CONSERVATION OF RURAL ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS PART OF HISTORIC RURAL LANDSCAPES: PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIES FOR ZEYTİNLİKÖY-AGIOS THEODOROS (GÖKÇEADA)

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ABSTRACT

CONSERVATION OF RURAL ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS PART OF HISTORIC RURAL LANDSCAPES: PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIES FOR ZEYTİNLİKÖY-AGIOS THEODOROS (GÖKÇEADA)

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Interactions between traditional rural architecture, the natural environment surrounding it, and the socio-cultural characteristics of the local community using it have all long been debated in terms of the conservation of cultural heritage. However, understanding the human beings and nature, and the tangible and intangible values that emerge as a result of interactions between them as a whole, within the concept of the ‘historical rural landscape’, have become a current issue as a consequence of the incorporation of the term ‘cultural landscape’ into the field of conservation after the 1990s. This approach enables us to define site-specific characteristics that constitute the identity of a place, and to develop sustainable and integrated conservation approaches in this context.

In the northeastern Aegean Sea, and close to the entrance to the Dardanelles, Turkey’s largest island, Gökçeada (Imbros), is an important historical rural landscape area, with its own traditional rural settlements (Rum villages), and extensive natural and archeological sites. In addition, each of the villages on the island constitutes an historic rural landscape area in itself, with their permanent settlement areas, fertile agricultural land and pasture areas, seasonal dam settlements, chapels, and windmills. However, Gökçeada has witnessed certain threats over recent years. Along with physical and
geographical factors, socio-cultural transformations have also shaped the settlement characteristics of Gökçeada’s villages. One of these villages, Zeytinliköy (Agios Theodoros), is selected as a case study on account of its rich historical rural landscape values. Moreover, Zeytinliköy is exposed to the risk of physical and socio-cultural transformation due to the rapid increase in its touristic popularity. Combined with the legal challenges regarding the conservation of rural areas, and conservation approaches focusing only on the built environment, these threats may result in the irreversible destruction of the rural fabric in the near future. As a result of this destruction, the village runs the risk of becoming a touristic attraction, without rural identity or collective memory, rather than continuing as a living, thriving environment.

In this context, this study aims to develop site-specific analyses and determine the main principles and strategies for the integrated conservation of an historic rural landscape – Zeytinliköy-Gökçeada – together with its built and natural environment, and local inhabitants. To determine the main principles and strategies for the conservation of Zeytinliköy, this study is based upon principles defined by the relevant international documents as the main guiding objectives, together with a value-threat-opportunity assessment of the site.

Keywords: Zeytinliköy (Agios Theodoros); Gökçeada (Imbros); rural architectural heritage; historic rural landscape; integrated conservation
ÖZ

KIRSAL MİMARİ MİRASIN KIRSAL PEYZAJ ALANLARININ BİR PARÇASI OLARAK KORUNMASI: ZEYTİNLIKÖY-AGIOS THEODOROS (GÖKÇEADA) ÖZELİNDE PRENSIP VE STRATEJİLER

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Ege Denizi’nin kuzeydoğusunda ve Çanakkale Boğazı girişine yakın bir konumda bulunan, Türkiye’nin en büyük adası Gökçeada (Imbros), geleneksel kırsal yerleşimleri (Rum köyleri), geniş doğal ve arkeolojik alanları ile önemli bir tarihi kırsal peyzaj alanıdır. Öte yandan, adadaki köylerin her biri, yerleşim alanları, verimli tarım arazileri, zeytinlikleri ve mera alanları ile bu alanlarda yer alan mevsimlik dam

Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, yere özgü analizler geliştirek, bir tarihi kırsal peyzaj alanı olan Zeytinliköy-Gökçeada’nın yapılı çevresi, doğası ve yerleşik halkı ile birlikte bütünleşik bir koruma yaklaşımı ile korunması için temel prensip ve stratejileri belirlemeye amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, Zeytinliköy’ün korunmasına yönelik temel prensip ve stratejileri belirlemek için, bir dizi uluslararası belge tarafından tanımlanan temel prensipleri ve alanın kendisinden gelen değer-tehdit-potansiyel değerlendirmelerini temel yol göstericiler olarak kabul eder.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zeytinliköy (Agios Theodoros); Gökçeada (Imbros); kırsal mimari miras; tarihi kırsal peyzaj; bütünleşik koruma
to my mother
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1 All photographs are by the author, unless otherwise indicated.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

**BTKTVYK:** Bursa Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Yüksek Kurulu (Bursa High Council of Immovable Cultural and Natural Properties)

**CE:** Council of Europe

**ÇKVKBK:** Çanakkale Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu (Çanakkale Regional Conservation Council of Cultural Properties)

**DSİ:** Devlet Su İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works)

**EU:** European Union

**GEEAYK:** Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yükse Kayı Kurulu (High Council of Immovable Monuments and Antiquities)

**HGM:** Harita Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Mapping)

**ICCROM:** International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

**ICOMOS:** International Council on Monuments and Sites

**TÜDAV:** Türk Deniz Araştırmaları Vakfı (Turkish Marine Research Foundation)

**TÜİK:** Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)

**UNESCO:** United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

**SP:** Survey Participant  **THS:** Traditional House Sheet  **TH:** Traditional House
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Rural settlements form as the result of interactions between human and nature. While natural factors, such as topography, climate, vegetation and biodiversity shape lifestyles, human beings have also shaped nature and created a built environment to live in. The coexistence of nature, people and the built environment defines the rural identity. Due to their site-specific characteristics, rural settlements are unique formations which should be accepted as a whole with their landscape characteristics, agricultural production areas, traditional rural architecture, inhabitants and intangible values. The concepts of the cultural landscape and rural landscape, which were first used in the areas of geography and urban planning, have recently become a conceptual framework for the field of conservation, emphasizing the significance of an integrated conservation approach that addresses the built environment in the context of its surrounding natural environment shaped by its inhabitants.

Turkey, which has been host to many civilizations since the Prehistoric era, is rich in terms of rural landscapes as well as other heritage sites. The coexistence of Turkey’s natural wealth, cultural and ethnical varieties results in diverse compositions of several rural landscape formations. Ottoman Period Rum heritage takes an important place in the multicultural structure of Turkey. Today, the definition of ‘Rum’ generally refers to Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule, however Rum identity is a complex issue discussed by many scholars. Etymologically, ‘Rum’, which is used by the people of the Eastern Roman Empire to define themselves, and also by Persians and Turks in close contact with Byzantines, derives from ‘Roman’. They used this term to refer to Christianity, not a linguistic or ethnic category. In addition, the concept

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2 Ergül 2012, p. 630; Akgönül 2016, p. 29.
of Rum was used to describe ‘Anatolia’, without no ethnic emphasis, especially between the 13th and 17th centuries of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Sultans who called themselves ‘Kayser-i Rum’, after Mehmed II, is an example of this. Not only Anatolia, the Balkan Peninsula, too, was termed ‘Rumeli’ – ‘The Land of Rum’. This definition of identity, which was used in different periods of history, with religious and geographical references, was corrupted and attributed to nationalities in the process of nation-state formation. With the Lausanne Treaty signed in 1923, an exchange of Muslim (western Thrace) and Orthodox Rum populations (Anatolia) took place, excluding those living in Istanbul, Gökçeada and Bozcaada. Thus, religious identities defined nationalities, and the complexity of Rum identity was neglected. Today, although the Rum population has declined considerably, the traditional rural settlements they left behind are still important symbols of the multicultural nature of Anatolia. Moreover, they are also substantial documents for the collective memory of the Rum community and culture that need to be conserved.

Among these settlements, Gökçeada has a special position due to the fact that a small part of the local Rum population still exists and the majority of those who left the island is still connected to the place. Moreover, because of its insular nature, Gökçeada had a closed, self-sufficient system in the past, with several site-specific characteristics and values which should be documented, analyzed and protected carefully. The island constitutes a significant historic rural landscape with its five ancient villages, as well as its archeological and natural sites. As one of these villages, Zeytinliköy represents a traditional rural settlement surrounded by olive groves, where the original fabric of the village can still be seen. It is one of the best protected villages of the island, with its stone masonry structures and stone-paved streets. In addition to the settlement area, the village also has agricultural and pasture areas to the south of the settlement. These consist of the seasonal dam settlements of the villagers and several structures, such

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3 For further information on the use of the term Rum at different times, see Akgönül 2016 and Özbaran 2004.
4 The term dam corresponds to seasonal, rural houses used for agriculture and stock-breeding activities. For further information, see below pp. 80-83.
as windmills and chapels, which are significant elements of the rural landscape (Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1: Zeytinliköy, settlement area within its surrounding landscape (http://www.gokceada.bel.tr/altsayfa.php?sayfam=25 [last accessed on 24.4.2019])

Figure 2: View of surrounding landscape as seen from the village
1.1. Problem Definition

Rural landscapes have lost their previous importance due to globalization, industrialization, mass migration, and changing economic and social policies. These areas, where indigenous economic activities cannot be continued, are generally abandoned over time and left open to the destruction of natural factors and vandalism, as a consequence of changing life both in Turkey and elsewhere. Although attempts to form international criteria for the conservation of cultural properties (monuments, urban and archeological sites, etc.) date back to the end of World War II, theoretical discussions about the conservation of rural landscapes specifically have come onto the agenda in the last two decades or so.

Before the 1980s, abandonment and desolation were the major problems in terms of the conservation of rural areas in Turkey. However, after the 1980s, these areas became visible as a result of conservation practices, such as various conservation site decisions and registrations. Although these decisions help to conserve the values of rural sites, they have also brought about some negative developments. The appeal of historic villages, and along with it the demand for old village houses, has increased. As a result of this, being closer to nature and leading a simpler life became a trend among ‘urbanites’, and migrations from cities to rural settlements began; furthermore, with the expansion of cultural tourism, a great number of these areas have become tourist attractions. On the one hand, this situation created significant potential for the reuse and maintenance of rural areas. However, these areas were unprepared for such a sudden change and new conservation problems subsequently emerged. Built environments were rapidly transformed by newcomers, who have urban habits and modern needs. On the other hand, local people, who avoided bureaucratic processes and the high costs of restoration, could not repair their homes, living in poor conditions or selling their houses. Because legal definitions and regulations for the conservation of cultural heritage do not cover historic rural landscapes in Turkey, the uncontrolled reuse of these areas has led to an irreversible transformation in several rural environments.
Gökçeada, which is an important rural landscape area with its historic villages, and extensive natural and archeological sites, has faced such transformation threats over recent years. In the northeast part of the Aegean Sea, and close to the entrance to the Dardanelles, Gökçeada, Turkey’s the largest island, is somewhere that has experienced both inward and outward migration through history. Along with physical and geographical factors, social transformations have also shaped Gökçeada’s settlements. The island, included within the Ottoman Empire in 1445, was occupied by Greece in 1912 and then by England in 1915; after the Lausanne Agreement (22 September 1923) it was given back to the Turkish Republic, together with Bozcaada (Tenedos). Until 1960, the majority of the population consisted of Rums and there were few Turks. However, although Gökçeada was exempt from the population exchanges referred to above, especially after 1960, for mainly political reasons, the majority of the Rum population abandoned the island; their agricultural lands were then expropriated by the Turkish government and Turks from different regions of Anatolia came to settle in its villages.

Zeytinliköy, which was also mostly inhabited by Rums, lost most of its population in this period, mainly due to these expropriations of agricultural lands and the closure of Rum schools. The village entered a period of silence lasting some 30 years and soon became neglected and then in ruins. In addition, the construction of the Zeytinliköy Dam (1977-1983) and Gökçeada Airport (1998-2010) within the area, including the expropriated lands of Zeytinliköy, have resulted in the further disappearance of several traditional structures, such as windmills, watermills, seasonal houses, and a tilery.

In 1991 the settlement area of Zeytinliköy was declared as an ‘Urban Conservation Area’ (Kentsel Sit Alanı) and, lately, several residential buildings have been registered, together with the important church of Ayios Yioryios. However, the village still has no Conservation Development Plan (Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı) of its own, and it is conserved only as a result of the individual efforts of its villagers. Moreover, many village structures, such as the dams and chapels of the southern agricultural and pasture lands, remain within the boundaries of ‘Natural Conservation Sites’ (Doğal
Sit Alanı) and the majority of them are in ruins. There have been no studies carried out regarding the documentation and conservation of these structures, and most cannot even be reached today. The fact that the conservation of the village is not considered as integrated with natural landscape areas constitutes an important challenge. Conservation activities in the village are on the while limited to restorations of the traditional buildings by individuals under the supervision of KUDEB.

Between 1990 and 2000, following the removal of the ‘military exclusion zone’ (askeri yasak bölge) status and resolution of visa problems, locals who had previously left Gökçeada started to return and repair their houses. In this period, the island and its villages slowly became a tourist focus and a great number of the houses were sold to Turkish families, with generally higher levels of education, coming from the metropolitan cities of Turkey.

Until recently, only more elderly Rum residents constituted the permanent population of the village. The village appears almost abandoned in winters, but in summer, especially on August 15, when the Panagia Festival is celebrated by Orthodox Rums, the village population increases significantly.

The numbers of visitors coming to Zeytinliköy are increasing every year due to the fact that the village still conserves its authentic characteristics; it is also close to the center of the island and easily accessible. On the other hand, the village runs the risk of physical and socio-cultural transformation due to this rapid increase in touristic popularity and the numbers of seasonal settlers. Combined with the legal challenges and misguided conservation approaches, these threats may result in irreversible changes to the rural fabric in the near future. As a result of this transformation, the village faces the risk of becoming more touristic attraction than living environment, without rural identity or collective memory.

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5The center of the island located in the northeastern part includes three neighborhoods namely Fatih, Çınarlı and Yenimahalle and will be mentioned as ‘the center’.
1.2. Aim and Scope of the Thesis

The main aim of this thesis is to develop site-specific analyses and determine the main principles and strategies for the integrated conservation of an historic rural landscape, together with its built environment, nature and inhabitants. The basic framework regarding the problems of the area is outlined above by stressing that a conservation approach that only focuses on the built environment will cause rapid transformation and loss of both tangible and intangible values against effects such as tourism. Deriving from this problem definition, this thesis seeks to present a sustainable conservation approach based on the rural landscape itself, which is a composition of several characteristics: natural, historical, economic, demographical, socio-cultural, settlement scale and architectural. To determine the main drivers and strategies for the conservation of Zeytinliköy, this study considers the principles defined by a number of international documents as the main guiding objectives, together with the evaluation of the values, threats and opportunities for the site.

In this context, it is crucial to understand the formation characteristics of rural areas and current challenges regarding the conservation of such areas. Moreover, it is also vital to define the above-mentioned characteristics of the selected subject and their transformations through history. In this manner, this thesis also aims to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the natural, historical, economic, demographical and social characteristics of Zeytinliköy, as well as its contextual relations on the island and own settlement characteristics, architectural and social features. At the end of these in-depth analyses, the study aims to provide a source for the future studies of the village architecture and the factors, on different levels, that are forming and transforming it.

1.3. Structure and Methodology of the Thesis

To determine the main principles and strategies for an integrated conservation approach, this study is structured around a specific case study, analyzing its characteristics and evaluating its values, challenges and opportunities within a
conceptual framework. To achieve this aim, this thesis is composed of four main sections. Firstly, the theoretical background of this study is given so as to present the general context for the conservation of rural landscapes, and then, within this framework, the characteristics of Zeytinliköy and Gökçeada, and their transformations, are analyzed. Following this, the site-specific values, threats and opportunities are determined. Finally, the basic strategies, principles and proposals for the integrated conservation of an historic rural landscape area are defined, as a result of the review of the general evaluation of the theoretical framework and value-threat-opportunity evaluation of the case.

Chapter 2, where the theoretical background of the study is given, starts with the formational characteristics of the rural areas and definitions of the concepts ‘cultural landscape’ and ‘rural landscape’ in order to discover the position of the rural architecture within these definitions. In doing this Jeremy Whitehand (1981), Carl Sauer (1925), Lowenthal (1975), Daniel O’Hare (1997) and Graeme Aplin are the main references. Master theses written by Emine Asrav (2015) and Damla Yeşilbağ (2019) on rural landscapes are also reference works for the study. After the provision of the definitions, challenges related to the conservation of historic rural landscapes are evaluated under four main headings: socio-cultural, economic, physical and legal challenges. This section is based on a literature survey, including several sources, e.g. Zeynep Eres (2016), Emre Madran and Nimet Ö zgönül (2011), Arzu Başaran Uysal (2017), Aylin Orbaşlı (2000), Gregory Ashworth (2014), Charles David Throsby (1997) and Peter Larkham (1996). Under the title of socio-cultural challenges, problems that occur due to socio-cultural changes are discussed and related problems and potentials of rural gentrification are focused upon. In the section on economic challenges, the disappearance of indigenous economic activities, with global and regional impacts in rural areas, is assessed. Tourism, the most popular alternative economy for these sites, is also fully discussed, with particular emphasis on tourism-related challenges and the opportunities for rural landscapes. In the section on physical challenges, factors to do with the reuse of rural settlements and buildings in the context
of current needs and preferences are addressed. Lastly, in the section on legal challenges, we look at the direct or indirect determinants of the conservation of rural landscapes, and legal regulations such as the Village Act, No: 442 (442 Sayılı Köy Kanunu) of 1924; Law No: 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (2863 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu) of 1983; the Development Act, No: 3194 (3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu) of 1985; the Pasture Act, No: 4342 (4342 Sayılı Mera Kanunu) of 1998; and the Metropolitan Municipalities Act, No: 6360 (6360 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyeleri Kanunu) of 2012. The third section of this chapter studies various international documents on the conservation of rural areas. In doing so, emphasis is given to certain principles that have been developed for similar problems described in the previous section. The final section attempts a general evaluation regarding the conservation of rural landscapes, by way of a summary of the sections just mentioned.

After providing a theoretical framework, the data that has been collected from the literature and site surveys are presented so as to understand the features of Zeytinliköy within the context of Gökçeada. In the first section of Chapter 3, the characteristics of the island, from which all the settlements are similarly affected, are analyzed. The second section describes settlement characteristics, traditional architecture and social structure on a village scale, together with their transformations over time. The conservation works done on the island and in the village are also evaluated separately in these sections. The data in this chapter have been structured in the light of the literature survey, official documents obtained from governmental institutions, and actual site surveys. While the information related to the island is mostly based on literary and official documents, the data on the village has been mostly obtained from site surveys.

The books, which are the main sources used in Chapter 3, are Aristides Pasadeos (1973), Spyros Meletzis (1997), Feryal Tansuğ (2012), Güliz Beşe Erginsoy (2006), and Halime Hüryılmaz, (2006). Arzu Turhan (1997) is also an important reference work for this chapter. Secondly, documents have been gathered from governmental
institutions, such as the Municipality of Gökçeada (Gökçeada Belediyesi), Çanakkale Regional Conservation Council of Cultural Properties (Çanakkale Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu), Çanakkale General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre (Çanakkale Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü), and General Directorate of Mapping (Harita Genel Müdürlüğü). The base map and 1/25000 plans of the island, the cadastral plan of Zeytinliköy, aerial photographs of 1953, 1966, 1973, and 1985 (two photographs), ‘conservation area’ borders, the list of registered buildings in the village, and several Conservation Council decisions are all documents provided by these institutions and used in different sections of this study.

As for the site visits, these were carried out in November 2015, April 2016, August 2016, and finally in August 2017 (Figure 3). During the first two site surveys, all the traditional and new settlements of the island were visited to gather information and decide for the case study selection. At the conclusion of these visits, Zeytinliköy was selected as an appropriate case study for the following factors:

- It is 3.5 km from the center
- It is one of the best conserved examples
- The local Rum population is relatively high
- Its level of tourism
- Its attractiveness for new residents
- Its built environment and social structure, faced with the risk of transformation

Figure 3: Areas included in site visits in different years
During the site surveys at Zeytinliköy, a systematic recording of the buildings was made with photographs and general information gathered (with sketches and notes). For more detailed information two types of surveys sheets were used: ‘Traditional House Survey Sheets’ and ‘Social Survey Sheets’.6 Traditional House Survey Sheets were prepared to analyze the original architectural features, and typologies of and later interventions on the village houses. For this purpose, the survey sheet is composed of five main parts: general information on the building, its construction system and materials, its architectural elements, notes about its general condition and later interventions, as well as plan and facade drawings. Thus, 20 traditional houses had their interiors studied within this framework, and at the end of the survey this information was transferred to the ‘Traditional House Sheets’ (Appendix C). Analyses on the traditional architecture of the village are made based on the evaluation of this data and Pasadeos’ book, *Popular Architecture of Imbros* (1973). In addition, ‘Social Survey Sheets’ for three different inhabitant types (permanent local *Rum* inhabitants, seasonal local *Rum* inhabitants and seasonal Turkish inhabitants) were also prepared to collect data about the social structure, the thoughts of those surveyed about the present state of the village, and oral history records. Social survey questions of newcomer Turkish inhabitants include general information about participant profiles, their current daily routines, and awareness about the role of cultural heritage and its conservation. The same questions were also asked to *Rum* inhabitants, but questions about their childhood memories were also added to broaden information about island-village life in the past and the original architectural characteristics of the site. General information about participant profiles is given in Appendix E. The data coming from the Social Survey Sheets are the main sources for Section 3.2.6 (Social Structure of the Village). However, the oral history records are also used in different sections of Chapter 3, and the information obtained from the survey participants are given with their determined reference codes (SP [1-16]), which can also be seen in Appendix E.

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6 See Appendices B and D.
Figure 4: Survey maps prepared for data collection

Figure 5: Diagram showing content of traditional house survey sheets
Following the presentation of the characteristics of Zeytinliköy and Gökçeada through the above-mentioned methodology, an evaluation is made in Chapter 4. In this part, firstly, a short review of value assessment studies by several scholars and NGOs, such as Alois Riegl (1902), William D. Lipe (1984), Bruno S. Frey (1997), Bernard M. Feilden and Jukka Jokiletho (1998), Randall Mason (2002), English Heritage (1997) and ICOMOS (Burra Charter, 1998) is presented as a theoretical framework used for the value assessment specific to this study. In light of these references, the values of and threats to the site are defined. Deriving from these values and threats, opportunities offered by the village and the island itself are presented in order to offer
conservation principles. Finally, the main outcomes derived from the synthesis of the data provided in these chapters are presented in Chapter 5. According to these outcomes, strategies, principles and proposals concerning the integrated and sustainable conservation of Zeytinliköy are defined. Challenges and opportunities for further research are also discussed at the end of this chapter.
CHAPTER 2

CONSERVATION OF THE RURAL ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AS PART OF HISTORIC RURAL LANDSCAPES: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Integrated and sustainable conservation approaches towards rural heritage under the concept of ‘historic rural landscape’ have become a current issue about the conservation of rural environments. This chapter provides a theoretical background about this topic, by providing concepts and definitions, looking at the main challenges concerning historic rural landscapes, and seeking possible solutions for their conservation. Thus, the chapter firstly focuses on “What to conserve?”; then by defining the challenges “Why to conserve?”; and then in reference to international charters “What are the current debates on the conservation of rural areas?” This is followed by an overall evaluation to clarify “How these areas should be conserved?”. For this aim, the chapter is composed of four headings: concepts of cultural landscape and historic rural landscape; challenges related to conservation of historic rural landscapes in Turkey; development of the international conservation approaches related to the conservation of rural landscapes; and general evaluation about the conservation of ancient rural landscapes. The first part includes the formation of rural environments and defines the concepts of ‘cultural landscape’ and ‘historic rural landscape’. The second part deals with the transformation of rural areas over time and the challenges they face today. These challenges are discussed under four main groups: economic, socio-cultural, physical, and legal challenges. The third part is about the historical development of conservation approaches through international charters and documents, guiding the theory of conservation and the development of practices on an international scale. Having established a background about the topic and the relevant definitions, challenges and possible solutions, a general evaluation
and principles about the conservation of historic rural landscapes are presented in the last section.

**2.1. Concepts of Cultural Landscape and Historic Rural Landscape**

Rural settlements are shaped by interaction between human beings and nature. Human beings have used nature to meet their basic needs – such as shelter, climate protection, and nutrition. While natural factors such as topography, climate, vegetation and biodiversity have shaped lifestyles, humans have also shaped nature and created a built environment, i.e. buildings, street and road networks, other open spaces, and production areas. In the creation process of rural architecture, in addition to natural factors, human components such as knowledge and cultural accumulation, experience, communal values, traditions, and habits have also been determinant factors. Thus, rural architectural heritage in historic rural settlements is a result of interaction between human beings and nature, and for this reason rural architecture needs to be thought of together with social and natural components as integral parts of the ‘rural landscape’.

Interactions between traditional rural architecture, the intangible values of its users, and the ecosystem surrounding them have all long been debated in terms of the conservation of the rural heritage. However, the perception of the built environment, humans and nature as a tripartite unity, and the evaluation of the built environment in this union have emerged as a result of the integration of ‘cultural landscape’ and ‘rural landscape’ concepts into international charters or other documents after the 1990s.7 According to Jeremy Whitehand, the first use of the term ‘cultural landscape’ dates back to a century ago, when the German geographer Otto Schluter used it as the basis of his settlement morphology theory and defined it as “the detailed description of the

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7 For further information, see below pp. 38-48.
man-made forms on the ground and their generic and functional explanation in terms of the aims and actions of man in the course of history and the context of nature”.\textsuperscript{8}

From that time until the present day, the concepts of cultural and rural landscapes have been studied by several scholars from different disciplines. The American geographer Carl Ortwin Sauer is one of the cultural landscape researchers who began studying in this field at the beginning of the 20th century. He focused on cultural geography and cultural landscape, based on the idea that there would be no geography or landscape without human beings and human activities. He emphasizes that man shapes and changes nature through culture and in some cases also destroys it. Sauer defines the term ‘cultural landscape’ as:

“Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result. Under the influence of given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through phases, and probably reaching ultimately the end of its cycle of development. With the introduction of a different, that is, alien culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on remnants of an older one.”\textsuperscript{9}

After the 1970s, different discussions about the term began and cultural landscapes started to be thought of as a ‘progress’ rather than a physical and historical ‘result’.\textsuperscript{10} David Lowenthal expresses the progressive nature of landscapes as:

“Life is more than separate events; it incorporates the quality of duration, of passage through time. Buffeted by change, we retain traces of our past to be sure of our enduring identity. We ourselves also change: we grow up, mature, and age. Our journey through these states of being, like that through the changing environment, is a voyage into the unknown guided by our assurance of continuity.”\textsuperscript{11}

Similarly, the urban planner Daniel O’Hare states that “the term ‘cultural landscape’ reminds us that landscapes are dynamic rather than static, active rather than passive, living rather than relict, inhabited rather than devoid of human intervention”.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{8} Whitehand 1981, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{9} Sauer 1925, p. 310.
\textsuperscript{10} Taylor \textit{et al.} 2015.
\textsuperscript{11} Lowenthal 1975, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{12} O’Hare 1997, p. 35.
defines cultural landscape as an environment that is modified, classified and interpreted by humankind. Moreover, he states that historical interactions between natural and cultural components of the landscape constitute cultural landscapes, and identity of any place derives from that interaction. According to O’Hare, the land presents ‘a dynamic physical archive’ which could be studied through its ‘physical patterns’ and ‘narrative patterns’.

Deriving from the methodology presented by O’Hare, it can be said that ‘physical patterns’, which are the tangible traces of an historical process, could also include transformations or losses in themselves. At this point ‘narrative patterns’ become crucial to fill the gaps in the ‘dynamic physical archive’. Monico Luengo also emphasizes dynamic character of a cultural landscape and its importance for identity of a society:

“A cultural landscape is the memory and identity of the men who created it, is an evolutionary continuum which houses the various tracks of each period to keep the memory of history. Landscape is a living and dynamic entity that is in the basis of the identity of a society. One of the most urgent needs of human beings is their sense of identity, of belonging to a place, their "roots" (using a natural metaphor) and a key element of this feeling is the landscape.”

After the 1990s, the concept spread rapidly in the field of conservation of cultural heritage. It was first used by the World Heritage Committee in 1987 and the latter started to include cultural landscapes in the World Heritage list, as the first international legal conservation tool in 1992. Cultural landscapes are evaluated in two groups – urban and rural. Of course, the definitions of ‘cultural landscape’, emerging from several international debates and documents, include urban and rural landscape definitions intrinsically. However, specific definitions of them have also been made in recent years. In the Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape published by UNESCO in 2011, ancient urban landscapes evaluated in the context of

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13 Luengo 2011, p. 624.
14 Aplin 2007, p. 430.
cultural landscape are explained in detail. According to the recommendation the ‘historical urban landscape’ is:

“The urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of ‘historic centre’ or ‘ensemble’ to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting.

This wider context includes notably the site’s topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity.”

This definition includes the whole physical environment together with the social and cultural dimensions of the heritage which defines an ‘identity’. The definition and considerations in its recommendations constitute an important reference for the conservation of historic rural landscapes. However, it should also be noted that the dynamics of historic rural landscapes are different from urban ones, thus they need specific definitions.

In a recent doctrinal text following the Milano Declaration on Rural Landscapes, ICOMOS and IFLA recognized rural landscapes as a vital component of the heritage of humanity. The document considers rural landscapes as:

“… terrestrial and aquatic areas co-produced by human-nature interaction used for the production of food and other renewable natural resources, via agriculture, animal husbandry and pastoralism, fishing and aquaculture, forestry, wild food gathering, hunting, and extraction of other resources, such as salt.”

It also mentions cultural meanings attributed to rural landscapes by human beings by defining it as:

“… dynamic, living systems encompassing places produced and managed through traditional methods, techniques, accumulated knowledge, and cultural practices, as well as those places where traditional approaches to production have been changed.”

The historic rural landscape constitutes a particular category of the cultural landscape.
Rural areas are shaped by local economic activities, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, apiculture and fishing. These relations with nature shape settlement characteristics, where socio-cultural, economic and physical structures interact with each other in different ways and create different local identities as a result of these interactions. Thus, rural landscapes reflect the most authentic examples of interaction between humans and nature, encapsulating traces of humanity. They also present the transition between nature and urbanization. However, due to their formation characteristics, they are different from urban areas and should be treated via different approaches.

On the other hand, conservation of the rural environment was a topic mostly discussed in architectural context in the past. The spatial morphology and social dimensions that make rural heritage site-specific should also be conserved together, with the physical, rural fabric.\(^{15}\) Preserving a way of life and the identity of a community, who give meaning to their surroundings and create a sustainable environment, is usually more important than preserving only its physical form. Although theoretical discussions on holistic conservation approaches within the concepts of cultural and rural landscapes date back to the 19th century, and these studies have become widespread in recent years, practice in this field is insufficient, especially in Turkey. The general approach is to keep natural and human factors aside, and focus on the conservation of traditional architecture; such an approach leads to transformation of the historic rural landscape and a loss of local identities. At this point, it would be appropriate to note some of the threats and challenges that are the causes of such transformations.

2.2. Challenges Related to the Conservation of Historic Rural Landscapes in Turkey

After the Industrial Revolution, the rural population began to accumulate in cities, and the development of new agricultural techniques led to remarkable changes in rural and

\(^{15}\) Orbaşlı 2000, p. 8.
The changing needs of modern life and the development of new economies have caused population decreases in rural areas. The historic rural landscapes of Turkey are as valuable as its archeological sites, urban sites and monuments. The above-mentioned problems on the global scale have led to the transformation of rural life in Turkey. Especially after 1950, rural lifestyle in Turkey has changed due to globalization, mass production, and urbanization. Changing economic practices led to migrations from rural to urban, while changing technologies and lack of conservation awareness has led to the rapid transformation of the built environment. Thus, some villages lost their local characteristics, i.e. with reinforced concrete constructions, while others were abandoned and turned into ghost villages (a prelude to the process of demolition). In addition, there are also those villages abandoned or destroyed for political decisions. As a consequence of the Lausanne Agreement, many of the Rum villages were abandoned following 1923 because of the Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey. After the 1990s, on the other hand, hundreds of villages were evacuated due to security problems in southeastern Turkey; moreover, many villages in various parts of Anatolia were submerged as a result of dam construction and this still continues.

In this context, specific challenges related to the conservation of historic rural environments in Turkey are examined under the four following categories: socio-cultural, economic, physical, and legal.

### 2.2.1. Socio-cultural Challenges

As a result of the changing world and radical political decisions taken by governments, special attention was paid to the socio-cultural context. The disappearance of traditional culture in urban and rural areas is a clear indication of the lack of cultural heritage and identity. The loss of local knowledge and skills, and the replacement of traditional practices with modern ones, have led to a decline in the cultural and social fabric of rural communities. The rapid transformation of rural areas has caused a significant loss of cultural identity and heritage. This has been particularly evident in the case of many Rum villages, which were abandoned following the Lausanne Agreement. The displacement of these villages due to the Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey has led to a loss of cultural diversity and heritage. Additionally, the rapid transformation of rural areas due to dam construction and security problems has led to the loss of cultural identity and heritage in various parts of Anatolia. As a consequence, there is a need for the conservation and preservation of historic rural environments in Turkey, which is essential for maintaining the socio-cultural heritage and identity of these areas.
rural areas have experienced sharp socio-cultural transformations. Changing economic politics, mass migrations, exchanges, wars, expropriations and legal regulations have caused the displacement of people from their homelands and their habits, belongings, identities, beliefs and local knowledge accumulation have all had to face the danger of extinction. In settlements abandoned by their users, it is obviously impossible to keep all intangible values alive, and due to the inseparable integrity of the built environment and its users, the conservation of tangible values also becomes a challenging issue. While one of the leading factors impacting on the transformation of rural areas is the issue of the above-mentioned economic policies, external relations with foreign countries and minority politics are also determining factors in terms of the transformation of rural areas in Turkey.

With the Lausanne Treaty, signed in 1923, the compulsory exchange of Turkish and Greek populations was agreed and many people in rural areas were displaced, with their goods and livestock¹⁹ (Figure 7). ‘Rum’ and ‘Rumelian Muslim’ identities were redefined as ‘Greek’ and ‘Turkish’ in accordance with the conceptual framework of the nation-state.²⁰

*Rumelian* Muslim immigrants were settled in the villages left by the *Rums*. However, the inhabitants, who were experienced in certain types of agricultural production suitable for the locations from whence they came, had difficulties in their new settlements and many of them migrated subsequently.

Only *Rum* citizens living in İstanbul, Gökçeada and Bozcaada were exempt from the exchange of populations. However, due to the politics of the Turkish government after the 1960s, and the emergence of the Cyprus issue in 1963, there were increased tensions with Greece and thus pressures on Greek minorities. It can be said that closures of minority schools and the prohibition of education in Greek in 1964-1965 were among the most important migratory factors for Greek minorities in those years.

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¹⁹ Çapa 1990, p. 53.
²⁰ Babul 2012, p. 229; See also, above pp. 1-2.
Migrations due to both economic and political policies brought about displacements of people and socio-cultural transformations of historic rural landscapes. Today there are many villages in Turkey that are totally abandoned and turned into ‘ghost towns’. Kayaköy in Fethiye is one of the most famous of such towns in Turkey, abandoned after the Population Exchange (Figure 8). It is an important cultural heritage site with its abandoned stone houses, churches, and stone paths. The village, which now resembles to an open-air museum, attracts the attention of foreign and domestic tourists. Moreover, it has been used as a setting for several films. The village of Sazak
is another example of a settlement abandoned after the Population Exchange; the village, on the Karaburun peninsula, is in ruins today (Figure 9).

Rural areas, which were completely abandoned, remained open to damage from natural and human factors, while other areas, inhabited by new users, experienced both physical and socio-cultural transformations and lost their identities until the 1980s. After that time, these areas became visible as a result of the acceleration of conservation actions. Conservation attempts, such as ‘conservation area’ declarations and building registration, marked a positive breakthrough for the future of rural landscapes. Although such decisions help to conserve the values of these sites, they also bought some negative developments. Conservation decisions increased the appeal of villages and the demand for old village houses increased. Being closer to nature and having a simpler rural life became a trend among urbanites and migrations from cities to the rural areas started. However, these people brought with them their urban life habits and the historical environment was transformed in parallel with the needs of modern life. On the other hand, local inhabitants tend to avoid bureaucratic processes and the high costs of restoration. As a result, villagers unable to repair their houses continued to live in poor conditions or sold their properties. This transformation, known as ‘rural gentrification’, has become a serious problem for the conservation of the villages, as an indirect consequence, ironically, of conservation efforts.\textsuperscript{21} Moreover, the results of broader rural gentrification studies have shown that new housing areas in rural settlements increase and land costs become unaffordable for the existing communities. These studies have also shown that such changes in rural areas have a negative impact on the lifestyles, traditions and cultures of rural communities, resulting in the transformation of the local identity into a suburban culture.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{21} For further discussions on rural gentrification, see Smith 2002, pp. 447-463; Ghose 2004, pp. 528-549; Philips 2005, pp. 477-494.
\textsuperscript{22} Yenigül 2016.
Figure 8: Kayaköy, Fethiye (https://www.fethiye-turlari.com/kayakoy-gezi-turu [last accessed on 25.11.2019])

Figure 9: Sazak, Karaburun (https://www.pinterest.com/pin/616148792741049252/?lp=true [last accessed on 25.11.2019])
Arzu Başaran discusses rural gentrification in the case of Adatepe/Çanakkale in her article ‘Conservation and Gentrification Dilemma in Rural Areas’, and argues that the conservation practices created a serious conflict within the village. Başaran mentions that the newcomers are mainly educated and have professions, and conservation of the rural landscape and architecture is of particular importance to them. On the other hand, according to the local people, the newcomers are so dedicated to the issue of conservation that it impacts on village life. She also adds that as a result of rural gentrification, the locals even seem to have lost their right to talk about their villages.

A similar scenario is observed in another of Çanakkale’s villages, Yeşilyurt, which is very close to Adatepe. The demand for both houses and land increased in after 2000, and the number of newcomers, as well as real estate prices, started to rise considerably. New residents from Istanbul who bought property in the village, use them as summer houses. The accelerated socio-economic changes in the village have led to cultural conflicts, as well as disputes over the use of natural resources.

Zeynep Eres emphasizes that registration decisions which do not contribute to a holistic conservation approach must be questioned. Eres assumes that social problems are the most fundamental ones when it comes to the conservation of rural areas and emphasizes the power of social pride and how it can increase the efforts of local communities when it comes to the conservation of their living environment. A village house is not usually perceived as valuable as a monumental structure by the society, and villagers do not often consider their living environment as a necessary value. When this inequality in social understanding is also matched by legal challenges destruction becomes inevitable. Therefore, creating social awareness for conservation of the rural heritage, and including the participation of all sections of the community, emerges as one of the main challenges for rural heritage conservation.

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24 Başaran Uysal and Sakarya 2012, p. 5.
Figure 10: Adatepe, Çanakkale (https://yoldaolmak.com/adatepe-koyu-canakkale.html [last accessed on 25.11.2019])

Figure 11: Yeşilyurt, Çanakkale (https://www.rotasenin.com/yesilyurt-koyu/ [last accessed on 25.11.2019])
2.2.2. Economic Challenges

Policies, regulations and the international relations of a country shape the urbanization process. Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic, industrialization, transportation, education and international policies encouraged the urbanization process. For example, the liberal economic policy that followed in the 1950s led to the establishment of industrial enterprises in big cities or their peripheries. These policies led to a rapid increase in urban population: the rate of the rural population, which was 75% in 1950, decreased to 41% in 1990. Thereupon, rural areas were either totally abandoned or have become settlements where only the elderly lived. After the 1990s, rural areas gained currency as a result of the popularization of cultural tourism, and the primary livelihoods of the past, such as agriculture and animal husbandry, have been replaced by the tourism sector in the majority of rural areas in Turkey.

