AN ASSESSMENT AND RE-IDENTIFICATION OF THE RURAL HERITAGE SITE OF SANTA (DUMANLI KÖY, GÜMÜŞHANE)

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ABSTRACT

AN ASSESSMENT AND RE-IDENTIFICATION OF THE RURAL HERITAGE SITE OF SANTA (DUMANLI KÖY, GÜMÜŞHANE)

Abay, Pelin Master of Science, Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Architecture Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ufuk Serin

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Since the Industrial Revolution, rural landscapes, the product of the mutual relationship of human beings and nature, have witnessed a process of depopulation throughout the world for a variety of reasons. The Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923 (1923 Türkiye-Yunanistan Nüfus Mübadelesi) – one of the reasons for the depopulation of rural areas in Turkey – had major repercussions on both the immigrant Turks and emigrant Rums, as well as on the rural settlements and landscapes. These rural areas underwent substantial transformations as a result of the Population Exchange and now face the risk of losing their rural identity as living systems.

The rural settlement site of Santa is one of the most outstanding examples of the Pontic rural heritage in the Eastern Black Sea Region: it lies in the Province of Gümüşhane within the borders of Dumanlı village. Following the Population Exchange, it has undergone a significant alteration affecting both its built environment and socio-cultural composition. Over time, such transformation led to the identity of Santa's qualities as a settlement becoming hard to define and saw the emergence of threats towards its sustainability. The deterioration of the traditional buildings in Santa began in 1921, with the armed conflict between the Turks and the

Rum inhabitants. With the Population Exchange, the majority of the structures was abandoned and gradually became ruins. As a result of the current appearance of the built environment, the site was named 'Santa Ruins' (Santa Harabeleri). The seasonal use of Santa as a highland settlement (yayla) by the new population introduced with the exchange of people has prevented a comprehensive understanding of the original and present socio-cultural characteristics of the site. Furthermore, the designation of the site as a '3rd degree archaeological site' by TKTVKK has led to a misunderstanding of the settlement's original qualities. As a result of these definitions, Santa has begun to be interpreted as a 'ghost settlement' or an ancient city.

This thesis aims at elucidating the challenges and threats leading to the misunderstanding (and misinterpretation) of the site's identity. It also seeks to reveal the various values and qualities of the site in light of international charters and documents. Based on this assessment, it is argued here that the rural settlement site of Santa, currently (mis)named as 'Santa Ruins' and defined as a '3rd degree archaeological site', needs to be re-identified. In order to properly do this, the theoretical part examines the concepts pertinent to Santa's identity as well as the international charters and documents, and national legal regulations concerning these concepts. Accordingly, Santa can be identified as a 'continuous cultural landscape': a settlement where traditional methods of life are merged with modern demands and where evolution continues due to the existence of a local community, although seasonal. The site can also be defined as a 'historic rural landscape', which is one of the most prevalent types of continuous cultural landscapes. To underline the rural character of the site, Santa needs to be also classified and treated as a 'rural conservation area', even though national legislative standards classify rural settlements as either archaeological sites or urban conservation areas. In addition, Santa can become a 'site of memory' because the *Rums* keep up their ties with the site. The site has the potential to become both a sacred place for mourning and an educational location for learning from the memory of past events. Heritage

interpretation can be employed to reveal the authentic identity and meaning of Santa and to communicate these to the public, thereby encouraging its proper identification.

Keywords: Santa Ruins, continuing cultural landscape, historic rural landscape, rural conservation area, site of memory

SANTA (DUMANLI KÖY, GÜMÜŞHANE) KIRSAL MİRAS ALANININ DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ VE YENİDEN TANIMLANMASI

Abay, Pelin Yüksek Lisans, Kültürel Mirası Koruma, Mimarlık Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Ufuk Serin

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İnsan ve doğanın karşılıklı ilişkisinin ürünü olan kırsal peyzaj alanları, Sanayi Devrimi'nden bu yana çeşitli nedenlerle nüfuslarını yitirmektedir. Türkiye'de kırsal alanların nüfus kaybetmesinin nedenlerinden biri olarak, 1923 Türkiye-Yunanistan Nüfus Mübadelesi, hem Türk ve Rum nüfus hem de kırsal yerleşimler üzerinde önemli etkiler yaratmıştır. Kırsal yerleşimler, Nüfus Mübadelesi sonucunda önemli bir değişim ve dönüşüm geçirmiş ve kırsal kimliklerini kaybetme riskiyle karşı karşıya kalmıştır.

Bu tezin konusu olan Santa (bugünkü adıyla Santa Harabeleri) Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi'nde Gümüşhane'nin Dumanlı Köyü sınırları içerisinde yer almaktadır. Pontus bölgesi kırsal mirasının en seçkin örneklerinden biri olan Santa'nın hem fiziksel hem sosyo-kültürel yapısı Nüfus Mübadelesi'nin ardından önemli bir değişim geçirmiştir. Bu değişim, zaman içinde alanın sürdürülebilir korunmasını riske atan ve yerleşimin niteliklerinin yanlış tanımlanmasına yol açan zorluk ve tehditlere dönüşmüştür. 1921 yılında Türkler ve alanın Rum sakinleri arasında yaşanan silahlı çatışmalar, Santa'daki geleneksel yapıların bozulma sürecinin başlangıcı olarak kabul edilebilir. Nüfus Mübadelesi ile birlikte yapıların büyük

çoğunluğu terk edilmiş ve zaman içinde harabeye dönüşmüştür. Yapılı çevrenin mevcut görünümünün bir sonucu olarak, bu kırsal yerleşim alanı 'Santa Harabeleri' olarak adlandırılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, Santa'nın, Nüfus Mübadelesi'nin ardından alana gelen Türk yerleşimciler tarafından mevsimsel bir yayla yerleşimi olarak kullanılması, alanın sosyo-kültürel niteliğinin tam olarak anlaşılmasını zorlaştırmıştır. Ayrıca alanın TKTVKK tarafından '3. derece arkeolojik sit alanı' olarak tanımlanmış olması, yerleşimin özgün niteliklerinin ve kimliğinin doğru değerlendirilememesine neden olmaktadır. Bu isimlendirme ve tanımlamaların sonucunda, Santa bir 'hayalet yerleşim' ya da antik bir kent olarak yorumlanmaya başlamıştır.

Bu tez, alanın kimliğinin ve niteliklerinin doğru değerlendirilmemesine ve dolayısıyla yanlış anlaşılmasına yol açan zorlukları ve tehditleri belirlemeyi ve uluslararası sözleşmeler ve belgeler ışığında alanın değerlerini ve niteliklerini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu değerlendirmeye dayanarak, bir kırsal miras alanı olarak Santa'nın yeniden tanımlanması gerektiği savunulmaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, tezin teorik kısmında Santa'nın kimliği ile ilgili kavramlar, bu kavramlara ilişkin uluslararası sözleşmeler ve belgeler ve ulusal yasal düzenlemeler incelenmektedir. Buna göre geleneksel yaşam biçimlerinin çağdaş ihtiyaçlarla birleştiği ve mevsimsel de olsa yerel bir topluluğun varlığı nedeniyle yaşamsal evrimin devam ettiği bir yerleşim yeri olan Santa 'evrimi devam eden kültürel peyzaj' olarak tanımlanabilir. Santa, evrimi devam eden kültürel peyzajların en yaygın türlerinden biri olan 'tarihi kırsal peyzaj' olarak da tanımlanabilir. Ulusal mevzuatlar kırsal yerleşimleri 'arkeolojik sit alanı' ya da 'kentsel sit alanı' olarak sınıflandırsa da, Santa'nın kırsal karakterini vurgulamak için 'kırsal sit alanı' olarak sınıflandırılması ve bu şekilde ele alınması gerekmektedir. Ayrıca Santa, Rumlar için hem yas tutabilecekleri kutsal bir mekan, hem de geçmişten ders çıkartılabilecek özel bir alan olması sebebiyle bir 'hafıza mekanı' olma potansiyeline de sahiptir. Santa'nın özgün kimliğininin, niteliklerinin ve anlamının ortaya çıkarılması, bunların geniş halk kitlelerine anlatılması ve iletilmesi ve böylece alanın doğru değerlendirilmesi

ve tanımlanması amacıyla 'kültürel miras yorumu' etkin bir araç olarak kullanılmalıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Santa Harabeleri, evrimi devam eden kültürel peyzaj, tarihi kırsal peyzaj, kırsal sit, hafıza mekanı

To my daughter

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Figure 4.5: (Poor) English translations on the information panels

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

DOKA: Doğu Karadeniz Kalkınma Ajansı

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

GEEAYK: Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu

ICOMOS: International Council on Monuments and Sites

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

TKGM: Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü

TKTVKK: Trabzon Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu

TKVKBK: Trabzon Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizatio

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Interpretation is "any communication process designed to reveal meanings and relationships of cultural and natural heritage to the public, through first-hand involvement with an object, artifact, landscape or site." Accordingly, heritage interpretation encompasses all techniques used to reveal the authentic identities and meanings of the areas and to communicate these to the public. In some heritage sites, the identity of the site is not readily apparent for a variety of reasons; therefore, the interpretation of these sites is necessary. Interpretation may be used to raise awareness of the heritage values of rural landscapes in order to foster a real understanding for these landscapes. In this regard, rural landscapes that have undergone radical transformations for a number of reasons and therefore face identification challenges can also be interpreted to reveal their genuine meaning.

1.1 Problem Definition and Selection of the Site

The depopulation of rural areas, starting with industrialization, has jeopardized the sustainability of rural life and rural identity, and these areas have accordingly undergone radical transformations.⁴ However, migration from rural areas is not only caused by the opportunities provided by process of industrialization in urban areas, but also involves socio-cultural, economic, political, and natural factors. In this regard, rural settlements, abandoned with the Population Exchange between Turkey

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³ Interpretation Canada: URL 1.

⁴ Scazzosi 2018, p. 42.

and Greece in 1923, deserve attention as they were depopulated and underwent radical changes purely because of political reasons.

Non-Muslim communities that adopted today's modern-nation (*ulus*) perception and definition developed after the French Revolution: in many significant ways they are different from the *Millet* System of the Ottoman Empire that promoted various activities in an effort to achieve a degree of local independence. These processes of localized interaction by non-Muslim communities and Western nations came to an end with the Turkish War of Independence in 1922. Later, with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, it was decided to send the non-Muslim communities from Anatolia: accordingly, Orthodox Greeks, referred to as *Rums*, (and excluding those living in İstanbul, Gökçeada and Bozcaada) emigrated Greece; in return, Turks in Greece immigrated to Anatolia as part of the Population Exchange.⁵ The abandonment of the rural areas by the *Rums* led these areas, which possess significant material evidence of the multicultural structure of the modern Turkey, then underwent socio-cultural and physical transformations. Some of these rural settlements were settled by the new Turkish population, while others remained either completely empty or became underpopulated.

In this thesis, the village of Santa (now known as Dumanlı) in Gümüşhane in the Eastern Black Sea Region is selected as a case study. Santa is a rural settlement which underwent great transformations, starting with the depopulation along with the Population Exchange. The village of Santa had an entirely *Rum* population immediately preceding the Population Exchange; it consisted of seven neighborhoods and six smaller settlements. After the Population Exchange, these settlements were completely abandoned and deprived of their socio-cultural contexts. While the above-mentioned six smaller settlements at lower altitudes (and

⁵ In this thesis, the term *Rum* is used instead of Greek. According to the dictionary of Turkish Linguistic Society (Türk Dil Kurumu), the word '*Rum*' has three different meanings. One of these is "Greek descent person living in Muslim countries". The second meaning, in the historical context, is "People living within the borders of the Eastern Roman Empire and having the rights of Roman citizens" and the third, in the geographical context, is "Anatolia", as translated by the author.

closer to Trabzon) continued to be inhabited by the newly arrived Turkish population, the seven neighborhoods at higher altitudes remained empty until 1930, when they started to be used as highland pastures and living quarters in summer by people from the surrounding districts.⁶ They purchased the majority of the houses and the building lots in the neighborhoods from the Treasury (Hazine). Although a new population settled the area, the seven neighborhoods of Santa remained underpopulated and underwent substantial transformations. As a result of the sociocultural and the physical transformations – the seasonal use of the area, the complete change in the nature of the social life, and the ruined appearance of the built environment – the rural identity of the site as a living entity with natural values is seriously threatened. Moreover, some of the values of the site have largely disappeared, while others are no longer understood by the present Turkish population. This situation makes the communication of the meaning and cultural significance of the site to the general public challenging. Being underpopulated and seasonally used because of the challenging topography, harsh climate conditions and lack of economic income, Santa is misinterpreted as a 'ghost settlement' which is totally divorced from its sociocultural context, especially in winter. In addition to the area's dilapidated appearance, the fact that Santa is listed as a city (kent) on the information panel in the site leads to the assumption that Santa is an ancient city. As a result of the assessment and interpretation of the site as prompted by the transformations and its effects on the identity of the site, the area encompassing the seven neighborhoods of Santa was named as 'Santa Ruins' (Santa Harabeleri) and was declared as a '3rd degree archaeological site'.

Santa is a cultural heritage site that needs to be conserved as one of the rarest and most representative examples of rural settlements in the Pontus region. For this reason, it is crucial to fully comprehend and reveal the genuine identity of the area.

⁶ According to the dictionary of Turkish Linguistic Society (Türk Dil Kurumu), the definition of *yayla* is "a mountainous place that is deserted in winter because the living conditions are difficult and is used for grazing or resting in summer because the weather is good and cool.", as translated by the author.

1.2 Aim and the Scope of the Thesis

The main aim of this thesis is to assess and re-identify Santa. Within the scope of the thesis, the first matter to approach is to understand the place, to reveal its history, use, associations, and fabric through physical, documentary, and oral analyses. Related concepts, international documents and charters, and national legal framework, concerning the identity of the area within the scope of the conceptual framework are analyzed.

The thesis presents challenges of and threats to the site that cause the site to be misinterpreted. It also desires to present the cultural significance of the site by revealing its values. In particular, how the site is misidentified are to be assessed, then values including the contested ones (such as commemorative value) are to be presented so as to create a better understanding of the site, re-identify the site and enhance public appreciation. In the end, the thesis concludes that heritage interpretation strategies can be used to reveal the genuine identity of a site, thereby facilitating in its accurate identification, as a further step.

1.3 Methodology and Structure of the Thesis

With the aim of making an assessment and re-identifying Santa, this thesis develops in two main sections: theoretical and conceptual section, and analysis and evaluation section of the case (Figure 1.1).

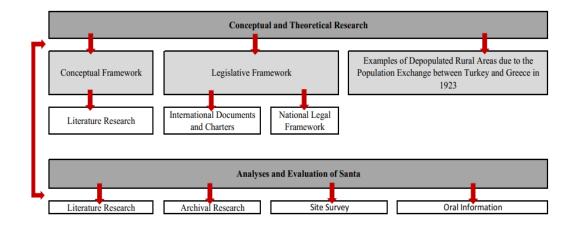


Figure 1.1: Chart of the Methodology

Thus, Chapter 2, i.e. the theoretical and conceptual part, focuses on the concepts of archaeological heritage, archaeological site, rural heritage (including rural settlements, rural and cultural landscape), depopulation of rural areas and depopulated rural areas exposed to Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923 and heritage interpretation. All this is done so as to assess and re-identify Santa and the significant transformations it suffered with the Population Exchange. Lastly, international charters and national framework related to rural areas are examined here. Overall, it is desired to examine these concepts so as to discuss how Santa came to be (mis)identified and how it should be actually identified, topics explored in the following chapters. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, which present the analysis and evaluation of Santa as a case study, respectively aim at exploring the transformation of Santa and how this transformation affects the assessment and identification of the site. To this end, the geographical and historical setting of Santa along with its settlement and architectural characteristics and its current situation are analyzed in Chapter 3; while in Chapter 4, values and challenges of, and threats to the site are investigated.

The literature survey, which includes books, articles, dissertations, international charters and documents, and the national legal framework serve to gather information for both sections. The archival research and site surveys provide data for analyzing and evaluating Santa alone (in the Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). The first

archival research was conducted via email correspondence with the Centre for Asia Minor Studies, which possesses an 'oral tradition archive', in Athens in order to obtain information about the social and religious life, economy, education and local history before the Population Exchange in 1923. According to the e-mail correspondence with the Centre and the file, as prepared by the Centre, that shows the settlements in Asia Minor (including Pontus) whose inhabitants were interviewed, it was realized that there were no oral interviews conducted with the emigrants of Santa. Details of the decisions affecting, and the boundaries of the conservation area and the base map of Santa were all obtained from the Trabzon Regional Conservation Council of Cultural Properties (Trabzon Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu). The map was revised according to the newly added or destroyed buildings, by the author: the exact locations of the newly added buildings were determined according to the aerial photos provided by the website of TKGM. The boundaries of the natural heritage site of Santa were obtained online from the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change (Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı). Finally, the unpublished 'Yanbolu-Santa Basin Sustainable Tourism Master Plan' (Yanbolu-Santa Havzası Sürdürülebilir Turizm Master Plani) was obtained from Mehmet Bozdoğan, a member of DOKA.

The site visits were carried out in April and August 2019. At the time of the first site survey, the area was completely uninhabited and so only a physical survey was conducted. The photographs of the site were taken, and the observations made there were recorded through sketches and notes on the basis of the map by Murat Tutkun who wrote a PhD thesis entitled *Santa Harabeleri ve Yeniden Kullanıma Kazandırılması Üzerine Bir Model Önerisi* (2009) (Figure 1.2). The second site visit in August includes both physical surveys and interviews carried out with the local community and visitors. The physical survey was undertaken to identify the architectural and settlement characteristics of the site. From this, information about

⁷ URL 2.

the open areas, i.e. streets and pathways, block and lot organizations and squares, building categories, i.e. churches, bell towers, the school, fountains, traditional and newly built houses, construction techniques and treatment of these houses were all collected and are here analyzed. In this second trip, some short interviews with the locals were made to obtain information about the history and social life of the site. Also interviews with tourists were done in order to learn about their experience about the site.⁸

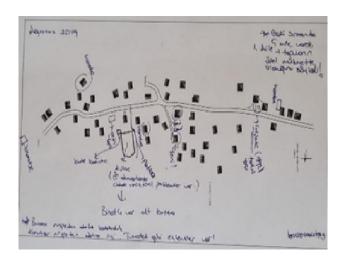


Figure 1.2: Sketches and notes on the basis of the map by Murat Tutkun

1.4 Challenges and Limitations

The main challenge in this study is the paucity of Turkish and English Santa-related sources. Greek sources about the site are unavailable in Turkey, and the author's book orders from Greece were repeatedly canceled due to COVID-19. These critical resources remained unavailable for a very long time. Another difficulty was the inability to communicate with the second and third generation emigrant *Rums* of Santa. The author attempted to contact them several times through social media, but

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⁸ The inhabitants and visitors are denoted as 'SI (1-4)' (Seasonal Inhabitant) and 'V (1-2)' (Visitor) in the thesis. Verbal permission was taken to mention the data obtained from the interviewees.

⁹ In August 2022, some of these sources became digitally accessible: URL 3.

no response was received. Another problem concerns the challenge of obtaining information about the interiors of the traditional houses. Since the seasonal inhabitants either have built new houses or changed the interiors of the traditional houses according to modern day requirements, these houses did not longer provide data in terms of the interior arrangement of traditional houses at Santa. The majority of the surviving traditional houses, on the other hand, could not be entered because their owners were not present in the village: in the first field trip, the village was completely uninhabited and there were only 15 families living in the village in the second field trip. Therefore, information about the traditional houses could only be obtained from the house ruins examined as best one might during the field trips and related sources. Moreover, due to the low population density, only a very few of the residents could be interviewed during the site surveys.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

As stated in the previous chapter, Santa underwent sociocultural and physical transformations as a consequence of the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923 and subsequent depopulation; as a result, the area began to experience identification challenges. Accordingly, this chapter briefly introduces the concept of 'archaeological heritage sites' and national regulations regarding these sites in order to discuss the misidentification of Santa as a 'archaeological site' according to the Turkish legal framework as set out in the final chapter. This chapter also introduces the definitions, concepts, and regulations pertaining to 'rural heritage sites', 'depopulation of rural heritage sites' and 'sites of memory', which are used to re-identify Santa in the concluding chapter. The concept of heritage interpretation is also reviewed in this chapter since the reidentification of Santa can be achieved with a proper interpretation as a further step.

2.1 The Concept of Archaeological Heritage

The archaeological heritage is that part of the material heritage in respect of which archaeological methods provide primary information. It comprises all vestiges of human existence and consists of places relating to all manifestations of human activity, abandoned structures and remains of all kinds (including subterranean and underwater sites) together with all the portable cultural material associated with them.¹⁰

In Europe, an interest in exploring and questioning the past emerged with the Renaissance. This interest was initially limited to examining ancient sources and

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¹⁰ ICOMOS 1990.

ruins and collecting artifacts; however, with the beginning of systematic excavations in Italy in the 18th century, archaeology developed as a science. The earliest efforts to display not only the magnificent archaeological remains on the ground, but also the artifacts uncovered through excavation began in the 18th century with the presentation of these remains in museums, rather than in their original context. For instance, due to the meagerness of the remains, a rural settlement excavated around a lake in Switzerland in the 1850s could not be exhibited in situ; consequently, drawings of this settlement were published in 1854, and in the 1870s, models of the traditional houses in the village began to be displayed at the Bern Museum. The primary objective during this time period is not to preserve and display the excavation site, but to present the culture of the time period in a manner that was accessible to contemporary, modern society. 11 Since the 19th century, efforts have been made to consolidate and reconstruct archaeological remains, making them more accessible to the public. 12 Particularly in the 20th century, the practice of displaying archaeological artifacts on archaeological sites rather than in museums has gained momentum.¹³

Archaeological heritage has become one of the most important aspects of cultural heritage conservation as a result of their growing prominence in the international platforms. Archaeology is now recognized as an 'ever-evolving' and 'inter-disciplinary' methodology for researching the history of humanity, due to the contributions of international charters and documents regarding good practice and scientific studies conducted since the second half of the 20th century.¹⁴

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¹¹ Ahunbay 2010, p. 104; Eres 2013, pp. 2-5.

¹² Jokilehto 2002, pp. 75-87

¹³ Eres 2013, p. 6.

¹⁴ Yeşilbağ 2019, p. 27.

2.2 The Concepts Concerning Rural Heritage

Rurality', which is typically contrasted with 'urbanity,' is a more complicated concept. Various definitions of rurality have emerged on national and international platforms over the course of a number of years, but there is no consensus yet on how to define the concept of rurality. Due to the fact that rurality is a subjective concept that is determined by the social and cultural context of each country, it is difficult to generalize its definition.¹⁵ Even though rurality is considered to be the antithesis of urbanity, there is no sharp distinction between the two because they share some common characteristics that prevent them from being considered complete opposites. Therefore, the rurality (or urbanity) of one settlement should be compared to the rurality (or urbanity) of another community. In other words, a settlement should be evaluated as more rural (or urban) relative to others.¹⁶

Several dimensions, including population size, population density, economic activity, socio-cultural characteristics, remoteness from the city center, administrative or political position, etc., have been developed by many organizations, such as FAO and OECD, and scholars in order to define what constitutes rurality.¹⁷

Population size is one of the most prevalent dimensions used by organizations and scholars. The population size used as a measure to define rural settlements varies from country to country. For instance, many European and Latin American countries consider settlements with a population of less than 2500 to be rural, whereas some countries accept a population threshold of 20,000 to define a settlement as rural. In accordance with the Turkish Village Law no. 442, settlements with a population of

¹⁵ FAO 2018, pp. 14-15; Tacoli 1998, p. 147.

¹⁶ Tezcan 1970, p. 154.

¹⁷ See, for instance, FAO 2018, p. 18; OECD 2011, p. 3. See also, Tacoli 2006, pp. 49-50; Waldorf 2006, p. 9.

¹⁸ Tacoli 2006, p. 50.

less than 2000 are recognized as rural settlements under the Turkish legislations.¹⁹ It may be misleading to determine population size as the sole criterion. For instance, doing so makes it difficult to classify rural communities with more than 2000 inhabitants.²⁰ Another aspect of population is population density, or the number of inhabitants per unit of land area. For example, the OECD defines rural settlements as having a population density of less than 150 inhabitants per square kilometer. Moreover, based on population density, the OECD classifies communities as predominantly urban, intermediate, or predominantly rural. It is commonly accepted that smaller, less densely populated settlements are more rural than larger, more densely populated settlements.²¹

Additionally, economic activities are a defining characteristic of rural settlements. According to Selahattin Demirkan, the soil and agricultural activities are the most fundamental components of a community's rural identity.²² Similarly, Ruşen Keleş defines rural areas as regions where agriculturally active populations reside.²³ However, agriculture comprises only a small portion of rural economic activities today. Consequently, it is no longer regarded as a primary dimension.²⁴

In addition to these factors, human beings and their sociocultural activities transform rural areas into living systems. In terms of social structure, Mahmut Tezcan defines rural settlements as areas with a population that shares a common culture, rules, customs, and traditions.²⁵ These social components are shaped differently in rural areas, where face-to-face relationships are maintained and closer human relationships are established, compared to urban areas.²⁶

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¹⁹ The term 'village' is used instead of 'rural settlement' in this Law: T.C. Resmî Gazete, 07.04.1924-68.

²⁰ Tezcan 1970, p. 153.

²¹ FAO 2018, p. 14.

²² Demirkan 1962, p. 20.

²³ Keleş 1998, p. 76.

²⁴ Waldorf 2006, p. 9.

²⁵ Tezcan 1970, p. 155.

²⁶ Keleş 1998, p. 76; Scott et al. 2007, p. 4.

The relationship between people and nature is a frequently ignored aspect of the concept of rurality. In fact, the "cultural landscape" results from this relationship. The term 'landscape', which refers to an area somewhat devoid of trees and containing animals, huts, fields, and fences, originates from Anglo-Germanic language from 500 CE. While the term 'landscape' alone indicates the relationship between man and nature, the term 'cultural landscape' strengthens this relationship.²⁷ The concept of landscape, as a cultural construct, provides a framework for understanding how people adapt to and shape their surrounding: the term 'cultural' is used to highlight the influence of humans on the formation and interpretation of landscapes.

In the early 20th century, the German geographer Otto Schluter used the term cultural landscape to refer to "the detailed description of the 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". Since then, scholars have developed various definitions, emphasizing each time that cultural landscapes are fundamentally the result of the interaction between human beings and nature. Mechtild Rossler, for example, defines cultural landscapes as:

Cultural landscapes are at the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity—they represent a closely woven net of relationships, the essence of culture and people's identity.²⁹

According to Ken Taylor, landscape is a reflection of human activity and values of a human being. Therefore, it is not a product of natural process, but it is a creation by human. He defines cultural landscape as:

We are surrounded by the landscapes that people have settled, modified, or altered over time. These landscapes are cultural landscapes, the everyday

²⁷ Taylor and Lennon 2011, p. 2.

²⁸ Whitehand 1981, p. 2.

²⁹ Rossler 2006, p. 334.

landscapes which surround us and in which we conduct our activities. They are the result of human intervention in the natural landscape and present a record of human activity, human values and ideologies. In this way they do not simply represent physical changes brought about by human intervention. They also represent evidence of material culture manifested in the landscape and thereby reflect human relationships with our surrounds. They are an inextricable and coherent part of our intellectual and cultural background.³⁰

In other words, cultural landscapes are concerned with the significance of the beliefs, values, and ideologies that people bring to the shaping of landscape (or that emerge in the course of so doing), as well as the physical, practical ways in which people shape and structure their landscapes over time.³¹ The continuing human interventions in cultural landscapes help keep these places evolving. Similarly, according to Daniel O'Hare, cultural landscapes are dynamic rather than static, active rather than passive, living rather than relict, and inhabited rather than uninhabited due to the role of humans in these landscapes.³²

Cultural landscapes also attracted international attention when these areas were recognized legally in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention: Report of the Expert Group on Cultural Landscapes issued by UNESCO in 1992. 33 In this report, the World Heritage cultural landscapes are defined under three categories, i.e. 'clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man', 'organically evolved landscape', and 'associative cultural landscape'. The first category includes gardens and parks, which are designed for aesthetic purposes, and which are often associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles. The second category is something that is the result of an initial social, economic, administrative, or religious imperative and has evolved into its present form in response to and in association with its natural environment. This evolutionary process is reflected in the form and component

³⁰ Taylor and Lennon 2011, p. 3.

³¹ Taylor *et al.* 2015, p. 2.

³² O'Hare 1997 p. 35.

³³ URL 4.

features of such landscapes. This category has two sub-categories, i.e. 'relict landscape' and 'continuing landscape'. 'Relict (or fossil) landscape' is "one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form." 'Continuing landscape' is, on the other hand, "one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time, it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time." The inclusion of the final category of landscapes on the World Heritage List is justified by the strong religious, artistic, or cultural associations of the natural element, as opposed to material cultural evidence, which may be negligible or nonexistent.³⁴

The term 'cultural landscape' intrinsically includes definitions of urban and rural landscapes. In recent years, specific definitions of them have also been developed. ³⁵ In the Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape published by UNESCO in 2011, historic urban landscapes within the context of cultural landscape is described in detail, for the first time. In the Recommendation, historic urban landscapes are defined as:

The historic 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.

