

Characteristics of Rural Architecture and its use in the \mathring{c} omakda \mathring{G} Region: \mathring{c} omakda \mathring{G} Kizila \mathring{G} a \mathring{c} Village, Turkey

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CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL ARCHITECTURE AND ITS USE IN THE ÇOMAKDAĞ REGION: ÇOMAKDAĞ KIZILAĞAÇ VILLAGE, TURKEY

V. Betül Kurtuluş and Neriman Şahin Güçhan

Çomakdağ is a rural region consisting of five villages and six plateau settlements in the Beşparmak mountain range in Milas district, Muğla province, Turkey. The simple stone masonry buildings on the rocky cliffs and the indigenous lifestyle of the local people form unique characteristics of the region. The historic urban fabric is still visible, and the traditional lifestyle continues in the region. However, the population has been decreasing, and some parts of the traditional fabric have lost their local characteristics. This article presents the typical characteristic of the Çomakdağ houses that date from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The aim is to introduce the rural architecture of the region and investigate the interactions between spaces and daily life. Moreover, physical interventions to adapt the houses to today's needs in the Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village are explored through observations and interviews.

KEYWORDS: *Çomakdağ, Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village, rural architecture, daily life, user interventions*

INTRODUCTION

The Çomakdağ region, in Milas district, Muğla province, is located in the Beşparmak mountains in the south-western part of Turkey. It represents the individual characteristics of an isolated society. In the Çomakdağ region, traditional architectural features are mostly conserved, and the traditional lifestyle of the local people can still be observed today. However, the people living in the villages are generally elderly, and the younger generation mostly live in nearby cities. Thus, the continuity of rural life and the unique architecture in the region is at risk. This text examines the architectural characteristics and the uses of the houses in the Çomakdağ region, as a preliminary study for its conservation.

Before presenting the indigenous characteristics of the region, it is necessary to mention the main reasons for the population decrease in the Çomakdağ region in the context of the country as a whole.

In the early years of the Republic (1923–60), most of the people in Turkey made a living from agriculture.¹ The majority of the community lived in rural areas, and the state policies supported agriculture. However, with mechanisation and industrialisation, the income level of the rural population was substantially decreased, and this caused a dramatic population flow from rural to urban areas.

Köymen indicates that the migrations started after the First World War in the twentieth century and

continued with the following regulations and attitudes in agricultural, legal and administrative policies.² However, the major migrations from rural to urban areas are seen in the 1950s and 1980s.

In the 1950s, peasants became unemployed after the Marshall Plan, a project that aimed to provide tractors for rural areas.³ The demands for a labour force were reduced after this plan, so numerous peasants became unemployed. As such, they moved to urban areas to find an alternative income source.⁴

In the 1980s, the government abolished its regulatory attitude for determining the prices for the agricultural products and the development strategies of the government shifted from agriculture to industry. The small farmers lost their competitive capacity in such an environment.⁵ As such, the majority of the rural population migrated to urban areas. The rural population of Turkey was 75% in 1927 and decreased to 7.2% in 2019.⁶

Although there is no accurate information about the fall in population in the Çomakdağ region, the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) has data for Milas district.⁷ According to these data, the population declined by 15%, that is from 80% to 65% between 1965 and 2000.⁸ Based on the information obtained from TUIK, the population of the five village settlements continued to decrease in the period 2007–16 (Fig. 1).⁹ Decreasing population is the major cause of the extinction of local architecture in the region.

The main intention of this study is to introduce and promote the distinctiveness of the Çomakdağ region by expounding its indigenous features with a focus on its local architecture, its typical components and use in a detailed way. The case studies are based not only on

Decrease in Population of Çomakdağ Region

		Villages	Total			Villages	Total
2007		Ç. Kızılağaç	932	2016		Ç. Kızılağaç	828
		İkiztaş	696			İkiztaş	662
		Ketendere	813			Ketendere	775
		Sarıkaya–Gökseki	319			Sarıkaya–Gökseki	260

Figure 1. The decrease in population of the Çomakdağ region by village. There are five villages in the region: Çomakdağ Kızılağaç, İkiztaş, Ketendere, Sarıkaya, Gökseki. (The data is from Turkish Statistical Institute)

the houses in the Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village, but also on observations on the other villages and interviews made during the field surveys. In the scope of the study, eight surveyed houses, their usage and the changes to adapt these traditional houses to today's conditions are presented.

Three different field surveys were carried out in 2015, in village and plateau settlements. Houses that had retained their authentic features were selected under the guidance of the headmen of the villages, after permission had been obtained. As a result of all the field surveys, 34 houses were surveyed and 37 interviews were conducted. All interviews are held by the authors (Fig. 2).

There is one previous study discussing physical characteristics of the Çomakdağ region in a descriptive manner covering the discussions on the physical environment and plan typologies.¹⁰ This study goes one step beyond and examines the interrelations between the physical characteristics of the buildings and daily life that occurs within them.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE ÇOMAKDAĞ REGION

The Çomakdağ region contains five villages and six plateau settlements. These village settlements were established at the skirts of the Beşparmak Mountains and near water sources (Fig. 3).

The five villages are Çomakdağ Kızılağaç, İkiztaş, Ketendere, Sarıkaya and Gökseki. The six plateaus are Atalan, Ağaçarası, İskele, İmpınar, Dutağacı and Yumruuş. Traditional settlements are mostly conserved and the traditional lifestyle still continues in all these villages.

In the Çomakdağ region, most of the structures in the settlements are built out of stone on the rocky cliffs since stone is the most readily available building material in the region. They are designed in harmony with the natural environment, respecting its characteristics.

Village settlements are surrounded by olive groves since each family in the region owns olive groves.¹¹ Today, agricultural activities partially continue with

the cultivation of olives as well as pine nuts. Animal husbandry, which has mainly focused on breeding goats, has almost disappeared. Both practices provide only a limited income.

The Çomakdağ region is formed by natural environments, agricultural lands and settlements. It is possible to observe the production activities and social practices of the local people in all these areas. In agricultural lands there is olive production, while in the settlements there is the production of fresh and dry vegetables, silkworm breeding and animal husbandry. In the forest, honey production used to be carried out in the beehive houses. Social practices such as weddings, entertaining tourists and gathering for the bazaar can be seen in the settlements. Agricultural lands are also gathering spaces at harvest time. In the forest, local people used to get together in front of the water sources for laundry, having a bath or taking a rest.¹² The traces of these activities can still be observed, although some of them are no longer continued. On the routes between villages and plateaus, it is possible to identify resting spots next to various water sources. For example, on the shepherd route from İkiztaş village to Atalan plateau, beehive houses, water fountains and open-air prayer areas can be seen (Fig. 4). Beehive houses (surrounded by high walls to protect them from the bears) are widespread in the region and are not in use today.

Two nearby settlements share the same natural resources, agricultural areas and plateaus.¹³ The Atalan and Ağaçarası plateaus are the properties of the residents of İkiztaş and Çomakdağ Kızılağaç villages and used to be inhabited only in the summer season. The same is also seen with the inhabitants of Sarıkaya and Gökseki villages, who also move to the İmpınar, Dutağacı or Yumruuş plateaus in the summer season. The residents of Ketendere village move to the İskele plateau in the summer. Atalan and Ağaçarası are abandoned plateau settlements, while the other ones are still used by the local people (Fig. 5). Hürü Karadağ explains the reason why they used to move to the highlands in summer:

Çomakdağ Region Field Survey

First Field Survey: *Investigation* 04.06.2015 - 07.06.2015
 Second Field Survey: *Plateaus* 06.08.2015 - 10.08.2015
 Third Field Survey: *Villages* 04.11.2015 - 12.11.2015



		1 st Field Survey: <i>Investigation</i>		2 nd Field Survey: <i>Plateaus</i>		3 rd Field Survey: <i>Villages</i>		IN TOTAL	
		Number of Surveyed Buildings	Number of Interviews	Number of Surveyed Buildings	Number of Interviews	Number of Surveyed Buildings	Number of Interviews	Number of Surveyed Buildings	Number of Interviews
Villages	1. Kızılağaç	1	1			9	11	10	12
	2. İkiztaş	2	2				1	2	3
	3. Ketendere	1	2			1	4	2	6
	4. Sarıkaya	1	1			5	5	6	6
	5. Gökseki	1	1			5	3	6	4
								26	31
Plateaus	1. Atalan			3	1			3	1
	2. Ağaçarası								
	3. İskele			2	1			2	1
	4. İmpınar			1	1			1	1
	5. Dutağacı			2	2			2	2
	6. Yumrudaş							1	1
								15	6
								34	37

Figure 2. Number of surveyed buildings and conducted interviews in the field study

In the past, we used to go to the plateaus [...] They were called Ağaçarası, Atalan [...] Now, of course, it is not necessary. In the past, there used to be no electricity or water. They used to move to the highlands in summer both for staying in their summer house and for carrying the firewood for winter, and there was no water [in the village during summer time].¹⁴

According to a report prepared about İkiztaş village, the first settlement of the Çomakdağ region was established by four nomadic families in the Ağaçarası plateau in 1368. Atalan, which is known as a plateau settlement in the Çomakdağ region today, is also noted as being one of the earliest settlements. Ural points out that the village settlements were probably displaced over time and moved towards the foothills of the mountains, and Atalan and Ağaçarası became plateau settlements.¹⁵ This theory is supported by the book prepared about Milas district in nineteenth century by Adıyeke. According to the book, Atalan and Ağaçarası are not recorded as village settlements in the Ottoman Registry Records.¹⁶

The people who came into the region after the fourteenth century probably learned agricultural production and construction techniques necessary to survive in this rugged and rocky terrain from the Yörüks (regional nomadic Turkomans) and other communities that had previously settled here. The previous

inhabitants had been growing olives, the primary agricultural product of the region for years, and they must have also transferred their knowledge of breeding goats to those living there.¹⁷

ÇOMAKDAĞ KIZILAĞAÇ VILLAGE

Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village, situated between İkiztaş and Ketendere villages, has the highest population in the region, with 828 inhabitants and 350 households.¹⁸

Both open and built spaces have an important role in daily life. Open spaces can be classified as the village square, streets, nodes, and courtyards (Fig. 6). The village square is used for public gatherings such as ceremonies and other important events. It is on land with a slight slope which increases to the peripheries of the settlement (Fig. 7). Nodes, where streets connect and widen, are also used as gathering points.

