SEARCH FOR INDIVIDUALITY: RURAL SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHERN CYPRUS*

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1. Lusignan era and domination is that of a very rich French family that ruled the island between 1191 and 1372.

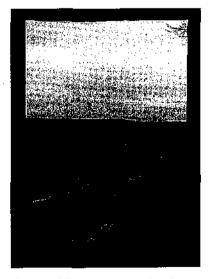


Figure 1. View of the agricultural land from a village house.

In time, we will find our way and rediscover the role of architecture and man-made forms in creating a new civilized landscape. It is essentially a question of rediscovering symbols and believing in them once again. ...Out of a ruin a new symbol emerges, and a landscape finds form and comes alive (Jackson, 1994).

INTRODUCTION

Cyprus has never been an isolated island. Throughout history it was a meeting place of peoples and states, of cultures and religions. As in all Mediterranean islands, relations between the inside and outside worlds affected the development of settlements in the island. There is a good deal of information about urban settlements of all historical periods; however, one can find very little about rural ones.

A Lusignan royal decree, preserved in Greek, refers to settlements as villages, *prastijs* (small villages), monasteries, vineyard habitations, and isolated homesteads (1). From Venetian times we have both maps and lists of settlements. The impressive fact emerging from a detailed analysis of Venetian sources is that nearly all present-day settlements date at least from those years (Christodoulou, 1959).

Most of the village settlements are not visible or easily discernible from the sea. That is because for many centuries Cypriots have been landsmen, with a land outlook, the sea rarely entering into their lives (Figure 1). So, they built their villages inland. In the highlands, the villages are distant and small; lowland villages are mostly very close to each other and cover larger areas. This is a natural result of topographical conditions and gives a clear picture of the rural landscape in the northern part of the island.

2. A map entitled 'A Triconometrical Survey of the Island of Cyprus' dated 1885 was encountered by the author at the book collection of the Office of the Department of Antiquities in Gazimagosa, Northern Cyprus. Maps of the survey were not in good condition.

3. Karpas is the north eastern region of the island with eccentric plateaus and a row of steep cliffs on the central north lying parallel to the coastlines on both sides. Mesaria on the other hand, is the eastern central lowland of the island. This paper is prepared after three months of travel in the northern part of the island in the Spring of 1997 (2). The idea, at the beginning, was to make a study on typological characteristics of the rural settlements in Northern Cyprus. But, during the travel from one village to another, analyzing the typological characteristics and collecting common architectural attributes and values of the rural environment, it was observed that each scene, each village, even each house had its own individual scape which made a unique relation between its architecture and its site. The typological study turned, therefore, to more of a discovery of individual architectonic expressions. In this paper the villages and houses in the Karpas and Mesaria regions are examined and compared in terms of pattern, site, plan, and structure to derive ideas about their typological characteristics (3). An outstanding village, Dörtyol (Prastion), is introduced with its individual houses in detail to articulate the subject of individuality.

MIGRATION: THE DESTINY OF THE ISLAND

Whatever has happened to the Mesaria and Karpas villages, as many others in the island, has changed the way of life and dwelling at the beginning of the twentieth Century. In Cyprus, people were concerned with agriculture, as they still do today despite the population decreases. Before the First World War, laborers came to the island from Lattakia (in Syria) to work in the fields or vineyards. This was an annual phenomenon in harvest times. At the beginning of the twentieth Century, a serious drought initiated the migrations. Migration affected every village in Cyprus; each lost a great number of their people. The rural populations were also removed from their land due to internal migration favouring the mining and urban areas. Most of the people started working in other sectors or became government officials. Landless people in the island is therefore a recent phenomenon.

From mid-1950s until 1974, migration because of ethnic problems in the island was the primary factor leading to economic crisis. Hundreds of households left their land and villages, and moved to other settlements or abroad. After 1974, immigrants settled in most of the villages which were totally abandoned by the population moving to the southern section of the island. Turkish Cypriot immigrants came from the southern part of the island and settled in these villages. Other villages were occupied in turn, by migrants from Anatolia. The changes in ethnic structure and population affected the economy. Today, there are only a few farmers who are occupied solely with agriculture; most of the young population migrated to urban areas for education or for the fulfillment of their hopes of a 'better' job. The villages are currently left to elder people, retirees, children and to the immigrants. How architecture and the landscape were affected by these changes still remains as an untouched subject.