³⁴ UNESCO 1992.

³⁵ Çolak 2019, p. 18.

According to this definition, historic urban landscape includes both tangible attributes as well as the intangible attributes emerging from the social and cultural practices of human beings. The Recommendation may be accepted as an essential guide for the historic rural landscapes; however, as Merve Çolak also notes, historic rural landscapes have different dynamics than historic urban landscapes, so they need different considerations.³⁶

Rural landscapes are one of the most common types of continuing cultural landscapes as stated in the doctrinal text prepared by ICOMOS and IFLA after the Milano Declaration on Rural Landscapes in 2017. According to the text, all type of rural areas (including well-managed, degraded, and abandoned) are considered as rural landscapes because these areas have cultural values (meanings). According to the text, rural landscapes are defined as: ³⁷

"Rural landscapes are terrestrial and aquatic areas co-produced by humannature 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."

The text also discusses 'rural landscape as heritage' as areas including tangible and intangible attributes. The tangible attributes are described as:³⁸

"... the productive land itself, 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."

The intangible attributes are described as:³⁹

"... associated cultural knowledge, traditions, practices, expressions of local human communities' identity and belonging, and the cultural values and

³⁷ ICOMOS 2017, p. 2.

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³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁸ *Ibid*.

³⁹ *Ibid*.

meanings attributed to those landscapes by past and contemporary people and communities. Rural landscapes as heritage encompass technical, scientific, and practical knowledge, related to human-nature relationships."

People attribute tangible and intangible significance to rural landscapes, making them "living systems". As previously mentioned, even abandoned or depopulated rural areas are considered rural landscapes, despite the fact that these areas have lost their most important component, i.e., human beings. This loss ultimately results in the alteration of the social and physical characteristics of rural areas and threatens their continued existence. It is vital to assess the causes and consequences of rural area abandonment and depopulation.

2.2.1 Depopulation of Rural Settlements

Depopulation due to the migration from rural settlements leads not only to the deterioration of the built environment due to abandonment and neglect, but also the loss of natural and cultural values. In pre-industrial times, rural areas were the centers of production: agricultural activities contributed significantly to the gross domestic product (GDP) of European countries. In the end of the 18th century, the developed countries, especially in Europe, experienced the Industrial Revolution which shifted the production center from rural to urban areas. The higher standards of life in urban areas with the industrialization process increased the rural migration leading to depopulation and abandonment of rural areas.⁴⁰ Abandonment of villages by landless peasants as a result of agricultural mechanization envisioned by the Marshall Plan in the 1950s accelerated migration from rural to urban areas in Turkey. Due to the changes in agriculture and livestock policies after 1980, the majority of the younger population left their villages.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Grigg 1987, pp. 90-95.

⁴¹ The Marshall Plan was a US program providing aid to West European countries to combat the negative effects of the World War II: Karataş Başoğlu 2015, pp. 190-191; Eres 2016, p. 11.

Migration from rural to urban area is often a voluntary activity aiming at obtaining better economic opportunities, while there are some compulsory migrations. Abandonment of the rural settlements due to natural factors, i.e. droughts, earthquakes, floods, landslides, storms, volcanos, wildfires, is at the forefront of forced migrations. Politics and warfare are another contributing factor. Climate change and global warming are now also considered as nature-based migration reasons, although these problems are ultimately the result of human activity. 43

Yazıköy and Yarıköy villages in Burdur are examples of rural areas abandoned because of natural disasters (Figure 2.1). After the Burdur earthquake of 1971, inhabitants of these villages abandoned their homes. As far as can be understood from the old photographs and existing ruins, the traditional texture of the village before 1971 consisted of two-storey, mud-brick structures with hipped roof. While the old villages of Yazıköy and Yarıköy remained untouched, a new settlement was established very close to these two villages, consisting of single-storey, single-type houses with gardens (Figure 2.2).⁴⁴





Figure 2.1: Yazıköy village, Burdur (left); Yarıköy village, Burdur (right) (Köşker 2019, p. 8)

⁴² For detailed information about the natural disaster types causing migration, see Messick 2016.

⁴³ Güler and Kâhya 2019, pp. 99-100.

⁴⁴ Özyıldıran 2016.

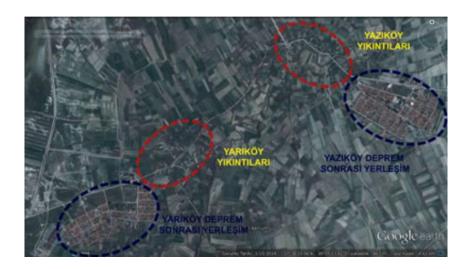


Figure 2.2: Yazıköy-Yarıköy villages and post-earthquake settlements (Özyıldıran 2016)

There are also several human factors for the depopulation of rural areas. Koray Güler and Yegân Kâhya define these human factors under three categories, i.e. socio-cultural and economic reasons, politic reasons/conflicts, and others (Table 2.1).⁴⁵ Some factors such as unemployment, inadequacy of education and health services, infrastructure and transportation problems play a crucial role in the abandonment of rural areas. In some cases, there are multiple reasons for the abandonment of rural areas.

The abandonment of the Lübbey village in İzmir, which had been inhabited during the winter months until the 1960s, is one such example (Figure 2.3). As forestry and animal husbandry activities, which were the main livelihoods of the inhabitants of the village, were interrupted by the restrictions in the 1960s, the inhabitants emigrated to the Çamyayla highland (*yayla*) permanently: the highland was inhabited only in the summer months by the villagers before. In addition to financial considerations, the inhabitants migrated to Çamyayla for better access to electricity, water, and transportation facilities.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Güler and Kâhya 2019, p. 98.

⁴⁶ Güler 2016, p. 200.

Table 2.1: Reasons for the abandonment of rural areas (Güler and Kâhya 2019, p. 98)

A.Human-based reasons			B.Nature-based
A.1.Socio-cultural and economic reasons	A.2.Politic Reasons/ Conflicts	A.3.Other reasons	reasons
Economic decline/ The lack of rural finance / Inadequate rural policies	War and Conflicts Between Countries	Expropriatios due to Construction of Public Works or Urban Development Activities	Natural constraints
The overall economic contexts of countries/ Territorial inequalities			Climate change/ Global warming
Unemployment/ Agricultural inefficieny/ The fall of agricultural holdings/ Ageing	Civil war	Location on an Archaeological Site (Multi- layered Settlements)	Earthquakes
population/ Migration	Terorism, Security Vulnerabilities Mandatory Migrations / Evacuations Political Discrimination/ Oppression Policies		
Lack of public investments and services/			Floods
Remoteness from focal points Diffuculty in Access to Education,		Location on a high valued mine reserve	
Health, Culture, etc. Services			
Lack of infrastructure, transportation and communication			Avalanches
Dissatisfaction with living conditions/ Search for a better life		Exhaustion of mine reserves	Landslides/ Erosion
Negative social image of rural/ Desire for big city lifestyle/ Desire for upward mobility/ Concerns relating to land ownership and distribution	Racism		Volcanic disasters
	Legal obstacles		



Figure 2.3: Lübbey village, İzmir (Güler 2016, p. 157)

Eskihisar village in Muğla is also an example of abandoned rural settlements. This village once co-existed with the archaeological site of Stratonikeia (Figure 2.4).⁴⁷ Eskihisar village was established on the archaeological remains of the ancient city. In 1957, the village was relocated to the northwest because of an earthquake. In 1978, the designation of Stratonikeia as a '1st and 3rd degree archaeological site' resulted in abandonment of the village once again. With this decision, the electricity was cut off in order not to harm the archaeological remains: it made it impossible to live in the village. Moreover, the inhabitants of Eskihisar had to migrate to the west one more time after a coal reserve was found in 1980s.⁴⁸

Karanlık village in Kırklareli and Çökene village in Bursa can also be given as examples of villages abandoned due to financial problems. Eski Çıplak village in İzmir, on the other hand, was abandoned due to lack of transportation facilities.⁴⁹



Figure 2.4: Eskihisar village, Muğla (URL 5)

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⁴⁷ The settlement history of Stratonikeia dates back to the Neolithic Period; however, the oldest archaeological remains are from the Hellenistic period: Kazıl Aydoğdu 2020, p. 188.

⁴⁸ Yeşilbağ 2019, p. 55; Kazıl Aydoğdu 2020, p. 188.

⁴⁹ Kösker 2019.

Armed conflict, terrorism, security issues, forced migrations, and political discrimination are the political factors of the abandonment of rural areas. For instance, the village of Akçadam in Hakkari was abandoned due to terrorism, which has been a serious issue in Southeast Anatolia for the past four decades (Figure 2.5). Now, only a few people reside in the village, as the rest migrated elsewhere. ⁵⁰



Figure 2.5: Akçadam village, Hakkari (Güler 2016, p. 78)

The forced migration caused by the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece after the Lausanne Treaty in 1923 is a further political factor contributing to the abandonment of rural areas in Turkey. The following section provides an overview of the 1923 Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece and its effects on the abandonment of rural areas.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

2.2.1.1 Depopulation of Rural Settlements due to the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923

In the Ottoman Empire, which adopted the *Millet* System, the societies, with socio-cultural and religious differences preserved their own religion, language, and culture in the past.⁵¹ In general, the term *millet* was defined as a 'religious community' in the Empire. The roots of the *millet* go back to the early periods of Islam. The Ottomans used this term to give limited authority to the religious communities, i.e. Orthodox Greeks, Armenians and Jews, living in the territories of Ottoman Empire to regulate their own affairs: these 'minority' communities were not compelled to convert to Islam and they were allowed to live with certain prohibitions while practicing their religion, and paid the poll tax (*cizye*) and military exemption tax. In later periods, the term *millet* began to be used for Muslims as well.⁵²

According to Will Kymlicka, the *Millet* System was "humane, tolerant of group differences, and remarkably stable".⁵³ This system, respecting the differences, allowed the enhancement of the cultural richness in the Empire. As noted by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis:⁵⁴

For nearly half a millennium, the Ottomans ruled an empire as diverse as any in history. Remarkably, this polyethnic and multireligious society worked. Muslims, Christians, and Jews worshipped and studied side by side, enriching their distinct cultures.

This environment in the Empire was negatively affected by the new understanding of nationalism that developed among the non-Muslims in the beginning of the 19th century because of the French Revolution and the expansionist policies of Western countries.⁵⁵ With this new understanding of nationalism, rebellions, leading to the

⁵¹ Eryılmaz 1999, p. 237.

⁵² There was no term for 'minority' in Ottoman Turkish. The term was first mentioned in the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Therefore, it is considered an anachronism if used before 1923: Aviv 2016.

⁵³ Kymlicka 1995, p. 157.

⁵⁴ Braude and Lewis 1982, p. 1

⁵⁵ Korkusuz and Kutluk 2015, p. 239.

Balkan Wars, started among the non-Muslims against the Ottoman Empire to gain independence: one of these non-Muslim communities was the Orthodox *Rums*, who had been actively under arms, especially in Western Anatolia and the Pontus region until the Turkish War of Independence of 1922.

After the Turkish War of Independence, on 30 January 1923, Turkey and other countries signed a convention in Lausanne. With the Lausanne Treaty, the *Rums* (except those living in İstanbul, Gökçeada and Bozcaada) from Turkey, and the Turks from Greece were subject to the compulsory Population Exchange, along with their movable belongings. ⁵⁶ The Population Exchange had profound effects on both the new arrivals and the deportees as well as on the rural settlements themselves.

The intangible cultural heritage has largely been affected through this process. The loss of intangible values, which is an important part of a place's identity, became inevitable with the Population Exchange. The intangible cultural heritage, as stated in the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, issued by UNESCO in 2003, refers to:⁵⁷

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and know-how, transmitted from generation to generation within communities, created and transformed continuously by them, depending on the environment and their interaction with nature and history.

The interruption in the continuity of the life and presence of a community and accompanying values naturally endanger the heritage sites. In the case of the Population Exchange, the social and economic habits of the newly arrived Turkish population did not correspond to the cultural and historical legacy of those who left, i.e. the *Rums*. The newcomers did not continue the numerous occupations and traditions of the *Rums*. Therefore, the intangible values of the Rums disappeared in

⁵⁶ Çapa 1990, p. 53.

⁵⁷ UNESCO 2003.

⁵⁸ Orhan and Yücel 2019, p. 20.

time: new intangible values were attributed to the rural heritage sites where a new local community settled.

Another effect of the Population Exchange was on the built environment. Especially the public buildings, such as churches and *Rum* schools, which once served the *Rum* communities, lost their function: they were either completely abandoned and became ruins, or they lost their original characteristics because of the change in their function. Moreover, traditional houses, which lost their inhabitants, were neglected leading to the deterioration and even loss of the traditional residential tissue.

Rural areas were either completely abandoned because they did not meet the needs of the Turks who arrived as part of the Population Exchange, entered the rural gentrification process, or largely maintained their rural character due to the continuity of the rural population (despite some changes). Briefly put, the changing demographic characteristics of these areas had varying effects on the rural identity.

Another effect of the Population Exchange was on the emigrant *Rums*. The forced migration transformed areas once inhabited by *Rums* into diasporic places.⁵⁹ Diaspora creates traumatic experiences.⁶⁰ These experiences may transform a diasporic place into a 'site of memory'. The notion of site of memory is defined by Pierre Nora in *Les Lieux de memoire* as:⁶¹

A *lieu de mémoire* is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community (in this case, the French community).

Nora outlines sites of memory in a particular national context; however, this term can also be defined in international context. Sites of memory are places that have

⁵⁹ Diaspora is a historical term used to refer to communities that have been dispersed reluctantly, dislocated by slavery, pogroms, genocide, coercion and expulsion, war in conflict zones, indentured labour, economic migration, political exile, or refugee exodus: Hua 2005, p. 193. ⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

⁶¹ Nora 1996, p. xvii.

become memorials and memorial sites not because they were designed to be such, but because of the events that took place there and the desire of the people who were there to remember them.⁶² These sites frequently become both private or sacred places for mourning and reflection, and educational places for learning from the memory of past events and social trauma.⁶³

2.3 Heritage Interpretation

Heritage interpretation, which is the revelation of the meaning and significance of heritage and the enhancing of public awareness and appreciation of it, is a significant tool for the conservation and management of both cultural and natural heritage. Although the first efforts in this are held to date back to the foundation of the Yellowstone National Park in the US at the end of the 19th century, the first academic study on the subject was Freeman Tilden's publication *Interpreting Our Heritage* in 1957. Tilden described interpretation as "an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information." Tilden's definition was the first academic definition of interpretation, and the concept of interpretation and presentation has evolved ever since, building upon Tilden's six principles. Following Tilden, the subject of interpretation of cultural heritage has been discussed by many scholars. 65

The six principles of Tilden are listed and discussed below:⁶⁶

⁶² Beazley and Cameron 2021, p. 2.

⁶³ Bickford 2014, p. 494.

⁶⁴ Tilden 1977, p. 8.

⁶⁵ For additional information regarding heritage interpretation, see also Ham 1992; Alderson and Low 1996; Beck and Cable 2002; Brochu and Merriman 2002; Knudson and Cable 2003.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Principle 1. "Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile."

Until the present day, it is regularly emphasized that interpretation is an important part of conservation of heritage in that it increases public understanding and enhances personal experience. According to Principle 1, it is necessary that visitors identify in some way with the interpretation activity so that they can better understand what is being interpreted. Therefore, an interpretation program must feed the visitors' desire and be prepared according to their interests. Understanding the visitors' profile, i.e, their age, education level, cultural roots etc., helps the interpreter to find what is important and relevant to them.

Principle 2. "Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information."

In this, interpretation is associated with information; however, it includes much more than the mere transmission of information. It is important to treat information in a way that the visitor can properly understand what is wanted to be emphasized rather than presenting mere facts about it.

Principle 3. "Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable."

Tilden also states in Chapter III of his book "... [to] dip into his own artistic appreciation, give form and life to his material, and tell a story rather than recite an inventory. The whole history of entertainment reminds us that a dull performance has a dull audience; and while we must be chary of that word "entertainment," and be sure we restrict ours to the very highest kind, we cannot forget that people are

with us mainly seeking enjoyment, not instruction."⁶⁷ According to his beliefs, what matters is not so much what is interpreted but how it is interpreted. Rather than giving a leaden instruction, the guide should interpret the site as if he/she tells a story. Artistic expressions will create artistic appreciation and it will entertain the visitor.

Principle 4. "The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation."

According to the Fourth Principle, one of the main objectives of interpretation is to provoke perceptions and develop new feelings. With interpretation, all the facts about the material are given to visitors to help them to find their own level of interest and understand the material in their own way. Through interpretation, the visitors will gain a wider understanding. As they understand, they will appreciate the heritage, and; as they appreciate, they will start to conserve it so as not to lose it.⁶⁸

Principle 5. "Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase."

According to the Fifth Principle, trying to interpret something piecemeal and only then to correlate them to reach the whole is not necessarily the best course of action. The visitor may not be able to grasp the whole and his/her appreciation may be limited to parts.

Principle 6. "Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program."

As stated in the Sixth Principle, different activities and programs for different age groups should built into the interpretive plans to reach a wider audience, because children and adults have different perceptions and interests.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

The field of heritage interpretation developed primarily in response to the immediate needs of the tourism, recreation, museum, and conservation management industries.⁶⁹ Over time, interpretation began to serve a variety of purposes. One is that interpretation facilitates the effective communication of facts and narratives, as well as the revitalization of public appreciation and support for heritage. As economic motivations for the development of heritage (as measured by tourist revenues) have increased, interpretation has also come to be used as a tool for providing educational entertainment. Simultaneously, heritage interpretation grew in effectiveness as a tool for promoting dialogue and communicating heritage values.⁷⁰ In the end, interpretative tools become a medium to enhance visitors' sense of place and place identity. 71 In order to accurately reflect the genuine identity of an area, and thereby to provide an accurate definition of it, it has become necessary to involve the communities associated with the heritage areas in the interpretation process. As stated by Neil Silberman, communities have started to play a role in the interpretation process itself, rather than merely the product of that process in time.⁷² David Uzzell mentions some three ways of interpretation. One of these is the performative interpretation where the members of the heritage site perform at that site in order to revive the identity of the site. It is a way of connecting the past with the present from the insider's point of view, rather than an objective representation by experts or outsiders.⁷³

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⁶⁹ Uzzell 1996, p. 219.

⁷⁰ Silberman 2012, pp. 246-247.

⁷¹ Uzzell 1996, p. 220.

⁷² Silberman 2012, pp. 2-3.

⁷³ For the other two ways of interpretation, see Uzzell 1996.

2.4 International Charters and Documents and National Legal Regulations

2.4.1 International Charters and Documents

2.4.1.1 International Charters and Documents Concerning Rural Heritage

As mentioned before, with the Industrial Revolution, rural areas started to lose their population, and underwent significant transformations with the newly developed agricultural techniques. These developments in rural areas led to the need to consider these areas not only as places to settle, but also as places to be protected. Moreover, the concept of nationalism that developed in the Age of Enlightenment, especially in Europe, revealed the necessity of protecting the rural cultures and areas, which were the main production centers in the past, as an important part of the national identity of the communities.⁷⁴ The first attempts to preserve rural architecture began with the relocating traditional rural dwellings from their original location to the Skansen Open Air Museum in Sweden to exhibit in 1891.⁷⁵

While national-level attempts for the preservation of rural areas and landscapes continued in Europe, the issue was carried to the international platform with the Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites issued by UNESCO in 1962. The document suggests the preservation of rural landscapes as well as natural and urban landscapes to ensure their existence. The document also mentions the necessity of rural planning.⁷⁶

While the perception of cultural heritage was limited to monuments until the 1960s, this understanding shifted from single monuments to different scale of cultural heritage sites with the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of

⁷⁴ Eres 2013, p. 457.

⁷⁵ Zippelius 1974, p. 239.

⁷⁶ UNESCO 1962.

Monuments and Sites, also known as the Venice Charter (1964). Article 1 of the Venice Charter includes rural settings in the historic monuments category:⁷⁷

The concept of a historic monument embraces 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.

However, the charter still focuses on the conservation of the single monument rather than the conservation of rural heritage.

The Resolution (73)3 on Rural Revival Policies in the Balance between Town and Country (1973) of the Council of Europe concerns the depopulation of rural areas due to socio-economic reasons. The Resolution presents the possible effects of the rural depopulation and offers solutions to revitalize rural areas by implementing a balanced development policy in both urban and rural areas.⁷⁸

The European Charter of Architectural Heritage, i.e. the Declaration of Amsterdam (1975) extends the concept of cultural heritage from single monuments and their surroundings to 'urban and rural architectural complexes', and advocates the need to preserve these areas. The Resolution (76)26 on the Steps which Can Be Taken to Reduce Depopulation of Rural Regions (1976) focuses on the policies to prevent rural depopulation and offers solutions, such as revitalizing agricultural economy and increasing touristic attraction of rural areas to revive the local economy. 80

The Granada Appeal: Rural Architecture in Regional Planning Symposium (1977) deals with the rural architectural heritage which is in danger of extinction due to socio-economic problems and rural migration. The text highlights the importance of rural architectural heritage as an aesthetical entity as well as physical evidence of

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⁷⁷ ICOMOS 1964.

⁷⁸ Council of Europe 1973.

⁷⁹ ICOMOS 1975.

⁸⁰ Council of Europe 1976.

memory. It also emphasizes that rural areas should be included in regional planning process.⁸¹

The Recommendation 881 on the Rural Architectural Heritage (1979) states that rural heritage, which is threatened because of modernization, should be given equal importance as urban heritage. According to this text, local communities should be encouraged to conserve their rural settings with their socio-cultural values. The text also argues that, in addition to the rural architectural heritage, the protection of natural environment in rural settings is of great importance: people carrying out commercial activities in rural areas should also consider the protection of natural environment.⁸²

The Granada Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1985) aims to support some policies for the conservation of heritage in Europe. The Convention stipulates that building groups and sites must be homogeneous in order to be qualified as architectural heritage. It also emphasizes the need to increase the solidarity and cooperation between the parties in order to preserve the European heritage: rural buildings in rural settings are considered as a part of the architectural heritage in the text.⁸³ According to this text, interested parties should take legal measures and provide financial support to protect and restore the architectural heritage. In addition, the parties should adopt integrated conservation policies that include the conservation of the architectural heritage as a fundamental town and country planning objective.

The Recommendation on the Protection and Enhancement of the Rural Architectural Heritage (1989) highlights that endangered agricultural production and socio-cultural transformations threaten rural settlements and vernacular architecture. According to the Recommendation, rural heritage is not only one of the components

⁸¹ Council of Europe 1977.

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⁸² Council of Europe 1979.

⁸³ Council of Europe 1985.

of European culture, but also one of the main drivers of local development. The text recommends increasing the cultural significance of rural heritage, increasing awareness and respect for rural heritage, preservation of rural heritage and collective memory of Europe and planning a regional development. Member states and institutions are required to take into account both the built environment and natural heritage when determining agricultural and environmental policies.⁸⁴

In the 1990s, natural environment started to be considered as an integral part of the rural areas, and the issue of conservation of 'cultural landscape' was recognized in the international platforms with the inclusion of cultural landscape, i.e. 'combined works of nature and man' as a new category of heritage by the World Heritage Committee in 1992.⁸⁵

The Charter on Built Vernacular Heritage (1999) recognizes vernacular heritage as the physical manifestation of production of human beings. Vernacular heritage, which is accepted as a part of cultural landscape, reflects the history of a local community and it has both tangible and intangible attributes, according to the document. Therefore, it is vital to involve local communities for the conservation of vernacular heritage. ⁸⁶

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) is not directly related with the rural cultural heritage.⁸⁷ However, the text is significant because it focuses on the conservation of intangible values which are inseparable part of rural identities. The Paris Declaration on Heritage as a Driver of Development (2011) does not specifically emphasize the rural heritage sites. However, it considers both tangible and intangible heritage (including rural landscapes) as a trigger for

⁸⁴ Council of Europe 1989.

⁸⁶ ICOMOS 1999.

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⁸⁵ URL 4.

⁸⁷ UNESCO 2003.

sustainable development. The text recommends actions for revitalization and conservation of both urban and rural heritage sites.⁸⁸

The most comprehensive international document concerning rural landscape and rural heritage is the IFLA Principles Concerning Rural Landscapes as Heritage (2017). In this text, the concept of rural landscape, which is described as outcome of the coexistence of human and nature, is considered as the most common type of cultural landscapes. The main aim of the text is to recommend principles and actions for the conservation of the rural landscapes. ⁸⁹

2.4.1.2 International Charters and Documents Concerning Heritage Interpretation

With the Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments (1931), discussion about the conservation of heritage was raised on international platforms. After this charter, in which the focus of cultural heritage was limited to historical monuments, the concept was expanded: different needs and methods were developed in the field of conservation of cultural heritage. The interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage in a way which fosters public awareness and creates better understanding for heritage sites since then has been mentioned directly or indirectly at the international level on several occasions. The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites, also known as the Ename Charter, first declared in 2002 and revised in 2008, became the key document to define the interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites and principles behind the interpretation. The Ename Charter (2008) defines interpretation as: ⁹⁰

Interpretation refers to the full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural heritage site. These

⁸⁹ ICOMOS 2017.

⁸⁸ ICOMOS 2011.

⁹⁰ ICOMOS 2008.

can include print and electronic publications, public lectures, on-site and directly related off-site installations, educational programs, community activities, and ongoing research, training, and evaluation of the interpretation process itself.

After setting out definitions of interpretation and presentation and other related terms (such as site interpreter, interpretive infrastructure, and cultural heritage site), the Charter continues with seven principles of interpretation.

In the Burra Charter (1999), interpretation is defined as "all the ways of presenting the cultural significance of a place." This Charter also states: "The cultural significance of many places is not readily apparent and should be explained by interpretation. Interpretation should enhance understanding and enjoyment and be culturally appropriate." A place with cultural significance is presented to the visitor so as to create in them an understanding of the site.

In 2018, a report was prepared on the interpretation and presentation of sites of memory and sites with a memorial aspect. Although the concept of the memorial aspect of heritage sites has long existed, the issue of how sites of memory and sites with memorial aspects will be interpreted and presented to the public has been dealt with only following the UNESCO World Heritage Committee's decision 39 COM 8B.14 in 2015 and the recommendation of the International Conference on World Heritage Interpretation held in November 2016.⁹³ The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ICSC) had pronounced on the interpretation of sites of memory and its Report on the Interpretation of Sites of Memory was prepared on January 31, 2018, for this purpose. In Article 51, in the Report on the Interpretation of Sites of Memory of 2018, the term 'sites of memory' is defined as "... places which are vested with historical, social or cultural significance because of what has happened there in the past. Such places can be of particular significance given their role in

⁹¹ ICOMOS 1999.

⁹² ICOMOS 1999.

⁹³ UNESCO 2018.

shaping the identity of a community or nation". 94 The memorial aspect of heritage places is derived from their associative (intangible) values. In sites of memory, associative values have an enormous significance because it is these very values that designate the place as a site of memory in the first place. Moreover, for most cases, intangible values can be more important than the tangible. With sites with memorial aspect, this aspect may change, because the commemorative value is not the principal value but a secondary value. Interpretation of sites of memory or other heritage sites with a memorial aspect is crucial and needs specific care because there are potentially different groups associated with the site and these groups can have contested values. Nara +20 text (2014) states that: 95

"The Nara Document calls for respect of cultural diversity in cases where cultural values appear to be in conflict. In the last 20 years it has become evident that competing values and meanings of heritage may lead to seemingly irreconcilable conflicts. To address such situations, credible and transparent processes are required to mediate heritage disputes. These processes would require that communities in conflict agree to participate in the conservation of the heritage, even when a shared understanding of its significance is unattainable."

This statement emphasizes the need for an inclusive approach to contested values and interpretation as unavoidable. Practice Note on Interpretation (2013)⁹⁶ also emphasizes the need for interpretation of sites with multiple conflicting values.⁹⁷

As stated in the Report on the Interpretation of Sites of Memory, to define a heritage place as a site of memory, international recognition is not necessary. Basically, the communities that have connections with this place may recognize the heritage site as a site of memory and this recognition may be on the local level. It matters not. If the place is recognized by national bodies, the site may also gain recognition on

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁹⁵ ICOMOS 2014.

⁹⁶ Developed by Australian ICOMOS, this Practice Note provides additional recommendations to the Burra Charter.

⁹⁷ ICOMOS 2013.

national and international levels as well. The recognition of these sites as sites of memory is not solely governed by heritage experts such as historians, heritage architects and archaeologists. Still, these experts can play a major role in designating the memorial value of these places by supporting communities attached to heritage places and mediating between them and the official bodies responsible for the recognition and designation of such places. For officially recognized areas, the duties and responsibilities of these experts are increased, and they become more involved in the conservation and interpretation process. ⁹⁸

According to Article 73 on this report, the interpretation of sites of memory recognized on international level should involve:⁹⁹

- **Cultural rights:** It should be noted that a heritage site has an important effect on the forming the identity of communities living in it and of other communities related to it. Also, it should be noted that natural sites may also have cultural values, especially associative ones, other than the purely natural significances.
- Inclusive approach: The importance and associative values of a heritage site should be demonstrable, and the understanding of these values should be periodically reviewed. The opinions of the communities that determine the history of a particular heritage site should be taken into account. The focus is not only on locals but also other communities and stakeholders related with the site.
- **Social concern:** The social, economic, and environmental dimensions of the heritage site should be considered and emphasized.
- Management: All type of values (particularly the associative values) in relation to Outstanding Universal Value should be presented and defined in the development of a management system for the nomination of a World Heritage property (as well as in the Tentative Listing).