According to the interviews, the village was established in this area because of the abundance of water sources. However, all of these fountains dried up after a modern water supply system was installed in 1962.

Public buildings are all located near the village square. The mosque was recently rebuilt; however, the traditional minaret of the former mosque has been conserved. The coffee house is not only a meeting point

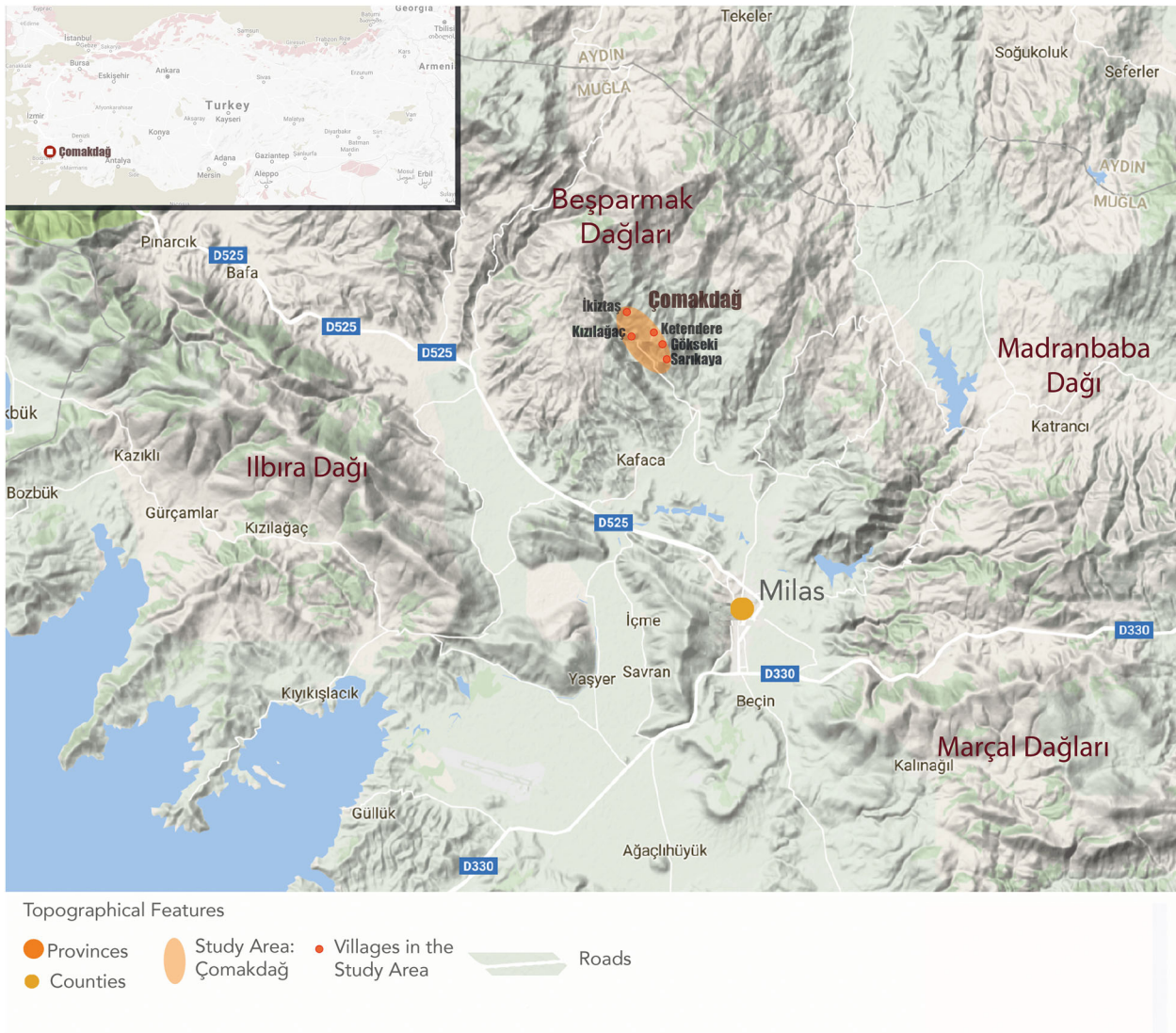


Figure 3. Topographical features of the Çomakdağ region (base map data © 2018 Google)

for men, but also a place for hosting tourist groups and the performance of traditional wedding ceremonies.¹⁹

The elementary school unfortunately faces closure because of the decreasing number of children. There are also two olive oil mills that have been abandoned, since the villagers prefer to sell the harvest to the olive oil factory in Milas district. The community house, which is not used today, was once used to host visitors, doctors, veterinarians or salesmen.²⁰

Today, the inhabitants of Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village manage to continue their traditions while respecting traditional architectural values. The village was selected as one of the ‘Five villages whose culture needs to be kept alive in Turkey’ by the Foundation for the Protection and Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage (ÇEKÜL). The Culture and Tourism Research and Development Society was established for the promotion of the village and for the organisation of cultural activities to raise its profile.

Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village has become a tourist attraction where wedding ceremonies are demonstrated. Local women are encouraged to sell handicrafts during these performances. This provides an alternative income source, although the recreated wedding ceremonies arguably also have an adverse effect on the authenticity of traditional life in the village, since the demonstrated ceremonies does not represent the real process of a traditional wedding. While traditional weddings take four to seven days, these demonstrations take approximately one hour.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE HOUSES IN THE ÇOMAKDAĞ REGION

The houses in the Çomakdağ region are unsophisticated, quite dissimilar to the ones in other rural areas in Turkey and even to the ones in the city centre of Milas district. According to Batur and the given information in the interviews, the oldest house known in



Figure 4. 1, 2. A prayer stone on the route between İkiştaş village and Atalan plateau; 3. A well for gathering water (rainwater through a watercourse) on the route between İkiştaş village and Atalan plateau; 4. A resting spot in front of a spring on the route between İkiştaş village and Atalan plateau

the Çomakdağ region was built 100–150 years ago. However, the architectural features, decorative forms, behaviours, rituals and habits are characteristic of a longer past and an indigenous culture.²¹

Distinctive features of the houses are their design and construction process, location in the site, façade ornamentations and symbols, local expressions of spaces and architectural elements, plan types and interior ornamentations.

The construction process of the houses is one of the features that represents the cultural patrimony. A group of well-known stonemasons and carpenters of the Çomakdağ region, Mustafa Altuntaş, Mustafa Aydoğdu and Mustafa Demirtaş, live in Ketendere village today. They no longer work, although they have invaluable knowledge about traditional construction techniques. Mustafa Demirtaş (mason) explains the design and construction process of the houses with these words:

The owner of the house was hiring us: four or five masons. [First of all,] for the foundation, we were digging until we found the solid soil. It is all rock around here [so it is not

hard to reach it]. The owner tells us how many rooms he wants [...] We had our measured ropes, we would make the corners perpendicular according to the dimensions of the building [...] We used plumb to get the walls even, today they use water level [...] The owner of the house and neighbours would help during the construction process [...] ²²

Moreover, they mention that the construction process consists of two different phases: masonry and woodwork. The masonry takes approximately one month to complete, and then the woodwork takes a minimum of six months. The houses are built with treated stone blocks which are set with a particular bonding system. The stones lying longitudinally are called *yan* (side) and the ones lying vertically are called *kazık* (stake). They are aligned alternately along the wall. Tiles or leftover stone pieces are used to fill the joints (Fig. 8).

Security considerations are the principal criterion while choosing the location of the houses. According to the locals, a defence method was developed in the

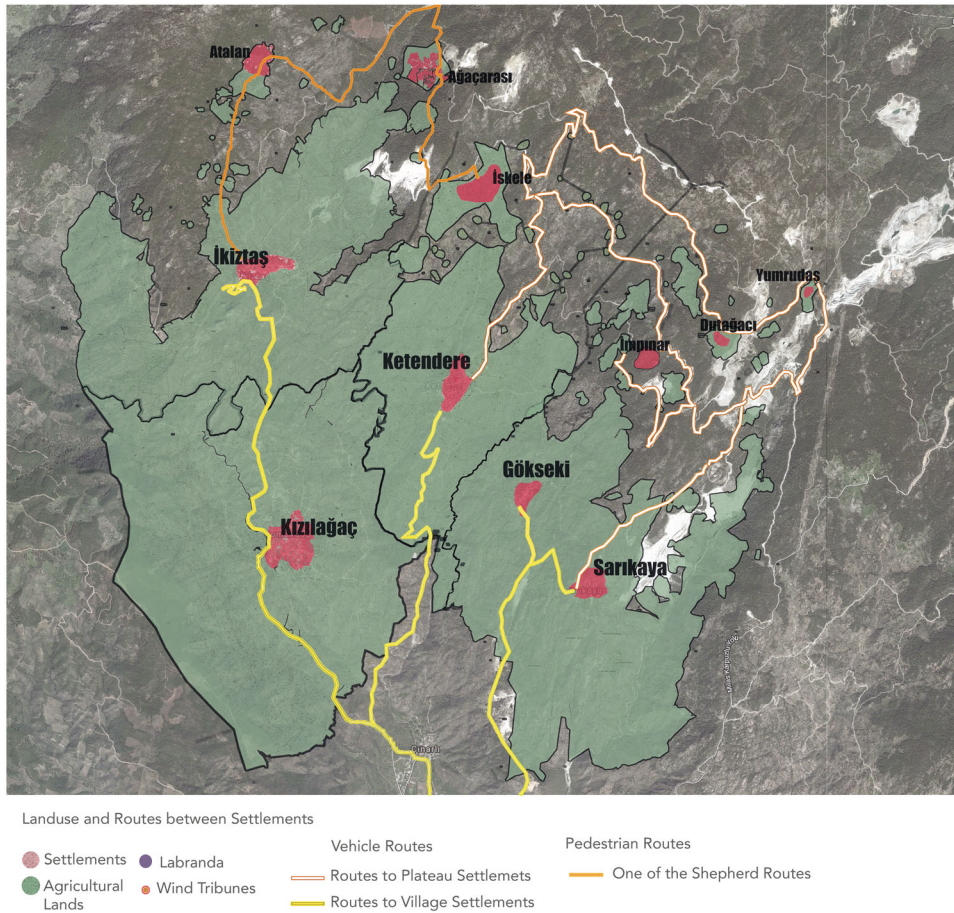


Figure 5. Landuse and routes in the Çomakdağ region (base map data © 2018 Google)

past and the houses were placed to ensure protection against bandits and bullets. Based on these security issues, only the entrance façades are easily accessible in many cases. Moreover, the importance of security concerns can be observed in the design of the door and window systems.

