

AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO CONSERVATION BASED ON THE INTERRELATIONS OF TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE CULTURAL PROPERTIES (1)

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1. This paper gives an overview of the conceptual framework and the method of the study of the author's Ph.D. Thesis (Karakul, 2011), focusing on the evaluation of historic environments as an entity of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in conservation, which was completed in the Graduate Program of Restoration in the Department of Architecture METU, with the supervisor Prof. Dr. Ömür Bakırer and co-supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cana Bilisel.

Studies for the conservation of historic environments have evolved from the conservation of only physical properties to an inclusive conservation approach concerning cultural properties. The significance of the cultural aspects of historic environments has been realized and discussed especially since 1950-1960s. Despite of an increasing awareness of the subject, the studies on the identification and the documentation of intangible cultural properties are still less advanced than those on tangible cultural properties. Today, conservation practices within historic environments mainly focus on the discussions on preserving and continuing "cultural identity". In this respect, beside tangible cultural properties, intangible values embodied within the components of built environments, their identification, analysis and conservation also gain importance. This paper presents a holistic approach for analyzing historic built environments as an entity of tangible and intangible cultural properties. It mainly puts forward the assumption that intangible and tangible cultural properties need to be conserved together in historic environments. In this sense, it presents a conceptual model for analyzing the interrelations between tangible and intangible cultural properties, in other words, built environment and culture. Then, it applies this model on the İbrahimpaşa Village. As a conclusion, it puts forward possible conservation approaches for the sustainability of the integrity of interrelations between tangible and intangible cultural properties in the village.

INTRODUCTION

The critical debate on cultural heritage within conservation practices has changed its focus in recent years. Formerly the concept of cultural heritage comprised only tangible or physical properties, like, monuments, vernacular buildings and natural environments. The underlying cultural structure and the intangible aspects of the cultural heritage were not accurately considered through the history of conservation. Developments

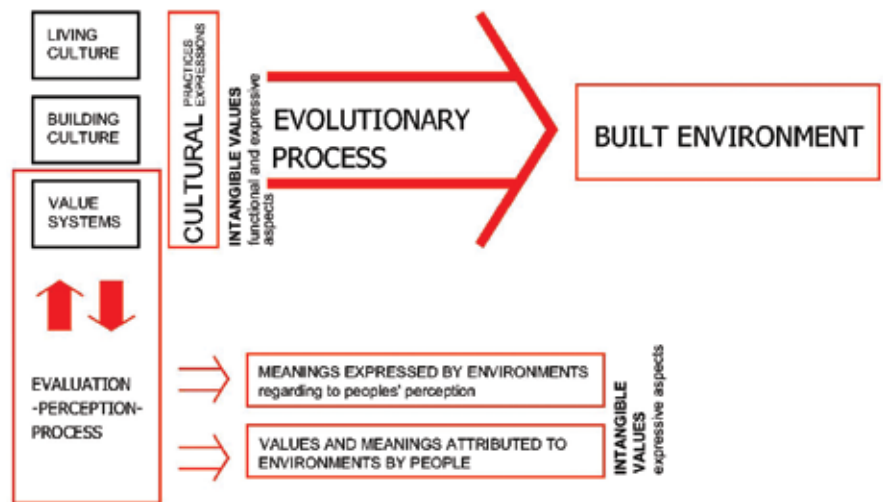


Figure 1. The synthesis on the different aspects of intangible values in theoretical approaches.

in the definitions of the concept of cultural heritage have put forth the progress of different understandings about conservation. Accordingly, the discussions of definitions starting from the conservation of only tangible features in the UNESCO 1972 Convention (2) to safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in the UNESCO 2003 Convention (3) have actually been the attempts to re-understand and re-define the entity of cultural heritage. Although the discussions have enriched the definition of cultural heritage, they could not lead to a holistic conservation approach yet. This study mainly aims to discuss the significance of the holistic approach focusing on the interrelations between intangible and tangible cultural properties.

To focus on the relations between intangible and tangible cultural properties, the previous conceptual approaches on the relations of culture and built environment present a general leading framework. After the rigorous evaluation of these approaches, it is concluded that intangible values seem to comprise a wide range from a shaping factor in culture on the formation and transformation processes of environments (4) to the values and meanings attributed to the built environment through the perception of people (5). Actually, the range designates the different aspects of the intangible values, which are formulated as 'functional' and 'expressive' (6) to organize in the conceptual model presented in this paper (Figure 1). This paper particularly concerns the shaping role of intangible values on tangible properties, focusing on functional aspects through a two-way process. Actually, intangible values form the shaping and creating factors within culture on built environment in the formation process of environments; and also controlled by it through a transformation process.

The essence of intangible values is mainly the meanings attributed to things, which are produced by people through their interactive process with nature. While those meanings can be both "functional" and "expressive", the things produced and affected by them can be both tangible and intangible properties. Accordingly, the intangible cultural heritage acts as both "producing" and the "produced". Considering the formative power of intangible values on architecture, it can be ascertained that the building materials do not mean anything alone; they are meaningful if only they are transformed to the buildings by human beings, conveying meaning to them. The intangible cultural heritage that is

2. In the UNESCO 1972 Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, cultural heritage was defined as comprising monuments, groups of buildings and sites.

