

Abandoned Villages of Bodrum: Sandıma and Karakaya

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Abstract

Vernacular settlements are the most significant indicators of cultural and traditional accumulation. In this context, Anatolia offers a very rich case as it houses various examples of settlements thus far as antiquity. The architectural culture and identity of Bodrum on the west edge of Anatolia, originating from the ever-continuing interactions with the opposite coasts rather than inland due to geographical inaccessibility, is considered unique and different from the Ottoman Anatolian Architecture.

The exceptional natural and built environment of Bodrum has undergone a tremendous change after 1960's. Once, a modest town with plain, white cubic houses of a community depending on agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing, Bodrum has turned into the most famous touristic resort of Turkey by 1980's. Immigration and urban sprawl became the most serious threads for the distinguished identity of the town. Many examples of traditional architecture were torn down and replaced with new structures of non-style, since 1960's. The numerous new constructions for the increasing population have changed the topography and plantation in and around the town forever.

Sandıma village of Yalıkavak, and Karakaya village of Gümüşlük districts in Bodrum are two traditional villages of agriculture and animal husbandry, located on the hills of west edge of the peninsula. These villages were abandoned sometime in the 20th century and Sandıma village remains untouched since then. Meanwhile, stone houses of Karakaya village have been renowned by intellectuals and people with high income from metropolises after 1980's. This paper examines these villages, which aims to illuminate the traditional lifestyle and the spatial characteristics of the physical setting, houses, and the reasons for abandonment. It is considered significant to shed light on the present conditions and the future of these settlements, by referring to restoration and preservation projects prepared for cultural and touristic purposes.

This paper illuminates the past, present and the future of these settlements and is a presentation of a two-phase research. In the first phase the literature related to the history of the peninsula and the settlements are presented, architectural culture and identity of Bodrum are reviewed. Several locals have been interviewed for this purpose. The second phase includes the preservation and restoration projects prepared for Sandıma village.

Keywords: Bodrum, Sandıma, Karakaya, vernacular architecture, architectural culture, architectural identity, Aegean, tourism.

Introduction

The known history of Bodrum goes back to the 7th century B.C. and reaches to the Anatolian local people of the peninsula, thus far as Carians, Lelegs and then Dorians. The story of the Aegean people making a living from sea trade, agriculture, seamanship, fishing, and sponge fishing, starts from Zephria, the first settlement on the peninsula. It continues in Halicarnassus, the magnificent capital of Caria; as one of the significant ports of Rome, Byzance, Seljuk Empire and Mentese Beylic in the Middle Ages; as the gradually impoverished town of Ottoman Empire from 15th to 19th centuries; and finally as the most popular resort of today's Bodrum of Turkish Republic with a great historical heritage.¹

Bodrum Peninsula is remarkable with its unique architectural culture and identity, above and beyond the priceless historical heritage and amazing Nature. Traditional residential architecture of the peninsula gained recognition as a significant type within Anatolian residential architecture, which is classified into two groups by many scholars as the coastal, and hinterland architecture once analyzed based on local-regional differences or characteristics.²

Coastal residential architecture in the region, due to ever-continuing interactions with the opposite coasts, does not have a unity within itself, and therefore can be categorized as transitional. According to Sözen³, the coastal architecture in Bodrum, Foça and Assos are influenced extremely by the architectural culture in the Dodecanese Islands. He also mentions that Bodrum reflects the characteristics of the surrounding environment in the most successful way. Consequently, Ergül and Kaya⁴ states that Bodrum Peninsula and Aegean coasts in general can be considered within Island architecture, by means of certain characteristics that differentiate them from the Ottoman Architecture unique to Central Anatolia and Rumelia. Especially the plan scheme that does not include 'sofa' (hall) and the use of stone as the major construction material are the significant characteristic of coastal architecture of Western Anatolia, which distinguishes it from hinterland architecture.⁵

