



# A "Solitary" Narrative in Context of Cultural and Spatial Identity: Kayaköy

Kültürel ve Mekansal Kimlik Bağlamında "Yalnız" Bir Anlatı: Kayaköy

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## Öz

Anadolu coğrafyası, inanışları, dilleri, gelenek ve göreneklere, yaşayış biçimleri ile izlerini Anadolu'nun çok kültürlü mozaikinde özgün birer parça olarak günümüze kadar taşıyabilmiş olan pek çok uygarlığa ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Kültürel miras olarak günümüze aktarılan bu "kadim" değerler, onları oluşturan toplumların yaşam kodlarını oluşturmaktadır. Öte yandan, toplumun en küçük parçası olarak, ilkçağlardan günümüze, şu veya bu şekilde kendi elleriyle yarattığı, biçimlendirip yaşattığı mekânı bırakmak zorunda kalan insan ise, içsel yolculuğunda en çok ait olduğu toplumun izlerini sürmüş, özünü aramış, "aidiyetini" sorgulamıştır. Bu bağlamda, çalışma, bir yönüyle Anadolu coğrafyasının yaşam kodlarını da içerisinde barındıran mekânsal kimlik alt yapısını toplumların sosyal yaşamlarında arayıp bulma çabası taşırken, diğer yönüyle de aidiyet sorunsalını, uluslaşma sürecinde toplumları yerlerinden eden, insanları "mekanından" koparan, tarihin en dramatik olaylarından "mübadele" üzerinden sorgulayabilmeyi, mekânı "mübadil yaşamlar"ın kültürel birikim ve aktarımları üzerinden okuyabilmeyi, "yitirileni" kültür-mekan-zaman boyutunda bulabilmeyi hedeflemektedir. Hiç kuşku yok ki, bu amaç doğrultusunda çalışma alanı olarak seçilen Kayaköy, mübadeleyi tüm gerçek ve çıplaklığıyla yaşamışlığı, tarihi, kültürü, kendine özgü mimari üslup ve dokusu, yerelliği, yerelin "sürdürülebilirliği", söz konusu döneme dair tanıklığı, terk edilmişliği ve nihayet farklı kesimlerden erklerce üzerine yapılagelmiş onlarca "hesabı" ile bu ilgiyi fazlasıyla hak etmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kayaköy, Kültürel Miras, Mekânsal Kimlik, Geleneksel Mimari, Mübadele

## ABSTRACT

Anatolian geography has hosted many civilizations which have been able to carry their beliefs, languages, customs and traditions, lifestyles, and traces as original pieces in the multicultural mosaic of Anatolia. These "ancient" values, which have been transferred to the present day as cultural heritage, constitute the life codes of the societies that make them up. On the other hand, as the smallest part of society, man, who had to leave the space that he had created, shaped, and kept alive with his own hands in one way or another from ancient times to the present, followed the traces of the society to which he most belonged, searched for its essence and questioned his "belonging". In this context, while the study seeks to find the spatial identity infrastructure, which includes the life codes of the Anatolian geography, in the social lives of societies, it also aims to question the problem of belonging in context of the "forced migration" which is one of the most dramatic events in history that displaces societies in the process of nationalization and detaches people from their "space", to be able to read the place through the cultural accumulation and transfer of "exchanged lives", to find the "lost" in the dimension of culture-space-time. There is no doubt that Kayaköy, which was chosen as the study area for this purpose deserves this attention with its experience of the forced migration in all its reality and nakedness, history, culture, unique architectural style and texture, locality, "sustainability" of the local, testimony of the period in question, abandonment and finally the "accounts" made on it by powers from different segments.

**Keywords:** Kayaköy, Cultural Heritage, Spatial Identity, Traditional Architecture, Forced Migration

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## INTRODUCTION

Man, who is a social and cultural being, is born, lives and dies in a geography as a requirement of his creation. Most of the time, this process is not geographically the individual's own choice - in whole or at least in part. Despite that, whatever the reason, man can shape the geography they live on, in other words, the physical environment, with their own life culture in a certain time period of the process. Culture, which is formed by human on one side and shapes him in behavioral sense and lifestyle and gives it an identity on the other, is the learned aspect of human behavior; the human being, who is a part of the structure that constitutes the culture, is both a reflection of the culture to which he belongs and an independent variable in the culture-society-space equation with his "living culture", "value" and "behaviors". The definition of Marx as "everything created by human beings versus what nature creates" (Güvenç, 2002) is important in terms of culture's relational approach with human intervention in nature. Since the basic element that constitutes a society is human, the knowledge and cultural level of a person is the determinant of the cultural level of the society in a broad sense. From this point of view, the direct effect of culture, the geography that includes the society, and the structuring of the spatial environment is an indisputable reality.

Human-environment relations, in other words, man's dealing with space, covers the process from the first moment of creation to the present. While perceiving and communicating with one's environment necessitates the struggle with it, it also brought the "belonging / place attachment" phenomenon. This, on the other hand, has made man, as a cultural entity, almost an intersection of the "place" and his culture. Being on the intersection of two different disciplines, architecture and anthropology, man finds himself in the subjectivity of the concept of "space" in the first and is in the position of a subject in the conceptual integrity of "culture" in the other. These frequently used concepts of daily life are not only of architecture; it has also become a "problem" of many disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, archeology, research have been made on it, numerous theses and articles have been produced. In addition to the aim of being a product of similar efforts, this study, which sets out from the feature of traditional architecture - in a sense - to guide the future, aims to be able to read Kayaköy which is the whole of intangible and tangible values created by the non-Muslim "minority" culture that is a "pattern" in the "multiple" structure of Anatolian culture, in the context of cultural, socio-economic and spatial effects and through "exchanged lives". Within this scope, as material and method in the study, along with the literature review of many academic research and publications, periodic written, audio/visual references of the first and second-generation exchanges have an important place in the subject.