3. The most recent, valid and detailed description of intangible cultural heritage was made in the UNESCO Convention held for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. This convention mainly aimed at determining the safeguarding principles of the intangible cultural heritage, which was defined as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills-as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith- that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage."

4. For detailed information, see Lawrence and Low, 1990; Malinowski, 1944; Rapoport, 1969.

5. For detailed information, see Eco, 1973; Rapoport, 1982 and 1990; Knox, 1984, 113; Lawrence, R.J., 1987.

6. The aspects of intangible values having a role in shaping the built environment are handled as "functional" aspects; and, values and meanings attributed to the built environments are evaluated as "expressive" aspects. For detailed information, see Lawrence and Low, 1990; Malinowski, 1944; Herskovits, 1958; Rapoport, 1969.

7. Assessing the previous discussions on space and place, which have continued since 1960s, Balamir and Uraz (2006, 2) point out that “a space becomes place when people attach meaning to it”.

8. Within the international documents, “cultural activities” was firstly used in the UNESCO 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, among the definitions regarding cultural expressions.

9. The terms “expressions” or “cultural expressions” were first defined in the UNESCO 2003 Convention and developed by the UNESCO 2005 Convention, as part of the definition of “cultural expressions”.

10. Values have always been the main issue in relation with the reasons for conservation (Feilden and Jokilehto, 1998, 14,18). Alois Riegl in his essay of 1903, *The Modern Cult of Monuments: its Character and Origin* (Riegl, 1998), examines the different values attributed to monument by making a specific classification for them. Riegl explains these values as “values of the past, namely, the age-value, the commemorative-memorial value and the historical value, and the values of the present, namely, the utilitarian value and art-value, newness value”.

11. These terms are also discussed in depth in the author’s previous studies (Karakul, 2007; 2008).

12. Bourdieu asserts that social life is ruled by different kinds of structures corresponding to certain material conditions of existence within a human group, namely, family, tribe, social class. His key concept *habitus* is a whole composed of these structures. According to him, these structures are both structured by practices within the material conditions of existence and work as “structuring structures” (Bourdieu, 1990, 53; 1977, 72).

composed of those meanings is effective in transforming ‘space’ to ‘place’ (7) and of ‘structure’ to ‘dwelling’.

TWO GUIDING CONTEXTS: INTERRELATIONS AND PROCESSES

The paper is mainly based on the assumption that historical environments as complex living entities in a state of continuous change need to be conserved through their complexities formed throughout their life process (Karakul, 2002; 2011). The integrity of environments is particularly handled as the entity of tangible and intangible cultural properties in the study. As an entity, a historical urban fabric is constituted by tangible features, namely, the physical structure made of the built and natural structure; and also intangible values, specifically, cultural activities (8) or practices and cultural expressions/ representations (9) within the built environments, meanings expressed by them and values (10) attributed to them (Karakul, 2007, 151; Karakul, 2008, 46). Historic environments are produced by the interrelations between tangible and intangible values through their formation and transformation processes.

Historic environments need to be examined by a specific approach to be developed considering their particularities with regard to their constitutive components and the process of their life. The conceptual model produced in this study is based on the argument that ‘interrelations’ and ‘processes’ (11) can be used as two guiding contexts to analyze the integrity of tangible and intangible values and to grasp their relations and change. Understanding the integrity of culture and the built environment is a two-sided process. Statically, it necessitates understanding the constituents of intangible and tangible values within culture and their relations. Dynamically, the understanding process needs to include the transformation of those interrelations in the evolutionary process of environments, specifically, generative, transformation and transmission processes.

The model presents a theoretical approach by synthesizing the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s approach (1990) to the “generation of practices” (12) and the anthropologist and architect Amos Rapoport’s (1982) approach to