Before the tourism boom in Bodrum, the houses were planned and built according to the life of the family and the source of income, farming, fishing, animal husbandry or trade. They were constructed by the local craftsmen and his apprentices with materials available in the near surrounding. Other significant criterion in designing and positioning the house on the site was the tradition of respecting neighbors' view, air and privacy. Houses were somewhat individual because, the type and size of the house, and the locations of windows and doors were decided by the owner. Therefore, it is possible to observe several variations within the traditional houses. Bektaş⁶ classifies Bodrum houses in three categories by referring to their major properties as *KuleEv* (Tower House), *MusandıralıEv* (Mezzanine House) and *SakızEv* (Khios House). Aysel⁷ makes an addition to the typology with *Tek Oda Ev* (Single Room Houses), having very similar characteristics with *MusandıralıEv*, with only one level. Among all, *KuleEvi* is the oldest type and most have been abandoned many years ago. '*Kula' House*, a very similar type of dwelling that can be found in Epirus, Macedonia and Albania⁸ seems to prove the influence of the architectural culture of not just Dodecanese Islands, but Greece and Macedonia as well. Craftsmen, who are still building traditional houses, quoted by

¹ Mansur, Fatma. (1972). *Bodrum: A Town in the Aegean*. Leiden. E.J. Brill.

² Ergül, Emre, Can Kaya. (2008/2). *Datça Konut Mimarlığı*. Ege Mimarlık, 65 16-25.

³ Sözen, Metin (2006), *Gelenekten Geleceğe Anadolu'da Yaşama Kültürü*, Çekül Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul

⁴ Ergül, Emre, Can Kaya. (2008/2). *Datça Konut Mimarlığı*. Ege Mimarlık, 65 16-25.

⁵ Sözen, Metin (2006), *Gelenekten Geleceğe Anadolu'da Yaşama Kültürü*, Çekül Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul

⁶ Bektaş, Cengiz. (2004). *Halk Yapı Sanatından Bir Örnek: Bodrum*. İstanbul. Bileşim Yayınevi.

⁷ Aysel, R. Nezihe. (2006). *Bodrum Ortakent (Müşgebi): Bir Mimari İnceleme*.

İstanbul Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları. İstanbul

⁸ Ivkowska, V. Aiming Towards the Sky: the Vernacular 'skyscrapers' of the South-West Balkans. *ISVS e-journal*, Special Issue on Turkey, Vol. 6, no.3, June 2019.

Bektaş⁹, mention that, the *KuleEv* is the oldest. However, *MusandıralıEv* together with *SakızEv* are the most common types which were built until the mid-20th century.

This study focuses on the two abandoned vernacular settlements of Bodrum peninsula, Sandıma and Karakaya (Fig.1) villages with the intention of examining and recognizing locals' way of coping with the environment and their techniques of developing a culture of living and architecture by referring to the villages affected least by the tourism boom in town. It also aims to illuminate the reasons for the abandonment of these villages of agriculture and animal husbandry by the 20th century. Although Sandıma remains untouched since then, 600-year-old stone houses of Karakaya village have been renowned by intellectuals and high society from Istanbul and Ankara after 1980's.

Sandıma and Karakaya villages consists of *MusandıralıEv* and *Tek Oda Ev*, due to the lifestyle of the locals, which is mentioned in detail in the forthcoming sections. Accordingly, among the three types in traditional architecture, only *MusandıralıEv* was included in the study to be referred to in detail. Villages in question were analyzed according to location, geography, built environment, population, source of income, and lastly today and future of the abandoned houses of the villages.

