olan Cihanoğulları tarafından nasıl şekillendirildiğini incelemektedir. Aile, bölgeye 18. Yüzyılda ulaşan refah ve çokkültürlülüğün bir yansıması olarak, geleneksel Osmanlı mimari stilini, Barok süslemeler ve neoklasik desenler ile harmanlamıştır. Bu tez, Cihanoğlu ailesinin bu kültürlerarası mimari tarzı benimsemesinin, kendileri için kozmopolit bir kimlik oluşturma projesinin bir parçası olduğunu savunur. Bu bilinçli kimlik oluşturma eylemi, aile bireylerinin lüks tüketim alışkanlıkları ve gösterişli yaşam tarzları ile birlikte ele alındığında, 18. Yüzyılda gitgide artan ticaret, seyahat ve diplomasi global dinamiklerin bir ürünü olarak ortaya çıkar. Kozmopolit İzmir limanının hinterlandında 18. Yüzyılın yarısından, 19. Yüzyıl başına kadar yönetimde söz sahibi olan; mimari, ticaret ve eğitim gibi birden çok alanda etkisi bulunan

Cihanoğlu ailesinin mimari hamiliği bu tezde, taşrada yaratılmaya çalışılan gösterişli ve kozmopolit bir kimlik inşası olarak ele alınacaktır.

Peki, bu tez niçin 18. Yüzyıl dinamiklerini Cihanoğlu ailesinin perspektifinden incelemeyi uygun buldu? Aile, aynı dönemde İstanbul'da yaşanan gelişmeler ile eş zamanlı olarak çokkültürlü bir mimari tarzı benimseyen az sayıdaki taşra ayanlarından birisidir. Buna örnek olarak, Aydın Cihanoğlu Cami'nin inşasının, İstanbul Nuruosmaniye Cami'den yalnızca iki yıl sonra tamamlanmasını gösterebiliriz. Kesin bir terminolojide karar kılınamamış olursa da, Arseven ve Kuban'ın erken dönem çalışmaları, merkezde ve taşrada gelişen bu yeni mimariye "Türk Baroğu" ya da "Osmanlı Baroğu" isimlerini uygun görmüşlerdir. Ancak bu konuda son yazılan, Ünver Rüstem'in son eseri Ottoman Baroque (Osmanlı Baroque) da dahil olmak üzere, akademik çalışmaların büyük bir kısmı İstanbul'un mimari dönüşümüne odaklanmayı tercih etmiştir. Sonuç olarak, bu dönemde Osmanlı'da yaşanan mimari dönüşümü bir bütün olarak anlamlandırabilmek için doldurulması gereken bir boşluk ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu tez, 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı mimarisine, taşralı bir ayan ailesinin bakış açısından yaklaşarak, bu eksiği doldurmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Ailenin mimari tercihlerini ve inşa edilen binaları yorumlamak için bu tez, Menderes bölgesine gerçekleştirilen gezilerden elde edilen mimari bulguların ailenin diğer kimlik oluşturma araçları ile ilişkilendirilmesi gerektiğini öne sürmektedir. Bir diğer önemli iddia ise, bu kimlik inşa araçlarının ve mimari tercihlerin dış dünyadan bağımsız olarak değil, ailenin içerisinde bulunduğu karmaşık bir sosyo-politik ortamda geliştiğidir. Cihanoğulları, diğer kurumlar ve bireyler ile kurdukları ticari, akademik, evlilik ya da resmi diyaloglar aracılığı ile gündelik olarak imparatorluğun birçok farklı elemanı ile kültürel alışverişte bulunuyorlardı. Bu tez, ailenin mimari tercihleri bu ittifaklar, düşmanlıklar ve müzakerelerin bir sonucu olarak değerlendirmektedir.

Ailenin kapsamlı ilişkiler ağını araştırmak ve mimarileri ile bağlamak, araştırma sırasında yazılı, somut ve görsel olmak üzere geniş bir kaynak yelpazesinin kullanılmasını gerektirmiştir. Kullanılan en önemli yazılı materyaller, vakıf kayıtları, el yazmaları, tereke defterleri ve seyahat yazıları olmuştur. Daha önce Ayda Arel ve

İlker Gümüş tarafından transkribe edilen ve kullanılan, ailenin vakıf kayıtları, mülkiyet, inşaat tarihleri ve yaptırılan binaların konumları hakkında bilgi toplamak amacı ile kullanılmıştır. Bu kayıtların sağladığı en önemli avantaj, aile üyeleri tarafından yaptırılan ancak günümüzde yıkılmış ve yerinde bulunamayan yapılar hakkında bilgi sağlamalarıdır. Araştırmada aynı zamanda, 18. Ve 19. Yüzyıllara ait farklı Osmanlı alimleri tarafından yazılmış olan el yazmaları kullanılmıştır. Bunlardan en önemlisi, İzmir kadısı Akkirmani'nin İklilüt Teracim adlı eseridir. Eser, Cihanoğlu ailesinin İzmir limanı ile olan bağlantısını doğrudan göstermesi açısından değerlendirilmiştir. Bu yazmada, aslında merkezi teşkilata bağlı bir çalışan olan Akkirmani, ailenin önde gelen üyelerinden Cihanoğlu Abdülaziz'e doğrudan atöfta bulunur. Onu, İzmir'de felsefi ve bilimsel tartışmaların gerçekleştiği meclislerde tanınmış bir figür olarak tanımlar ve yazmayı ona atfeder. Buradan da, Cihanoğlu Abdülaziz'in İzmir'e gidip geldiğini, buradaki bilimsel ve kültürel tartışmaları yakından takip ettiğini ve daha da önemlisi bölgede bulunan önde gelen devlet yetkilileri ile sıkı ilişkileri olduğu anlaşılır. Yani, aile bireylerinden bazıları İzmir'de 18. Yüzyılda yeşeren kozmopolit kültürü tanıma fırsatına sahiptir.