Insufficiency of financial resources is an important problem in the conservation of heritage sites. The profitable potential of tourism-oriented investments makes a significant contribution to the implementation of the interventions that cultural properties need. The fact that the rural architectural heritage cannot continue its original function due to economic and social conditions constitutes a major problem. At this point, tourism provides the continuity of use by producing alternatives related to the reuse of this type of architectural heritage.

Although tourism constitutes an important potential for the conservation of rural areas, it also creates a challenge, as these areas are starting to be perceived as economic benefit resources, pushing cultural values into the background. Gregory Ashworth argues that heritage constitutes ‘a multi-used resource’ and ‘a multi-sold product’. However, the idea of ‘selling’ can result in an unpleasant, even intolerable, commercialization of values far beyond its benefits. Conserving the identity of traditional rural settlements, through its tangible and intangible values, cannot be

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27 Madran and Özgönül 2011, p. 110.
28 Ashworth 2014, p. 5.
thought of without taking into account economic sustainability. However, it is also important to establish a balance of sustainable development and sustainable conservation.\textsuperscript{29}

In her book \textit{Tourists in Historic Towns}, Aylin Orbaşlı defines in depth the characteristics of an historic urban environment and the influences of tourism on urban conservation. Effects of tourism in historic places, as mentioned by Orbaşlı, are not generally different for rural areas. She notes that several historic places have been conserved as a result of tourism, which is also responsible for the destruction of a considerable amount of them. She also underlines the danger of the ‘facadist approach’, which represents the intention of creating more aesthetic and external qualities appealing to visitor perceptions, rather than conserving the continuity of the lived-in environment.\textsuperscript{30} Larkham also argues that implementations in touristic historical areas are the ‘aesthetic justification for preservation’ and this approach destroys the ‘patina of age’ and the ‘aura of history’.\textsuperscript{31} Moreover, he claims that heritage becomes a sellable product of a sterilized interpretation of history (Figure 12).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure12.png}
\caption{Processes of selection and targeting in the heritage industry (Larkham 1996, p. 12.)}
\end{figure}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{29} Throsby 1997, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{30} Orbaşlı 2000, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{31} Larkham 1996, p. 12.
\end{flushright}
Orbaşlı also emphasizes attempts to represent an idealized past in a globalized tourism market. According to her, this creates a tension between ‘local culture as it is lived’ and ‘local culture as it is being marketed’. This dilemma causes the loss of local characteristics in historical areas that start to look similar to each other. In other words, ‘global popularity homogenizes heritage’. For instance, there is a tendency in the ancient ‘Rum villages’ of Anatolia to paint the buildings blue and white, although this does not match the local characteristics of the site.

As mentioned before, tourism provides opportunities for adaptive reuse, which is seen as a contribution to conservation by ensuring the continuity of use of the built environment. However, in such cases these areas are generally filled with recreational functions, such as cafes, shops and pensions. The way the sellers display their products, signs, advertising and information boards can result in ‘image pollution’ and block the visibility of traditional structures. Thus, while products are brought to the foreground, the cultural properties remain a decorative background.

Although the number of visitors brought by tourism provides significant economic benefits in the short term, it also causes a rapid loss of non-renewable cultural assets. In the process of conservation of natural and cultural sites, conservation of the physical environment alone is not sufficient: there is a need to conserve the lifestyles of local people by respecting their habits and traditions. A delicate balance should be provided between the desires of tourists and the needs of local residents, and between development and conservation of cultural and natural assets. Tourism planning for heritage sites should be made carefully, without disregarding benefits to the local community and precluding the continuation of life within these heritage sites.

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32 Orbaşlı 2000, p. 4.
33 Lowenthal 1996, p. 5.
2.2.3. Physical Challenges

A great many rural settlements in Turkey have lost their use values as a result of changing living conditions. There are two aspects to consider when examining the physical problems of these areas: the first is the continuation of life in the existing built environment, while the second is the abandonment of those areas as one of the consequences of the problems seen in the first. In both cases, certain physical challenges can be observed – on both the building and settlement scale.

The main problem in terms of the use of rural architecture is that the existing rural built environment does not conform to contemporary living conditions. Structures designed according to the old way of life, which are no longer valid today, and according to the gradually decreasing old economic and social relations, are not adapted to the current life by their new users also. Therefore, they are used either above or below their potential.\(^{34}\) In both cases, the physical and economic life of the structure gradually decreases. The inclusion of ‘wet spaces’ and sanitary systems in traditional housing units is a major problem, since most traditional buildings in Turkey did not originally have such facilities.

The transformation of social and family structures also affects spatial requirements. The existing space organization of old houses was suitable for traditional extended families, in which family members were used to sharing common spaces and spending more time together. Today, such families are replaced with nuclear ones. The spatial organization of the old houses can also be a problem for new users, who tend to transform them to meet their needs. Due to the fact that the original owners of the rural architectural heritage lived off agriculture and stockbreeding, traditional houses were also designed to meet their space requirements for keeping animals, storing food, crops, etc. The adaptation and reuse of such spaces, which have no function today, also pose a substantial challenge. Not only houses, but also settlement areas need to be updated according to the conditions of modern life. The provision of infrastructure,

\(^{34}\) Madran and Özgönül 2011, p. 43.
and solutions to traffic and parking problems, are just some of challenges on a settlement scale.

Technical implementation issues also constitute another challenge for the conservation of the physical characteristics of traditional built environments. When a decision is made to restore a traditional house, certain problems arise regarding the supply of natural materials used in the past. Today, stone quarries produce machine-broken stones for reinforced concrete constructions, and the costs of stone for restoration are expensive. The lack of traditional stone craftsmen and insufficient information on traditional construction techniques can also be added to the above-mentioned problems.

The failure to develop appropriate solutions to meet these challenges leads to an irreversible transformation in the built environment, or to the isolation of these areas as ghost villages. As a result of long-term abandonment, structural and material-scale problems accelerate, as maintenance and repair are not carried out. Without proper maintenance of the elements (wood, plaster, tiles, etc.), problems related to the material and structure of the architectural heritage occur; and when combined with natural factors (earthquakes, floods, vandalism and human interventions, etc.), these structures fast become ruins. In both cases, the importance of the documentation of rural architectural heritage, to prevent the loss of information, is crucial. Of course, at this point, the main concern should be to address these areas, together with their socio-cultural and economic characteristics, to develop holistic approaches for their conservation.

2.2.4. Legal Challenges

There are no specific legal regulations regarding the conservation of historic rural landscapes in Turkey. Moreover, definitions of rural heritage and rural landscapes are

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not included in any legislation or regulation. However, after the establishment of the
Turkish Republic in 1923, several regulations were enacted regarding rural
settlements, and these regulations also affect the conservation of rural areas indirectly.
In this section, the legal framework in Turkey is outlined in chronological order.

Village Act, No: 442 (442 Sayılı Köy Kanunu), passed in 1924, constitutes the earliest
legal regulation to do with rural areas.\(^\text{36}\) This law includes the definition of the
‘village’, how its borders are defined, what are the obligatory and non-obligatory
duties of villages, and it also covers economic, administrative and social regulations.
In the first years of the Republic, this instrument described what should be done for
the modernization of villages, but it is now insufficient to deal with the issues initially
covered within its context.\(^\text{37}\) It is, nevertheless, still in use, although it has undergone
several revisions over the years. In Article 1, the village is described as a settlement
with a population under 2000. Despite this restrictive and insufficient definition,
Article 2 defines a village as including “… people living together or in separate houses
and having common properties, such as mosque, school, grassland, pasture and
groves, constituting a village, together with their vineyards, orchards and fields”. This
definition emphasizes the coexistence of common properties of the village, the people
living in it, and the agricultural production areas. It can be said that this definition
constitutes an early interpretation of the holistic approach to rural sites. The Village
Act also includes planning decisions for rural sites. According to the law, if the council
of elders (ihtiyar heyeti) requests a ‘Rural Settlement Area’ (Köy Yerleşme Alanı) this
will be prepared by the commission of the governor. This law was applied when the
development area was needed or during the construction of new buildings after a
disaster. In the villages within the boundaries of the municipality, a plan was made
according to the provisions of the Development Act, No: 3194 (3194 Sayılı İmar

\(^{36}\) T.C. Resmî Gazete, 07.04.1924-68.
\(^{37}\) Öğdül 2013, p. 371.
Two new Village Act drafts were prepared in 2009 and 2013, as the 1924 law did not meet today’s needs. The 2009 draft included the proposal of a ‘Rural Area Renewal Plan’ (*Kırsal Alan Yenileme Planı*), associated with the current urban transformation practices in Turkey by scholars. This draft was perceived as an attempt to open these areas to new constructions, as it includes the “areas that had lost their forest characteristics” to the “village development area”. The draft was not put into practice, and, in 2013, a new Village Act draft was suggested by the Ministry of the Interior as a revision to the 2009 draft. In this, a ‘Village Renewal Plan’ (*Köy Yenileme Planı*) is also mentioned. Different from the previous one, this draft includes the conservation of the historic and cultural fabric of the village. The draft aims to improve rural economies, provide services and infrastructure to rural areas, and increase the cost-effectiveness of public services. It also provides measures to reduce the economic and social inequalities between villages. However, although the conservation of the historic and cultural fabric is included in the definition, this defines, rather, an extensive transformation of these areas in general. It is also not applied currently.

Law No: 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (*2863 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu*) was passed in 1983. It is now the main legal regulation in Turkey for the conservation of the cultural and natural heritage, where concepts of ‘conservation’ and ‘cultural heritage’ emerge for the first time in Turkish legal regulations, and their social and economic aspects are also taken into

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38 *Köy Kanunu Tasarı Taslağı, Madde 41 (1):* Köylerde; arazi toplulaştırması, tarımda ortak kullanım alanları ile organize tarım, hayvancılık alanlarının oluşturulması, yerleşim alanları ve hayvan barınaklarının ayrılması, çevre düzenlemesi ve konut kültür ilişkisini gözetecek şekilde yapılmasını, afet riski taşıyan yerleşim yerlerinin değiştirilmesi amacıyla kırsal alan yenileme planı uygulaması yapılabilir. See also Öğdül 2013 and http://www.planlama.org/index.php/haberler/basn-acklamalar7/1798-koey-kanunu-tasari-taslai-hakkinda-goerue (last accessed on 10.10.2019)

39 *Yeni Köy Kanunu Tasarı Taslağı, Madde 37 (1):* Köylerde; tarıma ilişkin ortak kullanım alanları ile organize tarım alanları ile hayvancılık alanlarının oluşturulması, yerleşim alanları ve hayvan barınaklarının ayrılması, çevre düzenlemesi ve konut kültür ilişkisini gözetecek şekilde yapılmasını, rekreasyon alanları ve her türlü sosyal donatı alanları oluşturulması, köyun tarihî ve kültürel dokusunun korunması ve afet riskine karşı tedbirler alınması amacıyla köy yenileme planı yapılabilir.

40 Eldem 2015, p. 59.
consideration.\textsuperscript{41} The law defines heritage sites in Article 3 as “the products of various civilizations from prehistoric times to today, cities and city ruins reflecting the social, economic, architectural characteristics of the periods they live in, places where the cultural assets are intense, which witnessed a social formation or important historical events, and the areas which should be conserved due to their identified natural characteristics”. These sites are classified as urban, archeological and natural sites, and the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism (\textit{T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı}) was commissioned for their conservation. However, there is no indication regarding the definition or conservation status of rural areas in this law. Therefore, rural settlements are also protected according to the regulations defined for urban sites in general. If a rural area is within an archeological or natural heritage site, regulations of these areas must also be applied. However, these regulations are insufficient and incompatible with the conservation of rural sites. According to Article 17, the preparation of a ‘Conservation Development Plan’ (\textit{Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı}) for these sites is obligatory. In 2005, Law 2863 was augmented by the Law No: 5226, transferring responsibility for the conservation of national and cultural heritage to local authorities, i.e. Municipalities and Special Provincial Administrations (\textit{İl Özel İdareleri}).

The Development Act, No: 3194 (\textit{3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu}) of 1985, was adopted as a legal regulation to control the development of settlements and building activities, together with their technical, sanitary and environmental conditions.\textsuperscript{42} In addition to urban areas, rural sites are also included in this law. With an additional article added later in 2011, rural areas were opened up for construction.\textsuperscript{43} According to the new housing regulations defined in this law, new constructions in rural settlements have to be compatible with the vernacular tissue and local architectural characteristics. The use of local materials is also proposed, and the control of building activities given to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item T.C. Resmî Gazete, 23.07.1983-18113.
\item T.C. Resmî Gazete, 09.05.1985-18749.
\item Decree No: 648, Article 4: ‘Pastures, Summer Pastures and Winter Quarters’ (\textit{648 sayılı KHK ile İmar Kanunu’na Eklenen “Ek Madde 4”: Mera, Yaylak ve Kişlaklar})
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the local authority. However, this law also includes no indication as to the conservation of rural areas.

The Pasture Act, No: 4342 (4342 Sayılı Mera Kanunu), published in 1998, aims to identify, designate and allocate pastures, highlands, winter pastures, publicly owned grasslands, and prairies. The fact that pasture lands have lost their productivity due to excessive and uncontrolled grazing over the years has resulted in the need for legal regulation to stop the deterioration of these lands. The law controls the use of these areas, according to specific rules indicated for the purposes of their conservation, maintenance, and sustainability.

In 2005, conservation, implementation and control bureaus (KUDEB) were established by regulation; these offices work within the Metropolitan Municipalities and Special Provincial Administrations. Their task is to evaluate the current state of buildings to be repaired and check the relevant documents, to control survey drawings, restitution, restoration projects, and also ensure the correct implementation of restoration projects. While inspecting projects, the Law No: 2863, and the Development Law, No: 3194, constitute a main reference for KUDEB. In cases where there are practices contrary to the above-mentioned laws or Conservation Development Plan (if any), it is crucial that KUDEB initiates any necessary legal proceedings. KUDEB may also participate in works related to immovable cultural properties if requested by the Regional Conservation Council of Cultural Properties. In this regulation, there is also no specific indication regarding rural heritage; however, they are responsible for implementations in rural areas – they are therefore also important for the conservation of rural architectural heritage.

The Metropolitan Municipalities Act, No: 6360 (6360 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyeleri Kanunu) of 2012 is another legal regulation that affects the character of rural areas.\textsuperscript{46} This act empowers municipalities within provincial administrative boundaries. In addition, the legal entities of the Provincial Special Administrations, municipalities and villages were also abolished, and the villages were converted into neighborhoods. This means that responsibilities for these villages are given to the municipalities: the local authority is centralized and rural areas become urbanized as ‘neighborhoods’.

To conclude, the Village Act, No: 442, constitutes the main regulation in terms of definitions, borders, duties, social, economic, and cultural aspects of rural settlements. Moreover, the Development Act, No: 3194, the Pasture Act, No: 4342, and the Metropolitan Municipalities Act, No: 6360, are also determining legal regulations that define the administrative framework of rural areas. However, these laws include no indications about the conservation of rural landscapes. Law No: 2863, on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property is the main legal regulation for the conservation of rural landscapes, as with other types of cultural and natural heritage in Turkey. However, this is also non-specific and rural settlements are generally protected within the Urban Conservation Site Borders (Kentsel Sit Alanı Sınırları) administration. KUDEB is also significant for the control of survey drawings, restitution, and restoration projects within the rural areas. Yet, it can be seen that the definition of rural landscapes and regulations for their conservation are insufficient and not properly designed for rural sites in Turkey. Moreover, the village status attributed to several rural settlements has changed after the Metropolitan Municipalities Act, No: 6360, of 2012, and the urbanization processes they engendered have accelerated the further losses of rural identities.

\textsuperscript{46} T.C. Resmi Gazete, 06.12.2012-28489.
2.3. Development of International Conservation Approaches Towards the Conservation of Rural Heritage and Historic Rural Landscapes

As pointed out before, the Industrial Revolution was a turning point for the conservation of rural settlements in many countries. These areas, and also the agricultural sector, lost much of their former significance from this date on. On the other hand, the development of new agricultural techniques also led to remarkable changes in rural and urban lifestyles. In this respect, the nationalism that emerged after the French Revolution urged Europeans to conserve the rural cultures of their past as clear evidence of national identity, so as to create a national ‘consciousness’.  

In this context, World War II played an important role in the development of approaches to the conservation of ancient environments. Many European cities were damaged during WWII and this led to efforts to reconsider the traditional urban fabric and the rebuilding of damaged monumental buildings, thereby protecting national pride, identity, and the collective memory of nations. The conservation of national monuments and urban sites was thus the primary concern of the post-war era, while debates about the necessity of the protection of rural architecture emerged later. In this section, stages concerning the conservation of the rural heritage will be presented through international charters, recommendations, and other documents.

Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites (1962), which was issued after the General Conference of UNESCO held in Paris, can be considered as an early effort towards the conservation of rural heritage sites and landscapes. This document includes principles concerning the documentation and protection of the rural environment. The purpose of the recommendation is defined as:

“The safeguarding of the beauty and character of landscapes and sites is taken to mean the preservation and, where possible, the restoration of the aspect of natural, rural and urban landscapes and sites, whether natural or man-made,

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47 Thatcher 2018, p. 65.
48 Eres 2013, p. 458.
which have a cultural or aesthetic interest or form typical natural surroundings.”

In the section on protective measures, there is also emphasis on the inclusion of documentation and protection of the rural environment and architecture in urban and rural planning. In addition, the General Conference also suggested that member states should apply the aforesaid principles by adopting them, in the form of national laws, and bring the recommendation to the attention of the related authorities.

The specification of rural heritage is first seen in UNESCO’s International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, also known as the Venice Charter (1964). In Article 1, historic or cultural heritage is defined as:

“… not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time.”

Many national and international symposiums and colloquiaums occurred after the Venice Charter. Decisions were taken as a recommendation of the Council of Europe. However, it does not define certain principles for the conservation of rural heritage; the main consideration of the charter is conservation of the monuments.

The Granada Appeal: Rural Architecture in Regional Planning Symposium (1977), issued by the Council of Europe in Granada, draws attention to the rural heritage threatened with extinction due to migrations and industrialized agriculture. The significance of rural architectural heritage and possible threats to conservation are defined in depth. The appeal reveals two substantial requirements for areas to keep their populations in a well-balanced distribution and revive the local economy, via traditional architecture, crafts, small-scale enterprises, leisure activities, etc. It also places emphasis on rural architecture as an objective of regional planning, while pointing out the “excessive promotion of tourism” is one of the main causes of damage to architectural heritage in rural environments.
Recommendation 881 on the Rural Architectural Heritage (1979), issued by the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, also places emphasis on the rural heritage and its local, cultural and sociological context. It presents concerns about the destruction of rural areas from modernization and stresses the importance of protective legislation, the provision of financial support, and further studies to do with rural architectural heritage. The role of rural communities and their awareness of the socio-cultural values of the environment they live in are also emphasized. The recommendation notes that the growing appreciation of the values of rural sites could encourage the support of official bodies. However, the recommendation also notes that tourism activities should not endanger rural ways of life. It recommends considering both the architectural heritage and the natural way of life of rural areas. Moreover, expectations for future support from those European Ministers responsible for Regional Planning, and European Communities are also noted.

Recommendation 935 on the Revival of Disadvantaged Rural Areas (1982), published by Council of Europe, states that migration to cities has slowed down in recent years; however, decreases in population in rural areas creates a substantial obstacle to economic activities in disadvantaged rural areas. Such areas suffer from imparity in incomes, social and cultural services and job opportunities when compared with urban sites. In this context, member states were recommended to prepare “comprehensive and integrated plans for revival, based on the interrelationship of various economic and social policies and measures”. The involvement of local and regional partners in regional plans is also suggested, and co-operation between different municipalities should be encouraged. Agricultural and forestry interests are also highlighted for emphasis. In addition, the expansion of local education facilities, improvements in communications, and the development of transportation systems are also needed.

The Granada Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1985), issued by the Council of Europe in Granada, presents agreements by member states of the Council of Europe on the conservation of Europe’s architectural heritage. According to the convention, architectural heritage encompasses monuments, groups
of urban or rural buildings, and those sites which are ‘combined works of man and nature’. It underlines the importance of the transmission of cultural references to future generations through economically, socially and culturally improved urban and rural environments. To achieve this, recommendations were put forward on a range of policies, e.g. the appropriate documentation on the architectural heritage, common integrated policies for its conservation, measurements specific to each state or region, and collaborations between member states, regional-local authorities, cultural institutions, associations and the public. The convention also emphasizes the significance of information and training to develop public awareness and involvement of the community.

The Recommendation on the Protection and Enhancement of the Rural Architectural Heritage (1989), issued by Council of Europe, also emphasizes that rural areas are under threat of disruption from the socio-cultural transformation resulting from changes in means of agricultural production. The built and natural environment is defined as two integral parts of rural heritage. The document points out that rural heritage is not only an authentic ingredient of European culture, but also a key to local development. The recommendation includes suggestions to the governments of member states for the conservation and development of rural areas, including guidelines in the appendix. The conservation of the collective memory is placed first in these guidelines. The importance of scientific inventories and identification of the values of sites, on a multidisciplinary basis, are underlined as instruments to achieve conservation of the ‘collective memory’. Planning a regional development, pursuing a resolute policy, and promoting greater respect for the knowledge of rural heritage are other major topics in the guidelines.

One year later, in 1990, a recommendation entitled ‘Services and Infrastructures in Rural Areas’ was adopted. This focuses on transportation and infrastructure in rural areas, and highlights that deficiencies in these services cause decreases in the population of these sites. The recommendation indicates that rural areas deserve the same level of infrastructure and transportation facilities as urban areas. However, it is
also reported that conservation of the traditional rural environment and architecture should be ensured during implementation of any infrastructure and transportation facilities.

In the 1980s, the scope of the approaches to the conservation of the rural architectural heritage expanded in parallel to the enlargement of the framework of the conservation concept. By the 1990s, assessment of the rural architectural heritage as a whole, with its surrounding natural environment, gained importance and the concept of the ‘cultural landscape’ began to be shaped.49 In 1992, UNESCO added a category of Cultural Landscape to the World Heritage Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The operational guidelines of the Convention were revised by an expert group and the Convention became the first international document to conserve cultural landscapes. The committee defined the cultural landscape as:

“Cultural properties and represent the ‘combined works of nature and man’, illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive, social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.”

Following this, several expert meetings have been held and international documents have been published towards reaching a broader understanding of cultural landscapes.

The Cork Declaration (1996) was published after the European Conference on Rural Development held in Cork. It claims that rural areas and their inhabitants constitute real assets to the European Union, due to the fact that they are home to a quarter of the population, and cover more than 80% of the territory. Similar to Recommendation 935 Revival of Disadvantaged Rural Areas (1982), this declaration also stresses the importance of agriculture and forestry for rural development. Similar to the previous documents published in the 1990s, this document also includes the conservation and management of natural resources and architectural heritage together as ‘cultural

49 Eres 2013, pp. 459-460.
landscapes’. Above all, it presents a rural development program for the European Union. The program is based on ten points, including rural preference, integrated approach, diversification, sustainability, subsidiarity, simplification, programming, finance, management and evaluation-research. First the development of a sustainable rural development and the need for a balanced expenditure for public services between the rural and urban areas are underlined. The declaration suggests an integrated approach, defined as “multi-disciplinary in concept, and multi-sectoral in application”, in rural development policies. The diversification of economic and social activities should be provided, and the quality and amenities of Europe’s rural landscapes sustained. The development policy must be decentralized, including co-operation at all levels. The declaration also underlines the simplification in legal regulations and the need for more flexibility. It proposes coherent and transparent procedures in programming a sustainable rural development. Financial resources are also pointed out as needing to be encouraged, and greater participation by both public and private sectors is needed for the promotion of local rural development projects. The management of such projects is suggested to include regional/local governments and community-based groups. Finally, the importance of monitoring, evaluation and research is underlined, with the declaration aiming to raise public awareness of rural development and attract attention to rural areas.

The Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (1999), issued by ICOMOS in Mexico, promotes the role and values of the vernacular heritage and emphasizes the importance of this heritage as a record of a society’s history. General issues, principles of conservation, and guidelines in practice, are defined by this charter, which focuses on recognition and involvement by the community, governments and responsible authorities. It also underlines the need for multidisciplinary expertise, together with the recognition of inevitable change and development. It considers vernacular heritage not as a single building, but as a group of buildings with a representative character. It also places importance on the fact that the vernacular heritage is part of the ‘cultural landscape’; not only in a physical form, but also in a meaningful whole with its
intangible values. The charter recommends guidelines for practices in conservation via seven Articles: research and documentation, siting, landscape and groups of buildings, traditional building systems, replacement of materials and parts, adaptation, changes and period restoration and training.

The International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (1999), again issued by ICOMOS in Mexico, is not directly about rural areas, however, cultural tourism is an increasing phenomenon for heritage sites. Tourism has political, social, economic, cultural and ecological dimensions that are determining factors for the conservation of rural landscapes. For this reason, the charter stands as an important reference point as one of the earliest attempts to explore this topic. The main objectives of the charter are to encourage conservation experts and the tourism industry to establish a dialogue, create a sustainable future for heritage sites, and formulate relevant strategies. The charter defines several principles to manage tourism at heritage sites. First it underlines the importance of interpretation and presentation programs for the creation of public awareness of heritage, and its appreciation by local communities and visitors. It mentions that sustainable development and management programs, based on site-specific characteristics and respectful for the integrity of natural and cultural assets, should be prepared. The charter makes clear that the progressive impact of tourism activities on these assets should be regularly monitored, and places emphasis on community involvement. It notes that local communities and indigenous people should be involved in “establishing goals, strategies, policies and protocols for the identification, conservation, management, presentation and interpretation of their heritage resources, cultural practices and contemporary cultural expressions, in the tourism context”. It also cites that tourism activities should provide benefits for local communities, and the sale of local crafts or other products should also be encouraged.

The Québec Declaration (2008), published after the 16th General Assembly of ICOMOS in Québec, is not a document directly about the rural areas. However, it is of great importance in terms of historic rural landscapes as it reveals the ‘spirit of
place’, which is defined by tangible and intangible values of certain places, and their meanings and contexts, as a cultural heritage value that needs to be protected. According to the declaration, the ‘spirit of place’ offers “a more comprehensive understanding of the living and, at the same time, permanent character of monuments, sites and cultural landscapes”. It provides a new vision of cultural heritage which is more dynamic and inclusive. Climatic changes, armed conflict, mass tourism and urban development are pointed to as the main threats which lead to transformation and disruption of societies. The declaration underlines the importance of establishing preventive measures and sustainable solutions for the conservation of the spirit of place. It suggests the development of training programs and legal policies to better safeguard and promote the spirit of place. The use of new technologies is also proposed to facilitate the diversity and constant renewal of documentation in relation to the spirit of place. The document declares that the spirit of place is transmitted by people, and, for that reason, the interactive communication and participation of the communities concerned are signaled out as the best tools for keeping spirit of place alive.

In 2011, UNESCO published its Recommendation on Historical Urban Landscapes in Paris, enlarging the ‘cultural landscape’ concept to urban areas. The recommendation defines the term ‘urban landscape’ and provides a basis for “a comprehensive and integrated approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic urban landscapes within an overall sustainable development framework”. It is a reference point in replacing the established, purely architectural, approach to urban conservation which focused on buildings individually or as groups. The recommendation offers a landscape approach for identification and conservation of historic urban sites, together with their natural, physical, social, cultural, and economic values. It suggests Member States and relevant local authorities undertake comprehensive surveys to identify the key values of urban areas, encourage the use of information and communication technologies, include participatory planning,
integrate conservation of the urban heritage into general policy planning, and promote international cooperation between local authorities.

The Paris Declaration on Heritage As a Driver of Development (2011) is a document published by ICOMOS in Paris. This document defines certain principles and strategies for the conservation of both urban and rural heritage sites. Considering the adverse effect of globalization on heritage locations, the declaration recognizes cultural heritage as a driver of development. To integrate heritage into the sustainable development some actions are recommended in its five sections: heritage and regional development; a return to the art of building, tourism and development; heritage and economics; and stakeholders and capacity building. The declaration underlines the importance of sustaining local economies (agriculture, crafts, etc.) to support the maintenance of inhabitation and the conservation of the built environment. Putting the local people at the heart of any policies and projects is also proposed.

The Florence Declaration on Heritage and Landscape as Human Values (2014) is another document published by ICOMOS in Florence. This declaration accepts landscapes as the living memory of past generations, which are fundamental for the identity of any community. It puts emphasis on an approach for the conservation of cultural heritage and landscapes “based on human rights and on strengthening new and traditional knowledge and local governance.” The declaration underlines the importance of community involvement and rural development. It accepts cultural tourism as an important tool for creating a dialogue between different cultures, and notes that the sustainable conservation of tangible and intangible heritage in the context of tourism can only be achieved by raising awareness of local communities, deep knowledge and understanding of the value of their heritage, and the various factors that have come together to create – and continue to create – a unique culture.

Cork 2.0 Declaration, A Better Life in Rural Areas (2016), is a further document developed by the participants of the European Conference on Rural Development in Cork, and represents general considerations related to rural areas by suggesting ten
policy orientations aimed at “an innovative, integrated and inclusive rural and agricultural policy”. Similar to the Cork Declaration of 1996, this document also stresses sustainable rural development strategies, development of rural economy via agriculture and forestry sectors, and also other local or new sectors, the significance of preventing the rural exodus, and the need for simple and transparent policy design. In addition to the main principles declared in 1996, this document also focuses on innovative solutions and digitization, while creating a sustainable economy for rural areas. It puts an emphasis on innovations to enhance economic growth and sustainability, and defines innovations such as: “to which rural entrepreneurs, farmers, and foresters must have access and which may concern technologies, practices, processes, social and organizational matters, and be research driven or based on interactive bottom-up approaches”. The ten policy orientations offered by the declaration include:

“… promoting rural prosperity, strengthening rural value chains, investing in rural viability and vitality, preserving the rural environment, managing natural resources, encouraging climate action, boosting knowledge and innovation, enhancing rural governance, advancing policy delivery and simplification and improving performance and accountability”.

In 2017, the ICOMOS-IFLA International Scientific Committee on Cultural Landscapes (ISCCL) published a doctrinal text known as the ICOMOS-IFLA Principles Concerning Rural Landscapes As Heritage, which is the most recent and comprehensive document concerning rural landscapes. This document considers rural landscapes as the most common type of cultural landscape and vital components of the heritage of humanity. It points out the variety of rural landscapes around the world that are substantial representations of cultures and cultural traditions. The text presents definitions of the rural landscape, and the rural landscape as heritage, and focuses on its value in enlarging understanding, conservation and sustainable management of the rural landscape as heritage resources.\(^5\) Wide rural spaces, peri-urban areas, and small spaces within built-up areas are included in the context of rural landscapes, whether

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51 For definitions, see above p. 20.
they are well-managed or abandoned. According to this document “rural landscape as heritage” expression refers to the tangible and intangible values of rural areas. The term involves physical characteristics, such as “land, morphology, water, infrastructure, vegetation, settlements, rural buildings and centers, vernacular architecture, transport, and trade networks, etc., as well as wider physical, cultural, and environmental linkages and settings.” It underlines the significance of cultural knowledge, traditions, practices, expressions of both past and contemporary community identity and belonging. It thus perceives a rural site, with all its historical periods, as ‘a palimpsest’.

2.4. Conservation of Historic Rural Landscapes: General Evaluation

Historic rural landscapes are consequences of human activities on a given natural environment. As a result of this interaction, the built environment, which includes vernacular architecture, open spaces, street networks and production areas, is created. While human beings shape nature according to their skills, knowledge accumulation, habits and traditions, the built environment also shapes their social life. The identity of a place is defined by an inseparable unity of tangible and intangible values. Nowadays, the main problem concerning the conservation of rural areas is the neglect of this unity and generating a merely architectural approach, which focuses only on the built environment. In conservation studies in rural areas, it is crucial to evaluate the information provided by the site and generate conservation strategies within the framework of the rural landscape.

The interaction between nature, human beings and the built environment constitutes ‘a dynamic physical archive’ which is ‘rural landscape’. In this context, the rural heritage represents an historical dynamic process. While looking at this dynamic process from a certain period, the current physical pattern constitutes a significant record of time. However, because of the effects of socio-cultural, economic, physical,

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52 See above p. 18.
and legal processes on rural sites, the physical pattern also embodies transformations and extinctions in itself. In this transformation process, narrative patterns become crucial to fill the gaps. Thus, the presence of oral history records and the indigenous community play an important role in the conservation of the identity of a given place. Community involvement becomes an essential criterion for the conservation of rural landscapes.

In addition to the above-mentioned points, legal regulations and planning regarding socio-cultural, economic, physical and legal issues, and those challenges which are the primary reasons for the transformations of rural landscapes, should also be undertaken. Offering solutions to these challenges related to the protection of rural areas is of great importance in preventing the transformation of the built environment. As previously mentioned, rural areas have seen declines in population due to globalism, urbanism, and changing economic policies: locals left their villages and migrated to cities, and the remaining population experienced economic problems. In
addition to economic reasons, political factors, such as the Population Exchange also led to the abandonment, or socio-cultural transformation, of rural sites. These areas gained popularity again with the popularization of cultural tourism after the 1990s, when they became popular as summer-housing areas by urbanites in search of a nature-based lifestyle. Although these developments have significant potential for the reuse of rural areas, they have also created physical challenges in these areas. The desire to shape these places according to the needs of tourism and new residents has become an important challenge in terms of conservation. With the lack of specific legal regulations governing rural landscapes added to these needs, what we are seeing is the beginning of an extinction, rather than potential for growth. The Village Act, No: 442, provides no indications regarding the conservation of these areas. Moreover, The Law No: 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property, which is still the main legal regulation for the conservation of rural landscapes (and all other forms of cultural and natural heritage in Turkey), also has no specific indications for the conservation of rural areas: thus rural settlements are generally protected within Urban Conservation Site Borders. As ‘Conservation Development Plans’ have not been prepared for most of these areas, as mentioned earlier, conservation activities remain limited to economic value and the need-oriented attempts of individuals.

Due to the fact that similar problems regarding the conservation of rural environments are seen in Europe and all over the world, a great number of international documents have also been produced and published on this topic, as reviewed in the previous pages. Thus, both the historical development of conservation approaches to rural areas, and the principles related to the challenges mentioned in the second section have been investigated.

In all the above-mentioned documents, the need for an holistic conservation approach to rural areas, together with their built environments, and natural and intangible values, is emphasized. It is also clear that sustainable development and management programs, based on site-specific characteristics and respectful of the integrity of natural and cultural assets, should be prepared. One of the common concerns of all
documents is the significance of creating public awareness and community involvement. Therefore, the presence of local communities within rural settlements becomes crucial, and their growing appreciation of the values of rural sites could encourage the support of official bodies. For this purpose, and first of all, the economic opportunities of these areas need to be improved. The agricultural and forestry industries are underlined as needing to be focused on. Moreover, the revival of local economies via traditional architecture, crafts, small-scale enterprises, and leisure activities is also proposed. The considerable potential of tourism, which is one of the main sources of income in recent years, has been looked at in the above-mentioned documents. However, it is also noted that tourism activities should not endanger rural ways of life. The progressive impact of tourism activities on the built environment, nature, and rural life should also be monitored. Tourism development plans should be prepared to control impacts of tourism; these plans should include provisions for both the development of tourism, and conservation. Most of the revenues obtained from the tourism sector should be reserved for national and local conservation activities.

Documentation and conservation of the rural environment and architecture should be included in urban and rural planning schemes. The use of original building materials in restoration works and the training of qualified craftsman in the knowledge of original construction techniques and materials are also important issues. Any interventions should be removable and reversible, and should not harm the structure, both in the application and removal phases. Moreover, rural areas should have the same level of infrastructure and transportation facilities as urban areas. All these factors notwithstanding, conservation of the traditional rural environment and architecture should be ensured during these implementations.

Lastly, all the above-mentioned points should be brought to the attention of the related authorities and be adopted in the form of national, legal regulation. Legislation should be simplified and more flexible. Rural development policies, which are defined as “multi-disciplinary in concept and multi-sectoral in application”, must be decentralized and co-operation between all levels should be provided. In this context,
local authorities have to fulfill their responsibilities and must pioneer the establishment of a conservation culture by cooperating with related university departments and NGOs. Encouraging local economies and generating an innovative, integrated and inclusive rural and agricultural policy is also crucial for the conservation of rural sites.
CHAPTER 3

UNDERSTANDING THE PLACE: ZEYTİNLİKÖY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF GÖKÇEADA

In the previous chapter, the general understanding of the rural landscape was framed, including definitions and components; current challenges regarding conservation and international conservation approaches were also reviewed. A general evaluation about conservation of the historic rural landscapes was also made in order to define principles. After the conceptual discussions, this next chapter defines the general characteristics of the selected case study within this framework. Because of being on an island, within a further enclosed system, the traditional settlements of Gökçeada have similar characteristics. Gökçeada is an important ancient rural landscape area with its own natural and historical values.

Figure 14: Ottoman Era Settlement Borders (Xeinos et al. 2014)
When the settlement characteristics of the island in the Ottoman period are examined, it becomes apparent that these settlements, together with their natural environment, agricultural areas, olive groves, seasonal and permanent settlement areas, constitute a historic rural landscape on their own. In this context, one can interpret the island as a rural landscape area composed of six smaller rural landscape areas (Figure 14).

Zeytinliköy is located on the eastern half of the island and the village area spreads over a large area from north to south. With its settlement area, the village constitutes a rural landscape area in itself – with its fertile agricultural lands and pasture areas (which extend over a large area in the south), seasonal dam settlements, chapels, and windmills. However, it is not possible to evaluate the village independently of its contextual relations. For this aim, the current chapter firstly describes the historical, natural features of the island and the general characteristics of the settlements.

Conservation activities on the island are also discussed in this chapter. Subsequently, the surrounding natural features, locational characteristics, settlement characteristics and built environment are studied in detail, specific to Zeytinliköy. Social structure and intangible values of the village are also examined, together with village-scale conservation activities.

3.1. The Characteristics of Gökçeada

In the northeast Aegean Sea, at the entrance to the Dardanelles, Gökçeada/Imbros is the largest island and the westernmost point of Turkey. Between 25 40’ 06” – 26 01’ 05” east and 40 05’ 12” – 40 14’ 18” north longitudes, the island has a total area of 289.5 km² and 46 sea miles in circumference. Nearby islands include Limni/Lemnos to the southwest, Semadirek/Samothraki to the northwest, and Bozcaada to the southeast of Gökçeada. These four islands constitute a geographical domain known as the Thracian Sporades in Antiquity (Figure 15). Due to its strategic position and

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54 Alexandris 2012, p. 151.
physical-natural characteristics, several civilizations, such as the Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Crusaders, and Ottomans, have attempted to conquer Gökçeada throughout history: hosting these civilizations for longer or shorter periods of time has led to the cultural richness of the island.