The existence of spatial imagination, in which culture finds results in architecture in the context of "locality", necessitates different readings in the space-life-time equation, both in terms of environmental and formal, as well as spatial and structural. Aside from the diversity of the dynamics that provide input to the equation in question, even the mere "causality" directs such readings towards an "integrated" approach rather than being unique. In this study, it has taken such a reading as a scope and purpose for itself in the Kayaköy settlement, where the "belonging" problematic and "solitude" became destiny, of two different societies that lived on the Anatolian geography and were forced to "go and come". In this context, Kayaköy, which has been deprived of its individual and social "essence" by losing its own "sounds" after the forced migration in the historical process and harboring longing, yearning and despair beyond its physical existence, is a "solitary" narrative telling all the bittersweet experiences that the physical space hides and protects through its form and order, "incompleteness" and "sorrow" for the human beings who live without remembering what they have lost or not being aware of what they have lost.

Developments in information and communication technology, with the effect of globalization, create differences by increasing cultural combinations on one side, thereby altering the original texture of social cultures, and on the other hand, they are destroying the network of relations nourished by differences (Levi-Strauss, 1997). However, it would be misleading to think that humanity favors a unity without borders in the process. On the contrary, the results of the research and observations reflect the longing for the diversity of the past and the efforts to preserve and keep this diversity alive. This situation requires "sustainability of the local" and sensitivity to historical, cultural and archaeological values, which constitutes one of the main discourses of the study.

## 1. Human-Culture-Space Relations

If the indissoluble mutual relationship between living beings and their environment is one necessary though not sufficient criterion of the phenomenological approach to environmental problems, then the construct of life space, in all its ambiguities, is an exemplary case for the diffusion of phenomenological and proto phenomenological conceptions in the twentieth century (Graumann, 2002). Many social scientists from different disciplines, such as philosophers, sociologists, architects, historians, anthropologists, have searched for what and/or where space is throughout history and their questioning and constructing the space has brought definitions that diverge or overlap from place to place in terms of intellectual and action. Studies on human-environment, space-environment, human-space relations, and human environmental perception developed in line with human perception, learning and coding of the natural environment until the 1960s (Göregenli, 2010). These studies, which are mostly the work of architects and cultural geographers, form a basis for shaping the perception of space of individuals and societies, determined by intellectual, geographical, cultural, sociological and physical conditions.

We see the city, which is a stage of human intellectual and cultural images and social relations networks, as the basic element of all social processes. In the same parallel, it would not be wrong to define urban spaces as a set of equipment that is a requirement of the entire human condition, daily life experiences and mutual interactions in this process. Within this integrity, urban spaces are places where the subjective and psychological processes of daily life pass, perceptions and experiences are transformed into consciousness, and are shaped by the different identities that people attribute to the space, on the other hand, they can evolve into vital spaces where the public self and identity are built and the period and civilization are reflected.

The space shaped by the identity is an inseparable duo with the acquisitions it adds to the identity. In this case, there is a need to define some basic concepts such as "Spatial Perception", "Spatial Meaning", "Belonging / Place Attachment" and "Self-Sovereignty / Territoriality", which play a role in the interaction between these two.

In the definition of "perception", there is an organic connection between the objects, whether abstract or concrete, and the sensory process. In the process of formation of perception, it is possible to read the environmental information mentally only through the senses (Özen, 2006). This process is the journey of the objective world towards the subjective process, which happens thanks to the senses (Koktürk, 2010), and the contribution of the individual to the process with the determination of needs, habits and life experiences is indisputable (İnceoğlu, 2010). Ittelson (1978) also states that the nature of environmental perception and the relationship between perceived environmental change and environmental action are analyzed through four dimensions of environmental experience: the environment as external object, as representation of self, as embodiment of value, and as arena for action. We see space as important parameters in the formation and development of the perceptual process, in terms of its relationship with the environment and other spaces, when considered from an

architectural point of view. This, on the other hand, emerges as a phenomenon that becomes evident in the concepts of spatial and environmental perception that express itself through the senses beyond the three dimensions that constitute the concrete existence of the space.

As for the concept of “meaning”; it is possible to come across frequently in the development of anthropology and symbolic anthropology, in metaphor studies, in studies on the development of structuralism, in geography and architecture in the spatial context, in psychology (especially in studies on symbols that guide behavior) regarding the use and functioning of objects (Rapoport, 1990). The environment of people, living spaces, which are important elements of the interaction of the individual with the society, are the environments where traditions, culture and values are kept alive, value judgments and worldviews are transferred to the next generations together with the physical environment. In this context, the individuality of the interaction with the space makes the meaning(s) attributed to the space special to the situation, time and person. Manzo (2003) also emphasizes, the role of habit and familiarity are critical elements of our sense of place. This has also been connected to the embodied nature of our existence.

On the other hand, who the person/group is in general terms etc. definitions are directly related to the concept of “belonging” and it is possible to define belonging as a feeling and situation that occurs when a certain social group or person feels himself/herself belonging to a certain place. Attachment to place and space plays an important role in formation of self and defining individual and social identity (Spencer, 2005), develops in relation to the components such as place-space and time, experiences and memories, social relations and activities, psycho-social needs, identity and symbols and the perception that the individual develops against his/her environment (Manzo, 2003). A person who feels himself to belong to a place or place can achieve this through various phenomena that we can define as emotional, functional or conceptual connection. While the bond he establishes through the meaning he attributes to the place and/or space is emotional, the bond he establishes for the program of a particular activity can be functional. When the concept of belonging is used for urban space, it expresses the state of people seeing themselves as a part of a place and feeling entitled and responsible over the place, and attachment to the place also feeds the state of belonging and makes the individual a part of the place or settlement to which they belong (Sancar and Severcan, 2010). The observation that people use particular places for self- and emotion regulation is common to research on place identity, place attachment, and restorative environments. Place identity is fundamentally formed by the experiences and cognitions in places that have a role in a person’s emotion and self-regulation. Thus, place attachment is implicit in place identity (Korpela, 2002).