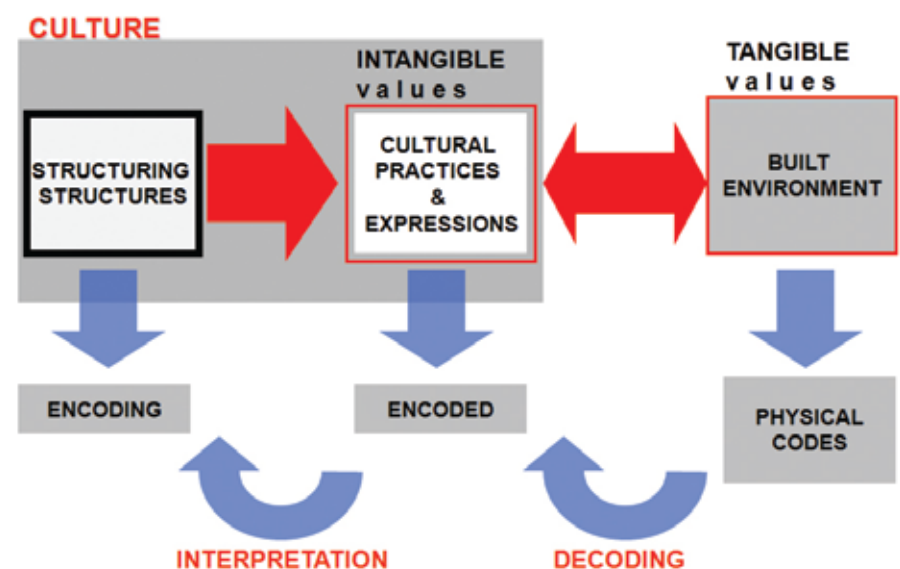


Figure 2. Interrelations between intangible and tangible values within culture, a synthesis of Bourdieu’s (1990) and Rapoport’s (1982) theoretical frameworks (Karakul, 2007, 157).

13. Stressing the distinction between 'the intended meaning and the perceived meaning', he asserts that the design of environment can be seen partly as a process of encoding information and that the users can be seen as decoding it (Rapoport, 1982, 19).

14. Family structure especially affects the built form in terms of its required activities, determining the functions of rooms, affecting the spatial organization of buildings regarding the association type of activities in result. To investigate its relation with the cultural expressions and indirectly with the tangible values, it can be separated into two as extended family and nuclear family in terms of the number and quality of people forming it (Oliver, 1997, 13 and Özmen, Başkaya, 1997, 43).

15. Kinship also affects the built form in a way of grouping (Rapoport, 2004, 120). In this respect, affecting the spatial organization of activities and the type of expressions, it takes expression in the form of settlement, street patterns and use of streets and housing groups or areas, including houses surrounded by walls. Within this study, the meaning of kinship is widened by attributing different meanings, that is, the groups of people having similar value systems, such as, immigrants, etc. with respect to their similar expressions over built environments.

16. Social structure is investigated with its four constituents, such as roles, status, identity (Rapoport, 2002), gender relationships (Kotnik, 2005) and privacy (Özmen, Başkaya, 1997, 45) in terms of their expressions over built environment. Identity and status mainly affect the cultural expressions. Changing roles of men and women especially lead to the differences of activities and spaces within buildings, or built environments and the settlement pattern of buildings (Rapoport, 2004, 122). Gender segregation and privacy are reflected within the spatial organization of the house leading to a clear separation between the activities requiring or not requiring privacy, under the effects of religious obligations (Özmen, Başkaya, 1997, 45). Privacy represents the control of transactions between person(s) and other(s) (Lawrence, 1989, 95).

17. They are accepted as a part of intangible cultural heritage within the UNESCO 2003 Convention.

the "meaning of the built environment" (13), to explain the static aspects of the interrelations between tangible and intangible values. This model benefited considerably from the Bourdieu's approach (1990) to formulate the triple interrelation system between 'intangible and tangible values' and "structuring structures". As displayed in the **Figure 2**, the synthesis is mainly based on the argument that culture establishes relations with the built environment through the medium of intangible values, which are generated by 'structuring structures' within it. 'Structuring structures' are accepted as the shaping factors in culture on intangible values (Karakul, 2007, 157-8); and, as seen in the diagram, they perform as the "encoding" factors of the intangible values over the built environment at the same time. Clearly, intangible values are the "encoded" principles within built environments to be decoded by people. Then, the built environment represents a whole set of physical cues, expressing the cultural codes enciphered over it.

To identify the interrelations of the constitutive components of 'structuring structures', intangible values and tangible values, this study uses "the method of dismantling" (Rapoport, 2002) and investigates culture in three parts, namely, 'living culture', 'building culture' and 'value systems' in terms of their expression types in the built environment as shown in the diagram below (**Figure 3**). Amongst the structuring structures in living culture, family structure (14), kinship (15), and social structure (16) are especially effective on the interrelations between intangible values, specifically cultural practices, and the built environment. Amongst the structuring structures in building culture, technology and knowledge (17), have the formative power especially on the cultural expressions or representations. Amongst the structuring structures in value systems, worldviews (18), values (19), lifestyle (Rapoport, 2001, 2002, 2004), value judgments (Pultar, 1997), ideals, images, mental schemata (20), meanings (Rapoport, 2002), and beliefs affect both cultural practices and cultural expressions.