PATTERN OF VILLAGES

Whatever the reasons, the villages in Northern Cyprus are clustered and compact. When carefully examined, the leading reason for this compactness seems to be a certain choice of location: in general to be close to water source, necessary for daily life as well as for agriculture. This may not necessarily be the only localizing factor. Another reason is the pattern of social life. Inhabitants like to spend time with their neighbors; they even share work and help each other. Private life is only secondary to the dominating social existence. Inhabitants are like a big family, sharply separated from 'foreigners'. There is always a certain location in every village, from where people can see the approaching visitor. Because of security problems nobody want to build his/her house out of the village. This is an age old reason why these villages are so compact.

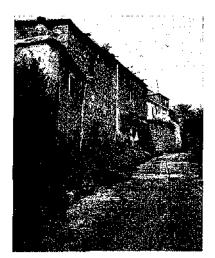


Figure 2. Street pattern in Koruçam village (photo by author, 1997).

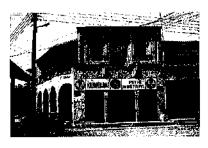


Figure 3. Coffee-house overlooking the village square in the Çamlıbel Village (photo by author, 1997).

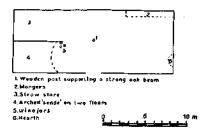


Figure 4. Simplest form of dwelling type (Christodoulou, 1959, 67).

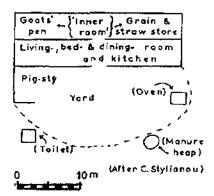


Figure 5. Simple dwelling type with a yard (Christodoulou, 1959, p.67).*

Villages are founded as suitable centers for agricultural activities in the first place. Today, agricultural activities still constitute the main source of income for the villagers. There are always different kinds of soil in the fields surrounding the settlements. Most of the villages in the Mesaria Plain are founded at the edge of the plateau, because the water sources are available here for growing grain. The situation in the Karpas villages is a bit different due to topographical differentiation. Here the land is steep and hilly, and appropriate for olive and evergreen carob trees and vineyards. Some inhabitants have their fields far from the village. So, they have built small huts for their daily needs (storing, resting, etc.) during harvest time, when it is very difficult to go to the village and come back again under the hot sun. These huts are the only buildings outside the village area. Most of them are currently in ruins.

The Mesaria villages are the densest settlements in the island. The buildings are built in a semi-closed system, with fertile flat fields surrounding them. Houses are placed on the street side of parcels allowing the formation of back, side or central yards. The Karpas villages are also compact, but not as dense. In these villages, the houses are mostly built in gardens, except those located at the very center of the village or close to the center.

Streets are organic elements of the village-scape, growing together with the built environment. The streets are irregular, sometimes narrow with high yard walls on both sides that give a soft tunnel effect (Figure 2). They sometimes end up as, *culs-de sac*, which indicate a certain directionality, and grow wider towards their termination point where they meet with open land. They give a feeling of belonging to a certain place, instead of a confusing labyrinth. Social life in the village always takes the street as its everyday scene. Private life in the interiors in the villages is still a very strange phenomenon for this kind of a socially structured community. Village square is an important space for each village where all communal events take place (Figure 3). School, church-mosque, shops and *kahves* (local cafes) surround the square. Often, there is more than one *kahve* in every village, especially in the villages, where in the old days the two ethnic group used to live together.

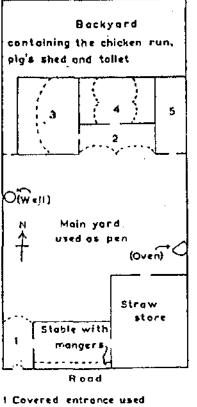
VILLAGE HOUSES

A proverb used to describe the ideal domestic circumstances in Cyprus, summarizing the values and people's relations with land and dwellings:

'A house as little as to accommodate you, and a land as extensive as your eye can see.'