Appropriation of space, which means that a person does an action on his own and uses it for his own benefit, includes the characteristics of the spatial environment that is formed or created (Graumann, 2002). The self-appropriation of space is defined as a natural space modified to meet the needs and possibilities of the social group, and this is accepted as the most necessary condition that fosters a sense of belonging with a property (Lefebvre, 1995). In the context of space perspective, theories of selfing include the results of the dialectical process of creating and maintaining the social identity of an individual or a particular social group, and attachment to space. The process here consists of symbolic definitions in the activity, adaptation, regional transformation of the place and the integration of the individual's own identity, and the value created by the identity and the commitment to the place constitute an element that is the continuity of the identity (Pol, 2002). On the one hand, it is only by means of human (mental and bodily) activities that the world has become a truly human habitat, that objects and occurrences become human things and affairs. Also, appropriation, which literally means making (something) one’s own and taking for one’s own use, presupposes that it is features of the spatiotemporal environment that arouse, foment, afford, and sustain environment-related intentionality (Graumann, 2002).

The territoriality, on the other hand, is the result of the effort of the individual to form the mechanism of limiting himself to others and includes the personalization or marking of the place (Lang, 1987). Edney states that it is now widely accepted that links exist between spatial behavior and certain mechanisms of social organization in many organisms. Of particular importance in this connection is territoriality, which has been as a key factor linking social behavior and population dynamics. Territoriality serves as an important organizer of behavior on several levels, and that human territoriality should not be treated primarily as property defense phenomenon (Edney, 1976).

### 1.1 Environment-Place / Space and Conceptual Contradiction

The human, who transfers "variable" inputs to the culture-human-space equation with his behaviors, creates his own living space, in other words space, with the environment he shapes as the "output" of this equation.

The concept of environment, which is an intersection of many research topics from different disciplines, from sociology to architecture, has the same variety of definitions and classifications. For example, while Rapoport (1997) defines the environment in its broadest sense as any condition or effect outside the organism, group or system under study, Ittelson's (1978) definition describes it as perceptual, semantic, aesthetic, adaptive, integrative and objective and a system with seven components, such as the general ecological relations of these components. Lawton's (1977) definition of the concept of environment is; it is based on an ecological system consisting of five components such as the individual, the physical environment, the personal environment, the environment created by the person outside himself, and the social environment. In that case, it would not be wrong to talk about the existence of an intricate relationship between environmental and socio-economic factors, cultural components and building form in the formation process of a building.

It is possible to say that people's environmental preferences, decisions to shape the environment, social rules, shared common values, personal experiences, knowledge, manners, learned attitudes and behavior models constitute inputs in the human-space equation. In other words, traditional society values, religious belief and life, normative rules based on family and kinship, each living culture are actually the determining factors of the space. The necessity to define the culture that reflects the universal on one side and the local on the other, as a part of the space created together with the human arises spontaneously.

On the other hand, the dialectic of globalization and culture, which is a natural result of modernization, finds its concrete existence in the "place". "Place", on the other hand, becomes the meeting point of many cultural materials, meaning codes and vital practices, far beyond the definition of a specific physical environment. Even when viewed from this point of view, the necessity of characterizing the "place" as a concrete entity in the spiral of abstract concepts arises spontaneously. The conceptual antiquity of "place" in the intellectual sense goes back to before Ancient Greece. So much so that the Ancient Greek thinkers Aristotle and Plato see "place" as a prerequisite for the existence process. According to Aristotle, "place" has a fundamental and primary value in understanding space, in other words emptiness or infinity, movement and change. We see Heidegger associating "place" with the concept of belonging in an effort to make sense of existence. It is possible to belong, to be able to hold on, by being able to settle in one place. In that case, chaos, which is the indicator of eternity or emptiness, will only end with the process of constructing a place where beings can feel their belonging and hold on to life.

The conceptual contrasts of space and place, which are often identified with each other, have been tried to be explained above, and it has been stated that in a sense, the space is relatively more abstract and mathematical compared to space as an "experienced", "lived" and "interaction" space. In other

words, the more personal place becomes "here", while the more universal place becomes "there". Lefebvre, who argued that time should be understood as a lived phenomenon rather than a mechanized and measurable phenomenon, saw space as an economic and social output, and emphasized that production experiences should not be perceived only as physical construction projects and urban plans, but also the interaction of people in their daily lives should be taken into account. From this point of view, it would not be wrong to understand Lefebvre's conceptualization of social space as living and embodied space at the same time, and to associate it with "place" (Elden, 2009). Similarly, the works of humanist geographers of the period such as Yi-Fu point to three main components of place in contrast to the concept of space: location, locality and sense of place. Of these, "location"; it is an absolute point of the space pointed by certain coordinates and is measurable. "Locality"; it includes all visible material elements such as buildings, streets and parks, and in a sense, it constitutes the material dimension of social relations in the context of place. The perception of "place" should also be considered in a more personal context as a subjective concept that expresses the emotions and feelings evoked by the place.