Gökçeada is a district (ilçe) of Çanakkale and comprises nine villages. The center (Panayia), Tepeköy (Agidya), Zeytinli (Agios Theodoros), Eski Bademli (Gliki), Dereköy (Sinudi, Iskinit), Kaleköy (Kastro) are very early settlements where the Ottoman vernacular heritage can still be noticed (Figure 16). Uğurlu, Yeni Bademli, Eselek, and Sirinköy are the new settlements. Gökçeada has a harbor called Kuzu Limani, which connects the island to the mainland, located some 14 miles from Kabatepe in Gallipoli. Transportation to the island is provided by ferryboats from Kabatepe/Gallipoli or sea buses from Eceabat/Çanakkale.

Figure 15: Location of Gökçeada and its immediate surroundings (http://www.earth.google.com [last accessed on 08.03.2017])

Figure 16: Settlements on the island (http://www.earth.google.com [last accessed on 08.03.2017])
3.1.1. Toponomy: Imbros, İmroz and Gökçeada

Before describing the characteristics of the island its toponomy should also be mentioned. The oldest name is seen as I[MBP]OY or IMBΩI on epitaphs, while it is written as MBROY on old coins. The name Imbros first appears in Homer’s *Iliad* (13,172), written in the mid-8th BCE, as in the following: “Now there is a spacious cave in the depths of the deep mere, between Tenedos and rugged Imbros; there did Poseidon, the Shaker of the earth, stay his horses, and loosed them out of the chariot…”

The Roman writer Plinius (23-79 CE) also mentions the island as Imbros in his book *Naturalis Historia* (4,12). Writers in the 15th and 17th centuries used different names for the island. Bondelmonte records *Embarus*, Porcacchi *Embaro*, Coronelli *Imbro*, Bordone, Boschini, Piacenza and Mallet use *Lembro*. 19th-century writers, such as Gouffier, Kiepert, Moncel, Petrof, and Oberhummer, call the island by the ancient name Imbro or Imbros (Figures 17 and 18). The origin of the ancient name Imbros is uncertain, but there are many thoughts on the subject. The most common assumption is that made by Eustathios, who was an archbishop from Thessaloniki and historian: he notes that it comes from the name Imbramos, which the Carians used for the god Hermes – who was honored on Imbros. It should be noted that the same name had been given to the castle of the city of Kaunos, which was on Carian territory under the control of the Rhodians. In the Ottoman period, the name of İmros is mentioned as İmroz, as seen in the records of the time. In Piri Reis’s *Kitab-ı Bahriyye* (47-b), the island is mentioned under the heading of “Bu fasıl İmroz nam cezireyi beyan eder”. Piri Reis provides a map of the island and mentions two fortress settlements called Kal’a-ı İmroz and Kal’a-ı İskinit (Figure 19). The name Gökçeada, the current name of the island, was given to it on 29 July 1970, after a decision by the Council of Ministers.

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55 Hüryılmaz 2006, p. 44.
56 Koutloumousianos and Moustoxydis 2010, p. 61.
57 Strabo (14,2,2).
58 Hüryılmaz 2006, p. 45.
Figure 17: Old maps of the island (Koutloumousianos and Moustoxydis 2010, pp. 214-222) (1) Benedetto Bordone 1528, (2) Marco Boschini 1658, (3) A. Manesson Mallet 1683, (4) Francesco Piacenza 1688, (5) Hinrich Kiepert 1842
Figure 18: Geographical map of Imbros by E. Oberhummer, Berlin 1898 (Koutloumousianos and Moustoxydis 2010, p. 214)

Figure 19: Dardanelles, Imbros and Tenedos (Piri Reis, 47-b)
3.1.2. Observations of the Ancient Writers, Historians, Geographers and Travelers

As noted, Imbros was first mentioned in Homer’s *Iliad*. It can be seen in the quotation above that Homer defines the island as ‘rugged’. In addition to this definition, he also gives information about the location of the island and the islands close to it. The historian Herodotus (485-425 BCE) notes that in the time of the Persian king Darius, the Otanes conquered the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, which were captured by the Pelasgians. This reference is important for providing a first seemingly accurate information on the island.59

As some of the maps from the 15th and 17th centuries (shown above) indicate, the island was visited by many Italian and Dutch travelers. They provided limited information, however, even though they included notes on the topography, flora, and fauna of the island. In the 17th century, Evliya Çelebi also made a visit and in his *Seyahatname* he mentions two castles and a harbor. Henrich Kiepert, who was on Imbros in 1842, is accepted as the first scholar to undertake scientific study there, producing topographical drawings (Figure 17). Further information on the topography and archeological evidence comes from Alexander Conze, a well-known archaeologist, who visited Imbros in 1858.60 Starting from the harbour of Castro, where he first arrived, he gives information about the locations of the old villages and other characteristics of the island at the time. While mentioning the names of the hills, rivers, and settlements, he also concentrates on the archeological remains, records and inscriptions, describing various antiquities, such as sculptures, coins, marbles, and rock fragments. In the late 19th century, Eugen Oberhummer, a German-Austrian geographer, began a close study of Imbros, generating a detailed geographical map (Figure 18). At the beginning of the 20th century, Johann Friedrich, a German archeologist and philologist, traveled around the island. He adds to the existing

59 Hüryılmaz 2006, p. 46.
60 Meletzis 1997, pp. 59-60.
information by recording his impressions as he goes along, and making archeological and scientific observations; he also made comparisons with the other islands nearby.\footnote{Meletzis 1997, p. 60.}

3.1.3. Natural Characteristics

3.1.3.1. Topography

The geographical structure of the island is rugged, being composed of a series of volcanic hills. 77% of the island is mountainous, 12% of it rugged, and only 10% is flat. In the middle of the island Doruk Tepe (673 m) and Ulukaya Tepe (638 m) are the highest points. Northern hills are higher, with heights changing between 450-600 m, while the southern ones are between 350-500 m.\footnote{Kurter 1989, pp. 49-50.} The plateaux on the island are Aydincik Peninsula, i.e. the area between the estuary of the Balli Dere – Aktepe, and

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\footnote{The image is produced by overlaying the topographic model of Gökçeada on the Google Earth image.}
the northern part of Kapıkaya Hill. The valley bottoms constitute the open plainlands of the island, which are the most suitable areas for agriculture. Büyükdere valley, between Kaleköy and Çinarlı, is the largest example; in addition there are the smaller valleys of Güllüdere, Değirmendere and Tokludere. Located to the north of the Salt Lake, Ovacık is another of the island’s open plains. The southern coast of Gökçeada is more indented in comparison to the northern coasts. There are continuous beaches between the headlands in the south. The northern coast of the island has a higher altitude. There are smaller coves where the rivers flow into the sea, forming convenient places for swimming on the northern coast.

### 3.1.3.2. Water Sources

Gökçeada is rich in terms of water sources. The annual average precipitation is 661 mm and the rainfall feeds the underground sources. The island has one dammed lake (Zeytinliköy Dam) and four lakes: Uğurlu, Dereköy, Aydınçık, and Şahinkaya. Constructed on the Büyükdere river, the Zeytinli dam is the largest on the island. According to DSİ records it was constructed between 1977-1983 to provide irrigation, drinking water and water for industrial needs. The main source of the dam is the headwater that comes from the flanks of Serike Hill, to the west of Tepeköy. Together, these four lakes irrigate a cultivated area of 17,780 decares. In addition, there are also many rivers and a Salt Lake on the island. The rivers are concentrated in the eastern and northern parts of the island. The primary water sources are: the Değirmendere, Ayasofya and Kuzu rivers (east); the Büyükdere, Marmaros and Klosrema (north); the Ayastefalos (northwest); the Aporato (southwest); and the İnceburun and Savurma (south).

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64 Yaşar 2006, p. 11.
65 Atalay 2008, p. 44.
3.1.3.3. Climate

Gökçeada has a warm and mild climate, with the winter months having more precipitation than the summer. According to the Köppen-Geiger system, the climate is Csa. The annual average temperature of Imbros is 15.4°C; the annual average precipitation is 661 mm, with August being the driest month, with 10 mm of precipitation. With an average of 120 mm, the maximum rainfall occurs in December; the hottest month is July, with an average temperature of 24.5°C; the lowest average temperatures are in January (6.8°C).

Table 1: Gökçeada’s climate table (https://tr.climate-data.org/location/34682/ [last accessed on 09.08.2017])

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<td>70.0</td>
<td>68.1</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min. Temperature (°F)</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max. Temperature (°F)</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>50.2</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precipitation / Rainfall (mm)</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Gökçeada, life is both positively and negatively affected by strong winds, with the prevailing wind direction on the island being northeast. The positions of the windmill ruins indicate winds coming from the Gulf of Saros. The winds reach their highest values between November and February (34.7 m/s maximum value in December). Winters and summers see strong winds (29.4 m/s in July), with wind speeds corresponding to ‘strong storm level’ in seafaring terms (Beaufort scale). The island

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66 https://tr.climate-data.org/location/34682/ (last accessed on 09.08.2017).
67 Yücel 1966, p. 71.
68 Atalay 2008, p. 43.
and the mainland are difficult to reach in windy conditions, and life can be isolated from the mainland at any time.

3.1.3.4. Flora and Fauna

The island’s flora is formed by forests, maquis, and olive groves, all typical for a Mediterranean climate. However, the island’s climate is markedly different from that of southern-Aegean coastal areas, and this leads to some inconsistency in terms of certain plant species. For instance, in Anatolia olive groves are seen up to 900 m, while they are not found above 200 m on the island.69 Olive groves are concentrated on the Büyükdere valley slopes where the soil is fertile; these are often accompanied by Calabrian pine forests. The dominant types of maquis on the island are chaste trees and oleanders, with occasionally plane trees and poplars among them. Thyme is common in the lower areas. Holm oaks can also be seen on the slopes of the valleys, sometimes accompanied by laurel, carob, phillyrea and maple.70 There are also almonds, walnuts, blackberries and black-mulberry trees. Over the course of time this diversity has still been preserved, however the density of the flora has decreased as a result of fires, stray animals, land expropriation, and the establishment of new settlements.

The island has an ecological richness due to the fact that the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara have special marine ecosystems, where their cold and low-salt water and the hot and salty water of the Aegean Sea combine. Gökçeada, with its 95 km of coastline, is used as a breeding and feeding area for many fish species.71

The Turkish Marine Research Foundation (TÜDAV) has made a fauna-flora inventory of the island, and a total of 180 species of marine organisms were identified, including many fish species, sponges, sea turtles, and the Mediterranean monk seal. Part of the

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69 Yücel 1966, p. 72.
70 Ibid., p. 73.
northern coast between Kaleköy and Kuzulimanı was designated as Turkey’s first underwater park in 1999 by TÜDAV. Here all fishing is prohibited, and only scientific researches are allowed.\textsuperscript{72} In addition to the northern coasts, the Salt Lake and its surroundings are also rich in terms of ecosystem diversity: it is a sanctuary for migratory birds to rest and feed,\textsuperscript{73} including flamingos and several duck, \textit{calidris} and seagull species.

Among the most important sheep breeds of Turkey, the İmroz (Gökçeada) sheep should also be mentioned: the fertility and milk yields of this breed, raised in Gökçeada for more than 100 years, are higher than many other indigenous breeds.\textsuperscript{74}

\textbf{3.1.3.5. Geology}

The location of Gökçeada is close to the active local plate margin, i.e. the North Anatolian Transform Fault Zone (\textit{Kuzey Anadolu Transform Fay Bölgesi}). For that reason, it has a young geological structure, including a variety of geological formations.\textsuperscript{75} The geology of the island consists of mainly sedimentary and volcanic rocks of the Cenozoic geological period. The oldest sedimentary formations of the island are the limestones and flysch of the Eocene.\textsuperscript{76} As can be seen from the mapping of the geological formations by Hüseyin Öztürk and Nurullah Hanilçi, sedimentary rocks are found in the lower sections of the island, while the steep areas consist of volcanic. Sedimentary rocks of the island are sandstone-shale alternations, limestone, claystone-marl, sandstone-shale, mudstone-shale-sandstone, sandstone-conglomerate, mudstone-conglomerate alternations, dunes, alluvium and coastal sediments. The volcanic rocks of the island are of andesite and agglomerate-tuff formations.

\textsuperscript{73} http://www.dogadernegi.org/ (last accessed on 21.09.2017).
\textsuperscript{74} Demir 2002, p. 189.
\textsuperscript{75} Öztürk and Hanilçi 2002, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{76} Akartuna 1950, p. 14.
3.1.4. Historical Characteristics

3.1.4.1. General History of Gökçeada

As referred to above, the name Imbros first appears in Homer’s *Iliad*, written in the mid-8th century BCE. However, as the archeological surveys have shown, the history of the island dates back to the Prehistoric era. Not only historical sources but also archeological data provide important information about the history of the island. Excavations at the Yenibademli Mound have brought to light remains of the Pre-Hellenistic period of the island. The study reveals the physical and social characteristics of an Early Bronze Age settlement with a life span of some 400 years. Moreover, field surveys conducted by Robert Ousterhout and Winfried Held between 1995 and 1998 focused on Classical and Byzantine times, revealing some structures

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77 Hüryılmaz 2007, p. 85.
from these periods. The Late Byzantine fortresses of Kaleköy and Dereköy and the ancient worshiping area of Roksado, on the southeast of Kaleköy, are some highly significant examples. This survey reveals that the Byzantine structures are analogous to some examples from Constantinople, Thrace and northwest Asia Minor. In addition, the mound at Uğurlu-Zeytinlik was identified in 2009 and excavations there unveiled the earliest Neolithic settlement found so far among the northern Aegean islands, and further excavations will continue to fill the gaps in the history of the island.78

Literary sources relate that the first settled community was by the Pelasgians. It is known from Herodotus that the Persian King Darius charged his commander, Otanes, to conquer the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, which were captured by the Pelasgians in 512 BCE.79 Following the war between the Persians and the Athenians in 448 BCE the latter took control of the island, choosing the Kastro, i.e. Kaleköy, as their settlement area,80 and consequently controlling both the sea to the north and the Büyükdere valley to the south. In conjunction with the Athenian domination, Imbros took on a new turn. The Athenians’ gods, beliefs and customs coalesced with the native, Pre-Hellenistic ones, with the god ‘Hermes Imbramos’ representing the best example of this integration;81 he is a cult figure seen largely on coins (Figure 22).

Figure 22: A coin showing Hermes Imbramos, 350-300 BCE (Özbek 2008, p. 67).

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78 Erdoğan 2012, p. 9.
79 Çağaptay 2012, p. 41.
80 Hüryılmaz 2007, p.72.
81 Özbek 2008, p. 61.
The temple of Hermes and the Sanctuary of the Kabeiroi (Great Gods) were the two important cult centers of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods. Friedrich and Conze believe there was a temple of Hermes on the north of the island, where the monastery of Ayios Dimitrios used to be. Together with the Hermes figures on coins, it can be inferred that Hermes had an important role in the religious life of the island at that time, although the remains of the temple are not seen today. On the other hand, Roxado (the Sanctuary of the Kabeiroi) is a remarkable structure dating to Late Classical and Early Hellenistic times. Although there are similar examples in the northern Aegean, this example is thought to be the most important Kabeireion after that on Samothraki. Today, only five walls are visible, with heights ranging from 81-95 m above the rocky ground.

The Macedonian wars began in 215 BCE, and, following 47 years of war, the island fell to the Romans. In this period, it is known that the settlement area moved to Aydınçık-Kokina on the southeast of the island. The rock-cut tombs to the west of the cove at Güzelce are thought to be remains of this period (Figure 23).

Figure 23: Rock-cut tombs at Güzelce

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82 Çağaptay 2012, p. 43.
83 Ousterhout and Held 1997, p. 67.
84 Hüryılmaz 2007, p. 74.
85 Özözen Kahraman 2005 (a), p. 27.
By the division of the Roman Empire into East and West in 395 CE, the Byzantines (Eastern Roman Empire) took control of the island. It is known that during the Byzantine era the island witnessed invasions by the Venetians and Genoese respectively, although information generally on the Byzantine phase of the island is very limited. As mentioned above, studies by Ousterhout and Held have shown that Paleopolis (Kaleköy) and Paleokastro (Dereköy) are two important Late Byzantine Period settlements, both surrounded by fortification walls.¹⁸⁶ These are the settlements that are also mentioned by Piri Reis in his Kitab-ı Bahriye, Kal’a-ı İmroz and Kal’a-ı İskinit.

Paleopolis has a triangular-shaped plan; it is located in the southwest of the island and has a semi-circular layout. Some sections of the fortification wall, which constitute a straight line in the northeast direction, are still visible. Spolias are widely used in the castle. The remains of the fortification walls and towers are still visible on the summit of Kaleköy today. The remains spread over a large area, to an extent of 106 m (north-south) and a width of 140 m (east-west). The towers on the eastern and southern sides of the castle strengthened defenses against threats from the slopes.¹⁸⁷ There are windmills to the north of the settlement area and a well-preserved, oval-shaped tower on the northeast. In the near proximity of Paleokastro there are also two smaller Late Byzantine castles – Kesiktaş Kale (Arassia) and Eren Kale (Palaiokastraki).¹⁸⁸ Pyrgos Castle, which is considered to be Late Medieval, is located on the southwest of the island.¹⁸⁹ These castles that run from Kastro to Pyrgos form a chain of castles that have visual connection with each other.

Gökçeada became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1455-1456, together with other islands in the Thracian Sporades.¹⁹⁰ During the Ottoman period most of the island’s

¹⁸⁶ Çağaptay 2012, p. 46.
¹⁸⁷ Hüryılmaz 2007, p. 79.
¹⁸⁸ Ousterhout and Held 1998, p. 129.
¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 125.
¹⁹⁰ Alexandris 2012, p. 151.
Figure 24: Paleopolis

Figure 25: Plans of Paleopolis (left) and Paleokastro (right) (Ousterhout and Held 1998, p. 133-135)

Figure 26: Plans of Arassia (left) and Palaiokastraki (right) (Ousterhout and Held 1998, p. 136)
population were *Rums* and the two castles noted by Piri Reis were central settlements during this period. According to the cadastral record books of the Gallipoli District (*Gelibolu Sancağı Tahrir Defteri*), dated to 1519, Paleopolis had 13 and Paleokastro three neighborhoods. The current center of the island is denoted as a neighborhood of Kastro in these records. Its name is mentioned as Panaye, and the original name of the settlement is known as Panagia. In addition to these two, the cadastral records indicate the existence of two more villages on the island – Aya Todori (Agios Theodoros/Ayii Theodori, current name: Zeytinliköy) and Aya Virini. The number of villages had increased to seven by 1569, most of them thought to have been built after 1530. Among these settlements, the center, Zeytinliköy, Kaleköy, Dereköy, Tepeköy (Agridia), and Eski Bademli (Gliki), are those that have been inhabited continuously until the present day.

The island was occupied by Greece in 1912 and then by the British in 1915. After the Lausanne Agreement of 22 September 1923, it was returned to the Turkish Republic, together with Bozcaada (Tenedos). Until 1960 the majority of the population on the island was composed of *Rums*, with the Turks in a minority. However, although Gökçeada was exempt from the population exchange, especially after 1960, a large number of *Rums* abandoned the island for political reasons. Their houses were expropriated by the Turkish government and people from different regions of Anatolia settled in the villages of Gökçeada. Because of the Cyprus issue emerging in 1963, most of the minority schools were closed and education in Greek was banned in 1964/5. All these factors had an effect on the anxieties of the *Rum* population, however the most important factors in terms of the *Rums*’ decision to abandon the island were the expropriation of 22,555 decares of Dereköy agricultural by the Turkish government and the establishment of the ‘Open Prison’ (*Tarım Açık Cezaevi*) in 1965.

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91 Ottoman period names of Paleopolis: Kal’a-ı İmroz and Kastro, current name of Paleopolis: Kaleköy; Ottoman period names of Paleokastro: Kal’a-ı İskinit and Schinoudi, current name of Paleokastro: Dereköy; Hüryılmaz 2006, p. 87.
92 Boutaras 2012, p. 125.
Criminals were thereafter transported to the island and subsequent issues made it impossible for Rums to remain. Many migrated, especially Rum populations from the villages of Dereköy, Tepeköy and Zeytinliköy, dramatically declined. In 1966, 13,444 decares of land were also expropriated by the government to build a ‘State Hatchery’ (Devlet Üretim Çiftliği). Thus, local sources of income decreased substantially. In 1971, the island was declared a military exclusion zone (askeri yasak bölge). Furthermore, the Cyprus Operation, which started in 1974, served to escalate the fears of the Rum population and large numbers migrated to Greece and other countries.94

After the 1990s, with the changing politics of the Turkish Republic, democratization and multi-culturalism gained importance and an active program of reconciliation with former residents and landowners was begun. In 1991 the military exclusion zone status was removed, and in 1993 the need for special visa requirements for Imbros was removed. In 1996 the island participated in the 1st-degree Development of Priority Regions Scheme (Kalkınmada 1. Derece Öncelikli Bölgeler).95 Over subsequent years investments in tourism and other activities have increased.

3.1.4.2. Demographical History

As mentioned above, Gökçeada had always been a focal point for migration, parallel with the political events and actions related to the island throughout history. Population changes resulting from people leaving and moving to the island have led to socio-cultural transformations, changes in land use, settlement characteristics and economic activities. It is crucial, therefore, to understand population characteristics in detail in order to get a picture of the other components of the island.

During the 500 years of Ottoman dominance, and in the early periods of the Turkish Republic, the Rum population constituted the majority on the island. The first real

94 Alexandris 2012, p. 151.
information we have about the population of Gökçeada comes from the initial population census of the Ottoman Empire in 1831. The primary purpose of the census was to determine the number of male individuals eligible for military service; for this reason, women were not included in the census. The male population of the island appears to have been 2505, and all were noted as reaya.96 Another population census undertaken in 1893 reveals totals of males and females, as well as numbers of Turkish and Rum inhabitants: according to this census, there were 99 Turks (46 female and 53 male) and 9357 Rums (4603 female and 4754 male).97 The Ecumenical Patriarchate also made its own count in 1912, excluding the Turkish population, and 9207 Rums were counted in that year.98 Periodical censuses began after the foundation of the Turkish Republic and island population data between 1927-2016 are shown in Table 2. Both inward and outward migrations occurred in those years, directly affected by political actions applied by the state. Because of these, total population levels on the island seemed to stabilize, with only slight increases in this period. However, when further analyses are made of changes in ethnic composition within this period, a remarkable situation emerges. It is obvious that some of the events mentioned previously, such as the land expropriations by the government, the establishment of the Open Prison and State Hatchery, and the closure of minority schools, obliged the Rum population to abandon the island. The population in the old towns decreased rapidly, especially between 1960 and 1980 (Table 2). According to the 1960 population census, there were 5487 Rums and 289 Turks living on the island. However, after just 10 years, these numbers changed to 2622 Rums and 3969 Turks. 2306 of the Turkish population were officers, students, and prisoners coming from the mainland.99

96 The name given to non-Muslim citizens of the Ottoman Empire before the Tanzimat Reform: Karal 1997, p. 211.
97 Karpat 1978, p. 263.
When the population changes in different settlements of the island are analyzed separately, considerable changes in numbers between urban and rural areas also appear. The dramatic increase in the island center and the decrease in the old villages, such as Tepeköy, Dereköy, Kaleköy, Bademliköy and Zeytinliköy, are also evident in Table 2. Dereköy, where 1989 people were living in 1935, and only 196 people in 2000, is one of the most distinct examples.

Meanwhile, due to settlement policies of the government, especially after the 1970s, inward migration to the island increased. Many people from different regions of Anatolia moved and resided to new settlements occupied by government agents. The first migration to the island occurred in 1945, with 45 households from the Black Sea region moving to the center of the island; however, they were unable, for social reasons, to integrate and left in a short time. Şahinkaya was the first established new village; in 1973, 312 people from Trabzon Çaykara settled there. At that time this
village administratively belonged to Dereköy. In the early 1980s, Yenibademli was established for families from Isparta whose lands were flooded during the construction of a dam. In the same period, migrants displaced from their land due to the building of a hydro-electric plant in Milas settled in Uğurlu. As can be seen in the 1985 census results, these became the second and third largest villages in terms of population, after Dereköy. Lastly, in 2000, those residents from Biga, who were displaced when their properties were expropriated for the construction of a dam, settled in Eşelek, and the Bulgarian Turks who were displaced to Turkey settled in Şirinköy. Population data of these settlements in 2000 are also seen in Table 2.

Over the last decade there have been no new settlement areas, and the populations within the existing settlements have not changed considerably, both in number nor composition, except for slight increases. Currently there is no information on the ethnic distribution of the population, however, it is known that some 150-200 Rum live in the old villages of the island, mostly elderly. Today the island is witness to large numbers of newcomers, as seasonal residents from big cities (mainly Istanbul), and those seeking the peace rural life can bring.

3.1.4.3. Economic History

Agriculture and livestock breeding have been the main sources of income for the islanders throughout the centuries. In the Ottoman period, wheat, barley, lentils, chickpeas, corn, broad-beans, linen, cotton, olives, almonds, walnuts and grapes were the main agricultural products, and these were both exported and consumed locally. There were also other agricultural production activities, with olive oil production perhaps being the most significant, i.e. 11 hydraulic olive oil factories, including three in Dereköy, three in Tepeköy, two in Zeytinliköy, two in Çınarlı and one in

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100 Bozbeyoğlu and Onan 2001, p. 9.
Bademli.\textsuperscript{102} In addition, weaving and vine growing were widely carried out across the island.

Sheep breeding was another vital source of income. The celebrated İmroz sheep, whose fertility and milk yields are better than many indigenous breeds, have been reared on Gökçeada for more than 100 years.\textsuperscript{103} Further processing of animal products, such as cheese and butter, was undertaken and widely exported. Aziz notes that nearly 20-35 tons of \textit{kAŞar} (cheese) was exported to İstanbul annually.\textsuperscript{104} From \textit{Tahrir defterleri} and \textit{Kanunname&lever}, written in the Ottoman period, we see that in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century the harbors of Balyanbolu and İskinit were commercial hubs.\textsuperscript{105} Feridun Emecen notes that, due to transportation difficulties, exports on any sort of large scale were not possible, with the island being in a small commercial network centered on İstanbul. These sources also show that besides agriculture, livestock breeding and related undertakings, shoe making, ironworking, fishing, sponge fishing, silkworm breeding and beekeeping were among the economic activities of the islanders from the Ottoman Period until the 1960s.

Together with globalization and mass production, the previously mentioned demographic changes altered the economic life of the island. The 1960s represented a breaking point not only in terms of changes in population, but also in economic activities. Because of the expropriation of agricultural lands by the government, those islanders who relied on agriculture abandoned the island. The new Turkish inhabitants, who, as mentioned above, were officers, students, and individuals coming from different regions of Anatolia, moved into the new settlement areas and became consumers rather than producers. General productivity decreased over time and the economy of the island became dependent on external sources.

\textsuperscript{102} Hüryılmaz 2006, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{103} Demir 2002, p. 189.
\textsuperscript{104} Aziz 1973, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{105} Emecen 2002, p. 59.
Aziz notes that one of the main purposes of *Tarım Açık Cezaevi*, established in 1965 by the expropriation of some agricultural land at Dereköy, was to provide economic development for the island.\(^{106}\) However, this did not last long and was closed in 1976.

Today the Ministry of Justice (*Dinlenme Tesisi*) has taken its place. Similarly, the State Hatchery was closed after a short time and given over to private enterprise.

The existing sectors of the island can be classified into four sectors – agriculture, livestock breeding, fisheries, and tourism. Although having lost their previous significance, agriculture and livestock breeding still contribute to the economy. Especially after 2000, investments in these areas have considerably increased. Planned and developed by the Local Directorate of Agriculture, there have been many initiatives: organic olive and olive oil production; organic viticulture and wine production; organic fruit; organic beekeeping and honey production; and animal

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\(^{106}\) Aziz 1973, p. 97.
husbandry. Within these initiatives, there are stipulations for organic fertilizers and organic pest control, as well as specialist training and education panels.\textsuperscript{107}

Today, wheat, barley, oats and corn are all cultivated on the island, with olive cultivation still constituting the major agricultural activity. There are olive groves all over the island, but they are mainly concentrated around Zeytinliköy, Tepeköy and Dereköy. After 2000, olive oil production increased and many entrepreneurs have entered the sector: 152 islanders came together and established an olive oil factory.\textsuperscript{108}

Viniculture, as in the past, still one of the most important production activities, did witness a decrease over time, but has now started to bounce back again in recent years. Grape types, such as çavuş üzümü and kara üzüm, cultivated mostly around Bademliköy, Şahinkaya and Uğurlu, produce wine and grape molasses.\textsuperscript{109} Both olive oil and wine production are also undertaken by individuals in their houses or small factories. Some have become popular ‘brands’, such as Tepeköy’s ‘Barba Yorgo Wines’. Olive-oil soaps and creams are also sought-after products of the island; they are generally produced and sold by the locals and widely liked by tourists as souvenirs.

Instead of pasture farming, livestock breeding activities are now undertaken within the villages: most of the islanders have sheep and goats that graze freely, to meet their own needs. Apart from these, a rise in organic farming entrepreneurship has appeared recently, with a small number of such farms established by individuals on the island.

There are three fishing ports – Kaleköy, Kuzu Limanı and Uğurlu. For domestic consumption, coastal fishing is carried out using ‘trotlines’, ‘longlines’ and ‘trammel’ nets. Industrial fishing involves the use of seine boats and trawlers. The prevalent species include common seabream, red mullet, saurel, seabass, mackerel, and common, with most of the catch going to Çanakkale.\textsuperscript{110}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{107} Doğan 2012, pp. 48-51.
\textsuperscript{108} Hüryılmaz 2006, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., p. 40.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., p. 42.
\end{flushright}
Because of its natural qualities and historic past, Gökçeada has a great potential for tourism. After termination of military exclusion zone status in 1991, the island started to attract tourists.\textsuperscript{111} Gökçeada became a member of the ‘Slow Food’ movement in 2006, and ‘Cittaslow’ in 2011.\textsuperscript{112} Being the first and only ‘Cittaslow’ island in the world, it is visited by many local and foreign tourists. Accommodation facilities for visitors are mostly concentrated in the interior. In recent years, together with a small number of hotels, guesthouses and pensions became an essential source of income for islanders, particularly in Uğurlu and Yenibademli.

Gökçeada has significant coastal tourism potential, especially in the areas of Yıldız Koyu, Kuzu Limanı, Güzelce Koy, Aydıncık, Kokina, Kapıkaya, Yuvalı sahilleri, Laz Koyu, Uğurlu Plajları and Gizli Liman (for both swimming and surfing). Moreover, Marmaros Şelalesi, Kaşvakal Burnu, Peynir Kayalıkları, Tuz Göllü are also areas of special natural beauty and tourist attractions.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{gokceada_map.png}
\caption{Gökçeada’s tourist areas\textsuperscript{113} (http://www.earth.google.com [last accessed on 08.03.2017])}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{111} Atalay 2008, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{112} http://www.cittaslowgokceada.com (last accessed on 08.03.2017).
\textsuperscript{113} Information is taken from the tourist brochure prepared by the Gökçeada Municipality for summer 2017.
The heritage sites of the island, such as the traditional villages, Kokina Kaya Mezarları, Roxado Barajı and Yenibademli Höyüğü, are also important attraction sites for visitors (Figure 28).

In spring and summer, people who had previously migrated to Greece or other countries, but keep contacts on the island, and other former residents, also return to the island. August is especially busy, when, during the Panagia Festival, the island is crowded and once more bustling and lively.

3.1.5. General Characteristics of the Rural Settlements on the Island

The settlements on the island have been shaped by the physical, social and political factors throughout history. The traditional rural settlements on the island can be divided into two groups: traditional villages and dam settlements. Broadly speaking, the villages were established on the north of the island, and the dam settlements on the south, where the land is fertile.

Located on the northeast of the island and on the hillsides facing the Büyükdere valley, old villages are established in harmony with the challenging topography. Except for Kaleköy, all of them are located on slopes facing the island and without visual access from the sea. As it is noted before, the need for a fertile land for agriculture is one of the major reasons of their positioning in the inland areas; however, the reasons like pirate attacks, harsh climate and rocky cliffs were also important determinants. Moreover, freshwater sources such as Büyükdere, Güllüedere, Tokludere and Değirmendere also determined the settlement areas. The plains are used for agriculture, while the less fertile slopes are for consigned for construction. On the hillsides, olive cultivation and viniculture also employ terracing to help prevent erosion.

Stone-masonry houses, and stone-paved narrow streets and squares are the characteristic elements of the traditional villages of Gökçeada. Traditional houses,
constructed of local materials, are generally two-storey structures. The houses have simple facade organizations and are commonly rectangular or L-shaped in terms of their plan schemes. Open public spaces occupy an important place for community gatherings. Surrounded by cafes and shops, squares are necessary elements of the rural fabric, and they are generally located in the central parts of the villages. Other building types include churches, chapels, fountains, laundries, schools, factories, and mills. These are connected by stone-paved streets and the original pavement can still be seen in Zeytinliköy for example. Stone streets slope towards the center to allow for water drainage.

Due to the abandonment, disrepair, ill-conceived restoration implementations, and the construction of new buildings, the settlements on Gökçeada were subject to major physical transformations in the past. Kaleköy and the center are places where such transformations can be seen. The new structures that are incompatible with the traditional fabric, as well as the old structures that were demolished and reconstructed, make the original features of the settlement quite difficult to understand. Bademli, Tepeköy and Zeytinliköy are the old settlements, where the traditional methods can be better observed relatively. In terms of its building stock, Dereköy represents the densest site among these villages. Since the percentage of empty buildings is also high, most of the buildings are neglected or in ruins. The settlement now resembles somewhat of a ghost town.

Another type of rural settlements on Gökçeada is the temporary rural settlement referred to as dam, which is also used for the name of the buildings in these settlements. These are related to agriculture and the stock-breeding activities of the

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114 The dam system of Imbros has close connections with the mandra system seen in Lemnos. Mandra (plural mandres) is Lemnos’ traditional structure serving production activities and playing an important role in the insular rural landscape. The mandra is a multi-functional area fenced with a dry-stone wall, inside which is the animal shed, the farmer’s/shepherd’s hut and barn; stone threshing-floor, small creamery, bread oven and small vegetable garden can also occasionally be found. On the periphery of the mandra extend the pastures and/or agricultural land. For further information about mandres, see Lyratzaki, Dodouras and Dimitropoulos 2019.
inhabitants. Almost every village house has at least one dam outside the village.115 The inhabitants spend the whole summer in these settlements, which are closely located to their agricultural lands. For those concerned only with stockbreeding, it was important to be near to water sources and far from the cultivated lands.116 Dams are scattered around the whole island, mostly to the south and west. The dam structures are one- or two-storey stone buildings with a threshing circle next to it (Figure 30).

Figure 29: Gökçeada, photographs showing the old settlements: Kaleköy (above), Tepeköy (center), Dereköy (below)

115 Öngör 1960, p. 74.
The *dams* are either located as single units or within a cluster of 15-20 similar structures. These settlements have been important elements of traditional island rural life over centuries. However, after the 1960s, these areas lost their importance in relation to changes in land-use patterns. Unfortunately, these *dam* structures, which are significant reflections of rural identity, are now disappearing rapidly.

Windmills are other structures that constitute fundamental elements of traditional rural settlements. In the past it is known that at least one windmill was to be found in every village, relating to the island’s large-scale grain production. Turan Takoğlu, in his book *Çanakkale Kültürel Mirasında Yel Değirmenleri*, mentions that the windmills of Gökçeada were about to disappear.\(^{117}\) He also notes that they were frequently seen in villages with little or no water resources. The ruins of the windmills on Gökçeada are mostly seen on village peripheries or the tops of hills that get the full force of the winds. Takoğlu also points out that there were at least 18 windmills on the island before 1964, but now only 10 of these survive. Of these, two are in Zeytinliköy, one in Kaleköy, four in Dereköy, and three are located in the center (*Figure 31*).

Each village and *dam* settlement have their own small rural churches, i.e. a chapel. Those buildings are also significant elements of the rural fabric. In 1951, 232 rural chapels were counted all around the island.\(^{118}\) Today, they can be seen in different locations of the island (*Figure 32*).

After the 1980s, four new settlements were established. Except for Yenibademli, those at Eşelek, Şirinköy and Uğurlu are all located on the southern coasts. Settled on the plain and fertile lands, these villages can be easily differentiated from the old villages, mainly in terms of their ‘solid-void’ relationships and density of green areas (*Figure 33*).

\(^{117}\) Takoğlu 2016, pp. 162-176.

Figure 30: Gökçeada, an example of a typical *dam* (Takaoğlu 2016, p. 163)

Figure 31: Kaleköy, windmills on a postcard as seen in 1915 (Takaoğlu 2016, p. 170)

Figure 32: Gökçeada, examples of rural chapels distributed in the landscape
Figure 33: Comparison of the traditional fabric with that of a new settlement. Views from the historical settlement of Kaleköy and the new southern settlement of Yenibademli
3.1.6. Socio-cultural Characteristics

The geography of an island is very different from the mainland with its limiting physical features. Being surrounded by water on all sides, and with limited interaction with the mainland, islands have an introverted lifestyle. The island is a closed system within itself, with its soil, flora, fauna, water resources and also the human population on it. In this closed system, human beings are engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. In the formation of the social and cultural characteristics of Gökçeada, there are important effects of rurality. Above-mentioned characteristics of the rural settlements are also shaped by rurality and they also defined the traditions and lifestyle. The traditions of Gökçeada, which was inhabited mainly by Rums until the 1970s, were similar to those of the neighboring islands of Tenedos, Limnos and Samothraki. The island was under the influence of Orthodox Rrum culture, both in the Ottoman and Early Republican periods. The life of the island people was lived between the house, the farm, and the church. After the 1970s, the socio-cultural characteristics of the island witnessed a transformation due to the decrease of the Rrum population and increases in the numbers of Turks, together with the global effects on the rural environments. Since that time the two cultures have been mixed and diversified.

The life of the island people was mostly passed in the fields and common, open areas. For that reason, the island houses were usually simple and functional. Old photographs reveal that even agricultural activities, such as picking olives, were socialization events due to the collective production environment (Figure 34). Laundries, coffee shops and churches were important areas of socialization as well. In addition, the island culture was quite different from Anatolia in terms of gender roles; Aysel Aziz mentions that women and men were equal and could sit together in the coffee shops and enjoy each other’s company (Figure 35).

\footnote{Karas 2012, p. 78.}
\footnote{Aziz 1973, p. 115.}
Figure 34: Gökçeada, photographs from olive harvests (Meletzis 1997, p. 86 [above], Thanasis Karadimitris Archive [below])
Figure 35: Gökçeada, women and men sitting together in a coffee shop and drinking (Thanasis Karadimitris Archive)

Figure 36: Gökçeada, stone basins and fountains in the laundry (above); and women washing their laundry (below) (Meletzis 1997, pp. 82-83)
The village women also gathered in the laundries on certain days of the week and washed their laundry. This process was also considered as a social activity where the women of the village gathered (Figure 36). After this laundry work, women used to go to coffee houses or taverns and continue chatting and drinking alcoholic or non-alcoholic drinks. Coffee shops were usually located in village squares, or nearby, and, together with the shops (i.e. barber, tailor, butcher, grocery store, etc., they indicate the social gathering areas of the village.