Whatever has happened to the villages with migration affected also the use of the house. Its function was not only to accommodate people, but at the same time, it was a place for tools, vehicles and animals, and storage for grain. It was a workshop and a factory for its occupants. It seems that the dwelling types developed gradually in villages. The archetype has only one room where the family lives and keeps their livestock or oxen nearby, sheltered under the same roof. These two different uses were separated with a simple divider made of rush tiles. Other sheep or goats were kept at the back-yard. This was a custom among the very poor people. This kind of a house is very common in the Karpas villages. Some of them date back as early as the end of the 19th century (Figures 4-5).

Houses in the Mesaria Plain seem to be more developed (Figures 6-8). They are organized for inhabitants who deal with the cultivation of grain at larger production scales. These houses therefore have greater number of specialized sections. Tools for agriculture are kept in the yard, vehicles at the semi-closed entrance, by the main entrance to the house and also to the yard. Prior to the mechanical vehicles, animals were stationed at the same place. Stores cover a large area in the house, and they stand with their bulky body (4 or 5 meters high).



as cart and implement shed

2.Loggia with 3 arches-

- 3. Double room with an arca, used as living- & bed- room
- Food- and seed- store with arched 'sendes'
- 5 Kitchen & wash room

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(After L Photi)

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Figure 6. Common eastern lowland type of dwelling (Christodoulou, 1959, 69).

(A Katokopla house after G. Kountouris)

Double-room laner Straw store with orch r oo m' Store at food bedroom stuffs [σ guest room Stable Kitchen Loggia with з grch#3 (Hearth) N Ŧ Yard (Oven)

sometimes subject of attention and have a sign of the owner or a cooperative system on a board or metal sheet. Straw is stored in very large rooms close to the street, and loaded and unloaded from small openings in the wall. Larger farm operators may have more than one store. Grain is kept in *sendes* (store rooms or spaces) that are divided in small sections for storage. There are water tanks in each house placed underground somewhere in the yard both in the Karpas and the Mesaria villages. Shortage of water has always

Yet they are not emphasized with any artificial means. Only the entrance gates are

yard both in the Karpas and the Mesaria villages. Shortage of water has always been a serious issue in the history of Cyprus which could especially give rise to health and sanitary problems. The Karpas villages are more advantageous than those in the Mesaria Plain. They can get more rain and have access to reserves because of hilly areas covered by shrubs or trees. The water needed for everyday use are taken from wells (Figure 9). Bathrooms are unusual for these houses. Only after 1930's special rooms were annexed as bathing facilities in a few group of houses. These spaces are usually built apart from the main complex or attached to their walls. Most of them have a circular shape covered with a barrel vault and are used from the yard. Some farmers have built their own aqueducts in Mesaria for watering the fields. There are also traces of narrow and shallow water channels that might be filled with water provided from small streams now totally dry.

Cooking and washing take place in a room or in the yard. Each house has its own hearth. Sometimes in the bigger farms, there is more than one hearth in the yard that is used for making bread to laborers (Figure 10). Wine-pressing, olive oil production, distilling and sweet-making used to take place in the yard. The tools for those operations still exist in the yards of some well-preservedbig farm houses, or among the ruins of demolished ones. As a custom until the 1950s, the families used to produce goods only for themselves, and there was no production for the market, except for grain and olive products. Rooms, other than those of storage, are the sub-units of the houses and used as owner's bedroom, with an exceptional one decorated with expensive furniture for the guest(s). The number of rooms depends on the size of the building site and the needs of the family.

SITE AND PLAN

In the Mesaria and the Karpas villages the activities and needs of the farmer determine the layout decision of the house. From the simplest archetype to big

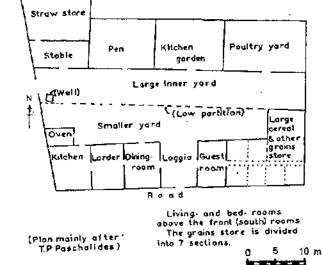


Figure 7. The most widespread type of dwelling in lowlands (Christodoulou, 1959, 69). Figure 8. Typical dwelling of eastern central lowlands (Christodoulou, 1959, 69).