The conceptually identified triple relations between 'structuring structures', 'intangible and tangible values' continue in a more complex and dynamic way through the evolutionary process of environments. Considering the

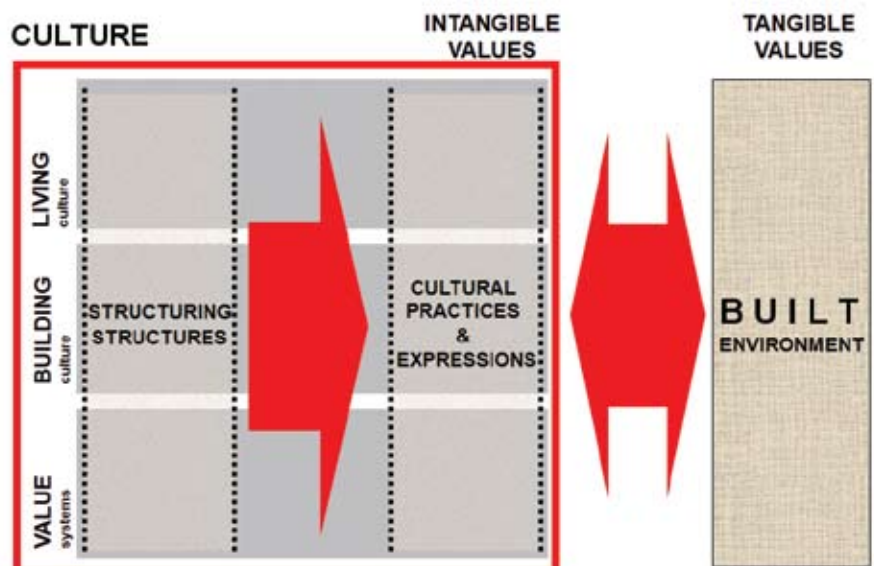


Figure 3. Two ways of dismantling culture regarding the relationships between intangible and tangible values.

18. Cosmology, the world view of universe, related to vertical, horizontal and central dimensions of the perception of arranging the universe, has affected the built form in many ways through history by determining cultural expressions (Tuan, 1974, 141-5). Tuan (1974, 141-5) further asserts that symbolical interpretation and the attribution of sacredness to places and landscapes are two closely related and characteristic ways of responding to the world in the prescientific age. In this respect, "mountain" and "valley" as scientific terms can carry the value-laden meanings of "high" and "low" in metaphorical thought. So, the expression of those meanings over built form can be symbolic landscapes representing the vertical aspiration within open landscapes or triumph over earth forces or sacred landscapes.

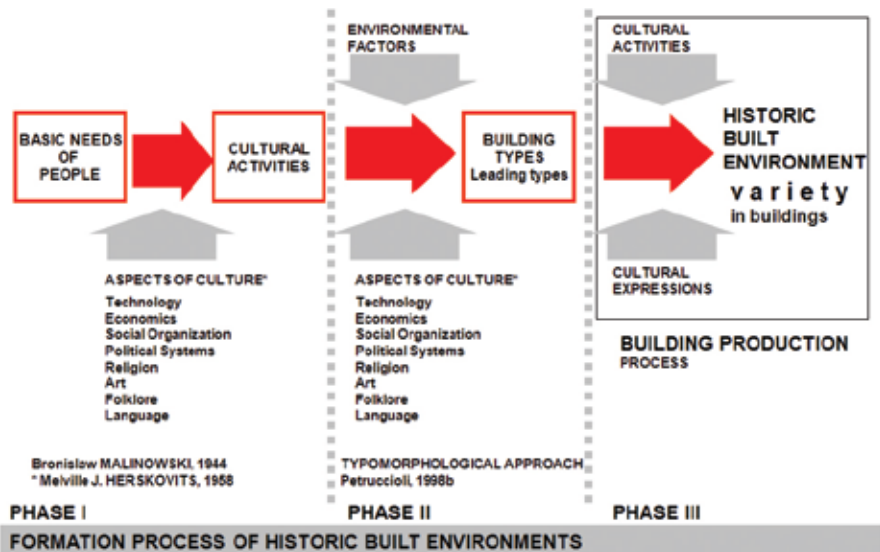


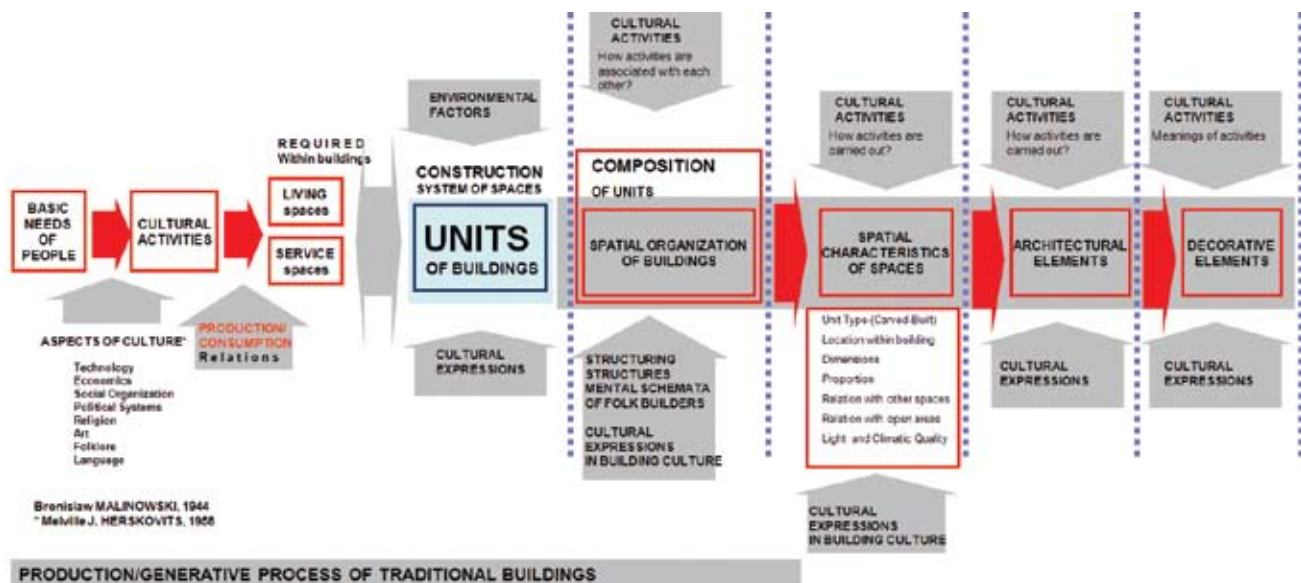
Figure 4. The generative process of historic environments.