⁹⁸ ICOMOS 2018, p. 15.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

- Conservation: The subjects of conservation and restoration should be emphasized and conservation strategies regarding memorial aspects should be prioritized.
- Mutual respect and Cooperation: Treatment of a site should be consistent with the main objectives of UNESCO and in the spirit of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the 1972 Recommendation on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage at national level, and the principles of the World Heritage Committee Policy on the integration of a sustainable development perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention. These aspects are applicable to all heritage places: namely dialogue, mutual understanding, tolerance, respect.

According to Article 74, in interpreting a Site of Memory: 100

- Identification of values: All values should be identified to make it possible to define the memorial intangible values, as well as to involve all stakeholders, detect the changes in the interpretation of heritage sites over time, and to determine how the differing values will be conserved and transferred via interpretation and presentation.
- **Mediation of divergent views:** All differing values and opinions should be determined and incorporated so as to decide the true interpretation techniques that can bridge differences. By respecting all these views community relations can be restructured.
- **Communication:** Communication is necessary to determine ways of raising awareness, informing the public and improving educational programs.
- Conservation: Conservation is also necessary: a policy adopted for the conservation of physical remains should be related to the ways the site interpretation is envisaged.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

- **Research:** Research is an essential part of interpretation, to most effectively implement a policy to find, disseminate and share information.
- **Balanced Management:** A balanced management should be followed to determine how one may better bond the several features, like the understanding of the memorial values, conservation of the site, educational function, and economic and social development of the local community.

2.4.2 National Legal Framework in Turkey

2.4.2.1 National Legal Framework Concerning Archaeological Heritage in Turkey

The first institutionalized efforts in the field of conservation started in *Tanzimat* period (1839-1876) of the Ottoman Empire. The first national legislation prepared for this purpose is *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* dated 1869.¹⁰¹ This legislation covers only archaeological excavations. It is also stated among the articles of the legislation that excavations cannot be carried out without permission and those items found as a result of excavation cannot be taken abroad.¹⁰² Apart from the first *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*, three more legislations dated 1874, 1884 and 1906 were passed. In these, the focus is only on the conservation of historical artefacts, the definition of which expanded in time. After the fourth *Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* in 1906, the first law prepared on the conservation of cultural heritage was the Law no. 1710 on Ancient Monuments and Sites (*Eski Eserler Yasası*) of 1973.¹⁰³ The new law was more effectively prepared to accommodate the developing and changing cultural heritage ideas. Concepts, such as archaeological site, historic site and natural site, were mentioned for the first time in this law.

¹⁰¹ Güçhan and Kurul 2009, pp. 21-23.

¹⁰² Madran 1996, p. 61.

¹⁰³ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 06.05.1973-14527.

In 1983, Law no. 2863 on the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Property (2863 Sayılı Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kanunu) was introduced. The Law no. 2863 developed a general understanding for cultural heritage conservation and includes definitions related to movable and immovable cultural heritage, regulations about excavation studies, coordination of conservation authorities, etc. This Law does not define an archaeological site directly. According to Nimet Özgönül and Emre Madran, the definition "remains of cities that are product of various prehistorical to present civilizations that reflect the social, economic, architectural etc. characteristics of the respective period" in this Law may equate to the definition of 'archaeological site'.

In accordance with the Law no. 2863, the High Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage (*Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu*) promulgated the Enactment no. 594 on Archaeological Sites – Protection and Use Principles (594 nolu İlke Kararı – Arkeolojik Sitler, Koruma ve Kullanma Koşulları) of (14 July) 1998. However, this Enactment was repealed due to the problems arising in practice and inconsistencies with the legislation. Later, the Enactment no. 658 on Archaeological Sites – Protection and Use Principles (658 nolu İlke Kararı – Arkeolojik Sitler, Koruma ve Kullanma Koşulları) of (05 November) 1999. The Enactment defines archaeological sites as: 105

Settlements and areas where all kinds of cultural assets reflecting the underground, ground level and underwater products, and the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the ancient civilizations that have survived from the existence of humanity to the present times.

With the exception of urban archaeological sites, the Enactment establishes a grading system for archaeological sites: 1st, 2nd and 3rd degree, and urban archaeological sites, together with conservation and use regulations are defined in this Enactment.

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¹⁰⁴ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 23.07.1983-18113.

¹⁰⁵ URL 6.

In 2012, in the Regulation on the Identification and Registration of Immovable Cultural Properties and Protected Sites (*Korunması Gerekli Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıklarının ve Sitlerin Tespit ve Tescili Hakkında Yönetmelik*), evaluation criteria for the identification and registration of archaeological sites are specified for the first time. This Regulation stipulates that the designation of an area as an archaeological site must be based on written information, above-ground remains, or scientific research, and must be supported by sufficient qualifications in terms of environmental observations, scientific hypotheses, and topography. ¹⁰⁶

2.4.2.2 National Legal Framework Concerning Rural Heritage in Turkey

The national legal framework in Turkey does not show a specific concern on the conservation of rural areas. However, some legal regulations, related to rural settlements, were introduced after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923: these regulations indirectly affect the field of conservation of rural heritage sites.

The basic and earliest legal regulation regarding management of rural settlements in Turkey is the Village Law no. 442 (442 Sayılı Köy Kanunu), of 1924. The law defines villages as a legal entity (tüzel kişilik) for the first time, contrary to the previous regulations in the Ottoman Empire. The law deals with the definition of village and boundaries of villages, as well as the economic, social, and legal dimensions of rural areas. The law defines 'village' as a settlement with a population of less than two thousand, consisting of people living in collective or scattered houses together with their vineyards, gardens, and fields and have common goods such as mosques, schools, pastures, highlands, scrubs, (Article 1 and Article 2). The planning decisions for rural settlements are also included in the Village Law no. 442.

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 ¹⁰⁶ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 13.03.2012-28232.
 ¹⁰⁷ Kavruk 2004, p. 60.

¹⁰⁸ Article 89 states that the Village Law no. 442 cannot be applied in settlements with a population of less than 150: T.C. Resmî Gazete, 07.04.1924-68.

According to this law, the Council of Elders (*İhtiyar Heyeti*) decides on the preparation of the Rural Settlement Plan (*Köy Yerleşme Planı*). After the decision of the Council of Elders, the representative (*muhtar*) requests the preparation of the Rural Settlement Plan from the governor.¹⁰⁹

Since this law remained insufficient to meet the needs of the society as a result of technological, economic, social and cultural developments, it underwent some changes: two Village Law Drafts (*Köy Kanunu Tasarı Taslağı*) were prepared in 2009 and 2013. With the 2009 Draft, a Rural Renewal Plan (*Kırsal Alan Yenileme Planı*) was proposed to apply urban renewal projects in rural areas, but the draft was not implemented. In 2013, another draft was proposed. This new draft aims to conservation of the villages; however, it mainly focuses on transformation of the rural areas with deconstruction and expropriation. This second draft was not implemented either. 110

In the Five-Year Development Plans (*Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı*), the first of which was implemented in 1963, villages were considered as an important part of rural development with the aim of improving the living conditions of the rural population economically in these plans. Apart from the policies suggested in the Five-Year Development Plans, there are also regionally prepared Rural Development Projects (*Kırsal Kalkınma Projesi*).¹¹¹

In the national legal regulations in Turkey, rural areas are not considered separately from urban sites except for the Decision no. A-1609: according to this Decision, information and documents regarding the local building characteristics should be delivered to the council in order to determine the temporary construction restrictions (*geçiş dönemi yapılaşma koşulları*) in urban and rural sites. The fact that a

¹⁰⁹ URL 7.

¹¹⁰ Öğdül 2013, p.371.

¹¹¹ Çorum Çankırı Rural Development Project, of 1976, is the first project prepared for this purpose: Erdem, 2012, pp. 27-29.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

definition or decision regarding rural sites has not been produced indicates that settlements in rural areas are also considered as urban sites.¹¹³

The Development Law no. 3194 (3194 Sayılı İmar Kanunu) of 1985 concerns settlements and building activities both in urban and rural areas. ¹¹⁴ In 2011, a new article was added to the law: according to the additional Article 4, new constructions began to be allowed in rural areas. The new constructions in the rural settlements must be compatible with the traditional texture and local architectural characteristics of the rural settlements, according to this law. ¹¹⁵

Another legal regulation concerning rural settlements in Turkey is the Pasture Law no. 4342 (4342 Sayılı Mera Kanunu) of 1998. The law was enacted to identify the pastures, winter pastures and public pastures and meadows, to limit and allocate them on behalf of the relevant village or municipality, to make them be used in accordance with the rules to be determined, to increase their productivity through maintenance and improvement, to constantly monitor and protect their use and to change the purpose of use when necessary.¹¹⁶

In 2000, the European Landscape Convention (*Avrupa Peyzaj Sözleşmesi*) promoting the protection, management, and planning of the landscapes (including natural, rural, urban, and peri-urban areas) was recognized. And in 2003, Turkey became a party to the Convention with the Law no. 4881.

The Metropolitan Municipality Law no. 6360 (Büyükşehir Belediyeleri Kanunu), dated 2012, is another legal regulation regarding rural areas. With this law, the

¹¹³ Eres 2013, p. 464.

¹¹⁴ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 09.05.1985-18749.

¹¹⁵ With the Decree no. 648 issued in 2011, the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change (*Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı*) was assigned to conserve natural properties while the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (*Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı*) was assigned to conserve cultural assets: T.C. Resmî Gazete, 17.08.2011-28028.

¹¹⁶ T.C. Resmî Gazete, 28.02.1998-18113.

¹¹⁷ URL 8

¹¹⁸ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 17.06.2003-25141.

villages within the administrative boundaries of the districts of the provinces listed in the first and second paragraphs of Article 1 have been changed to 'neighborhood' (*mahalle*) status. ¹¹⁹ This change has affected the character and identity of the autonomous villages: the municipalities became responsible of these villages and villages began to be urbanized.

Although the definition of the 'rural conservation area' and the understanding of the protection for rural conservation areas have not yet emerged in the legal regulations in Turkey, the definition of rural conservation area is included in the Declaration on the Protection of the Architectural Heritage in Turkey (*Türkiye Mimari Mirası Koruma Bildirgesi*) issued by ICOMOS in 2013. According to the document, rural sites are "rural areas with a value to be preserved, composed of the structures that are local products together with their settlement fabric, construction technique, and design with elements such as roads, squares, and agricultural lands." 121

2.5 Examples of Depopulated Rural Areas due to the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923

In 1923, the process of Population Exchange resulted in the depopulation of certain rural regions of the Ottoman Empire that once hosted the *Rum* population. When the processes of depopulation in these rural areas over time are evaluated, it is understood that they have undergone different processes of transformation. These areas (except those for Gökçeada, Bozcaada and İstanbul) were deprived of their socio-cultural context because they lost their original *Rum* population. Besides socio-cultural transformation, there have been significant changes in the natural

¹¹⁹ The provinces in the first and second paragraphs of the Article 1 are Aydın, Balıkesir, Denizli, Hatay, Malatya, Manisa, Kahramanmaraş, Mardin, Muğla, Ordu, Tekirdağ, Trabzon, Şanlıurfa, Van, Adana, Ankara, Antalya, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, Erzurum, Gaziantep, İzmir, Kayseri, Konya, Mersin, Sakarya and Samsun: T.C. Resmî Gazete, 06.12.2012-28489.

¹²⁰ Rural areas are registered either as urban conservation areas or archaeological sites according to the Law no 2863 of 1983.

¹²¹ ICOMOS 2013.

environment, such as desertification of agricultural lands, and the built environment, such as deterioration of the traditional buildings. After the Population Exchange of 1923, some of these areas began to be used permanently by the Turkish population, while others were only used seasonally. Some were unable to be completely inhabited and remained empty. The degree of change in these areas has been influenced by the existence of a community.

In this part, Kayaköy in Muğla and Sazak in İzmir are examined as examples, which were completely deprived of their sociocultural context and lost their identity as living systems following the Population Exchange in 1923. Doğanbey in Aydın is examined as example of experiencing rural gentrification process which endangers the rural identity of the site. Krom valley in Gümüşhane is analyzed as a depopulated rural settlement which underwent sociocultural and physical characteristics but still preserve its rural identity as a living system.

2.5.1 Kayaköy, Muğla

Kayaköy, formerly known as *Karmylassos*, is a rural town (*kasaba*) located in the southwest of the province of Muğla (Figure 2.6). The settlement date of Kayaköy goes back to 3000 BCE. In the second half of the 19th century CE, the *Rums* under the rule of the Ottoman Empire settled in Kayaköy and lived there until the Population Exchange in 1923. In addition to ancient ruins, sarcophagi and rockcut tombs, there are the remains of nearly two thousand stone houses, fourteen chapels, two churches, schools for girls and boys, fountains, cisterns, shops, pharmacy, and two windmills belonging to Greeks. 124

¹²² Diker 2022, p. 23.

¹²³ The Greek village is also known as *Levissi*.

¹²⁴ Bozviğit and Tapur 2010, p. 383.

Although there is no clear information about the settlement situation in Kayaköy following the Population Exchange, it is known that the Turkish population, who migrated from Thessaloniki, were living in the settlement in 1957. The ownership of the empty houses was given to the Treasury (*Hazine*): in 2002, there were approximately fifty residential buildings in private ownership. In 1980, there were twenty families and in 2013, there were approximately forty families living in the historical rural settlement of Kayaköy. This situation shows that most of those who came to Kayaköy during the Population Exchange period could not stay here and abandoned the settlement. Today, while the center of Kayaköy remains uninhabited, artists escaping from big cities have settled on the periphery of the settlement. ¹²⁵



Figure 2.6: Kayaköy, Muğla (URL 9)

Abandonment of the settlement area, which is a threat to both the tangible and intangible values, transformed the rural settlement into a 'ghost town'. The majority of buildings and building lots are in public ownership, causing the settlement to be devastated by mass tourism. Kayaköy was presented as a holiday camp (*tatil köyü*)

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¹²⁵ Aktüre 2015, pp. 79-85.

for the first time in 1978 and then this project came to the fore again from time to time. In 1988, it was again proposed as a holiday camp with a capacity of 1200 beds within the Fethiye Göcek Special Environmental Protection Area (Fethiye Göcek Özel Çevre Koruma Bölgesi). 126 The designation of the area as an urban conservation area (kentsel sit alanı) and 3rd degree archaeological site (üçüncü derece arkeolojik sit alanı) in 1991 become a protective measure for the area, even though it is not sufficient to completely protect the area from the negative effects of tourism (Figure 2.7). 127 The village is also designated as an archaeological site (ören yeri) by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

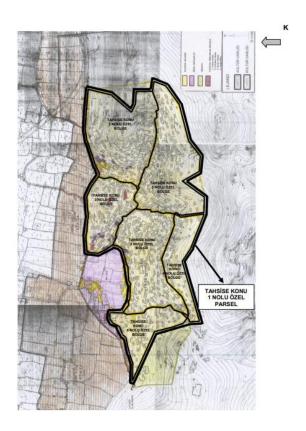


Figure 2.7: Kayaköy, 1/1000 Scale Registration Map (URL 10)

¹²⁶ Köymen 2015.¹²⁷ Aktüre 2015, p. 82.

Another attempt to prevent the transformation of Kayaköy into a tourism center was to designate Kayaköy as an environment where the friendship between Turkey and Greece would be strengthened. For this purpose, efforts to transform Kayaköy into a "World Friendship and Peace Village" began in 1988 with the collaboration of the Chamber of Architects and the Turkish-Greek Friendship Association. Different stakeholders (scientists, artists, journalists, architects, engineers, writers, the Muğla Municipality, and tourism investors) and associated communities (Turks and *Rums*) were also involved in this process for more comprehensive and holistic results. ¹²⁸ These efforts were crucial for reducing tensions between the two nations and making it simpler for the second and third generations of *Rum* immigrants (and other Rums) to visit Kayaköy. Had it been implemented; it would have paved the way for the area to be interpreted and presented as a site of memory in an atmosphere of peace.

2.5.2 Sazak, İzmir

Sazak in the Karaburun Peninsula in the province of İzmir was a traditional village with a predominantly *Rum* population (Figure 2.8). After the *Rums* were defeated in Izmir after the First World War, the *Rum* population of Karaburun, including those in the Sazak village began to leave the region in 1922.¹²⁹ After the migration of *Rum* villagers, the minority Turkish population also left the village and moved to the surrounding villages.¹³⁰ With the migration of the entire population, the village took on its present ruinous state: the absence of the human component resulted in the loss of intangible values, such as traditions, rituals, ceremonies, etc. which is an important part of the rural identity, and in the deterioration of the built environment.

¹²⁸ Köymen 2015.

¹²⁹ Cöcen 2007, p. 40.

¹³⁰ Kılınç 2021, pp. 74-75.



Figure 2.8: Sazak, İzmir (URL 11)

It is highly possible the area's fate will be similar to Kayaköy. All of the buildings in Sazak are located on a single lot (116 block / 331 lot) owned by the Treasury (Figure 2.9). The fact that the area is in public ownership makes it easy for the area to become a tourism center as in the case of Kayaköy. The news-item titled "The old *Rum* village of Sazak will be İzmir's Kayaköy", dated 2019, also confirms this situation. According to the news, the Mayor of Karaburun, İlkay Girgin Erdoğan, argues that in order to increase the tourism potential of the region, necessary promotions should be made on national and international platforms. In this context, the site was introduced to the public with a video clip of the song *Gafil Gezme Şaşkın* by the Rhythm Ensemble Ahura (Figure 2.10). This example shows that artistic events are important in terms of promoting a site and establishing a connection between the public and the site. As noted by the NSW Heritage Office, "the connections between people and natural and cultural heritage are often expressed through art, music, literature, dance, food and other creative works and traditions. These are traditional forms of 'interpretation." 134

¹³¹ URL 11.

¹³² URL 12.

¹³³ URL 13.

¹³⁴ Shapter, et al. 2005, p. 4.



Figure 2.9: The deserted village of Sazak located on a single building lot (as taken from the website of TKGM)



Figure 2.10: The video clip of Gafil Gezme Şaşkın by the Rhythm Ensemble Ahura (URL 13)

In 2019, the site was designated as an urban conservation area. After this designation, Karaburun City Council proposed to create a buffer zone 'Interaction Transition Area' (*Etkileşim Geçiş Sahası*) as a buffer zone in the surroundings of Sazak until a conservation development plan (*koruma amaçlı imar planı*) is prepared for the conservation of the site with its surroundings: the council suggested that the privately owned lands in the buffer zone should be used only for agriculture and animal

husbandry and should be permitted no constructions.¹³⁵ However, the wind power plants installed in the region and the solar power plants that are planned to be established will endanger the natural characteristics of the region (Figure 2.11).



Figure 2.11: The existing wind power plants and proposed solar power plants near the Sazak village (URL 14)

The Karaburun City Council started to work on oral history studies with the former population living in the region and to recover old documents related to the former population, which is the first step of Karaburun becoming a memory place. The president of the City Council, Goncagül Karaağaç Ekici, notes that the second and third generations of the *Rums* who migrated from Sazak and other *Rums* still visit the village. The sazak has a commemorative value for these people.

¹³⁵ URL 11.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*.

¹³⁷ URL 15.

2.5.3 Doğanbey, Aydın

Although the historical rural settlement of Doğanbey, also known as Domatia, in the province of Aydın lost its *Rum* population with the Population Exchange in 1923 like Kayaköy and Sazak, it underwent a different transformation process (Figure 2.12). Unlike the typical rural settlements where agriculture and animal husbandry are the main economic activities, Doğanbey was a highly developed town in economic and socio-cultural terms before the Population Exchange. Since the Thessaloniki immigrants and Bosnians, who settled in Doğanbey after the Population Exchange, had a different socio-cultural character from the former population and dealt with different economic activities, the rural identity of the area largely changed: the cultures, traditions, and daily activities of the *Rums* were completely lost with the arrival of the Thessaloniki immigrants and Bosnians. On the other hand, the built environment did not radically change, except for minor modifications according to the needs of the new inhabitants: churches, fountains, traditional houses, and a hospital, were conserved to a great extent.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Orhan and Yücel 2019, pp. 18-20.



Figure 2.12: Doğanbey, Aydın (URL 16)

With the increase in the needs of the increasing population over time, the inhabitants demanded a new settlement from the Turkish government. Eventually, they abandoned the historical village of Doğanbey and moved to an old Bosnian settlement, now known as Yeni Doğanbey village, located along the road and close to the sea in 1980s. The villagers began to sell their properties in the historical Doğanbey settlement to upper-class urbanites, such as managers, artists, collectors, and bureaucrats, causing a rural gentrification process. With the arrival of the urbanites, both the socio-cultural and physical characteristics of the village were severely affected. Traditional houses underwent the restoration process to serve the needs of the newcomers: projections and balconies that were not part of the vernacular architecture of Doğanbey were built. Moreover, new houses, that did not fit the scale, dimension, construction technique, and style of the traditional houses of

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁴⁰ Rural gentrification is the adaptation of the urban life to rural areas by wealthy urbanites. This adaptation process leads to displacement of lower-income groups and a radical change in the physical environment. The characteristics of rural areas are reshaped according to the needs of the new group. For detailed information on rural gentrification, see Walker and Fortmann 2003; Ghose 2004; Başaran Uysal 2017.

Doğanbey with courtyards were constructed. According to Cevat Erder, the identity of the village was lost with these transformations. Erder also uses the phrase "a different open-air museum" for Doğanbey after the gentrification process.¹⁴¹

The legal restrictions brought by the inclusion of the Büyük Menderes Delta, which includes Doğanbey, in the borders of the National Park in 1994, and the reactions of the urbanites to the exposure of Doğanbey to mass tourism, prevented the devastating effects of tourism to some extent: instead, ecotourism, which is a more sustainable approach, was promoted in 2016, but no additional efforts were made.¹⁴²

The fact that the houses are in private ownership differentiates Doğanbey from the examples of Kayaköy and Sazak examples: although tourism activities cannot be completely prevented, Doğanbey is intended to be a summer residential area for the new inhabitants rather than a tourism destination unlike Kayaköy and Sazak. However, the rural gentrification caused by the new settlers was the main reason for the loss of the rural identity.

2.5.4 Krom Valley, Gümüşhane

Krom valley, which is located in the province of Gümüşhane in the Black Sea Region, is another rural area which lost its *Rum* population with the Population Exchange in 1923 (Figure 2.13). There are historical mining neighborhoods in the Krom valley, that were abandoned due to the Population Exchange and local migrations, but partially preserved their structural and architectural features. ¹⁴³ There are traditional houses, fifteen churches and chapels, a bridge and a castle in the valley which is a 3rd degree archaeological site. ¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Orhan and Yücel 2019, p. 29.

¹⁴¹ Erder 1995, p. 70.

¹⁴³ Erüz 2009, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ URL 18.



Figure 2.13: Krom valley, Gümüşhane (URL 17)

With the closure of the mines, the Krom valley, whose population was mostly consisted of the *Rums*, lost its population drastically: the entire population that was 55757 in 1857 reduced to 4348 in 1877.¹⁴⁵ With the Population Exchange, the entire *Rum* population were forced to leave the region while the existing Turkish population stayed. The Turkish population that migrated from Thessaloniki with the Population Exchange settled in the area, but they could not adopt the new lifestyle in the area. Consequently, they migrated to other places in Turkey and sold their houses to the locals from the surrounding villages. The new inhabitants now use Krom valley as a highland for resting and grazing in summer. The current population is continuously decreasing. Agricultural and animal husbandry, which were the sources of income, are almost lost. ¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Erüz *et al.* 2010, p. 197.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

The Krom valley underwent a demographic transformation after losing its *Rum* population. Along with the changing population, the churches, monasteries, schools, and other public buildings, serving the Orthodox community lost their function and deteriorated, and socio-cultural characteristics of the region have changed. Since the Turkish population use the region only seasonally and the population is rather low even in this period, the houses are not well-maintained and consequently deteriorate. This situation causes the built environment to turn into ruinous state.

Despite all these changes, the Krom valley preserves its rural identity to a large extent due to the presence of the rural population, when compared to other examples that witnessed depopulation because of the Population Exchange in 1923. In addition, the fact that the houses and lands are in private ownership protects the Krom valley from experiencing the devastating effects mass tourism which Kayaköy faces and thus ensures the continuity of the rural identity.

2.6 Interim Evaluations

As a result of the incorporation of the concept of 'site' into legal regulations with the Law no. 1710 of 1973 on Ancient Monuments and Sites in Turkey, cultural heritage sites have begun to be assigned various statuses. The addition of the concept of archaeological site to the legal framework enabled the legal protection of archaeological heritage by defining its boundaries. Although definitions for archaeological sites have been developed over time, evaluation criteria for the identification and registration of these areas have only come into being with the Regulation on the Identification and Registration of Immovable Cultural Properties and Protected Sites in 2012. In this context, it is not entirely clear which criteria are taken into account in the designation of archaeological sites. Conversely, there are no rural-specific national legal regulations. In Turkey, rural areas are considered and treated as urban conservation areas or archaeological sites. This demonstrates that the distinction between rurality and urbanity, which is frequently highlighted in international regulations, does not exist on the national level. The inability to

recognize this distinction poses a threat to the protection of rural areas, as well as to the comprehension and appreciation of their identities.

Another factor that makes it difficult to comprehend the identities of rural areas is their depopulation. With the Industrial Revolution, rural areas lost their importance; urban areas were preferred because of the opportunities they provided. Consequently, rural landscapes, which are the product of the mutual relationship of human and nature, lost their most important component, i.e. the human. This situation jeopardizes the existence of cultural (both tangible and intangible) and natural values and causes rural areas to lose their identity as a living system. Rural migrations started with the Industrial Revolution, but there are many other factors causing rural migrations. One of the reasons for the abandonment and consequent transformation of rural areas in Turkey is the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece after Lausanne Treaty in 1923. Rural areas, which were once home to the Rums, underwent a great transformation with the Population Exchange. The demographic structure of these areas after the Population Exchange affected the type of the transformation. Examples of rural areas depopulated due to the Population Exchange is valuable in terms of reflecting the change of the identity of their areas. The change in their identity determines how they are assessed and identified.

In Kayaköy and Sazak, the complete abandonment by the newly arrived Turkish population caused the traditional buildings to completely lose their functions and turn into ruins. Moreover, the intangible heritage of the *Rums* was completely lost, and new intangible values are not ascribed to these rural settlements. These transformations make these settlements to be identified as ghost settlements. Doğanbey, on the other hand, has entered a different transformation process. The built environment has been largely preserved. While the intangible values of the Greeks disappeared, new intangible values were attributed by the newly arrived urbanite population. However, the rural gentrification process, that Doğanbey encountered, caused the site to lose its rural identity to a large extent and become urbanized. Krom Valley also underwent a demographic transformation with the Population Exchange. Most of the newcomers in the Krom Valley, which was

completely cleared of the Rum population, abandoned it: the area became an underpopulated seasonal settlement. Intangible values belonging to the Rums disappeared, and public buildings, and empty houses started to deteriorate due to neglect. However, it is obvious that the rural characteristic of the area still continues. When these examples are evaluated, it is understood that the most important factor in the conservation of rural areas and their identity is the existence of humans and the values attributed to that area. However, of course, the areas still undergo changes due to the changing cultural values. In other words, change is inevitable, but the existence and nature of the owners of these places affects the degree of this change. In addition, the presence of humans is important as a factor affecting the ownership status of lands and structures in rural settlements. The difference in the interventions on privately owned and publicly owned lands also shows the importance of ownership status. The Population Exchange had impact not only on the rural areas and the lifestyle of the newly arrived population, but also on the exiled Rum population. Traumatic experiences in the forced migration process caused the Rums to attribute a commemorative value to these areas and to transform these areas into memory places for the Rums. These rural areas contain contested values together. However, due to the tension between Turkey and Greece, it is not possible to interpret and present these areas as sites of memory.

Finally, heritage interpretation can be used to reveal the authentic identities and meanings of the areas and to communicate these to the public, thereby providing a proper identification of these areas.

CHAPTER 3

SANTA: UNDERSTANDING THE SITE AND ITS RURAL SETTING

In the previous chapter, the concepts including archaeological sites, rural heritage sites, depopulation of rural areas, sites of memory and heritage interpretation were briefly set out, and some depopulated rural heritage sites, experiencing socio-cultural and physical transformations due to the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923 were examined. In this chapter, the geographical and historical characteristics of Santa are set out, alongside its settlement and architectural characteristics, to provide a full and rounded understanding of the historic rural landscape of Santa before making an assessment and re-identifying the site. The village of Santa (now Dumanlı)¹⁴⁷ is an important Pontic rural landscape with its cultural and natural values. It consists of seven neighborhoods, i.e. Piştoflu (Pistofandon), Çakallı (Ciacalandon), İşhanlı (Sihanandon), Binatlı (Pinetendon), Terzili (Terjendon), Cinganlı (Cejlarandon) and Zurnacılı (Zurnaciandon) and smaller settlements, i.e. Ftelenia, Horaçandon, Aliandon, Hancaria, On İki Köknar and Kopalandon at the north. 148 The area now known as the 'Santa Ruins' (Santa Harabeleri) covers only seven neighborhoods, which are '3rd degree archaeological sites', of the village. Therefore, this chapter only provides information about these seven neighborhoods.