Above the 'inner room' on extra room serves as grain store.

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Figure 9. Well in a court, Muratağa village (photo by author, 1997).

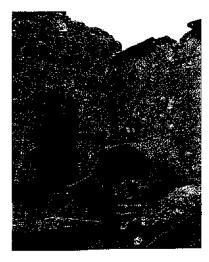


Figure 10. Hearth for making bread (photo by author, 1997).



Figure 11. Mud-brick wall, Kalecik village (photo by author, 1997).



Figure 12. Stone architecture, Büyükkonuk Village (photo by author, 1997).

farm complexes, the houses (dwellings) are shaped by the same logical approach: The contours of the site determine the plan. The rooms are arranged in this contour around the open private area (the yard) with main living units facing south.

LAND AND STRUCTURE

A never changing rule is that the materials used in the construction of village houses are always local. They seem inseparable from land and landscape with their strong regional characteristics in texture and color.

In the Mesaria villages, walls are constructed by using mud brick. Since mud-brick is not a water-proof material, the lower layers of buildings are often made of natural stone up to 60-70 centimeters from ground. Mud-brick is certainly a good insulator of heat, but it is a short-living material, rarely lasting a century (Figure 11). The use of mud-brick causes the loss of traces of the older houses in the lowland settlements. In the Karpas villages, some houses are built out of stone which lasted longer (Figure 12). Whenever a house has more than one storey, it is common that the ground floor is of natural stone masonry construction, in either of the Mesaria and the Karpas villages.

Arches or linear beams are used as main roof supports. In the older houses, large wooden beams were used before the use of stone arches. Especially in the Karpas region it was easy to find wood from the nearest forest. Wooden beams are rarely used in the Mesaria village houses. The flat roof is common in the lowland areas. This is covered by tiles and a kind of mud mixture to make it waterproof. Lumps of this mixture are placed on the roof before the rainy autumn season, so that the rain will spread it and silt up the cracks. At the end of this procedure, the physical appearance of the roof covering gives the effect of concrete (Figure 13).

The houses with flat roofs create cubical unit masses in the landscape. Such dwellings are products of a minimal touch on nature, and there is a lack of clear-cut distinction between land (natural) and dwelling (man-made) structure. A more detailed analysis of the village dwelling complexes provides further evidence in the corroboration of many of the points made above.



Figure 13. House built out of stone, Kalecik Village (photo by author, 1997).

DÖRTYOL (PRASTION) VILLAGE HOUSES

Dörtyol is a village located at the heart of the Mesaria Plain. The old name of the village was Prastion (Prastion tie Sygouris). The origin of this name is from a very old settlement nearby (Figure 14). The village is well-known since the Middle Ages. Located on the main road between Gazimagusa (Famagusta) and Lefkoşa (Nicosia), it was a station for caravans crossing the Mesaria Plain during the Lusignan times. The village church and its complex served as a caravanserai for the travellers and adventurous wanderers. Today, the church is still standing with its beautiful ornamentation, but there is only one small barrack which is left as a trace of the old complex. In 1974, all the inhabitants of the village left and migrated to the south. Then in 1975, immigrants from Adana (in southeastern Turkey) settled here and became the new inhabitants of the village. There are only a few families who migrated from southern Cyprus or from the other neighboring villages that were totally demolished or abandoned.

The village is an outstanding one in the Mesaria Plain with its big farm houses in good condition compared to other ruined ones in the Mesaria and Karpas villages. It seems that, before the migration, the village was an agricultural center serving not only for all needs of its inhabitants but also for neighboring ones, with its flour-mill, large storehouses and big farm complexes. There was also a bank and a cooperative building for the farmers. Today, the flour-mill, the bank, the cooperative building and storehouses are out of use. Yet the original street layout in the village is preserved in its entirety (Figure 16). Several houses are however destroyed by earthquakes in the 1960s. After 1975, the immigrants (new inhabitants) settled in the village. But this has not changed the built environment as expected. There is no evidence of new additions, but only some small repairs are observed. Because of unsolved problems of property rights, neither reconstruction nor rehabilitation is considered. What is left since the population change is preserved by nature and by coincidence. From an optimistic point of view, the present situation gives us the opportunity to observe and understand how people re-inhabit an existing settlement and re-evaluate a place.