In the earlier periods, window openings were protected from the elements with shutters. A hidden lock system called *mangila* (a traditional window locking system) was used for the shutters as an added security measure, so that they can only be opened from the inside (Fig. 9). Additionally, at the bottom of the window there is a metal hook called a *tutkaç* (grip) which is used to fix the shutters after closing (Fig. 10).

The residents' thoughts or beliefs are expressed by symbols and/or ornamentations on the façades of buildings and the chimneys. These can be a carved stone above the chimney representing a tribe in the Carian period or an amulet to protect the houses from the evil eye, or the date of the construction of the house and the name of the mason who built it.²³ Moreover, the number of chimneys indicates the number of the rooms because, unconditionally, there is a fireplace in each room. Despite various interventions, the traces of the authentic layout and architectural

elements are still legible. Moreover, the local terms and expressions are still used today in daily life.

A survey of the relevant literature and interviews with residents have revealed that the expressions used in the local dialect to describe houses have diverse meanings. Single-storey houses that are entered directly at ground level without the use of stairs are called '*yer ev*'.²⁴ The term '*hanay*' or '*haney*', however, is used for a room that is elevated from the ground and entered after ascending stairs.²⁵

In another account, *hanay* was defined as the most ornamented room in a house, commonly used to entertain guests. Hasan Yıldırım states that:

If there is more than one room in a house, the most decorated room is called *hanay*. However, if it's the only room, anyway it's the *hanay*. You see, when a guest comes to the house, he is greeted in here (*hanay*).²⁶

In another interview, the *hanay* was described as the room where the bride comes to join her new family. According to Adnan Kocabaş: 'if a bride comes to a house, she stays in the most ornamented room'.²⁷ This definition probably corresponds to the most ornamented room in the house, similar to the previous description.

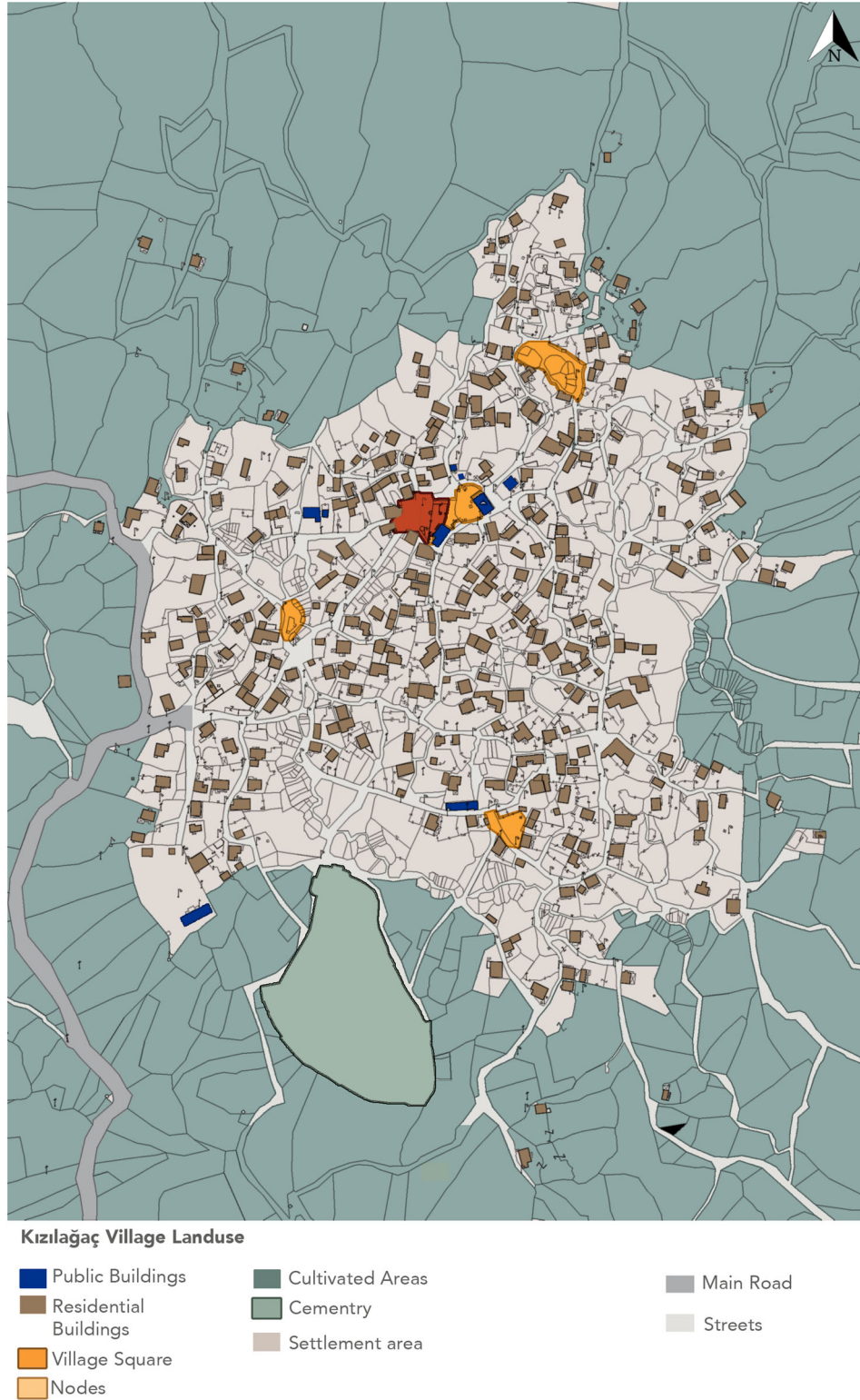


Figure 6. Landuse in Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village (the cadastral maps were taken from the Milas municipality and base map data © 2018 Google)

In the dictionary of the Turkish Language Association, the definitions of *hanay* and *haney* are given separately. For *haney*, there are four different

definitions: ‘large house with two or more floors’, ‘anteroom, hall, corridor’, ‘hall’ and ‘spaces between house floors’. *Hanay*, on the other hand, has the

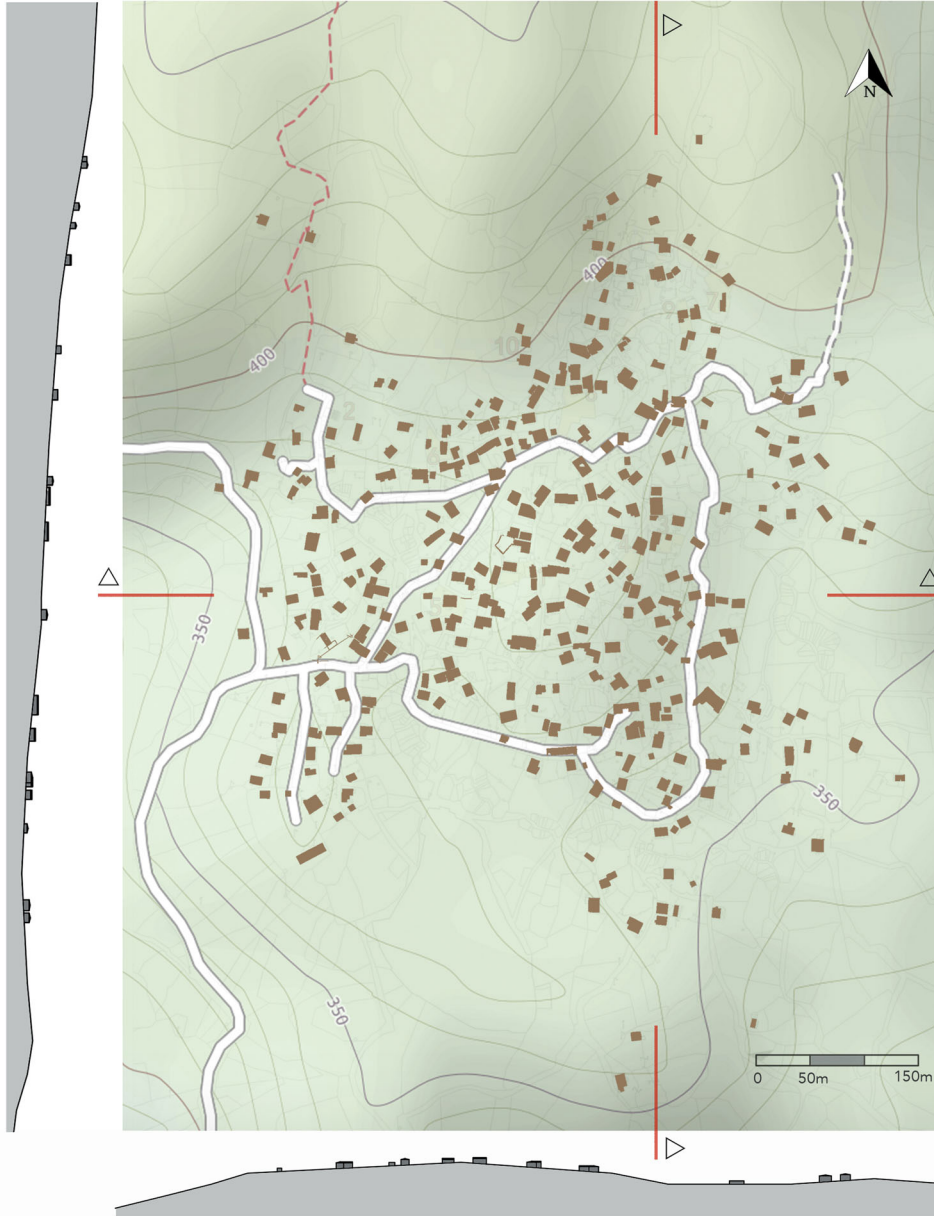
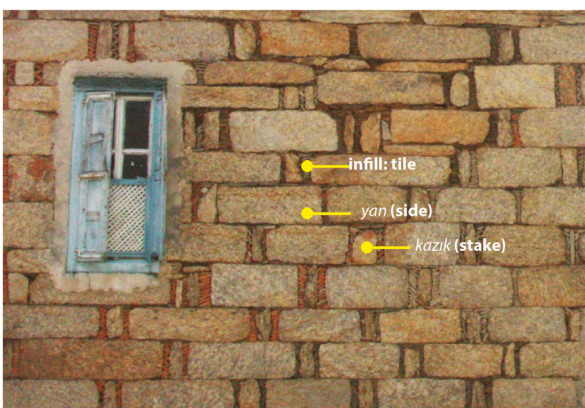