Kullanılan bir diğere önemli yazılı belge ise, Cihanoğlu Abdülaziz'e ait olan ve bu tezin araştırma süreci sırasında ilk kez transkribe edilen muhalledat kayıdır. Belge, Ekler (Appendix) bölümüne dahil edilmiştir. Bu belgede, Cihanoğlu Abdülaziz'in ölümünün ardından malvarlıkları ve eşyaları ayrıntılı bir şekilde kaydedilmiştir. Belge, aile üyeleri ait tek tereke kaydı olup, 1750'lerde ailenin lüks tüketim alışkanlıklarını ve kimler ile borç ilişkisinde olduklarını göstermesi açısından değerlidir. Envanterde, 18. Yüzyıla gelindiğinde Avrupa'da ve Osmanlı içerisinde üretilip Osmanlı pazarında popülerleşen birçok ürün bulunmaktadır. Örneğin, gümüş sarkaçlı saatler, gümüş kahve takımları, gümüş işlemeli ateşli tüfekler ve silahlar ve kürkler bunlardan bazılarıdır. Aynı zamanda, Cihanoğlu Abdülaziz'in birçok farklı arkaplandan gelen gayrimüslim Osmanlı vatandaşı ile de borç ilişkisinde olduğu görülür. Bu listede Ermeni ve Rum tüccarlar ve Hristiyan bir kalfa (*yapıcı*) dikkat çeker. Sonuç olarak, Cihanoğlu Abdülaziz'in Aydın ve çevresinde Barok ve neoklasik motiflere sahip kamusal yapılar inşa ettirmekle kalmadığı, aynı zamanda gündelik yaşamında, bölgedeki otoritesine eşdeğer şekilde kendisini halktan ayıracak ve bir gösteriş kültürüne dahil edecek tüketimler yaptığı görülmektedir.

Son olarak, 18. ve 19. Yüzyıla ait, özellikle İzmir’de yaşayan Avrupalı diplomatlar ve seyyahların yazıları bu tezde sıkça kullanılmıştır. Bu yazılar, özellikle dönemin coğrafi, demografik ve siyasi yapısı hakkında önemli bilgiler sunmaktadır.

Somut materyal olarak, Cihanoğlu ailesinin inşa ettirdiği binaların kendileri ve diğer çağdaş yapılar incelenerek, buradan çıkan bulgular kullanılmıştır. Binaların yanı sıra, aileye ait, Koçarlı Cihanoğlu Cami haziresinde bulunan mezar taşları da önemli bilgiler sağlamıştır. Bu mezar taşlarından hane üyelerinin isim, doğum ve ölüm tarihleri ve aile soy ağacı hakkında bilgiler edinilmiştir. Örneğin, bu taşlardan yola çıkarak, 19. Yüzyıl başlarında Koçarlı’da bulunan Cihanoğlu konağında yalnızca çekirdek aile üyelerinin yaşamadığı; kahvecibaşı, köle, cariye, mimar ya da ziyaretçiler gibi geniş bir kitlenin bir arada yaşadığı ortaya konmuştur.

Son olarak, Salt Arşivleri görsel materyal sağlamak amacı ile ziyaret edilmiştir. Burada bulunan Ali Sami Ülgen’e ait 1940 ve 50’lerden kalma bir fotoğraf koleksiyonu, Cihanoğlu ailesinin kaybolmuş bazı yapıları hakkında bilgi sağlamıştır. Ülgen’in fotoğrafları, binaların 20. Yüzyılda geçirdikleri restorasyonlardan önce neye benzedikleri, kaybolan yapıların dış görünüşleri ve konumları hakkında önemli ipuçları vermiştir.

Cihanoğlu ailesi, bölgedeki otoritelerini ve statülerini sürdürebilmek için, çeşitli toplumsal kesimlerden birçok aktörle gündelik olarak etkileşimde bulunmak zorundadır. Bahse konu olan kaynaklar kullanılarak, bu tezde, Cihanoğlu ailesinin içinde bulunduğu sosyo-politik ilişkiler ağı deşifre edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Önemli aktörler, ailenin mimarisi ve kimlik inşasına etkileri bakımından dört ana kategoride incelenmiştir. Bu dört farklı aktör, ailenin günlük etkileşimde ve kültürel alışverişte bulunduğu gruplardır. Bunlar: merkezi hükümet ve taşra temsilcileri, Batı Anadolu bölgesindeki diğer ayan aileleri, Aydın’ın yerel halkı ve İzmir limanındaki popülasyondur.