19. Rapoport (2004, 114) evaluates "values" as a sub-theme to be investigated within the concept of "worldview". According to him, values forming a basis for preferences and selections are expressed with ideals, images, schemas and meanings, determining norms, standards, expectations and rules. Moreover, he states that "lifestyle" shaped as a result of selections determines "activity systems" (Rapoport, 2004, 118). In this respect, it can be stated that furniture used in living room (Erdemir, 1997), or housing types and materials or colors (Rapoport, 2001, 151), and even activities as a result of preference and selection of users, reflect their life-styles.

dynamic aspects of interrelations between tangible and intangible values, the different processes through which historic environments lived can be explained by synthesizing the different theoretical approaches. First, the generative process is explained in three phases, specifically, the formation processes of cultural activities, building types and the buildings with a synthesis of the Malinowski's (1944) and Herzkovitz's (1955) approaches to culture, Petruccioli's (1998) study on 'building types', Hubka's (1979) approach to 'folk design method' of the masters, and Rapoport's (1990b) analysis of activities (Figure 4, 5).

According to the formulation on the generative process of environments, it is argued that the basic needs of people create cultural practices; and, the interrelations between cultural practices and environmental factors constitute 'building types' (21) or 'leading types' (22); finally, the leading types are handled by the builders and the users as a model for producing the buildings (23) (Figure 4). To identify the specific rules in the generative

Figure 5. The generative process of traditional buildings.



PRODUCTION/GENERATIVE PROCESS OF TRADITIONAL BUILDINGS

20. Regarding the mental schemata, Rapoport (1982, 15) states that the human mind basically works trying to impose meaning on the world through the use of schemata. Thus, according to him, built forms are the physical expressions of these schemata.

21. "Type" is explained as an entity of a form and a way of life (Rossi, 1982), which can change from society to society. In this respect, type can briefly be defined as the expression of all society living through the change and transformation of the historical urban centers over the building process. So, the building typologies are continuously reproduced as a result of the continuous change of intangible values, such as, way of life, technology. The mutual relationships between cultural values and physical characteristics constitute the "productive and transformative forces" of "the architectural typology and urban morphology" of historical urban centers (Rational Architecture, 1978, 58-9).

22. Petruccioli (1998, 63) defines "leading type" as "a type as an expression of all society in a given moment" to be inspired and referred by everyone when building a house.

23. Hubka (1979, 28) asserts that folk design method is carried exclusively in the human mind and maintained within its culture by tradition, the handing down of information by word of mouth, observation, replication and apprenticeship. Rules and traditions in folk design method are not in treatises and drawings, but in the minds of its builders as a kind of highly abstracted architectural grammar, or schemata.

24. In UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the safeguarding of intangible values is explained as ensuring their viability, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage.

Figure 6, 7. Location of İbrahimpaşa in Cappadocia and an aerial view.



process of buildings, focusing on the interrelations between intangible and tangible values, a four-stage hierarchy of architecture ranging from the spatial organization, the spatial characteristics, architectural elements and decorative elements is used as the representatives of tangible realm to specify their mutual interactions with cultural practices and representations (Figure 5).

Dynamic interrelations of tangible and intangible values also need to be deeply interrogated in both the transformation process of historic environments and the transmission process of intangible cultural properties (24). The continuity and conservation of intangible values deeply depend on their transmission from generation to generation. Actually, the transformation process also conforms to the identified rules between 'structuring structures', intangible and tangible values as mentioned before. Accordingly, it can be argued that a change starts on the 'structuring structures' and then, affects the interrelations between intangible values and tangible values; and finally, the whole environment. This process has continued by keeping the balance and genuineness of the built environment for long years. However, recently, a rapid change (25) has destroyed the balance in the interrelations of intangible and tangible values in historic environments. In this sense, this paper specifically examines the transformation and then the transmission processes focusing on the interrelations between tangible and intangible values from the perspective of conservation.