Figure 7. The slope on the land of Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village (base map data © 2019 Google)



Remzi Ateş House, Kızılağaç Village

Figure 8. The masonry wall system of Çomakdağ houses

following meanings: ‘the top floor of a house’, ‘large house with two or more floors’, ‘anteroom’, ‘cellar’, ‘staircase’, ‘hall’ or ‘courtyard’.²⁸

Batur defines the single-storey houses as *yer ev* and the two-storey houses as *hanay* in her book *Mylasa Labraunda/Milas Çomakdağ*, published in 2010. She describes the plan organisation of *yer ev* and derivatives of *hanay*.²⁹ In this study, a new plan type — *rectangular-plan yer ev* — is presented for the first time. Moreover, interactions between daily life and architectural spaces are investigated through architectural elements, courtyards and their use in daily life.

Çomakdağ houses are very different from the defined traditional Turkish house in the literature. In



Figure 9. Traditional window locking system, İkiştaş and Gökseki villages



Figure 10. Shutter grip, Sarıkaya village

earlier typology studies, the characteristics of rural architecture are not considered as a separate topic. Therefore, descriptions are based on generalisations. According to these descriptions, a typical traditional Turkish house has two floors: a ground floor, which is used as a depot or an animal barn, and a first floor, which is the main living space. The houses have mostly a mixed construction: the foundation and the ground floor are of stone and a timber frame is used for the upper floor.³⁰ Three different classifications of Turkish house have been identified by leading researchers of the subject. In the earliest analysis by Eldem, the *sofa*, which is used as a circulation and living space, was considered to be the defining feature.³¹ In earlier studies, Kuban used geographical features and local materials as a base for the classification of houses, while Küçükerman makes the categorisation based on the position and the number of the rooms.³² Similar to Küçükerman's approach, plan

types in the Çomakdağ region are grouped based on the articulation of rooms. The *yer ev* cannot be included in one of these categories because the classifications identified in the literature are based on the organisation of the first-floor rooms. Therefore, *yer ev* should be classified as a different category altogether. In this study, single-storey houses are referred to as '*yer ev*' and houses elevated from the ground, with two floors, are referred to as '*hanay*'.

The *yer ev* is the simplest house type in the Çomakdağ region. Basically, it includes a single space with a porch (*kepenek altı*) in front of it. The porch is a semi-open space with a service area for cleaning purposes in front of the entrance of the house (Fig. 11). In some cases, a space called *dam* or *hayat*, which is an animal shelter, is added next to the house.

The architectural elements have a primary role in terms of the use of the single space. Each of them has



Figure 11. Porch, Nurten Akar house, Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village

a characteristic purpose and an expression in the local dialect. The fireplace (*ocak*), is the focal point of the space, which is used for cooking and heating. Inhabitants and guests spend time in front of it during the day. A shelf above the fireplace (*ocaklık*) is used to store cooking utensils. A stone shelf inside the fireplace is the kindling shelf (*çıra kayığı*) to keep tinder. The upper shelf, which continues along the walls and is used for storing cooking pots, plates and so on is called a multi-use shelf (*aymalık*; Fig. 12). The cupboard, on the other hand, has three different elements: the pantry (*ambar*) at the bottom which is used to store rice, wheat and barley; the closet (*viüçlük*), above the pantry, is used to store bedding; and the shelf above the closet (*musandıra*) is used for storing pots. The bowl shelf (*çanaklık*) is used for storing plates and glasses, and the pitcher shelf (*testilik*) is specifically designed for jugs filled with water and olive oil (Fig. 13). These elements are seen in all the plan types, others are unique to single-storey houses, such as the plate niche (*tabak deliği*; Fig. 14), cat hole (*keci deliği*), lower corner stone (*aşağı bucak taşı*), black pot shelf (*karaharanlık*) and sitting stone (*oturma taşı*; Fig. 15). The plate niche is seen near the fireplace and is used for storing plates. The cat hole is designed to allow cats into the house in order to keep away rodents. The black pot shelf is nailed to the roof timbers and used for storing sooty pots. In fact, the lower corner stone is a backrest between the fireplace and the entrance, for the person who sits on that side of the fireplace. Müzeyyen Sarıçay explains the lower corner stone:

In the past, our elders used to warm up the space with the fireplace because there was no heating stove. They say one of us would sit on the upper nook and one of us would sit on the lower nook and our children would sit in the middle. That's how we got along. In the upper nook there is already a corner. There's no corner on the lower nook because the door is on that side. That's why they put a rock on the lower nook, in other words, they created a corner there, too.³³

Cleansing activities such as washing the dishes and clothes are done outside, in the porch. A wooden trough (*suluk*) is built for these purposes (Fig. 16).

In this study, two different types of *yer ev* were identified according to their shape: rectangular and square. The space organisation and number of openings of these two types vary. These types of *yer ev* are categorised as rectangular-plan *yer ev* and square-plan *yer ev*.

In the rectangular-plan *yer ev* part of the space is separated as the corner space (*bucaklık*) by a cupboard. The corner space is used as a woodshed or a barn for animals (Fig. 17). The entrance of the rectangular-plan *yer ev* is near the fireplace, located on the short side of the house. There are typically one or two window openings by the entrance and/or near the fireplace in the rectangular-plan *yer ev*.

In contrast to the rectangular-plan *yer ev*, the entrance to the square-plan *yer ev* can be from any of the façades except the fireplace façade (Fig. 18). Typically three or four window openings can be seen.

The characteristics of square-planned *yer ev* are similar to those of the rectangular-plan *yer ev*. However, a bathing cubicle is added in the cupboard



Figure 12. A. Upper shelf; B. Fireplace shelf; C. Kindling shelf, Türçen Karcıoğlu house, Sarıkaya village



Figure 13. The bowl shelf and the pitcher shelf, Ketendere village

(Fig. 19). A niche closet (*niş*) is also positioned next to a window, though sometimes it can be seen next to the fireplace. It is the only locked closet in the room and is used for storing personal belongings. The doors, niche doors and window shutters are decorated with geometric and floral patterns (Fig. 20).

The spatial organisation of the square-plan *yer ev* is the most common plan type. The *haney* plan type is a more superior example, though it takes the former as a

basis. The *haney* is a square-plan space with an elevated entrance. The entrance into the living space is provided by a stone staircase (Figs 21, 22). The elevated room is the main living space, while the space below is the underfloor (*dabanaltı*), which is used for storage purposes.

Moreover, in the *haney*, further elements such as the display case (*oyma*) (Fig. 23), the timber hanger (*şerik*; Fig. 24) and ceiling rose (Fig. 25) can be identified.



Figure 14. Fireplace. A. Fireplace shelf; B. Plate niche; C. Kindling shelf, İmpinar plateau



Figure 15. Sitting stone, Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village

The timber hanger is attached to the ceiling and is used for hanging prayer rugs and blankets. The display case is a closet which has a decorated carved lid. It is designed as an extension of the cupboard, either behind the door or as part of the bowl shelf.

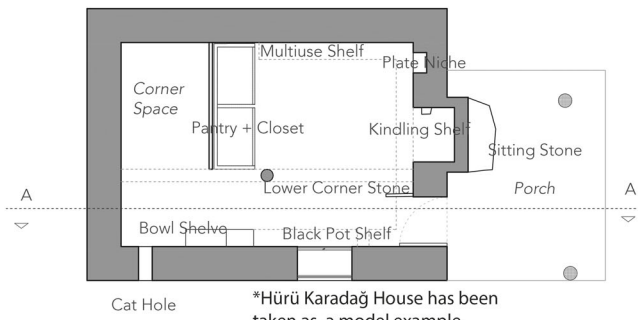
A ceiling rose with fine decorations is placed at the centre of the ceiling. If there is more than one room, all the typical architectural elements that are finely

ornamented can be seen in the room, which is used for welcoming guests. Compared to *yer evs*, the most colourful and ornamented wood treatments are seen in *haneys* (Figs 26, 27).