## 1.2 Cultural / Spatial "Locality"

At first glance, culture, which is a learned group of behaviors passed on to new generations by individuals sharing the same experience and tradition, appears as a basic feature that distinguishes societies from one another. On the basis of cultural differences between societies, there are social facts such as lifestyles, cultural values and diversity in the behavior system that make up the culture. As it can be understood from here, an important part of the definitions of culture are based on sociological philosophy. In reality, culture, which is an imaginary bundle of experiences, creates and develops science, art, good and bad, right and wrong, beautiful and ugly through the individual who creates the society, while creating the spatial environment of the society in particular for the same individual. On the other hand, historical and geographical differences hinder the explanation of all humanity in a single social culture. In this case, it is not possible to talk about the universality of culture. However, this assumption should not be interpreted as "none of the cultural values are universal". What is meant here is the fact that societies have existed in different geographies in the historical process, have lived and constantly evolved. When the differences in moral values, the diversity in perception and meaning of life, the teachings and habits shaped by life codes are added to this, the cultural distinction between societies can become more evident.

In absolute space, any "place" becomes a subset of the multiple combination of locality, perceptual meaning, and experience of the place, this brings us to the distinctive feature of the place. Again, the human being who creates, shapes, and transforms "the place" in absolute space, has kneaded the ground with his own culture, and has put a stone from his culture in almost every corner of its form and functionality. Many cultural codes such as religious beliefs, traditions, daily and vital habits, moral values and rituals come to life in that place with the people who make the place "place".

The formation process (construction) of the place develops with the blending of the cultural values articulated with the place, the sense of belonging and identity. Here, of course, we should not forget the effect of geographical factors such as climate and topography on people. The intervention of such elements, which also shape the human physique, on the character of the human is unquestionably correct. Thus, the culture that characterizes people and society can also characterize the place. At this point, we see locality as a relative variable in the place-culture-space equation. Since the culture changes, the place changes and it is the culture that makes the place; locality, which is a component of the place, can also be a perceptual phenomenon that varies from person to person in the cultural infrastructure of the person. Since we cannot think of a culture without a place and a place without a

culture, the intricate knot of relations between these three has created and will continue to create its unique locality in almost every geography of the universe.

The phenomenon of globalization, which affects the whole world and naturally makes its presence felt in almost every area in Turkey, has reshaped the economic, social and cultural lives of societies with the effect of technological developments, and has brought along various questions in the survival and transfer of traditional life culture with the new dimension of urbanization. This has led to irreversible metamorphoses in the identities and textures of the places where the culture is lived. When the irresistible effect of globalization is supported by modernist and even post-modernist approaches, with this almost inevitable transformation, the concept of urban identity, as well as "locality, traditionalism and protectionism" has come to the fore. In this context, spatial images are natural, historical, cultural and geographical products that come to the fore with their visual dimension and are also values that are transmitted from generation to generation by the constructor and users of the space, including social life norms.

## 2. "Exchanged Lives" and Kayaköy the "City of Loneliness"

*"...You will find my things... You will find the stones I cut, the roads I opened, the sculptures I made. And you will see; Our fingerprints will touch each other thousands of years away..." (A Lycian poem from 3000 years ago)*

Population Exchange / forced migration is an obligatory and versatile population movement in which the legal dimension is regulated within certain principles with its pre-process and results, as a requirement of a protocol between the parties, and the process is carried out by commissions at the international level. The problem of minorities, one of the reasons for the 1923 Turkish-Greek Population Exchange Agreement, and the social and economic destruction caused by the wars, accelerated the initiatives of the commissions established by the League of Nations, and this situation made the exchange the fastest and easiest solution among the options and conditions of the day (Erdal, 2006; & Sepetçioğlu, 2006). Although the negotiations were blocked from time to time and there were very heated discussions on the subject, as a result, a mutual population exchange agreement was reached between Turkey and Greece on January 30, 1923, within the framework of a protocol (Ari, 2000; Erdal, 2006; Sepetçioğlu, 2006).

There is no doubt that the exchange, which became valid with the "Convention and Protocol on the Turkish-Greek Population Exchange" signed between the GNAT Government and the Greek Government dated January 30, 1923, when read through the provisions of the agreement, many political and legal criticisms can be made. However, the population exchange is a point brought about by the experience of two different ethnic/religious groups living together for almost a century, starting with the Peloponnese revolt, and the spiral of relations between the parties, leading to a hot conflict. In addition, there are some political, economic and social reasons behind the acceptance of this compulsory and radical decision by both parties.

The 1923 Turkish-Greek Population Exchange Agreement led to the emergence of a new concept that was generally accepted in the international arena, scientific and academic circles, and finally by the broad masses of the people: This concept, which is "exchanged (refugee)", meaning "exchanged, fulfilled, valued for an environment", differs from all other types of immigrants in terms of emphasizing the "duplexity" of the agreement. The qualitative dimension of the segregation lies in the references it makes to the economic and most of all the political dimension of immigration, which is limited within the framework of the aforementioned "human-scale values of exchange such as religion and belief".

In this context, when we consider the cities and villages, as the civilizational efforts of mankind for thousands of years and the focal points of the endless search for peace, Kayaköy, as one of the places where this phenomenon is best represented, deserves a special attention in terms of being a place transforming the effect of the population exchange / forced migration on the traditional housing settlement on the Anatolian geography into a prominent research topic. What makes it special, besides being a part of a geography where different cultures live in peace, is the sadness of the destructive effect of wars that has been going on for almost a century, leading to abandonment, exhaustion and silence. On the other hand, Kayaköy's existing differences gain further privileges due to reasons developed far beyond people from different cultures who have been able to produce and live together in peace for hundreds of years, and their "destiny" results. In the current conditions of the post-war period, the administration, which was brought into a 'rush' by the powers beyond the parties, now stands before us as the tired and loneliness of the traditional settlement texture with perhaps the most identity of Anatolia. Kayaköy is not only a settlement that hides historical layers, but also a document and narrative that expresses the multicultural life of the past, war and migration.