CASE STUDY: İBRAHİMPAŞA VILLAGE

İbrahimpaşa is a village in Central Anatolia within the boundaries of the Cappadocia Region, which is officially related to the town of Ürgüp in Nevşehir (Figure 6). The Cappadocia Region is characterized by its peculiar earth formation, which is the product of a very long geological process (Erk, 1984, 14), and very suitable for construction in terms of carving out easily and as building stones getting hard after exposed to air (Erk, 1984, 34). Traditional buildings in İbrahimpaşa Village have been dominantly generated by various combinations of units which are defined within environmental conditions and building culture. In accordance with their construction system, the dwelling units have been produced by mainly two different methods, specifically, "carving-out" and "building-out" (26),

25. Interaction process between world countries regarding culture, economy and technology increased by globalization has formed the main source of the transformation process in historic environments recently. The process of globalization accelerated "the unification of technology, mass production" causing "unification of societies" and exerting "the particularities of national values" (Sargin, 1989, 11-2). The practices of intangible cultural heritage are more sensitive to the influences of homogenization and more difficult to protect against the unifying process of globalization (Wulf, 2004, 86). On the other hand, Bilsel (1989, 2-3) argues that "the rapid and uncontrollable process" of historic settlements leads to "the loss of spatial qualities and hence the erosion of cultural values". She also states that "the identity and unity of the whole has been lost", and that the "building tradition has been broken" to explain the rupture that took place in the relation between culture and built environment.

26. Stea and Turan (1993, 192) use the terms "carved-out spaces" and "built-out spaces" among "the major architectural elements to be considered in a study of placemaking in Cappadocia".

27. Folklore, which is defined as a science searching and evaluating the culture of a society bearing upon tradition, mainly uses four methods for research: field work, example event, search from written sources and other methods (Tan, 1997, 5 and 79).

28. Informants: Rujije Taktak, Semiha Ayaz, Abdullah Tosun, Hayriye Aktürk, Şeküre Koçdemir.

29. Informants: Mehmet Ali Kilimci, Muammer Erdoğan, Semiha Ayaz, Mehmet Emin Deveci, Ethem Öztürk.

requiring two different processes of construction, specifically, 'subtractive' and 'additive' processes (Stea and Turan, 1993, 190).

In the study of İbrahimpaşa Village, the focus is on the interrelations between cultural practices, cultural expressions; and the built environment. In this respect, first, the specific reflections of cultural practices are investigated within living culture with regard to their imprints on the tangible features; second, cultural expressions are investigated within the building culture, considering their transmission through the transformation of the built environment related to their conservation by identifying the specific examples from the village. The study uses the physical surveying methods for documentation of the tangible architectural features and the methods of folklore (27), such as in-depth interviews with villagers and builders and participant observation for the documentation of cultural practices and expressions.

LIVING CULTURE: INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN CULTURAL PRACTICES AND TANGIBLE ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES

Cultural practices in the village are mainly 'economic activities, domestic activities and social practices' under the effect of structuring structures, like social structure, family structure and economical structure. Interrelations of cultural practices and tangible features in living culture are mainly embodied in the spatial organization of the village, specifically, the relations between buildings and open areas besides the architectural organization of the buildings. The diversity of the open areas clearly exhibits the reflections of the cultural practices. Overlapping cultural practices are significant for understanding and describing the hierarchy of the open areas, which only seems to be related with the privacy and physical boundary concerns such as, visibility, accessibility. In this respect, the classification of open areas as public, semi-public- semi-private and private open areas is intimately related with the ways in which the cultural practices are carried out.

Among the public open areas in the İbrahimpaşa Village, the village square represents a focal point of cultural activities. It is used as a gathering place for any social practices, be it a wedding, a ceremony for leaving for the army, funeral ceremonies, or just a dispute or conversation among the inhabitants of the village and social interaction among men in coffee houses (28). Commercial activities are mostly carried out in the village square, in marketplace and shops as well. Semi-public open areas are intensively used for both social practices and working activities by the inhabitants of several neighboring dwellings including five or six family households. Entrances of buildings and semi-public open areas between buildings are especially used for social interaction among women, wedding ceremonies, preparing grape molasses and winter foods collectively (29). The flat roofs of the buildings investigated as the semi-private open areas and the courtyards examined as private open areas are investigated in the section on dwellings.

Considering the buildings, except for the coffee-houses and mosques, the public buildings have generally lost their original usage in the village. Among them, the old laundries, hearths, the old mosque, storages on the valley, pigeon houses and the chapel are common examples of structures out-of use due to the disappearance of the related cultural practices through the transformation process that the village lived through. Only laundries are still used limitedly as storages and slaughterhouse. Dwellings

embody not only the domestic activities but also some social practices and economical activities related to agriculture and animal husbandry. The major characteristic of the dwellings is a separation between the working and living activities in linked with the relations between production and consumption, which imposes some order on carved-out and built out units in the layout of the building. Three levels of cultural activities in two storey buildings is a common feature in the layout of the dwellings, except the underground carved-out levels. The number of levels can be more diversified by extra levels of flat roofs or terraces with their differences of height with few stairs, obtaining a possibility for the separation of cultural activities. The first or ground level of the dwellings mostly includes private open areas, working spaces and circulation spaces, rarely living spaces in which living, working and socializing activities are carried out. The second level includes living spaces, private spaces and private open areas in the dwellings without courtyards. The third level of buildings generally corresponds to the flat roofs, in which living, working activities and social practices are carried out.