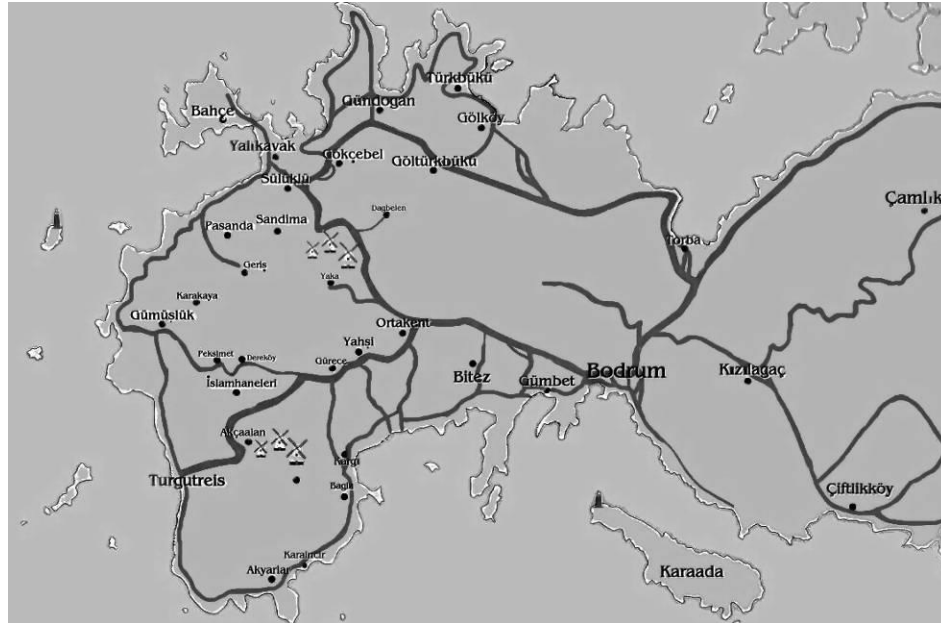


Fig. 1: Map of Bodrum Peninsula, locations of Karakaya and Sandıma villages
<http://www.bodrumlu.com/bodrum-haritalar.html> (accessed on 13.02.2012)

Location and Geography

Sandıma, with the winding roads in between the remains of thick-walled stone houses and courtyards with spectacular views of sea and the flat lands below, is believed to be a 600 years old settlement; even one of the oldest settlements in the peninsula, located within today's Yalıkavak municipal borders. Although this old village occupies the fertile land in between the sea and cultivable hills behind Yalıkavak, it is abandoned since mid-20th century due to its location and the population; it was one of the major centers in the peninsula at the beginning of the 20th century (Fig.2). Subsequent to the establishment of Turkish Republic, Sandıma became a neighborhood of Yalıkavak, which used to be the name of the pier on the shore.¹⁰ Sandıma is believed to be located at the crossroads of a network of ancient walking and stock paths that crisscrossed the peninsula before the age of motorcar. Path from Sandıma

⁹Bektaş, Cengiz. (2004). *HalkYapıSanatındanBirÖrnek: Bodrum*. Istanbul. BileşimYayınevi.

¹⁰Oktik, Nilgun. (2007) *DundenBuguneYalikavak'taSosyalYasam*. MuğlaÜniversitesiBasımevi

to Geriş, Yaka, Ortakent, and lastly to Gölköy villages was used to be an efficient ancient walking path. It is thought that the paths were first set by the hill dwelling tribe Lelegs. Houses of Sandıma are clustered in two groups, divided by a deep creek bed, with short waterfall running in between only in spring months. According to Erkoca, there use to be two villages, the higher western side of the stream was known as Gokcebelen village.¹¹

There are many different stories about the origins of the name Sandıma. One of them is the name of a state ‘Sandos’ once existed in the area; and another about the deformation of a Turkish word ‘sandırma’ meaning to cause a delusion of easy access from the shore, which the houses located on hills 2.5 km south of Yalıkavak were said to create.



Fig. 2: A view from Sandıma village (photograph by S. Tanrıöver, February 2012)

Fig. 3: A view from Karakaya village (photograph by S. Tanrıöver, February 2012)

Similar to old Sandıma, Karakaya village located at the west edge of the peninsula within the municipal borders of today’s Gümüşlük (Fig. 3), is believed to be a 600-year-old settlement abandoned at the second half of the 20th century. The village has settled down on the west face of Örmeci Mountain, which has a rocky, steep sloped face, and nearly an altitude of 800m. The houses positioned opposite to sea, yet quite far from the shore to be secluded from the pirates who raided the coast very often in the 16th century. Değirmen Mountain, a lower hill standing in between the sea and the village fortified the security of the village against the attacks by decreasing the visibility of the houses from the sea. Gümüşlük, due to its geographically sheltered harbor, have always been a significant part of Karakaya village and settlements close by, and named after the silver quarry nearby. People living here are occupied with trade and fishing and customs officers. There were places for processing and storing oil from the olive trees in and around Karakaya. The name, Karakaya, comes from the rocky area on Örmeci Mountain that the settlement was built on. Today, located high on the slopes overlooking Gümüşlük, Karakaya offers a magnificent view of the shores and the bays with rich vegetation and natural spring water.¹²