Kayaköy is a part of the Lycian Civilization spread over the Teke Peninsula. Telmessos, the city of the ancient Lycian Civilization, is located within the borders of today's Fethiye as one of the most important cities of Lycia. The tragic wars of the Teke Peninsula thousands of years ago are almost the harbinger of the tragic story of Kayaköy. The famous Xanthos Defense during the Persian invasion of Lycia is the epic story of the honorable resistance of the Lycian people from ancient times to the present. Although the region was under the rule of the Macedonian Kingdom after 334 BC, the Lycians were able to transfer their culture from generation to generation in this special geography of Anatolia with their honorable struggle for life, their original language and architecture. In the region, which was a center during the spreading period of Christianity, settlements such as Gemile Island, Karacaören, and Knight Island are home to the structures and remains of the Byzantine period. Byzantine church ruins around Yaka and Hisarönü villages make the region privileged in this process of Christianity.

It is seen that today's Fethiye is called Makri or Meğri in the region, which came under the influence of Turkish rule starting from the 9th century. The region, which was under the rule of Menteşe Principality for a while, passed under Ottoman rule from the 15th century, and in this process, Makri and its surroundings became famous as one of the focal settlements of Mediterranean trade with its cosmopolitan social structure. The aforementioned socio-economic environment has also shaped the space and life in Kayaköy. Especially in the 19th century, the number of Greeks in the region increased considerably with the migrations from the islands, and as a reflection of this, the name of the settlement was "Levissi" for the Greeks and "Taşlıköy" for the Turks. Kayaköy, with a population of approximately 2,000 in the mid-19th century, became more crowded with the foreign immigration at the beginning of the 20th century and became the center of attraction of its time with its socio-cultural structure. During this period, Levissi, it is depicted as a wealthy settlement with social facilities such as newspapers, schools, pharmacies, and libraries.

### 3. Structural Codes in Kayaköy

In Turkey's geography, 36.34'29.94"N; Located at 29.05'27.94"E coordinates, Kayaköy points to a location of absolute space within these geographical boundaries. This indicated location is no other than Kayaköy in the global coordinate system and does not describe any other geographical location. Tangible elements such as churches, chapels, schools, fountains, single/multiple ruined and ruined houses, cisterns and courtyards, narrow pathway streets that make up the urban fabric of Kayaköy are the localities that make it a "place". However, apart from all these, Kayaköy has a story and perception that is accepted by almost everyone, such as life codes, the phenomenon of exchange where those who created it are "forced", its abandonment and sadness, and this is the "perception of place". And



in this context, Kayaköy has gone far beyond being a place in absolute space with its location, cultural material elements, and perceptual meaning.

### 3.1 Topological Structure

Surrounded by mountains with an average height of 250 meters above sea level, the hillside houses of the settlement, which is called the Rock Pit in the region, draw attention at first glance as the most original settlement texture of the Anatolian geography, both with its harmony with the topographic slope and its orientation to natural light and scenery. This state, unique geographical location and unique, traditional and rational architectural solutions added to its topography make it different from other Turkish settlements in its immediate vicinity.



Figure 1. Kayaköy Settlement – General View (Author Archive)

Of the 802 buildings that Saraç examined in his thesis study of 2001, only 3.32% of them are relatively flat, 16.71% have a slight slope, 46.38% are sloping and 33.29% are very sloped. We see that it is located in the field. Inferences from the same study show us that the distance between buildings is around 12 meters in the direction of the slope, and this value increases up to 15-20 meters as one goes up (Saraç, 2001; Kısa Ovalı, 2009). This situation can be interpreted as the topographic preference in the settlement (protection of the relatively productive agricultural area and water resources), the effective use of the land, and the first of the general characteristics of the local (traditional) architecture and one of the dominant criteria of ecological, sustainable architecture. When the settlement texture of Kayaköy hillside houses is carefully examined, it is seen that the surprising settlement, which is compatible with the topography, tends to the plain in a way that does not interrupt each other's view, sun and wind. This is nothing but the principle of "not looking into each other" (respect to the neighbor) of the Folk Building Art, behind which Cengiz Bektaş has devoted almost a lifetime (Figure 1-2).

In addition to the physical unity of topography, water, vegetation and rocks that make an aesthetic contribution to a natural settlement, the visual and sensory images created by the effect of climate and time also help those who experience the Kayaköy settlement to make sense of its surroundings. This "selected" settlement, which is a reflection of the importance given to land use value, is also an architectural texture shaped by the culture of life and human behavior psychology, as well as becoming a symbol of the continuity, harmony and integrity that it leaves on its audience. Kayaköy settlement is representative of the rectangular planned, flat and earth-roofed cubic island architecture within the integrity provided by the harmony of its houses with the topography and the gradual overlap shape of the slopes.