Ailenin çeşitli sosyo-politik aktörlerle etkileşimlerinin mimari tercihlerini nasıl etkilediğini anlamak için, beşinci bölümde, Cihanoğullarının bu dört farklı grupta olan ilişkileri incelenmektedir.

Cihanoğullarının merkezi hükümet ile olan ilişkisi oldukça dinamiktir. Çoğu zaman merkezi hükümetin taşradaki sadık birer görevlisi olarak çalışsalar da, zaman zaman tartışmalar ve zıtlasmalar da mümkündür. 18. Yüzyılda imparatorluğun başkenti, deęişen dünya sahnesindeki önemini koruyabilmek ve şehre gitgide artan oranda yerleşen kozmopolit nüfusa hitap edebilmek için yeni bir mimari tarz ile bilinçli olarak dönüştürülüyordu. Birebir aynı motifler ve malzemeler kullanılmamış olsa da İstanbul'daki bu mimarinin bir benzerini aynı yıllarda Aydın'da da görmekteyiz.

Cihanoğlu Abdülaziz, bizzat Sultan'ın akrabalarından birisi ile evliydi ve bu da Osmanlı saray çevresindeki eğilimler ve modaların Aydın'a doğrudan nasıl ulaşabileceğine dair önemli bir örnek sunmaktadır. Bir dięer önemli nokta ise, taşradaki ayan konutlarının seyahat eden merkezi memurların konaklatılması için gerekli zamanlarda kullanılmasıdır. Yani, Cihanoğlu ailesinin yaşam alanları ve kamusal yapıları, İstanbul ve dięer şehirlerden sıklıkla ziyarete gelen üst düzey memurlar tarafından ziyaret edilmekteydi. Bunun en net göstergesi Koçarlı Cami haziresinde bulunan "Misafir Mehmet Ağa" mezar taşıdır. Alaşehir'de (Aydın'a 100 km mesafede bir kasaba) memurluk yapan Mehmet Ağa, Koçarlı'da bulunan Cihanoğlu konağında misafir iken vefat ettiğinde, kendisi için bir mezar taşı yaptırılıp aile mezarlığına gömülmüştür. Dolayısıyla, ailenin yapıları, merkezi hükümetin taşradaki uzantıları olarak işlev görmektedir diyebiliriz. Aile, İstanbul'un zevk ve davranışlarını stratejik olarak benimseyerek, merkezi hükümete olan sadakatlerini ve taşradaki güçlerini sergilemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Cihanoğlu ailesi erken 18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı bürokrasisi içerisindeki önemli ayan ailelerinden birisi olarak yükselmiştir ve onların yapılanmalarına çok benzer, dięer ayan aileleri de Menderes ve çevresinde aynı tarihlerde etkili olmak için çabalamıştır. Bu aileler, örneğin Karaosmanoğulları, Hamzabalıoğulları, İzmir limanı aracılığı ile, Batı Anadolu'nun kültür ve ticari ağına entegre olmuşlardır ve geniş topraklara sahiptirler. Bu yeni kazandıkları prestij ile bu aileler güçlerini, mimari hamilikleri ve tüketim alışkanlıkları ile dışa vurmaya tercih etmişlerdir. Batı Anadolu bölgesi, ailelerin çeşitli üyelerinin hamiliklerini belirten yazıtlar ve sembollere sahip binalar ile donatılmıştır. Bu yapılar, gösterişli süslemeleri ve Barok bezemeleri ile ön plana çıkmaktadır. Ayan ailelerinin mimari ve tüketim tercihleri, 18. Yüzyılın



giderek yayılan global ticaret ağları sayesinde zenginleşen belli bir kesmin yaşam tarzı ve patronaj alışkanlıkları ile örtüşmektedir.

Bölgede bulunan diğer ayan aileleri ile olan ilişkilerinde ise, Cihanoğulları, kriz zamanlarında bu aileleri desteklemiş, ancak İstanbul'un güç dengesi politikaları nedeniyle kimi zaman düşman olmuştur. Bu aileler arasındaki ilişkiler evlilik, ticaret ve siyasi kaygılar doğrultusunda şekillenmiştir. Örneğin Cihanzade ailesinin üçüncü kuşak bireylerinden bazıları Hamzabalıoğlu ve İlyasoğlu ailelerinin bireyleri ile evlilikler gerçekleştirmiştir. Böylece, bölgede önemli ortaklıklar kurmuşlardır. Öyleyse, Cihanoğlu ailesinin, yeni kazandıkları konum ve servetlerini eşitleri arasında ön plana çıkarabilmek için dönemin en moda ve gösterişli tarzını benimsediğini söyleyebiliriz. Aynı bölgede mücadele eden bu ailelerin tercihlerinin, aralarındaki süregelen statü kıyaslamasını birbirlerine görsel olarak ilettikleri ortak bir dil ve sembolizm olduğunu varsayabiliriz. Cihanoğlu ailesinin Menderes bölgesinde inşa ettirdiği yapılar ve Karaosmanoğullarının Manisa'daki yapıları arasındaki stil benzerliği bu durumu iyice vurgular.