Population

According to the information recorded by Vital Cuinet during his trip to Asia Minor, as cited by Galanti Bodrumlu¹³, Bodrum as a county had 29 villages in 1894. Villages at that time have been grouped within 3 districts called Merkez (center), Karaova and Muskebi where Sandıma (Yalıkavak) and Karakaya (Gumusluk) were bound up to. He, by referring to Cuniet, mentioned that by 1894 Bodrum had a total population of 14008 including 11613

¹¹Berkaya, Chris Drum. Sandıma: A Bodrum Treasure to Discover, (accessed on 25.01.2012)
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=sandima---a-bodrum-treasure-to-discover-2011-03-30>

¹²Öztop, Adil. (1954). Karakaya Köyü: Örneklerle bir Köyün İncelenmesi.

¹³Bodrumlu, Avram Galanti (1945) Bodrum Tarihi.

Muslims, 2264 Greek, 45 Jewish and 86 outlandish. This information is the one of the earliest records regarding the demographic structure of Bodrum. The same year, Sandıma was recorded having 58 dwellings with a population of 348 people, which then increased to 150 dwellings with a population of 700-1000, in early 20th century.¹⁴ For the education of the children of the village and nearby villages about the basics of agriculture and animal husbandry besides literacy, first school in the area, SandımaPrimary School was established in 1935. One of the first tutors of SandımaPrimary School Mehmet Arkun pointed out the difficulty of having a crowded group of students, very few teachers and the urgent need of education for the recovery of the country.¹⁵ Migration from the hills to flat lands started with the establishment of the Republic, plantation of new breed mandarin trees, and gained pace by 1960's. People settled in Yalıkavak permanently after the closing of primary school in Sandıma and opening of the one in Yalıkavak. By 1970's, only 10 to 15 families were left in Sandıma.¹⁶ Land, once cultivated, was neglected as years went by and the abandoned houses of Sandıma started to fall apart due to lack of maintenance.

Same source indicates that by 1894, Karakaya was recorded having 62 dwellings with a population of 396 people. This number has decreased to 125 by mid-20th century, possibly due to the arrival of a new breed of mandarin trees to the peninsula from the islands and their cultivation on the flat lands by the sea, similar to the case of Sandıma village. Although Karakaya village was mentioned as a Turkish village, a few Arabs and Greeks were also recorded.¹⁷ By mid 20th century, level of education in the village and around was medium and nearly all villagers had or having primary school education at the time.

In Sandıma and Karakaya, people spend daytime in fields from sunrise to sunset. Occasions like engagements, weddings and feasts are the times when the whole village comes together and celebrate. Starting from 1970's agriculture has fallen out of favor in both villages and was replaced by tourism. Populations have increased, and new concrete and brick constructions have started to change the face of the area.

Sources of Income

Sandıma, by referring to the remains of ancient paths of stones and waterways, is believed to be a 600 years old settlement where people were occupied with animal husbandry and agriculture. An old local Nevcihan Özcan¹⁴ mentions wheat as the product of sloppy lands of Sandıma due to the lack of water resources; and vegetables, figs, almonds and mandarin—after 1950's—as the products of flat lands by the shore. People of Sandıma used to either move down and up the hills every day or spend the months between April and September on flat lands in order to collect both agricultural products. In time, most of them owned another house on the flat lands by the sea (Yalıkavak) where they spent the whole summer collecting figs, almonds, and olives. Times spent in Yalıkavak extended till January with the cultivation of mandarin brought from the islands, which then caused the immigration of the whole village down to the seaside in the following years¹⁸. Tourism had become another significant cause of immigration to the shore, since it brought much more money than any other source.