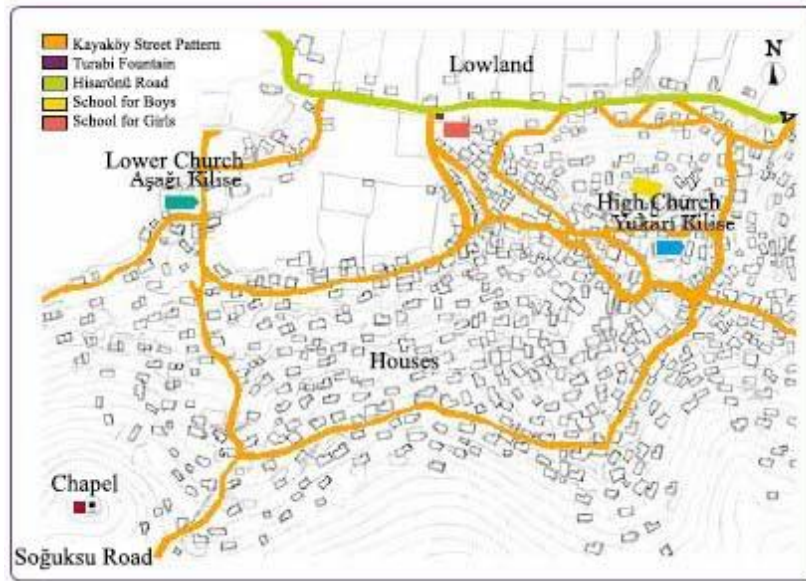


Figure 2. Morphological and Topological Structure in Kayaköy (Kısa Ovalı, 2009)



Figure 3. Topographical Section of Kayaköy (Kısa Ovalı, 2009)

The settlement, where the summers are hot and dry and the winters are warm and rainy, can minimize the negative effects of the Mediterranean climate under the influence of the said topography, narrow streets, small squares, in other words, its built environment. In the analysis of the structural codes of Kayaköy, this situation emerges as the distinctive feature of being an energy efficient settlement, which is one of the basic elements of sustainable architecture. So much so, that the high temperature of the dry and hot summer months loses value with the effect of air currents that go back and forth between the plain and the hill at different altitudes during the day, and this situation can again turn into an advantage since the loss of solar energy is less on the slopes compared to the flat areas during the winter months.

Kayaköy, which is shaped by the basic needs such as cultural preferences, economy and security, added to the causality of the existing topography, has a rich vegetation depending on the climate and geographical factors with the Well Pit in which it is located. The region is home to forested areas surrounded by conifers, fig, pomegranate, oak, plane tree, beech, eucalyptus and many other plant formations named with local names.



Figure 4. Spatial Texture in Kayaköy Settlement (Author Archive)

### 3.2 Morphological Structure

Morphological analysis finds its counterpart in the field of architecture in examining the physical changes in urban space with various methods. They are architectural outputs of the preferences shaped by many factors such as socio-psychological, socio-economic, religious and cultural factors, as well as qualitative and quantitative dimensions such as building heights and densities, structuring order, parcel dimensions, building island shape, street pattern, transportation network and examination of morphological structure requires multiple interdisciplinary methods.

Traditional societies need other cultural interpretations and beliefs in the journey of their cultural and vital memories to reach far beyond their own time and spatial spaces while reaching a meaningful level of solutions based on use in the settled order. The design solutions to be reached from here need the existence and determination of the socio-psychological values, which is a second interface area of the community, and the resulting solutions that have been reached and found application can become a part of the culture and become a symbol. Lozano describes this as "second nature" (Lozano, 1990).

Urban shaping expectations for the living cultures, primary needs and actions of societies provide an input to design solutions, which are the intersection of three main factors, especially physical, socio-psychological and supernatural. Of these, the physical area is a natural result of the selection, generally for defense purposes, at a high altitude and in a difficult geography, and the Kayaköy settlement meets this requirement.

Kayaköy, which is shaped by the people's tradition-customs, cultural values, beliefs and experiences of living together, is the harmony and integration of these three interfaces briefly mentioned above. It is possible that this harmony is the result of a tangle of rational, practical and pragmatic solutions kneaded in cultural values, beliefs and habits that have passed through the centuries. Even with this aspect alone, it is possible to say that Kayaköy has a different physical environment, similar to the design solutions of traditional (local) societies, far from solutions that only care about use value. However, it is worth noting that Kayaköy, with its organic structure shaped by unwritten rules, habits and experiences that are generally accepted by the society, hides a much richer and more complex order that distinguishes it from its peers. The cistern and irrigation systems, where the current and natural topography is treated like a film plateau, the formal density peculiar to old mountain settlements, narrow pathways and streets, sanctuaries, land structure are turned into an advantage are just a few of the indicators that shape the architectural texture of Kayaköy settlement.

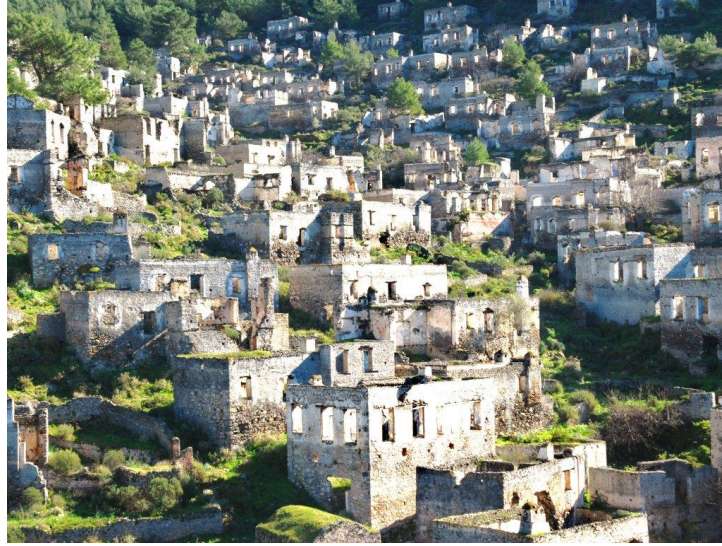


Figure 5. Traditional Texture in Kayaköy Settlement and Pragmatic Analysis (Author Archive)

The local and original texture of the settlement appears in Kayaköy as a reflection of social and cultural values, sometimes as a whole and sometimes as an architectural formation in small details. The semantic integrity given by the spatial volumes as if evoking the island architecture is somewhat repetitive of the topography. This can be evaluated as a transfer of social tradition to the morphological structure.