¹⁴⁷ Village names with foreign roots causing confusion were changed to Turkish names with the Amendment Act no: 7267 (5442 Sayılı İl İdaresi Kanununun İkinci Maddesinin (D) Fıkrasının Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun) in 1959. According to this law, the name of Santa was changed to Dumanlı. For more information, see Directorate General of Provincial Administration 1968.

¹⁴⁸ Tutkun 2009, p. 124; Αθανασιάδη 1967, p. 20.

3.1 Geographical Characteristics of Santa

Santa is now located in the Eastern Black Sea Region in the province of Gümüşhane within the borders of Dumanlı village (Figure 3.1). Although Santa lies within the boundaries of Gümüşhane, it is relatively easier to reach it from the Arsin district (*ilçe*) to the east of Trabzon by following the natural route of the Yanbolu stream which flows into the Black Sea (Figure 3.2).¹⁴⁹

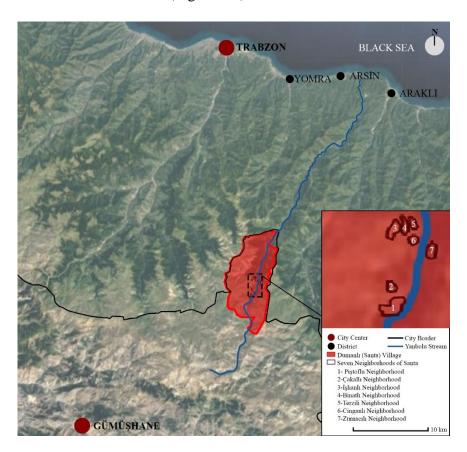


Figure 3.1: Location of the Dumanlı village (from Google Maps, as developed by the author)

Santa was established on three different slopes of the deep and narrow Yanbolu valley, which is formed by two mountain ranges, i.e. Ziyaret at 2650 m to the east

¹⁴⁹ Besides being a natural route that facilitates access from Trabzon, the Yanbolu stream is an important water source for the region. There are also small creeks and the Dipsiz Lake, a natural heritage site, that serve as water sources around Santa.

and Karakaban at 2550 m to the west (Figure 3.3). ¹⁵⁰ On the upper elevations of Santa, there stand Zincirli Ridge at 2142 m, Kilise Ridge at 2213 m and Uzun Ridge 2186 m. ¹⁵¹ The region has an isolated geographical position because it is surrounded by these ridges and mountains. Access to Santa, which is located at a high altitude, is very difficult due to harsh weather conditions and its challenging geographical location, especially in winter. During the periods when the roads to Santa are open, transportation is provided only by private transport. There is no public transportation to access Santa either from Trabzon or Gümüşhane.



Figure 3.2: Trabzon, Yanbolu stream

The seven neighborhoods of Santa are located at an altitude of between approximately 1400 m and 1800 m. The Zurnacılı neighborhood is located on the eastern slope of the Yanbolu valley while the other six neighborhoods are located to the west of the valley. The Piştoflu and Çakallı neighborhoods are separated from the İşhanlı, Binatlı, Terzili and Cinganlı neighborhoods by small valleys. In Santa,

¹⁵⁰ Bryer et al. 2002, p. 108

¹⁵¹ Gündüzalp 1990, p. 468.

which was established on a mountainous terrain, the İşhanlı neighborhood is located at the highest altitude, while the Cinganlı is at the lowest altitude (Figure 3.4).

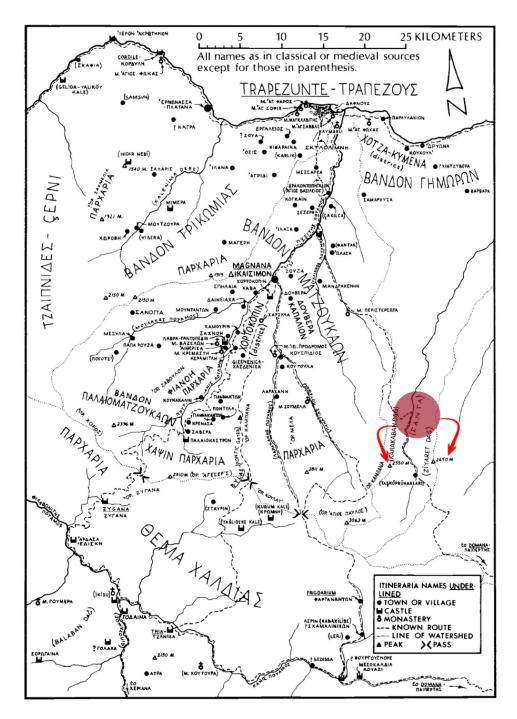


Figure 3.3: Santa between Karakaban and Ziyaret Mountains (Bryer and Winfield 1985, p. 298)



Figure 3.4: Location of the seven neighborhoods on the mountainous terrain (from Google Earth, as developed by the author)

3.2 Historical Characteristics of Santa

There is no precise information about how the name Santa ($\Sigma \alpha v \tau \dot{\alpha}$) derived; however, according to Stathis Athanasiadis, a *Rum* inhabitant of Santa, the site may have taken this name because it was established between two long and narrow mountain ranges which look like a Turkish *sandal* ($\sigma \alpha v \tau \dot{\alpha} \lambda$). ¹⁵²

 $^{^{152}}$ The natives of Santa used to call the place 'Σαντά', while the foreigners referred to it as 'Σάντα' with a difference in intonation: Αθανασιάδη 1967, p. 13.

3.2.1 General History of Santa

Regarding the foundation date of Santa, there are a variety of differing opinions. The first of these attributes the origins of the locals of the region to the Heptacomets, one of the local communities in the Southeast Black Sea Region in the first millennium BCE. 153 Apart from this view, Militiades Nymphopoulos, a public-school principal at Santa, claims in his book *History of Santa* that the foundation of Santa dates back to 300 CE and that a Greek lifestyle continued uninterruptedly until 1924. 154 On the other hand, Athanasiadis argues that Santa was founded by Orthodox Rums who fled from the coast eight years after Trabzon was conquered in 1461 by the Ottoman Empire. 155 However, there is no physical evidence to prove the accuracy of these views. In 1969, a team from the University of Cambridge could not find any clue showing that Santa was a medieval settlement during their site survey. In the same way, Anthony Bryer, who conducted important studies in Trabzon and its surroundings, found no trace of Antiquity or even the Middle Ages here in 1967. 156 According to Bryer, Santa was established by Orthodox *Rums* who had fled from the Feudal System (*Derebeylik Sistemi*) in the 17th century. ¹⁵⁷ Contrary to all these opinions, the name Santa is officially mentioned for the first time in the cadastral record book of Trabzon (*Trabzon Tahrir Defteri*) dated 1554 as a hamlet (*mezra*) within the borders of the subdistrict (nahiye) of Yomra. Twenty-nine years later, in the cadastral record book dated 1583, Santa is mentioned as a village with a special status that kept open the passages on the important road route, now known as Kazova Inn and located at the intersection of the Camiboğazı-Taşköprü-Santa-Yomra (Gümişki) roads. The people of Santa were accordingly let off some taxes. 158

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¹⁵³ Heptacomets, i.e. the inhabitants of the seven villages, recalls Santa, with its seven neighborhoods: Αθανασιάδη 1967, p. 20. See also Erüz *et al.* 2010, p. 194.

¹⁵⁴ Νυμφόπουλου 1953, p. 14.

¹⁵⁵ Αθανασιάδη 1967, p. 33.

¹⁵⁶ Bryer and Winfield 1985, p. 321.

¹⁵⁷ Bryer 1976, p.177.

¹⁵⁸ This information is obtained from the source of 'Yanbolu-Santa Basin Sustainable Tourism Master Plan' (*Yanbolu-Santa Havzası Sürdürülebilir Turizm Master Planı*), which has not yet been

Although the mentioned cadastral record books do not provide information about the establishment of Santa, they prove that Santa had been settled at the period when the records were kept (16th century).

Santa held a privileged position throughout history. Due to the excellent metalworking experience of its inhabitants and the services they provided to the Sublime Porte ($B\hat{a}b$ - $i\hat{A}li$), Santa gained the status of semi-autonomy with a Sultan's edict (ferman) in 1725. 159 The inhabitants of Santa assumed the duty of preserving Greek culture in Pontus, thanks to the privilege they had. They also became the guardianship of the Monastery of Panagia Soumela (Sümela Manastiri) and they had a say in matters related to the monastery. The relations between Santa and the monastery became very close in time. For instance, in 1860, the task of renovating the monastery was given to the inhabitants of Santa, who were excellent stonemasons. They preferred to deposit their savings in the monastery. 160 Santa continued to develop over time and reached its most prosperous period in the 19th century. 161 The Rum inhabitants of Santa were in constant conflict with the Turks of the surrounding villages. Since there were Turkish villages in the Yanbolu valley, the inhabitants of Santa preferred to get to Trabzon by following the road passing through the Monastery of Panagia Soumela instead of using the road through the valley in summer. 162

In order to gain full independence, the people of Santa, under the leadership of Captain Stylianos Kosmidis, established a guerrilla line in the mountains in 1916 and started an armed conflict. *Rums* from other parts of the Pontus region were also being armed at Santa. In 1917, they started to receive the support of the Russian army;

published. The master plan will be published on DOKA's official website after the necessary arrangements are made. The author would like to thank Mehmet Bozdoğan, one of the staff members of DOKA, for sharing this source.

¹⁵⁹ Bruneau 1995, pp. 125-126; URL 19.

¹⁶⁰ Bruneau 1995, p. 133; According to Aθανασιάδη (1967, pp. 151-153), Santa was under the jurisdiction of the exarchy of the Monastery of Panagia Soumela until 1863. Later, it came under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Rhodopolis.

¹⁶¹ Gündüzalp 1990, p. 469.

¹⁶² Rum inhabitants of Santa called the Turks "Çocofts": Tutkun 2009, p. 124.

however, they were abandoned as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution and the withdrawal of the Russians from the Ottoman lands. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) granted a general pardon for the Rums at Santa in 1921; however, they refused to accept this general pardon. Consequently, the Turkish army intervened militarily on September 6, 1921. With this intervention in 1921, many women and children were sent away from Santa to Eastern Anatolia, i.e. Erzurum, and the rest hid in the forests. In the armed conflict, the village was largely destroyed. The complete emigration of the Rums from the country took place with the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923. 163 As Coşkun Erüz stated, the lots of Santa became the property of the Ministry of Treasury and Finance (Hazine ve Maliye Bakanlığı) after the Population Exchange. After 1930, the residents of Arsin, Yomra and Araklı districts rented and/or purchased some of the houses and the lots from the Ministry of Treasury and Finance to use in the summer. 164 Thereby, Santa began to be used as highland (yayla). As stated by the representative (*muhtar*) of the Dumanlı village and the SI1, the seven neighborhoods of Santa are now empty in winter due to the harsh weather conditions, inadequate infrastructure, and insufficient facilities. 165

3.2.1.1 Emigration of the *Rum* Inhabitants of Santa

Although the Greek identity of Santa was completely lost after the Population Exchange, the emigrating *Rums* from Santa continued their Pontic lifestyle in the places they emigrated to. The *Rums* who had to emigrate to Greece, more particularly to Macedonia, settled in different regions such as Vergina, Mikri Santa, Raxia, etc. (Table 3.1), but those accustomed to life in a mountainous region could not abide

Tutkun 2009, p. 121; Breneau 1995, pp. 126-128; Liddle 2013, pp. 27-28; Νυμφόπουλου 1953, p.

¹⁶⁴ Coşkun Erüz is the president of the Association for the Protection of Natural and Historical Values (*Doğal ve Tarihi Değerleri Koruma Derneği*): URL 20.

¹⁶⁵ For detailed information about the description of 'SI', see above, p. 7.

these places, which have none of the geographical characteristics as Santa. 166 Moreover, they trusted neither the local *Rums* nor even people emigrating from other parts of Pontus, so they sought different places to establish a more isolated lifestyle. 167 Some of the people from Santa established a village named as Nea-Santa at the province of Kilkis in Greece, while some of them settled on the slopes of the Mount Vermion near the village of Kastania in Greece, where they revived their traditions and reaffirmed the historical continuity of Santa (Figure 3.5). 168

Table 3.1: Number of people from Santa who settled the Greek villages between 1913 and 1940 (Liddle 2013, p. 206)

Village in Greece	No. of people	Pisto- fandon	Ichan- andon	Ter- zandon	Zounat sandon	Pinatan don	Kozla- randon	Tskaland on
Nea Santa	549	193	127	35	34	52	13	95
Triantafyllia	220	106	54	36	6	3	8	7
Vergina	206	46	87	35	22	10	3	3
Amaranta	169	53	20	33	4	25	33	1
Kastania	151	13	36	9	3	39	46	5
Mikri Santa	144	71	15	7	18	6	26	1
Dasoto	125	4	79	22	1	10	6	3
Raxia	102	38	1	2	57	3	1	0
Kyrgia	93	12	51	15	0	1	14	0
Pefka	83	3	61	4	13	1	1	0
Nea Prodo- mos	82	22	37	23	0	0	0	0
Agios Hara- lambos	79	18	4	7	45	2	0	3
Aetohori	73	39	4	1	23	4	2	0
Afaggelistria	70	40	18	0	4	1	1	6
Palatitsia	64	11	34	4	11	0	4	0
Ohyro	60	25	22	0	10	2	1	0
Kato Nefro- kopi	59	8	35	6	0	10	0	0
Mikro Dasos	45	26	12	0	0	1	1	5
Agios Panteleimon	42	37	1	0	2	0	0	2
Katahas	32	1	13	18	0	0	0	0
(All families)	813	291	169	118	70	74	52	39
Total num- ber	3261	1057	880	375	323	244	212	170

¹⁶⁶ Liddle 2013, p. 205; Bruenau 1995, p. 129.
¹⁶⁷ Liddle 2013, pp. 41-42.

¹⁶⁸ Bruenau 1995, pp. 130-132.





Figure 3.5: Nea Santa (left) (URL 21); Kastania (right) (URL 22)

In time, Kastania has become a place where the memory of the Pontus region is honored. In 1952, the Monastery of Panagia Soumela was built on the Mount Vermion in commemoration of the original Monastery Panagia Soumela in Trabzon (Figure 3.6). A festival that starts on August 15 and lasts for three days every year takes place in the monastery. Pontic *Rums* symbolically reunite and commune with their ancestors in this festival: the previous inhabitants of Santa and their descendants not only participate very actively in these festivals, but also have built the first regional guest house in 1963, i.e. The Santa House, which is visible from the Monastery of Panagia Soumela, for the use of pilgrims in commemorating the forced migration with the Population Exchange (Figure 3.7). The proximity of the building to the Monastery of Panagia Soumela represents the special status the inhabitants of Santa had as the protector of the monastery. The building and its courtyard, where a stone monument stands, symbolically recall Santa.

¹⁶⁹ In the 1970s, a larger church was built next to the small one. The church of Panagia Soumela does not function as a monastery like the original one in Trebizond. It does not resemble the original church in terms of function, architecture, and the setting where it was built. Nonetheless, it is a symbolic representation and resemblance of the original Monastery of Panagia Soumela in Trabzon: Liddle 2013, pp. 42-43; Bruneau 1995, pp. 131-132.



Figure 3.6: Kastania, the small church of Panagia Soumela (Liddle 2013, p. 43)



Figure 3.7: Kastania, the House of Santa (Liddle 2013, p. 92)

There are six pine trees at one side of the stone monument representing the six neighborhoods which are Piştoflu, Çakallı, İşhanlı, Binatlı, Terzili and Cinganlı at the west side of the Yanbolu valley, and one pine tree at the other side representing the Zurnacılı neighborhood on the east side of the Yanbolu valley. The pine trees represent the location of the neighborhoods in the Yanbolu valley. There are marble

plaques on the wall of the building giving information about Santa and how the *Rums* experienced the conflicts in 1921 and the migration process (Figure 3.8).¹⁷⁰

The previous inhabitants of Santa and their descendants have organized commemoration ceremonies to remember the loss of their family and friends as a result of the conflicts between the locals and the Turkish army in September 1921 and the Population Exchange in 1923 and so construct a social memory through the events, i.e. seminar sessions, church liturgies, memorial rituals and communal meals, held in the building and its courtyard.¹⁷¹ Besides the memorial services held in Kastania, the descendants of emigres come to Santa in order to obtain a deeper understanding of their roots and strengthen ties with Santa (Figure 3.9).¹⁷² Despite these commemorative visits, especially the second and third generation emigrants have become alienated from Santa. The fact that a new population has lived in Santa now causes them to feel uncomfortable in their visits. A grandchild of one of the emigrants stated:¹⁷³

When I went to Turkey and I have seen it, (his grandfather's home), I felt like an orphan. Someone lives there but not us. If it was in Greece, and it was my father's house, but another Greek was living in it. I believe it would not feel as bad as when I was in Turkey and saw my father's property, with people, they were friendly. But you haven't got the comfort to get to close to it, to feel it, to touch it, to visit it. You can't feel it as yours anymore.

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¹⁷⁰ Liddle 2013, pp. 93-97.

¹⁷¹ Bruenau 1995, p. 126; Liddle 2013, pp. 91-92.

¹⁷² As SI2 notes, a Greek woman, who came to visit Santa, showed the Binatlı neighborhood and told that her grandmother was born there. She burst into tears.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.





Figure 3.8: Kastania, the Monument of Santa with the pine trees (left) (Liddle 2013, p. 97); the marble plaque on the wall of the House of Santa (right) (Liddle 2013, p. 94) 174



Figure 3.9: A visit to the St. Christopher Church in the Piştoflu neighborhood by the emigrants in 1982 (URL 23)

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¹⁷⁴ For English translation of the words, see *Ibid.*, p. 95.

The previous inhabitants of Santa and their descendants have carried out important studies about Santa. They established two associations namely the Association of Santaia of Thessaloniki and the Alexandroupoli Pines Association. Moreover, they set up a website 'Digital Santa' that aims to collect and digitize the history of each family of Santa. On this website, they also share hard-to-find sources in Greek about Santa. 175

3.2.2 Demographical History

Rums comprised the major ethnic group from the first moment that Santa appeared in the official sources. According to the cadastral record book dated 1583, there were 29 houses (hane) in the village and the entire population consisted of Orthodox Rums. There was a sudden increase in the population when the Rums fleeing the feudal system took shelter in Santa in the 17th century. In the population census dated 1845, there were 153 houses belonging to the Muslims, and 474 houses belonging to the Rums. After the Islahat Fermani was enacted in 1856 to recognize the Orthodox Christians, Santa became the only settlement without a Muslim population in the Pontus Region. In the population census conducted by the command of the British Consul Alex Stevens in 1857, it is stated that the population was entirely crypto-Christian and Christian Rums (Table 3.2). 59% of the population were Christian while 41% of it was crypto-Christian. It is assumed that the crypto-Christian population may have been formerly Muslims and in the process of converting to Christianity because they were influenced by the Christians who constituted the majority in the village. 177

¹⁷⁵ URL 3.

¹⁷⁶ The population census dated 1845 included only males. According to this census, there were 467 Muslim men and 886 *Rum* men at Santa: This information is obtained from the unpublished source of "Yanbolu-Santa Havzası Sürdürülebilir Turizm Master Planı". See above, n. 158.

¹⁷⁷ For this report, which remained inaccessible to the present author, see Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 112.

Table 3.2: Number of houses at Santa according to the report dated 31 October 1857 by Alex Stevens, the British Consul in Trabzon (Bryer, *et al.* 2002, p. 112)

Neighborhood	Number of Orthodox Christian Houses	Number of crypto-Christian Houses	Number of Muslim Houses	Total
Piştoflu	150	20	X	170
Zurnacılı	X	70	X	70
Cinganlı	5	20	X	25
İşhanlı	130	20	X	150
Çakallı	X	40	X	40
Binatlı	15	15	X	30
Terzili	30	50	X	80
Helendon ¹⁷⁸	X	50	X	50
Total	330	285	X	615

According to Nymphopoulos, the population of the village reached 5000 in 1905.¹⁷⁹ The censuses made after the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923 cover not only the population of the seven neighborhoods but also the population of all settlements within the borders of the modern Dumanlı village. However, Bryer mentions only 150 Turks living at the seven neighborhoods of Santa in his field work in the 1960s.¹⁸⁰ Although the population density of the area following the Population Exchange fluctuates seasonally, it has never reached its previous density.

¹⁷⁸ It is not clear which neighborhood is meant by Helendon.

¹⁷⁹ Νυμφόπουλου 1953, p. 70.

¹⁸⁰ Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 129.

3.2.3 Economic History

The Yanbolu Basin, including the Dumanlı (Santa) village, maintained its importance as a caravan route throughout history until the 19th century. The Taşköprü Highland, which is 11 km away from Santa, was located on the first summer route of the Silk Road. The 28 stone-vaulted bridges in the Yanbolu Valley also show the commercial importance of the basin in the Ottoman Empire (Figure 3.10).¹⁸¹

The inhabitants of Santa engaged in a variety of occupations in the past. Stone masonry was the profession in which the inhabitants of Santa were most skilled. They worked in construction works not only in Santa, but also in the surrounding villages, in Trabzon, Istanbul and abroad. The workers who went abroad to work either returned seasonally or stayed there permanently. Those who did not return sent some of their earnings to their families. 182 Craftsmanship was another profession at Santa. The people of Santa worked as blacksmiths, carpenters, and shoemakers. 183 In the Terzili neighborhood, there were two smithies where they made agricultural tools and other material. The Turks living at the surrounding villages used to shop from these stores. Mining was also an important source of income, although it was followed somewhat less than other professions at Santa. The lead and iron quarries near Santa were operated by the miners. The products obtained from the tile kilns near Zurnacılı neighborhood were exported to Trabzon via the Yanbolu Valley. In addition, coal was supplied to the mines at Gümüşhane. The agricultural resources of Santa have always been limited because of the infertile land; therefore, agriculture in the village was undertaken only to a degree sufficient to feed the inhabitants (Figure 3.11). The agricultural products which did not grow at the village, i.e. corn

¹⁸¹ Erüz and Erbaş 2020, p. 39; Arsin Municipality 2019, p. 23.

¹⁸²Saylan 2016, p. 286; Γαβρά 1997, pp. 200-201.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

and beans, were imported from the surrounding Turkish villages. The inhabitants also engaged in animal husbandry. Each family feed a few cows to sell in Trabzon. 184

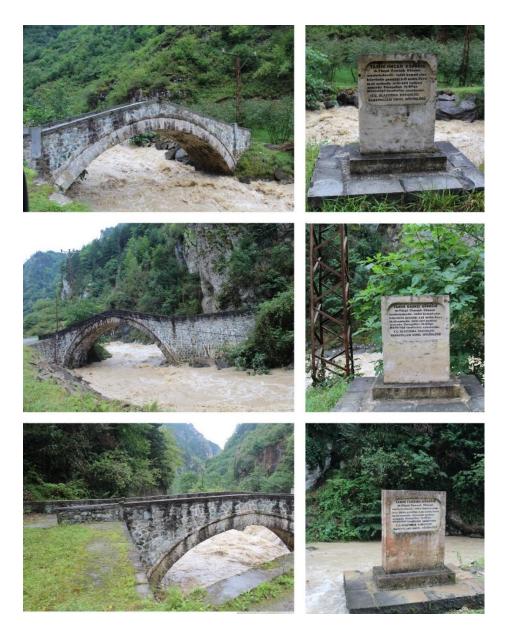


Figure 3.10: Yanbolu valley, stone bridges

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 $^{^{184}}$ $\mathit{Ibid.},$ pp. 190-216; Gündüzalp 1990, p. 470; Αθανασιάδη 1967, p. 16.

The inhabitants of Santa, who began to experience economic difficulties in the 19th century, then started to emigrate to different countries to find different job opportunities and improve themselves. Although these migrations were not permanent, the Ottoman Empire took many measures to prevent it. Especially to prevent Russia from creating a buffer zone against the Ottoman Empire in the Caucasus, the Empire encouraged *Rums* to stay in their village. From 1839 to 1861, forty-three people from Piştoflu, fourteen from İşhanlı, twelve from Zurnacılı, three from Binatlı, one from Sedrenli emigrated from Santa abroad. 185

After the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923, the economic activities at Santa became much reduced: the only economic source at Santa now is pastoral activities conducted by the villagers in the surrounding villages. The inhabitants of Santa are only engaged in livestock, and agriculture for their own needs: they do not earn any income from these activities. There is no income from tourism activities either. As noted by SI3, the hospitable inhabitants invite visitors to their homes to meet their needs, such as toilet, eating, and drinking since there are no such public facilities at Santa. SI3 also notes that there are no accommodation facilities in the neighborhoods, therefore tourists spend the night at Taşköprü Highland, which is 11 km from Santa. To provide accommodation for visitors, there is a guesthouse under construction in the Zurnacılı neighborhood (Figure 3.12). After the completion of this guesthouse, tourism can become a new source of income.

¹⁸⁵ Saylan uses the names of the neighborhoods differently. He uses Bestufili instead of Piştoflu, Eshanlu instead of İşhanlı, and Benanlu instead of Binatlı. It is not clear which neighborhood is meant by Sedrenli: Saylan 2016, p. 281.

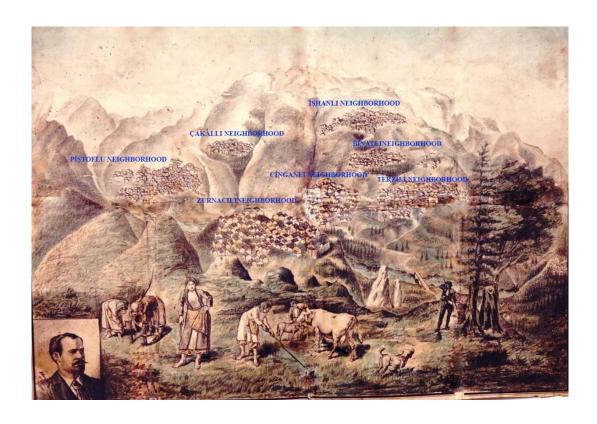


Figure 3.11: A picture of livestock breeding and agriculture activities at Santa (URL 24, as developed by the author)



Figure 3.12: Zurnacılı neighborhood, the guesthouse under construction

3.3 Socio-cultural Characteristics of Santa

The naturally isolated position of Santa and the right of being autonomous enabled the Rum inhabitants to preserve their culture, traditions, religion, and language. This autonomous community would not bring the problems of the village to the Turkish courts but would solve it on their own. Each neighborhood had its own president and council members. Problems in the neighborhoods were solved by them. There was also an assembly of the chiefs (geniki dimogerontia) of each neighborhood, which resolved issues between neighborhoods and dealt with issues concerning all neighborhoods. 186 When the traditional life of the *Rums* in Santa is examined, it is seen that the information that exists is generally related to the women of Santa. This is because most of the men at Santa emigrated to work in the spring after Easter, while women, children, and the elderly stayed in the village (Figure 3.13). During the absence of men, women were the managers of the houses: they took care of children and the elderly, grazed animals, and carried wood from the mountains. In their spare time, they would meet by the fountains to socialize and make conversation with their friends. Moreover, young girls would go to the fountain to see the men they liked. Another kind of entertainment was parakatha where women gathered to knit and socialize in winter evenings. 187 Children played several games and made competitions in the time they had left from school and housework. These games were much the same as the games played throughout the Pontus region. ¹⁸⁸

Religious festivals were important for the inhabitants of Santa. The Panagia Soumela Festival on August 15 was celebrated by all Pontic *Rums* in the Monastery of Panagia Soumela. The inhabitants of Santa attended the festival even though the monastery was four hours on foot.¹⁸⁹ This was because they were attached to the monastery and

¹⁸⁶ Αθανασιάδη 1967, p. 20; URL 19.

¹⁸⁷ URL 25.

¹⁸⁸ Αθανασιάδη 1967, p. 196.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

considered it their own. Pilgrims from the surrounding area danced and sang all night long. Other entertainments were the celebrations at Christmas and Easter. Girls, dressed in traditional festive clothes (*tsokha*) of Santa, danced hand in hand in these celebrations (Figure 3.14).¹⁹⁰



Figure 3.13: A family photo at Santa (URL 26)

Similar dances were performed at the engagements, weddings, and christenings. Wedding ceremonies were also an opportunity for the locals to socialize. The wedding preparations began on Friday and the whole people of the village helped the bride and groom in the preparation process. Then, wedding started on Saturday at the house of the bride and continued at the groom's house on Sunday and ended on Monday with the special dance (*kotsangelos*). Satirical songs and laments on romantic, religious, and social issues were prevalent in the village. The locals expressed their feelings with these songs. They also used several proverbs in their

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¹⁹⁰ *Tsokha* is a long and felt coat worn over two or three different traditional Pontic articles of clothing, i.e. *Zoupouna*: Liddle 2013, p. 138.