To have a better understanding of the relations between the built form and the natural environment, four houses are chosen for detailed analysis:

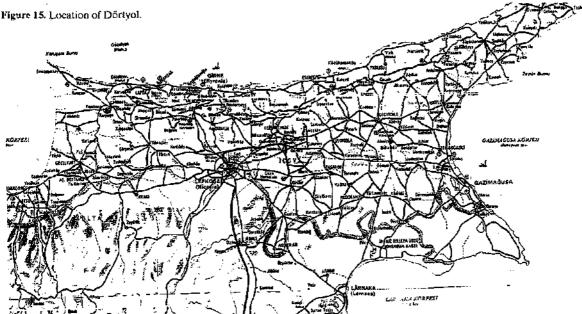
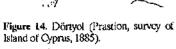


Figure 14. Dörtyol (Prastion, survey of the



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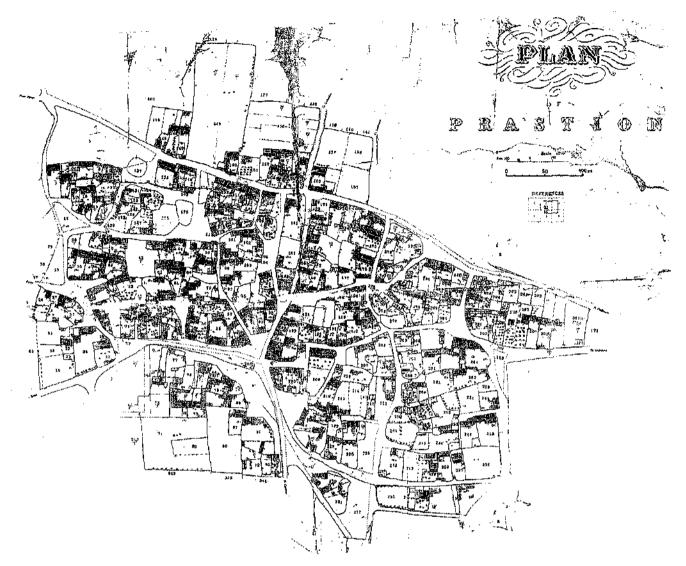


Figure 16. The context, Dörtyol.

HOUSE I

House I is located at the west end of the secondary main street which crosses the village in the east-west direction. It is a two storey house. On the street side there is an entrance door directly opening to the courtyard (Figures 17-18).

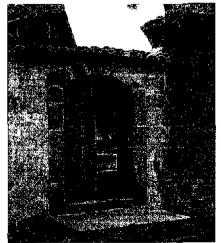
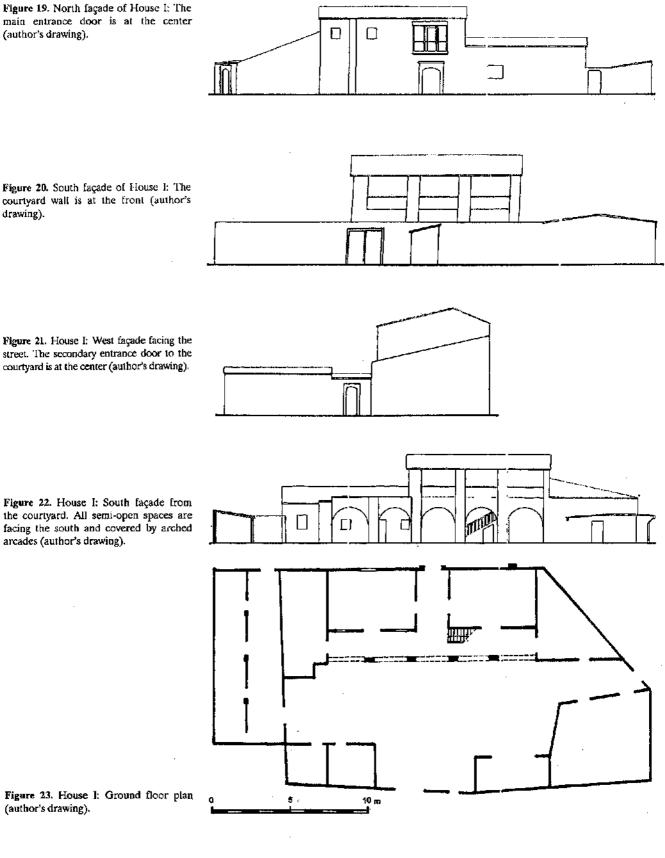