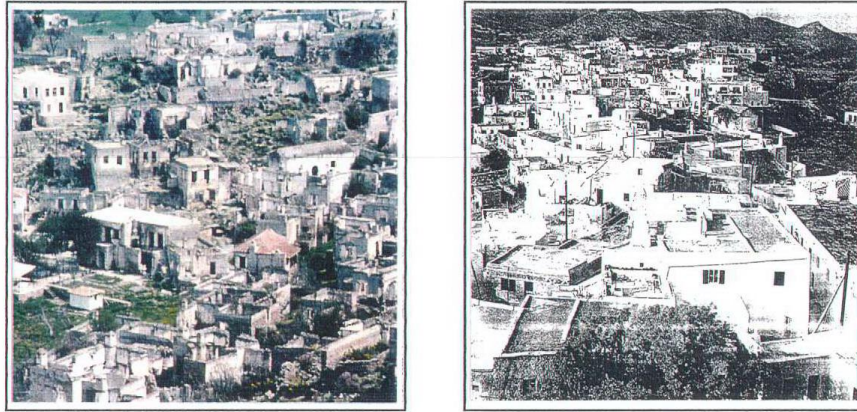


Figure 6. Architecture in Kayaköy and Similarity Resemblance with Architecture in Peloponnese (An example from Kayaköy and “Kythera”) (Şahin, 2000)

As in almost every geographical region of Anatolia, the building forms of the traditional houses of south-west Anatolia have always dominated the determinant of the natural structure of the land (topography), and as a natural consequence of this, due to the effect of the climate, all the searches in the process of solving the problems of orientation, appropriate material selection and design modeling in the buildings had to be fed from the local data and resources at hand. In Kayaköy, which we see as one of the best examples of this, the existing physical structure, each residential cluster is terraced with the method of cascading, providing the continuity of natural light, air circulation and the view on the one hand, and allowing for horizontal and vertical expansion on the other. The fact that this situation, which was seen as a disadvantage at the beginning, turns into an advantage with pragmatic solutions, at the same time, as Cengiz Bektaş says, delineates the design principles of traditional folk building art.

An example of the rational use of the land topography is that the Kayaköy houses, which sit on a slope, are buried in the ground as necessary without the use of filling, thus transforming the vertical area gain into usage functions such as warehouses and cellars. It is seen that the existing stony structure of the land is in a holistic manner with the house, courtyard, garden wall, stairs and street texture at almost every point of the slope section of Kayaköy settlement. So much so that the unique stony-rocky structure of the region from ancient Lycia to the present has almost determined the framing of Kayaköy.



Figure 7. House-Street Relations in Kayaköy (Author Archive)

Although the cubic building forms on the slopes seem to contradict the land use within this rationality, the "contrast" relationship established between them can turn into a "unity of opposition" and contribute significantly to the visual feast of Kayaköy integrated with nature. It is possible to see a similar contrast in the topographic placement of the houses. In the low-rise areas close to the center, where the population density increases relatively, the distance between the houses gets closer to each other at the contact level, while the same relationship decreases as one goes to the upper parts of the settlement, and the existence of solutions with gardens and courtyards is witnessed.

Another detail in Kayaköy settlement is seen in the settlement setup. While the focal point preference of the non-Muslim Greeks, who are the settled and founding society of the slopes and have an important place in the multicultural structure of Anatolia, is the "church" in the center, this preference is shaped as a "mosque" in a similar position in the surrounding Turkish villages. As in almost all ancient cities, the core of the settlement in Kayaköy is composed of commercial buildings and public spaces where religious structures come into being. Especially two of them are churches that stand out at first glance with their craftsmanship, ornamentation and magnificence within the integrity of the general texture. The Taksiarkhis Church is located just above the castle, while determining the center, the Kataponaya Church, which the locals call the lower quarter, is located at the lower level of the slope.



Figure 8. Taksiarkhis Church (Şahin, 2000)



Figure 9. Katopanaya Church (Şahin, 2000)

The solid stone texture and craftsmanship draw attention in Kayaköy, where almost all of its buildings have prismatic rectangular or cubic forms. While the building forms are a product of the aim of obtaining maximum benefit from the winter sun, the selected stone material has been preferred due to its heat absorbing and trapping properties. Window size and proportional values used on the facades contribute to this climatic effect. Again, the inner-outer harmony, which is one of the sine qua non of folk building art, and the solution from the inside out, in a way, carries the concern of individual privacy.



Figure 10. Square / Agora in Kayaköy (Şahin, 2000)

We see the elegance of Kayaköy architecture in the use of color. It is possible to find traces of all civilizations in the structural style and texture of Kayaköy, which has thousands of years of Anatolian architectural tradition in its genes. The island architecture, which is a necessity and condition of Mediterranean civilizations, shows its effect in the interior and exterior colors of Kayaköy. The dominant colors are blue, white and red, which are common in Greek architecture. It is possible to find the preference in colors in the beliefs of the founder-settled Greek society as well as climatic facts. Namely: Blue; it is the epitome of honesty, integrity and truth; it symbolizes the superiority of the spirit realm over evil. Red; represents blood and fire; in this respect, war means birth and sacrifice. White means purity and is synonymous with the Greek parthenon. The outdoor preference of white is the outward reflection of a simple, modest and clear life.

In the context of cause-process-effect, one of the most effective fields of exchange, which has been the subject of numerous researches and examinations in many fields, especially in historical, cultural, political and economic fields, is architecture. The reflection of the exchange in architecture, which has

a very broad perspective in reality, is its manifestation on the traditional housing settlement, to which it provides input in a sense.