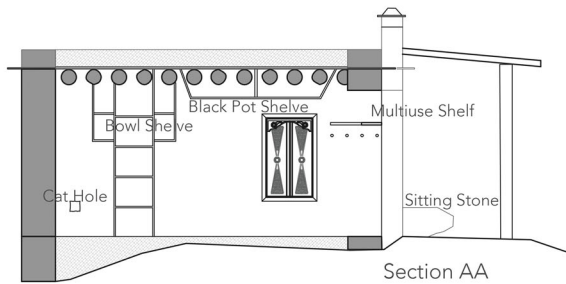
This plan type is expanded by attaching two or three additional spaces. These spaces can be an additional room, a traditional kitchen (*öğnüük*) or a semi-open circulation and living space (*divehane* or *ayazlık*) with a



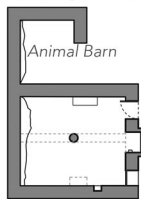
Figure 16. Wooden trough, Adnan Kocabaş house, Impınar plateau



*Abandoned House in Kızılağaç Village



- Rectangular Planned Yer Ev Derivatives

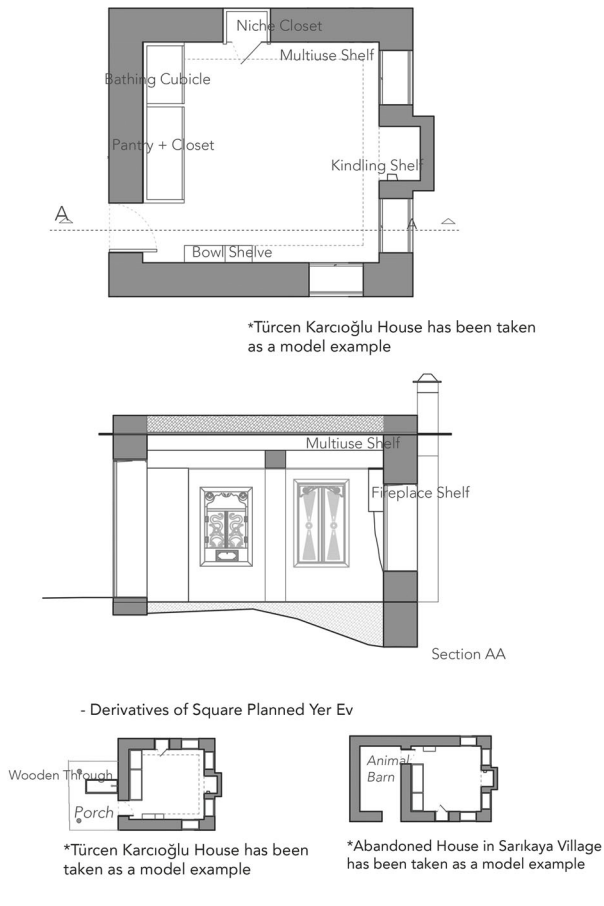


*Abandoned House in Atalan Plateau has been taken as a model example



*Abandoned House in Atalan Plateau

Figure 17. The space organisation of rectangular-plan Yer Ev



Abandoned House in Sarikaya Village



Türçen Karcioğlu House

Figure 18. The space organisation of square-plan Yer Ev



Figure 19. A. Pot shelf; B. Bathing cubicle; C. Closet; D. Display case; E. Pantry, abandoned house, Sarikaya village

balcony (Fig. 21).³⁴ The circulation area is not separate from the typical living area in *haney*s. In more advanced versions, rooms or a semi-open living and circulation space are attached to the house.

The *haney* with *divehane/ayazlık* (semi-open [circulation and living] space) has a wooden elevated seat along the balcony, which projects from the façade, to allow the inhabitants to see outside. In this plan type a



Figure 20. Decorations on a niche lid (left) and window lid (right), Türçen Karcıoğlu house, Sarıkaya village

wooden set of stairs leads to the semi-open space where the households spend most of their time, especially during the summer. A wooden trough and a pitcher shelf can be seen in this space.

All the plan types mentioned are simple and modest, and blend in with the surrounding environment. In the Çomakdağ region, the hierarchy in social class is not visible in different kinds of plan schemes. In Çomakdağ houses, the hierarchy in social class is realised with the type and colour of ornamentations. Batur has discussed the colours, ornamentations and their meanings in her studies. The majority of the ornamentations are seen indoors because they are mainly produced by carving and colouring wooden elements (such as the cupboard, windows, doors, ceilings, shelves and niches, etc.).³⁵ The carved patterns can include a flower, the star and crescent (the symbol of Turkish flag), animals, plants and geometrical motifs. The ornamentations are brightly coloured. These bright colours are used in various combinations in all of the patterns.

The patterns used for the carvings do not require professional skills or mastery, they are an interpretation of natural elements and have different meanings. The animal and flower motifs are often so stylised that the generated motifs are abstract. Also, stylised creatures from fairy tales can be seen, along with the geometrical shapes.³⁶

According to the interviews with a local resident, Hasan Yıldırım, there are some commonly used

symbols in the ornamentations. Each of them has different meanings: a Poinciana represents elegance, while a gun and knife signify power. A sun represents fruitfulness, while a snake and bird (partridge or sparrow) symbolise health, and a crescent signifies Islam. The star and crescent are a symbol of the nation as seen in the Ottoman/Turkish flag. Lastly, trees with triangular shapes represent the tree of life, and symbolise the vitality and fountain of youth and spiritual unity.³⁷

The Çomakdağ houses should be considered alongside the courtyard because of their interconnected uses in daily life. A typical courtyard possibly contains a vegetable garden, a toilet, an animal barn, a chicken coop, a wood pile, a wooden trough and an arbour. Most of the inhabitants grow fresh vegetables and fruits, and dry them in the courtyard. The flowers that Çomakdağ women wear on their heads are grown in these gardens as well. Aysel Yıldırım explains the daily uses of the garden during an interview in her house: ‘We sow everything in the garden [...] we cook our own food with what we harvest in our own garden [...] so, we cook our own food here (traditional kitchen) on the fireplace’.³⁸

Although it provides a low income, breeding goats (though now rarely practised), cattle and poultry continues in the region. Therefore, a chicken coop and a barn are seen in almost every courtyard. The niches in the barns are where chickens lay eggs.

The courtyard is used not only for chopping and piling wood, but also for breeding silkworms. Toilets and

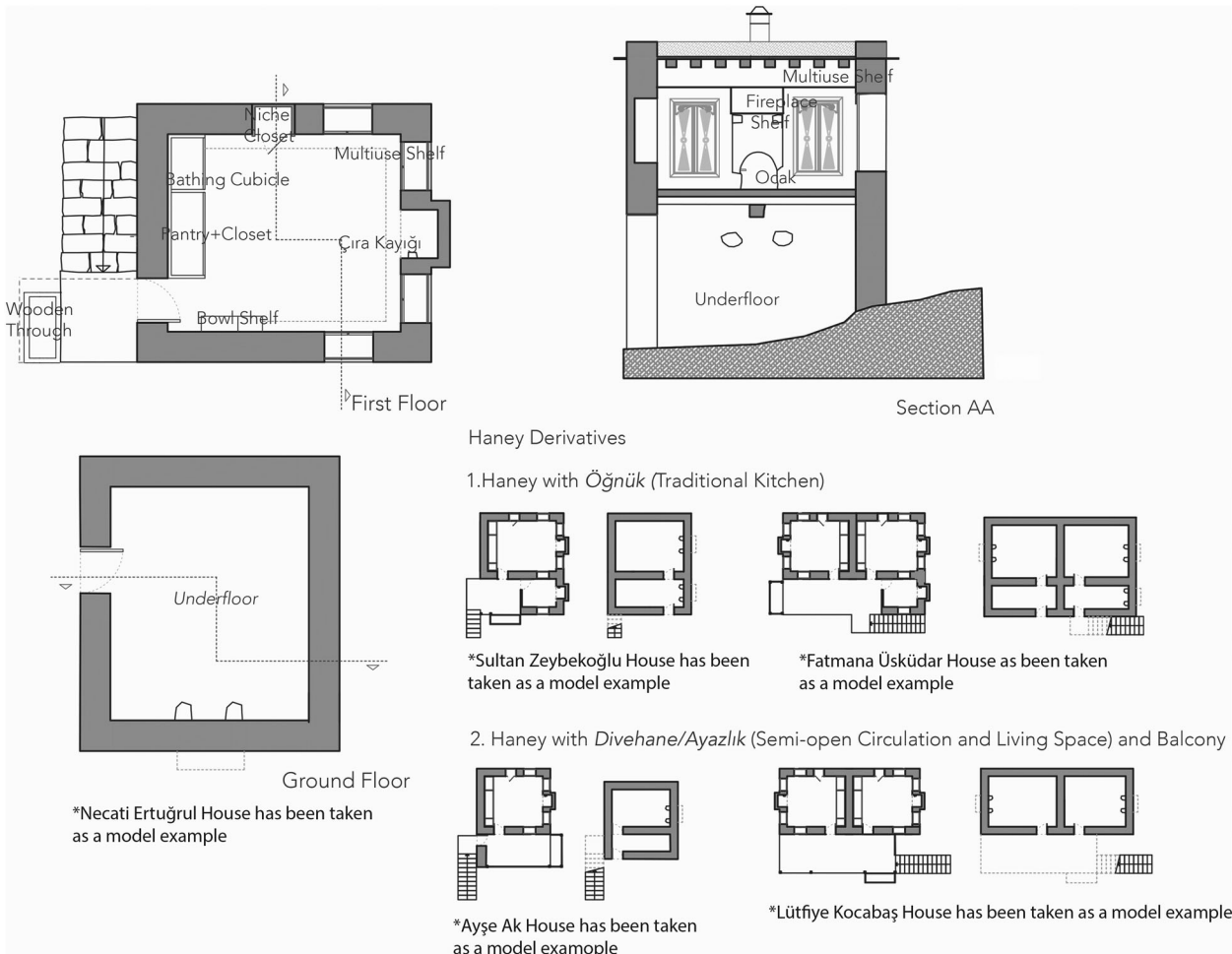


Figure 21. Different combinations of spaces and elements in the haney



Figure 22. Haney, Eyüp Kocabaş house, Gökseki village



Figure 23. A. Pot shelf; B. Bathing cubicle; C. Closet; and E. Display case, Lütfiye Kocabaş house, Gökseki village



Figure 24. Timber hanger, Necati Ertuğrul house, Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village

wooden troughs for washing clothes were used before the water system was installed. They are still seen in plateaus because there is no piped water.

The arbour (*kirbet*) is seen mostly in plateau settlements and rarely in village settlements (Fig. 28). Inhabitants spend most of their time in the arbour during the day, and sometimes also at night. Özcan Kayrak explains the use of arbour as: 'In summer, we sit in the arbour all day long and guests are welcomed here. Sometimes at night, if the weather is too hot, you put on a mosquito net, you sleep here'.³⁹

SURVEYED HOUSES IN ÇOMAKDAĞ KIZILAĞAÇ VILLAGE

Under the guidance of Hasan Yıldırım, the chairperson of the society, eight houses in Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village were surveyed (Fig. 29). Seven of the surveyed houses are actively in use, while one of them has been abandoned for a long time.