As the SP11 points out, one of the most important areas of socialization was the church. The fairs organized in the rural churches, which allowed the islanders to remain faithful to the traditions of their ancestors, represented the main sources of entertainment for the islanders. Each village has its own festivals, but people from other villages also participated in them. In addition to the rural festivals of each village, the main religious events – Christmas, Easter, Sunday ceremonies and ‘Ta Fota’ (Epiphany) – were the other festive days celebrated on the island.

The Orthodox Rum population generally preferred to name their children after the saints. Consequently, saints’ days are also celebrated as ‘name days’ for those sharing the same name. SP6 points that the name day of a person has more importance than his/her birthday, and on this day a meal is given, and wine served near the chapel that bears the name of that particular saint.

Marriage ceremonies were also made according to the traditions of the island. Brides needed to give prika and drahoma when they marry, and for that reason the family gave more possessions to their daughters than to their sons. Families were required to provide a house for their daughters on their marriage. According to their wealth level, they built them, or bought, a new house, or gave their own dwelling and built a small house for themselves in the courtyard – called a guerico, meaning old men’s house. Talip Yücel mentions that women went out of the village to work as maids, in order

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121 Aziz 1973, p. 115; prika and drahoma means ‘dowry’ in English, and çeyiz and başlık parası in Turkish.
to save money to cover their marriage expenses. Wedding ceremonies were commonly made in the village squares.

As previously mentioned, islanders spent most of their time also in their dam settlements. If the dam was far away all family members moved there in summer and the villages were deserted. In winter, on the other hand, all family members, except for the father, who visited his house once a week, left the dam. SP11 relates a day in the life of villagers:

“They woke up very early, around 4.30 am. Breakfast does not exist in their culture. Women do not go to the field. They were responsible for the work in the house, preparing winter provisions and going to the laundry. The father comes back from the fields around 11.30 am and they have lunch. Then they have a siesta for two hours. 4-5 pm was the socializing hour; they went to the church or cafes. They had dinner at 7 pm and slept around 9 pm.”

As noted above, after the 1970s the island underwent a significant transformation due to the changes in population characteristics. With the arrival of the Turkish immigrants to the island the two religious groups started to live together, and cultures diversified based on ethnic distribution. Today, on the basis of citizenship of the Turkish Republic, the Muslim and Christian Orthodox community share their traditions, customs, beliefs and practices. Religious rituals and ceremonies of the Orthodox people still continue on the island. At the same time, the Muslim islanders observe the month of Ramadan, ‘holy nights’, the Sacrifice and the Ramadan Feast, in accordance with their own beliefs, customs and traditions. Wedding and funeral ceremonies are carried out according to the social and cultural backgrounds of the two communities.

Although only a few Rum residents spend the whole year on the island, in summers the Rum population increases, especially in the villages of Bademliköy, Zeytinliköy, Tepeköy and Dereköy. Both permanent and seasonal Rum inhabitants of the island are committed to maintaining the traditional culture of the island. The religious days mentioned above are still celebrated; among these, the Panagia Festival, celebrated on the 15th of August, now occupies an important place in the island life for both the

122 Yücel 1966, p. 79.
Turkish and Rum communities. Although the festival days differed in the past for each village, today the celebration in Tepeköy on the 15th of August is the most popular and busiest: the arrival of Rums from Greece and elsewhere turns the island into a crowded, colorful and lively place. According to Giorgos Tsimouris, the number of the Rums arriving for the festival reaches 2000-3000, and this number increases every year. The festival starts with offerings and the cooking of meat in large cauldrons. On the morning of the 15th of August, the ceremony starts at 9.30 am in the Evangelismos Teotoku Church in Tepeköy (Figure 37). The ceremony is mainly attended by clergymen from Greece and other countries. As a local of Zeytinliköy-Gökçeada, it is common for the Fener Rum Patriarch Bartholemeos to attend and lead the ceremony (Figure 38). After the ceremony the cooked meat is served to the public. Following the meal, the participants visit the village cemetery; relatives stand near the graves of their ancestors and serve desserts to the other people. By doing so, they pay their respects to their ancestors and keep alive the memory of the younger generation. During this day everyone makes visits, and at night tables are set up in the village square. People eat, drink and entertain with Greek music and dance. On the 16th of August, they visit Aya Panagia Balomeni Church on the Marmaros and again make offerings there. Ceremonies and offerings continue until the 24th of August in other villages, but in less numbers. Obviously, the Panagia Festival plays an important role in keeping memories and traditions alive. Tsimouris defines the significance of the festival as follows:

“… Imvros has become the main meeting-point for a large number of Imvrii who left as fugitives under the most uncommon conditions. It is also a huge pilgrimage in which religious sentiments are inextricably confused with feelings of homesickness. Literally, to panigyri is a ritual of re-membering the place and the people, a painful act of putting together of the dismembered community. As a ritual, is a repetitive act that manifests the profound need to reclaim and to look back.”

123 Tsimouris 2012, p. 213.
Figure 37: Tepeköy, view from the courtyard of the Church of Evangelismos Teotoku

Figure 38: Tepeköy, view from the festival ceremony led by the Fener Rum Patriarch Bartholemeos in 2017
Figure 39: Tepeköy cemetery

Figure 40: Tepeköy, view of the festival in the village square
As Tsimouris points out, the Imvrii come to the island to revive their memories, visit their friends or relatives, remember their homes, villages and their culture. However, aside from the touristic excursions, the former islanders have demands for citizenship and property. Babül, in her article “Claiming a place through memories of belonging: Politics of recognition on the island of Imbros”, sheds light on the political and legal aspects of the issue. She underlines that the political discourses of the Turkish Government after the 1990s concentrates on multiculturalism and leniency. However, the subjects of belonging, ownership and citizenship issues are left aside, and Rumns are considered as ‘tourists’ and the island as a nostalgic tourist attraction.

Today there are several associations dealing with issues, such as the political history of Imbros, protection of its cultural values and the ownership claims of individuals. The ‘Imbros and Tenedos Studies Association’, based in Thessaloniki, and the Imbrian Associations of Athens and Thessaloniki are important NGOs in Greece. They were initially established as initiatives to help immigrants, but today they also provide a focus for members of the community and also publish books and bulletins to help maintain Imbrian identity.

### 3.1.7. Conservation Activities on the Island

Gökçeada is comprised of historical villages and archeological sites; it also has a wealth of natural resources. Because of its extensive cultural, archeological and natural sites, nearly half of the island’s surface area is defined as a ‘conservation area’. Sites within the conservation borders include: Urban Conservation Areas; 1st, 2nd and 3rd Degree Natural Conservation Areas; and 1st, 2nd and 3rd Degree Archeological Areas (Figure 41). The urban conservation areas consist of traditional settlements on the island, represented by historic villages and the center. The center was designated as an urban conservation area in 1985, while the historic villages were designated as

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125 Babül 2006(b), p. 47.
such in 1991. So far there have been conservation development plans (koruma amaçlı imar planları) prepared only for the center and Kaleköy.

The registration of historic buildings began in 1985. Although the scheme gained momentum after 2000, by 2017 there only 176 had been registered on the island. These consist of traditional houses, churches, schools, ateliers, windmills, laundries and fountains. The fact that only a small number of the examples of civil architecture were registered, and the conservation development plan only prepared for Kaleköy and the center, has led to a rapid transformation of the built environment. Tourist activities and the increase in the number of seasonal residents on the island have also resulted in an increase in restoration activities. This, taken together with gaps in the law, has meant the inevitable destruction of parts of the fabric of the island. In addition to the problems related to restoration interventions, new building constructions within the urban conservation sites are also to be found: for instance a five-storey hotel building was constructed within the urban conservation area of Bademliköy in 2000. The construction received a strong reaction from the islanders as well as widespread media attention from 2012 until the present. As a result of the evaluations published on the 28th December 2015, the ÇKVKBK announced its decision that the hotel should be demolished. However, the decision was cancelled in 2016 following the revised 1/100,000-scale environmental plan of the Balıkesir-Çanakkale Planning Area, in which the hotel area was included in the Preferential Use Zone (Tercihli Kullanım Bölgesi), together with the south coast of the island.

A further, crucial, problem is that the densely built areas are included within the borders of conservation areas, while the dam settlements in the south, and the chapels scattered across the island, are not within the borders of conservation. These

126 For the legal challenges, see above, pp. 32-37.
structures, which are significant components of the island's rural identity, face the danger of extinction as most of them are unregistered.

The archeological sites of the island are mainly located on the north, south and east coasts. Kaleköy castle, which was built to protect the first port of the island, was registered as a 1st Degree Archeological Site in 1985. The area of the necropolis, located at Kokina, on the right of the main road between Aydıncık and Uğurlu, was also registered in 1985 as a 1st Degree Archeological Site. Other sites, such as Yuvalı and Kuzu Limanı, were declared as 3rd Degree Archeological Sites in the same year. In the following years, areas such as the Yenibademli Mound, Roksado, Dereköy castle, and the regions of Dereköy-Kurkina, Karyopol, Uğurlu-Zeytinlik and Kefalos were also defined as archeological sites. However, changes in these site designations over the years have created serious problems for the conservation of cultural monuments. For instance, the area around Kuzu Limanı, which was declared a 3rd Degree Archeological Site in 1985, now appears as a 3rd Degree Natural Site, according to current conservation borders provided by the Conservation Council of Çanakkale. Another example is the airport area, the construction of which started in 1998 and was completed in 2010. The area of the airport appears as a 1st Degree Archaeological Site according to the 1996 plan.

Because of Gökçeada’s many forests, maquis, and olive groves spread over a wide area, and the fact that the island is rich in terms of water sources, a major part of its surface area has been designated as including sites of special natural interest. As mentioned above, TÜDAV prepared a fauna/flora inventory and a total of 180 species of marine organisms were identified. Gökçeada also includes Turkey’s first underwater park, certified in 1999 by TÜDAV. All the northern coasts, except for Kaleköy and its immediate surroundings, the Gökçeada dam and its surroundings, the large salt lake and its surroundings, and the area between Şahinkaya pond and Aktaş hill are 1st Degree Natural Sites according to the current plan. Among them, the northern coasts of the island and the salt lake region are included in the list of Turkey’s Important Natural Areas (Türkiye’nin Önemli Doğa Alanları) compiled by Doğa
Figure 41: Gökçeada, current borders of the urban, archaeological, and natural conservation areas

(ÇKVKBK Archive)
On the other hand, 2nd and 3rd Degree Natural Sites can also be found on the south of the island. In addition, the island includes several monumental plane trees. One of them is at Kaleköy, registered in 1992 by Bursa KTVKK.

3.2. Characteristics of Zeytinliköy

The village of Zeytinliköy (old name: Agios Theodoros) is one of the oldest villages on Gökçeada: it is thought that the village was settled since the 18th century. Today, the settlement area of the village is protected as an urban conservation area (kentsel koruma alanı).

While the current name comes from the olive groves surrounding the village, the old name Agios Theodoros refers to the eponymous chapel located 100 m from the settlement area, inside the olive groves. Moreover, according to the study *A Historical Memorandum Concerning the Island of Imbros*, an older and larger church named Agios Theodoros was once located on the site of the present chapel:

> “From the large marble slabs that were removed from this church and used for the gate of the more recent church of the village, we can deduce that the original church was huge. Another marble that was recently discovered in the same church depicts a laurel garland with an inscription that reads THE DEMOS (Gk.: THE PEOPLE). This is clear proof that the temple had either previously functioned as a pagan altar or was brought there by the Christians from some ancient Greek monument.”

The inhabitants of the village were engaged in agriculture, especially in the cultivation of olive trees; they were also blacksmiths, potters, shoemakers, carpenters, and millers. Zeytinliköy is not only known for its large olive groves but also for being the hometown of two important figures of the Orthodox community, the current Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos (b. 1940) and the late Archbishop Iakovos of

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129 The old name is taken from the book by Koutloumousianos and Moustoxydis 2010, p. 13.
130 Berberis 1998, p. 159.
America (1911-2015). The renowned photographer Spyros Meletzis (1906-2003) also came from there.

3.2.1. Location and Natural Characteristics

Zeytinliköy is located in the northeast part of Gökçeada. The village is 3.5 km from the center (Panagia). The new airport area, Kaleköy, Yenibademli, Eskibademli and Gözetme Tepe are located on the northeast, while the center on the east, Kesiktaş Tepe (Arasia), where the chapel of the Virgin Mary, and Gökçeada Dam on the east and Tepeköy are located on the west of the village (Figure 42).

Figure 42: Location of Zeytinliköy (http://www.earth.google.com [last accessed on 08.03.2017]; 1/25000 map of Gökçeada provided by Gökçeada Municipality)
Settled on the eastern slopes of Karadoğan Tepesi (old name: Kastri), the village has a panoramic view of the eastern part of the island; there are forests on the slopes of the hill, mainly on the west side of the settlement. The most common trees in the surroundings are oak, pine, walnut, and cedar. The plain below the hill is a part of Büyükdere valley and the Büyükdere River runs through it; the area is very fertile and covered with flourishing olive groves as a result of the river and the nutrients it provides.

The village is 1.2 km from the main road that runs from the center towards to the west end of the island. Access to the village is provided by a secondary village road that meanders through the olive groves (*Figures 43 and 44*).
3.2.2. Settlement Characteristics and Rural Pattern

The traditional villages of Gökçeada are spread over a large area, including permanent settlement regions, as well as olive groves, agricultural areas, pasture lands, and summer settlements scattered in these areas. Zeytinliköy is located in the eastern half of the island, and the village also spreads over a large area from north to south. With its settlement area, the olive groves that surround it, the pastures and agricultural areas, which extend significantly to the south, the seasonal dam settlements, chapels, and windmills, taken as a whole the village constitutes a rural landscape area in itself.

The layout of the settlement area is predominantly determined by the topography. Settled on an inclined terrain, the village had an organic development. The roads that cross within the settlement are irregular, varying in width and defined by the buildings and walls surrounding them: they represent the most logical and economic solutions, with minimum intervention on the landscape. These basic thoroughfares meet the everyday needs of access and organize the concentration of the built environment.

There are three neighborhoods in the village: lower, central, and upper. The central neighborhood is the most lively part of the village. The main street running from the town square in between the school, church and Imbros Association building links it. Other types of buildings, i.e. the coffee shops and headman’s office, were, and still are, concentrated in this area. This part is also the most densely occupied area in terms of building stock, and open areas are few in number and smaller compared with the other neighborhoods (Figure 46). The upper neighborhood is located to the north; it is quieter and less densely occupied because of the topography. In the middle there is a small church and the dwellings are organized around it. The lower neighborhood lies to the south and is of medium density. The upper neighborhood also has its own small church and each neighborhood also has a laundry.

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131 See below, Appendix A.
Figure 45: Zeytinliköy (Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry Archive)
Figure 46: Zeytinliköy, map showing built-up and open areas
3.2.2.1. Streets, Pathways and Passages

The original street pavement used stone and those streets usually have a slight incline towards the center for water drainage. Today such pavements can still be seen, despite much destruction and interventions, such as the addition of new unsuitable stone pavements and cement-based repairs.

Figure 47: Zeytinliköy, street pavements: (1) original stone street pavement; (2 and 3) cement-based interventions to the original pavement; (4) destructions; (5 and 6) later, additional stone pavements; (7) an earth pathway
Zeytinliköy is the only settlement where the original technique can still be observed, and this represents a significant component of the rural identity of the settlement. In addition to these stone thoroughfares, there are also secondary, earthen, pathways connected to them.

As well as these streets and pathways, there are smaller and narrower passages known locally as ‘swamps’ (batak). These are common in densely built housing areas, allowing only one person to pass at a time, as they are primarily intended for drainage. Because of the sloped topography, the site is terraced at varying levels. In addition to the streets, pathways, and passages, stone steps also provide connections between different levels.

3.2.2.2. Block and Lot Organization

The topography is again an important factor in the organization of property – blocks and lots. Settled on an inclined topography, the settlement has building lots of variable size, shape, and usage. The block and lot organization of the settlement developed together with the street organization, and also has an organic character. As can be seen in the cadastral plan, the periphery of the settlement area consists of larger lots, while the lot sizes become smaller in the center (Figure 48). The dimensions of the lots have a wide range and the area of the lots differs between 17 m² and 5522 m².

Together with the decrease in lot sizes, open areas in these lots also get smaller; in fact, there are many traditional buildings covering the whole lot area with no open spaces: a few houses have courtyards and some of them have small gardens enclosed with stone walls, which also serve as retaining walls because of the differences in levels.

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Figure 48: Zeytinliköy, cadastral plan
3.2.2.3. Squares and Nodes

As with the other elements of the rural fabric, squares and nodes are also of irregular size or shape and reflect organic characteristics. The village has two large squares surrounded by important buildings; they have been used for the important events of the village, i.e. festivals and wedding ceremonies throughout the history. In spite of the alterations in building scale or changing functions, they are still in use and referred to as ‘squares’ by the villagers. The largest is the one at the entrance to the village (Figure 49, [OS1] and [S1]). The square is defined by a church, school, and Imbrian association building. Although the square is also used for car parking today, it is still the place where important ceremonies occur. The other square is the one located in front of the hotel building (Figure 49, [OS2] and [S2]). As we know from the muhtar, and also seen in the old photographs, once there were butcher, tailor, and grocer around the square. Today, a hotel stands on the site of the butcher’s shop. The tailor has also gone and a new building serves as the annex to the hotel. On the other hand, the old grocery store still stands and is used as a coffee house today.

Figure 49: Old (OS1, OS2) and new (S1, S2) photographs of the village squares (Meletzis 1997, pp. 78-90)
Figure 50: Nodes in the village (N1) in the upper neighborhood, in front of the old laundry; (N2) in the central neighborhood, surrounded by cafes and the old laundry; (N3) in the central neighborhood, with the office of the muhtar, public lavatories, and dwellings; (N4) the entrance to the village, in front of the church of Panagia
Nodes are also important elements of the rural fabric, where broader streets intersect and one or more significant buildings of the village are located (Figure 50). For example, there is a node in front of each small church of the village; they are also seen around the laundry buildings. In the central neighborhood, two particular nodes represent the most vibrant areas of the village; they are connected by a short street, along which coffee shops are located. The public lavatories, *muhtarlık*, and the central neighborhood’s laundry comprise the other buildings around these nodes.

### 3.2.3. Building Categories

The transformation of the island from a self-sustaining, rural environment into an urbanized tourist attraction point has caused changes to village life and building functions. In this section, the current functions in Zeytinliköy are analyzed, including empty buildings and former uses that no longer exist. The changes in the functions of buildings still in use are also mentioned, so as to give an idea of the range of total change. The current functions of the buildings include residential buildings and their outbuildings, churches, fountains, laundries, school, association building, gastronomic buildings, *muhtarlık*, and a museum (Table 3, Figure 51).  

Table 3: Current building functions and numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gastronomic</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outbuilding</td>
<td>not counted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fountain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative</td>
<td>2 (headman's office and local building)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gastro - residential</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gastro - accommodation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>4 (1 hotel building and 3 of its annexes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruin</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empty</td>
<td>48 (41 residential and 7 other functions)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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133 For detailed information about residential buildings and their outbuildings, see below, pp. 134-173.
Figure 51: Zeytinliköy, map showing current functions of buildings
3.2.3.1. Churches

As Orthodox Christians, the Imbrians are devout, as can be seen by the number of chapels and churches they built. In 1951 there were ten parish churches and 232 chapels on the island. Including dam settlement areas, approximately 40 of these buildings were within the borders of Zeytinliköy.\textsuperscript{134} Today, a limited number of churches and chapels have survived, while most are in ruins or converted into stables and storage units.

Ayios Yioryios (the Church of St. George) is the largest in the village, as well as the oldest surviving church on the island (\textbf{Figure 52}).\textsuperscript{135} The construction of the church started in 1765, at the time of the archbishop Neofitos Tenedios of Imbros (1762-1785), and was completed in 1780.\textsuperscript{136} Its narthex was added in 1820 and in the same year another building was erected in the courtyard of the church, as the priest’s residence.

St. George’s is a basilica with three naves, divided by 12 columns. Although they seem like marble, Meletzis writes that the naves are of timber, coated with plaster and painted light-blue/green with dark vertical accents to imitate fluted marble columns. They naves also have carved timber capitals with Ionic scrolls, which carry the large gabled roof. As the current priest of the village notes, the iconostasis of the church was painted in 1810. Meletzis defines it as a traditional, carved wooden and post-Byzantine icon-screen that shows the influence of Western styles.\textsuperscript{137}

In 1866 the church was restored, including repairs to its foundations. During this work the remains of the old foundations, some Byzantine coins, and earthenware pots were found in the area.\textsuperscript{138} The church has had further repairs: in the time of the Metropolitan

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{135} Meletzis 1997, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{136} Karas 2012, p. 65-66.
\textsuperscript{137} Meletzis 1997, p. 115.
\textsuperscript{138} Karas 2012, p. 66.
\end{flushleft}
Bishop Metilon (1950-1963), and more recently in 2001. There is a village cemetery to the northeast of the church.

The church of the Panagia is the second largest church, located at the entrance of the village: it is devoted to the Virgin Mary (Figure 53). It was constructed between 1775-1785, at the time of the Archbishop Neofitos Tenedios of Imbros. A religious festival occurs in the church on the 23rd of August, when the Panagia festival is celebrated in Zeytinliköy.

Ayios Dimitros is one of the two smaller churches of the village. It is located in the upper neighborhood, on a large square surrounded by residential buildings. It has an open narthex (west) and an apse (east). Occupying a central location, and similar to Ayios Dimitros, the other small church of the village is Ayios Strati, to be found within the lower neighborhood. The construction dates of these two churches are not known (Figure 54).

Figure 54: Zeytinliköy, the church of Ayios Dimitros (above); the church of Ayios Strati (below)

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140 Meletzis 1997, p. 166.
As previously mentioned, there are 40 chapels within the boundaries of Zeytinliköy and one of these gave its name to the village (Figure 55). In addition to Ayii Theodori, there are also the churches of Christ and Ayia Kyriaki that were identified and photographed by Meletzis (Figure 56).

Figure 55: Zeytinliköy, the church of Ayii Theodori (Meletzis 1997, p. 125)

Figure 56: Zeytinliköy, the church of Christ (Meletzis 1997, p. 168 [left]), Ayia Kyriaki (Meletzis 1997, p. 169 [right])
3.2.3.2. Laundries

All the traditional villages on the island have multiple laundries. Women would gather in these places on certain days of the week both to socialize and wash clothes. As Dündar notes, they are very similar to the yunak of Anatolia.\textsuperscript{141} The examples, such as the one in Dereköy, are large buildings with three fountains, eight stone basins and eight fireplaces; they are thus suitable for multiple uses by the villagers. In this type of laundry, the washing activity becomes a social event. In Zeytinliköy this situation, however, is rather different. The laundries are not particularly large and are only suitable for one or two users at a time. As it is learned from SP6, users were required to take a queue number from the muhtarlık in order to make a reservation for their washing. The village has three laundries, in the lower, central and upper neighborhoods, and although they no longer serve their original function, their fountains are still used by villagers and the laundries are also tourist attractions in their own right.

The laundries are small rectangular buildings in stone masonry with hipped roofs covered with tiles. The fountains, fireplaces to heat the water, stone washing basins, platforms, niches and water drainage channels are the basic elements of these structures. Meletzis narrates the washing process to provide information on local washing traditions and to give an idea about the use of the space:\textsuperscript{142}

“There was a special procedure for washing white clothes. The large laundry basket was lined with a white cloth. The clothing was packed inside and covered with another, heavy white cloth. An even heavier cloth then covered the whole basket. Ashes were sifted and spread on top with ground eggshells. The basket was placed on boards over one of the stone basins to catch the soapy run-off so it could be re-used to wash the colored clothes. Water boiled with soap in cauldrons was then poured onto the pack of clothing with large ladles made of gourds. The ashes and eggshells dissolved forming lye, which percolated through the packed clothes with the hot soapy water. The basket was left to soak overnight and more boiling soapy water was applied next morning. Then the clothes were taken from the basket and rubbed in soapy water. Rinsing was through using large amounts of water from the running

\textsuperscript{141} Dündar 2012, p. 561.
\textsuperscript{142} Meletzis 1997, p. 83.
fountain. Indigo was added to the final rinse and the clothes emerged bright, spotless, and fragrant.”

Figure 57: Zeytinliköy, the laundry in the lower neighborhood
Figure 58: Zeytinliköy, the laundry in the central neighborhood
Figure 59: Zeytinliköy, the laundry in the upper neighborhood
3.2.3.3. Fountains

There are two fountains in the village located in the streets. One of them is at the entrance of the village and placed between the old olive oil factory and the school building (Figure 60). It is a simple, free-standing fountain without ornamentation. It has an inscription on its triangular pediment: “BU ÇEŞME HARİLOU ANAGNOSTU MASRAF İLE KARISI ARGIRONUN HATIRASINA İNŞA EDİLMİŞTİR 1928”

The other fountain is in the southwest section of the village near the new hotel building. As seen from its inscription, the fountain was constructed in 1896 (Figure 61).

![Figure 60: Zeytinliköy, a fountain dated 1928](image)

![Figure 61: Zeytinliköy, a fountain dated 1896](image)
3.2.3.4. School

Figure 62: Zeytinliköy, the private Rum primary school (the old photograph is taken from the Nostos cafe)

Similar to the other traditional villages of Gökçeada, the school of Zeytinliköy, where 85 children once studied, also stands near the entrance of the village and the church.\(^{143}\) The building was commissioned on 25\(^{th}\) November 1929 by the village administration and completed in 1932; Aleksandros Zafiriadis was appointed as the first teacher and schooling began in 1932/3.\(^{144}\) In 1964 education in Greek was banned but the school continued to function for many years until it burned down in 1972 as the result of a fire caused by a school stove of the school as expressed by SP5. After that incident, the children’s playground in front of the burnt school, which serves as the association building today, was used for schooling the children until 1986. In 2013 the old school building was restored and started again to provide education as the private Rum primary school;\(^{145}\) today it has eight Rum students and two Rum and two Turkish teachers.

The school is a one-storey stone masonry building with a plastered front facade; the other three facades are unplastered. It has a simple, symmetrical plan and facade.

\(^{143}\) Meletzis1997, p. 98.
\(^{144}\) Boutaras 2012, p. 135.
organizations; there are cut stone arches over the window openings. The building is reached by stairs on both sides, and on top there is a shelter carried by two columns with simple capitals; the triangular pediment and simple cornices reveal its neoclassical style.

3.2.3.5. Gastronomical Functions

Located on the main streets and squares of the village, gastronomical functions such as cafes, cafe-restaurants and pastry shops have been substantial elements of social life in the village both in the past and today (Figure 63). In recent years, from their offerings of famous local delicacies, they have also become tourist attractions, for example Madam’in Dibek Kahvesi, Barba Hristo Tatlıları and Cicirya. Although village cafes are very much in fashion and their numbers are increasing year by year, some have a long history.146

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146 For instance, Madam’in Dibek Kahvesi and Kosta’nn Yeri have served as coffee houses for nearly 100 years, as recorded by their owners. Madam’in Dibek Kahvesi was managed by the ‘Madam’ for years, and following her death in 2003 it was taken over by her husband. After the husband’s death, their son ran the coffee house; however in 2016, he also died and the coffee shop is waiting for a new family member to run it. Nostos café, built and started to serve in 1860, is another local example. The history of the cafe is shared with visitors in a booklet: “At the village Agioi Theodoroi of Imvros, the neighborhood where cafeterias and shops are located is called Kmousados, named by Okoumousis family who used to live there. Nostos is one of the cafes located in the small square of the village and it was built and operated for the first time at 1860 by Michael Okoumousi, and still operates today in the same place, even after its renovation in 1950. Michael was succeeded by his son Nick Okoumousis, whose daughter Venetia with her husband Athanasios Dederli, handed the baton to her daughter Maria and her husband Dimitri Karadimitri. Then for several years, the cafe was operated by Mr. Orhan, until his death. Today, Thanassis Karadimitris, grandson of the granddaughter of Michael Okoumousi with his Nostos continues the story.”
As the Zeytinliköy map of the current functions of the buildings shows (Figure 51), eating and drinking establishments sometimes coexist with other functions in the same building, i.e. residential use and accommodation. All the traditional coffee shops except Madam‘in Dibek Kahvesi are gastronomic-residential buildings, where the ground floor is used as a cafe and the upper floor is resided in by the owner and family. There is also one example of gastronomic-accommodation, Yeşil Ev which opened in 2016; there is a cafe-restaurant on the ground floor and boutique hotel above.
3.2.3.6. Changed Functions of Traditional Buildings

The changes in the lifestyle of the village resulting from changes in economic practices and population characteristics, also affect buildings and their functions. Although there are many buildings preserving their original functions, there are also those that have changed over time. All of the traditional shops and olive oil factories, and a certain number of residential buildings and outbuildings, are either empty or given new functions today.

The newly developing tourism sector is a key factor in such transformation, as shown by the increasing number of coffee shops in recent years. Other buildings in the village, such as the grocery store, depot, residential and dam examples have also turned into coffee shops.

The inclusion of accommodation facilities in the village is also related to the fact that the village has become a tourist attraction focus. The village has one hotel, consisting of a three-storey main building constructed on the site of a small butcher’s shop, and a two-storey house, as can be seen in the advertisement material, and two smaller stone masonry houses (Figure 64). It has 16 rooms and 38 bed capacity in total. In addition, the Yeşil Ev restaurant, opened in 2016, also has three rooms for rent. Because of the limited accommodation opportunities, only a few visitors can stay in the village at any one time.

Not only touristic purposes but also other requirements have caused alterations in the original use of many of the buildings. The small, private museum of the current Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos is an example (Figure 65). Located next to his house, the building was originally a grocery market run by Bartholomeos’ grandfather. Today it is not open to the public.

The muhtarlık building is another example of re-use. Located at Kmousados, it is a small, stone masonry building previously used as a shoe atelier. The current muhtar of Zeytinliköy points out that the two-storey building next to this building was the previous office building, but because it is so large and the heating problematic in
winter, the office moved to the empty shoe atelier, and the other building was used as the storage area of the headman’s office. In the previous building the old timber office furniture can still be seen.\textsuperscript{147}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure64.png}
\caption{Before and after comparison in the hotel’s advertisement material}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure65.png}
\caption{Zeytinliköy, private museum of the current Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{147} See below, Appendix C - Traditional Houses Sheet 14.
The building of the Association for the Conservation, Development, and Maintenance of Imbros (Gökçeada) is located at the entrance of the village, and, together with the school building and the church of Ayios Yioryios, it defines the largest square of the village, which is now used as a parking area. The building was built between 1962-1964, the initiative of metropolitan bishop Meliton Hatzi and the voluntary work of the villagers, to serve as a children’s playground. However, because of the ban of education in Greek in 1964, the building could not be used for its intended function. After the primary school burned down in 1972 it was used as school building until 1986. It received its current function in recent years, and, especially in summer, when the population of the village and the island increases, the building is open every night and both the Rum and Turkish villagers gather and spend time here together.

148 İmroz’u Koruma, Yardımlaşma, Geliştirme ve Yaşatma Derneği Lokali.
149 Berberis 1997, p. 156.
3.2.3.7. Empty Traditional Buildings

There is no written document concerning the exact number of original functions of buildings and their locations. However, the information, which can be obtained from the existing built environment, old photographs, social surveys and interviews made with the elderly people of the village, provides an insight into the lost functions of various buildings in the village (Figure 68). Two large olive oil factories located very close to the entrance of the village are among the examples that can be seen today. One of these factories, located next to the primary school, is a stone masonry building with a rectangular plan. Its original equipment and the original timber construction of the hipped roof can still be seen on the inside of the building. The building is empty and neglected (Figure 67). The other factory is near the church of the Panagia. The stone masonry building, on a L-shaped plan, has a large garden. As can be seen from the old photographs, it was restored but it does not have a function currently (Figure 69).

![Figure 67: Zeytinliköy, an olive oil factory: (1) east facade; (2) south facade; (3) interior, north wall; (4) Interior, south wall](image-url)
Figure 68: Zeytinliköy, map showing the empty traditional buildings
Actually, it is known that these factories with machinery are later versions of an earlier type. The earlier practices of olive production were made using oil presses, functioning by using human and animal labour. As can be seen (Figure 70), a capstan was geared to the helical shaft of the press and force applied under high pressure to squeeze out the oil. Today only one building survives, including a mill, locked and partly demolished, but it is known that in the past there were many (Figure 69).
In addition to olive oil production buildings, according to the information provided by the current muhtar of the village, there were six grocery stores, one shoe atelier, three metalworking shops, three tailors, three carpenters, two professional weavers, and an unknown number of butchers, in the village until the 1980s. As previously mentioned before, some of these buildings are now reused for different functions, while some are vacant; a large number of them are not seen today. Similar to other villages on the island, Zeytinliköy was also a settlement where locals could have all their needs met without having to move elsewhere. The only products that needed to be supplied from outside sources were rice and sugar, the island not having suitable conditions to produce these staples.

In addition to those in the settlement area itself, there were also other functions in other parts of the village. In the area where the airport is now located, there was a tilery, the only one on the island. According to SP1, there were also three windmills in the surrounding rural areas of the village, which no longer exist, and also a water mill for grinding flour located in the area where the Zeytinliköy Dam is today.

Figure 71: Flour grinding process by a water mill (Meletzis 1997, p. 84)

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Figure 72: Zeytinliköy, empty traditional buildings: (1) kaşar shop; (2) butcher; (3) grocer; (4) grocery store interior; (5) grocer; (6) grocery store interior
In terms of the functions outside the settlement area, dams should also be mentioned. The dam settlements are generally placed within the cultivated and pasture areas of the villages, and bear the names of the nearby geographical areas, such as Kefalos Dams, İspilya Dams, etc.\textsuperscript{151}

Likewise in the other settlements, in Zeytinliköy the dams were also the places where villagers spend nearly five months of the year. Although there were the dams close to the settlement area, they were generally at the southern parts of the village and it might take 4-5 hours from the village with a donkey to reach to the most distant dams (Figure 75). It was not possible therefore to travel from the village to the dam area every day. If the family depended on agriculture, they would spend the whole summer and part of the spring and fall in their dam. But if they lived off stockbreeding, the father would stay there in the winter while the mother and children returned to the village – with the father visiting his family on Sundays and feast days.\textsuperscript{152}

Dams are one or two-storey stone masonry buildings used for agricultural and stockbreeding activities, such as threshing, storage, or keeping animals. For that reason priority was given to these activities, while living was a secondary concern. The primitive types were one-storey structures and consist of rectangular rooms for living, storage, or animals – all side by side. The living areas are placed on the first floor in the two-storey dams with a fireplace.\textsuperscript{153} The lower rooms have earth floors and are generally used as barns. The dams also included storage spaces for straw, barley or wheat. The floors of these storage spaces are paved with stone or timber to preserve the goods from damp. These spaces could only be reached from the barn, or in some cases they were accessed by another door opening directly to the outside. If a secondary door exists, this would be close to the threshing fields to enable produce to be carried inside easily. Threshing fields are important for agriculture activities; they are generally of circular shape to allow for the movement of horses. The floor is paved

\textsuperscript{151} Öngör 1960, p. 73.
\textsuperscript{152} Turhan 1997, p. 181.
\textsuperscript{153} Ağaryılmaz and Polat 2002, pp. 100-101.
with stone and the area surrounded by vertically placed stones to retain the crop being processed. The *dams* commonly have courtyards surrounded by stone walls where the small cattle are kept. An oven in the area is also common. Today, as a result of the change in economic activities, they are no longer used and the majority of these structures are in ruin, and not easily accessible.

Figure 73: Zeytinliköy, space organization of a dam (Pasadeos 1973, appendix ΠΙΝ:13)

Figure 74: Zeytiniköy, plan types of dam structures (Pasadeos 1973, appendix ΠΙΝ:12)
Figure 75: Zeytinliköy, place names (Xeinos et al., 2014, p. 33)
3.2.4. Characteristics of Traditional Houses

The traditional houses of Zeytinliköy constitute the main elements of the village architecture. Constructed with the local materials, these houses are generally two-storey structures with courtyards. With their simple, functional plan schemes and facade organizations, they create a regular and homogeneous network. Constructed on a slope, they generally have a good view of the island and were located so as not to obstruct the views of others. Their orientation was basically determined by the northeast winds. The back of the houses generally face that side, and there are less openings in those facades.\(^\text{155}\)

The book *Popular Architecture of Imbros*, written by the architect Aristides Pasadeos in 1973, is the only comprehensive document about the island’s architecture. The author, who was a native of Zeytinliköy, makes a selection of housing examples from Zeytinliköy, and the book includes many drawings of the village and the island’s architecture. For that reason, this section of the study is based on the information obtained from this book. In addition to the information presented by Pasadeos, the ‘Traditional House Sheets’ (THS), prepared by the present author, also provide information for this section, which mainly comprises a comparison and evaluation of these two sources of information.

3.2.4.1. The Organization of Building Lots

As previously mentioned in the section 3.2.2. (Settlement Characteristics and Rural Pattern), the settlement area of the village is quite dense and the open areas are very limited, especially in the central section.\(^\text{156}\) In the latter, the houses generally cover the whole building lot without gardens or courtyards (THS 8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20). When it comes to the peripherical areas, the density of the buildings decreases and open areas get larger. However, open areas in the peripheries of the settlement are not usually

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\(^{155}\) Özözen Kahraman 2005(a), p. 31.

\(^{156}\) See above, pp. 100-101.
surrounded by courtyard-garden walls, and ownership borders are not clear (THS 1, 3, 4, 5, 9-10, 17-18, 19). In some examples, the building lot is enclosed within fences. Although they are few in number, there are also some examples with courtyards or small gardens (THS 2, 6, 7, 13). For example, TH13 has stone walls surrounding its courtyard. However, there are also examples such as TH2, 6 and 12 that do not have continuous enclosing walls, while their open areas are identified by adjacent buildings or level differences.

When the aerial photographs of 1953, 1966, 1973, 1985 and 1997 are examined, it is seen that there is no dramatic change in the density of the built environment in these years. However the information presented by Pasadeos shows that the density and fabric of the settlement have apparently increased over time.

Pasadeos points out that the old simple house type is a two-storey building with an open courtyard. He also adds that the courtyard was usually located on the south, so as to protect against the cold winds from the north by the volume of the house. He also states that this practice was also used in earlier times. However, with the additions and necessary interventions imposed by the current needs, the orientations and dimensions of the courtyards have also changed, and in time started to disappear.

He also mentions the elements to be found in old courtyards. The oven was a crucial element: as can be seen today, each house with or without a courtyard, has an oven for baking. This could be a small free-standing structure in the open area, or it could be positioned adjacent to the building. Moreover in some examples the oven is inside a closed area adjacent to the main body of the structure and most likely used as the kitchen. In the free-standing types, a roof extends in front of the main side of the oven. The area where the fire is lit is a chamber made of brick to preserve heat. The dome of this chamber is around 1.2 m in diameter and 60 cm high. It is still possible to see examples of this kind of oven today (Figure 77).