Karakaya, when compared to Sandıma, had more alternatives for providing income such as agriculture, animal husbandry, trades, arts and crafts and even sponge fishing. Growing grapes have been the major source of income in Karakaya village for centuries. The

¹⁴Berkaya, Chris Drum. Sandıma: A Bodrum Treasure to Discover, (accessed on 25.01.2012)
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=sandima---a-bodrum-treasure-to-discover-2011-03-30>

¹⁵Oktik, Nilgün. (2007) DüdenBugüneYalıkavak'taSosyalYaşam. MuğlaÜniversitesiBasımevi

¹⁶Berkaya, Chris Drum. Sandıma: A Bodrum Treasure to Discover, (accessed on 25.01.2012)
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=sandima---a-bodrum-treasure-to-discover-2011-03-30>

¹⁷Öztop, Adil. (1954). KarakayaKöyü: ÖrneklerleBirKöyünİncelenmesi.

¹⁸Oktik, Nilgun. (2007) DüdenBugüneYalıkavak'taSosyalYaşam. MuğlaÜniversitesiBasımevi

grape ornaments on ancient ruins shows how far this product reaches in the history of this settlement. Figs, until replaced by the mandarin trees in the mid-20th due to their higher profit, were the other significant agricultural product. Furthermore, all families used to grow their own wheat, barley and beans. Vegetables grown such as tomatoes, melons, peppers, watermelons and others were sold in the town bazaar. Arts and crafts in the village used to be carried out by the Greeks. There were very few sponge divers who were Arabs and very few families who were occupied with animal husbandry in the village at the beginning of the 20th century. Different from Sandıma, Karakaya had natural spring water, besides wells.¹⁹

Built Environment

Traditional houses of Bodrum are the products of generations' experience of using small spaces in the most effective way. Although their varieties in plan, the significant items that bring identity to these houses such as size, proportional relationships, material and techniques of construction, monumental chimneys, battlements on the edges of the roofs, and definitely the white color achieved by the use of albarium, exists in all^{20,21}.

The houses of Sandıma, in accordance with the traditional architecture of Bodrum were simple, square-built, flat roofed buildings with thick walls made of stones collected from the near surrounding, packed with soil and bound by layers of soil mortar.

Likewise Sandıma, houses of Karakaya are made up of stones found in the near surrounding and were connected to each other with a mixture of soil mortar or cement mortar with white soil, albarium, as mentioned in the forthcoming section. Houses have either one or two rooms. In cases where more rooms were needed, two or three houses are constructed together. Considerably different from Sandıma, the use of albarium giving white color to the building is very rare in the houses of Karakaya. Revealing the stone as it is, in the construction helped the village to become invisible from a distance, by blending within the natural texture of the mountain and rocks.²²

In both Karakaya and Sandıma, the dominance of MusandırılıEv with a rectangular plan, which was mostly inhabited by the farmers, was observed. In this type—usually having 4,20-4,60x6,50-7,50m dimensions—narrow side of the rectangle depends on the size of the mezzanine and the long side depends on the size of the pole that is made up of a complete tree with four-cornered section (Fig. 4). The harmony is achieved by these proportions and the locations of doors that were placed on 1/3 of a long side of the rectangle, and windows indicates the presence of golden ratio, succeeded unconsciously.²³

¹⁹Öztop, Adil. (1954). KarakayaKöyü: ÖrneklerleBirKöyünİncelenmesi.

²⁰Bektaş, Cengiz. (2004). *HalkYapıSanatındanBirÖrnek: Bodrum*. İstanbul. BileşimYayınevi.

²¹Uğurlu, Kamil. (2008). Bodrum'unBacaları: TürkEvi Plan TipindeBodrumÖrneği. 1522-2007

²²Bodrumlu, AvramGalanti (1945) BodrumTarihi.

²³Türe, Altan. (2006). *Karia'danBugüneBodrum*. İstanbul. YapıEndüstrisiKültürYayınları.