Cihanoğullarının sürekli ilişki içerisinde olduğu bir diğer aktör de yerel halktır. Ayanlar ve yerel halk arasındaki ilişki oldukça dengesizdir. Ayanlar hem yerel halk için birçok kamusal yapı inşa ettiren, altyapı çalışmalarında bulunan, hububatlarını İzmir limanında satabilmeleri için kervan ve yük gemilerini kullandıran hamilerdir, hem de yerel halkın durmadan ağır vergiler ve zulüm konusunda şikayette buldukları tiranlar. Halk tarafından kadıya iletilen bu şikayetler bazı ayan hanedanlıklarının otorite ve servetlerinde ciddi bozulmalara yol açıyordu. Örneğin, 18. Yüzyıl ortasında Karaosmanoğlu ailesine karşı yazılmış bir yolsuzluk şikayeti sebebiyle bir aile üyesi asılmış, aileye ait mallara da el konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Ancak ayanlar kendilerine karşı ortaya çıkan bu itirazları, bu dönemde taşrada oldukça artan isyan ve yağmaları durdurabilen tek güç olarak ortaya çıkararak dengelemeye çalışmışlardır. Yani, bir açıdan ayanlar, kendilerini bölgelerinin hem koruyucu hem de hamileri konumuna koyarak yerel halkın desteğini almaya çalışmışlardır.

Cihanoğlu ailesinin kamusal yapıları da bu rolün altını çizmektedir. Bunun birinci örneği Koçarlı'da Cihanoğlu konağına bitişik bulunan kuledir. Bu kule hem gözlem

için hem de ailenin salgınlar ve saldırılar sırasında ailenin kapanması için kullanılmıştır. Bir diğer örnek Koçarlı Cami'nin kubbesini çevreleyen duvar resimleridir. Bu duvar resimlerinde görüldüğü üzere, bu duvar resimleri “pastoral düzen ve barış,” “üretim,” ve “refah” olarak tanımlanabilecek semboller içermektedir.

Son olarak, İzmir limanı Cihanzade ailesi için dünyaya açılan bir kapı olarak hizmet etmiştir. 17. ve 18. yüzyıllarda geniş ticari kapasitesi sayesinde İzmir, Avrupa tüccarları, diplomatları, misyonerleri ve Osmanlı ticaret gruplarından oluşan çeşitli bir topluluğu çekmiştir. Sonuç olarak, çeşitli kültürlerin bir kaynaşma noktası haline gelmiştir. Önceki bölümlerde detaylandırıldığı gibi, Cihanzade ailesi şehirde ve halkıyla güçlü ticari ve entelektüel bağlantılar kurmuştur. Bu etkileşim, ailenin Barok tarzını küresel ve uluslararası prestijin bir sembolü olarak benimseyerek statülerini ortaya koymalarına yol açtı. Dünya, genişleyen ticaret ve seyahat olanakları aracılığıyla artan bir bağlantılılık gördü. Bu gelişen bağlamda, Cihanzade ailesi son derece karmaşık bir ağ içinde faaliyet göstermiştir. Bu ağ içindeki ilişkileri, mimari seçimlerini büyük ölçüde etkilemiştir.

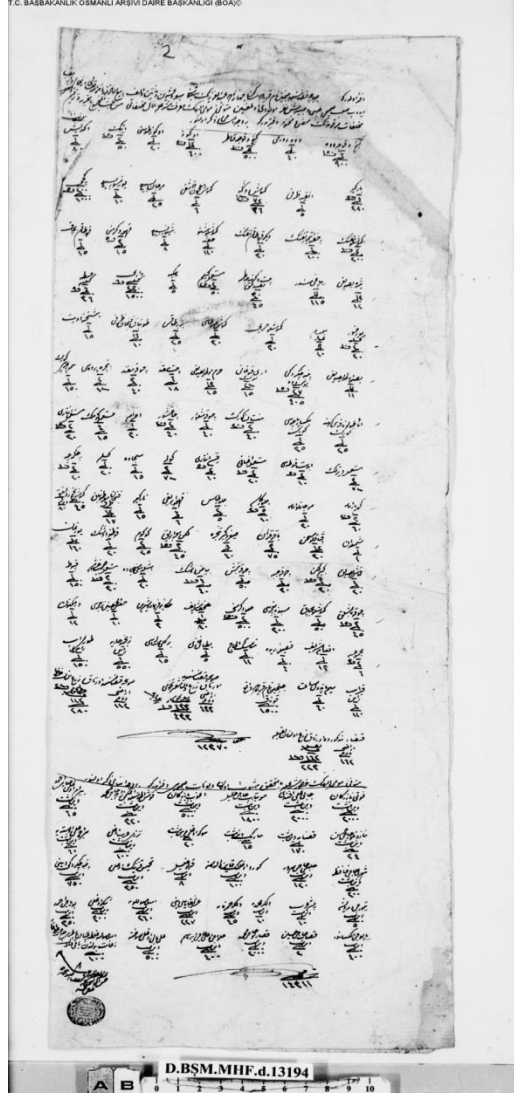
Ailenin İzmir limanı ile olan bağlantıları sayesinde, Osmanlı yapısal unsurlarını Barok kıvrımlar, deniz kabukları, akantüs yapraklar gibi belirgin kültürlerarası motifler ve çift başlı kartal gibi imparatorluk sembolleri ile başarılı bir şekilde harmanlamıştır. Bu tez, söz konusu unsurların yaygın kullanımının, Cihanzade ailesinin, Osmanlı yeni zenginlerinin de bir parçası olduğu daha geniş bir erken modern küresel paradigmasının bir parçası olmalarından kaynaklandığını savunmaktadır. Bunu ortaya koymak için, ailenin güç dinamiklerine ve sosyal bağlantılarına odaklandık; çünkü bu dinamik ve bağlantıların ailenin inşa ettirdiği mimari ile iç içe geçtiğini varsayıyoruz. Bu teze göre, ailenin kimliklerini mimari hamiliği aracılığıyla şekillendirme biçimlerinde dört ana aktörle olan ilişkileri belirleyici olmuştur. Bu önemli aktörler arasında, merkezi hükümet ve onun temsilcileri, diğer ayan hanedanları, yerel halk ve İzmir limanı bulunmaktadır.