157 See below, Appendix A.
158 Pasadeos 1973, pp. 63-64.
The *soundourma* is another courtyard element mentioned by Pasadeos. It is a basic shelter and used to store firewood or keep the beast of burden. Pasadeos also mentions the *latrine*, i.e. the lavatory. He points out that in early examples the latrine had no relation with the house, being an independent stone construction in the courtyard, with a timber floor and a square opening in the middle. No examples of such latrines have survived.\(^{159}\)

\(^{159}\) Pasadeos 1973, p. 64.
3.2.4.2. Architecture of the Houses

3.2.4.2.1. Earlier Types, Variations, and Development of the Houses

In his book written in 1973, Pasadeos notes that understanding the evolution of the Gökçeada houses is vital to provide insights into the inhabitants’ way of life; a lifestyle that has not completely disappeared today, despite modernization. Thus, he starts with the house types and classifies ‘the current houses’ of Gökçeada as follows:¹⁶⁰

- a. Stone masonry houses
- b. Stone masonry houses with timber partitions
- c. Stone masonry houses with timber projections
- d. Timber houses
- e. Modern houses which are foreign to the local tradition

The first four traditional categories are commonly two storeys high. There are also a few single-storey houses thought to be owned by poorer families. Among the four traditional types, Pasadeos points out that the first is the earlier type and is built of stone. He does not present a certain time period for the evaluation of the housing types, but he notes that the earlier type dates back at least 200 years, as can be understood from the construction dates inscribed on stones (Figure 78).

Figure 78: Zeytinliköy, construction date inscriptions on walls

He presents a house in Zeytinliköy as the typical example of the first category (Figure 79). Known in the village as the house of Coutouphos, it has a rectangular plan in an east–west direction. To be protected from the cold north wind, the courtyard is located on the south and blocked by the volume of the building. The house consists of two floors – the ground floor (katoi) serves as a storage space and the first floor (anoi) as the living area. For this reason, when villagers use the term ‘house’ (spit or spitos) they mean the first floor, or anoi; both floors are accessed from the courtyard side. An outer, stone staircase leads to a landing (hayati) and provides access to the first floor.

This type of house, with two separate floors, is called monospita, meaning a simple house. The volume at the south is thought of as a later addition and for that reason the location of the staircase was also changed. As Pasadeos notes, the staircase was previously adjacent to the south wall, but with the extension it became perpendicular to the south wall of the building.

The first floor is divided into two, with a step 10 cm high. The elevated part of the house is called apano spit, which means the ‘upper house’, and lower part is called kato spit, or ‘lower house’. The apano spit is the part where the family lives, eats and sleeps. This part includes a fireplace, used for heating and cooking, placed on the north wall between the two windows; it has a stone shelf above. The entire west side of the kato spit is used as an ambaria (for cereal storage), above which, at the level of the roof, is a small window opening known as ambarothyrida and which is used for house ventilation. In front of the entrance there is a wardrobe (goukeri)\(^{161}\) that extends from the cereal store to the step that separates the house. The floor of the anoi was timber and had no ceiling cover. The construction of the roof was seen and sometimes there were skylight windows called phenguities. The walls were covered with a mixture of clay, mud, and hay and then whitewashed.

The katoi, as mentioned, was the storage space of the house and jars of oil and wine were deposited there. Some of these jars were large and could not pass through the

\(^{161}\) For further information see below, p. 171.
current doors. From the information obtained from SP11, the larger jars were placed inside the room at construction stage and became fixed elements of the house. In a corner of the ground floor there was a sort of cellar, the abadi, used to store olives. Sometimes poultry were sheltered in the katoi, but generally they had a separate space in the courtyard. The katoi floor was earth and, unlike the anoι, the katoi walls were unplastered. There were no window openings, except for small openings for ventilation holes, known as thyridaki. As can be seen on the floor plans, there is no space reserved for the WC and the bathroom. The WC unit was in the courtyards and basins were used for baths. Pasadeos records that adults would bath on the terrace and the children inside the house.

As mentioned above, the built environment and its transformation is very much related to the life and customs of the village. As evidenced by the social surveys carried out by the present author, and supported by the written sources, it was a local custom for parents to give their daughter a house when she married. If their daughter stayed in the village there were two options: they either built a small house for themselves in the courtyard, called a guerico, meaning the ‘old men’s house’, and gave their own house to their daughter; another option was to enlarge their old house for the new family. Both options led to a change in the built environment and this was one of the major factors affecting the evolution of plan schemes in the village. When Pasadeos’ drawings of two double-houses in Zeytinliköy are analyzed, it can be seen that a double-house was made by simply repeating the original structure and the two units became joined, sharing the same hayati (Figure 80, A-B). In the last example, which differs from the previous two, there is an additional unit for wine production, where the grapes were stored and pressed. With this extension the hayati became a semi-closed area (Figure 80, C).

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162 For further information, see below, p. 172.
163 Pasadeos 1973, p. 19
Figure 79: Zeytinliköy, plan, section and facade drawings of the house of Coutouphos (Pasadeos 1973, appendices IIIN:1-6)
The first building category, made of stone and their variations, are today difficult to find. They are either in ruins, slowly waiting to disappear, or have undergone significant interventions and are no longer distinguishable (Figure 81).
Although the building seen in Figure 81 is considerably damaged, the stone stairs leading to the timber-floored hayati can still be made out; access to the first floor of the two separate constructions is provided from there. These volumes are surrounded by thick stone walls and have no secondary partitions, as seen in Pasadeos’ examples. The ground floors were also reached by different entrances, located under the hayati.

A standing example of monospita, dated to 1811 by the inscription on its north facade, is still in use and largely preserves its original features. This building is also made entirely of stone and is the oldest of the three adjacent buildings, constructed at different periods for the same family, including parents and two daughters. In addition to the multiple house plans shown by Pasadeos, there is the distinctive example of the three dwellings with a T-shaped plan layout that can be seen in the site plan drawing in Appendix C (THS 3). Differing from the examples shown by Pasadeos, the building has two spaces on each floor that were once separated by a stone wall. There are two spaces with fireplaces on the upper floor, which has separate entrances, and the basement was used for storage and keeping animals. The connection between the two floors is through a hole in the floor of the living area. Similar to the other examples mentioned, the upper floor is divided into two, with an 8 cm level difference, as the kato and apano spit.

TH6, constructed in 1861, is also a double monospita house type with an outside staircase. The landing of the staircase is made of reinforced concrete and enclosed; the first floor has two separate parts with different entrances. As revealed by the present owners of the building, these dwellings were once used by two different families. Today, with a closed landing part, they are integrated as a single housing unit. It is unknown if this building was constructed as a single house and then divided in two at a later period or constructed as a double-house from the outset. Interventions such as the reinforced concrete additions in the entrance, alterations to the floor of the

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165 See below, Appendix C – THS 3.
166 See below, Appendix C – THS 6.
eastern part with reinforced concrete, and the use of mortar on the facades make it difficult to understand the original condition.

Another example in the village is a two-storey, single stone masonry structure consisting of two adjacent dwelling units with separate entrances, and both with interior staircases connecting the two floors. However a door opening later filled in on the shared wall between the two structures shows that it was once planned as a single house. The unit on the east has a closed window opening on the wall separating the hall and the room, suggesting that the hall was once an open area. It can also be seen that two outer walls of the hall are not aligned with the adjacent wall that continues in the same direction, and also that their timber lintels are discontinued. In the light of all these traces, it is clear that the hall was once an open landing (Pasadeos’ *hayati*). Similar to the double-houses shown by Pasadeos, this type also has two units connected by an open *hayati* reached by a staircase. The main structure was located on the west with a large living area on the first floor, separated as *kato* and *apano spit* by a difference in level; today there is a partition wall between these spaces. The other unit has one small room on the first floor and probably a storage space on the ground floor.

Pasadeos mentions an evolutionary phase in which the closed *hayati* led to the idea of locating the staircase within the house. A plan drawing of a Zeytinliköy house, which is another example indicated by Pasadeos, is very similar to this design (Figure 82). Placing the staircase inside the house also affected its spatial organization. Pasadeos cites that the plan was extended to provide space for the staircase, and the first floor was then divided by a light, timber partition. In this way a new room was created, which Pasadeos names *moussafir oda* (i.e. ‘the guest room’) (Figure 82). Thus Pasadeos’ second type was created.

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167 See below, Appendix C – THS 9 and 10.
In House B (Figure 82), known as Maria Delikonstanti’s house in the village of Bademliköy, the stores of cereals were transferred to a new space on the ground floor. This space, where the staircase and the cereal deposits were placed, is referred to as katogui, with the name katoi used for the storage room. On the first floor, where the staircase terminates, there is a small hall serving as a closed hayati to provide ventilation. Generally, a suspended balcony was added as a continuation of the hall. On one side of the balcony there is a large space that corresponds to the anoi of the old simple house, and on the other the new ‘guest room’.

The house of Anastasius Stephanides in Zeytinliköy, with its stone masonry including timber partitions, is another example of Pasadeos’ second type. According to him, this example can be considered as the ‘culmination of evolution’ of this form (Figure 83). It has a simple rectangular plan, and its total area is not larger than that of the old simple house type. It has four rooms in total. On the ground floor there is a storage space corresponding to the old katoi, and the other room is a new one, referred to as hamoi, used as kitchen and dining room, corresponding to the upper house (apano spit) of the earlier type. There is a fireplace located between the two windows. The stairs reach to a small hall upstairs that can be considered as a closed hayati. A wide
glazed door, extending along almost all the wall towards the balcony, is a common element of this type. The first floor includes a living room (with fireplace), in which the family spends the day and sleeps. The other room is, as in the previous example, the *moussafir oda* where guests are received.

The Scarlatos House in Zeytinliköy was built in 1896 and also belongs to this type. Because of its rectangular layout the space organization differs slightly from the previous one (Figure 84). On the ground floor there are a storage space (*homoi*) and *katogui*. The storage space is a large space covering half the plan area. The *katogui* and *hamoi* are situated within the remaining two quarters. The *katogui* connects the storage space, *hamoi* and the upper floor. On the first floor there is a closed *hayati* with three surrounding rooms. In this example it can be seen that the *hayati* has become more important: it is now the largest room in the house and opens to the long, narrow balcony via a large glass door, similar to the Stephanides House. One of its differences is that the building also has an additional room for family use, as well as its living and guest rooms.
As Pasadeos notes, this type is in no way inferior to the earlier type of *monospito* as it serves in an efficient way to meet new lifestyle choices. The houses of the rich farmers in the village were also representatives of this new type. Thus the old single houses began to be occupied by indigent families and the rest were gradually abandoned. As previously mentioned, *monospito* houses are scarce today in the village, however there is a relatively large number of houses of the second type that can still be seen.

The surveyed dwellings (TH1, 4, 8, 11, 13, 14, 20) can be included in this type. TH1 and 8 are very similar to the house of Anastasius Stephanides (Figure 83), mentioned by Pasadeos. TH1 is a rectangular structure on a symmetrical plan. Different to the Stephanides House, this building has a kitchen unit connected to it. Similar to the Pasadeos example, the main structure has three spaces on the ground floor and three on the first. The entrance (*katogui*) is connected to the storage space and *hamoi*. The

170 See below, Appendix C – THS 1.
kitchen has its own entrance but can also be reached from the entrance of the main unit. The storage space has an earth floor and is ventilated by holes in the walls, these holes are no longer used because of the mortar applied to all facades of the building. The bedrock on which the building was constructed is also visible in that space. The kitchen unit has a hearth, a fireplace and a washing unit. The connection between the two floors is provided by a timber staircase in the katogui. On the first floor a family and a guest room are placed symmetrically on both sides of the hayati. Except for a few material interventions, the building generally conserves its original features in terms of plan and architectural elements. Niches, fireplaces, doors, windows, washing unit, and staircase are some of the original architectural elements that can be seen today.

TH8 also has a main structure and kitchen unit added.\textsuperscript{171} The kitchen is located on the west side and differs from that of TH1 in that it has a connection with the hamoi of the main structure instead of the katogui. The main volume has the same plan organization as TH1. The existence of both brick and bağdadi walls shows that it has had interventions over time. Similar to other examples in the village they do not have projections in front of the hayati.

TH4 is a distinctive example of that type.\textsuperscript{172} It is one of the three adjacent buildings constructed at different periods for the same family; its construction date is unknown. Differing from all the other buildings mentioned so far, it does not have a storage space. On the ground floor there is a katogui with its original architectural elements and a hamoi that also has a wooden goukeri.\textsuperscript{173} The floor of the katogui is covered with earth and the staircase connecting the two floors is placed on the south wall. On the first floor there are two rooms placed both sides of hayati: the one on the south has a raised floor, niches and a fireplace, and it is thought to be the living room. The larger room without a fireplace, fits the definition of Pasadeos’ \textit{moussafir oda}. 

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{171} See below, Appendix C – THS 8.
\item \textsuperscript{172} See below, Appendix C – THS 4.
\item \textsuperscript{173} For further information, see below, p. 171.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
TH11 and 14 are also two-storey, stone masonry buildings with timber partition walls and inner staircases. Because of their rectangular shape and first-floor plan layout, they are similar to the Scarlatos House mentioned by Pasadeos (Figure 84). TH11 is a restored example with significant changes; even so, some of its original characteristics are still legible. The ground floor is divided into two with a central stone wall. One half of it is used as the living area, while the other includes the entrance, kitchen and bathroom units, with later divisions. The connection between the two floors is provided by a timber staircase built against the west wall. The upper floor has a large hayati with three rooms on an L-shaped plan. The building has a balcony on the south facade, accessible from the sofa. TH14 has its ground floor divided into two parts, although its functions and organization differ from TH11. In this type, half of the ground floor is used as the entrance hall and the other for storage. The first floor has the same layout as TH11.

TH13 and 20 are unique examples in this type. They are two-storey, stone masonry structures with timber partitions and inner staircases. We have no information on their construction dates. TH13 consists of two rectangular units placed next to each other. The smaller unit constitutes the entrance on the ground floor and there is a hall on the upper floor. The larger unit includes the main spaces, i.e. a large room on the ground floor and two rooms upstairs. This part has a reinforced concrete floor addition with a beam and column system. The facade of the smaller unit has also been changed. Because of these major alterations it is difficult to understand the original plan, however, on analysis of the current layout, this can be attributed to the second type.

TH20 has the simplest plan scheme of this type. It is very small in terms of the building plot that it covers. There is a katogui on the ground floor, where cereals are stored and the staircase is located. The small hamoi appears to have been added later and placed on the northwest corner. The L-shaped staircase is adjacent to the east and south walls and reaches up to a small hall. On the first floor there is a room separated from that

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174 See below, Appendix C – THS 11.
175 See below, Appendix C – THS 14.
hall by a timber partition wall. The building meets the basic needs of the family, with one room for cooking and eating and another for daily activities and sleeping.

It is obvious that the evolution of the Gökçeada houses developed according to the necessities of life on the island. The third type of dwelling mentioned by Pasadeos, those of which a part of the facade is made of timber, was the result of personal choice. Pasadeos notes that this type includes examples where the room above the hamoi was used as a moussafir oda. The starting point for this was the hosts’ desire to make their ‘guest room’ look more fashionable. First of all, large windows could provide this look, however the heavy stone walls did not permit very large openings. Therefore the solution was to built one of the walls of the guest room with a timber element that would allow for two large windows. An thus a new material was introduced into this native type. This new timber wall came to constitute the upper part of the narrow facade of the building and was aligned with the wall below. This wall protrudes outwards to get more light and constitutes a cantilever system. The closed balcony supported by the timber beams of the floor is called a sahnissi (şahnişin in Turkish); in later examples the sahnissi was also placed on the longer facade. In some of these examples the hamoi under the sahnissi was replaced with a shop or commercial space. This new type is mostly found in the center of the island, however Zeytinliköy does have two examples of this type (Figure 86).

Figure 85: Plans of the third type of Traditional House (Pasadeos 1973, IIIN:8)

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The fourth type of Traditional House mentioned by Pasadeos is represented by dwellings built entirely of timber. Comparing the numbers of stone and timber houses it becomes obvious that the timber construction technique is uncommon in the local tradition. The emergence of this type is attributed to the new settlers coming from Anatolia, where different types of timber houses are widely seen. These are mostly seen in the center and Zeytinliköy has none.

The fifth type mentioned by Pasadeos includes contemporary houses with modern materials and methods, and they are not part of the local tradition. In several locations on the island it is possible to see ‘modern’ houses, in terms of construction techniques and materials. Such houses are concentrated in the center especially, and in the new settlement areas established after the 1980s, while they are rarely seen in the island’s

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traditional villages. Zeytinliköy does have reinforced concrete constructions, however it is important to evaluate the introduction of reinforced concrete in association with the evolutionary processes Gökçeada’s houses. Rather than being a completely new type, there is a hybrid type in Zeytinliköy that needs to be noted before passing to wholly new types.

The hybrid type combines traditional architecture with reinforced concrete, and these houses generally have a symmetrical rectangular plan, as can be seen in the Anastasius Stephanides house (Figure 83). There are exceptions however. All of the hybrid types have a reinforced concrete balcony, including typical details (Figure 87). Some also have concrete window and door frames, or lintels. We have no certain date for the first use of reinforced concrete in the village, although according to local inhabitants they first appeared in the 1950s. However there are two examples built in 1946 that have the typical plan of that type, i.e. a simple rectangular and symmetrical layout. One of these is TH7, restored in 2006 and now in a good state of preservation in terms of its structure and materials. Alterations made during this restoration are still legible and the house preserves its original characteristics. The living room and kitchen are located on the ground floor on both sides of the entrance. A bathroom unit, added in the 2006 restoration, is placed at the entrance, near the staircase. It is separated from the older parts using contemporary materials in a legible way. There is another additional space, attached to the east wall of the kitchen, that is today used for storage; there are also two rooms on both sides of hayatı on the first floor.

The outer walls are built of stone masonry, and timber-frame partition walls are used inside. Architectural elements, such as the balcony, lintels, door and window frames, and beams (hatıl) carrying the roof, are all made of reinforced concrete, while the flooring, ceiling and roof systems are made of timber. In this type the window and door openings become larger due to use of reinforced concrete. TH5, 12 and 16 also have a similar plan type and material characteristics.\footnote{See below, Appendix C – THS 5, 12 and 16.}

\footnote{See below, Appendix C – THS 7.} Although this plan scheme is
mostly seen with this house type, there are also variations, i.e. the double-house shown in THS 17 and 18, where the two dwelling units share the same balcony, divided by a party wall (Figure 88).

Figure 87: Zeytinliköy, hybrid-type examples
Figure 88: Zeytinliköy, double hybrid-type examples
Interviews with villagers indicate that distinctive examples of this type were built for the wealthy and notable people of the village (Figures 86, 87 and 88). Built in 1955, TH15 has also an alternative plan scheme. As mentioned by the owner of house SP11, this was the last building constructed by Rum construction masters and made for an old papadia living alone. The main building has a rectangular volume with additions. Just a year after the construction, an additional area on the south (now used as a kitchen) was constructed as a cellar. The ground floor of the main structure is divided into two parts, including the entrance and two rooms. In the entrance there is a bathroom (added later) and a corridor in front of it, connecting the main area with the kitchen. The first floor has the same plan layout. The south part of the hayati, however, is divided by a partition wall to obtain an extra room which opens onto a terrace. The building was left unplastered and the dry stone masonry of the outer walls is visible. Certain details, such as the corners and ventilation and drainage holes in the walls, still exist in the 1955 structure.

Figure 89: Zeytinliköy, a hybrid-type constructed in 1955

180 See below, Appendix C – THS 15.
Figure 90: Zeytinliköy, house of the former priest

Figure 91: Zeytinliköy, house of the former doctor
Although they differ in number, and it is difficult to notice former examples, Pasadeos’ first four types can still be seen today. However, it is important to record the hybrid-type continuously built by local inhabitants around the 1950s. In addition to the types mentioned above, there are also new examples that differ from the local architecture. These also be divided into two groups: various stone reconstructions that are hard to classify in any type; and new constructions with totally reinforced concrete systems (Figure 92).

Figure 92: Zeytinliköy, ill-conceived reconstructions (above) and new buildings (below)
3.2.4.2.2. Traditional Construction Techniques and Material Details

The traditional buildings of Gökçeada are built on earth foundations and (mostly) bedrock. The island has suffered two serious earthquakes (magnitude 6 in 1917 and 6.5 in 2014), but as the settlements are on the slopes of rocky hills and the buildings placed on appropriate foundations, most of the traditional houses were rescued without serious damage. As noted by SP3, the foundations of the houses are usually 70-80 cm thick, down through the solid earth or bedrock. Below some earth-covered ground floors it is still possible to see actual bedrock (Figure 93).

![Figure 93: Zeytinliköy, the bedrock of TH9](image)

Shale has been widely used as a building material for years; it is easy to work and obtain a plain surface. Basalt and granite are other types of stone used in construction. The stone is obtained from the island’s quarries; the slabs (around 2-3 m long, 1 m high and 15-25 cm thick) are broken up according to the size desired.\(^\text{181}\) The stable

\(^{181}\) Turhan 1997, p. 112.
walls are constructed using the dry wall technique – the positioning of the small (header) and larger (stretcher) stones together plays a key role in the final resilience of the building and reveals the skills of the masons.

Figure 94: Zeytinliköy, stone masonry details: (1) masonry technique; (2) wall and window end details; (3) cornerstones; (4) stone masonry and window opening; (5) chimney detail – kremasti
The stone masonry technique that can be seen in the village can be defined as ‘irregular’ rectangular stone masonry mixed with rubble (Figure 94). Larger and longer cornerstone stones, which are cut stones of basalt, are used to provide extra stability. Moreover, the stability of the wall is provided by headers placed repeatedly 1 m apart.\textsuperscript{182}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure95.png}
\caption{Zeytinliköy, a typical section drawing (Pasadeos 1973, ΠΙΝ:14)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{182} Pasadeos 1973, p. 30.
In the examples of *monospito*, both the *anoi* and *katoi* walls were originally 60 cm thick; they then decreased to 50 cm. The wall where the fireplace is located is 70 cm thick in previous examples, with 50 cm for the fireplace and 20 cm for the wall itself. Later the thickness of this wall decreases to 60 cm, while the fireplace projects outwards from 15 to 20 cm. This projection leads to the stone chimney known as *kremasti* (Figure 91).\(^{183}\)

The openings in the walls are made with timber lintels, with thin timber planks (called *kenetleme* by Pasadeos) above them (Figure 95).\(^{184}\) The last *kenetleme* on the outside is placed perpendicularly on the same surface of the wall to protect the timber lintels against bad weather conditions. In addition a 1-cm thick piece of timber is placed in between the wall and *kenetleme* so that rainwater can run away from the facade. There is also a thicker stone slab used for the same function where the wall ends. This slab (*akroquéramo*) projects some 10-15 cm from the wall and constitutes the topmost cornice of the house (Figure 95).

The small holes in the stone masonry are for ventilation purposes. These are mostly seen on the ground floor level, since, especially in the oldest examples, the ground floors were used for storage. Ventilation was vital for food storage, but not sunlight, thus there were no window openings in these areas and small holes were preferred for ventilation. The walls of these spaces were also left unplastered. Holes are also seen on the walls of the upper floors where the rooms are. These, typically, are half gaps in the masonry made to drain water from inside the wall, rather than being holes drilled completely through the whole wall for ventilation purposes.

The corners of buildings, located at the intersection of two streets or small passages, are cut at an angle to enable the passage of animals or animal-drawn vehicles; the cut parts in the form of an upwards triangle. In addition to their functional purpose, these corner stones (*köşe pahı*) are also aesthetic elements of simple building facades.

\(^{184}\) Ibid., p. 27.
Figure 96: Zeytinliköy, stone masonry details: (1) ventilation holes on a facade; (2) view of ventilation holes from the inside; (3) dimensions of a ventilation hole; (4) drawings of regularly cut corner stones (Pasadeos 1973, appendices ΠΠΝ:9); (5-7) examples of corner stones
Timber was also an essential building material for the islanders. As previously mentioned, the original builders were unfamiliar with the use of timber, and they used it only for certain building components, i.e. the roof construction, ceiling, flooring and partition walls. The timber, obtained from the local trees, includes willow, chestnut and (especially) oak, being the most common types used as construction materials.\textsuperscript{185}

As can be seen in the section drawing (Figure 95), timber trusses are supported by a horizontal beam and the king post rises vertically between them; there is also a continuous beam on the top of the timber trusses. Timber laths are placed between the beam and top of the stone wall, extending from one truss to the other. The roof’s timber coating planks are nailed perpendicularly. For roof insulation a layer of fern is laid and a second layer of clay mixed with straw is added. The tiles are finally placed on top. As the old villages were settled on windy hills, stones were additionally placed on top of the tiles to prevent them from being displaced in gales.

Among the buildings, of which the interiors could be analyzed, only a minority has an open-roof construction on the upper floor; most have timber ceiling planks. The ones with no ceiling planks are also the ones which are thought of as being earlier examples (TH3, 9, 10). The ceilings generally consist of long timber planks running from one wall to the other on the opposite side. They are nailed on a grid of timber laths also nailed to the trusses of the roof. The ceiling types mainly differ in terms of the width of these planks and their connection details. The widths of the larger planks range between 20-25 cm, and generally they are connected by 5-cm timber laths. Some examples do not have laths but preferred larger planks placed top and bottom, so they are directly nailed to each other. The examples with narrower planks also have laths connecting them, but in these examples the laths are placed behind the planks. All ceiling planking types have a frame enclosing them and the ceilings feature commonly decorated wooden cornices.

\textsuperscript{185} Pasadeos 1973, p. 67
The ground floors of the houses have no ceiling covers, and the timber construction floor system of the upper floor can be seen from the ground floor. As seen in the section drawing, there is also a timber planking system nailed on timber beams running from one wall to the other at intervals of 50-60 cm (Figure 95). Their dimensions change according to the length of the span. In some examples there are also secondary beams placed perpendicularly. Floor construction is important as it connects the masonry walls of the whole structure and provides strength against lateral forces in case of earthquakes.

The partition walls are also made of timber, with or without infill materials (bağdadi). The use of the timber frame on the first floor helps decrease dead-loads. Inside, the timber frame wall, including a grid of timber studs, is generally filled with a mixture of mud and stone. In TH1 (Figure 97, 1) it can be seen that the wall is divided into eight with vertical studs. Two of the eight divisions are reserved for the door opening. Between the two vertical studs, diagonal bracings are placed to provide lateral strength and the remaining spaces are filled with a mixture of mud and stone.

Figure 97: Zeytinliköy, partition wall examples
However, TH18 (Figure 97) shows a different example of a partition wall, with a frame without diagonal supports, and lateral timber laths in the middle of the height of the wall. It also has a mud-brick infill instead of mud and stone. TH4 (Figure 98) features an example bağdadi technique, although its infill material cannot be determined. The partition walls are plastered with mud, straw and lime and then painted.

3.2.4.2.3. Architectural Elements

The architectural elements of the buildings in Zeytinliköy are very simple, and functional solutions meet the basic needs similar to the plan organizations of the buildings. In addition to the basic timber facade elements, stone fireplaces and timber staircases, there are also several other elements related to agricultural production and rural life. Some of these architectural elements have site-specific names. The architectural elements seen in the village include windows, doors, fireplaces, staircases, goukeri, ambaria, niches-shelves, abadi, and earthenware jars.
Windows

Window openings are made with the help of wooden lintels placed top and bottom (Figure 95). In terms of shape, there are two types of window openings in Zeytinliköy: rectangular and arched. In the latter type, although the opening is surmounted by a small arch in the facade they have a flat section inside. In the older houses, their widths differ between 55-60 cm, with heights from 85-120 cm. The earlier window frames used ‘sash’ fittings (*giyotin*) made of timber and divided into four. In the later examples, the openings became larger, with widths of 75-80 cm and heights of up to 130 cm. In addition the frame was divided into six. Original window frames are rarely seen today, most have been substituted with new fittings, and the dimensions of the openings have been widened accordingly to fit the new frames.

![Figure 99: Zeytinliköy, examples of window frames with rectangular openings](image1)

![Figure 100: Zeytinliköy, examples of window frames with arched openings](image2)
Doors

Door openings are also made with wooden lintels placed at the top. They can be divided into two groups: flat and arched. They feature the same details as window openings (Figure 101). The heights of door openings range between 2.20-2.70 m. Both the outer and inner doors are traditionally made of timber. Similar to the window frames, door frames are also commonly replaced with forms made of new materials (pvc, aluminum, etc.), and original doors are few in number.

The simplest traditional main entrance doors are single-wing, ledged doors (Figure 102). This type consists of a series of vertical battens fixed together at the back, with two or three horizontal ledges. The door is connected to the frame by iron hinges. The developed versions of this type include double-wing examples with framed and decorated battens, or small openings on top of the wings. All are used in both rectangular and arched openings.

There are also outer door types with large, glazed openings on top of the door wings. These are paneled doors. With this type, the openings are widened and the ledges at the back are removed to allow in more light. In some examples, additional small windows are added above the door frame.

In addition to the main entrance doors, there are also secondary doors that can occasionally be seen in the facades. These are usually added on ground floors, for access to storage areas, or on the first floor where the *hayati* is located. They have details similar to the main entrance doors. In some examples, one or two windows are located adjacent to such doors to obtain more light for the *hayati*.

The inner doors are generally placed in the timber partition walls, but also in stone walls of ground floors. Similar to the main entrance doors, they are mainly of two types: ledged and paneled. They have hand-crafted iron door handles on the outside and an interior lock; they are connected to the frame with iron hinges.
Figure 101: Zeytinliköy, door types
Figure 102: A typical ledged door detail (Pasadeos 1973, ΠΙΝ:15)
Fireplaces

Fireplaces are among most important house elements, as they were used for both cooking and heating. The houses have generally two fireplaces, one in the living area and one in the hamoi, if any. The arched top of the fireplace is made with two or more stones placed on the impost line at a certain height in the masonry. These arched stones and imposts may project or be aligned with the wall. There are examples of both plastered and unplastered fireplaces. In some examples the arch is enclosed within a rectangular frame. A shelf can be placed on top of the fireplace. Two nails are driven between the shelf and the arch to hang a mat made of goat hair to avoid smoke blowing back into the room.

Figure 103: Zeytinliköy, fireplace examples
Staircases

As previously mentioned, in earlier houses the staircases, made of stone, were located on the outside, whereas in later examples they are located inside and made of timber. In some examples the first few steps are made of stone and the rest in timber. Timber staircases are widely seen today; stone examples are rarer as they are either routinely demolished or replaced by concrete.

Staircase steps are approximately 90-95 cm wide, 27-30 cm deep, and 20 cm high. The elements forming the balustrades are in carved wood, i.e. newel posts and caps, spindles and handrails. A timber shelf used as the home altar is placed at the end of landing balustrades. According to villagers, the altar is placed on the hayati staircase to allow for prayers first, before entering the living area. In some examples the space under the staircase is closed by a timber panel and used for storage.

Figure 104: Zeytinliköy, staircase examples
**Goukeri**

*Goukeri* is basically a timber cabinet made of four sections. It can be called as a type of *yüklük* in Anatolia. According to a drawing by Turhan, the bottom section is between 40-50 cm high, with drawers. Above this there is a larger, open section for keeping mattresses, etc. This section is around 1.50 cm high and closed with curtains. Next to this open section there are narrow, closed cabinets for clothing. The last section has open shelves decorated with triangular-shaped timber elements known as *mengenes*. The four sections are also found in different combinations (Figure 105).

![Image of Goukeri](image)

*Figure 105: Zeytinliköy, example of a goukeri (left); with a drawing of another example (right) (Turhan 1997, p. 104).*

**Ambaria**

An *ambaria* is a timber cereal storage container, usually in the *anoi*. It is made of timber planks laid together with laths. They commonly have a total height of about 150 cm, being 100 cm deep and 10-25 cm above floor level. There are lidded openings on the top, through which the grain is poured in, as well as smaller ones at the bottom to extract it as needed. A further, larger, opening is also made to allow access for cleaning. Unfortunately, no examples have survived at any of the sites visits.
Niches and Shelves

Niches and shelves are placed on the upper floor and close to the fireplace; they are used by the family for everyday things, such as the kitchenware, gas lamps, etc. Niches can either be closed within a timber frame and shutter, or could be left open. Inside there are one or more timber shelves, supported at both ends. Free-standing timber shelves are 20-25 cm deep and usually placed above fireplaces. These are simple thin wooden planks that sit on small timber bracings. A lath placed perpendicularly to the plank prevents the contents from falling.

Abadi

The abadi is basically a storage area for olives, located on the ground floor (katoi). After the olives are picked they are stored there for a certain period before being placed in earthenware jars. As can be seen in the drawing and photograph below (Figure 96), the feature is a low cubicle made of timber; it is placed adjacent to the wall to provide stabilization.
Earthenware Jars

Earthenware jars are vital elements of village houses for storing olives, olive oil, and wine. Also placed on the ground floors, they differ in size, detail, and ornamentation. There are some very large jars that cannot fit through the doors of the house. As mentioned by SP11, such large jars are placed on the ground floor of the house before the walls and construction process begin. Stable and robust vessels, their bases are thick and able to withstand being sunk in the ground.
3.2.5. Conservation Status of the Village

Zeytinliköy was declared as an ‘Urban Conservation Area’ on 15 August 1991, by order of BTKTVYK decision no. 1932. The current state of the conservation area borders (updated in 1994, 2002, and most recently in 2005), and registered plots can be seen in the plan below (Figure 109). There is currently no ‘Conservation Development Plan’ (Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı) prepared for the village.

The church of Ayios Yioryios (St. George) was the villages’ first registered building in 2005. Since then, 21 buildings have been registered within the Urban Conservation Area boundries of Zeytinliköy, according to ÇKVKBK records. Detailed information about these registered buildings are given in Table 4, showing that, in addition to 17 housing plots, the churches of Ayios Yioryios and Ayios Dimitros, one of the two olive oil factories, and the school building are registered. However, it can also be seen that some of the important buildings, such as the churches of Panagia and Ayios Strati, three laundries, and the olive oil factory next to the school are as yet unregistered. In addition, none of traditional commercial buildings are registered, and only 17 traditional houses have been registered so far out of 251. These structures, which are important examples of traditional architecture and mostly in poor state of preservation, need to be registered immediately.

Although there is no information about the registration status of the dam and the chapel and windmill structures outside the boundaries of the Urban Conservation Area, the ÇKVKBK records indicate that two chapels were registered in 2018 and 2019. In these records, the houses were evaluated as being in the 2nd group in terms of importance, while the chapels were evaluated as being in the 1st group. The small number of registered buildings, the unregistered structures which remain outside the Urban Conservation Area and facing the danger of extinction, and also the absence of a Conservation Development Plan are among the most important conservation problems concerning Zeytinliköy. The absence of a Conservation Development Plan leads to failure in solving large-scale problems and also causes protective actions to
remain limited to the individual efforts of villagers to repair and restore their houses. Consequently, certain conservation problems emerge, i.e. the loss of the original character of the site; sustainability of village life in relation to tourist activities; the uncontrolled increase of the certain functions (cafes and hotels); increases in problems related to traffic and parking; neglected buildings, village roads and inaccessible areas.

Since restoration projects and simple repairs are not properly controlled, buildings which have lost their original characteristics and are alien to the fabric emerge. Restitutitional analysis of a ruined building is often not made in accordance with the original structure and a ‘new design’ is generally made according to the desires of the owner. There are reconstruction examples that do not even respect height limits and block the view of other structures. In addition, the construction of the three-storey new building on the southern end of the village is also seen.

Figure 109: Zeytinliköy, boundaries of the Urban Conservation Area and registered plots (ÇKVKBK Archive)
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<td>Zeytinliköy 4</td>
<td>Köşkler Mahallesi, Kemer ve Suriye Şeridi</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Zeytinliköy, list of registered plots (ÇKVKBK Archive)
3.2.6. Social Structure of the Village

The general social structure of the island, including the residents’ profiles, their economic, social, religious and daily activities, as well as habits and traditions, have all previously been mentioned. The previous section provided an insight into the traditional lifestyles and also presents its transformation in relation to the island as a whole. This section, on the other hand, has included further information on changes to the social structure that are specific to the village of Zeytinliköy. The analysis of the topic is based on social surveys made in the village by the present author, also including information obtained from literary sources.

In the past, the social structure and daily life of the village were consistent with the general characteristics of the island, as mentioned before. The village, which was inhabited mainly by a Rum population from the Ottoman Period until the 1970s, was naturally influenced by the Orthodox Rum culture. In addition, cultivation and processing of olives also plays an important role in village culture – as the many olive groves around the village indicate so well. The co-existence of the religious and rural identities is very influential in traditions of Gökçeada and the inhabitants of Zeytinliköy. For instance, as SP9 points out, when the dead were buried the villagers would place olive oil, wine, and traditional foods in their graves.

The daily lives of the villagers were mostly spent in their olive groves and fields. Women were mainly responsible for housework and they often travelled to other villages for housework to gain extra money. Churches, laundries and the village coffee shops were places for socializing. SP5 notes that when he was a child the coffee shops might also serve as barbers; SP1 comments that there were three coffee shops that even showed films on certain days of the week in the 1960s.

As previously mentioned, the Greek-Orthodox religious festival marking the death of the Virgin Mary (Panagia) was of significant importance for the islanders, and each

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186 See above, pp. 85-93.
187 See below, Appendix D.
Figure 110: Zeytinliköy, villagers dancing in the square in front of Ayios Yioryios (Meletzis 1997, p. 78)

Figure 111: Zeytinliköy, musical entertainment in the village (https://www.facebook.com/groups/eskiturkiyefotograflari [last accessed on 20.05.2018])
village celebrated this festival on a different day; Zeytinliköy celebrated it on August 23rd. The day started with the morning ceremonies in the church of the Panagia and continued with a fair lasting all day. SP2 notes that musical performances took place in the village square; hammered dulcimers (santur) and violins played, and villagers and visitors danced and made merry (Figures 110 and 111). Moreover, SP6 mentions that visitors from other villages would come to Zeytinliköy on this day and the village coffee shops were packed. SP6 also adds that people would to order new shoes from village shoemaker and women make new dresses for the festival.

As previously mentioned, Zeytinliköy witnessed a significant transformation due to governmental policies after the 1960s. The population of the village decreased rapidly due to the expropriation of agricultural lands and the village, it seems, went into hibernation for 30 years. SP4, the president of the Imbrian Association in Athens, notes that the changing political situation and the reorganization of the festival in the 1990s, through the efforts of the association, play an important role in the continuation of their survival and presence on the island. Unlike some other settlements on the island, none of the Zeytinliköy buildings had been expropriated, but many Rums who lost their citizenship have problems with their property ownership rights in the village.

After the 1990s, some of the local inhabitants came back to the village. However, their return did not mean their permanent settlement on the island, because of difficulties in terms of economic sustainability. Mostly the elderly and retired preferred to stay permanently, while the younger generations usually visit their families just for the Panagia festival, or to repair their houses that now function as holiday homes. On the other hand, some original owners did not wish, or were frightened, to return and sold their houses to new Turkish settlers. Zeytinliköy today, therefore, is inhabited by three different inhabitant groups: a permanent Rum population, seasonal Rum population and seasonal Turkish population. The village has a Rum muhtar and a Rum priest. Although the ethnic distribution of the inhabitants is not exactly known, according to the muhtar (SP1), approximately 130 houses are in seasonal use, with about 40 homes.
used both in summer and winter. SP1 also adds that the average age of the permanent inhabitants was 80 about ten years ago.