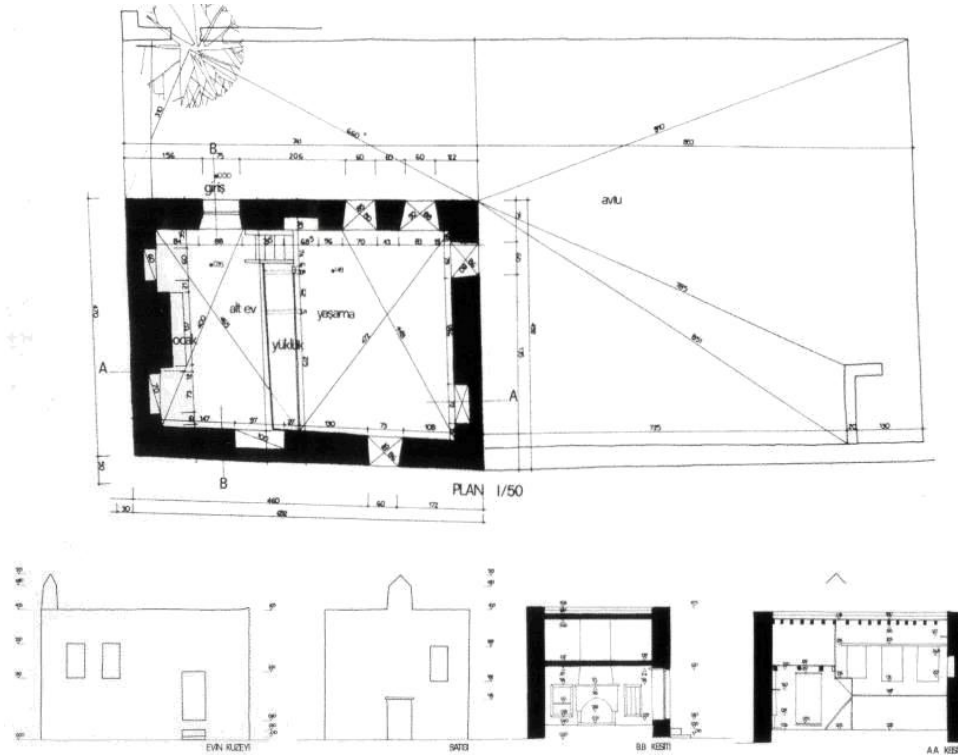


Fig. 4: Drawings of a MusandıralıEv (Mezzanine House) in Bodrum (Bektaş, 2004)

MusandıralıEv has two levels as observed in both villages, where the first level is called the Alt Ev (Lower House) and the second, ÜstEv (Upper House). Alt Evis being used as the entrance and kitchen. Oven is located either on the wall adjacent or on the opposite of the entrance (Fig. 5). Bathroom which is positioned on one side of the kitchen consists of a can full of water and a drainage that leads the used water out. In some cases, toilet is placed outside the house (Fig. 6).



Fig. 5: View from a MusandıralıEv revealing the kitchen, oven, chimney and cabinets (Sandıma village, Feb 2012, photograph by S. Tanrıöver)

Fig. 6: View from a toilet outside a MusandıralıEv (Sandıma village, Feb 2012, photograph by S. Tanrıöver)

The staircase positioned on the other side of the entrance, connects Alt Ev to ÜstEv. 1,60-1,80m clearance in between these two levels is used as storage and is extremely important for the families engaged in agriculture. The living quarter, ÜstEv with a ceiling height of approximately 3.00m includes a second oven placed on the other short side of the rectangle, opposite wall of the staircase (Fig. 7). ÜstEv is separated from the kitchen in Alt Ev

by a partition that is used as a cabinet from the ÜstEv. Same application is repeated for the mezzanine level, which is the level higher than the ÜstEv. A second staircase connects ÜstEv to the mezzanine, which is usually 1,60-1,80 m higher than ÜstEv and is used as a bedroom having a connection to the roof. MusandıralıEv may also be built with a depressed ground level as a stable or a cowshed for the families engaged with animal husbandry. Then the living quarters can be accessed by means of a staircase built outside, since the ground floor is left for the animals²⁴(Fig. 8). This is mostly the case for Sandıma especially where animal husbandry is an important source of income. The sloped topography also helps the locals to include a half-depressed cowshed.