Hürü Karadağ house

The single-storey house is a good example for understanding the rectangular-plan *yer ev* and its use. The



Figure 25. Ceiling rose, Remzi Ateş house, Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village



Figure 26. Ornamentations on niche, İbrahim Aydoğdu house, Ketendere village, Bal Ayşe house, İkiztaş village; Remzi Ateş house, Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village

house, which originally belonged to Hasan Kocatepe, grandfather of Hürü Karadağ, was built in the 1950s. It is used for storage today, and Hürü Karadağ and her family live in a concrete building in the courtyard.⁴⁰

The house also has a flat roof. The corner space and the living space are separated by a timber partition. According to Hürü Karadağ, the cupboard that used to be in front of that timber partition was removed and is not present today (Fig. 30).

The architectural elements in the living space provide flexibility but also determine the use of the space.

Today, it is one of the rare examples where the lower corner stone can still be observed near the fireplace.

The original material of the porch was replaced with concrete and it was used as an animal barn for a while. This space is used as storage today. A further addition was made to the barn which is now used as a chicken coop (Fig. 30).

An important part of the day is spent in the courtyard. There is a vegetable garden, an old toilet, a chicken coop and a multi-purpose area. The vegetable garden yields various fruits and vegetables, depending



Figure 27. Doors, Necati Ertuğrul house, Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village (left); Eyüp Kocabaş house, Gökseki village (centre); Bal Ayşe house, İkiztaş village (right)



Figure 28. Arbour, Hacer Karıcı house, Dutacağı plateau

on the season. In the multi-purpose area, the guests are welcomed in summer. Karadağ also prepares olives for pickling and dries vegetables by hanging them on the branches of trees, or on a fence, in this area. In preparation for the winter, men chop wood in the courtyard. Olive sacks are stored in the courtyard during harvest period until they are taken for processing as olive oil.

Abandoned house

This house is a *yer ev* with a rectangular plan like the previous one. It is abandoned and information about its usage was given by Müzeyyen Sarıçay, who lives nearby.⁴¹ The construction date is not known. All the façades except the fireplace façade have collapsed. An

additional room, which apparently was used as an animal barn, still stands (Fig. 30).

The visible architectural elements are the lower corner stone, the plate niche and the fireplace in the living space (Fig. 30). According to the interviews with M. Sarıçay, the animal barn was repaired with hollow bricks about twenty years ago.

She also mentioned that there was a porch in front of the entrance. Although its upper structure is now demolished, the stone columns holding it up are still visible. The monolithic stone columns are a unique case, because columns are typically made of wood (Fig. 30). The sitting stone near the projection of the fireplace still survives.

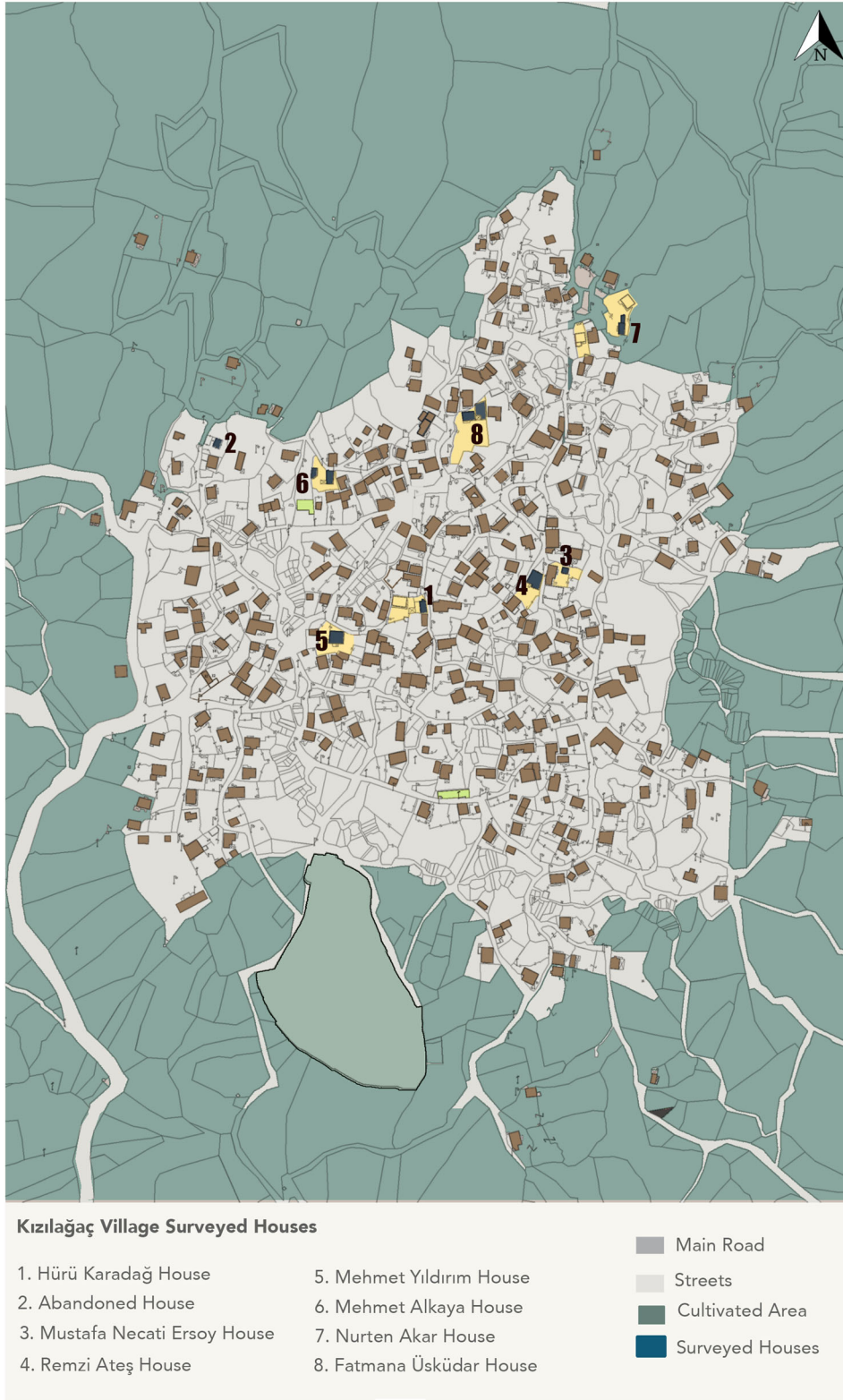


Figure 29. Surveyed houses in Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village (the cadastral maps were taken from the Milas municipality and base map data © 2018 Google)

Necati Ertuğrul house

This house has a *haney* plan type and is built on a slope. It is reached by a portable wooden ladder. There

used to be stone stairs to reach the elevated entrance, which has since been removed.⁴² Its construction began in 1953 and was completed in 1954. Ertuğrul



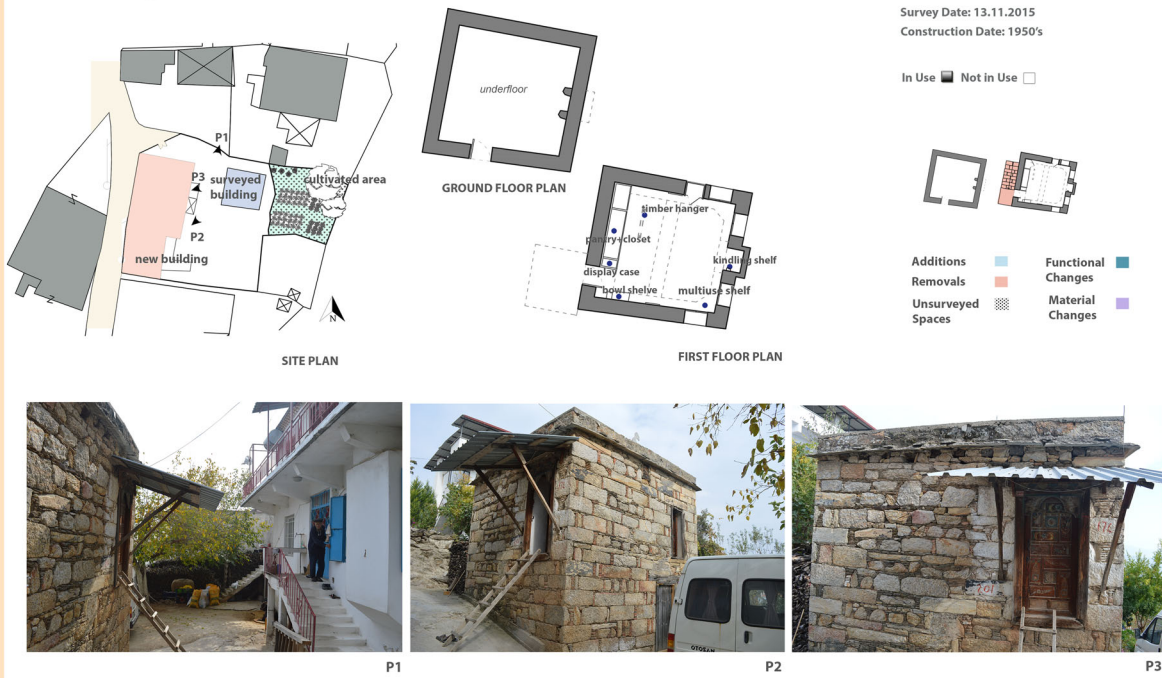
Figure 30. Hürü Karadağ house and abandoned house, 2015

and his wife prefer to live in a concrete building in the same courtyard (Fig. 31).

Ertuğrul's house is a good example of the *haney* plan type and its architectural elements. It has been organised as a museum by the ÇEKÜL with the aim of presenting the architectural elements and spatial organisation of a typical Çomakdağ house.