Bu kapsamda, tez içerisinde aileye air farklı mimari tipolojiler incelenmiştir. Bunlardan en önemlileri, aile bireylerinin Menderes çevresinde yerleştikleri önemli

ticari ve tarımsal kasabaların merkezlerine inşa ettirdikleri kamusal camilerdir. Aydın Cihanoğlu Cami, bunlar arasındaki en monumental olanıdır. Bu külliye, cami, medrese, şadırvan, türbe, sebil ve çeşme gibi birçok farklı eleman içermektedir. Caminin şadırvanında ve iç dekorasyonunda çok çeşitli Barok semboller ve süslemeler kullanılmıştır. İkinci önemli cami ise Koçarlı Cihanoğlu Cami'dir. Bu caminin şadırvanı ve iç dekorasyonunda kabartmalı cami tasvirleri ve pastoral duvar resimleri gibi birçok 18. Yüzyıl elemanı kullanılmıştır. Bir diğer cami ise Cincin Cihanoğlu Cami'dir. Tezde, cami tipolojisine ağırlıklı olarak yer verilmiştir çünkü, ailenin çokkültürlü zevklerini gösteren en önemli yapı tipi camileri olmuştur.

Sonuç olarak, Cihanzade ailesinin Barok tarzını benimseyerek gerçekleştirdikleri mimari yenileme çabaları, hem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun iç dinamikleri hem de küresel etkilerle derinden iç içe geçmiştir. Barok tarzı, imparatorluğun içinde ve ötesinde dönüşüm, prestij ve otoriteyi simgeliyordu. Bu tarzı benimseyerek, Cihanzade ailesi sadece bölgelerini mimari olarak yenilemekle kalmamış, aynı zamanda kendilerini kültürel ve siyasi evrimin daha geniş bir anlatısına yerleştirmiştir. Kürkler, gümüş işlemeli tüfekler ve gümüş kahve fincanları gibi gösterişli unsurlar, alt sınıflardan farklılıklarını vurgulayan bir gösterge olarak öne çıkmıştır. Bu lüks ve gösterişin sergilenmesi, ailenin Meander bölgesinde önemli bir aktör olarak rolünü ve 18. yüzyılın daha geniş bir kesimine yayılan lüks ve ihtişam trendini yansıtmaktadır.

**B. THE REGISTER SHOWING THE INVENTORY OF THE ESTATE OF  
CIHANZADE ABDÜLAZİZ BEY<sup>173</sup>**



**Figure 59.** Tereke register of Cihanzade Abdülaziz Bey (BOA)

Defter oldur ki Sobice (Sobuca) kazasında Cincin nam karyede sakin Cihanzade Abdülaziz'in işbu sene seb'a ve işrin ve mieteyn ve elf 1127 rebiülahirinde bi emrillahi teala irtihal-i dar-ı beka edip sulb-i sahihi sabi ve sabiye beş nefer evladı olmağın (?) müteveffa-yı mumaileyhin marifet-i şerle mal-i muhallefatı min haysül

<sup>173</sup> BOA, Başmuhasabe Muhallefat Halifeliği Kalemî Defterleri, Defter No: D. BŞM. MHF. d. 13194

mecmu tahrir ve terkim olmađla muhallefat-ı merkumenin munzi ve mahtum defteridir ki ber vech-i esami zikr olunur:

Genç ve Koca Deve	6 res <sup>174</sup> x 150 = 900 Akça
Deve Dorumu <sup>175</sup>	1 res = 40 Akça
Genç ve Koca Katır	5 res x 100 = 500 Akça
Öküz	12 res x 50 = 600 Akça
Öküz Tosunu	1 res = 20 Akça
İnek	2 res x 25 = 50 Akça
İğdiş <sup>176</sup>	1 res = 80 Akça
Bargir <sup>177</sup>	4 res x 70 = 280 Akça
Enfiye Zarfi	1 Adet = 5 Akça
Gümüş Düğme	72 Adet x 0,20 = 36 Akça
Gümüş Macun Kaşıđı	1 Adet = 6 Akça
Mercan Tesbih	1 Adet = 25 Akça
Burunsuz Tespih	1 Adet = 10 Akça
Keçi	200 res x 5 = 1.000 Akça
Gümüşlü Tüfenk	2 Adet x 100 = 200 Akça
Çifte Temür <sup>178</sup> Tüfenk	1 Adet = 100 Akça
Diđer Kara Takım Tüfenk	1 Adet = 30 Akça
Gümüşlü Piştov	1 Adet = 110 Akça
Piştov Kılıcı	1 Adet = 8 Akça
Kahve Deđirmeni	3 Adet x 5 = 15 Akça
Kara Takım Bıçak	1 Adet = 15 Akça

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<sup>174</sup> Received

<sup>175</sup> Baby camel

<sup>176</sup> Trained horse

<sup>177</sup> Beygir (horse)

<sup>178</sup> Demir (iron)

Şire (?) Yastığı	12 Adet = 12 Akça
Yapağı <sup>179</sup> Minder	11 Adet = 110 Akça
Çit ve Köhne Çatma Yastık	30 Adet = 45 Akça
Müstamel <sup>180</sup> Kilim	2 Adet x 25 = 50 Akça
Heybe	1 Adet = 5 Akça
Darı	60 Kile (Kilo) x 250 = 1.500 Akça
Hınta	4 Kile x 9 = 36 Akça
Burgur (Bulgur)	2 Kile x 10 = 20 Akça
Sisam (Susam)	5 = 10 Akça
Gümüşlü Harbi (?)	1 Adet = 30 Akça
Gümüş Su Taşı	1 Adet = 30 Akça
Berber Takımı	1 Adet = 25 Akça
Tombak Fincan Zarfi	16 Parça = 10 Akça
Piştahta ve Divit	1 Adet = 15 Akça
Basma Oda Yastığı	11 Akça
Pembe Çekirdeği	27 Yük Deve x 15 = 405 Akça
Arı Kovanı	21 Yük = 15 Akça
Harem Oda Yastığı	12 Adet = 15 Akça
Çit Makat	6 Adet = 18 Akça
Çuka Makat	3 Adet = 40 Akça
Pencere Perdesi	2 Adet = 12 Akça
Körük Sürücüsü	1 Adet = 150 Akça
Anadolu Nafesi Köhne Kürk	1 Adet = 25 Akça
Sansar Parçası Kürk	1 Adet = 35 Akça
Mintan Kürk	2 Adet x 20 = 40 Akça
Çuka Şalvar	1 Adet = 40 Akça
Çağşur <sup>181</sup>	2 Adet x 20 = 40 Akça

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<sup>179</sup> Wool

<sup>180</sup> Used

<sup>181</sup> Şalvar (Baggy Pants)

İhram	1 Adet = 30 Akça
Müstamel Gömlek	4 Adet = 15 Akça
Müstamel Entari	2 Adet x 15 = 30 Akça
Müstamel Dizlik	3 Adet = 72
Abdest Futası	2 Adet x 5 = 10
Müstamel Abani	2 Adet x 10 = 20
Kısa Entari	2 Adet x 5 = 10 Akça
Göle (Köle?)	3 Adet = 72 Akça
Seccade	1 Adet = 15 Akça
Kilim	1 Adet = 20 Akça
Çekmece	2 Adet x 10 = 20 Akça
Kehribar İmame	3 Adet x 20 = 60 Akça
Mercanlı İmame	1 Adet = 30 Akça
Billur Kase	5 Adet x 2 = 10 Akça
Billur Tas	2 Adet x (?)
Kahve İbriği	4 Adet = 6 Akça
Nargile	1 Adet = 15 Akça
Fincan Maa Tombak Zarf	12 Adet = 17 Akça
Gümüş Buhurdanlık	2 Adet x 40 = 80 Akça
Şamdan	1 Adet = 2 Akça
Kapaklı Sahan	12 Adet = 30 Akça
Bakır Kazan	3 Adet = 75 Akça
Sağır ve Kebir Tencere	8 Adet = 40 Akça
Leğen Maa İbrik	3 Adet x 15 = 45 Akça
Güğümlü	2 Adet = 25 Akça
? Döşek	1 Adet = 20 Akça
Yorgan	10 Adet = 160 Akça
Kumaş Yastık	2 Adet = 20 Akça
Kebir Kefen	2 Adet x 15 = 30 Akça