Figure 17. House I, entrance to court (photo by author, 1997).

Figure 18. House I, court with arches (photo by author, 1997).

The main building, the fold for cows and horses, and a small size coop surround the courtyard (Figures 19-25). There is also another entrance, a big one emphasized with an arch, which is used for carriages (recently the tractors). This main entrance gate is individually ornamented for the owner.



main entrance door is at the center (author's drawing).

courtyard wall is at the front (author's drawing).

street. The secondary entrance door to the

the courtyard. All semi-open spaces are facing the south and covered by arched arcades (author's drawing).

store

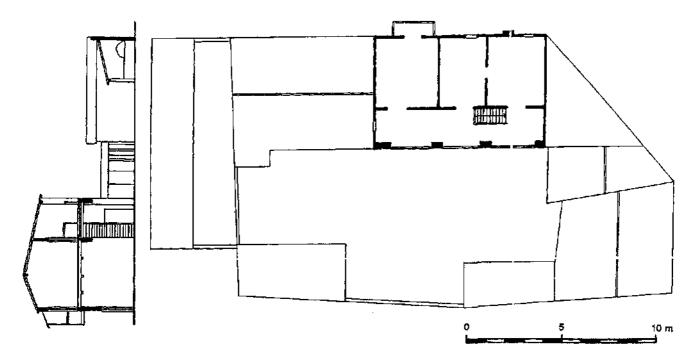


Figure 24. House 1: North-south section showing the relationships between open, semi-open and closed spaces (author's drawing).

Figure 25. House I: First floor plan (author's drawing).

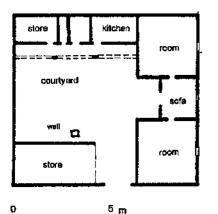


Figure 26. Plan of House II (author's

drawing)



Figure 27. Street façade of House III (photo by author, 1997).

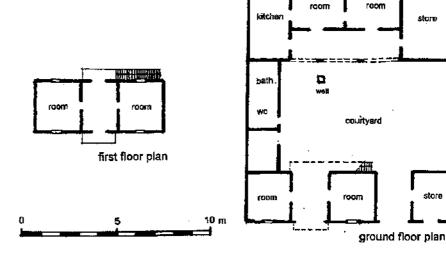
Figure 28. Plan of House III (author's drawing).

HOUSE II

House II is built for the daughter of the owner of House I. Its plan is organized for minimum functional use in one storey. It consists of a small courtyard surrounded by two rooms with a sofa on the east side, and a store-room, kitchen, bath on the north (Figure 26). There is only one entrance to the courtyard for all users. A semi-open space for storage is formed by the main entrance. This kind of space is common in many of the village houses and used for temporary storage.

HOUSE III

Located at the opposite corner of the old flour-mill in the village is House III, with two main entrances on the street side. One of these entrances is for the house proper, and the other for carriages. The courtyard is also functionally divided. The west side serve for daily use, while the east side is reserved for carriages, stores and animals (Figures 27-28).