Fig. 7:View from a MusandıralıEv revealing the structure of the mezzanine floor (Sandıma village, Feb 2012, photograph by S. Tanrıöver)

Fig. 8:View from a MusandıralıEv having the entrance from an upper level, leaving the ground floor for cowshed (Sandıma village, Feb 2012, photograph by S. Tanrıöver)

Traditional construction techniques and materials

Stone and natural materials found at near surrounding are typical construction materials in the Aegean coasts. According to architects Sönmez²⁵ and Bilgin²⁶, for the traditional constructions the farmers use to prepare soil for cultivation by collecting the stones and use them in the construction of their houses. Foundation, walls, doors and window lintels and jambs of the houses are all made up of stone. Other natural materials, such as weeds, plants and different soil types were used especially on the rooftops. The use of natural materials requires yearly maintenance in order to keep them in order. As observed in the case of Sandıma village especially, lack of yearly maintenance, causes weeds to spring up on the flat roofs and begin to breakdown the structure from the top (Fig. 9& Fig. 10).

²⁴Bektaş, Cengiz. (2004). *HalkYapıSanatındanBirÖrnek: Bodrum*. Istanbul. BileşimYayınevi.

²⁵Sönmez, Ahmet, architect and urban planner (interview, April 17, 2011)

²⁶Bilgin, Tevfik, architect (interview, April 15, 2011)



Fig. 9: View from a house in Karakaya village, which have crumbled due to lack of yearly maintenance (Karakaya village, April 2011, photograph by S. Tanrıöver)

Fig. 10: View from a MusandıralıEv, which have crumbled due to lack of yearly maintenance (Sandıma village, Feb 2012, photograph by S. Tanrıöver)

The case of Karakaya, since nearly all houses have been renowned and maintained, is quite different. The use of new construction technologies and materials in the renovation and reconstruction process of 600 years old houses have changed the identity and use of these houses in a certain way. For the courtyard floors, slate was frequently being used. Kaoline generated by mixing white soil, albarium, with soil mortar or cement mortar was a tradition in masonry. The most accepted and used timber for the beams, floors and other parts of the house was the pitch pine. Most of the houses were plastered both inside and outside. However, in some, the use of plaster is different. The technique called “Çakır” or “Sakar” requires less use of plaster, only applied on the connections of the stones and were 4-5 cm thick.



Fig. 11: MusandıralıEv, examples with “Çakır/Sakar” plaster technique (Karakaya village, February 2012, photograph by S. Tanrıöver)

Fig. 12: MusandıralıEv, with white soil (albarium) plaster technique (Sandıma village, February 2012, photograph by S. Tanrıöver)

This is the technique used in Karakaya village (Figure11), which is quite different from the whitewashed houses of Sandıma. The technique “Çakır” or “Sakar” was being used to decrease both the amount of plaster and to create an air current in between the sunny and shady parts of the outside walls to cool the interior. In both villages, for the same cause both interior and exterior these techniques were applied with albarium (lime) in pure white color (Fig. 12). Over and above the possibility of examining the traces of traditional stone construction, traditional soil rooftops and the layers of the construction in Sandıma, providing

perfect insulation for heat and water by the successful use of local materials, was observed (Fig. 13& Fig. 14).



Fig. 13: Soil rooftop of a typical Bodrum House (photograph by H. Tanrıöver, Bodrum 1967)

The timber slits covered by sedge put side by side, supported by tree branches and covered with timber (Fig. 15& Fig. 16). For the upper layer a bush rich in leaf “acıçalısı” and another that grows in marshland “koyalık” was being used. The following 3-4 cm thick layer was made up of seaweed “erişte”, and lastly 5-7 cm thick layer of soil was laid to cover the whole surface. In order to avoid the growth of plants on the roof salt was laid on the soil. These layers that avoid heat transfer lastly were covered with a type of clay to avoid the water transfer and was pressed by a stone steamroller. Roofs were designed with a slope towards one side in order to deliver rainwater from roof to soil with the rainspouts from fired clay²⁷ (Fig. 17). However, in Karakaya, due to the renovations by the new owners, the use of new materials and construction techniques were noticed. Nevertheless, unoccupied houses existing as ruins, do still have the traces of similar stone wall and soil rooftop constructions with the ones in Sandıma.



Fig. 14: Soil rooftops in Sandıma village (photograph by S. Tanrıöver, Bodrum 2012)

Fig.15: The timber slits covered by sedge Sandıma village (photograph by S. Tanrıöver, Bodrum 2012)

²⁷Bektaş, Cengiz. (2004). *HalkYapıSanatındanBirÖrnek: Bodrum*. İstanbul. BileşimYayınevi.