The Zeytinliköy origin of the Fener Rum Patriarch Bartholomeos increases the profile of the village and Gökçeada as a whole. In August 2016, he celebrated the 25th anniversary of his election to the Patriarchate in Zeytinliköy. The event took place in the square in front of the Private Gökçeada Rum Primary School; it was organized by the Association for Supporting Rum Foundations and the Association for the Conservation, Development, and Maintenance of Imbros (Gökçeada).

Figure 112: The Fener Rum Patriarch Bartholomeos and Zeytinliköy on the celebration event poster

Attendees at the celebrations included both politicians and churchmen: the Mayor of Gökçeada Ünal Çetin; the Greek deputies Katerina Marku, Manolis Thrapsaniotis, Valia Vayionaki and Eleni Stamataki; the Consul of Greece in Istanbul, Evangelos
Sekeris; and the Metropolitan Bishop of Gökçeada, Dragonis Krilyos. Young Imbrians performed their traditional dances to mark the occasion.

According to the social survey results, nine Turkish families settled mostly in the village between 1990 and 2008, having an average age of 45; the majority are from İstanbul or other metropolitan cities, such as Ankara and İzmir; all have university or graduate degrees. These educated inhabitants from the big cities give as their main reasons for choosing Zeytinliköy as its natural setting, historical values, and its authenticity. They have close relations with the native Rum villagers and are very interested in their old memories and experiences; they have a genuine respect for the identity of the village and try to understand it. Almost all have an understanding about the history of their houses and those who lived there before them. Most keep a photographic record of their house before restoration. They go to churches during the Panagia festival and spend time in the association building or coffee shops, as well as establishing strong neighborhood relations with Rum residents.

Although the Rum population relate that they are happy with the newcomers, as they are educated and respectful, they are nevertheless understandably upset with the transformation of their village over the past decades. The village’s new focus as a tourist destination, and the tourism profile generally, are considered as problems by all the inhabitants. The main challenges to the village, as indicated by residents on their survey forms, are the ones facing many modern tourist sites: very high village numbers in summer, lack of water, streets old and neglected, inconsiderate tourists and the rubbish they leave behind them, and tour buses blocking the entrance to the village and parking problems generally.

The majority of the participating residents questioned consider that the village itself and their houses are valuable assets that need protecting. They are generally satisfied with the restoration practices in the village, and younger inhabitants especially are

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willing to conserve the tangible and intangible values of the village and take part in possible conservation projects.

3.3. Overall Evaluation

Gökçeada, which has been home to several civilizations for centuries, has its own historical and political importance. It was inhabited by a Rum minority during the Ottoman Period and was one of the three locations exempted from the ‘Population Exchange’, along with İstanbul and Bozcaada, after the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. As a result of governmental policies after the 1960s, the old Ottoman settlements were largely abandoned and there was a significant decrease in the population of native islanders. However, in addition to Turkish settlers from Anatolia, there have also been limited numbers of indigenous people returning to the island as a result of changing policies after the 1990s. The island differs from other early Rum settlements in Anatolia in that it still has its own Rum population.

In addition to its traditional value, the island is rich in natural resources. Gökçeada, which is the largest Turkish island, is one of the most important historical and rural landscape areas as a result of its cultural and natural richness. Today, most of the island’s surface area is protected; there are many natural conservation and archeological sites. Zeytinliköy, Tepeköy, Kaleköy, Bademliköy, Panagia and Dereköy, the main villages in the Ottoman period, are now protected as urban conservation sites. These historic villages, which are considered in terms of their settlement areas, are spread over larger areas that take in their agricultural lands and dams – summer settlements. The settlement areas of the villages are located on the slopes that look towards the Büyükdere valley, with the less rugged terrain used as pasture areas, and the flat lands providing agricultural zones. In this context, the above five villages can be understood as six distinct, historic rural landscapes, each creating an integral landscape area.
The Zeytinliköy settlement area, surrounded by its olive groves, is located on the northeastern part of the island. The farmland of the village was on the north, while other farmlands and the pasture areas lay to the south. The villagers of Zeytinliköy lived off olive cultivation, agriculture and animal husbandry. They also undertook the professions of blacksmiths, potters, shoemakers, carpenters, and millers.

The architecture of Zeytinliköy is marked by its simple and functional residential buildings constructed of stone masonry. Maximum functionality is provided with minimal solutions in the construction of these buildings. The lower floors of the traditional residential buildings are generally used as warehouses and kitchens, while the upper floors include living/sleeping spaces and guest rooms. Zeytinliköy houses have no special space reserved for animals on the ground floors, since animal husbandry was unusual within the settlement area. This indicates that agriculture and animal husbandry activities took place outside the settlement area, while storage and crop processing were done within its limits. As can be seen by looking at this example, it is not possible to understand the characteristics of rural life in the village by looking at the settlement area only.

Stone was used as the main material of construction in Zeytinliköy. Timber is used only for floor covering, ceilings, roof construction and architectural elements (windows, doors, staircases, goukeri, ambaria, shelves and abadi). The use of timber on the facade is rarely seen. After the 1950s, reinforced concrete was also used in constructions. During this period, when Rum craftsmen still lived in the village, hybrid structures emerged, where the original style was preserved, but with the addition of reinforced concrete details. On the other hand, the fact remains that the oldest housing types in the village were changed or demolished during this period, with the introduction of reinforced concrete, and a general lack of local awareness of conservation. However, there are still some legible plan types with reference to the oldest houses mentioned in the written sources. The presence of these rare types is important, and they very much need to be conserved. Not only residential buildings but also other building types (i.e. the church, school, factory, mill, cafe, laundry, shop)
are all characteristic elements of the village. Although churches and coffee shops are still used today, other structures no longer function.

One of the most distinctive features of Zeytinliköy is the presence of native Rum inhabitants, together with the recent migrants who keep close relations with the locals and are interested in their memories and experiences, as well as the authentic rural life of the village. In other words, Zeytinliköy is not a place where the traces of its past are frozen at a certain period of time, but rather a living place which presents its history at the same time. The church of the village is still active and has a Rum priest. The muhtar of the village is also a native Rum inhabitant. Zeytinliköy is also of considerable significance for Orthodox Rumns, being the birthplace of the Fener Rum Patriarch Bartholomeos. The village is frequently mentioned in the media, for example Bartholomeos electing to celebrate the 25th anniversary of his election to the patriarchate here. He maintains a private museum in the village and stays in the Zeytinliköy house where he was born when he visits the island in August to conduct the Panagia services. At the same time, the village attracts new inhabitants and tourists visiting the island.

To provide continuation of the village as a living settlement, the values of the village and the island, and the threats and challenges related to them, should be analyzed in detail. This analysis, and the opportunities arising from it, provide our material for the next chapter.
CHAPTER 4

ASSESSMENT OF VALUES, THREATS, AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ZEYTİNLİKÖY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF GÖKÇEADA

In the previous chapter the characteristics of Zeytinliköy were presented, together with the features of Gökçeada in terms of rural landscape. This present chapter aims to make an evaluation of these characteristics and evaluate the values and threats. Deriving from these, this chapter will also reveal the potential offered by the village and the island in general in order to offer conservation strategies.

The definition of heritage values constitutes a main reference point shaping conservation decisions.189 Bernard Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto note that values should be clearly defined so as to shape the conservation approach properly.190 The Burra Charter (2013) also underlines heritage values and notes that they are the determinant factors of ‘cultural significance’. However, value, due to the subjective nature of the term and depending on society, may also change over time, making any assessment difficult. Moreover, a single value may conflict with others, ranging from socio-cultural to economic. Since the beginning of the 1900s, several scholars and NGOs have focused on the identification, definition and classification methods for the assessment of values.191 These studies, especially recent ones, show that socio-cultural and economic values are two main distinctions when it comes to defining its different forms. Fielden and Jokilehto also make an assessment of values under two main headings: cultural and contemporary socio-economic.192 Economic values have

189 Mason 2002, p. 5.
191 Riegl 1902; Lipe 1984; Frey 1997; Feilden and Jokiletho 1998; Mason 2002. See also Australia ICOMOS 1998 (Burra Charter); English Heritage 1997.
become a more central and conflicting issue recently and several economists have also studied the about the value assessment of cultural properties.\textsuperscript{193}

The urban planner and historic preservation expert Randall Mason’s study of values constitutes one of the most recent and comprehensive works. In his article "Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices" Mason tries to enlarge the scope of value definitions to develop specific conservation policies for each monument or site.\textsuperscript{194} Differing from traditional approaches, he states that heritage conservation should be a socio-cultural activity rather than a technical process. According to Mason, the value assessment process should be multidisciplinary and involve the community. He has developed a ‘provisional typology’ as an evaluation for the works of a variety of previous scholars, including economists. Mason also emphasizes the power of economic values, shaping heritage conservation, and the significance of their integration with cultural values. In the light of this, he also prefers to categorize values under two main groups, but in his view socio-cultural and economic. This approach is found suitable for defining the values of the village of Zeytinliköy and is accepted here as the basis for the following section of this study.

The provisional typology offered as “a point of departure and discussion” includes historical value, cultural/symbolic value, social value, spiritual/religious value and aesthetic value as socio-cultural values, while selecting use (market) value and non-use (non-market) values as the economic values. Social values may overlap with each other and heritage can include multiple values. On the other hand, ‘use’ and ‘non-use’ values should be clearly differentiated. ‘Use value’ refers to private/market forces, while ‘non-use’ means public/non-market activities that serve ‘public good’ and reflect ‘collective decisions’. In this sense, socio-cultural values should be thought of as non-market values indirectly associated with the economy.

\textsuperscript{193} Throsby 1997; Serageldin 1999, Ready and Navrud 2002; Throsby 2012; Klamer 2013; For further information about the perspectives of these scholars see also Özçakır 2018, pp. 78-88.

\textsuperscript{194} Mason 2012, pp. 5-30.
However, as Mason also mentions, each heritage will have its own values that require specific treatment.\textsuperscript{195} Thus, this approach will be considered in this section of the study within the framework of a rural landscape concept, with a specific methodology. As in the previous chapter, first the values and threats to the island as a whole will be evaluated before focusing on the village; this in turn will help shed light on the opportunities that might arise.

4.1. Values

Table 5: Site-specific methodology in relation to value assessment

<table>
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<tr>
<th>NATURE</th>
<th>production</th>
<th>tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>G.V1. Geographical location</td>
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<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.V2. Flora-fauna diversity</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.V3. Fertile lands</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z.V1. Locational values: Accessibility, Olive Groves, Agricultural Lands</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tangible Values

| | production | tourism |
| G.V4. Traditional Ottoman Settlements | ● | ● |
| G.V5. Archeological Sites | ● | ● |
| Z.V2. Protected traditional pattern: stone paved streets, squares and nodes | ● | ● |
| Z.V3. Traditional Architecture | ● | ● |

Intangible Values

| | production | tourism |
| G.V6. Political significance | ● | ● |
| G.V7. Panagia Festival | ● | ● |
| G.V8. Citta Slow and Slow Food island | ● | ● |
| Z.V4. Toponomy/Emphasis of rurality | ● | ● |
| Z.V5. Continuity of local population and culture | ● | ● |
| Z.V6. Local tastes | ● | ● |
| Z.V7. New settlers with awareness of local culture | ● | ● |

Abbreviations

GÖKÇEADA: G. V(number)
ZEYTINLIKÖY: Z. V(number)

Socio-Cultural Values

Economic Values

\textsuperscript{195} Mason 2012, p. 15.
4.1.1. Natural Values

G. V1. Geographical location: Being surrounded by the sea, and with limited interaction with the mainland, islands presuppose a rather introverted way of life. The island is a living and closed system within itself, relying on the sun, soil, flora, fauna, water resources, and also the local population. In this closed system, humans have strong relations with nature, i.e. the long coastline (95 km) allows for good fishing and sponge harvesting, as well as many fine beaches suitable for swimming and leisure.

G. V2. Flora-fauna diversity: The island flora consists of forest maquis and olive groves and is bountiful in its plant species and biodiversity. The island has an ecological richness also in terms of aquatic life. There are 180 species of marine organisms, including many fish, sponges, sea turtles and the Mediterranean monk seal. A section of the northern coast between Kaleköy and Kuzulimanı was certified as Turkey’s first underwater park in 1999 by TÜDAV (Figure 113). In addition to the northern coasts, the salt lake and its surroundings are also rich in terms of ecosystem diversity. It is a site where migratory birds can stay and feed. During their migration periods, flamingos and several duck, gull and other species find their way here.

Figure 113: A part of Gökçeada’s Underwater Park (http://gokceadasualtiparki.org [last accessed on 08.04.2019])
G. V3. Fertile lands: Although Gökçeada is a mountainous island, the agricultural areas around the Büyükdere valley in the northeast, and the plains on the southeast and southwest, met most of the needs of the island in the past. Today, these areas combine to make one of the important factors in ensuring the continuity of the permanent population. Not only agriculture, but also olives, vines, and a variety of fruit trees add to the natural and economic values of the island. The post-production activities of these products, i.e. the manufacture of olive oil (and olive-oil soap) and wine, play an important place in the island culture.

Z.V1. Location values: Zeytinliköy is located close to the center of the island and the main road, and is therefore easily accessible. It is also located on the slopes of the Büyükdere valley, one of the most fertile regions of Gökçeada. Settled on the eastern slopes of Karadoğan, the village has a panoramic view of the eastern part of the island; olive groves spread over a large area at the foot of the hill. The fertile farmland is located to the north of the village settlement; in addition, the extensive, rugged terrain extending to the south provides good pasture, and there are also small fields in this area.

4.1.2. Socio-Cultural Values

4.1.2.1. Tangible Values

G. V4. Traditional Ottoman Settlements: The villages of Zeytinliköy, Dereköy, Tepeköy, Kaleköy, and Bademliköy are the major Ottoman settlements of Gökçeada. While the island’s fertile land is used for agricultural production, the old villages of the island are located on the inner faces of the Büyükdere valley, at mid-level. In the past, such settlements relied on factors such as the provision of security, water sources, protection from climatic conditions, and having good, solid ground for the construction of durable structures. In other words, these settlements, which were shaped by natural factors, achieve value through their harmony with nature and for having survived to the present day. Today, they largely retain the original fabric, with
traditional structures such as houses, churches, chapels, mosques, laundries, cafes, shops, factories, windmills, etc.

**G. V5. Archeological Sites:** Gökçeada has been a settlement area from the Prehistoric period up to the present. As Ousterhout notes, the archeological remains on the island make the reconstruction of the island’s history possible.\(^{196}\) The excavations at Yenibademli and Uğuru-Zeytinlik are two very significant archeological sites on the island. Yenibademli has shed light on the Pre-Hellenistic period of the island and revealed the physical and social characteristics of an Early Bronze Age settlement that survived for some 400 years. Uğuru-Zeytinlik revealed the earliest Neolithic settlement found so far among the islands of the northern Aegean, and further excavations continue to fill the gaps in the island’s history. In addition to these mounds, several sites dating from the Paleolithic to the Early Bronze Age have been investigated on the east.\(^{197}\)

The field surveys conducted by Ousterhout and Held between 1995-1998 focused on the Classical and Byzantine periods and brought to light structures of these periods. Five fortresses, namely Paleopolis, Paleokastro, Arassia, Palaiokastraki and Pyrgos Castles, are the major Late Byzantine remains on the island. These fortresses, extending from the north to the south of the island, point to a chain of defenses belonging to this period. This field survey also revealed the cult site of Roksado, southeast of Kaleköy, and an ancient agricultural site near Pyrgos. The rock tombs of Kokina are also significant archeological remains on the island, and provide one of its most popular and visited sites, although their exact date and context are unknown.

**Z. V2. Protected Traditional Pattern:** The natural factors that determine the location of the island’s settlements are also evident and help form the organic fabric of Zeytinliköy, as in other villages. The settlement maintains its traditional organic pattern, yielding the most economic solutions with minimum intervention on the landscape. Stone-paved streets, pathways and passages determine the circulation in

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\(^{196}\) Ousterhout and Held 1995, p. 61.

\(^{197}\) Harmankaya and Erdoğan 1999, p. 28.
the village and also constitute tangible reflections of the past social life. The organization of the streets and squares also defines the neighbourhoods, together with the location of laundries and churches.

**Z. V3. Traditional Architecture:** Materials used in the vernacular architecture of Zeytinliköy (and the island in general), such as stone, timber, brick and tile are all local materials. The craftsmen who mastered these materials created a simple and functional vernacular architecture with practical solutions. These structures, which are constructed with natural materials, and taking into account the natural factors and local needs, present a certain skill in rural construction techniques. Moreover, they also have significant documentary value in terms of understanding social life and culture.

Zeytinliköy constitutes a substantial architectural heritage site, with its stone masonry buildings, including 236 traditional houses, four churches, a school building, three laundries, two fountains, two olive oil factories, an oil press, and several commercial buildings, including a kaşar (cheese) shop, a butcher and two grocery stores. Within these buildings, the church of Ayios Yioryios, with its monumental scale, is one the island’s most attractive architectural heritage features. This and other small churches of the village have symbolic values in addition to their architectural values. Many houses differ in their plan schemes, making it possible to monitor the transformation of needs over the years. There is evidence of houses with simple layouts and courtyards in the village in its early days. However, the density increased over time in accordance with the need for space, and new and more complex plan types emerged, while the number of the courtyards decreased. After the 1950s, reinforced concrete started to be used by builders and integrated into the stone masonry system, thus creating a new architectural typology while preserving local characteristics.

4.1.2.2. Intangible Values

**G. V6. Political significance:** Gökçeada had always been a focal point for migration, in parallel with political events and decisions affecting the island throughout its
history. Because of its strategic location, the island has faced many incursions by several nations. It is one of a limited number of islands left to the Turkish Republic after the 1923 Lausanne Treaty and the largest of Turkey’s islands. It is also of value that the island was exempt from the population exchanges of the 1920s and retained its former, native Orthodox Rum inhabitants. In this respect, Gökçeada has a unique character – matched only by Bozcaada (Tenedos), with its similar story.

**G. V7. Panagia Festival:** This festival plays an important role in maintaining the memory of the people and the place. Today, Imbros represents a meeting point for a large number of former residents who migrated from the island. In this very short period every year, the old and current inhabitants come together, remember their culture, and share their memories. This event, which is attended by a number of important clergymen from Turkey and Greece, as well as administrators and members of several associations working for the conservation of the Imbros culture, is very important for introducing this culture to new generations and increasing the visibility of the island.

**G. V8. ‘Cittaslow’ and ‘Slow Food’ Island:** Gökçeada became a member of ‘Slow Food’ in 2006 and ‘Cittaslow’ in 2011. As the first and only such island in the world, it is visited by many local and foreign tourists. These movements, turning away from the alienation towards local values as a result of globalization, are significant steps to protect local values. The Cittaslow movement emphasizes the ‘spirit of place’ and points out that this helps the accumulation of cultures and their benefits and gifts, such as the songs, poems, friendship and experience; this separates the place from others and Cittaslow intends to conserve this spirit.¹⁹⁸

**Z. V4. Toponomy/Emphasis of rurality:** Place names are valuable as they carry references to the essence of the natural and cultural structure of a place; thus toponomy is an important study area.¹⁹⁹ The old name of the village ‘Agios Theodoros’ was given

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¹⁹⁸ [https://cittaslowturkiye.org/] (last accessed on 23.05.2019).
¹⁹⁹ Yavuz and Şenel 2013, p. 2239.
after the eponymous chapel located inside the olive groves surrounding the settlement area. As previously mentioned, the chapels (small rural churches scattered all around the island) are mainly found in agricultural and pastural land and have a great significance and value for the islanders; they reflect the importance given to religious rituals by the islanders and are one of the key representations of rural identity. The current name, Zeytinliköy, derives from the olive groves surrounding the village, indicating the importance of olive cultivation for the village. Both the old and new names have references to the rural character of the village and in this sense these names may be considered as historical sources.

Z. V5. Continuity of local population and culture: Zeytinliköy today is one of the two villages on the island where the local Rum population is mostly seen. As the village muhtar reports, there are about 40 houses used both in summer and winter by the Rum residents and in summer the population increases with the arrival of their relatives and seasonal users. The old school building is also active as the private Rum primary school: it currently has eight Rum students. The church is actively used and there is a priest residing in the village permanently; the Panagia festival, the name days, and Easter and Christmas services are still celebrated in the village. Three old coffee shops are important areas of social gathering for the local people; these sites act also as ‘memory’ galleries, where old photographs, drawings, texts, books, and also traditional handcrafts are treasured. The elderly local inhabitants, who one comes across in these coffee shops, were essential sources of the oral history that helped contribute to this study. In addition, Zeytinliköy is the only village on the island with an association building, an important place where the locals come together to discuss the conservation works needed on the island, and village culture in general.

Z. V6. Local tastes: Zeytinliköy is also famous for several traditional items of food and drink, such as dibek coffee and cicirya. Dibek is the name for a large stone (or wooden) mortar, where coffee beans are ground. (It is also used for grain extraction.) All the coffee shops in the village serve dibek coffee, with the cafe of ‘Madam’in Dibek Kahvesi’ being one of the most famous on the island because of its history that
goes back almost a century. *Cicirya* is an island-specific pastry made with cheese, and known as ‘Rum pizza’, and almost every coffee house will serve it. These local specialities, from the past through to the present, are important elements of local culture (Figure 114).

![Figure 114: Zeytinliköy, an example of a dibek (left), and signs indicating local tastes in Zeytinliköy (right)](image)

**Z. V7. New inhabitants with awareness of local culture:** As can be seen from the social survey, the Turkish families mostly settled in Zeytinliköy between 1990 and 2008; with an average age of 45, the majority is from İstanbul or other large Turkish cities. These families are seasonal inhabitants usually well educated, and with an awareness of the island and village; they also have close relations with the natives and are interested in their culture, memories and experiences. The Turkish inhabitants generally respect the authenticity of the place and try to understand it. A large number of them attend the Panagia Festival and spend time in the Imbrian Association building or coffee shops. It can be said that they have established strong neighborhood relations.
with the local residents and are willing to contribute to the possible conservation studies which will include the participation of the villagers.

Figure 115: Zeytinliköy, a family’s archive of previous owners and their own photographs together (left), and a candle left by the previous owners (right)

4.1.3. Economic Values

As indicated before, it can be said that use value refers to agricultural production and other local market sources on the island; whereas non-market sources directly refer to those cultural values that indirectly become part of the local economy (e.g. as visitor attractions). In this context, economic values are evaluated under two headings: local production and tourism.

Local Production: As mentioned above, in spite of its mountainous terrain, Gökçeada is blessed with fertile agricultural land, and the olive groves concentrated around
Zeytinliköy and Uğurlu are of great importance for the island economy. As a result of the changing agricultural practices in Turkey and elsewhere, organic agriculture has gained popularity. The island has also benefited from this and a scheme known as the ‘Organic Agriculture Project’ was initiated in 2002. This aims to encourage and increase organic production by providing support to farmers to ensure the sustainability of agriculture. The project, which started with 14 producers, has developed into several sub-projects such as the Organic Olive and Olive Oil Production Project, Organic Beekeeping Project, Organic Viticulture and Wine Production Project, Organic Animal Husbandry, etc. The number of producers reached 241 in 2013, with 169 of these being olive farmers. Organic agriculture, which will make a great contribution to the island’s economy, is gaining importance on the island. However, over the last three years the project has focused more on organic olives than on other products and is focused both on maintaining the existing olive groves and planting new trees. Other activities, such as the coordination of the organic certification processes, organization of seminars, training and meetings, etc., are also parts of this project. In addition to small-scale producers, the island today has three organic certified firms producing olive oil; one of these also produces and sells dairy products on a national level.

The local products are sold in the open market held on Sundays and in the shops in the center. In addition to products such as fruit, vegetables, olive oil, honey, wine etc., recently soaps, olive oil creams, local pastries and jams made by village women are also being sold in the market and local shops. Zeytinliköy has its own wine shop selling regional wines. Traditional specialities such, as cicirya, dibek coffee and dairy desserts, are available from the village coffee shops, which also sell homemade jams, etc.

**Tourism:** Because of the limited facilities of rural areas compared to urban areas, increasing the living standards of rural communities and providing sources of income

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200 Burkay 2016, p. 77.
for them are fundamental concerns for most countries, and the search for different policies aimed at boosting rural development have gained momentum. Rural tourism is one of the leading and most important sectors in terms of rural development. The richness and diversity of natural and cultural assets in rural areas can be converted into significant potential for the development of tourism and recreational activities. Rural tourism creates employment and is also one of the basic strategies for rural development. Because of its natural and socio-cultural values, Gökçeada is developing into a major tourist destination, with visitor numbers increasing every year. After the island’s military exclusion was lifted in 1991, Gökçeada began to be visited by national and foreign tourists. As noted above, Gökçeada then became a member of the ‘Slow Food’ movement in 2006 and ‘Cittaslow’ in 2011, and following this the popularity of Gökçeada has increased. Areas such as Yıldız Koyu, Kuzu Limanı, Güzelce Koy, Aydıncık, Kokina, Kapıkaya, Yuvalı sahilleri, Laz Koyu, Uğurlu Plajları and Gizli Liman are now coastal tourist sites for swimming and surfing. In addition, Marmaros Şelalesi, Kaşvakal Burnu, Peynir Kayalıkları, Tuz Gölü are other natural beauty spots much visited by tourists to the island. It is also an important region now for those interested in outdoor sports and activities such as biking, scuba diving, camping, bird watching, trekking, hiking, etc.

In addition to its natural values, socio-cultural ones, including both the tangible and intangible values of the island, are significant tourist attraction factors. In particular the old villages with their traditional Rum inhabitants are much visited. Fine old buildings such as the houses, churches, public buildings chapels and laundries also attract attention. As mentioned earlier, the island gets very crowded during the Panagia festival, with seasonal Rum inhabitants coming from Greece and other countries, as well as domestic and foreign tourists. Accommodation facilities for visitors are concentrated in the inner parts of the island and in recent years small hotels and pensions have become an essential source of income.

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201 Özdemir 2012, p. 19.
202 Cengiz, Özkök and Ayhan 2011, p. 3832.
4.2. Threats and Problems

Table 6: Threats and Problems

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Abbreviations:
G. Gökçeada
Z. Zeytinköy

4.2.1. Threats and Problems – Natural Components

G. T1. Disconnection with the mainland: Gökçeada has a harbor (*Kuzu Limani*) connecting the island to the mainland, 14 miles from Kabatepe, Gallipoli. Transportation to the island is by ferry and other small licensed craft. Of course this is subject to weather conditions and this can be challenging, especially in winter; ferries can be cancelled if the winds are strong. There is an airport, constructed
between 1998-2010, but it is currently not in operation and thus represents another transportation problem for the island.

G. T2. Destruction of nature: Almost half of the surface area of Gökçeada is protected as a natural conservation area. Such areas, rich in terms of flora-fauna diversity, face the risk of becoming tourism regions open to construction and development. An example of such construction threats within the borders of the island’s natural conservations sites was the recent proposal to open a stone quarry at Kaleköy. Public opinion managed to stop the project, which seemed certain to cause irreversible damage to the natural values of the region. Further threats to the natural richness of the island include vandalism, inconsiderate agricultural activities (straying livestock, etc.).

G. T3. Limited amount of fertile land: Fertile land constitutes a small percentage of Gökçeada’s surface area. It is a mountainous island in the main and this has of course determined the development the historic settlements. While the hillsides and valley slopes were used for settlements, the flatter areas were reserved for agricultural activities. However, for the settlements built after the 1970s no attention was paid to this tradition. These settlement areas were located on the fertile land and the already limited agricultural spaces have thus decreased. In addition to these settlements, the airport is also located in a region where there are agricultural lands and olive groves. All in all, a large number of olive groves, which are substantial sources of income for Zeytinliköy villagers, have disappeared. Consequently, fertile land is now very limited on the island and thus the usage of these areas and their ownership status are of great importance for the island economy. This will be discussed in detail under the heading ‘Economic Threats and Problems’.

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4.2.2. Threats and Problems – Human-made Components

4.2.2.1. Tangible Components

**G. T4. Abandonment of traditional settlements:** Although Gökçeada was exempt from the population exchange, especially after 1960, a large number of the Rum population abandoned the island for political reasons. Following this, the five important traditional settlements of the island – Kaleköy, Bademliköy, Zeytinliköy, Tepeköy and Dereköy – witnessed major declines in their populations. After the 1990s, village houses became sought after and were purchased as holiday homes by mainland families from the bigger cities. Some of the local people also started to come back to the island in these years; however they also did not stay permanently due to economic difficulties. It was mostly the elderly and retired who opted to stay permanently, while the younger generations prefer to visit their parents during the Panagia festival, or repair their houses to use as summer properties. Notwithstanding this, a large number of the traditional houses are still empty and some of the old settlements become almost ghost villages in winter.

**G. T5. Presentation problems regarding the history of the island through its heritage sites:** A variety of heritage sites on Gökçeada make it possible to observe the earlier layers of the island, which was home to several civilizations throughout history. The Prehistoric settlements revealed by the archeological excavations, including caves with finds of tools dating to the prehistoric period, old rock tombs, Byzantine castles and Rum settlements from Ottoman times are all primary layers that can be found and studied on the island. Although the ‘Rum villages’ have been presented widely and have become popular for visitors, other heritage layers on the island are not so visible. However, despite their popularity, these ‘Rum villages’ may seem to amount to little more than picturesque settings for photographs, due to the fact that it is difficult to get information about their characteristics or their traditional ways of life. Since conservation development plans have been developed only for the island center and Kaleköy, there is no holistic conservation approach that considers the island as a
whole, with its natural and human-made values representing many different historic layers. Therefore the modern presentation of these values also becomes a problematic issue. Even basic orientation on the island is difficult, with the number of signs and information panels being insufficient – both on the island generally and for its traditional villages.

**Z. T1. Conservation site borders:** As discussed in Chapter 2, rural landscapes are formed of the human, nature and the built environment, being the result of the interaction between them. The conservation of rural landscapes can be achieved by ensuring the sustainability of this co-existence. Currently, the historic rural settlements are protected within the boundaries of urban conservation sites. So, any conservation approach that ignores the rural landscape characteristics remains limited merely to the conservation of the settlement area and vernacular architecture. Today, the permanent settlement area of Zeytinliköy is also protected as an urban conservation area. However, just like other early villages on the island, Zeytinliköy is not only a residential area, but a large rural landscape with its residential area, agricultural lands, olive groves, seasonal dam settlements, as well as other structures (i.e. chapels, windmills, etc.) scattered in and around these areas: thus a holistic conservation approach is needed.

The majority of the structures remaining outside the conservation area is unregistered. The southern section of the village, where the dam settlements are, is within the ‘Natural Conservation Site’ borders. Today, access to these structures is quite difficult. Most are known have been destroyed and the rest left to quietly disappear (Figure 116). The identification and documentation of these structures and their inclusion in the conservation plan of the village is crucial for the conservation of the rural life and rural identity.

**Z. T2. Abandonment of traditional buildings:** The traditional stone masonry buildings of the village have been left without care and maintenance for years. As a result of the long years of abandonment, most of the stone structures of the village
have structural and material-based problems; there are also buildings which have partially collapsed. Of the 265 traditional stone masonry buildings investigated within the context of this study, 41 are empty and 28 are in a ruinous state. Although most of the empty structures are residential, there are also empty traditional buildings, such as oil factories and former shops (grocer, butcher, etc.). Many of these structures are significant as they are rare examples, but the lack of care and maintenance poses an important threat to them. Neglect and abandonment accelerate structural deterioration and eventually lead to total or partial collapse. Furthermore, these structures are undocumented and this lack of information relating to their restitution leads to reconstruction efforts that are incompatible with the traditional fabric.

![Figure 116: Gökçeada, ruins of a chapel](image)

Z. T3. Presentation problems concerning the village: As an important rural heritage area, the historic, architectural and socio-cultural values of the village should be accurately transmitted. In this sense, the village should not just be a place where tourists have a quick tour, spend money in coffee shops and then leave, but also be a place that tells its own story via its physical environment as a type of open-air museum.
as it were. In the current situation visitors can only experience the former, as evidenced by the fact that only advertising signs are to be seen at the entrance of the village (Figure 117). There are no information panels presenting any written or visual information, either at the entrance or inside the village. Take, for example, Zeytinliköy; the name means ‘the village of olives’, yet it is very difficult to understand the relation with olives or olive cultivation, except for the olive trees surrounded by fences on both sides of the village road.

The long-neglected buildings, such as the olive oil factory near the school and the old oil press building, remained behind closed doors and it is impossible to understand the functions of these structures, i.e. the factory is often thought by visitors to be an annex building to the school. The village, which only presents coffee shops and closed doors, provides no information about its traditional and rural character. Even the most interesting structures of the village, such as the churches and communal laundries, have no signage to inform visitors of their historic and architectural characteristics.

![Advertising signs at the entrance to Zeytinliköy](image)

**Figure 117:** Advertising signs at the entrance to Zeytinliköy

**Z. T4. Ill-conceived restoration implementations:** As the restoration projects and simple repairs are not properly prepared and controlled the result is a series of
buildings that are incompatible with the traditional fabric. Restitutional analyses of the buildings need to be made in accordance with the original and ‘totally new designs’ should not simply be allowed according to user demands. Moreover, many ruined and undocumented structures are usually destroyed totally and new buildings erected based purely upon personal taste and labelled as ‘reconstruction’.

Of course, it is very important that a historical structure responds to current needs to ensure continuity of use. However, while intervening, it is also important that any structure’s documentary value should not be forgotten and the new interventions should be distinguishable and reversible.\textsuperscript{204}

Z. T5. New buildings: As previously mentioned, after the 1950s, the stone structures of the village started to include methods of reinforced concrete. New houses were either built using this ‘hybrid’ technique, or old ones were partly rebuilt using reinforced concrete inserts. However, this hybrid type can be considered as compatible due to its suitability to the traditional fabric in terms of scale, facade and plan layouts. However, there are also examples constructed in the same years which are incompatible in terms of facade and plan organization. The reinforced concrete construction Imbrian Association building, which has a very large volume, is also a problem. On the one hand, it is valuable, since it has an important function and is a socializing place where villagers can gather on summer nights; while on the other it is problematic, since it is located at a point near the village entrance, blocking the village skyline and changing the view of the village square (Figure 118).

A few newer constructions of reinforced concrete can unfortunately be seen on the periphery of the settlement area: these are completely incompatible with the existing pattern. For example, a three-storey structure located on the hill top negatively affects the village’s skyline (Figure 119).

\textsuperscript{204} Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 70.
Figure 118: Zeytinliköy, view of the Imbros Association building from the north (left) and east (right)

Figure 119: Zeytinliköy, a new three-storey, reinforced concrete building on top of the hill beyond the village

Z. T6. Uncontrolled adaptive re-use: The number of coffee shops in Zeytinliköy, which have traditionally been located in the central section of the village, has rapidly increased in recent years. This situation, which is parallel with the touristic development of the village, proceeds in an uncontrolled way. The alternatives for adaptive-reuse are important for the continuity of use in the village, but they should not serve only for touristic purposes, otherwise this transformation poses a threat to the village’s rural character and the traditional built environment.

Z. T7. Problems related to open spaces: The streets of the village are one of the most problematic open areas. Although Zeytinliköy still maintains a part of its original
stone street pavement, it has some damaged sections and interventions, such as the addition of new and inappropriate stone pavements and cement-based repairs to the original pavements; there are uneven sections, hard to walk on, and other hazards. On some sections of these pathways, vegetation blocks the thoroughfares leading to the abandoned structures. Towards the periphery of the village, the stone streets are replaced by earth tracks. The presence of vehicles on these streets, which were not designed for such traffic, accelerates the deterioration of the roads. Street-lighting is also an important issue; the peripheral areas, in particular, are poorly lit at night.

Another problem concerning the open areas of the village is the current use of the largest village square. The square which was actively used for socio-cultural events, such as weddings and festivals in the past, is now used as a parking area. Thus, the present condition of the square, located at the village entrance, gives a poor welcome and unhappy introduction to visitors. Other factors include the car-filled streets (as well as the square) and the tour buses that wait at the entrance to the village.

Z. T8. Infrastructure problems: The infrastructure of the village is also insufficient to meet current needs. For example, residents complain about water shortages in summer.

Z. T9. Absence of a Conservation Development Plan: Zeytinliköy deserves to be conserved, with its all human-made and natural components, because of its cultural value as an historic, rural landscape. Although the site was declared an ‘Urban Conservation Area’ in 1991, a ‘Conservation Development Plan’ has yet to be drawn up. In fact, all the challenges mentioned above are also based on the lack of a suitable and comprehensive conservation development plan.

Z. T10. Insufficiency of legal regulations: Village Act, No: 442 (442 Sayılı Köy Kanunu) is the main regulatory instrument in terms of definitions, borders, duties, social, economic, and cultural aspects of rural settlements in Turkey. Further measures include the Development Act, No: 3194 (3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu), the Pasture Act, No: 4342 (4342 Sayılı Mera Kanunu), and the Metropolitan Municipalities Act, No:
6360 (6360 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyeleri Kanunu) that define the administrative framework of such areas. However, these laws have no indications about the conservation of rural landscapes, such as Zeytinliköy. On the contrary, they generate problems for their conservation, such as in the case of the Metropolitan Municipality Act, No: 6360, which changed the status of several rural settlements from ‘village’ (köy) to ‘neighborhood’ (mahalle), and the subsequent urbanization process is accelerated, resulting in the loss of their rural identity. With the imminent chance that Çanakkale might acquire metropolitan city status, the villages of Gökçeada would then run the risk of being re-classified accordingly as characteristically less rural and obliged to adopt more urban directives.

Law No: 2863, on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (2863 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu), is the main legal regulation for the conservation of rural landscapes, as with all other forms of cultural and natural heritage sites in Turkey; however this also lacks specific indication for rural settlements. The KUDEB of the Gökçeada Municipality is responsible for the control of survey drawings, restitution, and restoration projects within the traditional villages of Gökçeada. Yet, it is clear that the definition of rural landscapes and regulations for their conservation are insufficient and inadequate for such sites in Turkey.

4.2.2.2. Intangible Components

G. T6. Decrease in the population of the local community: As previously mentioned, the conservation of tangible and intangible values cannot be separated from each other. The local traditions, habits and lifestyles, which present diversity of cultural expressions and meanings, also have great importance for the survival of the architectural heritage. The identity of a given place is also defined by the integration of these two components. Undoubtedly, the presence of the local community has a significant role in the conservation of intangible values and such co-existence. In Gökçeada, especially after the 1970s, the change in population characteristics and
decrease in the *Rum* population has been a negative process in terms of the continuation of the local culture and intangible values. Although the presence of new inhabitants, with their own culture, has enriched the island’s cultural diversity, the decrease in the *Rum* population, which was an essential component of the spirit of the place, constitutes a threat for the conservation of intangible values.