HOUSE IV

House IV is a distinguished one with totally separated spaces for living and farming facilities. Like House I, House IV is a well-organized complex for a large family. There are three rooms on the ground floor and four on the first. A semi-open store, two hearths (one for the family and the other for the laborers), and a big *sende* surround the courtyard, leaving a shaded area for daily use. A chicken poultry and a primitive bathroom take place at the rear (Figures 29-30).

REQUIREMENT FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Beside the well-organized functional divisions, there is a 'hierarchy' between open, semi-open and closed spaces in all observed cases. There is clearly an observable 'rhythm' in the organization of façades, and a striking 'harmony' between man-made forms and their natural surroundings. These attributes make the village houses well-designed works of architecture. Furthermore, the choice of clear geometrical forms, building technology and materials result in a pure, simple, yet refined architectonic expression of the whole context. All of the houses in the village are connected to each other in an organic way with the walls of courtyards or gardens. The total context seems to be a functional mass that has grown spontaneously with each part designed and shaped individually. The role of the 'individual' here, cannot be denied or over-looked. The overall pattern generated by the individual buildings is not the result of a repetitive plan and/or façade types only. There is a very strong sense of 'place' in every scene.

In his essay on villages, Riley (1998) claims that 'a good village responds to the full complexity of the humanity of its inhabitants, not just to a concern for looks and style'. It is difficult to say that the Mesaria and Karpas villages, like many others in the island, are still 'responding to the humanity of its inhabitants'. But it is more difficult to say that they are just responding to a concern for looks and style. The village house, the leading actor in this essay, is a full complex that shelters every need of a farmer, a multi-functional unit. The people, houses and the land all together have constructed the unique landscape of Northern Cyprus. The village house is still a vital part of this landscape, but the inhabitants are not any more in line with the terms of lifestyle that these environments were originally intended for. Migration has transformed the 'living places' into sheer 'sites of memories'.

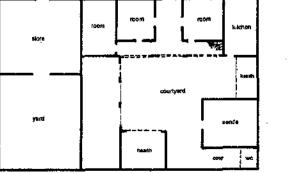
Can an existing and alien architecture constitute a starting point and be a part of a new social transformation process? Can it generate ideas and conceptions concerning the 'continuity of life' of these villages? This may not necessarily involve the rehabilitation of the houses or their rebuilding. For maintaining continuity in the landscape, and making 'good villages', all we need is to develop an understanding for the manner people inhabit an existing 'place' and comprehend the logic of relationships that make them individually unique. 'Search for individuality' requires a special care and it needs looking deep at each case to discover what it really implies.

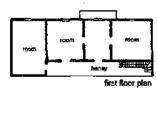


Figure 29. Court façade of House IV (photo-

by author, 1997).

Figure 30. Plan of House IV (author's drawing).





0 <u>5</u> 10 a

ground floor plan

KİMLİK ARAYIŞI: KUZEY KIBRIS'TAKİ KIRSAL YERLEŞİMLER ÜZERİNE GÖZLEMLER

ÖZET

Alındı : 21. 7. 1999 Analıtar Süzcükler: Yer, Kırsal Yerleşimler, Yeniden Yerleşim, Kıbrıs. Akdeniz'de doğayla insanlar arasında kurulan ilişkilerin dengesi mimarlar için her zaman ilgi çeken bir konu olmuştur. Bu dengede iklimin, peyzajın ve hatta insan davranışlarının benzerliği ilk bakışta göze çarpan özellikler arasında sayılabilir. Akdeniz çevresinde gerek yaşam tarzı gerekse bu yaşantıların sürdürüldüğü mekanların oluşumunda benzerliklere dayanan köklü geleneksel özelliklerin etkisi büyük rol oynamaktadır. Ancak dikkatle incelendiğinde Akdeniz dünyasının sanıldığı kadar homojen bir yer olmadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu yüzden karmaşık toplum yapısının biçimlendirdiği yapısal çevrede farklılıkların ortaya konulması özel bir önem ve değer kazanmaktadır.