¹⁹¹ URL 25.

daily lives to express their feelings. 192 All these traditions of the *Rums* of Santa disappeared with Population Exchange in 1923.



Figure 3.14: Traditional festive cloth (tsokha) of Santa (Liddle 2013, p. 141)

There was no community living in the area between 1923 and the 1930s; therefore, no new intangible values were generated. With the seasonal use of Santa as a highland for resting and grazing in summer by the new population after the 1930s, the socio-cultural characteristics of Santa underwent a radical change: the new community did not adopt the traditions, practices, and daily activities of the *Rums*. They did not even continue the tradition of stonemasonry which the *Rum* inhabitants of Santa were most skilled at. According to the site observations, the social life is

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¹⁹² URL 27.

now very limited at Santa. The local community is engaged with daily activities such as yardwork, grazing and resting. As stated by SI4, they go on visits to their neighbors, go to the nearby green areas or Taşköprü Highland to socialize. The only closed public space at Santa to socialize is the *kahvehane* in the Piştoflu neighborhood (Figure 3.15).¹⁹³



Figure 3.15: Piştoflu neighborhood, kahvehane

3.4 A History of Scholarly Research Concerning Santa

Little research has so far been done at Santa, which is considered as one of the most important cultural heritages of the Pontic *Rum* culture. There are no ancient or even medieval sources examining the settlements at Santa. The earliest studies on the history and folklore of Santa were made by the locals, i.e. Simos Lianides, Stathis Athanasiades, Militiades Nymphopoulos, and Georgios Pavlidis. Lianides, who was from the İşhanlı neighborhood, investigated the folklore of the district of Santa. ¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ The coffee house was closed during the field trip in April conducted by the author, but it was open during the second field trip in August.

¹⁹⁴ For the source, which remained inaccessible to the present author, see Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 109.

Folk stories, songs, and riddles were collected by Athanasiades. The school master at Santa, Nymphopoulos, gives information about the history of Santa in his book *The History of Santa* published in 1953. Likewise, Filippo Chiemonides wrote a book *History and Statistics of Santa* (1902) that contains information about the history of Santa. These resources are especially important because they give detailed information about social life, customs, and traditions of the natives of Santa and all matters of general information about Santa.

The first physical research was conducted by the historian Anthony Bryer in 1967. In 1969, a team from the University of Cambridge came to Santa for two weeks to research into the origin of the settlement. In both studies, no physical finds belonging to the medieval period or earlier were found at Santa and its surroundings, so the foundation of Santa was attributed to the later periods (17th century). 196 About twenty-five years after Bryer, Nural Gündüzalp conducted a short field trip with three students at Santa in 1990. Gündüzalp examined the churches at Piştoflu, Zurnacılı, Çakallı, Binatlı, Terzili and İşhanlı neighborhoods in terms of their plans, construction technique, and material. Apart from the churches, the surviving bell towers, residential units, school buildings and the fountains at Santa were studied. Gündüzalp dates these structures to 19th century. 197 In 2002, field surveys were carried out in the provinces of Gümüşhane and Bayburt by Süleyman Çiğdem, Haldun Özkan and Hüseyin Yurttaş under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı). In these surveys, seven churches, i.e. one in İşhanlı, one in Binatlı, one in Terzili, two in Zurnacılı, one in Piştoflu and one in Çakallı neighborhoods and a martyrium in the Terzili neighborhood were identified.

¹⁹⁵ To access these sources digitally, see URL 3.

¹⁹⁶ Bryer and Winfield 1985, p. 321.

¹⁹⁷ Gündüzalp 1990, pp. 468-473.

The churches were described in terms of architecture, plan, construction material, and decoration. ¹⁹⁸ The main focus of all these studies was the churches in the site.

Apart from these sources, Murat Tutkun provides important information concerning Santa in his PhD thesis, *Santa Harabeleri ve Yeniden Kullanıma Kazandırılması Üzerine Bir Model Önerisi* (2009). Besides giving information about the geographical and historical characteristics of Santa, Tutkun studies mainly the Piştoflu neighborhood in detail and sets out the basic data for the reuse of Santa for tourism. He documents fifteen houses, one church, one elementary school, and fountains in Piştoflu so as to make a value assessment. At the end, Tutkun offers proposals for the revival of the Piştoflu neighborhood and states that the prepared model can be applied to the other neighborhoods. In this proposal, the final step is the preparation of the necessary infrastructure for the promotion of Santa such as preparing posters, charts, transfer of the maps of the region to the social media, etc. ¹⁹⁹ The thesis is valuable because it comprehensively examines and presents geographical, historical, and architectural features of Santa.

3.5 Settlement and Architectural Characteristics of Santa

The historic village of Santa, which is below the tree line is comprised of seven neighborhoods.²⁰⁰ These neighborhoods are spread over a large area from north to south (Figure 3.16).²⁰¹ Due to the inclined terrain, only the Cinganlı neighborhood can be seen when approaching Santa from the Yanbolu valley. Santa currently has nine churches in ruins, three towers in ruins, one newly built mosque, one hundred seventy residential buildings including newly built ones, twenty-four houses in ruins,

 $^{^{198}}$ The structure that is identified as a martyrium in the field survey is actually a ruin of the bell tower in the neighborhood: Çiğdem, *et al.* 2003, pp. 169-172.

¹⁹⁹ Tutkun 2009, p. 117.
²⁰⁰ The village of Santa also contains smaller settlements, but these settlements are not the subject of this thesis. See above, p. 59.

²⁰¹ Bryer and Winfield 1985, p. 1.

nine fountains, one school in ruins and approximately two hundred and twenty-five wall remains in total. These structures form a nucleated settlement pattern in each neighborhood since they are set close together, unlike the other villages of Pontus where the buildings are scattered throughout a valley.²⁰² There are six entrances to Santa. The access to the neighborhoods is provided via dirt roads. Pathways provide access to the majority of the structures, agricultural, and pasture areas. The irregular streets and lots, and the way house plans deviated from perfect rectangles give an organic feeling to Santa. With its seasonally settled seven neighborhoods, traditional buildings, the pastures and agricultural areas, the forestlands surrounding the village, and the Yanbolu stream, Santa constitutes a rural landscape (Figure 3.17).



Figure 3.16: Four neighborhoods spread over the region (URL 3)

²⁰² Bryer and Winfield 1985, p. 1.

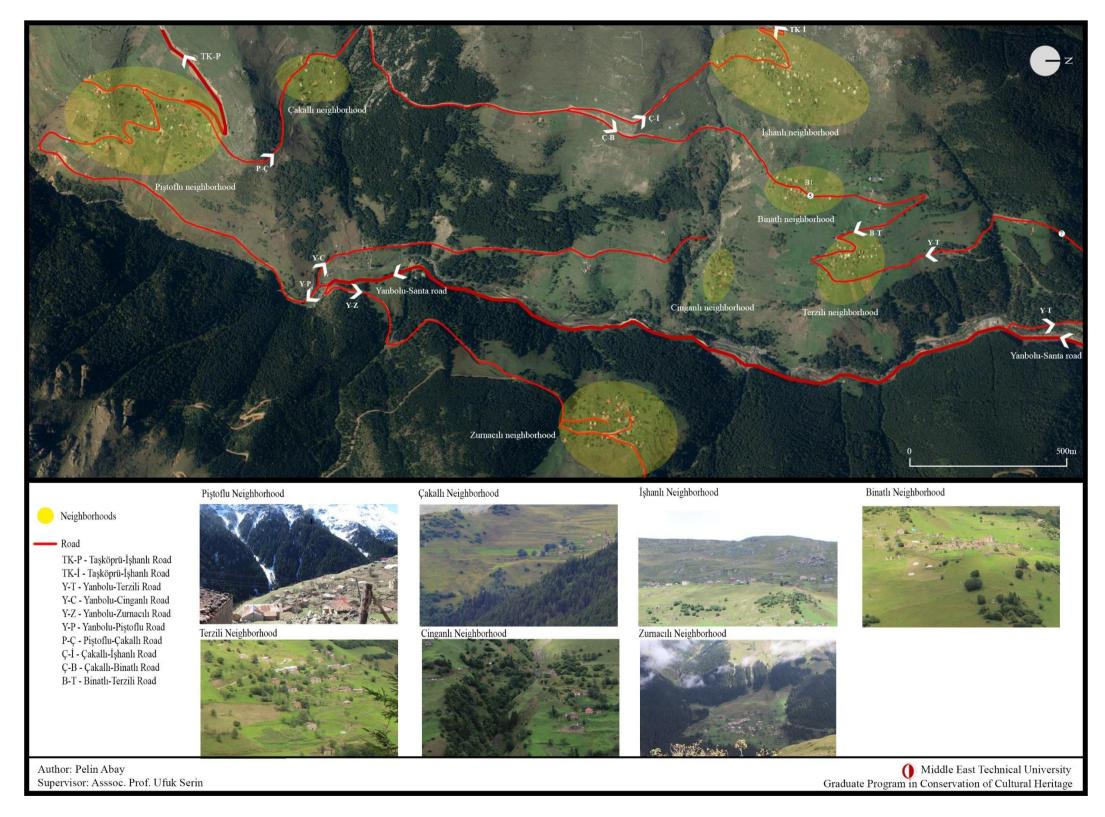


Figure 3.17: The general view of Santa

Each neighborhood in the past had at least one church, a bell tower, school, fountain, and sundry dwellings. Today, most of these structures have been demolished or damaged due to conflicts in 1921 and consequent neglect. Entering the village from the west side of the Yanbolu valley, the first neighborhood to be encountered is Piştoflu which is the southernmost (Figure 3.18). The İşhanlı and Piştoflu neighborhood, which were the commercial centers of the village in the past, ²⁰³ is still now one of the largest and most occupied among the seven neighborhoods, as in the past. ²⁰⁴ Moving north from the Piştoflu neighborhood on the earth road, the next neighborhood encountered is Çakallı (Figure 3.19). This is one of the smallest in terms of surviving buildings and less densely occupied.



Figure 3.18: Piştoflu neighborhood, general view

²⁰³ Γαβρά 1997, p. 213.

²⁰⁴ Tutkun 2009, p. 127.



Figure 3.19: Çakallı neighborhood, general view

Moving northwest from the Çakallı neighborhood, the İşhanlı at the highest altitude is next to be located (Figure 3.20). It is now one of the most occupied neighborhoods, as in the past. Following the northeast route from the Çakallı neighborhood, Binatlı, set below the İşhanlı neighborhood, is the first to be encountered.



Figure 3.20: İşhanlı neighborhood, general view

The Terzili neighborhood, the northernmost one, is sited between the Binatlı and the Cinganlı ones (Figure 3.21). That with the least surviving building stock is Cinganlı. The only neighborhood located on the eastern slope of the Yanbolu valley is Zurnacılı (Figure 3.22).

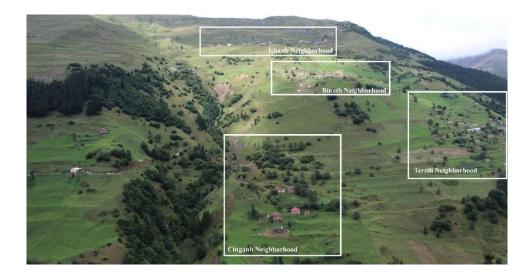


Figure 3.21: İşhanlı, Binatlı, Terzili, and Cinganlı neighborhoods, general view



Figure 3.22: Zurnacılı neighborhood, general view

3.5.1 Open Areas

Since most of the buildings in the neighborhoods are demolished, open areas now cover large parts of the study area.

3.5.1.1 Streets and Pathways

In the past, movement between neighborhoods was provided by inclined narrow bridle paths (*at yolu*) called *stratas* by the *Rums*.²⁰⁵ Today, most of these historical paths have fallen out of use ever since the dirt roads suitable for vehicles were built.²⁰⁶ Arriving at Santa, the roads between the neighborhoods turn into a single lane dirt road 3-4 m in width and sometimes narrowing to only 2 m. Curving and narrow dirt roads make access to the neighborhoods challenging. The steep and narrow pathways for pedestrian use provide access between buildings. The traces of unused dirt roads and unused pathways have been lost over time because of the vegetation covering them. The only original pavements are the stone steps used to reach the courtyard of the St. Christopher Church from the main street in the Piştoflu neighborhood (Figure 3.23). It is relatively easy to reach the structures close to main roads, but it is very challenging to access the structures which are reached only by pathways, especially when mud forms on rainy days (Figure 3.24).

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²⁰⁵ Tutkun 2015, p. 14.

²⁰⁶ In some parts of the earth roads, cement-based repairs are seen.

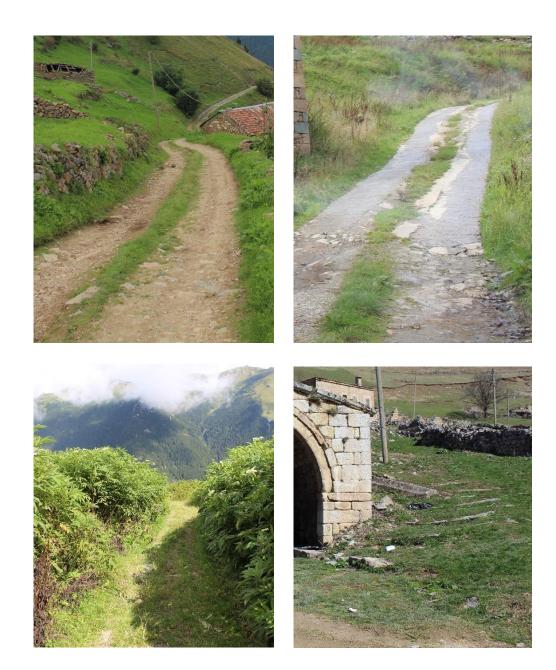


Figure 3.23: Santa, street pavements: dirt road (above left); cement-based repair (above right); narrow pathway (below left); stone steps (below right)

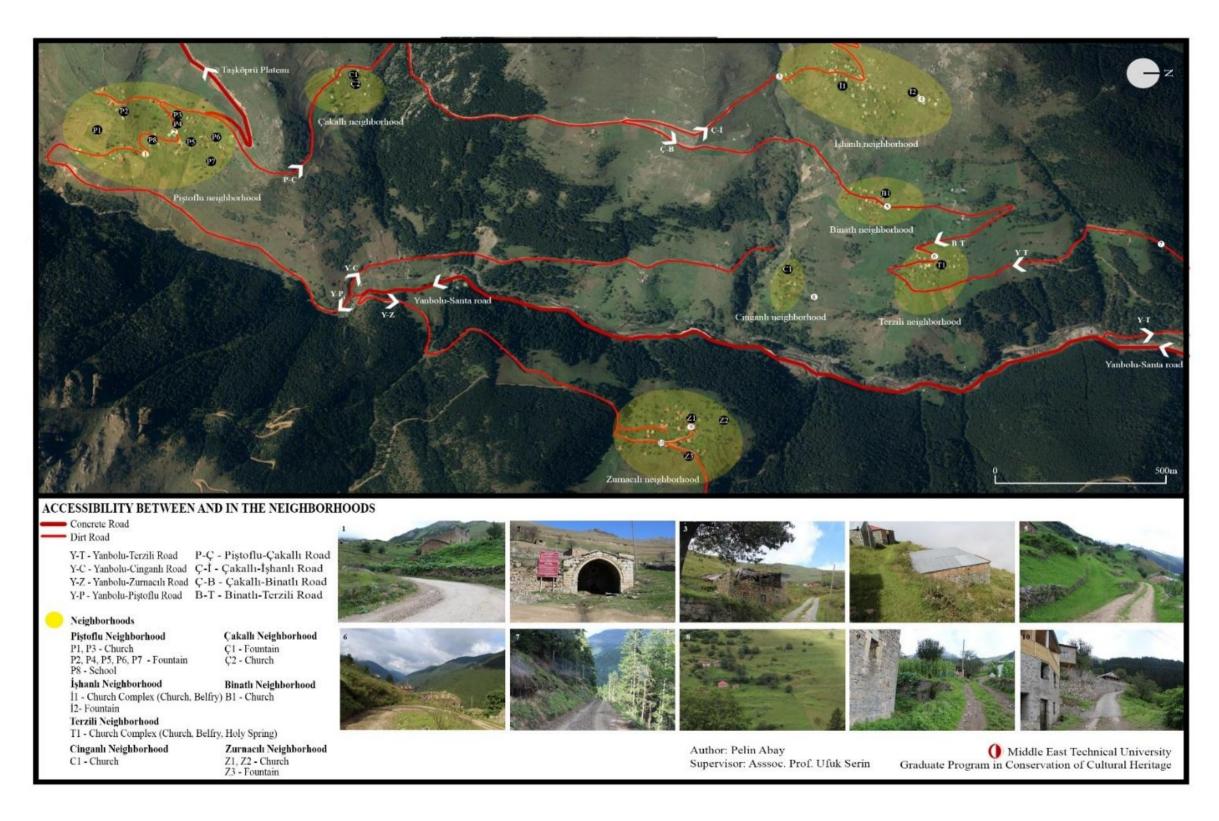


Figure 3.24: Accessibility between and within the neighborhoods (from Google Earth as developed by the author)

3.5.1.2 Block and Lot Organization

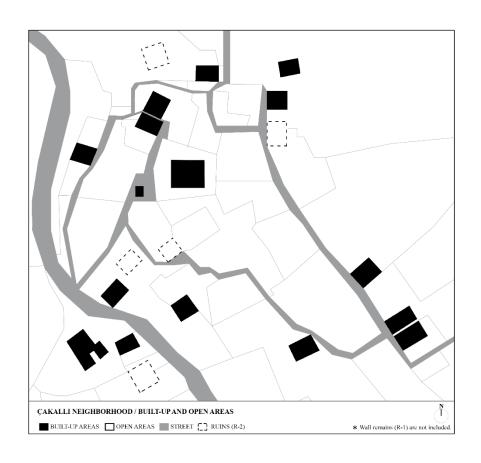
The block and lot organizations of the neighborhoods have an organic character. There are several lots of different sizes, uses and shapes. Only 20% of the lots within the boundaries of the archaeological site have buildings (Figure 3.25).²⁰⁷ The rest of the lots is empty because most of the buildings were destroyed. Some lots have more than one structure.

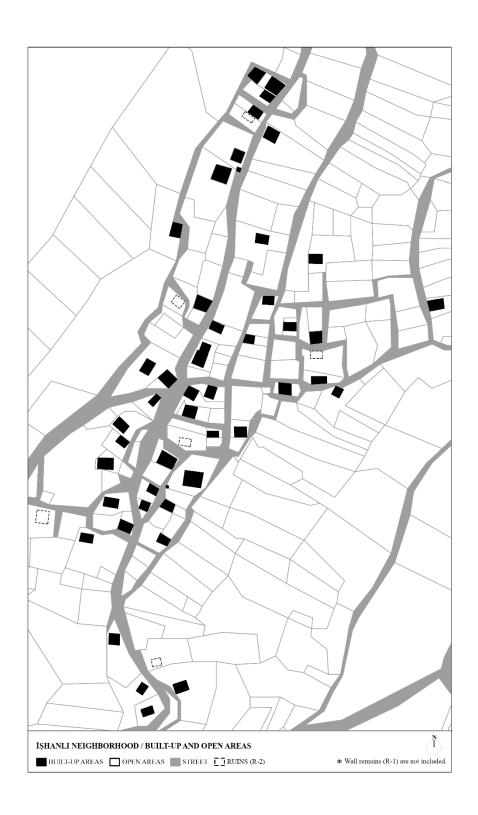
Except for most of the fountains, which cover complete lots in the neighborhoods, the structures cover only a small part of a lot. Most of the structures have courtyards. The courtyards are separated from each other by stone walls forming the boundary of the building lots (Figure 3.26). While the courtyards of public buildings, i.e. churches and schools, provided a suitable area for gathering, the courtyards of the houses were used as a cultivation area or garden in the past. Now, the inhabitants still grow food only in the courtyards of their houses when in use in the summer season.

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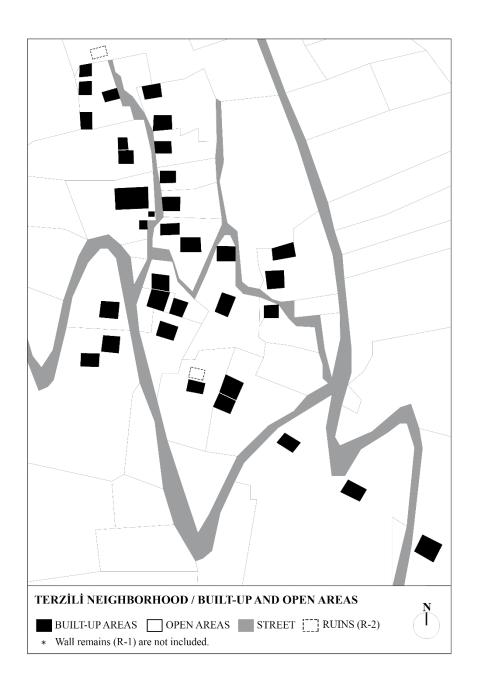
²⁰⁷ Traditional houses in ruins (R-2) are not included in this percentage. For the description of the R-2 category, see below, p. 142.











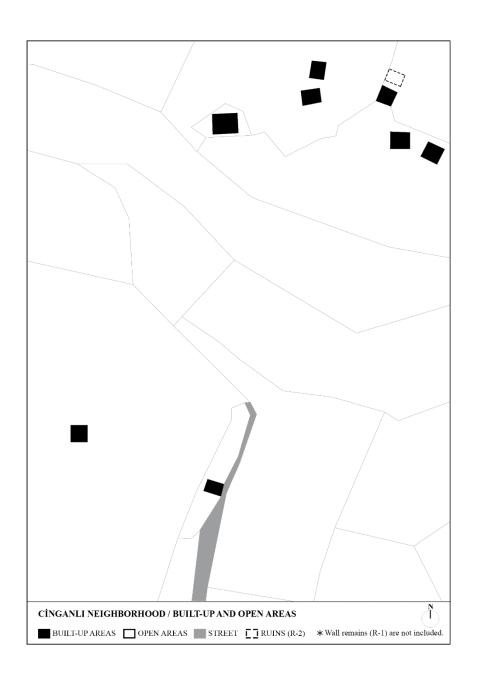




Figure 3.25: The seven neighborhoods of Santa, built-up and open areas



Figure 3.26: Piştoflu neighborhood, the surviving courtyard walls

3.5.1.3 Squares

Open public areas were very few in rural settlements that are difficult to reach in the Pontus region in the past.²⁰⁸ When the open area and built-up area relationship is examined, it is observed that there are areas that have the potential to be squares, but that these areas do not function as squares anymore.²⁰⁹

3.5.2 Building Categories

Most of the buildings have not survived to the present day, due to the conflicts in 1921 and later abandonment and neglect. The surviving ones are in poor condition too, due to lack of maintenance and repairs. Besides the traditional building stock, there is a newly built mosque and a few newly built houses at Santa: newly built

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²⁰⁸ Meetings were usually held indoors or in the courtyard of churches: Tutkun 2009, p. 92.

²⁰⁹ A new house was built in the open space that is likely to have been a square in the Zurnacılı neighborhood.

houses are mostly located in Zurnacılı neighborhood, followed by the Piştoflu and İşhanlı neighborhoods. It is also observed that the collapsed upper floors of the traditional houses have been reconstructed on top of the remaining stone walls by the new population.

According to the site observations, there are two churches in ruins, one bell tower in ruins, thirty-seven residential buildings (including newly built houses), six traditional houses in ruins, five fountains, and one school in ruins in the Piştoflu neighborhood (Figure 3.27). There are also many remains of walls (approximately sixty) which belong to the destroyed dwellings.²¹⁰ In the Çakallı neighborhood, one church in ruins, fourteen residential buildings, five traditional houses in ruins, one fountain and several wall remains (approximately twenty-five) survive according to the site survey (Figure 3.28).

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²¹⁰ For the description of the R-1 category, see below, p. 142.



Figure 3.27: Piştoflu neighborhood, general layout



Figure 3.28: Çakallı neighborhood, general layout

In the İşhanlı neighborhood, there are one church in ruins, one bell tower in ruins, forty-four residential (including newly built houses), six traditional houses in ruins, one fountain, one mosque (built by the Turkish inhabitants) and wall remains (approximately sixty) (Figure 3.29). There are one church in ruins, seventeen residential buildings (including a newly built house), three traditional houses in ruins, and approximately twenty wall remains in the Binatlı neighborhood (Figure 3.30).

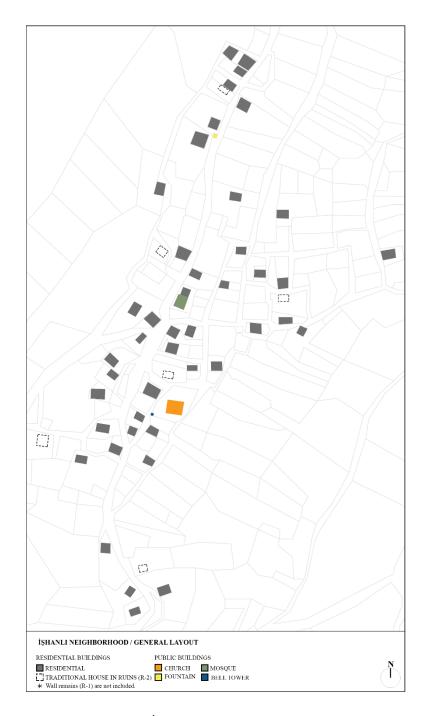


Figure 3.29: İşhanlı neighborhood, general layout



Figure 3.30: Binatlı neighborhood, general layout

One church in ruins, one bell tower in ruins, twenty-one residential buildings, two traditional houses in ruins, one fountain and approximately thirty wall remains survive in the Terzili neighborhood (Figure 3.31). There are one church in ruins, seven residential buildings, one traditional house in ruins and approximately ten wall remains in the Cinganlı neighborhood (Figure 3.32). There are two churches, thirty residential buildings (including newly built ones), one house in ruins, one fountain and approximately twenty wall remains in the Zurnacılı neighborhood (Figure 3.33).



Figure 3.31: Terzili neighborhood, general layout



Figure 3.32: Cinganlı neighborhood, general layout



Figure 3.33: Zurnacılı neighborhood, general layout

3.5.2.1 Churches

All churches at Santa, which are similar in design as they were built by the same master-architect, were erected in the second half of the 19th century (1860s-1870s).²¹¹ The exact construction dates of the churches are not known.²¹² According to Bryer, the churches in the neighborhoods are 'cross-in-square' churches with an emphasis on the longitudinal axes.²¹³ In the case of Santa, the three-aisled churches with three apses could be also described as basilicas, because they have six columns (except for the church in the Binatli neighborhood) and are covered with barrel vault instead of a dome.²¹⁴ The churches were built in irregular stone masonry with rubble stone, while cut stone was used at the wall intersections to provide extra stability, for pillars, the frames of the windows, doors and niches, and arches, etc. Shallow apses, high windows surmounting the apse wall, decorated doors, and niches at the walls are the local characteristics of the churches at Santa.²¹⁵ If one goes into the details, then the use of material, the size, number and the shape of the windows and doors, and decoration, etc. differ from church to church. Nine churches now survive, however they are in ruins because of treasure hunting and neglect that have accelerated the structural deterioration.

In the Piştoflu neighborhood, two churches of the three knowns still survive. The church located at the entrance of the Piştoflu neighborhood is the smallest at Santa and the only one with a single apse (Figure 3.34), but its name is unknown. The church is accessed by a pathway. The entrance to the church is provided by a rectangular doorway at the north. The west wall leans against the slope up to a certain

²¹¹ Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 118.

²¹² As Νυμφόπουλου noted, there were thirteen chapels around Santa but no traces of these chapels were found: Νυμφόπουλου 1953, p. 71.

²¹³ Bryer describes the plan of these churches as "cross-in-square plan built as basilica": *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ A cross-in-square church is a church with a dome at the center carried by four columns or piers, supported by high vaults on four sides, and with lower vaults at the corner bays. For more information about a cross-in-square church, see Ousterhout 1999.

²¹⁵ Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 120.

level because of landslide. The exterior walls of the church, built of soft grey rubble stone, have structural problems and have lost material. Moreover, with its roof collapsed, the interior is deteriorating.





Figure 3.34: Piştoflu neighborhood, the church with a single apse, exterior (left); interior (right)

The St. Christopher Church, which was the largest and main church at Santa, is located next to the main street of the Piştoflu neighborhood.²¹⁶ The name of the church was derived from St. Christopher, who was the head of the Monastery of Panagia Soumela in the second half of the seventh century (641-668).²¹⁷ There are also other churches bear the name of St. Christopher in the Pontus region, for example in the Krom Valley.²¹⁸

The courtyard of the church is accessed via stone steps starting from the main street. It was built on flat ground most convenient for the people to gather on (Figure 3.35). The church was built with rubble stone, while the exterior surface of the east wall (apse wall) was dressed with cut stone. According to Bryer, the three-aisled church was topped with barrel vaulting before that collapsed as in the other churches,

²¹⁶ The names of all churches are taken from Bryer, et al. 2002.

²¹⁷ The Eastern Orthodox church celebrates his life on August 18 every year. This date also coincides with the Panagia festivals that start on August 15 and last for three days: URL 28.