All the wooden elements in the house are colourfully decorated. The ceiling and interior walls were used for storing purposes: knives as well as vegetables strung on threads were hung onto nails on the rafters (Figs 32, 33). Moreover, it is the only house where a wooden hanger can be seen. In the courtyard, there is a wood pile and a vegetable garden. The ground floor

3. Necati Ertuğrul House



4. Nurten Akar House

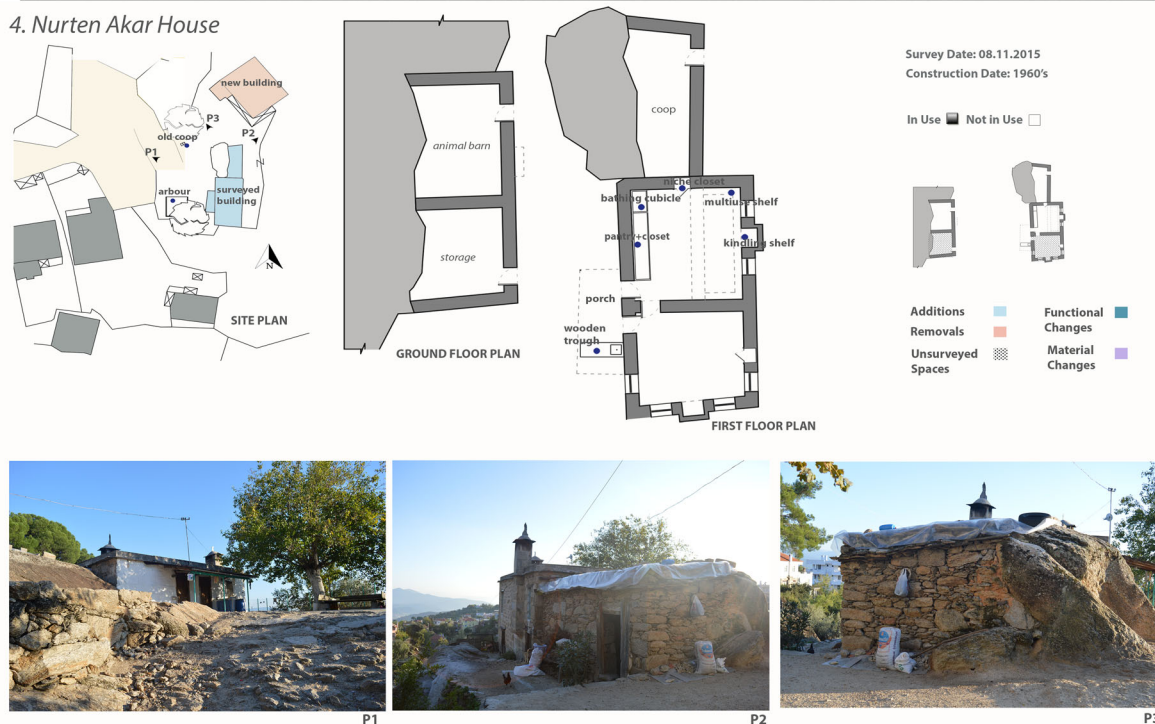


Figure 31. Necati Ertuğrul house and Nurten Akar house, 2015

of the new building is used as an animal barn and chicken coop.

Nurten Akar house

The Nurten Akar house is composed of two attached *haney*s built adjacent to each other on the side of a cliff. The slope is quite steep, so both the ground floor

and the first floor have entrances at ground level. There is a porch in front of the first-floor entrance (Fig. 31).

One of the buildings is used by Nurten Akar and her husband, while the other is used by her son, her daughter-in-law and her grandson. According to interviews with Akar, during the day one of these spaces is



Figure 32. Knives and pots strung to the rafter, Necati Ertuğrul house



Figure 33. Vegetables strung onto thread hanging from the ceiling, Necati Ertuğrul house

used for cooking, welcoming guests, storing food, storing dishes and living in, and the other one is used for more private activities such as sleeping.⁴³

Although it is actively used by the households, only a small number of interventions have been made to the traditional house, unlike the other examples. The only change is the addition of a door opening through the wall separating two adjacent rooms. The underfloor space is used as an animal barn and for storage, and the space added next to the house is used as a chicken coop. The porch and wooden trough are still used,

although they are rebuilt with contemporary materials (Fig. 31).

In the courtyard, an arbour is located under a big tree. Their vegetable garden is two or three lots away from the house.

Mehmet Alkaya house

The Mehmet Alkaya house, which was built in the 1930s, was originally a *haney*. There are entrances on both the ground floor and the first floor. The spatial organisation and use of the house have been changed

Haney

5. Mehmet Alkaya House



6. Remiz Ateş House



Figure 34. Mehmet Alkaya house and Remzi Ateş house, 2015

with many interventions. Dudu Alkaya's son and his wife live on the first floor, while Dudu and Mehmet Alkaya live on the ground floor.

Two additional spaces were added to the first floor: a kitchen for cooking, storing food, storing dishes and cleaning, and a room for sleeping and storing belongings. In winter, the households spend most of their

time in the traditional room. Unlike the other examples, a locked drawer instead of a niche closet is used for storing belongings (Fig. 34).

Mehmet and Dudu Alkaya have been living in the underfloor space since their son got married. A fireplace and a counter for storing dishes and cleaning were added to this space. A bathroom, a toilet and a



Figure 35. Muzaffer Akar house and Fatmana Üsküdar house 2015

space for living, eating and storing belongings (Fig. 34) were added to the ground-floor level.⁴⁴

Because of the steep slope, the courtyard is organised across two separate levels. On the upper level, there is a vegetable garden, and an open area for drying vegetables and storing olives. On the lower level, there is a larger garden and an animal barn.

Remzi Ateş house

The Remzi Ateş house is a *haney* with *divehane/ayazlık* (semi-open circulation and living space). It was built in the 1960s. According to the interviews held with Cansever Ateş, there used to be a wooden set of stairs to reach the semi-open space and a wooden trough for washing dishes. However, the building has

been changed with many interventions, according to the needs of the inhabitants.⁴⁵ Cansever Ateş expresses the changes with these words: ‘We added the other rooms later. We use this room as a bedroom now [hanay]. Only this room used to exist, the rest was added later’.⁴⁶ Unlike the previous cases, the entrance door of the room can be fixed to the cupboard when it is open and a colourful ceiling rose is seen in the middle of the ceiling.

Numerous spaces were added to both the first and the second floors of the house. The space organisation and elements of the added spaces are quite similar to the organisation of traditional rooms (Fig. 34). They are for welcoming guests, living in, storing food, storing dishes, cooking, cleaning and bathing. The traditional room is used for sleeping and storing personal belongings.

In the courtyard of the house there was a vegetable garden, adjoining the neighbour’s garden.

Muzaffer Akar house

The Muzaffer Akar House is a *haney* with *divehane/ayazlık*, a semi-open circulation and living space like the previous case. The construction of the house was started in 1965 by Nuri Akar (Akar’s father) and continued for approximately two years. The stone structure was finished in the first year and timber works (such as cabinets, shelves, niches, etc.) were added in the second year.

Today the house is composed of a closed circulation and living space, balcony and three main spaces. Various interventions have been carried out at different times. The first addition was for the storage of food and dishes, and another space was added for cooking and cleaning (Fig. 35).⁴⁷

The traditional room is used for sleeping today. The *divehane/ayazlık* (semi-open living and circulation space) and balcony were re-built with concrete. Moreover, the semi-open space was converted into a closed space and is now used for the same function. Moreover, it was enlarged with concrete to create wet areas. Akar mentioned that the family also need an open living space and that they are planning to enlarge the balcony. Huriye Akar mentions why they closed the semi-open space and why they need a new open space during the interview:

Look, my sunshine, we planned to make a room here, the other rooms are too small for us [...] It used to be like a balcony, there was a timber ceiling on top of it. We transformed this place into a room using concrete [...] There’s nothing I’m having difficulty with, but we’re planning to add a living room. Because we are left with a small place to sit in the summer, in the hot weather. The balcony is small, it’s not enough for us.⁴⁸

Since Akar’s elderly parents have difficulties in climbing the stairs, a new space was added next to the underfloor and organised for their daily use.

Fatmana Üsküdar house

The plan type of the Fatmana Üsküdar house is a *haney* with two rooms and *öğnik* (traditional kitchen). The house was built in 1960s. Fatmana Üsküdar and her husband live in the house. The balcony is one of the most noticeable balconies in the village, due to its indigo-blue colour. The features of the room used for welcoming guests, especially in winter, are more finely ornamented than the other room. The other room is used for sleeping, storing personal belongings and living.⁴⁹

The original stairs became disused as a result of the addition of the semi-open circulation and living space and are used as an interior staircase. The underfloor spaces under the two rooms are used for storage, and the space under the kitchen is used for storing food and dishes as well as cooking (Fig. 35). A bathroom space was also added to the underfloor. Fatmana Üsküdar explains the reasons of changes to then semi-open space:

When I first came to this house as a bride, there were three rooms. there was a living room, it was open, we closed it. It was made of timber, we re-built it in concrete. We made it concrete later. When it rained in winter time, in February, the open air living room got wet. We’ve closed it, now we’re more comfortable.⁵⁰

Two separate vegetable gardens, a massive reinforced concrete storage building and an old toilet are seen in the courtyard. According to the interviews, a flat rock on the bottom of a poplar tree used to be one of the favourite spots for the villagers to get together and chat in the evenings in the summertime (Fig. 35).

CHANGE PATTERNS IN ÇOMAKDAĞ HOUSES

Traditional life in the Çomakdağ region largely continues. Although the physical appearance has changed in some parts of the region, the dominant building material of the region is still the local stone. The multifunctionality and flexibility of the traditional spaces has been lost with user interventions. The common interventions can be classified as the volume additions for wet areas, changing the function of the traditional spaces, closing the semi-open circulation and living space to provide a closed common area, and adding a new space for use as an open common area or building a concrete house/apartment in the courtyard. After the interventions, these spaces are mostly used for sleeping and storing personal belongings.

The addition of wet areas in all of the houses in this study which are still inhabited is the most necessary intervention. They are needed not only as bathrooms, but also in kitchens, because the traditional kitchen is only used for cooking, eating, storing food and storing dishes. The wet area for washing dishes is generally

provided by closing off the porch or semi-open circulation and living space.