Domestic activities in İbrahimpaşa Village comprise 'living' and 'working' activities. In the dwellings, living activities are mostly carried out in living spaces; so-called *Kemer Oda*, which is a built-out unit formed by masonry walls covered with an arched system. Working activities represent "production" in the dwelling. Daily working activities comprise the daily preparation of food for making a living and animal breeding. Periodical working activities are mainly the activities of the preparation for winter,

Figure 8. Interrelations between cultural practices and architectural characteristics in a traditional building from İbrahimpaşa.



30. Informants: Mehmet Ali Kilimci, Semiha Ayaz, Fatma Balcı, Hayriye Aktürk, Şeküre Koçdemir, Nilüfer Sokur.

31. Informants: Hayriye Aktürk, Muammer Erdoğan, Mehmet Ali Kilimci.

specifically, the preparation of winter food for one year, primarily, drying fruits and vegetables, preparing grape molasses-*pekmez*-, making bread in *tandır* (30). Working spaces are generally formed by the combination of one carved-out unit, so-called *Kayadam*, and one semi-open built-out unit, called *Kemeraltı* by villagers; or, only one-carved-out unit. Amongst the working spaces, the kitchen, *Tandır Evi* or *Tafana* are used for preparation of daily and periodical food. *Şirahanes*, where grapes are pressed, as an architectural element located in *Tafana*, were used as the specialized spaces for preparing grape molasses in dwellings in the past; but most of them are out of use today. Hayloft, storages, stables are the other working spaces in the dwellings (Figure 8).

Of the private open areas, courtyards, *Hayat*, are multi-purpose spaces in which living, working and socializing activities are carried out in the dwellings. The activities of accepting guests by women and preparing foods for winter in especially summer times are carried out in courtyards. Flat roofs as semi-private open areas are not only a local roof type; they have an important place in village life in İbrahimpaşa. They are also multi-purpose spaces in which living, working activities and social practices are carried out together; are especially used for drying fruits, apricots, pressing grapes, washing carpets and social interaction between women (31).

In summary, in İbrahimpaşa Village, tangible cultural properties, specifically, traditional buildings and open areas, embody various cultural practices of the villagers in relation to the economical and social structure. The variety of the interrelations between spaces and practices determine the genuine qualities and authenticity of the built environment to be considered in conservation studies.

BUILDING CULTURE: INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS AND TANGIBLE VALUES

Considering building culture, the village is noticeably rich in terms of the traditional buildings, which are the products of the local building tradition (Figure 9-1). As shown in the diagram summarizing the generative process (Figure 4), cultural expressions are the integral part of the process of the production of buildings together with cultural activities. The traditional

Figure 9-11. Different façade styles of traditional dwellings in İbrahimpaşa embodying cultural expressions.



32. The semiotic perspective adopted for this study mainly asserts that all cultural phenomena are systems of signs, and that culture can be understood as communication (Eco, 1973, 131). For understanding this communication process, Eco (1973) proposes a two-phase distinction between first "sign vehicles" or architectural signs and "meanings" to explain their mutual interrelations. Then, the meanings are grouped into two types as "denotative" and "connotative". Denotative meanings mainly include the primary, utilitarian function of the object; then, connotative meanings include the symbolic or secondary "function" of the object, that is, the latent aspects (Rapoport, 1990, 11), or latent functions of objects such as expressive needs, namely, meaning, symbolism (Stea and Turan, 1993, 9).

33. According to Hubka (1979, 28), 'folk design method' is carried exclusively in the human mind and maintained within its culture by tradition, the handing down of information by word of mouth, observation, replication and apprenticeship. Rules and traditions in folk design method are in the minds of its builders as a kind of highly abstracted architectural grammar, or schemata.

34. Informants: Mehmet Ali Kilimci, Halil Çınar.

35. Informants: Mehmet Ali Kilimci, Faruk Mağden, Adem Koçdemir, Kadir Tokgöz.

buildings exhibit a great variety of interrelations between cultural expressions and tangible properties. This study adopts the semiotic perspective for analyzing the cultural expressions within İbrahimpaşa Village, focusing on the 'connotative meanings' (32) (Eco, 1973); the 'latent aspects' of objects or the symbolic or secondary "function" of the object (Rapoport, 1990b, 11) with regard to architectural signs on the dwellings. In İbrahimpaşa, cultural expressions reflected on the buildings have been transmitted to present time especially by the relationships between master craftsmen and apprentices, which are mainly based on the information flow in linked with practices, skills, the techniques of masters (33). This information flow has provided the transmission process of cultural expressions in the local building tradition for long years ensuring the continuity of their relations with tangible features.