²¹⁸ St. Sophronios and St. Barnabas built the monastery during the reign of Emperor Theodosius I. (375-395). During the reign of Emperor Anastasios, additional construction of the monastery occurred (491-518). During Emperor Justinian's reign, it was renovated and expanded (527-565). In 644, St. Christopher completed the final reconstruction of the monastery: Köse 2010, p. 100.

although the bay at the center seems to have been once covered with a dome (Figure 3.36).²¹⁹



Figure 3.35: Piştoflu neighborhood, the St. Christopher Church

The entrances are from the north and the south. The north entrance, which is now filled with stone, is more elaborate. The frame of the entrance, where a cross shape surmounts the circular arch, is plastered red, yellow, and blue (Figure 3.37). The west wall leans against the slope up to a certain level. The frame of the window openings is a depressed arched, viewed from the exterior. The decorative blind arcades surmounting the apse wall and traces of frescos depicting religious scenes on the interior walls are still visible (Figure 3.38). The exterior walls, except for the middle apse wall, are in good condition; however, the interior is left open to deterioration since its roof has completely collapsed.

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²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118

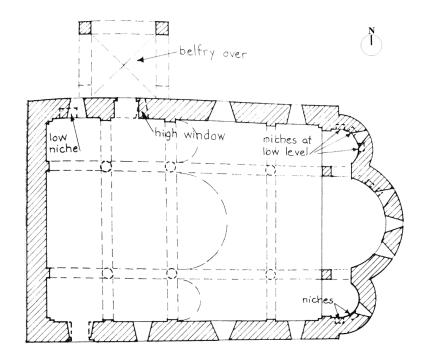


Figure 3.36: St. Christopher Church, plan (Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 118)





Figure 3.37: St. Christopher Church, south entrance (left); north entrance (right)



Figure 3.38: St. Christopher Church, the remaining parts of the decorative blind arcades

The Life Giving Spring Church is located on flat ground to the northeast of the Çakallı neighborhood (Figure 3.39). The access to the church is provided by a pathway. The church, built with soft grey rubble stone, has entrances at the south and the west: a cross is incised on the circular arches above the lintels at each door. The west entrance is filled with stone and soil because of a landslide. The traces of blue plaster on the frames of the windows and doors can be still seen. Only the outer walls of the church, which has structural and material problems, now survive to some extent thanks to minor interventions made to prevent the walls from completely collapsing. The roof, columns, arches, and floor coverings have fallen.



Figure 3.39: Çakallı neighborhood, the Life Giving Spring Church

The St. Kyriake Church is located on flat ground in the İşhanlı neighborhood (Figure 3.40). The church, built with mixture of soft grey stone and sandstone, is now reached via a pathway. The three-aisled church looks as if it should have a dome over the square-shaped bay at the center, but it was in fact covered with barrel vault (Figure 3.41). The entrances are provided at the south and the west: the lintels of both entrances are elaborately decorated (Figure 3.42). The west entrance is now filled with stone and soil because of a landslide. There are severe structural cracks and material-based problems affecting the walls of the church, whose architectural elements, i.e. roof, columns, floor coverings, etc. are completely destroyed. Some minor repairs were made on the walls to prevent further damage.

²²⁰ *Ibid*.



Figure 3.40: İşhanlı neighborhood, the St. Kyriake Church

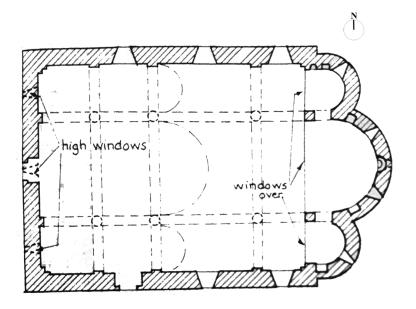


Figure 3.41: St. Kyriake Church, plan (Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 118)





Figure 3.42: St. Kyriake Church, south entrance (left); west entrance (right)

The Prophet Elijah Church which was used as a stable (*ahur*) after the Population Exchange is located on flat ground to the northwest of the Binath neighborhood (Figure 3.43). The access to the church is by a pathway. The church, built with sandstone, has entrances on the south and the west: the west entrance is now blocked with stone. It is the best conserved church among all those at Santa. Since the barrel-vaulted ceiling of the church is in good condition, the degree of deterioration is less. The interior elements are preserved to a great extent: the four columns with the Doric capitals supporting the arcade, and the circular arched high windows rising above the apse wall remain in place (Figure 3.44). The floor coverings were probably removed during treasure hunting.



Figure 3.43: Binatlı neighborhood, the Prophet Elijah Church



Figure 3.44: Prophet Elijah Church, interior

The St. Theodore Church, accessed via a pathway, is located on sloping terrain in the Terzili neighborhood (Figure 3.45). The three-aisled church had a barrel vault before its collapse instead of a dome which one would expect over the bay at the center (Figure 3.46).²²¹ The church was built with a mixture of sandstone and soft gray stone. The entrances are provided from the south and the north. The west wall leans against the slope. The church has been open to deterioration since its roof has collapsed: its architectural elements, i.e. columns, window frames, and floor coverings were destroyed. The exterior walls of the church survive thanks to minor interventions made on the walls.

The St. Peter Church is located on flat ground in the Cinganlı neighborhood (Figure 3.47). The church is reached by a pathway. The church, built of sandstone, has entrances from the south and the west. The exterior walls of the church whose roof has completely collapsed are in relatively good condition, while the interior has deteriorated.

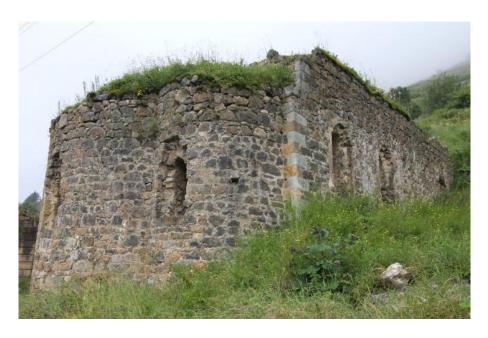


Figure 3.45: Terzili neighborhood, the St. Theodore Church

²²¹ Ibid.



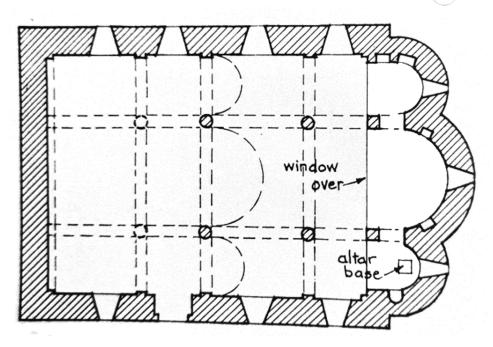


Figure 3.46: St. Theodore Church, plan (Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 118)



Figure 3.47: Cinganlı neighborhood, the St. Peter Church

The St. George Church which is the smaller and more modest of the two churches in the Zurnacılı neighborhood is located on flat ground at the north (Figure 3.48). According to Athanasiadis, the church of St. George had a dome instead of a barrel vault. ²²² The church, built with soft grey stone, has entrances at the south and the west. The outer walls of the church, whose roof, columns, and floor coverings are completely destroyed, are in good condition thanks to the minor repairs.



Figure 3.48: Zurnacılı neighborhood, the St. George Church

The main church here – to St. Constantine – is located on flat ground at the center of the Zurnacılı neighborhood (Figure 3.49). The access to both the churches is provided via pathways. The church was built with soft grey stone, and it has entrances from the south and the west: the west entrance is filled with stone. The south doorway is the most elaborate among all the entrances of the churches at Santa (Figure 3.50). The round upper windows surmounting the apse wall still survive (Figure 3.51). The roof of the church has completely collapsed, and the interior is open to deterioration: the architectural elements, i.e. columns and floor coverings, etc. were demolished. The outer walls are in good condition thanks to the minor interventions.

²²² Αθανασιάδη 1967, p. 113.



Figure 3.49: Zurnacılı neighborhood, the St. George at the left and the St. Constantine Church at the right



Figure 3.50: St. Constantine Church, the south entrance



Figure 3.51: St. Constantine Church, the round upper windows

3.5.2.2 Bell Towers

The bell towers which are part of the churches were located either adjacent to them or not far off. The construction dates of the towers are unknown. Their original plan could not be determined in the site survey because they are in ruins, but the drawings by Angelides provide valuable evidence.²²³

In the Piştoflu neighborhood, the bell tower was built adjacent to the St. Christopher Church. Since it obscured the elaborate north doorway of the church, it is thought most likely that it was built after the church. According to the drawing by Angelides,

²²³ For this source, which remained inaccessible to the present author, see Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 123.

the tower had four floors (Figure 3.52).²²⁴ The northwest column and the arch remnants connecting the tower to the church can be still seen (Figure 3.53).



Figure 3.52: Piştoflu neighborhood, the bell tower ruin adjacent to the St. Christopher Church as seen in the drawing by Angelides (Bryer, *et al.* 2002, p. 123)



Figure 3.53: Piştoflu neighborhood, the bell tower ruin adjacent to the St. Christopher Church

²²⁴ *Ibid*.

The freestanding bell tower in the İşhanlı neighborhood was built to the southwest of the St. Kyriake Church. It is of rubble stone on the interior and cut stone on the exterior, as can be seen from the traces. According to the drawing by Angelides, it had three floors. 225 The basement of the tower, whose upper floors were completely destroyed, is in ruins. (Figure 3.54).



Figure 3.54: İşhanlı neighborhood, the bell tower ruin next to the St. Kyriake Church

There is a bell tower to the southeast of the St. Theodore church in the Terzili neighborhood. The structure is carried on L-shaped columns and arches. The columns and the arches of the bell tower are built of cut stone, while the vaulted ceiling is made of brick. The exterior surface of the first floor is in very good condition, but the roof is damaged (Figure 3.55). 226 No tower was found in any of the other neighborhoods.

²²⁵ *Ibid*.

²²⁶ This structure is mentioned as a martyrium in the field surveys carried out by Çiğdem, Özkan, Yurttaş in 2002. For more information, see Çiğdem, et al. 2003, p. 172.



Figure 3.55: Terzili neighborhood, the bell tower next to the St. Theodore Church

3.5.2.3 Schools

The schools at Santa were built after 1863 with the encouragement of the priests of the Monastery of Panagia Soumela. There were eight Greek schools. Five of them were primary schools and three for those who were ten - thirteen years old: two for boys and one for girls. The school for girls was in the İşhanlı neighborhood. These structures lost their function after the emigration of the *Rums* and either became ruins or were completely destroyed.

The rectangular school building in the Piştoflu neighborhood is the only surviving school at Santa (Figure 3.56). The school was built in stone masonry of rubble while cut stone was used at the wall intersections, and the frames of the windows, and doors. The school had originally three floors. ²²⁸ The exterior walls of only two floors of the building now survive (Figure 3.57). The interior is open to deterioration since the roof has been demolished. The other school, whose traces cannot be made out today, but can be located from the sources, was on the north side of the St. Kyriake

²²⁷ Nymphopoulos 1953, p. 115; Hionides 2003, p. 207; Koromila 2002, p. 406.

²²⁸ Bryer, et al. 2002, p. 128.

Church in the İşhanlı neighborhood (Figure 3.58). Eight grades were taught in this school.²²⁹



Figure 3.56: Piştoflu neighborhood, the school

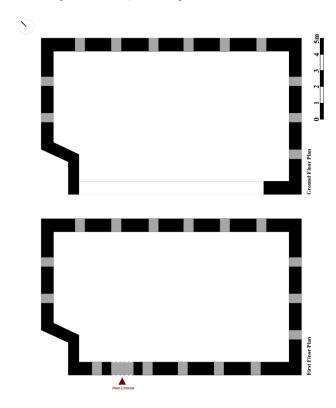


Figure 3.57: Piştoflu neighborhood, the school, plan (drawn by the author)

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.122.



Figure 3.58: İşhanlı Neighborhood, St. Kyriake Church, the public school, and the bell tower, as seen in the drawing by Angelides (Bryer, *et al.* 2002, p. 123)

3.5.2.4 Fountains

The inhabitants of Santa met almost all their water needs from the public fountains located in different parts of the neighborhoods in the past. Some fountains are still in use. The construction dates of the fountains except the one in the İşhanlı neighborhood are not known. The stone masonry fountains are barrel-vaulted, walled on three sides, and open on one. The entrance is provided through the circular arched opening on this last side. The niches, small cavities made for holding glasses (bardaklık), the water basin, sitting area (dinlenme sekisi), and faucet are the basic elements comprising the fountains.

The Piştoflu neighborhood has five fountains (Figure 3.59). The main fountain (F-1) is located in front of the St. Christopher Church on the main street of the neighborhood. The other four fountains set in different parts of the neighborhood are reached via pathways. The fountains, except F-3, are in relatively good condition. The F-3 fountain underwent major changes: its roof, arched entrance and water basin were rebuilt with concrete. The niche above the faucet seen in other examples seems

to have been closed up with mortar then. The only fountain in the Çakallı neighborhood is located to the west of the Life Giving Spring Church (Figure 3.60). There is material loss at the entrance wall and roof of the fountain, whose back wall and the basic elements, i.e. water basin, faucet, niche were demolished.

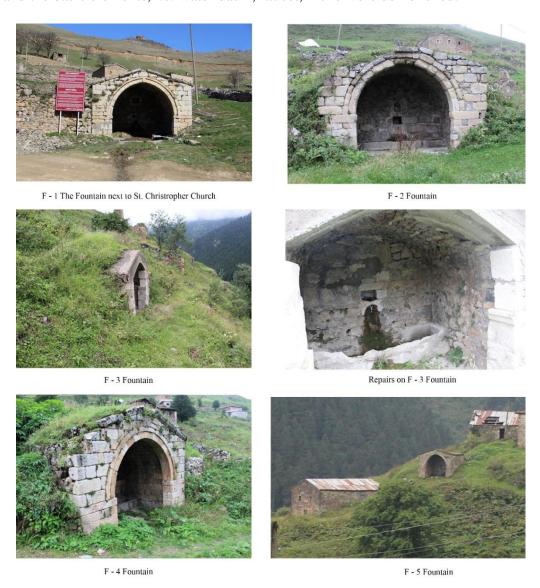


Figure 3.59: Piştoflu neighborhood, the public fountains



Figure 3.60: Çakallı neighborhood, the public fountain

The fountain in the İşhanlı neighborhood is located at the north end. According to the inscription on it, it was built in 1892 (Figure 3.61). The fountain is well preserved. That in the Terzili neighborhood is located next to the St. Theodore Church and the bell tower (Figure 3.62). It was used as holy spring (*ayazma*) for sacred purposes. ²³⁰ The niche on the back wall is a pointed arch, unlike the niches in other fountains at Santa. The roof of the fountain has largely collapsed (Figure 3.63). The fountain in the Zurnacılı neighborhood is located at the northeast (Figure 3.64). This one is different than the others at Santa: it is not a rectangular building enclosed with walls. It is rather a structure open on three sides with a single wall and a water basin. This situation calls into question its genuineness as a planned fountain. Since the fountains in the Binatlı and Cinganlı neighborhoods were destroyed, their locations could not be determined.

²³⁰ Gündüzalp 1990, p. 472



Figure 3.61: İşhanlı neighborhood, the public fountain



Figure 3.62: Terzili neighborhood, the St. Theodore Church, the bell tower, and the wall of the ayazma



Figure 3.63: Terzili neighborhood, the ayazma (URL 29)



Figure 3.64: Zurnacılı neighborhood, the public fountain

3.5.2.5 Traditional Houses

The rectangular-shaped traditional houses of Santa, most of which are in ruins now, make up the majority of the built environment. The surviving houses continue to be

used as dwellings or are left empty.²³¹ The houses have a very simple spatial and facade arrangement: they are generally two and rarely one or three storey structures of stone.²³² The slope of the natural terrain is the main determining factor in the orientation of these houses. The short side of the house is parallel to the slope. The back walls set into the slope are usually blind (Figure 3.65). The side walls are either blind walls or have a door with a small window next to it. The windows are located on the front facade overlooking the valley.



Figure 3.65: Terzili neighborhood, a traditional house set into the slope

The earlier housing examples in Santa are one-story and one-room dwellings which were built before 1837. Some of these stone structures, most of which were destroyed, are used as barns (*samanlık*) today (Figure 3.66). Their heights do not exceed 2 m internally and they recall defensive structures because of the lack of windows (Figure 3.67). In the houses with one storey, the entrance is usually provided from the side facade. Approximately at the middle of the back wall, there is a fireplace. In front of the fireplace, the earth floor is covered with stone slabs. Some part of the floor is covered with wooden logs placed at distances of 15-20 cm:

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²³¹ There is also a coffee house in the Piştoflu neighborhood which might have been converted from a traditional house with two storeys.

In the rural settlements in the mountainous region of Pontus, two storey houses are usually the exception, except in certain settlements, such as for example those of Santa: $\Gamma \alpha \beta \rho \alpha 2002$, p. 6.

the rest is earth. The change in the flooring shows the functional change of the structure: one part of the building was used as a dwelling for people and the other part was used as a barn for animals. There is a groove passing under the wooden threshold of the entrance door channeling the waste of the animals outside the house.²³³





Figure 3.66: Zurnacılı neighborhood, one storey houses transformed into a.barn, exterior (left); interior (right)

Two-storey houses in Santa started to be built after the second half of the 19th century (Figure 3.68). The ground floors of these houses are usually divided into two by a stone wall: one space is used as a stable and the other for warehouse. The stable's wooden floor is sloped to allow animal urine to drain out. There is a small hole for ventilation and light in the exterior wall. On one of the walls, there is a section called the *panthenin* where animal fodder was placed and from which ran a rope to tether the cows by their necks. Dung and other material was collected before the front exterior wall during the winter in a midden, and with the onset of spring, it was used in the gardens as a fertilizer in the past. Unlike the stable, the warehouse has an earth floor and there are no openings for lighting. There is an opening called a *hapiang*

²³³ Γαβρά 2013, pp 22-23.

connecting the warehouse with the first floor. The first floor is used as living space: it either has a single room or is separated into rooms by timber partition walls.²³⁴

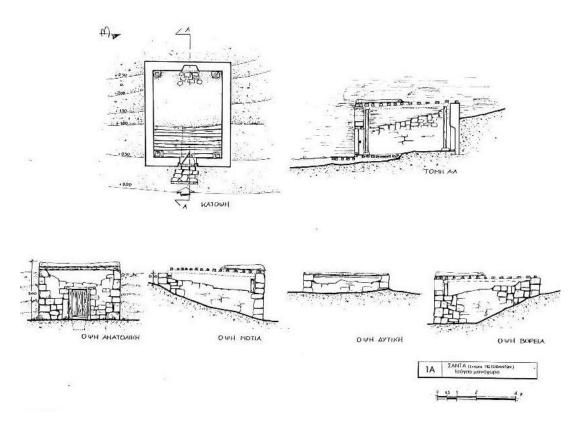


Figure 3.67: A typical one storey Santa house (Γαβρά 2013, p. 216)

There is no internal staircase providing access from the ground floor to the first floor. In the houses with two storeys, the entrance to the ground floor is from the front facade at the bottom elevation, and the entrance to the first floor is from the side facade at the top elevation. In the houses with three storeys, the top floor is used as a barn/storage area. According to the site observations, it is seen that sometimes built units are added to the houses to be used as a toilet (Figure 3.69).

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²³⁴ The majority of the surviving traditional houses could not be entered because their owners were not in the village: On the first field trip, the village was completely empty and there were only 15 families in the village on the second field trip. The information about the traditional houses was generally obtained from the house ruins examined during the field trips, the publications of $E\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \nu \eta \Gamma$. $\Gamma \alpha \beta \rho \acute{\alpha}$ and the thesis of Murat Tutkun: For more information, see $\Gamma \alpha \beta \rho \acute{\alpha}$ 2002; $\Gamma \alpha \beta \rho \acute{\alpha}$ 2013; Tutkun 2009, pp. 125-126.

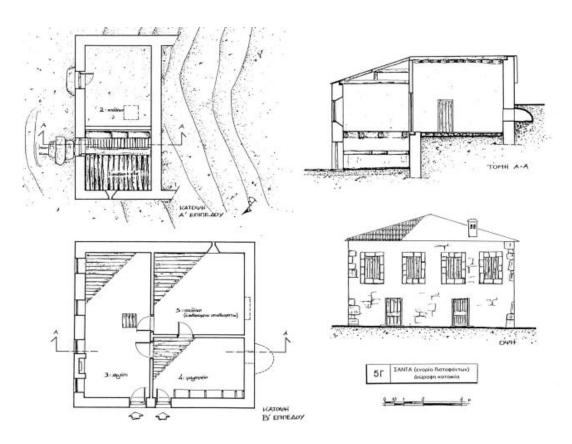


Figure 3.68: A typical two storey Santa house ($\Gamma\alpha\beta\rho\dot{\alpha}$ 2013, p. 245)



Figure 3.69: Piştoflu neighborhood, out-building made of brick

3.5.2.5.1 Construction Technique and Materials

Stone is the main construction material for the traditional houses as all the other building categories, i.e. churches, bell towers, schools, and fountains at Santa. Sandstone and soft grey stone are those used in building the walls which are approximately 50 cm thick. The houses are built in stone masonry with rubble and the core of the wall is filled with earth (Figure 3.70). Rough-cut stone was used at the intersection of the exterior walls for stability. The walls are unplastered.





Figure 3.70: Piştoflu neighborhood, stone masonry houses (left); Piştoflu neighborhood, section of a wall of a house

Although timber is one of the most locally available materials around Santa, it is not used as an exterior wall construction material except in a few examples. The construction system used in these examples is the timber frame one peculiar to the Black Sea Region: only the front facade of the first floor facing the east is built with this system while the rest is built with stone masonry. In the field trip, two houses with the *muskali* technique in the Piştoflu neighborhood and one house with the mixture of *muskali* and *göz dolma* technique in the Zurnacılı neighborhood were observed (Figure 3.71). As infill material, rubble stone with clay mortar is used. In almost every neighborhood, it is seen that horizontal timber panels, which are nailed to the load-bearing timbers, are used on the upper floor of at least one house (Figure 3.72). It is known that buildings which need ventilation, such as barns, are built with

timber panels.²³⁵ Therefore, in the examples of houses with horizontal timber panels, it is highly probable that the upper floor was used as a barn.



Figure 3.71: Zurnacılı neighborhood, mixture of göz dolma and muskalı technique



Figure 3.72: İşhanlı neighborhood, horizontal timber panels

Timber is also used for load-bearing beams, floor coverings and ceilings. Timber beams are bonded to the exterior walls through holes and timber joists are nailed to

²³⁵ Güçhan 2017, p. 7.

the beams perpendicularly. Timber planks are then simply nailed to these joists in the first floor (Figure 3.73). On the ground floor, timber, stone or compacted soil are used as floor covering. Ceiling planks are not observed on the ground floors which are used as stable and storage. In the houses where the barn is located in the upper floor of the traditional houses, ceiling planks are not observed there either: the construction of the roof is thus clearly visible. The ceiling planks are only seen in the living spaces (Figure 3.74).





Figure 3.73: Piştoflu neighborhood, timber beams (left); Zurnacılı neighborhood, timber planks (right)





Figure 3.74: Zurnacılı neighborhood, barn, open roof construction (left); Zurnacılı neighborhood, surviving ceiling planks (right)

The roofs of the traditional houses are generally pitched and rarely hipped. In the houses with a pitched roof, the two opposite surfaces slope along the longitudinal axis. The lateral axis has a gable wall. In the houses with a hipped roof, the roof surface is four-sided. Roof construction techniques differ in the houses (Figure 3.75). The basic elements of the roofs in these traditional houses are stud, purlin, rafter, timber board, and tile. The original roof tiles are over and under tiles (*alaturka kiremit*). In some cases, the use of French tiles (*marsilya kiremidi*) is also seen. The roof of the houses which have undergone repairs are now covered with corrugated sheets of metal.



Figure 3.75: Roof construction, Piştoflu neighborhood (above left); Çakallı neighborhood (above right); İşhanlı neighborhood (below left); Terzili neighborhood (below right)

The architectural elements observed in the site survey are doors, windows, shutters, fireplaces, and niches. The single-winged doors, which are quite simple in design, are generally rectangular and rarely arched (Figure 3.76). Some door openings are framed with cut stone, especially in the Piştoflu and İşhanlı neighborhoods, while others are simply framed with timber (Figure 3.77). The use of cut stone usually depends on the wealth of the family and consequently the size of the houses. The width and height of the doors are quite small: it was observed in the field trip that, the width was as little as 80 cm, and the height was 120 cm in some examples.



Figure 3.76: İşhanlı neighborhood, arched door openings





Figure 3.77: Piştoflu neighborhood, doors framed with cut stone (left); Binatlı neighborhood, doors framed with timber (right)

The rectangular or square-shaped window openings are either framed with cut stone or timber, as are the doors. Window openings used for ventilation are reduced to 15 cm in size in the ground floor. The number of windows is kept low, and some are closed with stone now for protection from the weather conditions.²³⁶ The timber shutters are either single- or double-winged (Figure 3.78). Fireplaces and chimneys are usually located on the east side of the houses. There is a desk made of iron in

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²³⁶ Γαβρά 1997, p. 141.

front of the fireplace used to place the food bowl.²³⁷ There are usually niches with stone lintels next to the stone fireplaces (Figure 3.79).



Figure 3.78: Piştoflu neighborhood, an original double-winged shutter



Figure 3.79: Çakallı neighborhood, a fireplace and niches

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²³⁷ Tutkun 2009, p. 216.

3.5.2.5.2 Treatment of the Traditional Houses

Most of the traditional houses in the neighborhoods are destroyed or in the process of decay because of the conflicts in 1921, abandonment and lack of maintenance. Some of the untreated houses are in total ruins. The ruins can be divided into two categories, i.e. wall remains of previous houses (R-1) and houses which have lost many structural and architectural elements (R-2) (Figure 3.80). The R-1 category constitutes the majority of the built environment: there are approximately 225 wall remains at Santa. They show the location of the houses, but the original plan of the houses is no longer distinguishable. There are a few structures in the R-2 category in the neighborhood. Their original plan can be distinguished to some extent.

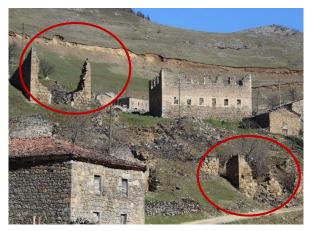




Figure 3.80: Piştoflu neighborhood, cluster of R-1 (left); Çakallı neighborhood, an example of R-2 (right)

Another group (TH-1) of the traditional houses, which have not been altered, is those with severe structural problems. Structural elements of the houses in this group such as roofs and walls are severely damaged. It is not safe to use or enter these empty houses. The original plan is still distinguishable to large extent in these examples. The last untreated group (TH-2) is the houses with only slight damage.²³⁸ There are

²³⁸ Since most of the buildings cannot be entered, the interior modifications of the traditional houses are not considered in the evaluations regarding the treatments of the traditional houses.

minor deteriorations in architectural elements such as walls, roofs, doors, and windows (Figure 3.81). No preventive actions for further damage are being undertaken.





Figure 3.81: İşhanlı neighborhood, an example of TH-1 (left); Piştoflu neighborhood, an example of TH-2 (right)

There are also some altered traditional houses in the neighborhoods; however, these treatments are not done professionally. The inhabitants change the houses mostly by damaging the traditional fabric. There is a group of houses (TH-3) whose collapsed upper floors have been reconstructed on top of the original surviving foundation or ground floor walls. The spatial and facade organization of these houses are mostly changed in this process. Reconstruction is often done with incompatible materials such as brick and aerated concrete which are cheaper and easy to deal with. Another treated group (TH-4) is the houses with minor interventions. The architectural elements, i.e. roof tiles, doors, windows, shutters, etc. have undergone minor interventions and/or some repairs are done to prevent further damage (Figure 3.82). This constitutes the most numerous preserved groups of the traditional housing fabric.





Figure 3.82: İşhanlı neighborhood, an example of TH-3 (left); Piştoflu neighborhood, an example of TH-4 with a roof repair (right)

There are also newly built houses which are not included in the traditional house category (Figure 3.83). Most of these houses are in the Piştoflu, İşhanlı and especially in the Zurnacılı neighborhoods. They are built with incompatible materials such as aerated concrete, brick, reinforced concrete etc. and with different construction techniques. Some architectural elements such as a balcony and porch, which are attached to these houses, do not fit the traditional texture either. Newly built stone masonry structures, on the other hand, are incompatible in terms of plan and facade organization.



Figure 3.83: Zurnacılı neighborhood, newly built houses

3.6 Conservation Activities at Santa

The very first action for the conservation of Santa dates back to 1978 when the seven neighborhoods of Santa were designated as 'conservation sites to be protected' (korunması gerekli sit alanı) and the churches at Santa and the Monastery of Panagia Soumela were designated as 'ancient monuments' (eski eser) by the order of GEEAYK on 17 November 1978 (decision no. 1405). In the same decision, it was also decided to open the road between Santa and the Monastery of Panagia Soumela for tourism. Afterwards, the seven neighborhoods and their surroundings were declared as a '3rd degree archaeological site' (3. derece arkeolojik sit alanı), and '1st and 3rd degree natural site' (1. ve 3. derece doğal sit alanı) on 29 January 1999 by the order of TKTVKK (decision no. 3379) (Figure 3.84).