If there is more than one traditional space, one space is dominantly used for living and entertaining guests. The other space is used for sleeping and storing belongings, since it is traditional for a wife to live with the family of her husband after the wedding. The circulation space of the underfloor area is transformed into a sleeping and living space for the parents of the groom, with the addition of a fireplace and a counter.

It has been observed that semi-open circulation and living spaces are closed for winter and balcony spaces are enlarged for summer. This shows that the residents prefer to have a closed and an open common space for different seasons.

Courtyards are still a part of daily life. However, a new large-scale concrete house or a new apartment have often been built next to the traditional ones. This is not only incompatible with the traditional setting of the houses, but also causes a decrease in open spaces. This is an issue because the use of open spaces in daily life and production is crucial for the continuity of life in the Çomakdağ region.

CONCLUSION

The Çomakdağ region characterises the uniqueness of an indigenous community. It represents a culture spreading beyond the village and plateau settlements and integrating with the agricultural and natural lands on the Beşparmak mountains.

Çomakdağ Kızılağaç village is the most well known of the villages because it is the most touristic one, which continues traditions such as wearing regional garments, wedding ceremonies and silkworm rearing. This village has been selected as a case study because the continuing way of life in the houses provides the best opportunity to understand the traditional characteristics and the use of spaces.

Traditional houses that are classified basically as *yer ev* and *haney* are important for the individuality of the region. They signify the daily life of the local community with the multi-purpose use, space organisation, coloured and carved ornamentations of wooden elements.

The houses are adapted to today's conditions by adding spaces and/or making changes in the use of spaces. Since such changes are not regulated, they are generally not in harmony with the existing environment. Moreover, the fact that the majority of the population is middle-aged and the young population prefers to live in city centres, shows that there is a risk of the traditional buildings being abandoned by the next generation.

For the conservation of the rural architecture in the region, their continuous use in daily life should be

provided. The only way to achieve this is to conserve not only buildings but also open spaces — such as olive groves (for agricultural production) and forest (for breeding animals) — for a continuous income source and rural life. Therefore, an alternative system to revive the interaction between inhabitants and nature should be developed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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We also wish to thank Olcay Akdeniz for his valuable guidance in obtaining some written sources. We are grateful to Gülsüm Oybak for sharing her previous studies and photographs.

In this study, interpretations are based on interviews with current residents who reveal evidence from the last decade. The direct quotations in the text, which originally included dialect and some expressions which are unique to the Çomakdağ region, are lost due to translation. It is possible to find the original quotes in Turkish, in the endnotes. All images are copyright of the authors, unless otherwise stated.

Geolocation of Çomakdağ Kızılağaç Village: 37.415111, 27.736798

NOTES

1. Günaydın, "Küreselleşen Piyasa ve Yoksullaşan Köylü."
2. Köymen, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tarımsal Yapı ve Tarım Politikaları," 3.
3. Kayıkçı, "Administration of Rural Areas in Turkey," 52.
4. Günaydın, "Küreselleşen Piyasa ve Yoksullaşan Köylü."
5. Ibid.
6. TUIK, "Population of Province/District Centers and Towns/Villages by Years and Sex."
7. Ibid.
8. TUIK, "City and Village Population, Annual Growth Rate of Population, Surface Area and Density by Districts."
9. TUIK, "Address-based Population Registration System." The numbers of men and women were not provided by TUIK after 2012.
10. Batur, "Labraunda'nın İzinde Bir Okuma Denemesi."
11. Interview with Özcan Kayrak, 7 August 2015.
12. Interview with Adnan Kocabaş, 5 November 2015.
13. Interview with Yükselen Uysal, 7 August 2015.
14. Interview with Hürü Karadağ, 9 November 2015: "Eskiden gidiliyordu yaylalara..Atalan denirdi, Ağaçarası denirdi. Şimdik şimdik tabi ona gerek duyulmuyor. Eskiden elektrik, su falan yoktu. Hem yazlık için, hem kışlık odunu getirmek için hem de her tarafta su yoktu onun için yaylaya göçerlerdi."
15. Ural, "Labranda'dan Kocayayla'ya Çomakdağ Köyleri," 207–8.
16. Adıyeke, 19. Yüzyılda Milas Kazası, 32.
17. Ural, "Labranda'dan Kocayayla'ya Çomakdağ Köyleri," 205.
18. Interview with Hasan Yıldırım, 8 November 2015.
19. Ibid.
20. Interview with Hürü Karadağ, 9 November 2015.
21. Batur, "Labraunda'nın İzinde Bir Okuma Denemesi," 165.
22. Interview with the masons Mustafa Altuntaş, Mustafa Aydoğdu and Mustafa Demirtaş, 11 November 2015: "Ev sahibi bizi

- tutuyordu 4-5 kişi [...] Temel için sağlamı bulana kadar kazıyoduk, bizim buralar hep taş zaten [...] Bizim iplerimiz vardı metre ile ölçülü şimdi senin binan evin kaç metre olacaksa ona göre ölçüsü ile onun kösteğini alırdık. Köşeleri doğru çıkarmak için şakül kullanırdık şimdi artık su terazisi va [...] Bize kaç oda olacağını ev sahibi söylüyor [...] Ev sahibi ve komşular taşına, çakılına, çamuruna da yardım eder.”
23. Interview with Muammer Bengü, 9 November 2015; interview with Olcay Akdeniz, 10 November 2015.
24. Interview with İbrahim Uysal, 27 December 2016.
25. Interview with Dudu Uysal, 27 December 2016.
26. Interview with Hasan Yıldırım, 8 November 2015: “Hanay eğer bir evde birden fazla oda varsa en süslü bezemeli odaya derler. zaten tek odaysa onun adı haney oluyo. Ne olur, bir misafirler geldiğinde, burda oturulur.”
27. Interview with Adnan Kocabaş, 5 November 2015: “Eğer bir eve gelin geliyorsa en süslü odaya gider [...]”
28. TDK.
29. Batur, “Labraunda’nın İzinde Bir Okuma Denemesi,” 170.
30. Kuban, *Sanat Tarihimizin Sorunları: Anadolu Türk Sanatı, Mimarisi ve Kenti Üzerine Denemeler*, 16.
31. Eldem, *Türk Evi*.
32. Küçükerman, *Kendi Mekanının Arayışı İçinde Türk Evi*; Kuban, *Sanat Tarihimizin Sorunları: Anadolu Türk Sanatı, Mimarisi ve Kenti Üzerine Denemeler*.
33. Interview with Müzeyyen Sarıçay, 10 November 2015: “Eski insanlar ocaklarımız yaktığı için soba olmadığı için ocak yakalardık, aşağı bucak birimiz yukarı bucak birimiz derlermiş, arayada çocuklarımız otururdu (gülüyor). Hani böylece geçinirdik. Yukarı bucak köşe gayrı o, aşağı bucağın köşesi yok ya kapı var bir tarafında, aşağı bucağa da taş koymuşlar orada da köşe yapmışlar yani.”
34. Although *sofa* is a general term used for a circulation and living space for Turkish houses, in the Çomakdağ region the semi-open circulation and living space is called *divehane* or *ayazlık*. *Haney* with *öğnük* (traditional kitchen) is the most superior plan type. An *öğnük* (traditional kitchen) is created when one side of the *divehane* (semi-open circulation and living space) is closed, and used for storing food, storing dishes, cooking and making bread. So, it is a kitchen without plumbing. This is why it is referred to as a “traditional kitchen” in this study; Eldem, *Türk Evi*; interview with Hasan Yıldırım, 17 October 2019; interview with Hürü Karadağ, 9 November 2015.
35. Batur, “Labraunda’nın İzinde Bir Okuma Denemesi,” 185.
36. Ibid., 186.
37. Interview with Hasan Yıldırım, 17 October 2019.
38. Interview with Aysel Yıldırım, 10 November 2015: “Biz bahçede herşeyi yetiştiriyoruz [...] kendi bahçemizde yetiştirdiklerimizle kendi yemeğimizi kendimiz yapıyoruz [...] bahçeden koparıyoruz burda [öğnük] oçakta yemeğimizi yapıyoruz.”
39. Interview with Özcan Kayrak, 7 August 2015: “Yazın gün boyu kirbetin üstünde oturulur, misafirler burada ağırlanır. Gece bazen, çok sıcaksa, bi cibinlik korsun, burada uyunur, çok sıcaksa.”
40. Interview with Adnan Kocabaş, 8 November 2015.
41. Interview with Müzeyyen Sarıçay, 10 November 2015.
42. Interview with Olcay Akdeniz, 10 November 2015.
43. Interview with Nurten Akar, 9 November 2015.
44. Interview with Dudu Alkaya, 9 November 2015.
45. Interview with Cansever Ateş, 10 November 2015.
46. Interview with Cansever Ateş, 10 November 2015: “Bu odaları sonradan ekledik, bu odayı artık yatak odası olarak kullanıyoruz [hanay] sadece bu oda var idi eskiden, gerisi ek.”
47. Interview with Huriye Akar, 9 November 2015.
48. Interview with Huriye Akar, 9 November 2015: “Şimdi gülüm buraaa büyük bi oda yapalım dedik bunlaa bize dar geldi [...] Üstü

zaten bunun balkon gibi idi, tahta vaadı bunun üstünde. Burda betonla, burayı da biz çevirdik, oda haline getirdik [...] Burayı bi oda haline aldık [...] Zorluk çektiğim hiçbirşey yok da bi açık salon düşünüyöz. Yazlık oturacak yerimiz az galdı, sıcakta. Balkon küçük galdı, o bize yetmiyo.”

49. Interview with Fatmana Üsküdar, 9 November 2015.
50. Interview with Fatmana Üsküdar, 9 November 2015: “Eve ben ilk gelin geldiğimde 3 oda vardı altında vardı [...] bi dene, salon vardı, salon açıldı, kapattırdık biz. Orası ağacıdı, ahşapıdı biz orayı beton yaptırdık. Orayı biz beton yaptırdık, orayı biz sonradan beton yaptık. Orda tahtaydı ahşapıdı böyle. Yağmurda böyle, yağmur geliyo çığ günü geliyo eğer yağmur yağdığı zaman Şubatta içeri giriyo o zaman, orları kapattık şimdi rahatladık.”

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