Fig. 16: The remains of timber slits of roof construction, Sandıma village (photograph by S. Tanrıöver, Bodrum 2012)

Fig. 17: Fired clay rainspouts to deliver rainwater to soil, Sandıma village (photograph by S. Tanrıöver, Bodrum 2012)

Today and Future of Abandoned Houses

For both Sandıma and Karakaya, the first assumption may be that these were Greek villages abandoned in the Population Exchange Agreement between Turkey and Greece in 1923. However, the existence of vernacular architectural remains typical to Turkish residents, the ruins of a mosque in Karakaya and the lack of evidence such as chapel ruins as solid signs of Greek Orthodox residents, these villages were understood clearly to be Turkish villages.²⁸

Today, walls of stone houses of Sandıma are still standing; even though nearly the roofs of all have already collapsed. The current intention is to revitalize the village for the touristic purposes. However, the future of the village is not in the hands of the locals, most of the houses were sold. By 1980's and 1990's houses of Sandıma have attracted the attention of some companies with Turkish-English partners and became a source of unearned income. Nearly all ruins and plots once owned by the locals have been sold either to these firms or individuals since the estate taxes have become a heavy burden for the locals.²⁹ For the revitalization of Sandıma village, numerous studies and projects were made. However, the projects initiated by the new owners were mostly focused on the utilization of the houses not protection. They have never been realized since the area is registered as a heritage site of 3rd degree. Yet the final project which includes the 157 registered houses is carried out by Atelye 70, owned by the private sector, controlled by the municipality and the Council of Monuments. It focuses on the protection of the original architectural culture and identity of Sandıma by revitalizing the local lifestyle in the village. The only inhabitants of Sandıma at the moment are the owners of the Nuris Art Gallery and an old local Osman Yavuz.

The long-lived stone houses of Karakaya village on the other hand, were renowned by individuals long before the houses of Sandıma. Today, most of them are occupied and have already gone through renovations, even some additions that are not compatible with the original. Renovations completed in Karakaya by the new owners were mostly focused on the utilization of the houses or the plots. Consequently, it is not possible to talk about either an integrated revitalization project for Karakaya or the preservation of the original architectural culture and identity of the village, and the local lifestyle.

²⁸Berkaya, Chris Drum. Sandıma: A Bodrum Treasure to Discover, (accessed on 25.01.2012)
<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=sandima---a-bodrum-treasure-to-discover-2011-03-30>

²⁹Oktik, Nilgun. (2007) Dunden Bugune Yalıkavak'ta Sosyal Yasam. Muğla Üniversitesi Basımevi

Concluding Remarks

As is known, unique natural and built environment of Bodrum, once a modest town of agriculture and fishing, had undergone a tremendous change after 1950's and had transformed this unique settlement into the most famous touristic resort of Turkey in 2000's. Especially after 1980's, immigration and urban sprawl became serious threats for the unique architecture and identity of the town. Although it is necessary to admit change and development in the built environment, preserving the identity and culture of the past is an indispensable and challenging issue to achieve.

The goals of this study as to illuminate the reasons for the abandonment of these villages of agriculture and animal husbandry and drawing attention to the existence of two unique examples of traditional architecture and lifestyle in the peninsula. There exists a need for preservation of such unique remains.

Rapid transformations have occurred in many areas with the establishment of the Republic especially after 1950's, and have triggered the abandonment of these villages. Changing sources of income, increase in population and education levels, developments in construction materials and techniques, introduction of motorcar after 70's, have all affected the process. The agricultural products wheat, figs and olive were first replaced by mandarin, and then the major sources of income, agriculture and animal husbandry, have been replaced by tourism. The cultivation of the new product forced villagers to move down to the flat lands for growing mandarins, leaving the first settlements behind. The existence of only one primary school in the area was another important reason to move, especially the families with children.

Today and in the future, projects aiming to revitalize these villages and similar settlements need consciousness and in-depth information about their past. Revitalization attempts should focus on the protection of the original architectural culture and identity of such settlements by revitalizing the local lifestyle as well.

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