With the acceptance of the truth about the two-way phenomenon of the exchange, the settlement of Turks coming from Greece with the identity of "exchange" in the empty settlements in Anatolia, and their integration into social life is one of the biggest problems of the period. Because it is natural that exchanged societies are of different ethnic and religious structures, and the vital facts they provide in the process can also turn into spatial distinctions as a requirement of this difference.

In Kayaköy, where topography and climatic data are used optimally, the settlement is in principled integrity for the protection of agricultural areas. For this purpose, the fact that the settlement pattern was formed on the slopes is one of the most distinctive differences in the living experiences of Turks and Greeks living together. Contrary to the Greeks who built their living spaces on the slopes in order to make the best use of the fertile agricultural lands, a small number of Turks preferred to settle in relatively low-elevation villages such as Goats, Gökçeburun, and Belen. The preferences of both communities in this direction will appear as a dilemma in the solution of the settlement problem, which is one of the biggest problems of the exchange in the next period. In Kayaköy, where the local people mostly deal with agriculture and the non-Muslims (Greeks) with trade, the number of those who lead a wealthy life by maintaining their trade at the highest level of their time is not to be underestimated. At this very point, despite all the abandonment and loneliness of this and similar differences for almost a century, it still preserves the traces of the exchange in terms of both social and spatial memory.

#### **CONCLUSION:**

The years of war brought along a painful and uneasy process for Kayaköy, like all settlements that had to face war from close or distant throughout history. After the war, new socio-economic and spatial structures developed in the region, and as a result of the fiction and guidance of the intervening states, a great migration became necessary with the agreement signed in 1923, which envisages mutual population exchange between Turkey and Greece. The sad story of the people who had to "come and go" on both sides of the water is about to begin. Those who went had difficulty adapting to the place they went to, and those who came to Kayaköy. The place could not respond to the new lifestyles, and after a while Kayaköy was abandoned again.

Kayaköy, which was abandoned by the newcomers after the old lives, spent most of the 20th century alone and continues to spend it. The working process is a process of "resistance" against time for Kayaköy. Kayaköy continues to tell its sad story as the roofs collapse and the walls collapse and the paintings melt away a little more with each passing winter. The people living in the villages of Kayaçukuru are a part of this story. Due to immigration in the region, the land has become lonely, while the way of production has changed, people have become impoverished compared to the past. Viticulture and tobacco farming, which were important sources of income in the past, have been replaced by horticulture. In this time period, Kayaköy has become a supply area for those living in Kayaçukuru, especially for fuel. Homes no longer have a wooden floor joist, nor a wooden shutter that makes noise on the stone walls in windy weather. It can be observed that the colors and figures that give life to the interior and exterior walls of houses devoid of human warmth are rapidly disappearing.

The forced migration has eroded the place and culture along with the lives of those who come and go. It is because of all these events that Kayaköy is the cultural and spatial memory of the incessant war years and before and after the world.

The last quarter of the 20th century has been the beginning of hope for Kayaköy, and the fact that it is a cultural heritage has been frequently mentioned. Kayaköy settlement, which was given the status of

a protected area in 1978, was also brought under the lens of the Chamber of Architects as of 1988, and this date has been a start for multi-faceted studies for conservation. The contribution of the Chamber of Architects to the process, in the simplest terms, has developed within the framework of the idea that Kayaköy is a 'village of friendship and peace'. Galata Group formed by the Istanbul Metropolitan Branch and Fethiye Municipality, with the initiatives of Oktay Ekinci, the President of the Chamber of Architects, brought together architecture students from different schools in Kayaköy, and survey studies were carried out within a certain system and discipline. This effort of the Chamber of Architects, keeping the "friendship and peace village" project of Kayaköy on the agenda during the process, is very meaningful in terms of the ownership of the project by the architects of the future.

In the following period, architecture students from different geographical regions of Turkey, participating in the summer school activities that are repeated every year, gain experience in a different “understanding” process through Kayaköy, which is related to the responsibility of understanding and keeping the spaces of the past alive, as well as questioning the phenomena of war and peace. So that; Kayaköy is a reflection of the “reality” of abandoned, forgotten settlements that were destroyed, burned, and forgotten in different geographies of the world and at different times in history. What those settlements say and what they hide are always the same; Peace is needed for architecture, for the continuity of culture, for a civilized life.

Kayaköy, which is a historical and vital narrative, is reshaping those who try to understand itself today. The interest of different disciplines in the settlement is supported not only by academic circles, but also by various non-governmental organizations and local people, now Kayaköy is increasingly being the subject of magazines, films, stories and novels, panels and interviews, as an element of "awareness", and is frequently featured in the press.

Today, Kayaköy is now a research area for scientists and a place that presents the multifaceted inspirations of history for artists. Just like every place that is considered to be protected, Kayaköy seeks an answer to the question "whether it will exist or not" or "how it will be" in the future. In addition to this, there is no doubt that the future of Kayaköy will be shaped by the basin in which the settlement is located and the life there. Considering the fact that the new structure to be formed will be the product of an effort that integrates with the local people, the primary goal should be to protect and improve the socio-economic structure in the villages. At this point, it should not be forgotten that the local people of the settlement are stakeholders and natural partners of all projects designed for Kayaköy.

Because all the pain, lost future, sadness and longings of the past are “claimant” from the future.

### ***Etik Standart ile Uyumluluk***

***Çıkar Çatışması:*** Yazarlar herhangi bir çıkar çatışmasının olmadığını beyan eder.

***Etik Kurul İzni:*** Bu çalışma için etik kurul iznine gerek yoktur.

***Finansal Destek:*** Finansal destek yoktur.

***Teşekkür:*** Teşekkürümüz yoktur.



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