Çuka Cübbe	1 Adet = 30 Akça
Çuka Biniş	1 Adet = 50 Akça
Beyaz Döşek	4 Adet x 10 = 40 Akça
İşlemeli Seccade	1 Adet = 20 Akça
Müstamel Esb H?	3 Adet x 10 = 30 Akça
Kaput	1 Adet = 150 Akça
Çuka Başlık	3 Adet x 15 = 45 Akça
Gümüslü Bıçak	1 Adet = 50 Akça
Sebze Bahçesi	1 Adet = 300 Akça
Su Değirmeni	2 Adet x 250 = 500 Akça
Mushaf-1 Şerif	1 Adet = 80 Akça
Hikaye-i Ferhad-1 Şirin	1 Adet = 3 Akça
Hısnü'l Hasim Tercümesi	1 Adet = 10 Akça
Dürr-i Meknun	1 Adet = 12 Akça
Mecmua	2 Adet x 3 = 6 Akça
Enam-1 Şerif	1 Adet = 13 Akça
Kaside-i Büride	1 Adet = 4 Akça
Menakısu'l Hacc	1 Adet = 11 Akça
Battal Gazi	1 Adet = 5 Akça
Birgili Risalesi	1 Adet = 15 Akça
Zenciye Cariye	1 Res = 550 Akça
Doru Esb	1 Res = 150 Akça
Kır Esb	1 Res = 110 Akça
Sim Pandol Saat	1 Adet = 60 Akça
Cincin Nam Karyede Vaki Konak	1500 Akça
Sobice (Sobuca) Kazasında Ortak Zer' Olunan Şair Tohumu Arazi	443 Dönüm
Şair Tohumu Beher Aşarı	1 Akça
	443 Akça



Sobice (Sobuca) Kazasında Ortak Zer' Olunan Hınta Arazi	112 Dönüm
Hınta Tohumu x 2,5	
Yekün	280 Akça
Kaza-i Mezkurda Ortak Zer' Olunan Bakla Arazi	162 Dönüm
Bakla x 1,5	
Yekün*	223 Akça
Mecmuu	12,370 Akça
Müteveffa-ı mumaileyhin huzur-ı şer ile bi't-tahakkuk mesbut olan duyunat-ı sahihası defteridir ki ber vechi esami zikrolunur	
Foti Bezirgan Deyn-i Müsbet	2,000 Akça
Cabi Ali Efendi Deyn-i Müsbet	3,000 Akça
Muytab Hacı Halil Deyn-i Müsbet	1,800 Akça
Agop Bezirgan Deyn-i Müsbet	500 Akça
Kuşadasında Ekmekcizade Hacı Mehmet Deyn-i Müsbet	320 Akça
Bayramoğlu Sarı Ahmed Deyn-i Müsbet	65 Akça
Menazvenlü(?) Hacı Hasan Deyn-i Müsbet	24 Akça
Kazaya Deyn-i Müsbet	170 Akça
Marike(?) Deyn-i Müsbet	15 Akça
Sökeoğlu Deyn-i Müsbet	20 Akça
Terzi Araboğlu Deyn-i Müsbet	100 Akça
Sarrac Ali Usta'ya	60 Akça
Şehirli Hacı Hafız Deyn-i Müsbet	200 Akça
Halebli Hacı Server Deyn-i Müsbet	120 Akça
Kürdoğlunun Kayınvalidesinde Deyn-i Müsbet	100 Akça
Kırlu(?) Halil Deyn-i Müsbet	8 Akça
Tahmis Kızının Oğlu Deyn-i Müsbet	350 Akça
Pembe Çekirdeği Deyn-i Müsbet	750 Akça

Temürcci (Demirci) Derviş'e Deyn-i Müsbet	5 Akça
Peşe Arap Deyn-i Müsbet	10 Akça
Dülger Mehmed'e Deyn-i Müsbet	10 Akça
Dülger Hamza Deyn-i Müsbet	45 Akça
Öşür Bakayası Deyn-i Müsbet	227 Akça
İslambolluya Deyn-i Müsbet	260 Akça
Şekeroğlu Deyn-i Müsbet	300 Akça
Boyacı Ahmet Deyn-i Müsbet	350 Akça
Yapıcı Alexandır Deyn-i Müsbet	400 Akça
Kasab Hacı Hüseyin Deyn-i Müsbet	2 Akça
Karahisarlı Hacı Mehmet'e Deyn-i Müsbet	2,000 Akça
Helvacıoğlu Hacı İbrahim'e Deyn-i Müsbet	400 Akça
Ali Bali oğlu Suhta Deyn-i Müsbet	500 Akça
İslambol Galata Kapan Nazırı Ali Ağa'ya Zeamet Bedelinden Baki Kalan	100 Akça
Mecmuu:	14.311 Akça

El-mevlel hilafe lid'devleti'l aliyyetil osmaniye bi kaza-i Sobice ufiye anhü  
Sobice kazası kadısı Hüseyin Efendi'nin mührü