In 2019, a decision concerning the cancellation of the 'temporary construction restrictions' (*geçiş dönemi yapılanma koşulları*) and the preparation of a 'conservation development plan' (*koruma amaçlı imar planı*) were made by TKVKBK (decision no. 5192), but there has been no progress regarding preparation of a 'conservation development plan' yet. In 2020, the natural site of Santa was divided into three categories, i.e. 'sustainable conservation and controlled use area' (*sürdürülebilir koruma ve kontrollü kullanım alanı*), 'qualified natural conservation area' (*nitelikli doğal koruma alanı*), and 'sensitive area to be protected' (*kesin korunacak hassas alan*) based on their use. 'sustainable conservation and controlled use area' and 'qualified natural conservation area' parts were registered on 03 July 2020 (decision no. 138455) by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change (*Çevre, Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı*) (Figure 3.85).²⁴¹

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²³⁹ Conservation decisions regarding Santa and Monastery of Panagia Soumela were included in the same document: See Appendix A.

²⁴⁰ The boundaries of the conservation area were updated in 2016 and 2019.

²⁴¹ The seven neighborhoods are located in the 'sustainable conservation and controlled use area': URL 30.

Most recently, the parts of 'sensitive area to be protected' were also registered with the Presidential decision no. 3021 dated 25 September 2020. 242

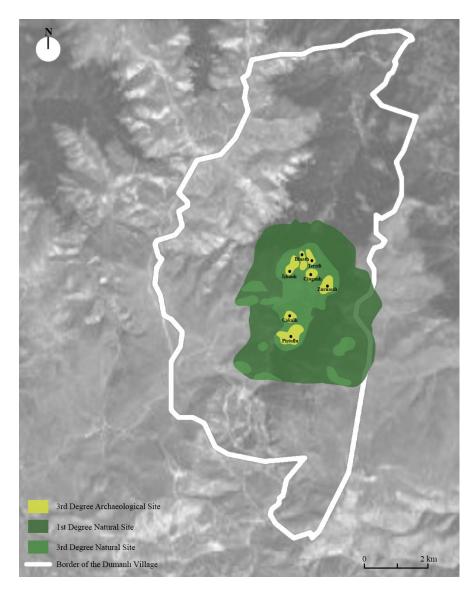


Figure 3.84: Santa, archaeological and natural sites (from TKVKBK Archive, as developed by the author)

 $^{^{242}}$ T.C. Resmi Gazete, 26.09.2020-31256. The drawing regarding the boundaries of the 'Sensitive Area to be Protected' of the official Presidential Decision is offered in Appendix B.

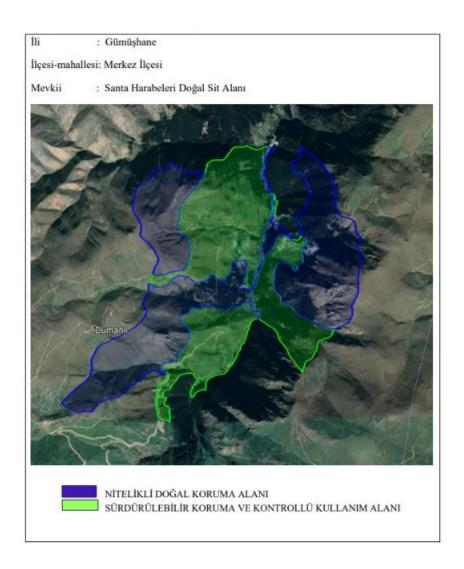


Figure 3.85: The boundaries of 'qualified natural conservation area' and 'sustainable conservation and controlled use area' at Santa (URL 30)

3.7 Development Projects Concerning Santa

Besides being a seasonal rural setting, Santa has important tourism potential with its cultural and natural assets. Although tourism activities are limited to daily visits made by groups of a few people, in the future, tourism may become a threat to Santa due to the development projects that Santa is indirectly involved in.

In this context, the first project to be examined is the 'Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023 and Action Plan 2007-2013' (*Türkiye Turizm Stratejisi 2023 ve Eylem Planı*

2007-2013). The action plan aims to use natural, historical, cultural, and geographical assets, looking to achieve a balance between conservation and use, and to increase the share to be obtained from tourism by developing tourism alternatives in Turkey. Within the scope of this plan, the Central and Eastern Black Sea Regions are proposed as the 'Plateau Tourism Development Corridor' (*Yayla Turizmi Gelişim Koridoru*) (Appendix C). Here, it is aimed to link the highlands from Samsun to Hopa with each other and to develop other types of tourism activities such as camping, golf, skiing, caving, paragliding, rafting, horse riding, ballooning, fishing, photo-safari and bungee jumping, and thereby to increase the existing accommodation capacity in these regions. Author Plan 2007-2013', the 'Eastern Black Sea Tourism Master Plan' (*Doğu Karadeniz Turizm Master Planı*) began to be prepared for the Eastern Black Sea Region in 2007. The 'Green Road Project', which is still in progress, was developed within the scope of the tourism master plan by DOKA (Figure 3.86).

Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023 and Action Plan 2013



Figure 3.86: The development process of the 'Green Road Project'

This last project aims to create a transportation network by conducting improvement works on the highland roads in the above-mentioned provinces (Figure 3.87). ²⁴⁵ In line with this objective, transportation axes connecting Santa, the Monastery of

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²⁴³ Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2007, p. 1.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.52.

²⁴⁵ The name 'Green Journey' (*Yeşil Yolculuk*) was first used in the tourism master plan, but it was later changed to 'Green Road': DOKA 2016, p.588.

Panagia Soumela, Karaca Cave, Çakırgöl Highland, and Taşköprü Highland are being improved (Figure 3.88). The Green Road Project has elicited a significant response especially from the local people, due to its devastating effects on nature and climate. The negative effects of mass tourism on the locals is also criticized: it is thought that mass tourism will cause local tradesmen to go bankrupt and larger companies to carry out commercial activities in the region.²⁴⁶

Besides the 'Green Road Project', some lesser decisions concerning Santa have been made in the 'Eastern Black Sea Tourism Master Plan'. Here, it is proposed to cover the sloping road leading to the entrance of the Piştoflu neighborhood with a stone pavement and to restore the Prophet Elijah Church in the Binatlı neighborhood. Facilities like accommodation are not recommended for fear of damaging the settlement's fabric and texture.²⁴⁷

Most recently, the 'Yanbolu–Santa Basin Sustainable Tourism Master Plan' (*Yanbolu-Santa Havzası Sürdürülebilir Turizm Master Planı*), which contains suggestions for the natural and historical areas in the Yanbolu Basin (including Santa), has been prepared by DOKA. Since there is no management plan, conservation development plan, and construction guide regarding Santa, no proposal for Santa was developed in this tourism master plan.²⁴⁸

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²⁴⁶ URL 31.

²⁴⁷ DOKA 2016, p.617.

²⁴⁸ This tourism master plan has not been published yet.

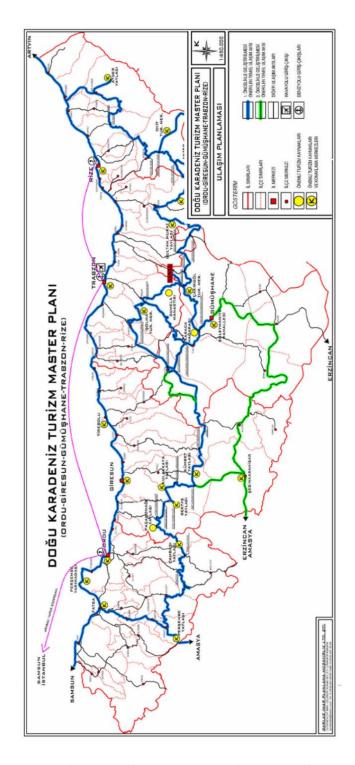


Figure 3.87: Eastern Black Sea Tourism Master Plan, main transportation axes (from DOKA)

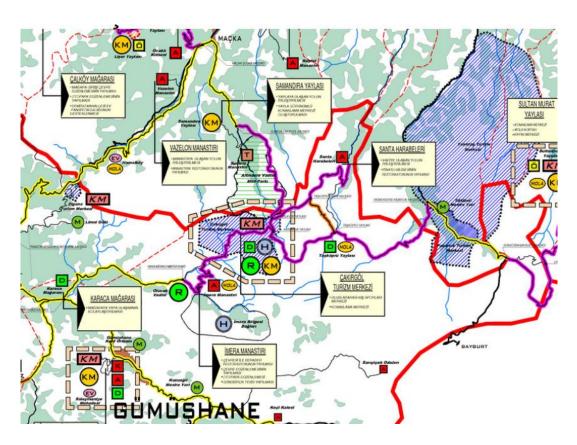


Figure 3.88: Eastern Black Sea Tourism Master Plan, transportation axes and plan decisions about Santa, the Monastery of Panagia Soumela, Karaca Cave and Çakırgöl Highland (from DOKA)

3.8 Interim Evaluations

Santa is an important example of a well-preserved rural settlement in the Pontus region. It contains a variety of architectural and natural values reflecting the interaction between man and nature. With its natural environment and seven neighborhoods, where the traditional way of life is sustained with the arrival of a new, if seasonal, population, Santa retains its rural identity as a historical rural landscape. Despite the sociocultural and physical transformations Santa experienced after the complete abandonment by the *Rums*, the new Turkish community assists the site in maintaining its evolutionary process. Although the tangible assets were severely affected after the Population Exchange in 1923, the surviving traditional houses continue to be inhabited by the new population. The surviving stone masonry

structures reflecting the skills of the mastery of the *Rum* inhabitants of Santa are also important, providing vital information about the Pontic rural architecture. On the other hand, newly built structures are not compatible with traditional buildings in terms of material, facade and spatial organization and so damage and degrade the traditional texture. However, the existence of these new buildings is important as concrete evidence in terms of showing which neighborhood is used more: it is readily understood that three neighborhoods, i.e. Piştoflu, İşhanlı and Zurnacılı, are used more frequently in the summer season, since the repaired and maintained traditional houses, and the newly-built structures, are more numerous here than elsewhere.

In addition to being a historical rural landscape in Pontus, Santa is a prominent location to which emigrant *Rums* and their descendants remain attached. After the conflicts in 1921 and the Population Exchange in 1923, Santa became a place of memory for them. Although commemorative visits to Santa are individual and rare, a genuine physical appreciation is established, and the spiritual attachment is enhanced in these visits. The *Rums* also organize annual commemorative ceremonies in the House of Santa, in Kastania, Greece. These ceremonies are significant in helping develop a spiritual engagement and remembrance of Santa among its people and so generates a collective memory.

CHAPTER 4

ASSESSMENT OF THE VALUES AND CHALLANGES OF AND THREATS TO SANTA

In the light of the data obtained from the previous chapter concentrating on the geographical, historical, settlement, and architectural characteristics and the current situation of Santa, the values, and challenges of and threats to Santa will be examined.

4.1 Values

Heritage values are those which different groups of people attribute to a heritage site. These values, revealing the significance of these sites, assist in making the heritage conservation feasible and acceptable. The concept of values-based conservation has been advocated since the 1980s by many scholars. The idea of this approach was basically adopted in the Burra Charter and was discussed and developed in many publications by the Getty Conservation Institute such as those by Sharon Sullivan (1997), Martha Demas (2002), Randall Mason and Erica Avrami (2002), Randall Mason (2002), and Marta de la Torre *et al.*, (2005).²⁴⁹ In this section, different value assessment categories adopted by different scholars, charters, and NGOs will be briefly examined to tailor a system suitable for Santa.

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²⁴⁹ Poulios 2013, p. 172.

They will be examined in a chronological order, starting with the value grouping devised by Alois Riegl in one of the earliest studies (1903) regarding cultural heritage values. This grouping was prepared at a time when the understanding of cultural heritage was limited to historic monuments and was therefore monument-oriented. Riegl groups heritage values as commemorative values and present-day values regarding monuments. The commemorative values include age, historical and memorial, while the present-day values include use and newness values. He notes that these values may conflict with each other.²⁵⁰

Bernard Feilden and Jukka Jokilehto also developed the value assessment category for World Heritage Sites in 1998. They also emphasize that values may conflict, and that this process is dynamic and may change with time. They divide values into two main categories, i.e. cultural and contemporary socio-economic values. Cultural values including identity, relative artistic/technical, and rarity values are associated with heritage resources and their relationship to the present-day societies and may vary depending on the interpretation of heritage sites, i.e. they are subjective in nature. Contemporary socio-economic values, i.e. functional, economic, educational and political values are better associated with the present-day society and its socio-economic and political conditions.²⁵¹

The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, also known as the Burra Charter, states that heritage conservation is not only the protection of a heritage place, but also the preservation of the values of that place. There can be no heritage and heritage conservation without recognition of those values (cultural significance) belonging to heritage, just as there is no continuity of values without conservation. In other words, there is a reciprocal influence between heritage value and heritage conservation. The Burra Charter examines values in the context of

²⁵⁰ For more information about Riegl's typology, see Riegl 1903/1996, pp. 69-83.

²⁵¹ For more information about Feilden and Jokilehto's typology, see Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, pp. 18-19.

²⁵² ICOMOS 1999.

cultural significance and emphasizes that the different values, i.e. aesthetic, historic, scientific, and social can co-exist.²⁵³

Mason developed another value grouping in 2002, including socio-cultural and economic values. Historical, social, cultural, spiritual, and aesthetic values are the socio-cultural values. Use and non-use values are the economic values. Mason emphasizes that values are site-specific, and therefore should be devised according to the heritage site.²⁵⁴

When the present situation of Santa is assessed, the values of the area largely correspond with the value grouping introduced by Feilden and Jokilehto. Therefore, Feilden and Jokilehto's value assessment system will be adopted here. Another value type that does not exist in Feilden and Jokilehto 's system but that this site contains is 'natural value'. In this context, the values of Santa will be examined under three main groups, i.e. natural values, cultural values, and contemporary socio-economic values (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Value assessment of Santa

VALUES				
Ĭ.			V1. Location	
UR∠	b l		V2. Geographical Formations	
NAT			V3. Flora and Fauna Diversity	
CULTURAL	IDENTITY	LANDSCAPE	V4. Rural Landscape	
		HISTORIC	V5. Traditional Buildings	
		CONTINUITY	V6. Continuity of the Rural Life	
		MEMORIAL	V7. Commemorative Visits	
		SPIRITUAL	V8. Relationship with the Monastery of Panagia Soumela	
	RELATIVE ARTISTIC	ARCHITECTURAL	V9. Traditional Architecture	
	OR TEHCNICAL	AESTHETIC	V10. Picturesque Ruins	
	RARITY		V11. Preserved Pontic Rural Architecture	
			V12. Representative Pontic Rural Settlement	
CONTEMPORARY SOCIO- ECONOMIC	ECONOMIC		V13. Pastoral Activities	
	FUNCTIONAL		V14. Buildings in Use	
	EDUCATIONAL		V15. Built Environment	

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²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁵⁴ Mason 2002, pp. 11-13.

4.1.1.1 Natural Values

V1. Location: Santa is a geographically isolated area as it is surrounded by mountains and ridges. The geographical location and harsh winter conditions that make transportation difficult inhibit permanent settlement and intense tourist activities at Santa. This protects the area from overuse and offers opportunities for conservation activities.

V2. Geographical Formations: The Yanbolu Stream and the Dipsiz Lake, located within the borders of natural conservation site of Santa, are important natural assets. (Figure 4.1). Moreover, the seven neighborhoods established on a mountainous terrain have several vistas provided by the slope (Figure 4.2).

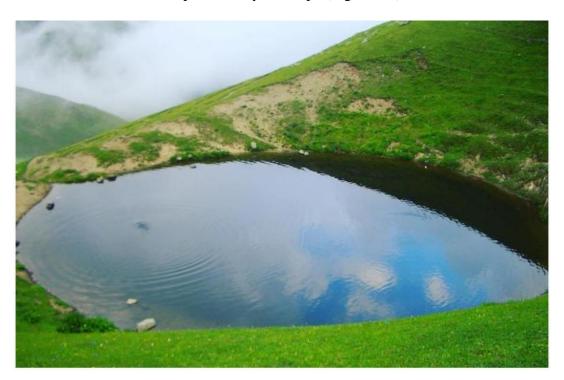


Figure 4.1: Taşköprü Highland, Dipsiz Lake (URL 32)



Figure 4.2: A view from the Zurnacılı neighborhood towards the İşhanlı, Binatlı, Terzili, Cinganlı neighborhoods and the forests

V3. Flora and Fauna Diversity: The Yanbolu Basin, which Santa is within the boundaries of, is located on the migration route of birds. In addition, the Yanbolu stream and other rivers in the basin contain rich freshwater fish species, snakes, otters, and salamanders. Forests with coniferous trees exist at the high altitudes of the basin. Caucasian Spruce (*Picea orientalis*) forests are located at altitudes between 1700-1800 m. The Alpine ecosystem, which consists of shrub species and herbaceous plants, can be seen at an altitude of about 1800m. ²⁵⁵ This diversity allows pasture at the neighborhoods of Santa and on higher elevations and provides a beautiful scenic backdrop to life (Figure 4.3).

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²⁵⁵ This information is obtained from the unpublished source of "Yanbolu-Santa Havzası Sürdürülebilir Turizm Master Planı". See above, n. 158.



Figure 4.3: Çakallı neighborhood, pasture areas

4.1.1.2 Cultural Values

4.1.1.2.1 Identity Value

4.1.1.2.1.1 Landscape Value

V4. Rural Landscape: Although Santa lost all its *Rum* population and cultural traditions belonging to them, the seven neighborhoods of Santa were saved from utterly losing their rural identity and becoming a ghost place with the settlement of the new Turkish inhabitants. The untouched nature, the surviving vernacular architecture, agriculture, animal husbandry and pastoral activities conducted by the inhabitants and other villagers, and the meanings that the inhabitants attribute to those activities and neighborhoods, help protect the rural characteristics of the area as a landscape. It should be noted that there is a need for further research on the *Rums*' agricultural and other cultural links with the natural landscape.

4.1.1.2.1.2 Historic Value

V5. Traditional Buildings: While Santa is officially mentioned for the first time in the cadastral record book of 1554, the buildings at Santa are dated to the second half of the 19th century.²⁵⁶ The majority of these buildings, which may have a history of approximately 150 years, are subject to decay due to conflict and neglect, thereby being transformed into ruins in the natural cycle of decay.

4.1.1.2.1.3 Continuity Value

V6. Continuity of the Rural Life: Although Santa experienced a demographic and sociocultural transformation with the Population Exchange in 1923, the existence of the local community ensures the sustainability and integrity of rural life in Santa. In this context, the daily activities and lifestyle of the local people in Santa are important as reflecting highland culture.

4.1.1.2.1.4 Memorial Value

V7. Commemorative Visits: The memorial value of Santa emerges from the struggle of the *Rums* not to leave Santa and their experiences during the migration process that started in 1921 and was completed with Population Exchange in 1923. Santa became a model for freedom and a statement of identity because of the resistance of its *Rum* community; therefore, it has become transformed into a place of memory. In this context, the emigrant Rums, in the past, and their descendants, also today, commemorate the losses of their families and friends and enhance their bond with their old hometown through visits to Santa. They also organize annual commemorative events at Kastania in Greece. The engagement between the former

²⁵⁶ There is no archaeological evidence proving the existence of structures dating back to earlier than the 19th century.

community and the site is also important for the inclusion of the contested values for conservation and management of the site.

4.1.1.2.1.5 Spiritual Value

V8. Relationship with the Monastery of Panagia Soumela: The *Rum* inhabitants of Santa had a spiritual bond with the Monastery of Panagia Soumela. The community of Santa who fought with the Turks living in the villages on the Yanbolu Valley, preferred the Monastery of Panagia Soumela route to reach Trabzon. This situation strengthened their bond with the monastery. They undertook the duty of guardianship of the monastery, to which they were religiously attached for a period. They also had the right to have a say in the management of the monastery. Besides the spiritual bond between Santa and the Monastery of the Panagia Soumela, it was proposed to open the road between Santa and the monastery in 1978 (Decision no. 1405) to enhance and ease the physical ties.²⁵⁷ Likewise, the Green Road Project aims to improve this road and use it as an important tourism route.

Moreover, the naming of Santa's principal church after the former head of the Monastery of Panagia Soumela, namely St. Christopher, is significant for demonstrating the spiritual connection between the monastery and Santa.

4.1.1.2.2 Relative Artistic or Technical Value

4.1.1.2.2.1 Architectural Value

V9. Traditional Architecture: The traditional buildings, most of which are in ruins and/or not altered, provide valuable information on the technical, structural, and functional characteristics of the traditional architecture at Santa. These structures,

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²⁵⁷ For the decision, see Appendix A.

reflecting the skill of the stonemasons, show how natural factors affect design, technical, structural, and material decisions. The topographical orientation of the buildings on the land and facade arrangements (in terms of size and amount of the openings) are determined depending on the slope and the local weather conditions. In addition, stone, and timber, which are locally available in nature, are used as building materials.

4.1.1.2.2.2 Aesthetic Value

V10. Picturesque Ruins: The name 'Santa Ruins', which defines the seven neighborhoods of the village of Santa, comes from the traditional structures that lie in ruins. These ruins may elicit pleasure and emotional responses when experienced by visitors.

4.1.1.2.3 Rarity Value

V11. Preserved Pontic Rural Architecture: Santa is one of the rare examples of preserved and typical Pontic rural architecture in the Pontus region.

V12. Representative Pontic Rural Settlement: The rural settlement of Santa reflects the lifestyle, and architecture of the Pontic *Rums* in rural areas. Therefore, Santa is not only important for the former *Rum* inhabitants of Santa but, also for all the Pontic *Rums*.

4.1.1.3 Contemporary Socio-Economic Values

4.1.1.3.1 Economic Value

V13. Pastoral Activities: Even though the seasonal inhabitants of Santa do not derive a source of income from agriculture and animal husbandry, the grazing areas

of Santa provides an economic value for people who come from nearby villages to pasture their animals.

4.1.1.3.2 Functional Value

V14. Buildings in Use: Some of the surviving traditional houses and fountains continue their traditional functions, albeit seasonally, for the locals. This emphasizes the identity of the site as a seasonally used rural settlement instead of a completely abandoned place. On the other hand, the houses, churches, bell towers, fountains, and the school which are in ruins do not have a functional value any longer.

4.1.1.3.3 Educational Value

V15. Built Environment: The surviving traditional buildings, gardens, and squares offer valuable evidence in reflecting the social life and culture of the *Rum* inhabitants of Santa. Each neighborhood had its traditional houses and public buildings, i.e. churches, schools, and fountains and some neighborhoods had squares, so that the former inhabitants could meet their needs in a closed system within their own neighborhood. This indicates that the inhabitants could sustain their life in their neighborhoods without being dependent on others. In this context, the Piştoflu neighborhood, which is the only neighborhood where all building categories survive, has an educational value in terms of representing and documenting the way of life of the *Rum* inhabitants of each neighborhood.

The traditional houses, which are largely preserved in terms of plan and interior architectural elements (as most of them are not used today) remain at present informative about the traditional residential architecture and the domestic life of the people. In addition, the presence of the renovated houses according to the modern needs and/or newly built houses especially in the Piştoflu, İşhanlı and Zurnacılı neighborhoods shows that these neighborhoods are now inhabited more often than the others. Although these structures do not fit the traditional texture, they yet have

an educational value in terms of representing the evolution of the neighborhoods after the Population Exchange in 1923.

4.2 Challenges and Threats

Table 4.2: Challenges of and threats to Santa

THREATS AND CHALLENGES				
CHALLENGES	CHALLENGES RELATED TO NATURAL FEATURES	C1. Accessibility		
	CHALLENGES RELATED TO TANGIBLE COMPONENTS	C2. Challenges Related to Open Spaces		
	THREATS RELATED TO TANGIBLE COMPONENTS	T1. Seasonal Use of the Neighborhoods		
		T2. Deteriorated Built Environment		
		T3. Empty Buildings		
		T4. Houses with Major Treatments		
		T5. New Buildings		
THREATS		T6. Inconsistent Informative Panels		
		T7. Lack of Documentation		
		T8. Lack of Conservation Development Plan		
		T9. Tourism		
	THREATS RELATED TO INTANGIBLE COMPONENTS	T10. Loss of the Local Culture of the <i>Rums</i>		
		T11. Limited sociocultural activities		

4.2.1 Challenges

4.2.1.1 Challenges Related to Natural Features

C1. Accessibility: Access from the nearby provinces to Santa, as well as between and within the neighborhoods, is particularly challenging due to the topography and harsh climatic conditions. Reaching Santa, which is actually quite close to several town centers (on a km basis), along narrow and winding roads increases the transportation time to the area. The harsh winter conditions which cause the roads to be closed for long periods of the year are also challenging. Accessibility problem is also a threat for Santa. The topography and weather conditions complicate access to Santa therefore the site remains uninhabited in most of the year. This poses a threat to the traditional structures because it causes them to be neglected. The neglect in

turn endangers the sustainability of the rural life as well as the tangible and intangible values of the site.

4.2.1.2 Challenges Related to Tangible Components

C2. Challenges Related to Open Spaces: Most of the traditional buildings are accessed via pathways. Vegetation growing on the pathways prevent these routes from being visible. In addition, roads that become muddy on rainy days and make it exceedingly difficult to reach the buildings. Beside all this, some squares are lost, being used as parking areas by the tourists and the inhabitants, and other serve no public purpose anymore because new houses were built in these areas. For this reason, squares, which are an essential element of rural settlements, often do not serve their main purpose and cannot be appreciated by local people, let alone visitors.

4.2.2 Threats

4.2.2.1 Threats Related to Tangible Components

T1. Seasonal Use of the Neighborhoods: After the Population Exchange in 1923, the seven neighborhoods of Santa were completely emptied of their original *Rum* inhabitants. Even though the Turks seasonally settled in the neighborhoods, these neighborhoods have never had a significant population again. There is a reciprocal relationship between the seasonal use of neighborhoods and the deterioration of the buildings. As population decreases in the neighborhoods, the houses remain neglected and deteriorate.²⁵⁸ The Çakallı and Cinganlı neighborhoods in particular are now almost uninhabited.

²⁵⁸ As stated by SI1, the house owners have no longer the will to come for repairing their houses.

- **T2. Deteriorated Built Environment:** The facts that the majority of the buildings in the area were demolished and that most of the surviving structures have the appearance of ruins prevent the traditional texture of the area from being evaluated in an integrated and coordinationed manner.
- **T3. Empty Buildings:** The majority of the traditional buildings at Santa are completely destroyed. The surviving public buildings, i.e. churches, bell towers, and the school were damaged because of the conflicts in 1921 and were not refunctioned, as they do not serve the new Turkish population. On the other hand, some of the houses are empty simply because their owners do not come to Santa any longer. These traditional buildings are left open to deterioration and have structural problems because of the lack of maintenance: some of them have fallen into complete ruin: this inevitably causes the loss of the traditional texture.
- **T4. Houses with Major Interventions:** Some of the buildings, particularly those in the most frequently used Piştoflu, İşhanlı and Zurnacılı neighborhoods, have undergone major treatment. In these houses, the ground floor is largely preserved, and the upper floor is reconstructed (generally with incompatible materials) (Figure 4.4). Moreover, the spatial and facade organizations have significantly changed in these houses. The houses in this group work against the authentic identity of the built environment.



Figure 4.4: Zurnacılı neighborhood, a house with a reconstructed upper storey

T5. New Buildings: There are recent building constructions within the boundaries of '3rd degree archaeological site' of Santa. The newly built structures, which are incompatible with the traditional houses in terms of construction technique, material, facade, and plan organization, are observed especially in the Piştoflu, İşhanlı and Zurnacılı neighborhoods, and the traditional fabric in these neighborhoods is thereby even more degraded.

T6. Inconsistent Informative Panels: Two information panels are located in Santa to provide information for visitors. However, the information provided on the two panels is inconsistent: on one of the panels, it is written that Santa was settled for the first time in the Middle Ages and the ethnic identity of the first inhabitants is unknown, while in the other panel, it is noted that Santa was founded in the 17th century by the *Rums*. Moreover, on the panel directing one to the Piştoflu neighborhood, Santa is mentioned as a city (*kent*) in the Turkish translation. These panels with their inadequate and incompatible information cause confusion (Figure 4.5).

T7. Lack of Documentation: Santa is one of the rare and representative examples of surviving *Rum* heritage in the Pontus region. Therefore, it is crucial to document the traditional buildings at Santa before they completely disappear. Unfortunately, there is no such study existing for the documentation of these structures.

T8. Lack of Conservation Development Plan: Although Santa was declared as '3rd degree archaeological site' in 1999, the decision on the preparation of the 'conservation development plan' was only made in 2019 by TKVKBK. However, the plan itself has not been prepared yet. The absence of a comprehensive development plan causes several problems regarding the conservation of the built and natural environment. In addition, the decision concerning the cancelation of the 'temporary construction restrictions' (*geçiş dönemi yapılanma koşulları*) operating before developing a conservation development plan for the site causes a legal gap able to be exploited by new constructions.