Adalar, Akdeniz'e özgü yaşam ve yerleşim tarzlarının gözlenebileceği özel araştırma alanları sunmaktadır. Adalarda insan-mekan ilişkileri üzerine yapılacak çalışmalar hassas ve kırılgan bir ekonomik ve kültürel sistemde yerleşimlerin oluşum ve gelişimini anlamamıza yardımcı olabilir. Bu çalışma Akdeniz'in üçüncü büyük adası olan Kıbrıs'ın Kuzey kesiminde yer alan kırsal yerleşimler üzerine yapılmıştır. Kıbrıs ise, hiçbir zaman izole bir ada olmamıştır. Ada, tarih boyunca farklı insanların, devletlerin, kültürlerin ve dinlerin buluşma yeri olmuştur. Diğer tüm Akdeniz adalarında olduğu gibi Kıbrıs'ta da iç ve dış dünya arasındaki ilişkiler yerleşimlerin gelişim ve biçimlenişini etkilemiştir. Adadaki kentler üzerine tarihi bilgi bulmak güç değilken kırsal yerleşimlerle ilgili kaynaklara pek rastlanmamaktadır. Bugün adadaki kentlerin hızla değişip büyümesine ve yapısal çevrenin sıradan bir görünüm almasına karşılık, kırsal yerleşimler özel karakterlerini korumakta baska nedenlerle zorlanmaktalar. Bu yerlesimlerin coğu ihmal edilmiş, bir kısmı da tamamen terkedilmiştir. Bu yerleşimlerle ilgili yazılı veya görsel kaynakların pek bulunmayışı burada yapılacak çalışmada keşif gezilerinin ve dolaylı kaynaklara ulaşmayı sağlayacak geniş kapsamlı bir araştırmanın yapılmasını gerektirmiştir. Adanın kuzey kesimindeki kırsal yerleşimlerde 1997'den beri devam eden gözlem ve araştırmaların sonucunda yapılan bu çalışmanın amacı, kırsal yerleşimleri bir 'yer' haline getirmiş olan 'izleri okuyarak' yapılarla peyzaj arasında kurulan ilişkileri ortaya koymaktır.

Adanın özellikle kırsal kesimlerinde gözlenen ihmal ve terkedilmişlik tablosunda ekonomik, politik ve siyasi alanda hala yaşanmakta olan sıcak ilişkilerin yarattığı belirsizlik ortamının payı büyüktür. Bu ortamda yaşanan toplumsal çatışmalar ve göçler yerleşimlerin kaderini büyük ölçüde belirlemiştir. Çoğu oldukça yıpranmış durumda olan köy evleri, adada yaşanan toplumsal değişim ve dönüşümü ortaya koyan birer belge niteliği taşımaktadır. Geçmişte yöresel malzemeler kullanılarak geleneksel yöntemlerle yapılan bu evler, sahiplerinin tüm ihtiyaçlarına cevap verebilecek şekilde biçimlenmiştir. Kuzey Kıbrıs'ın peyzajını bu evler, sahipleri ve arazi beraberce oluşturmuştur. Bugün ayakta kalmış olan köy evleri hala bu peyzajın birer parçasıyken köy sakinleri ve yaşam tarzları için aynı şeyi söylemek güçtür. Çünkü göçlerle değişen toplumsal yapı, yeni yaşam gerekleri ve dolayısıyla mekansal değişiklik ihtiyacını da beraberinde getirmektedir. Zaman geçtikçe geçmişin 'yaşayan yer'lerine dair izler silinmektedir. Bu değişim ve dönüşüm sürecini yakından izleyebilmek amacıyla geçmişe ait izlerin daha okunaklı bulunduğu Dörtyol köyü özel bir örnek olarak incelenmiştir.

Kuzey Kıbrıs'taki kırsal dokuların ve köy evlerinin zamanla silinmekte olan mekansal özelliklerinin araştırılması ve belgelenmesinin kırsal yerleşimlerin geleceği üzerine yeni fikirlerin ortaya konulabilmesi için değerli örnekler oluşturduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Kırsal yerleşimlerin mantığının daha iyi kavranması için yaşam biçimi, peyzaj ve mimari arasında kurulan ilişkilerin yakından irdelenmesi gerekmektedir.

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