**C. PUBLIC BUILDINGD CONSTRUCTED IN THE OTTOMAN  
PROVINCES FEATURING CROSS-CULTURAL ELEMENTS (1750-1820)**

Building Name	Location	Patron
Bikur Holim Synagogue (Built in 1724, renovated in 1800)	Kemeraltı, İzmir	Built by Salamon de Ciaves, renovated by Manuel de Ciaves of the same family. <sup>182</sup>
Sinanzade Public Fountain (1771)	Kemeraltı, İzmir	Sinanzade Hacı Ahmet Ağa
Çapanzade Mosque (1779)	Yozgat	Çapanzade Mustafa Bey
Karaoğlu Mosque (1782)	Birgi, İzmir	Karazade Mustafa Efendi <sup>183</sup>
Hızır Bey Mosque (1791-1792)	Soma, Manisa	Çapanzade Süleyman Bey <sup>184</sup>
Acıpayam Yazır Mosque (1797)	Yazır, Denizli	
Başçavuşoğlu Mosque (1800-1801)	Yozgat	Halil Ağa, the chief usher of Çapanoğlu Süleyman Bey <sup>185</sup>
Karaosmanzade Atike Hanım Public Fountain (1801-1802)	Akhisar, Manisa	Karaosmanzade Atike Hanım <sup>186</sup>
Church of Agios Ioannis Theologos (1804)	Konak, İzmir	Greek-Orthodox Community <sup>187</sup>
Carullah Bin Süleyman Mosque (Wall paintings added in 1808-1809)	Emre Village, Kula	Şehzade Abdurrahman Efendi
Kılıczade Mehmet Ağa Mosque (1811)	Ödemiş, İzmir	The Governor of Ödemiş, Kılıczade Mehmet Ağa <sup>188</sup>

<sup>182</sup> Source: The Jewish Community Foundation of İzmir, *Synagogues*

<sup>183</sup> Gökben Ayhan, “Birgi Karaoğlu Cami Vaaz Kürsüsü,” *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 39 (2016), 238.

<sup>184</sup> Semavi Eyice, “Hızır Bey Camii,” *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, June 8, 2024. HIZIR BEY CAMİİ - TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi

<sup>185</sup> Oğulcan Avcı, “Yozgat Başçavuşoğlu Camii ve Süslemeleri,” *Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies* 3, no. 5 (March 2016), 60.

<sup>186</sup> İnci Kuyulu, “Karaosmanoğullarına Ait Mimari Eserler,” (PhD Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, 1988), 281.

<sup>187</sup> Levent Efe Arlı and Aygül Uçar, “İzmir Agios Ioannis Teologos Kilisesi Çeşmesi,” *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 31, no.2 (October 2022), 1443.

<sup>188</sup> İnci Kuyulu, “Bademli Kılıczade Mehmet Ağa Camii (Ödemiş/İzmir),” *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 24 (1994), 153.

İlyas Bey Mosque (1812)	Söke, Aydın	The patron of the mosque was İlyaszade İlyas Ağa, who held the position of tax farmer in Aydın. <sup>189</sup>
Karaosmanzade Public Fountain (1813-1814)	Bergama, İzmir	Karaosmanzade Hacı Ömer Ağa <sup>190</sup>
Dönertaş Public Fountain (1814)	Konak, İzmir	Osmanzade İsmail Rahmi Efendi
Şadırvanaltı Mosque (Rebuilt and renovated between 1815-1834)	Kemeraltı, İzmir	Restoration was done with the support of Kapanizade Family (It is noted that Kapanizade el-hac İbrahim, a family member, was a merchant in İzmir <sup>191</sup> ).

<sup>189</sup> Nurten Demircioğlu, “Suğla Sancağı Mütesellimi İlyasoğulları,” (Thesis, İstanbul University, 1964), 35.

<sup>190</sup> Gül Güney, “Bergama Karaosman Sebili ve Süslemeleri,” *Yedi: DEÜ GSF Dergisi* 6 (2011), 49.

<sup>191</sup> Mustafa Can Güripek, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda İktisadi Düşüncenin Modernleşmesi ve Hayriyye Tüccarları,” (Master’s Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2018), 73.

## D. CURRICULUM VITAE

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### EDUCATION

<b>Degree</b>	<b>Institution</b>	<b>Year of Graduation</b>
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BS	METU International Relations	2020

### PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

<b>Year</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Enrollment</b>
2019 - Present	Arkhé Project	Program Director
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### ACADEMIC EVENTS AND LECTURES

<b>Year</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Place</b>
13 - 31 August 2022	"Rhythms of life: Agriculture and Architecture in the Meander Valley of the Late Ottoman Period"	AAVS Sirince: Cornucopian Narratives
20 August - 8 September 2022	Workshop on the design and construction of a wood-fired oven	AAVS Sirince: Tales of Hestia, Hearth and Stove

## **CONFERENCE PAPERS**

1. "Urban Planning and Architectural Strategy: The Case of Ephesus/Ayasoluk from late Byzantium to Aydinid Dynasty" with Arsen Nisanyan in panel titled "Entanglements in Eastern Roman Lands" at European Architectural History Network Thematic Conference: Architecture and Endurance, Ankara (October, 2021)

## **RESEARCH LANGUAGES**

Turkish (Native), English (Proficient), Ottoman Turkish (Reading), Persian (Intermediate), Italian (Beginner)

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**TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English):** FASHIONING PROVINCIAL VISIBILITY : THE CIHANZADE FAMILY'S ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE IN THE 18TH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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