T9. Tourism: Tourism activities and tourist density at Santa are now very limited and this aspect does not constitute any threat at present. However, if the surrounding cultural and natural sites are connected with each other by the Green Road Project, mass tourism may be a future concern. In addition to damage caused to structures by tourists, construction of new buildings for commercial and accommodative facilities may further harm the traditional fabric: the guesthouse under construction in the Zurnacılı neighborhood which is incompatible with the traditional buildings in terms of scale and construction material shows the possibility of the future harm that may result.

4.2.2.2 Threats Related to Intangible Components

T10. Loss of the Local Culture of the *Rums*: After the Population Exchange, the intangible values of the *Rums* vanished from Santa, which had been thoroughly cleansed of its *Rum* population. The fact that Santa was uninhabited until the 1930s prevented the newly arrived Turkish population from adopting the intangible values of the *Rums*. Thereby, the site's continuity and integrity were inevitably compromised.

T.11 Limited sociocultural activities: Presence of a community is vital for the sustainability of a place with all its tangible and intangible components. After the Population Exchange, the population characteristics was completely changed at Santa, and the *Rum* population was replaced by the Turkish population. Today, the Turkish inhabitants live at Santa seasonally, and the social life is very limited. The inhabitants usually spend time at their home or gardens without collective social activities except some gatherings at houses. Therefore, new intangible values deriving from socio-cultural activities are very limited as well.

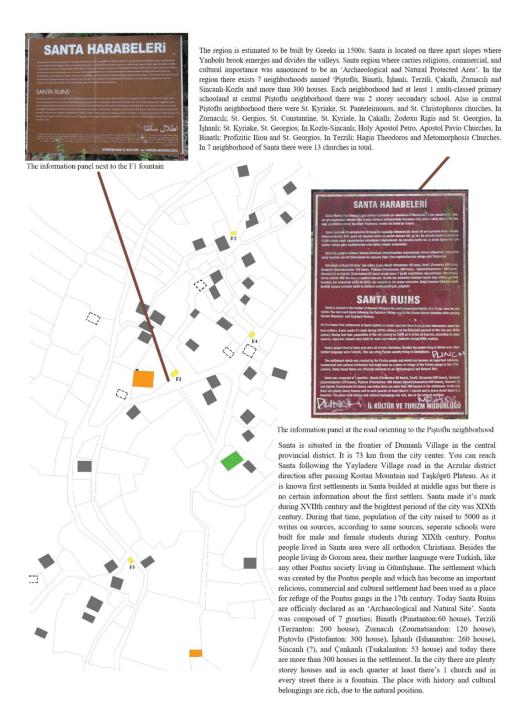


Figure 4.5: (Poor) English translations on the information panels

4.3 Interim Evaluations

This chapter, which relies mostly on the observations of the author, aims to reveal the cultural significance and constraints of Santa by pointing out the values, challenges of, and threats to the site. Assessment of values is vital to understand the cultural significance of a heritage site. On the other hand, assessment of challenges and threats are also important in order to identify the constraints of the site, which cause misinterpretation and misidentification, as in the case of Santa.

In Santa, which underwent demographic, socio-cultural and physical transformation after the Population Exchange, the existence of values which are not apparently visible and the existence of threats and challenges that prevent the identity of the area from being understood, cause the area to be misinterpreted and thereby, misidentified. In this context, examining the values, threats, and challenges is vital, to assess and reidentify Santa, and thereby create a better understanding of it. Enhancement of a proper understanding of the site is needful when it leads to development of more accurate and site-specific policies for conservation and management of the site.

Highlighting the rural characteristics of the site with that embraces the conservation and interpretation of nature, the built environment and local community has a significant potential to reflect the genuine identity of the site. The values, i.e. landscape, continuity, economic and functional arise from the coexistence of human, nature and the resultant built environment. These are the present-day values that help the site retain its traditional way of life as a historic rural landscape. New houses and traditional residences with major treatments that both damage the traditional fabric are also important in terms of showing that the area is still a dynamic and evolving settlement. On the other hand, the threats and challenges including the seasonal use of the site, the built environment in ruins, empty houses, and problems regarding the presentation of the site on the information panels cause the site to be misinterpreted.

The contested values of second and third generation of the emigrant *Rums*, who have associations with Santa, do still contribute to and participate in understanding the cultural significance of the site. The participation of this community and their contested values through memorial gatherings are important for the communication of the values and meanings represented by them.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS: RE-IDENTIFICATION OF SANTA

Industrialization, which led to rapid urbanization, initiated rural depopulation; several other contributing factors – social, economic, political, and natural – have hastened the process. For the first, the Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923 led irreversibly to the depopulation of many rural areas in Turkey. After the Rums abandoned the rural areas, Turkish immigrants from Greece were the first to settle there. However, the majority of these immigrants soon enough left these areas in search of better living conditions. Consequently, the majority of rural areas have either become completely uninhabited or have remained but sparsely populated. Depending on the varying demographic characteristics and population density, rural settlements that witnessed the Population Exchange underwent distinct physical and sociocultural transformations. Examining the rural areas depopulated as a result of the Population Exchange in Turkey, the presence of the human factor is proven as the main essential for the sustainability of life in rural areas. In other words - and this is hardly surprising – rural areas retain their rural identity as living entities depending on the existence of the communities. The degrading or disappearance of the human component in rural areas has negative impacts on both the tangible and intangible cultural values, as well as on the natural environment.

The village of Santa (now known as Dumanlı village) in Gümüşhane in the Eastern Black Sea Region is one of the rural areas subjected to the forced migration in the Population Exchange of 1923. As previously stated, according to Coşkun Erüz, after the *Rum* population abandoned Santa, the Turkish immigrants from Greece did not settle in the area and the site remained uninhabited until the 1930s and the building

lots became the property of the Treasury (*Hazine*). ²⁵⁹ The lack of a local community has disrupted the continuity of the site's tangible and intangible values of the former population. The majority of the structures that survived the armed conflicts between the *Rums* of Santa and the Turkish army in 1921 had deteriorated further and were on the verge of collapse due to abandonment and neglect. In addition, as a result of this disruption, all of the customs, traditions, and daily activities of the *Rum* community, as well as the 'meanings' attributed to Santa, had faded away.

More recently, the majority of the building lots and residences were purchased by the residents of the surrounding districts and passed into private ownership. ²⁶⁰ Currently, the population fluctuates seasonally, so its size cannot be truly determined; however, the population of Santa has never again attained the size it was before the Population Exchange. Therefore, the site suffers from rural depopulation, leading to all the expected challenges and threats in terms of sustainability of the rural life leading to identification problem for Santa.

Santa, which underwent profound sociocultural and physical transformations as a result of the Population Exchange, is accordingly hard to define. The effects of this transformation on the tangible and intangible characteristics of the area have not been thoroughly and properly interpreted. Accordingly, the definition problem of the site will first be assessed, followed by reidentification based on interpretation of the values of the site.

First, the identification of the seven neighborhoods, now in the borders of the modern village of Dumanlı, of Santa known as 'Santa Ruins' (Santa *Harabeleri*) is scrutinized. Santa began to be utilized seasonally for vacation and grazing with the arrival of a new population, but at a lower density than before the Population Exchange. Because of the seasonal use they experience, neighborhoods are deprived of their sociocultural context and the built environment turns into a deserted area,

²⁵⁹ URL 20.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

particularly in the winter. Moreover, the lack of maintenance caused by underpopulation, and seasonal use makes the traditional buildings that were already severely deteriorating prior to the Population Exchange become even more ruined. As a result of these transformations, the seven neighborhoods were named as 'Santa Ruins'. Buildings remaining in private ownership and the area's designation as a 'natural site' are both valuable in indicating the presence of a local community and natural values in the area. The name with the inclusion of the term 'ruins', however, makes it difficult to comprehend that the place is a living entity with natural values. Particularly among tourists, Santa is mistaken for a ghost settlement or an ancient city, and the desolated appearance of the area does not help.²⁶¹ Similarly, Murat Tutkun continues to use the name 'Santa Ruins' in his PhD thesis titled Santa Harabeleri ve Yeniden Kullanıma Kazandırılması Üzerine Bir Model Önerisi (2009), despite mentioning Santa as an historical rural settlement.²⁶² In addition, Tutkun's suggestions for the reuse of the area for tourism are generally limited to the reuse of the buildings, and he does not take into account the cultural and natural values of the area as a whole: in his model for the reuse of the area, nature tourism was identified as a viable option for rural settlements such as Santa, but no proposal was developed for the area's natural values. Furthermore, the fact that the thesis does not address how the inhabitants of the area will be included in the process of conservation and revitalization is another aspect that needs to be evaluated. Aside from this, information about the socio-cultural life and values of the local community is not provided in his work; consequently, a community-based proposal that meets the needs of this community is not presented at the conclusion. Moreover, it is difficult to comprehend that the area is an 'ever-evolving' entity due to the lack of information about the activities of the settlers in the area. In addition, the fact that

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²⁶¹ However, according to the Decision no. 1405 of 1978 by GEEAYK, the term 'ruin' is not used to describe the seven neighborhoods; instead, Santa is referred to as a highland settlement: Appendix

²⁶² Tutkun 2009.

Santa is referred to as a city (*kent*) on the area's information panel at the area indicates that there is a misrepresentation of the settlement's basic nature and composition.

The designation of the area as a '3rd degree archaeological site' can also be seen as a challenge to the correct identification of the site within the scope of this thesis. The national legal regulations concerning archaeological sites that were in force on January 29, 1999, when Santa was labeled as an archaeological site, need to be understood. The Enactment no. 594 on the Archaeological Sites – Protection and Use Principles (594 nolu İlke Kararı – Arkeolojik Sitler, Koruma ve Kullanma Koşulları) of 1998, which was still in force on January 29, 1999, gives information about conservation and use regulations for the archaeological sites at that time. However, this Enactment was repealed due to the problems arising in practice and inconsistencies with the legislation, and thereby remains inaccessible to the present author. Basically, then, the evaluation criteria in force at that period cannot be adequately assessed. It should be noted that the current Enactment no. 658 on the Archaeological Sites – Protection and Use Principles of 1999, which came into force after the designation of Santa as a '3rd degree archaeological site', does not contain information about the criteria for the designation of archaeological sites. Therefore, it is possible that the Enactment no. 594 did not clearly specify the designation criteria, either. In 2012, in the Regulation on the Identification and Registration of Immovable Cultural Properties and Protected Sites (Korunması Gerekli Taşınmaz Kültür Varlıklarının ve Sitlerin Tespit ve Tescili Hakkında Yönetmelik), evaluation criteria for the identification and registration of archaeological sites are specified for the first time. This Regulation defines '3rd degree archaeological sites' as places where cultural assets or remains are likely to be discovered based on the aforementioned scientific research, observations, and scientific hypotheses.²⁶³ However, in the 1960s neither Anthony Bryer nor the University of Cambridge could find archaeological or documentary evidence for even remains for medieval

²⁶³ URL 3.

settlement in Santa and along the Yanbolu valley. It should be taken into account that this Regulation was not yet in effect when Santa was declared an 'archaeological site'. The presence of traditional buildings in ruins visible at Santa is the factor that comes immediately to mind as responsible for the decision of the designation of the area as an archaeological site. As pointed out by Zeynep Eres, villages with destroyed traditional buildings tend to turn into 'archeological ruins' over time. This situation certainly applies to Santa. Similarly, Sazak and Kayaköy may be compared to archaeological ruins at first glance, given that they are completely deprived of their sociocultural context and all of their buildings are in ruins; however, they were designated as 'urban conservation areas' (kentsel sit alanı), unlike Santa. As to what differentiates Sazak and Kayaköy from Santa, it is seen that the structures in these first two settlements have a greater integrity in terms of density.²⁶⁴ In contrast, the destruction of majority of the buildings in Santa undoes the once more homogeneous distribution of the buildings there. In addition, new constructions disrupt the continuity of the traditional fabric, making the redesignation of Santa as an 'urban conservation area' also debatable. The fact that the definition of "rural conservation area" (kırsal sit alanı) is not included in Turkey's conservation legislation and that these areas have to be designated as 'urban conservation areas' is a subject of further contentious debate. 265 Rural areas with elements such as traditional structures, courtyard and garden areas used together with these structures, public open spaces such as squares, cemeteries, and pasture areas, and various plant types distinguish all such from urban conservation areas. In this context, rural areas should be accorded a separate status based on their distinctive qualities and potentials. Emre Madran and Nimet Özgönül claim that for an area to be designated as a 'rural conservation area', it must have been created through the interaction of nature and human beings, contain

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²⁶⁴ As stated in the Regulation on the Identification and Registration of Immovable Cultural Properties and Sites to be Protected, traditional buildings need to have integrity in terms of density, architecture and history in urban conservation areas: *Ibid*.

²⁶⁵ For information about the challenges regarding designation of rural areas as urban conservation areas, see Eres 2013.

elements that need to be protected and be homogeneously distributed across the area, and not have lost its natural and local characteristics due to modernization. In addition, in these areas, traditional production methods must be maintained, and buildings must retain their traditional and local characteristics. Due to modernization, it is exceedingly difficult to find any rural areas that fully retain their traditional character and meet all of the aforementioned criteria. Despite the sociocultural and physical transformations Santa has undergone, the area arguably still maintains its rural identity in accordance with its values.

The question of how then to correctly re-identify Santa involves revealing its values and, by extension, its meaning. Interpretation of the associations and meanings of a heritage site is essential for enhancing a proper understanding and discovering the character of a site. In this sense, it is crucial to interpret the past and present values of both the Turks and *Rums* who have spiritual and cultural associations with Santa.

In Santa, which was completely cleared of its former population, intangible values belonging to the *Rums* were not adopted by the new population. The Turks created their own associations, sense of belonging, and memories. According to the new meanings brought to the place by the Turks, Santa became transformed into an upland site, seasonally used by a low-density population. Despite the seasonal use, existence of a local community and continuity of the rural life do have fundamental roles in forming the rural identity of the site as a living entity. Moreover, agriculture, animal husbandry, and grazing emphasize the interaction between nature and the local community. Continuity of the use of the traditional houses are of great importance in emphasizing the rural characteristics. In other words, the activities of the locals in the area and the houses in use reveal the significance of the site as a living system without the need for any additional interpretation or observations when the locals are in the area in summer. As the Burra Charter states: "Interpretation may be a combination of the treatment of the fabric (e.g. maintenance, restoration,

²⁶⁶ Madran and Özgönül 2005, p. 33.

reconstruction); the use of and activities at the place; and the use of introduced explanatory material."²⁶⁷ Similarly, as Feilden and Jokilehto remark: "Continuity of traditional functions reinforces the meaning of sites in a manner that can never be accomplished by interpretative exhibits."²⁶⁸ In fact, all these factors, when evaluated from the emic point of view in cultural anthropology, are quite sufficient in terms of interpreting that Santa is a living system within its own cultural context. ²⁶⁹ However, the difference in population density and use of the site throughout the year should be interpreted and presented to people because the seasonal way of life in Santa defines how the area has now a meaning for the local community as a highland.

The aesthetic value of the area must also be mentioned when reidentifying Santa. The traditional buildings in ruins, which are threats to Santa's integrity, may also evaluated as an aesthetic value for the site. The principal type of tourism activity in Santa is now cultural tourism, as the historical settlement's traditional buildings in ruins evoke an ancient city and thus provide visitors with pleasure. However, the lens of cultural tourism is insufficient to fully appreciate the rural identity and natural values of the region, which are not readily apparent before arriving at Santa. In this context, even though the development projects, i.e. the 'Plateau Tourism Development Corridor' and the 'Green Road Project', by targeting mass tourism pose a threat to the area's tangible and intangible values, they are at the same time essential for revealing the area's natural and rural values. However, while in so doing and thereby creating an accurate definition of the site (through various types of tourism including nature tourism, adventure tourism and ecotourism), it is essential that the stakeholders – such as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (*Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı*), the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change (*Çevre*,

²⁶⁷ ICOMOS 1999.

²⁶⁸ Feilden and Jokilehto 1998, p. 20.

²⁶⁹ The emic approach is a perspective that examines the values, beliefs, and practices of a specific culture from the perspective of the members of that culture's community. The emic approach seeks to comprehend the cultural significance and meaning of a specific behavior or practice, as understood by those who engage in and with it: URL 33.

Şehircilik ve İklim Değişikliği Bakanlığı), the local authorities, i.e. the Gümüşhane Municipality and Gümüşhane Special Provincial Administration (Gümüşhane İl Özel İdaresi) and DOKA – do not prioritize the economic benefit of tourism above all else and do not overlook the necessity of protecting the area as a cultural heritage area, in terms of preserving the area's intangible and tangible values.

The interpretation of a heritage site by its very nature is a subjective issue, and the meaning of the site communicated to the public varies depending on how the site is interpreted. Interpretation of divergent and contested values at a heritage site is crucial because the process promotes social cohesion and new understanding of the site's past and present meanings. Integration of these values ensure the inclusion of multiple perspectives which provide a more comprehensive elucidation. In this regard, the commemorative meaning of Santa should be communicated to the public. Until 1921, Santa maintained its independence in the Pontus region due to its remote location and semi-autonomous status. During the military intervention of the Turkish army in 1921 and later during the Population Exchange in 1923, the residents of Santa, an independent-minded community, resisted vehemently being compelled to leave and lose their homes.²⁷⁰ In fact, local Santa historians referred to the residents of Santa as "the Suliots of the Pontus" due to their resistance to Turkish authorities.²⁷¹ Since the warrior and martial identities of the community of Santa were known in the Pontus, the Rums from other settlements sought refuge in Santa.²⁷² The forced migration caused by the Population Exchange was hard on the Rums of Santa, who were loyal to their homeland. While Santa became a diaspora heritage-focus for emigrants and the second and third generations, Kastania in Greece has become a place where they preserved their Pontic culture and commemorated their losses

 $^{^{270}}$ It is already well-known that the Pontus *Rums* were more warlike than their counterparts in the rest of the Ottoman Empire.

²⁷¹ Suliots were the locals of the village of Souli in Greece. They fought against the Ottomans in the Rebellion of Greeks (Revolution of Greeks, Greek War of Independence) between 1821-1829. Suliots became the symbol of resistance for the Greek Nation. The resistance of the locals of Santa in 1921 and later on reminded the Greeks of the Suliot struggle; Bryer 1976, p. 184.

²⁷² Bruneau 1995, p. 128.

during the armed conflicts in 1921: the emigrants constructed the House of Santa to host commemorative ceremonies. The fact that the annual commemoration ceremonies are held in the House of Santa at Kastania, and not in Santa itself, demonstrates that Santa is not currently directly interpreted as a primary and active site of memory. It should be noted that the majority of Santa's building lots are today privately owned, making it difficult for the Rums to perform commemorative ceremonies here. In addition, the existence of a local community demonstrates that the place has multiple values attached to it, and that the commemorative value is not the primary one. According to the Report on the Interpretation of Sites of Memory that was prepared in 2018 by UNESCO, if the commemorative value attributed to a site is not the main value but a secondary one, then that place can be interpreted as a 'site with memorial aspect' but not one of a 'site of memory'. ²⁷³ As pointed out by Michel Bruneau, more than five books on the history and geography of Santa (as well as its intangible values) written by the Rums of Santa reveals the continued significance of this small settlement and strongly contribute to its becoming a site with memorial aspect.²⁷⁴

Santa thus needs particular care when being interpreted and presented as a site with memorial aspect because there are two groups, i.e. *Rums* and Turks, which have contested values. As stated in the Report on the Interpretation of Sites of Memory of 2018, the divergent views of these two communities, who have associations with the area, should be mediated first. While the commemorative value of Santa needs to be communicated to the public, it is important to include both communities in this process. In this context, establishing a connection with the House of Santa in

²⁷³ UNESCO 2018.

²⁷⁴ The books mentioned in the article of Bruneau are Athanasiadis, S. (1967). *Istoria kai laografia tis Sandas*. Thessalonique; Chimonidis, Ph. A. (1902). *Istoria kai Statistiķi Sandas*. Athènes; Lazaridis, M. (1986). *Symvoli sti gnorimia tis iroīkis Sandas tou Pontou kai ton Sandaion*. Thessalonique: Kyriakidis; Nymphopoulos, M. (1953). *Istoria Sandas tou Pontou*. Drama; Spyrandis, A. (1990). *Symvoli is ta laografika tis Sandas tou Pontou*. Thessalonique: Kyriakidis: Bruneau 1995, p. 133.

²⁷⁵ UNESCO 2018.

Kastania is of great importance to enable the two associated communities to engage in dialogue.²⁷⁶

The House of Santa is also important as it recalls the cultural relationship of Santa with the Monastery of Panagia Soumela (Sümela Manastiri) in Trabzon: the building was constructed very close to this monastery as re-established in Kastania to commemorate the original one in Trabzon. There was a cultural relation between Santa and the monastery before the Population Exchange in 1923. The Rums assumed responsibility for the protection of the monastery and maintained a longlasting religious connection with it. In addition, the Rums had a voice in monasteryrelated matters. However, as a result of the Population Exchange in 1923, this cultural connection was severed and lost. Today, it is intended to strengthen the physical relationship between Santa and the Monastery of Panagia Soumela by improving the road between the two, but the re-emergence of the cultural bond between Santa and the monastery – presented as a spiritual value in this thesis – has received no consideration.²⁷⁷ Stressing the relationship between Santa and the monastery, and evaluating the two places as a linked whole could set an example for adoption of a more holistic approach in the conservation of cultural heritage sites. For instance, Veysel Özbey adopts a similar approach and proposes to redefine the buffer zone of the Monastery of the Panagia Sumela Monastery, named in the UNESCO Tentative List in 2000, by including the monasteries (Vazelon, Panagia Keramesta and Kuştul) with which the Monastery of the Panagia Sumela Monastery is in a cultural interaction, and to add these monasteries as a complex to the UNESCO World Heritage List.²⁷⁸ Similarly, the integration of the province of Bursa with its cultural assets with the village of Cumalıkızık (in submitting them to the UNESCO

²⁷⁶ Perhaps the idea of a 'peace village', which could not be realized in Kayaköy, could be realized in Santa.

²⁷⁷ First, in the Decision no. 1405 of 1978, it was decided to open the road between Santa and the monastery. Afterwards, with the Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023 Action Plan aiming to connect the plateau roads in the Eastern Black Sea Region, improvement works were started on the road between Santa and the monastery.

²⁷⁸ Özbey 2021, p. 295.

World Heritage List) is considered as an important example in Turkey in this context.²⁷⁹ While the proposal of Özbey concerns the amalgamation of religious heritage sites of the same type, the integration of Bursa and Cumalıkızık demonstrates that different types of heritage sites can also be evaluated as a whole. In this regard, proposing the Monastery of Panagia Soumela to the World Heritage List together with Santa, as a 'junction point' of the monastery, enhances the value of cultural interaction between them.²⁸⁰ Consequently, the cultural significance of Santa can be better revealed, and the public appreciation can be enhanced – which after all is one of the goals of interpretation.

After so evaluating the challenges of defining the area and interpreting the area's values, the area now requires a thorough redefinition. In this context, the first step is to eliminate the term "ruins" used to describe the seven neighborhoods of Santa. The site can be identified as a 'continuing cultural landscape'. In fact, the ruinous appearance of the built environment may cause the site to be misinterpreted as 'relict cultural landscapes', however, it should be noted that evolution is no more an option for 'relict cultural landscapes.' On the other hand, Santa is a settlement where traditional ways of life are blended with contemporary needs and where evolution continues: the existence of a local community, even if seasonal, provides continuous change and evolution for Santa. The site can also be identified as 'historic rural landscape': rural landscapes are one of the most common types of continuing cultural landscapes as stated in the doctrinal text prepared by ICOMOS and IFLA after the Milano Declaration on Rural Landscapes in 2017. Santa also needs to be identified and treated as a 'rural conservation area' even though the national legal regulations consider rural areas either as archaeological site or urban conservation area in order to emphasize the rural identity of the site. In addition, the concept of 'site with

²⁷⁹ URL 34.

²⁸⁰ "Junction point shall mean cultural property not within the boundaries of the management area, but associated with the same in terms of management and development on the basis of archaeological, geographical, cultural and historical considerations or the same vision or theme" according to the Law no. 2863: T.C. Resmî Gazete, 23.07.1983-18113.

memorial aspect' can be used to express the fact that the *Rums* continue to be associated with the area, to highlight the conflicting values of this community, and to describe the significance of the area to them both. By so revealing the cultural significance and understanding of the area, it is possible to set about removing the threats and difficulties at Santa, by implementing site-specific conservation policies.

5.1 Future Research

In this study, the seven neighborhoods of the village of Santa (currently named Dumanlı) have been assessed and re-identified in accordance with their characteristics acquired after the Population Exchange. For a more comprehensive assessment and identification of the site as a 'historic rural landscape', future research and investigation, including the village's other six settlements that are not included in the present work, are required. For a better comprehension of Santa's identity as a historic rural landscape, it is vital to analyze the tangible and intangible attributes of the site, including the socio-cultural structure of the local population, the built environment, and the natural values of the site in all future studies. Research into title deed registrations, with special permission taken from the Gümüşhane General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre (Gümüşhane Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü), should be conducted to obtain more accurate information on the current ownership status of the building lots in the neighborhoods. Only thus will it be feasible to fully understand and evaluate the site as a whole.

Social surveys need to be conducted with all the current property owners of the rural settlement of Santa, as well as the second and third generation emigrant *Rums*, for a better understanding and evaluation of the 'contested' values of these groups. It is essential that they be involved in the conservation and interpretation processes in future studies. Once all this information is obtained, effective heritage interpretation strategies need to be developed to reveal Santa's authentic qualities, identity and meaning – and to communicate these to wider audiences.

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APPENDICES

A. Document Concerning the Designation of Santa Ruins as a 'Conservation Site to be Protected'

RULLUR HARANLUL PAYRIMINGU PART TAPRLER W ARITLAR TURNER BURLUL INSBARRIUL KARAR 298-17.11.1978 A-1405,17.11.1978 Toplanti veri STANBUL Trabzon ili, Arşin ilçesinin 3 km. doğusunda Yeni Yayla (Santa Yayla) nın güney doğusunda 7 mahalleden oluşan eski yerleşim yerinin ve Santa kiliselerinin tescili hakkında Kültür Bakanlığı Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğünün 1.11.1978 gün, 477.2(29)-8832 sayılı yazılı okundu, ekleri incellendi, yapılan müzakeresi sonunda; Trab zon ili, Argin ilçesinin doğusunda Yeni Yayla (Santa) sında bulunan, Zurnalı, Piştovlu, Çakallı, İşhanlı, Binatlı, Tarzili, Çingenlı mehelleleri XVII yüzyıldan beri dini, ticari, kültürel önemi taşıyan bir yerleşim yeri olduklarından ayrı ayrı korunması gerekli Sit alanı olarak ve bu mahallelerde, mahalle adlarını taşıyan 7 sdet planlı, duverleri freskli kiliselerin tek tek korunması gerekli eski eser olarak ve bu yöreye çok yakın olduğu bilinen Sumela - MERYEN ANA Manastirinin da korunması gerekli eski eser olarak 1710 - 5805 sayılı yasalar uyerince tescillerinin uygun oldu-Ayrıca bu çok önemli SİT alanlarının da bulunan sivil mimarlik örneklerinin, çevrede bulunan doğal SİT alanlarının (orman -Anıt Ağaç - Bahçe v.d.) Meryem Ana manastırının saptanarak Eski Eser fişlerinin, fotograflarının ivedi olarak Kurulumuza gönderilmeT C KULTUR BAKANURI GANRIMENKUL ESAI EKURLER (CANTILAR NUKSEK KURTUL BASKANURI

KARAR

Topiani No 19 Tanin Kasar No 19 Tanin 248,17,11,1978 2-1405,17,11,1978

- 2 -

Toplant yeri :

Santa yaylasiyla, Meryem Ana Manastiri erasındaki turistik gilin yaşılarak ve söz konusu yerde Turizm, İmer İskân, Kültür Bedanlığı üzmanlarının birlikte yapacakları düzenleme ve çalışmalaryın sınra, Eski Eser ve Doğa yönünden bu değerli alanların Turizme aşık bir duruma getirilmesinin gerekli olduğuna karar verildi.

BASKAN DVe Aktope Colonia Dve Aktope Colonia Dve Aktope Colonia Dve Aktope Colonia Dve Aktope Colonia Dve Aktope Colonia Dve Aktope Colonia Dve Aktope Colonia Dve Aktope Colonia Bulunmedi Bulunmedi Bulunmedi Cve Byte (Semavi) Bulunmedi Bulunmedi Cve Cve Tayla (Högrev) Tayla (

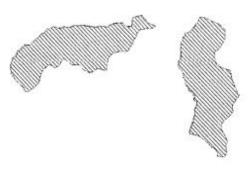
B. The Presidental Decision no. 3021 of 25.09.2020

25/9/ 2020 TARİHLİ VE 3021 SAYILI CUMHURBAŞKANI KARARININ EKİ KROKİ VE LİSTE

İLİ : Gümüşhane

İLÇESİ : Merkez

SANTA HARABELERÍ





KESIN KORUNACAK HASSAS ALAN

C. Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023 Action Plan