**G. T7. Changing lifestyles:** In addition to the decrease in the population of the local *Rum* community, global influences and shifts in lifestyles in an ever-changing world constitute a significant threat to the conservation of the intangible cultural heritage. Changing needs, daily routine, technological developments and individualization, have all put a distance between individuals and intangible values. In addition, the rural characteristics, which had an important role in the island’s life in the past, have been one of the main factors in the formation of intangible values and local identity. However, the decline in importance of agriculture and animal husbandry, and changes in livelihoods, have also meant a decline in these values themselves and will result in their eventual disappearance. Tourism, which replaces rural economies, negatively affects the identity of the place, traditions and customs, labeling these settlements merely as ‘*Rum* Villages’.

### 4.2.3. Economic Threats and Problems

**G. T8. Inequalities in rural production:** Under the heading ‘Threats and Problems - Natural Values’, it was noted that the island’s agricultural areas are limited due to the mountainous topography. The distribution of resources is therefore essential. As stated above, the agricultural land and olive groves belonging to the *Rum* citizens on the island were expropriated following the decisions to establish the Open Prison in 1965 and the State Hatchery in 1966. Today, the majority of this land is rented to three big factories producing organic products. The ownership rights of *Rum* citizens are still a controversial issue, and there are large numbers of lawsuits pending in relation to them. The producer demographics of the Organic Agriculture Project, which aims
at “establishing a permanent settlement on the island”, also show the ethnic composition of the farmers on the island. Out of the project’s 169 producers, only 5 are Rum.\textsuperscript{205}

G. T9. Destructive tourism: Tourism as an alternative sector constitutes an important potential for the conservation of the cultural heritage of Gökçeada. However, it also brings about risks to the heritage sites, viewing them perhaps merely as economic benefit resources by pushing cultural values into the background. The island’s historic villages do have an element of protection as the result of tourism, but it also brings about transformation in the built environment and life in these villages. Compared to Kaleköy, the most touristic and largely transformed traditional village on the island, it can be said that the negative effects of tourism in Zeytinliköy are still minimal. However, the uncontrolled increase in the number of coffee shops is one of the indicators that Zeytinliköy is also under threat. The adaptation of new building functions that were not part of the traditional fabric should be considered within the framework of planning. Interventions and reconstructions, which are not suitable with the data provided by restitution, aim to create new functions, such as coffee shops and pensions, in expense of the original fabric of the villages. The reconstruction of a hotel building, exceeding the scale of any other structures in the village, is an example of this threat. It is essential to keep such trends under control within the framework of an eventual Conservation Development Plan and to establish a balance between sustainable development and sustainable conservation.

4.3. Opportunities

The values of Zeytinliköy within the context of Gökçeada are evaluated in accordance with Mason’s approach, which emphasizes the importance of enlarging the scope of value definitions so as to develop specific conservation policies for each monument

\textsuperscript{205} Burkay 2016, p. 77.
This approach is considered within the framework of a rural landscape concept; a site-specific methodology is followed, while assessing the values and threats for Zeytinliköy. These values are basically divided into two as natural and human-made (socio-cultural) values, and economic values are differentiated as use and non-use values. Human-made values are assessed as tangible and intangible, and in this way the aim is to evaluate all the natural and man-made values of the settlement in an integrated way. Threats regarding island and village-scale values are also evaluated under the headings of natural and human-made components. Economic threats concerning island and village-scale values are also included. When all these values and threats are evaluated, the main opportunities are identified as rural development, awareness of traditional architecture, community participation, the continuity of religious events, and tourism.

Table 7: Opportunities, together with the related values and threats

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**O1. Rural development:** Rural development is one of the major opportunities to help provide continuity of habitation and conservation of historic rural landscape values. Agricultural production and livestock breeding constitute important tools to ensure rural development. Zeytinliköy, which is surrounded, as the name suggests, by olive groves, has the opportunity for rural development through olive, olive oil and soap

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206 See above, pp. 185-187.
(olive oil) production. As identified previously, local specialities, such as dibek coffee and cicirya, can also be thought of as potential revenue streams for the villagers. Rural development, through the above-mentioned means, can keep Zeytinliköy ‘a living place’ and allow the continued use of the presently abandoned traditional structures of the village.

O2. Traditional architecture: Zeytinliköy is one of the best-conserved, early villages on the island with its traditional churches, laundries, olive oil factories, shops, coffee shops and houses. Although after long years of abandonment, decay and transformation, the characteristics of the village’s traditional architecture can still be seen. The traditional structures of the village, which were built from natural materials, based on pragmatic decisions and local needs, present a certain skill in rural construction techniques. They also have a significant documentary value in terms of understanding social life and culture. In addition to their meanings as historical documents, they also constitute an opportunity (both ‘re-use’ and ‘adaptive re-use’) to provide continuity of habitation. Not only the structures in the settlement area, but also other features (chapels, dam structures in olive groves, pasture and agricultural areas) have the important potential to remind the coexistence of the settlement and production areas and how the rural character of the village was shaped.

O3. Community involvement: Gökçeada is an area of cultural richness, where the Rums constituted the majority of the population for many years and a certain number of them continue to live on the island together with the new Turkish inhabitants. Zeytinliköy is one of the two villages on the island where the local Rum population is mostly seen. Newcomer Turkish inhabitants have close relations with the native Rums and are interested in their culture, memories, and experiences. The existence of the native Rum population and the sources of knowledge they can provide, and the new Turkish residents with a high appreciation of local values, help create an opportunity for community involvement in conservation activities.
O4. **Continuity of religious events:** The Panagia festival, name days, Easter, Christmas and ‘Ta Fota’ are religious days still celebrated in the village. The Panagia festival, especially, is an important opportunity for keeping the ties of expatriate *Rums* with the island alive.

O5. **Tourism:** Tourism is one of the leading and most important sectors in rural development. The richness and diversity of Gökçeada’s natural and cultural assets provide significant opportunities for the development of tourism and recreational activities. Tourism and the employment it brings can be thought of as one of the basic tools for rural development in Zeytinliköy. Considering its natural and socio-cultural values, Zeytinliköy has opportunities for cultural, agro-, and religious tourism; these can create sources of income for the local population and continuity of habitation in the village. They can also provide continuity of use by producing alternatives related to the adaptive re-use of the architectural heritage. Moreover, the profitable potential of tourism can provide an economy for conservation activities and make a significant contribution to the realization of the interventions that cultural properties need.
As stated at the very beginning of the study, rural areas have lost their importance due to industrialization in Turkey (and all over the world). These areas have become unusable and desolated due to rapid urbanization, and economic policies have led to increases in migration from rural to urban areas. These global and regional factors have also affected rural life in Gökçeada. Moreover, Gökçeada was an island with a non-Muslim minority during Ottoman rule. This situation led to political tension during the establishment of the Turkish Republic and the subsequent nation-state building process. As a consequence of this political tension, the island witnessed certain socio-cultural transformations. It remained underdeveloped in the period of abandonment that lasted for approximately 30 years after the 1960s, but after the removal of the ‘military exclusion zone’ status in 1991, tourism investments in Gökçeada increased and the island has become a popular area for the purchase of summer homes. However, Gökçeada was rather unprepared for such a change, and in this context the conservation of the island’s rich cultural heritage was of great importance.

Although conservation efforts gained momentum in the 1990s, it can still be seen that conservation works are limited to the urban, natural, and archeological sites. The traditional villages on the island are also protected within the boundaries of the ‘Urban Conservation Area’. Thus the villages, which constitute a whole (together with their settlement areas, agricultural lands, olive groves, dam settlements, and agricultural production and religious structures scattered all around the island) are treated in the same way as cities – which are in a different context. This is a major problem in the conservation of cultural heritage and site-specific characteristics. The current
conservation practices in Turkey focus only on the conservation and restoration of the built environment; this approach neglects nature – and those who shape it – and brings about the loss of a ‘spirit of place’.

On the other hand, integrated and sustainable conservation approaches under the concept of “historic rural landscape” present a comprehensive challenge in terms of the conservation of the world’s rural environments. These approaches, discussed in Chapter 2, focus on the elements of rural environments and their interactions, i.e. formation processes of the rural areas that define rural identity and shape the conservation strategies to be developed in this context.

This study has discussed the case of Zeytinliköy within this framework by defining the rural landscape characteristics of Zeytinliköy and Gökçeada and identifying the values, problems and opportunities of the site. In this chapter, the main outcomes of the study will be analyzed, and strategies, principles and proposals concerning the integrated and sustainable conservation of Zeytinliköy will be defined.

5.1. The Main Outcomes of the Study

Gökçeada is one of several important cultural landscapes in Turkey and has been home to several civilizations for centuries. The island includes several archeological and natural sites and traditional Ottoman settlements of great importance, together with the traditional fabric intertwined with the natural beauty of the landscape, the traditional architecture (representing the ways of life, technical knowledge accumulation and aesthetic tastes of a given community), and the agricultural areas and structures (i.e. the windmills, etc.) that all demonstrate the rural life and agricultural tradition of the centuries that have gone before. Gökçeada also has a cultural and historical importance as an island inhabited by a non-Muslim Rum minority in the Ottoman Period which became part of the Turkish Republic, together with its Rum inhabitants, after the Lausanne Treaty in 1923.
As one of the earliest settlements, Zeytinliköy is an historic rural landscape, with its settlement area surrounded with olive groves, fertile agricultural lands, pasture areas, seasonal dam settlements, as well as chapels and windmills outside the settlement area. There is also a small Late Byzantine castle, locally known as Kesiktaş Kale (Arassia) within the boundaries of Zeytinliköy. Similar to the formation of other historic rural landscapes, Zeytinliköy was also formed by three major components – the human and nature, and the built environment, which is the consequence of the interaction between the first two. This triple co-existence constitutes the local identity of the site and is inherently sustainable on its own with no external influence. Before the strong economic and socio-cultural transformations in the village resulting from governmental policies, the local dynamics held a balance between themselves. The tangible and intangible values of the village were preserved as a matter of course and there was no need for additional effort to this end. However, economic and socio-cultural transformations, affected by changing policies, have resulted in separate damage to each of these three components; in addition, their co-existence was also put at risk. This situation made the conservation of tangible and intangible values of the village an important issue now awaiting solutions.

As previously mentioned, Zeytinliköy was a rural environment where daily life was dominated by agricultural production. The villagers of Zeytinliköy depended on olive cultivation, agriculture and animal husbandry; their occupations included blacksmiths, potters, shoemakers, carpenters, and millers. One of the most important components of the local identity, as can be understood from its current name, was olive and olive cultivation – this village being surrounded as it is by olive groves. The production of olive oil and other products (i.e. soap) was common. In addition to olive cultivation, other agricultural production takes place, such as the cultivation of vegetables, fruit and cereal crops. Animal husbandry was also carried out in the large pasture areas of the village. As we have seen, the main settlement area was not used for agricultural and animal husbandry; these were done in the local dam settlements – those dwellings where families spent the whole summer. Therefore, within the traditional Zeytinliköy
homes no special space was reserved for animals on the ground floors. Taking this into account, therefore, it is not possible to understand the characteristics of rural life in the village by looking at the settlement area only.

The local characteristics of rural life are directly reflected in the traditional architecture of the village. For this reason, the conservation of the traditional architecture, with its all components, is a critical issue when it comes to continuing the rural lifestyle through the generations.

Among the most important components of local identity are the religious rituals. Zeytinliköy has two monumental and two smaller churches within the settlement area. In addition to these, there were once approximately 40 smaller chapels within the borders of Zeytinliköy. While the current name of the village derives (as mentioned) from the olive groves surrounding the village, the old name ‘Agios Theodoros’ refers to the eponymous chapel located a few hundred meters from the settlement area, inside the olive groves. As mentioned above, the Rum population generally give their children saints’ names and for this reason saints’ days are also celebrated as ‘name days’ for those having the same name as the relevant saint. On this day, which is more important than their actual birthday, a meal is given and wine served near the chapel bearing the name of a particular saint. In particular, the Greek-Orthodox religious festival for the commemoration of the death of the Virgin Mary (Panagia), celebrated on the 23rd of August, was and is also an important religious day for Zeytinliköy.

As can be seen in these examples, the major components of local identity in Zeytinliköy, defined as the result of the co-existence of the human, nature, and the built environment, were agricultural production and religion. However, with the expropriation of agricultural lands and olive groves, the people of the village were deprived of the ability to make their livelihoods through agricultural production. This situation, and other factors resulting from governmental decisions, led to a rapid decrease in the local Rum population of the village; the built environment was abandoned and left to decay. All the vital components (human, nature, and the built
environment), and their co-existence, have thus been damaged and co-existence in effect destroyed. The disappearance of a natural and sustainable way of life, which normally requires no intervention, has brought about conservation problems. Following this challenging situation, the village has entered into a second phase that can be called a period of resettlement, supported by an increase in tourist activities. In turn, however, these changes, which are gaining momentum, raise important threats that can cause an irreversible loss of local identity.

Despite all these problems and threats, the local identity of Zeytinliköy can still be identified through its nature, a small number of Rum inhabitants, and the built environment. The olive groves surrounding the village are still important elements of the rural landscape and image of the village. It is also an important ‘value’ that some of the former Rum inhabitants still live here, even though their population has fallen dramatically and they have been effectively excluded from agricultural production. Although the built environment has had a transformation, it still reflects the authenticity of the place. These are key factors in reinforcing the local identity of the village. The increasing number of new inhabitants and tourist activities in the village can also help conserve tangible and intangible values and rebuild local identity – when they are suitably controlled to fulfill this target.

Figure 120: Main outcomes of the study
5.2. Principles and Strategies Towards An Integrated Approach to the Sustainable Conservation of Zeytinliköy

The theoretical framework and general evaluation concerning the conservation of historic rural landscapes were described in Chapter 2; and analysis of rural landscape characteristics of the selected case study and the assessment of the site-specific values, problems/threats and opportunities were described in Chapters 3 and 4. As a result of the evaluation of these three chapters all together, the main objectives of the study were defined above. This study aims to achieve an integrated approach for the sustainable conservation of Zeytinliköy, by designating the main principles and identifying the strategies for each of these principles, and proposals concerning the specific strategies.

As mentioned previously, in terms of the ‘coexistence’ between nature, human and the built environment, sustainability is provided in its natural process and there is no need for further intervention. Deriving from this, and in order to achieve a sustainable conservation, it can be said that ‘coexistence’, which means rural lifestyle together with all its components, should be re-established. However, in this re-establishment process, one should know that it would not be possible to construct exactly the same ‘coexistence’ as in the past, due to changing lifestyle factors and contemporary global forces, such as urbanization and modernization. Especially, the economic sustainability of inhabitants is an important challenge to be considered in order to make the village ‘a living place’. The revitalization of rural production is an important issue that needs to be strengthened and supported. As we have seen, in addition to rural production, a form of tourism needs to be found that does not harm the historic environment and local identity, but which can create a source of economy for their conservation and presentation, and which can be integrated to the ‘coexistence’ as an important goal going forward.

In this context, the basic principles towards an integrated approach to the sustainable conservation of Zeytinliköy can be presented in a two-fold strategy: P1 – the re-
establishment of the ‘coexistence’; and P2 – the integration of tourism within such ‘coexistence’.

5.2.1. Strategies for the Re-establishment of the ‘Coexistence’

The coexistence of nature, human and built environment of Zeytinliköy constitutes the local identity of the historic rural landscape. To make the village ‘a sustainable living environment’, as it was in the past, the coexistence of these components needs to be reconstructed. Strategies for the re-establishment of such ‘coexistence’ are developed, taking in association with the historic rural landscape characteristics and a value-threat-opportunity assessment of the site. The revitalization of rural production, inclusion of community involvement, and conservation of the built environment are key issues shaping the strategies for the re-establishment of the coexistence.

S1. Conservation of the nature: The natural environment of the village should be protected as one of the main components of local identity. As in other parts of the island, a large part of Zeytinliköy includes elements of natural beauty. However, as a result of unplanned and income-oriented investments, these elements of the island are under threat. Attempts at mining, in the case of Kaleköy, prevented by public reaction, threaten the flora and fauna of the island and should be prevented. Nature, of course, is an important component of historic rural landscapes and must be conserved, constituting as it does a physical record of the locale, together with its built environment. The olive groves surrounding Zeytinliköy have always had a significant influence on village culture, as an important part of rural production, and they constitute one of the iconic images of collective memory. These groves, as mentioned above, also give to the village of Zeytinliköy its current name and dominate the backdrop to it.
Figure 121: Principles and strategies

P1: Re-establishment of the ‘coexistence’

- S1. Conservation of the nature
- S2. Sustainability of the inhabitants
- S3. Revitalization of the rural economic activities
- S4. Documentation and conservation of the built environment
- S5. Supply of the basic needs of the current use
- S6. Extension of the knowledge about the tangible and intangible values
- S7. Revision of legal regulations and preparation of a conservation development plan

P2: Integration of tourism into the ‘coexistence’

- S8. Adoption of a non-destructive and respectful tourism approach
- S9. Inclusion of alternative tourism types
- S10. Provision of an economy for inhabitants and conservation activities
- S11. Monitoring the impacts of tourism

An integrated approach to the sustainable conservation
In addition, the pasture lands of the village, located to the south, are also important areas; the opening of these areas to construction for purposes of tourism has recently also been mentioned in the media. All such attempts and opportunities potentially constitute threats that might damage the island’s natural wealth and they should be prevented in such cases.

S2. Sustainability of the inhabitance: As the other main component of local identity, the integration of human factor is crucial for the conservation of an historic rural landscape and the continuity of inhabitance that should be sustained in Zeytinliköy. Together with its new inhabitants, the existence of the local Rum community is a key factor for the conservation of natural and cultural values of the village. The conservation of the values of the village, and recreating links with the older inhabitants, is also important, if these people are to have a connection with their past and an enhanced sense of belonging. To sustain the existence of the Rum inhabitants of the village, the primary concern should look at issues of their livelihood. The current Rum population of the village is predominantly elderly; to encourage younger generations to live in the village new job opportunities should be provided.

The Panagia Festival is one of the most important factors in terms of linking the Rum people with the place and therefore it should be sustained. It plays an important role in keeping the memory of the people and the place alive, and in conveying this memory to new generations. In this respect it is a powerful tool for creating deep connections to a sense of place.

In addition, the Imbros and Tenedos Studies Association, based in Thessaloniki, and the Imbrian Associations of Athens and Thessaloniki are important NGOs which have contributed to the reorganization of this festival and the return of some of those who migrated. These bodies have an important role in sustaining the presence of the local Rum population on the island. They publish journals and distribute them to Imbrians, both on the island and in Greece, and they also advocate the ownership claims of private individuals. The Imbrian Association in Zeytinliköy is affiliated to the
associations based in Athens and Thessaloniki and should be actively involved in conservation activities, in collaboration with local authorities. All of the inhabitants should be made aware of the history, architectural characteristics, technical information, rural production methods, and the intangible values of the place. Increasing public awareness of the values of the place will help raise the community’s appreciation of the heritage; it can be also effective in increasing the willingness of the community to conserve their environment. The demands of all (old and new) inhabitants, and those who may return in the future, are important for the conservation of the village; therefore they should be the focus of any project regarding conservation.

S3. The revitalization of rural economic activities: One of the most important factors in the re-establishment of the coexistence between nature, and the built environment is the revitalization of rural economies – e.g. agriculture, animal husbandry, beekeeping, etc. As already mentioned, due to the mountainous topography of the island, agricultural areas are limited and the distribution of resources is an essential issue. However, it is also known that agricultural lands, olive groves and pasture areas belonging to former Rum citizens on the island were expropriated during the establishment of the Open Prison in 1965 and the State Hatchery in 1966. Today, the majority of these lands, including the olive groves and agricultural and pasture lands of Zeytinliköy, is rented to three large factories producing organic products. The ownership rights of the Rum citizens is still a controversial issue and there are large numbers of ongoing lawsuits. Even the Organic Agriculture Project, running with the aim of ‘establishing a permanent settlement on the island’, also excludes Rum inhabitants. We have already noted that out of 169 producers contributing to this project, only 5 are Rum. Maintaining the presence of a local Rum population is crucial for conserving the values of the island in general and Zeytinliköy in particular; this will only be possible if these people can be reintegrated into the agricultural economy. For this reason, it is very important to respect the property rights of the original local people. Today, for the young population who continue to spend their summers in the village, one of the biggest obstacles to their permanent return to
the island is the lack of any means of making a living. Giving back the property rights of these people and reintegrating them into the rural production are important for the continuity of the Rum population in the village. As also emphasized in the relevant international documents, such as the Recommendation 935 on the Revival of Disadvantaged Rural Areas (1982), the Cork Declaration (1996), and the Cork 2.0 Declaration “A Better Life in Rural Areas” (2016), rural economies should be supported to prevent any rural exodus, and a simple and transparent policy should be designated for these areas.

When generating policies about the revitalization of rural economic activities, the local Rum inhabitants of the village should be placed firmly in the center, based on their site-specific traditional knowledge. A local initiative should be established to create a knowledge-sharing platform between old and new inhabitants of the village. New inhabitants should also be encouraged to participate in rural economic activities. Experts on rural economies should also be included in this process to support inherited knowledge with modern techniques and tools. Moreover, cooperation between local and central authorities, universities, and other stakeholders should also be sought.

**S4. Documentation and conservation of the built environment:** Although the built environment of Zeytinliköy has gone through a transformation from past to present, today it still exists as a physical document of local identity. It is important to convey technical knowledge concerning these structures, built in harmony with nature by using local materials, to future generations. In addition to the technical knowledge they transmit, these structures constitute tangible data representing a community’s rural lifestyle, sociological codes, and aesthetic understanding. For this reason, these structures should be carefully documented and conservation projects should be prepared according to any standards determined with respect to broader historical research and site surveys. After the designation of the village as an Urban Conservation Site in 1991, steps were taken to protect the built environment, but this remained limited to the settlement area only. Other structures, such as the dams, chapels and windmills, were left open to deterioration and slow destruction. These
buildings outside the settlement area deserve to be documented and protected, as they are also important elements of the agricultural and religious activities of the past. The location of these structures should be shown on a plan and a conservation approach covering the whole area should be developed.

**S5. Supply of basic needs for current use:** To ensure continuity of village inhabitance, the physical environment should be adopted to meet basic needs for current use. The adaptive reuse of the architectural heritage, both in original and new functions, infrastructure problems, accessibility of the site and parking problem, are all topics to be focused on.

As mentioned above, the traditional built environment of the village should be carefully documented and protected for its documentary value. However, in the reuse of these structures, certain standards should be developed, taking into consideration technological developments and current usage needs. For example, one of the biggest problems encountered in the re-use of traditional houses is the addition of ‘wet’ spaces, such as lavatories and bathrooms. In this regard, guiding standards should be developed and types of reversible interventions that will not harm the historic buildings should be determined. Not only the physical transformation of the built environment but also the transformation of building functions should be monitored to maintain local identity. Adaptive reuse functions should be limited to avoid threats, such as the unnecessary increase in the number of coffee shops and accommodation facilities. Possible adaptive reuse functions should be determined with respect to the conservation of the local identity of the village; other structures, such as factories and shops, should refunction and be integrated into village life.

In addition, electrical installation, plumbing, and the infrastructural problems of the village should be resolved and a comprehensive infrastructure project that will not harm the historic environment should be prepared. Moreover, to ensure safety at night in the village, a new lighting system, which is both functional and respectful of the traditional fabric, should be provided.
Another issue related to current use is village accessibility. Getting from the island center to Zeytinliköy can be provided by public transport up to the main road. However reaching the village by public transport is not favoured by residents and visitors because of the long walking distance from this point to the village settlement area; they prefer to use their own cars. This situation causes heavy traffic and parking problems in the village. Providing public transportation up to the entrance of the settlement area can help reduce vehicle density. Moreover, inhabitants often park their cars on the village streets as parking areas are insufficient. This not only creates an obstacle for pedestrians, but also negatively affects the view of the historic environment. Moreover, this situation results in the deterioration of the original stone paving of streets originally not designed for this purpose. One of the most significant problems is the current use of part of the larger village square, which is a focal point surrounded by important structures, such as the church, school and factory, as a parking area; this gives a poor initial impression. The village car park should be relocated and vehicular access to the village should be limited and rearranged.

S6. Extension of knowledge on tangible and intangible values: Before developing any action for the conservation of the cultural heritage values and local identity of the island and village, thorough archival research should be conducted; this information should be obtainable from a digital platform that can be accessed by anyone wishing to share and get information. These archiving activities, which should be carried out with the participation of local people, and experts such as oral historians, conservators, interviewers or transcribers, should form a foundation for all issues – from rural production to architectural conservation. The number of studies, such as the book published by the Imbros Tenedos Studies Association (*Toponym Map of Imbros*), should be increased. Oral history recording studies should be undertaken to broaden knowledge provided by the limited number of archival documents: participation by Zeytinliköy’s senior Rum inhabitants would be very important in this regard.

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207 For further information on collecting, preserving, and disseminating oral history, and guidance in terms of funding and staffing oral history projects, see Ritchie 2015.
208 Xeinos *et al*. 2014.
Immigrant residents, who can be reached through the Imbrian associations in Greece, should also be involved and their knowledge and experience should be added to this study.

**S7. Revision of legal regulations and preparation of a conservation development plan:** As mentioned earlier, Zeytinliköy is an Urban Conservation Area, as are other historic rural settlements in Turkey. This situation is one of the most important factors causing rural settlements to lose their character and become urbanized. To avoid this situation, an holistic conservation approach, which includes sustainable development and management programs based on site-specific characteristics, and respectful of the integrity of natural and cultural assets, is needed. Conservation activities should not be limited to the settlement area where the built environment is concentrated, but should also focus on the inhabitants, the surrounding natural landscape, and several rural structures in the landscape. To achieve this, first of all, the definition of the historic rural landscape should be included in the terminology and criteria for their determination, and principles and limitations regarding their conservation should be determined within a legal framework. Zeytinliköy should be evaluated as a whole (i.e. its olive groves, agricultural lands, dam settlements, chapels, windmills, etc.). Conservation boundaries should be revised in this direction and a legal framework encompassing historic rural landscapes should be reconsidered. Following this a conservation development plan covering the area should be prepared, the main purpose of which should be the conservation of the local identity, and the above-mentioned strategies should be included in the preparation of this plan. All the related information and documents should be collected, evaluated, and planning decisions and implementation projects should be developed accordingly. Data collection, evaluation and decision-making processes should be made by experts from different professions (city planners, architects, conservationists, landscape architects, archaeologists, art historians, sociologists, engineers, etc.). In addition to the preparation of this plan, the legal, administrative and economic frameworks, which are essential requirements for any application, should be determined.
5.2.2. Strategies for the Integration of Tourism into the ‘Coexistence’

The tourism sector constitutes an important opportunity for the conservation of the cultural heritage of Gökçeada. However, it also brings about the risk for heritage sites, which may then be perceived merely as economic benefit resources, while pushing the cultural values into the background. Although the effects of tourism in Zeytinliköy are still minimal, they constitute an important threat to the village. On the other hand, rural tourism is one of the leading and most important sectors in rural development. The richness and diversity of natural and cultural assets in the village offer significant opportunities for the development of tourism and recreational activities. For this reason, a style of tourism that does not harm the historic environment and local identity, but creates economic benefits for residents, as well as conserving cultural assets, should be integrated into any ‘coexistence’ strategy – some of which are presented next:

S8. Adopting a non-destructive and respectful tourism approach: Its natural and cultural values clearly make Zeytinliköy attractive to tourists. However, a delicate balance should be maintained between the desires of tourists and needs of the local residents, and between the development and conservation of cultural and natural assets. Tourism planning for heritage sites should be made carefully, without disregarding the benefits that can flow to the local community and precluding the continuation of a pleasant standard of living. As mentioned, the continuation of the rural lifestyle should be a primary concern for the conservation of the cultural and natural values of the village. However, conserving the identity of traditional rural settlements through their tangible and intangible values is not possible if the issue of economic sustainability is left to one side. For this reason, it is important to establish a balance between sustainable development and sustainable conservation. A dialogue should be established between conservation experts and the tourist industry to create a sustainable future for the village. Tourism activities should be controlled to prevent the destruction of the built environment and the rural life of the village.
S9. Inclusion of alternative tourism models: Currently, coastal and cultural tourism constitute the main forms of tourism on Gökçeada. However, due to the infrequent accessibility – luckily – the island does not have the potential to become a high-income, beach-tourism destination. Because of the transportation difficulties, Gökçeada is not a place where one can easily go to only spend time on the beach and then continue, but rather a place one visits for a specific purpose.²⁰⁹ The island is an important cultural tourism area with its archeological sites, historic villages and monuments, and the most important factor in cultural tourism potential here is represented by traditional villages; these villages attract many local and foreign tourists. Zeytinliköy is one of the important areas on the island for cultural tourism and this potential is currently exploited. However, the current understanding of tourism is an activity where visitors can walk and wander around the village quickly, and at best, have refreshments in the coffee houses. In this way, only the number of coffee houses increases and tourism does not contribute sufficiently to the local economy; rather it constitutes a threat in terms of the transformation of the built environment and local identity. Instead an approach to tourism should be adopted whereby visitors can be involved in village activities, witness rural life, and interact with villagers – rather than passing just through. To achieve this, alternative tourism models should be adopted. Agro-tourism has a significant potential to achieve this aim. Agro-tourism that can be thought as a type of tourism which is integrated with the rural production, is proposed to be revitalized. This can provide income for the village and at the same time enable visitors to have different experiences and discover new cultures. An agro-tourism approach, where visitors provide support to the inhabitants in their rural activities, such as agriculture, animal breeding, beekeeping, olive picking, etc., and the inhabitants can guide them as transmitters of cultural values and experiences. The whole process can be an effective tool for the integration of

²⁰⁹ Another north Aegean island, Samothraki, is very similar to Gökçeada in this regard. Visitors to the island are mostly campers, and the overwhelming majority considers the island as a very special place that should be preserved because of its natural and cultural values. Campers spend less, but stay longer, and provide a significant income for the island. Thus a non-destructive and more sympathetic means of tourism is created. For further information, see Schwaiger 2017.
tourism and village life, as well as help with the conservation of local identity. Zeytinliköy can be included in the lists of several national and international organizations supporting agro-tourism. Conducted by Buğday Derneği (the Wheat Association). Ekolojik Çiftliklerde Tarım Turizmi ve Gönüllü Bilgi, Tecrübe Takası (‘TaTuTa’, or Agro-tourism in Ecological Farms and Voluntary Knowledge, Experience Exchange), is now one of the most important projects in Turkey. WWOOF is an important federation around the world, “linking volunteers with organic farmers and growers to promote cultural and educational experiences based on trust and non-monetary exchange, thereby helping to build a sustainable, global community”. In addition, the Hellenic Agro-tourism Federation (SEAGE), established in Greece, where agro-tourism is widespread, is an important organization.

North Aegean islands, such as Samothraki, Chios, Ikaria, Lemnos, Samos, and Lesbos are all members of this organization, except for Imbros and Tenedos which belong to Turkey. Cooperation, knowledge and experience exchange with these organizations will be beneficial for the development of agro-tourism on Imbros.

In addition to agro-tourism, religious tourism also constitutes an important opportunity. As the numbers indicate, visitors to the island increase each year for the Panagia Festival on 15 August. It is also culturally important that the island should be a religious center of interest for a large number of those of Orthodox faith, including former inhabitants who have migrated and relatives of local inhabitants who chose to visit for the festival. Necessary efforts should be made to promote the island for this purpose, and Imbrian associations, both in Turkey and abroad, should be encouraged in this aim. Religious visits to the island should not be limited to the Panagia Festival, and Gökçeda should also be a destination for Christmas, Easter, and other Orthodox events. In this way Zeytinliköy and the island could also be a lively place off season.

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210 http://www.tatuta.org (last accessed on 25.08.2019).
211 https://wwoof.net/ (last accessed on 25.08.2019).
212 http://agroxenia.net/en (last accessed on 25.08.2019).
S10. Provision of an economy for the inhabitants and conservation activities: As mentioned previously, rural production and rural tourism are important sources of income which should be supported and enhanced. Not only the absence of livelihood opportunities but also the insufficiency of financial resources for conservation activities is a current and common problem for heritage sites. The profitable potential of rural investments can make a significant contribution to the realization of the interventions that cultural properties require. Rural production and tourism that create employment opportunities are basic tools for the rural development of Zeytinliköy. As just referred to above, agro-tourism and religious tourism can be thought of as potential drivers for the local economy. Most of the revenues to be obtained from these sectors should be reserved for local conservation activities.

S11. Monitoring the impacts of tourism: The progressive impact of tourism on nature, the built environment and rural life should be monitored regularly; tourism monitoring plans should be prepared to control such impact and should include provisions for the development of tourism and conservation of the cultural heritage. Monitoring should be incorporated into the general planning and management of any site.

5.2.3. Proposals

In the previous sections, this study has presented some principles and strategies for an integrated approach for the sustainable conservation of Zeytinliköy. The current section proposes some primary actions for the implementation of specific strategies mentioned previously. While doing this, the wider village context and borders, as based on the Toponym Map of Imbros, and including summer settlements, olive groves, farmland and pasture areas, may be accepted as the village border. The proposals are defined in two different scales: village and settlement. The list of proposals referring to related strategies and the conceptual plan for pointing out these proposals on the physical environment are presented in Figure 119.
**PR1. Determination of the rural landscape conservation borders:** The current ‘conservation area’ borders should be enlarged to include the agricultural lands, olive groves and pasture areas of the village, together with the rural structures located in these areas. Not only the settlement area itself but also the natural components and traditional structures outside the settlement area of Zeytinliköy should be protected as a whole, with the revision of legal regulations and preparation of a conservation
development plan. The village borders mentioned above could be accepted as historic rural landscape conservation borders. However, this sample area needs to be revised in the light of more comprehensive studies across the island.

PR.2. Re-integration of the local Rum population into agricultural activities:
Maintaining the presence of the local Rum population is crucial for conserving the values of the island and the village of Zeytinliköy. This will only be possible if this population can be re-integrated within the rural economy. Hence, it is very important to return property rights to the original inhabitants, so that they can, once again, participate in rural production activities in agricultural lands, pasture areas and olive groves.

PR.3. Documentation and rehabilitation of rural structures outside the settlement area:
The buildings outside the settlement area, such as dams, ruined windmills, chapels, etc., should be documented and protected as important elements of past agricultural and religious activities. To prevent these structures from further decay, rehabilitation of these buildings should be made. They can also refunct in parallel with the revitalization of rural production activities. Access to these structures, which are inaccessible today, should also be provided.

PR.4. Refunctioning of unused structures:
This study proposes the reintegration of unused traditional commercial structures (butchers, kaşar cheese shop, grocery stores, etc.) into village life, with the same or different functions according to the current needs of the village. These structures, with unique architectural characteristics in accordance with their original functions, should be preserved by respecting their original characteristics, both in re-use and adaptive reuse cases. Important functions that once provided a significant income for the village and island should be revitalized.213 This is important for the transfer of the culture to the future generations as well as for rural development.214 Only a limited number of these structures could

213 See above pp. 74-78.
214 ‘Roquefort’ cheese, made in the village of Roquefort-sur-Soulzon in southern France is a good example of this. Although it is a very small village, it has become a worldwide brand with its cheese.
be identified within this study. Further analysis should be made to reveal other traditional commercial structures and functions within the settlement area.

**PR.5. Rehabilitation of ruinous structures:** Compared to the restored buildings, the village’s ruined structures provide more details about construction techniques and materials, and therefore they are important physical documents of the place. It is important to convey the technical knowledge of these structures, built in harmony with nature by using local materials, to future generations. For this reason, these structures should be documented immediately and restitutinal analyses should be made in association with the broader historical researches and site surveys. After this the rehabilitation of these structures needs to be undertaken to prevent them from further damage and destruction.

**PR.6. Determination of the appropriate interventions for the reuse and conservation of different residential building types:** A comprehensive survey of the building typologies, as previously presented in this study, should be conducted throughout the whole village and mapping should be undertaken. It is possible to revise these identified types in the light of this comprehensive survey. For these identified typologies, some specific forms of intervention that will not damage the original characteristics, such as plan, facade organization, and characteristics of the architectural elements (doors, windows, staircases, fireplaces, niches and shelves etc.) should be determined. Standards should be developed to fulfill the needs of reuse, such as the integration of ‘wet’ spaces into the traditional structure.

**PR.7. Documentation and conservation of local architectural elements:** Original facade elements, such as windows and doors, in the village are very few in number and the majority have been replaced by modern ones. The original examples need to
be documented carefully and typological studies need made in detail. Not only windows and doors, but also other architectural elements, such as staircases, fireplaces, niches and shelves, *goukeri* and *abadi*, should be documented and conserved. In addition to these immovable elements, movable architectural elements, such as the earthenware jars, still in use and present inside the abandoned ruined structures, also need to be documented and conserved. Some of these jars can be exhibited in open spaces of the village as landscape features.

**PR.8. Rehabilitation of the stone-paved streets and earthen pathways:** All stone streets and earthen pathways in the settlement area need to be rehabilitated to provide ease of access with respect to their original characteristics. In particular, the original details of the stone streets should be preserved and previous interventions not made in accordance with these original characteristics should be removed and repaired accordingly. The rehabilitation of these streets should be designated together with possible those infrastructure projects that require minimum intervention and meet current needs.

**PR.9. Regulation of vehicular traffic and designation of new parking areas:** Vehicular traffic should be regulated in such a way that it does not obstruct pedestrian circulation. The current parking area in the largest square of the village should be relocated.

**PR.10. Organization of a community center:** In addition to its current use, the Imbrian Association building can be thought of as a community center. Although the building is built of reinforced concrete and incompatible with the traditional architecture, in terms of form and scale, it should be maintained (with certain interventions) because of its importance for the collective memory of the inhabitants. This center should be reorganized to accommodate regular meetings of several collaborations to do with conservation activities in the village. A library should be located in this building to gather all the published and digital material relating to the
village. Oral history recording studies should also be carried out here to broaden the knowledge provided by the limited number of existing archival documents.

**PR.11. Determination of visitor routes:** A visitor route is proposed by taking into consideration the important structures of the village, such as religious buildings, olive oil production structures, laundries, shops, coffee shops, and the two large squares. This route will connect the functions intended to serve for the cultural, religious and agro tourism and ensure that these functions are restricted to designated areas for these purposes only within the village.

**PR.12. Determination of potential residential buildings to serve for tourism purposes:** Potential residential buildings, which are no longer used today and can serve for tourism activities, such as guest houses, can be proposed in the vicinity of the above-mentioned visitor route. These structures should be rehabilitated for reuse, but any interventions that damage their original characteristics should be prevented.

**PR.13. Use of the olive groves for agro-tourism activities:** The olive groves surrounding the village represent an important component of the local identity and some can readily be designated for agro-tourism purposes. In particular, the olive groves near the chapel of Ayii Theodori may be singled out within the context of this study as a potential area for agro-tourism, to emphasize the toponymical reference and coexistence of rural production and religion as parts of the local identity.

**PR.14. Refunctioning the olive oil production buildings:** Together with the revitalization of the rural production activities and integration of agro-tourism, the reffunctioning of olive oil production buildings, either with their original or new functions, can be proposed. The industrial olive oil factory located next to the school could be converted into an information center and workshop area serving agro-tourism activities. This building, currently unused and neglected, should be restored, taking care to conserve its former characteristics; its original equipment can also be exhibited here to present productive history of the village. The older structure, including an oil mill, is also in poor condition and could be restored to exhibit the olive oil mill and
provide information on the earliest olive oil production techniques. The Museum of Industrial Olive Oil Production of Agia Paraskevi village on the Lesbos and Olive Press Museum of Eggares village on the Naxos can be good examples in terms of exhibiting the olive oil production culture. There are also such good examples in Turkey such as Adatepe and Ayvalık Olive Oil Museums, and Oleatrium Olive and Olive Oil History Museum in Kuşadası. Lastly, the olive oil factory near the church of Panagia could be reused as an olive oil (and soap) factory, reviving its past collective uses, and for agro-tourism purposes.

**PR.15. Rehabilitation and representation of religious buildings:** The churches and chapels within the settlement area should be rehabilitated and reintegrated within village life. Information panels on them, giving names, construction dates, historic and architectural information, etc., should be provided.

**PR.16. Rehabilitation and representation of the laundries:** The village laundries should also be rehabilitated. As with the religious buildings, information panels on them, giving names, construction dates, historic and architectural information, etc., should be provided.

Figure 123: Lesbos, the Industrial Olive Oil Production Museum in the village of Agia Paraskevi (https://www.greekgastronomyguide.gr/en/lesvos/ [last accessed on 29.10.2019])

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Figure 124: Naxos, Olive Press Museum of Eggares

Figure 125: Adatepe, Olive Oil Museum
(https://www.kucukkuyu.com/adatepe-zeytinyagi-muzesi/
[last accessed on 29.10.2019])
Figure 126: Zeytinliköy, village-scale proposals
Figure 127: Zeytinliköy, settlement-scale proposals
Figure 128: Zeytinliköy, photographs from proposed tourist routes
5.3. Challenges and Further Research

Studying Zeytinliköy-Gökçeada has been very informative; it is a rare example of an historic rural landscape in Turkey with natural and cultural richness, including the surviving Rum population and culture. However, the lack of written resources on the history, archaeology, settlement characteristics and architecture, of both the village and the island, represents one of the main challenges of the present study. Due to the historic rural landscape approach of the study, more information is needed on the physical and historical characteristics of the large landscape area of the village and also the structures in it. However, documents related these characteristics are currently very limited. Such a study needs a deep analysis of the site in order to have a complete picture of the rural identity, as it is also included in the proposals of the study. However, within the scope of this thesis, such a survey could not be made due to accessibility problems. Not only buildings, but also the historic paths, cisterns, wells, etc. also need to be studied. Moreover, the Roman and Byzantine periods of the village and the historical continuity of the rural life are also absent from the study. The surface surveys for these periods focus on Dereköy and Kaleköy, and there is very limited archaeological information about Zeytinliköy currently.

The fact that most of the comprehensive resources are written in Greek has caused difficulties for the present author. The language problem was also an important challenge in terms of field studies. Although the majority of the elderly Rum inhabitants can speak Turkish, the risk of misunderstandings through the social surveys is always present. As stated in the conservation strategies discussed, the archival research on the island should be expanded and Turkish translations should be made. One of the most important tools for expanding our knowledge of the island is oral history recording studies, and these should be made both in Turkey and Greece.

Within the scope of this thesis, the major concerns regarding the conservation of historic rural landscapes are analyzed and conservation principles, strategies and actions are proposed in the light of the site-specific analysis of Zeytinliköy. Since it is
an historic rural landscape set within an insular territory, which is a closed system within itself, contextual features are of great importance for the study. For this reason, first the natural, historical and social characteristics of the island and general characteristics of the settlements were examined, and then the more specific locational, settlement, architectural and social characteristics of the village were defined. The values, threats and opportunities in terms of these characteristics are assessed, and, accordingly, some principles, strategies and actions for the conservation of Zeytinliköy are defined in light of them. While the characteristics, values, threats and opportunities are identified on both the island and village scale, principles, strategies and actions are defined on the village scale within this study. Obviously, the island itself should be studied in detail beyond the limits of study to achieve an holistic conservation approach. In accordance with these studies on a larger scale; principles, strategies and actions should be determined throughout the island and each settlement on the island should be evaluated separately as part of a general scenario to be developed for Gökçeada. This study, which defines principles, strategies and actions for the conservation of Zeytinliköy’s rural landscape values, may serve as an example for the study of other historical settlements on the island. The actions proposed in this study may be revised in a possible scenario to be developed for the entire island. For example, the boundaries of the village adopted from the Toponym Map of Imbros, and including summer settlements, olive groves, farmland and pasture areas, is accepted as representing the village limits within this study. However, these boundaries should also be revised with a more extensive research on dam settlements and land ownership patterns.

This study attempts to understand the formation of historic rural landscapes and challenges to do with the conservation of their heritage values. It seeks for solutions to these problems through recommendations provided by international documents, and attempts to present suggestions for this specific case. However, further research focusing on comparative analyses should be made in order to develop general principles for the conservation of historic rural landscapes.
To conclude, this study focuses on the case of Zeytinliköy, with the aim of developing site-specific analyses and determining main principles, strategies and actions for an integrated conservation strategy for an historic rural landscape, together with its built environment, natural components and inhabitants. It also provides a source on the village architecture and the factors, on different scales, that have formed and transformed it. With the contribution of future research, including site analyses and evaluations on an island scale, and comparative analyses, it will hopefully contribute to the development of conservation practices in historic rural landscape areas.
REFERENCES

Ancient Sources


Modern Sources


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**International Charters and Documents**


**Legal Regulations**


**Web Sources**


GLOSSARY OF THE LOCAL TERMS IN TURKISH AND ENGLISH

Abadi: kiler; cellar
Akroquéramo: saçak; cornice
Ambaria: ambar; barn
Anoi: birinci kat; first floor
Apano spit: yukarı ev; upper house
Goukeri: yüklük; cupboard
Guerico: ihtiyar evi; old man’s house
Hamoi: mutfak; kitchen
Hayati: hayat; living room
Kato spit: aşağı ev; lower house
Katogui: depo; storeroom
Katoi: zemin kat; ground floor
Monospita: tek ev; single-unit house
Moussafir oda: misafir odası; guest room
Phenguîtes: tepe penceresi; skylight window
Sahnissi: şahnişin; facade projection
Soundourma: sundurma; roof shelter
Thyridaki: havalandırma deliği; ventilation hole
APPENDICES

A. Aerial Photographs Provided by HGM

Zeytinliköy in the Aerial Photograph of 1953
Zeytinliköy in the Aerial Photograph of 1966
Zeytinliköy in the Aerial Photograph of \textbf{1973}
Zeytinliköy in the Aerial Photograph 1 of 1985
Zeytinliköy in the Aerial Photograph 2 of 1985
Zeytinliköy in the Aerial Photograph of 2019 (Google Earth, last accessed on 13.01.2019)
B. Traditional House Survey Sheets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date:</th>
<th>Address:</th>
<th>Photo no:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID(block, lot, no):</td>
<td>Number of floors:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction Date:</td>
<td>Current Function:</td>
<td>Building height:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use case: In use / Empty / Seasonal use</td>
<td>Restoration: Restored / Not restored</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CONSTRUCTION SYSTEM AND MATERIAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSTRUCTION SYSTEM AND MATERIAL</th>
<th>External Walls</th>
<th>Internal Walls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ground F.</td>
<td>First F.</td>
<td>Ground F.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Structural System**
  - Masonry
    - Stone
    - Brick
  - Timber frame
    - Infill
    - Stone
    - Mud-brick
  - Bagdati

- **Finishing**
  - Plastered
  - Color:
  - Unplastered
  - Other

- **MATERIAL**
  - Floor
    - Ground F. | First F. |
  - Ceiling
    - Ground F. | First F. |

- **Timber**
- **Stone**
- **Concrete**

- **Architectural Elements**
  - Stairs (type, material, dimensions)
  - Projection (type, material, span)
  - Roof (type, material)
  - Windows and Doors (type, material, dimensions)

**Conditions:**

**Interventions:**

**Notes:**
Gökçeada - Zeytinliköy Traditional House Survey Sheet

Drawings:
C. Traditional House Sheets
GENERAL INFORMATION
Building ID: Block 125 / Lot 3 / Bld No 1
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Empty
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 6 m
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL
External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Timber frame - Mud + stone infill
Floor: Ground Floor - Earth + Timber planks  
First Floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground Floor - No ceiling cover  
First Floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING
The building is a two-storey stone building. It is currently unoccupied and construction date is unknown. It does not have any serious structural problems.
The building is composed of a rectangular volume on a symmetrical plan layout and a kitchen unit connected to it. In the main body, there are three rooms on the ground floor and two more on the first floor. The entrance is connected to Room 1, Room 2 and the kitchen. Kitchen has its own entrance on the south. Room 1 corresponds to the hamani due to that it has a fireplace and timber floor. Room 2 is a storage room. It has an earthen floor and it is ventilated with the holes on the walls. These holes are no longer in use because of the mortar layer applied to all facades of the building. The bedrock on which the building was constructed can be seen in this space. The kitchen has two fireplaces and a washing unit. The connection between the floors is provided by a timber staircase located at the entrance. On the first floor, two rooms are placed symmetrically on both sides of the balcony.
Except for a few material interventions, the building generally conserves its original features, in terms of plan scheme and architectural elements. Niches, fireplaces, doors, windows, the washing unit and the staircase are among the original architectural elements which can still be seen.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 125 / Lot 1 / Bid No 2
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Seasonal use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 4 m
Restoration: Restored

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Unknown
First floor - Timber frame
Floor: Ground floor - Earth
First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - No ceiling cover
First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is two-storey stone building. It is currently in use and does not have any serious structural problems. The building is composed of a rectangular volume and a later reinforced concrete addition on its east side. Unlike common house examples in the village, it has a large courtyard. There is a kitchen unit, which is also a reinforced concrete later addition, in the courtyard.

Only the first floor of the building is surveyed. For that reason, the ground floor is drawn with its external borders. It is used as a storage and has no direct connection with the first floor. The first floor is reached by an outer staircase. It has a symmetrical plan organization. There are three rooms, one is in front of the entrance door and two are on two sides of the entrance. Connection with the new volume is provided by a door opening on the east wall of Room 2. This part is used as a bathroom. Top of the new volume is used as a terrace reached by a staircase addition connected to the existing landing of the original staircase.

Except for the addition of the new volume, plan scheme of the building is conserved. The original architectural elements such as inner doors and cupboards are also maintained; however, opening proportions and facade elements are altered.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 128 / Lot 4 / Bld No. 3
Construction Date: 1831
Use Case: Seasonal use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 4 m.
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Stone masonry
Floor: Ground floor - Timber construction and planks
Basement floor - Earth
Ceiling: No ceiling cover
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building. It is the oldest one of the three adjacent buildings which were constructed in different time periods for the same family. It was constructed in 1831 and it is written on a stone on the north wall. As it is learnt from the owners of the building, only small repairs have been made so far, but it still stands and is in a fairly structural condition. Original building has two spaces on the ground floor and two on the basement. One is a small other is a large two living area with fireplaces were placed at the upper floor and basement was used for storage and keeping the animals. Connection between two floors is provided by a hole on the floor of living area. It still exists and seen in schematic plan drawings. In the middle of the living area there is a 8 cm. level difference. As it is said before very few interventions were made by the owners such as repair of the roof, closure of door opening in the west facade, removal of the wall between the kitchen and the living area and change of all original wooden windows and doors. Besides, all of them are legible. Niches and two fireplaces are some original architectural elements which are still observed today. Bathroom unit in front of the building is also a later addition.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 128 / Lot 5 / Bid No 4
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Not in use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 5.5 m.
 Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Badadi
Floor: Ground floor - Earth + Timber planks
First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - No ceiling cover + Timber planks
First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building. It is one of the three adjacent buildings which were constructed in different time periods for the same family. Its construction date is unknown. The building has severe structural problems. It has some structural cracks on stone masonry walls. It has a rectangular plan. The ground floor of the building consists of one large entrance having earth floor and a room with timber planks floor and ceiling. Both of them have original timber furniture. The staircase connecting two floors is placed to the south wall of the entrance. It consists of stone steps as the base and a timber part. There is a hall and two rooms on the upper floor. The one placed on the south has a raised floor. These spaces also have original architectural elements and furniture such as windows, doors, fireplaces, niches, and shelves. Inner walls of the building are plastered with clay and straw mortar and have paint on it. Being neglected, the building substantially preserves its originality. Grouting made with the cement based mortar at facades is the only major intervention.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 118 / Lot 13 / Bld No 5
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Not in use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 5 m.
Restoration: Under restoration

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Stone masonry + brick
First floor - Brick
Floor: Ground floor - Cement finish
First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction and planks
First floor - No ceiling cover + Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building with a reinforced concrete balcony and lintels. Its construction date is unknown. It is empty and stands in an unfinished restoration state. The building is in a good condition in terms of structure and material, have minor problems in finishing materials.

It has a rectangular and symmetrical plan organization. There are two rooms on the ground floor which are placed on the two sides of the entrance. One of them is divided into two with intent to use as kitchen and bathroom. On the first floor, again there are two rooms at the two sides of the hall. The connection between floors is provided by a wooden staircase. The bottom part of the staircase is closed and a storage is created under it.

The building has some changes such as wall addition or alterations, material additions and alteration of facade elements but they are legible.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 118 / Lot 10 / Bld No 6
Construction Date: 1861
Use Case: Seasonal use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 3.5 m
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Stone masonry
First floor - Unknown
Floor: Ground floor - Cement finish
First floor - Reinforced concrete floor + tile, timber construction + timber planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Reinforced concrete floor
First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING
The building is a two-storey stone building. It was constructed in 1861 as it is written on a stone on the south wall. It is in use currently and in a good condition in terms of structure and material.

L shaped building has a ground floor and an upper floor which have no direct connections. The first floor is reached by an outer staircase. The landing of the staircase is made of reinforced concrete and closed. The first floor has two detached parts which have separate entrances. As it is learned from the owners of the building, previously they were used by two different families. Today, with a closed landing part, they are connected. On one side there are two rooms and a kitchen reached from a hall, on the other side there are one room and a bathroom which are opening to the other half. The basement floor which has low ceiling height is used as a storage and a workshop. In the workshop part, there is an original stone platform of the earthen olive jars. The most fundamental change made so far is the change of a part of the floor with reinforced concrete. There are also material interventions such as alteration of facade elements with the pvc, application of the cement-based mortar to facades and application of the wallpaper to the inner wall surfaces.

In the courtyard of the building, there is a fireplace with a shelter in front of it. It is one of the biggest examples in the village.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 148 / Lot 4 / Bld No 7
Construction Date: 1946
Use Case: In use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 6
Restoration: Restored

CONSTRUCTION SYSTEM & MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Timber frame + unknown infill
Floor: Ground floor - Stone and timber planks
First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction and planks
First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building with a reinforced concrete balcony. It has a small courtyard. As it is owned by the owners, its construction date is 1946. The building is restored in 2006 and is in a good condition in terms of structure and material currently.

It has a rectangular and symmetrical plan organization. There are one living room and a kitchen on the ground floor which are placed on the two sides of the entrance. A bathroom unit, which was added in 2006 restoration, is placed at the entrance part, near the stairs. It is separated from the old parts with a contemporary material in a legible way. Attached to the east wall of the kitchen, there is another additional volume, which is used as storage today. On the first floor, there are also two rooms at the two sides of the hall. The connection between floors is provided by a wooden staircase.

In addition to mentioned changes, there are also architectural elements and material based changes such as alteration of the windows and doors, the addition of shutters and oil paint additions on original elements. Interventions are made in a legible way generally.

1. East facade - before restoration
2. Balcony
3. Entrance-door
4. Window
5. North facade
6. North facade - entrance door and corner detail
7. Entrance - stairs and wc
8. WC addition which is separated from the rest of the building in a legible way
9. Kitchen
10. Storage additions connected to the kitchen
11. Room 1 - fireplace and timber shelf on top of it
12. Room 1 - wooden door
13. Hall
14. Hall - railing detail
15. Room 2 - timber door
16. Room 2
17. Room 3
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 129 / Lot 1 / Bid No 8
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Not in use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 5 m.
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Brick and baghdadi wall
First floor - Unknown
Floor: Ground floor - Cement finish
First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction and planks
First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building. A kitchen volume stands at the west and has a connection with the main body. The construction date of the building is unknown. It has severe structural and material problems. It has some structural cracks in stone masonry walls. Efflorescence is also seen on masonry wall surfaces widely.

It has a rectangular and symmetrical plan. The ground floor of the building consists of an entrance and two rooms placed on two sides of it symmetrically. The first floor also has the same layout. Two floors are connected by a wooden staircase. The hall has a door opening on the north wall. As the other examples in the village, it has not any projection in front of it currently. There are also two chimneys placed on the north wall. The existence of brick and baghdadi walls at the same time shows that it had interventions in the time period. Being neglected, the building substantially preserves its originality. The grouting made with the cement based mortar at facades is another intervention and surface deterioration caused by it is seen on stone masonry wall surfaces.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 133 / Lot 23 / Bld No 9
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Not in use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 4 m.
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Stone masonry
                   First floor - Timber frame/unknown infill

Floor: Ground floor - Earth
       First floor - Timber construction and planks

Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction and planks
         First floor - No ceiling cover

Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building. It is one of the two adjacent buildings. Filled-in door opening at the mutual wall between them shows that it was a single house once. Its construction date is unknown. The building has severe structural problems. There is a partial collapse in Room 1. There are also deteriorations on architectural elements and building materials.

It has a rectangular plan layout. The entrance is from the short edge on the south. On the north, there is a storage in which old earthenware olive oil jars, saddle and other horse-drawn vehicle equipment and a wooden bin for storage of food still exist. On the ground of this place, the bedrock that building settled on is visible. It is also seen in the surrounding area of the entrance. The first floor of the building consists of one large hall reached by a wooden staircase and a room at the north which has a raised floor.

These two spaces also have many original architectural elements and furniture such as windows, doors, cupboards, fireplaces, niches, and shelves. There is also an additional concrete fireplace placed at the entrance. Being desolated, the building substantially preserves its originality.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 133 / Lot 22 / Blk No 10

Construction Date: -

Use Case: Not in use

Number of Floors: 2

Building Height: 5 m.

Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Stone masonry
Floor: Ground floor - Earth
First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction and planks
First floor - No ceiling cover + timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building. It is one of the two adjacent buildings. Filled-in door opening at the middle wall between them shows that it was a single house once. Its construction date is unknown. The building has severe structural and deterioration problems. Timber planks of the first floor is about to collapse and there is a separation in stone masonry on the south wall of the sofa.

The entrance is from the long edge on the east. There is also a filled-in door opening on the south wall. On the north of the entrance area, there is a room with a fireplace. It has raised ground level and reached by two stone steps. The wooden staircase is mounted on these steps. The first floor of the building consists of one large hall reached by the wooden staircase and a room at the north which has also a raised floor. While there is no ceiling cover above the hall, Room 2 has timber ceiling cover. Besides, it has not a fireplace.

Because of that many of the interventions are also very old, it is not an easy to make restorative analysis by just observations and deduce about the changes. However, from the discontinuation of timber walls and separation with the adjacent wall, it is thought that two outer walls of the hall are additions constructed in a later period.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 138 / Lot 9 / Bld No 11
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Seasonal use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 5.5 m
Restoration: Restored

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Brick
Floor: Ground floor - Cement finish and ceramic tiles
First floor - Timber planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction and planks
First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building. Its construction date is unknown. It had a restoration in the near feature, so it is in a good condition in terms of structure and material.

The building has a square shaped plan. The ground floor is divided into two with a stone wall in the middle. One half is used as a living area while the other is used as the entrance, kitchen and bathroom units with divisions which are constructed in a later period. The connection between two floors is provided by a wooden staircase placed attached to the west wall. On the upper floor, there is a hall and three rooms which have L shaped placement around it. The building has a balcony at the south facade which is accessible from the hall.

Due to that, all partitions are new brick additions, it is hard to understand original plan organization, especially on the first floor. There are also changes in the façade organization, such as the filling in of the door and window openings. Façade elements and all of the inner doors are also altered new elements. Besides, as a material based intervention, grouting is made on stone masonry wall surfaces.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 139 / Lot 19 / Bid No 12
Construction Date: 1931
Use Case: In use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 5 m.
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Stone masonry
   First floor - Timber frame + unknown infill
Floors: Ground floor - Cement finish
   First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction and planks
   First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building with a reinforced concrete balcony. Its construction date is 1931 as it is written on the northwest facade. It is in use and in a good condition in terms of structure and material, has a few minor problems in finishing materials.

The building includes a main body which has a rectangular and symmetrical plan organization and an addition kitchen. It has a small garden and an outbuilding in it that contains a storage and a fireplace.

There are two rooms on the ground floor which are placed on the two sides of the entrance. One of them is used as a living room while the other part is divided into two afterward, with intent to make a bathroom and a hall in front of it. On the first floor, again there are two rooms on the two sides of the hall. The connection between floors is provided by a wooden staircase. Similar to most of the staircase examples in the village, this one also has a wooden shelf above the stairs. In this example, it is used as a home altar.

The building has some changes such as mans, wall, or monumental additions and alteration of architectural elements such as window and door frames, but original characteristics are still legible.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 133 / Lot 4 / Bld No 13
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Seasonal use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 4.5 m
Restoration: Restored

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Timber frame - Mud + stone infill
Floor: Ground floor - Ceramic tiling
    First floor - Reinforced concrete + Pvc
Ceiling: Wood siding
Roof: Timber structure hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building with reinforced concrete additions. The construction date is unknown. It does not have any structural problems.

Due to the asymmetrical and irregular facade organization and change of the floor with reinforced concrete, it is thought that original facade and plan organizations of the building have changed. How these changes were made is also illegible and it is hard to make the analysis about the original facade and plan organizations.

The building is one of the rare examples because of having a large courtyard. There is an original kitchen, a later addition and a countertop with a fireplace in the courtyard.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 133 / Let 7 / Blk No 14
Construction Date:
Use Case: Depot
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 5.5 m.
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Timber frame + unknown infill
Floors: Ground floor - Cement finish
First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction and planks
First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building. Its construction date is unknown. It is in a good condition in terms of structure, just has a problem about the roof drainage and material based problems caused by it. It had been used as headman’s office for years but then it is moved to the smaller building next to it and this building is used as a storage place of the headman currently.

The building has a square shaped plan. The ground floor is basically divided into two parts as an entrance part and the part where two rooms are placed. Those rooms are used as storages and have fireplaces. The upper floor also has the same layout; however, south part of the hall is also divided by a timber partition and so one more room is obtained. In the hall, there is an original timber cupboard which has similar craftsmanship with the timber doors on this floor.

The building preserves its original characteristics substantially. Nevertheless, it has some changes in terms of architectural elements and materials. For example, all facade elements are renewed and original wooden elements have oil paint additions on them.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 136 / Lot 1 / Bld No 15  
Construction Date: 1955  
Use Case: In use  
Number of Floors: 2  
Building Height: 5 m.  
Restoration: Restored

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry  
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Stone masonry + unknown  
First floor - Unknown

Floor: Ground floor - Ceramic tiling  
First floor - Timber construction and planks

Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction floor  
First floor - Timber planks

Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building with a reinforced concrete balcony. Its construction date is 1955 and as it is learned from the owner, it was the last building constructed by the Rum construction masters and made for a very rich family. Just a year after the construction, additional volume on the south (serves as kitchen currently) was constructed as a cellar. The building is in a good condition in terms of structure and material. The building has a square shaped main body and a rectangular addition mentioned before. The ground floor of the main body is divided into two parts basically as the entrance part and the part where two rooms are placed. In the entrance part, there is an addition bathroom and a corridor in front of it, which is connecting the main body with the kitchen. The first floor also has the same layout; however, southern part of the hall is divided by a partition wall and so, one more room is obtained. This room opens to a terrace.

The building preserves its original characteristics substantially. Nonetheless, it has some changes in terms of architectural elements such as change of some timber door and window frames.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 104 / Lot 6 / Bid No 16
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Not in use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 5 m.
Restoration: Not restored

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Unknown
Floor: Ground floor - Cement finish
First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction floor
First floor - Unknown
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building with a reinforced concrete balcony and lintels. Its construction date is unknown. It is empty and in a moderate condition in terms of structure and material.

It has a rectangular and symmetrical plan organization. There are two rooms on the ground floor which are placed on the two sides of the entrance. The first floor also has the same layout, there are two rooms on the two sides of the hall. The timber staircase located on the east provides the connection between two floors. The bottom part of the staircase is closed and a storage space is created under it. There is a fireplace at the entrance facade of the building which is placed adjacent to the facade. Its chimney is demolished.

Considering its plan-facade organization and original architectural elements, the building preserves its originality.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 152 / Lot 1 / Bld No 17
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Not in use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 5.5 m.
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Brick + timber frame
First floor - Brick + timber frame
Floor: Ground floor - Cement finish + timber planks
First floor - Timber planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction floor
First floor - Timber planking
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building with a reinforced concrete balcony. It has two separate dwelling units. Its construction date is unknown. It is abandoned and has serious structural problems.

The one on the west side has an entrance hall and a room on the ground floor. There is also an addition bathroom constructed in the entrance part next to the stairs. The room has a timber cupboard and a fireplace. The first floor has same plan layout. Stairs reach an upper hall and next to it there is another room. The hall has a door which is opening to the common balcony. Serious structural cracks are seen on the walls of the hall and the upper room.

The building preserves its originality and there are not too many interventions have been made so far. Besides it is in a bad condition in terms of structure and material. It has a roof drainage problem and caused by it, moisture problem, material deteriorations, and vegetation problems are also seen.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 152 / Lot 11 / Bld No 18
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Not in use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 5.5 m.
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Timber frame with stone and mud infill
                First floor - Brick + timber frame with stone and mud infill
Floor: Ground floor - Cement finish + earth
        First floor - Timber planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction floor
        First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building with a reinforced concrete balcony. It has two separate dwelling units divided by a partition wall equally. They share the same balcony. Its construction date is unknown. It is abandoned and has serious structural problems.

The one on the east side has an entrance and a room on the ground floor which are separated by a timber frame partition wall. The room has an earth floor, it is thought as the storage area. The first floor has same plan layout. Stairs reach a hall and next to it there is another room. The hall has a door which is opening to the common balcony. The upper partition wall is also timber frame and has mudbrick and stone infill. Brick upper party wall is seen from this side too.

The building preserves its originality and there are not too many interventions have been made so far. Besides it is in a bad condition in terms of structure and material. It has a roof drainage problem and caused by it, moisture problem, material deteriorations, and vegetation problems are also seen.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 153 / Lot 3 / Bid No 19
Construction Date: -
Use Case: In use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 4.5 m
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry
Internal Walls: Ground floor - Stone masonry + brick
               First floor - Unknown
Floor: Ground floor - Ceramic tiling
       First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction floor
         First floor - Unknown
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building. It is in use currently and in a moderate condition in terms of structure and material.

Rectangular shaped building has a ground floor and an upper floor which have no direct connections. The upper floor is reached by an outer staircase. The landing of the staircase and the shelter on it are reinforced concrete.

The ground floor has an additional bathroom and a kitchen in the entrance part and there is a room on the north side. Only the ground floor of the building is surveyed. The upper floor is drawn with the description of the owner and it is learned that it also has two spaces which are an entrance part and a room. There are two outbuildings next to the building, one of them is used as a storage and the other one is for cooking as it is understood from the existence of a fireplace and a countertop.

It is seen that the building has some interventions but original characteristics are still legible. Closure of the door opening in the south facade and alteration of the doors and windows on the ground floor are examples of them.
GENERAL INFORMATION

Building ID: Block 153 / Lot 3 / Bid No 20
Construction Date: -
Use Case: Not in use
Number of Floors: 2
Building Height: 4.8 m
Restoration: None

CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUE and MATERIAL

External Walls: Stone masonry + brick
Internal Walls: Timber frame
Floor: Ground floor - Earth
First floor - Timber construction and planks
Ceiling: Ground floor - Timber construction floor
First floor - Timber planks
Roof: Timber hipped roof

GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE BUILDING

The building is a two-storey stone building. Its construction date is unknown. It is abandoned and stands in a good structural condition. However, it has material based deterioration problems.

The building has a rectangular and simple plan. The ground floor consists of a small entrance hall and a room. The staircase which is placed in front of the entrance door reaches to a small hall and there is also one large room on that floor.

In terms of plan and facade organization, the building is one of the most distinctive examples in the village and preserves its original characteristics.
### Göçekada - Zeytinliköy Sosyal Anket

#### Yerli Rom Yerleşimi

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1. Doğdüğünüz evde kaç yıl yaşadınız? / Sonra nerelerde yaşadınız? / Adadan hiç ayrıldınız mı, ne zaman döndünüz?

2. Su an oturduğuuz ev, ailenizin evi miydı?

3. Çocuklarınız, yakını akrabalarınız köyde mi? Neredeler?

2.1. Evinizde kimler yaşar? / Odalar nasiplendi? (Nerede yemek yapılır, yer, nerede oturulur, uyuurlursun vs.)

2.2. Tuvalet neredeydi? / Nerede banyo yapıldı?

2.3. Evde bir gününüz nasıl geçerdi?

2.4. Anne-babanz ne işe uğraşardı? / Onlarnın bir günü nasıl geçerdi? / Evde zeytinyağı, şarap vb. ürünler üretir miydi?

2.5. Ailenin ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için, ya da ticari amaçla hayvan besler miydniz? / Nerede?


3.2. Zeytinyağı fabrikası nasiplendi? / Köye mi satılsa mi alırsın? / Dışarından satış var mıydı?

3.3. Değerimler neredeydi? / Nasil kullanıldı?  
3.4. Ortak ocaklar ne zaman kullanıldı? / Ne pişirildi? / Her evin ocago var mıydı?

3.5. Köyde ne tür eğlenceler olurdu?  
3.6. Kıyafet - ayakkabı nereden alınırdu?

3.7. Hangi ilkokul-ortaokula gittiınız?

Gökcəada - Zeytinliköy Sosyal Anket
Yerli Damen Yerleşimi

3.9. Köy çevresinde/yakınlarda manastır var mıydır?


3.11. Köyde başka hangi özel günler kutulurdu? / Nasıl?

4.1. Köy dışında adada nerelerde zaman geçirirsiniz? / Merkezde gider miydiniz, neden? / Diğer köylere gider miydiniz, neden?


5.1. Köye yeni yerleştirilenleri ilgili düşünunceleriniz nelerdir? / İletişiminiz nasıl, arkadaşlık-komşuluk ilişkileri kurdunuz mu?

5.2. Köyde kıyı nasıl geçiyor? / Bir gün içinde neler yaparsanız? / Nasıl sımsıkırsanız?

5.3. Köyde yaz nasıl geçiyor? / Bir gün içinde neler yaparsanız?

5.4. Evinizde bugünkü durumu güncel ihtiyaç araçlarınız karşılıyor mu? / Evinizde tahlil yaptırdınız mı? / Nelerdir?

5.5. Köyünüzde ilgili değerlendirmeleri şeyler nelerdir? / Günümüzde köyün problemleri nelerdir?

5.6. Turistlerden, adayı - köyü ziyaret edenlerden memnun musunuz? / Onlarla ilgili düşününceleriniz nelerdir?

5.7. Adaya ulaşmanızı nasıl olsun? / Ulaşına dair zorluklar var mı? / Ada içi ulaşım-köye ulaşım nasıl?

6.1. Köyün korunması gerektiğini düşünüştür musunuz? / Sizce köye dair neler korunmalıdır?

6.2. Köydeki koruma derneği ne tür çalışmalar yapıyor? / Memnun musunuz? / Yemenliştiken ve Türkiye’de İmrozcuların kurdugu, dahil olduğu başka dernekler var mı? / Bu derneklerle İyce misiniz?

6.3. Buraya ilgili yapılan herhangi bir belgeleme, sözlü tarih çalışmasıya katıldıınız mı? / NEDIR?

6.4. Köyde yapılan restorasyon işlerinden memnun musunuz? / Neden?

6.5. Köyle ilgili, köylülerin ikrini alan ve katılımına şekillenecek bir koruma çalışmasına dahil olmak ister misiniz?
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1. Doğdüğümüz evde kaç yıl yaşadınız? / Sona nerede yaşadıınız? / Hangi yılda köyden ayrıldınız?

2. Köyeye bir yakınımızın yanında mı geliyorunuz? / Doğdüğümüz eve mi geliyorunuz?

3. Yılsız hangi dönemlerini köyde geçтировunuz? / Neden?

2.1. Evinizde kimler yaşayordu? / Odalar nasıl kullanılırdı? (Nerede yemek yapılır, yemir, nerede oturlar, uyumur vs.)

2.2. Tuvalet neredeydi? / Nerede banyo yapılrıldı?

2.3. Evde bir gününüz nasıl geçerdi?

2.4. Anne-babamız ne işe uğraşır? / Oları bir günün nasıl geçerdi? / Evde zeytinyağı, şaşap vb. ürünlü ürettilir miydin?

3. Ailenin ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için, ya da ticari amaçla hayvan besler miyiniz? / Nerede?

3.1. Köyde neler üretilirdi? / Dışardan neler alınırdı?

3.2. Zeytinyağı fabrikası nasıl işlerdi? / Köye mi sahsta ma ait? / Dışarıya satış var mıydın?

3.3. Değirmenler neredeydi? / Nasıl kullanımhrd?  
3.4. Ortak ocaklar ne zaman kullanılırdı? / Ne pişirildi? / Her evin ocağı var mıydın?

3.5. Köyde ne tür eğlenceler olurdu?  
3.6. Kryafet - ayakkabı nereden alınrdı?

3.7. Hangi ilkokul-ortaoıcula gittiniz?

Gökçeada - Zeytinliköy Sosyal Anket
Dönemlik Yerli Ram Yıllanını

3.9. Köy çevresinde yakınlarında manastır var mıydı?


3.11. Köyde başka hangi özel günlük kullanılırdı? / Nasıl?

4.1. Köy dışında ada nerelede zaman geçirdiniz? / Merkeze gider miydınız, neden? / Diğer köylerle gider miydiniz, neden?


5.1. Köye yeni yerleşenlerle ilgili dışkılancınınız nerelidir? / İletişiminiz nasıl, arkadaşlık-komşuluk ilişkileri kurulmuştur mu?

5.2. Köyde günleriniz nasıl geçiyor?

5.3. Eviniz güvenli durumda güncel ihtiyaçlarını karşılıyor mu? / Evinizde tadilat yaptınız mı? / Nelerdir?

5.4. Köyunuzla ilgili değerli buldüğümüz şeyler nelerdir? / Günlümzede köyun problemlerini nelerdir?

5.5. Turistlerden, adayı - köyü ziyaret edenlerden memnun musunuz? / Onlarla ilgili dışkılancınınız nerelidir?

5.6. Adaya ulaşmanız nasıl oluyor? / Ulaşma zorluklar var mı? / Ada içi ulaşım-köyce ulaşım nasıl?
**Gökcada - Zeytinliköy Sosyal Anket**

**Dönemlik Türk Yerleşimleri**

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1.1 Nerelisiniz? / Adınızdaki eviniz hangi şehirde?

1.2 Köyde, bu eve ne zaman yerleştiniz?

1.3 Burayı neden tercih ettiniz?

1.4 Yıllar boyunca dönemlerini köyde geçirdiğiniz? / Neden?

2.1 Eviniz kaç odalı ve odaları nasıl kullanılıyoruz? / Evinizden memnun musunuz? / Neden?

2.2 Daha önce tadilat yapturдумuz mı? / Ne yapturдумuz? / Ne zaman?

2.3 Evinizin problemleri var mı? / Hangi kasımlara müdahale etmek isteriniz?

2.4 Mevcat banyo/ve yeterli mi?

3.1 Köyümüzden memnun musunuz? / Neden?

3.2 Köyünüzün problemleri var mı? / Nelerdir?

3.3 Köy ahaltısı içindeki iletişimi nasıl buluyoruz? / Komşularımızla ilişkileriniz nasıl? / Arkadaşlarınız kurдумuz mı?

3.4 Bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor? / Neder yaparsınız?

3.5 Köydeki oacak, çamaşırhane gibi ortak alanları hiç kullanendumuz mı?

3.6 Köydeki tarıhli köşeler, eski yağı fabrikaları ve okul gibi yapılardan hangilerinde bulundunuz? / Neden gitmiştiniz?

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Gökçeada - Zeytinliköy Sosyal Anket
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3.7. Dernekte ve kafelerde zaman geçirir misiniz? / Ne sıklıkta gidersiniz?

3.8. Panayia (Meryem Ana Festivali) etkinliklerine katıldınız mı? / Nasıl?

3.9. Köyün gelenek-görenekleri, eski ritüelleri hakkında bilgi sahibi misiniz? Hârbelâdaklaraın Gonzalez örnekler verebilsiniz?

3.10. Adnan geleneksel üretilin biçimlerinden hangi birine (çarşaf, zeytinyağı, sabun yapımı, tarım, hayvansal ürünler vs.) ilgileniyor musunuz? / İlginizi çekiyor mu?

3.11. Besi ya da kömür hayvanlarınız var mı? Nerede bukuyorsunuz?

4.1. Alışverişinizi nereden yapıyor musunuz?

4.2. Köy dışında adada nerelede zaman geçirirsiniz? / Nasıl gidiyor musunuz? (yurt'te, herhangi bir vastayla vs.)

4.3. Adada giden� misafirlerinize geliyor mu? Geldiğinde adada, köyde nerede götürüyorsunuz?

4.4. Turistlerden, adaya, köyü ziyaret edenlerden memnun musunuz? / Onlarla ilgili düşünceleriniz nelerdir?

4.5. Adaya ulaşma dair zorluklar var mı? / Köye gidiyorsanız cezitli noktalara ulaşma dair zorluklar var mı?

5.1. Köyün tarihi hakkında bilgi sahibi misiniz?

5.2. Evinizin tarihi, eski kullanıcılara hakkında bilgi sahibi misiniz?

5.3. Bu köyü değerli bahıyorum musunuz?  5.4. Eviniz değerli bahıyorum musunuz?

5.5. Köyün koruma质量和ını düşünüyor musunuz? / Sizce köyde dair neler korunmalıdır?

5.6. Köy genelinde yapılan restorasyon işlemlerinden memnun musunuz? / Neden?

5.7. Köy ile ilgili, köylülerin fikrini alan ve katılmaları seckenecek bir koruma çalışmasına dahl olmak ister misiniz?
E. Social Survey Participants

PERMANENT LOCAL RUM INHABITANTS

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
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<tr>
<td>SP1: Efstatos Zunis</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>High School</td>
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<td>SP2: Asterio Okumus</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>The Priest of Zeytinliköy</td>
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<td>SP3: Nikolaos Zorlu</td>
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<td>91</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Retired Worker</td>
<td>Zeytinliköy/ Gökçeada</td>
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SEASONAL LOCAL RUM INHABITANTS

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
<th>The current place of residence</th>
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<tr>
<td>SP4: Stelios Poulados</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>President of the Imbrian Association in Athens</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>Atanasios Karadimitri</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Manager of a Coffee Shop</td>
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<td>Zeytinliköy/ Gökçeada</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marika Karadimitri</td>
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<td>83</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
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<td>Katerina Resel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sibel Çetingöz</td>
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<td>Remziye Adaloğlu</td>
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<td><strong>Job:</strong> Housewife</td>
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