Physical features of traditional buildings embody the various interrelations established with cultural expressions, namely, 'meanings', 'symbols' and 'expressions of creativity of individuals'. Traditional dwellings embody the various meanings of 'identity', 'status', 'the traditional meanings of cultural activities', 'authentic/ anonymous meanings in local building tradition' and 'the traditional meanings of architectural elements related to customs and activities'.

Authentic/ anonymous meanings "are specific meanings in local building tradition which are shared by local stone masons related to 'the tradition of front facade ornamentation". The reason of the anonymity of these meanings is that the local building tradition has formed through long years by a cultural diffusion created by the co-existence of different social groups (Asatekin, 2005, 399). For instance, 'unfinished building elements' seen on the facades of buildings embody the 'authentic/ anonymous meanings in local building tradition', expressing 'sustainable/ open-ended construction' or 'additive quality of buildings' (34). There are also some architectural elements expressing the traditional meanings of cultural practices, like bird holes and pigeon houses, shelves for flowers, *Şirahanes*. Inscriptions, generally located above the main entrance door, expressing the meanings of identity are noticeably common observed in the buildings.

Decorative elements, composed of carved ornamentations conveying various meanings, mainly take place on the borders of the first floor on the front façade and the borders of architectural elements on the front façade and inside the dwellings. The most ornamented part of the facade is the bottom border, so-called, the mouldings, which includes geometrical motives, symbols and rosettes. The variety of ornamentation expresses the representations of identity of the builders and the period of the construction of the building besides the economic welfare of the inhabitants (35). Actually, all motives have certain symbolic meanings, which have been forgotten in time; but are still continuing anonymously in local building tradition by the builders. The complete of the front façade ornamentation are also the products of the creativity of the masters.

THE EFFECTS OF TRANSFORMATION PROCESS ON INTERRELATIONS OF TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE VALUES

Interrelations between tangible and intangible values in living and building culture have considerably changed under the effects of tourism, migration and the rising technological, economic and cultural interactions in the transformation process of İbrahimpaşa. Cultural, economic and technological developments have directly affected the 'structuring

36. In some of new buildings, *tandır*s are constructed in an elevated form for preventing women bending or cooking or using it by standing

37. Informants: Kadir Tokgöz, Saliha Balcı, Mehmet Ali Kilimci.



Figure 12. Preparing bread in *tandır*.



Figure 13. Preparing *tandır* for cooking.

structures' in living culture namely, family structure, social structure, and value systems, which directly influence the cultural practices and their relations with tangible features, mainly, spatial characteristics and architectural elements. Change in 'structuring structures' in building culture, especially technology, knowledge, economy, lifestyle in İbrahimpaşa, directly reflects on the cultural expressions. Changes in building technology are particularly influential in the transformation of the way cultural expressions reflect upon tangible features affecting the knowledge of masters. Changes of the value systems of villagers and builders motivated by the cultural interactions are another fact affecting the transformation and transmission processes of cultural expressions.

Change has created interruptions in the genuine interrelations between tangible and intangible values, which were established in the generative process of the environment. The variety of interrelations between tangible and intangible values, which is mainly caused by the reflections of the changing cultural practices and expressions on physical features, necessitates the differentiation in the state of conservation of buildings. For this reason, here, the subject, which was discussed conceptually above will be explained with several examples from the village to specify the conservation problems of the continuing, interrupted and new interrelations between tangible and intangible values.

CONTINUING INTERRELATIONS

They constitute the ongoing relations between cultural practices, expressions and tangible properties considering the effects of change. In İbrahimpaşa, the buildings in use generally continue to shelter traditional cultural practices and expressions with limited changes. This situation provides the sustainability of the interrelations of tangible and intangible values despite the limited changes in the spatial characteristics, the architectural elements and rarely, the decorative elements. Accordingly, the continuity of cultural practices also provides their transmission to next generations, which is prerequisite for their conservation.

Concerning the spatial organization and the spatial characteristics, the continuity in carrying out cultural practices brings into the continuity of the usability of original spaces. As an example from the village, the activity of preparing bread in '*tandır*' has still been carried out in the same way in the space of '*Tandır Evi*' with limited changes in its form (36) (Figure 12, 13). As a result of the quick adoption of 'modernization' and the readymade consumption habits by cultural and economic interactions, and the technological developments, like the introduction of the bottle gas, the frequency of preparation of bread in *tandır* has decreased through the village (37).

The changes in value systems and living culture, which are deeply related with the rising tendencies of migration and tourism, particularly influence the way these cultural activities are carried out. The changes in the ways cultural practices are carrying out have created a need for different or new spaces and a differentiation in architectural elements. Thereby, the dwellings in use release a tension created by the various changes in different cultural practices and new practices emerging. It means that in spite of the continuity of the cultural practice, new spaces started to be used in the transformation process to adapt to the changing conditions of life. In this respect, the old *Şirahanes* are worth examining as an example. In İbrahimpaşa, *Şirahanes* inside the buildings, which are located in the spaces



Figure 14. Pressing grapes by a collaborative process in a new Şirahane (Photo by Willemjin Bouman).



Figure 15. Boiling the special mixture of grape molasses.

Figure 16. Unfinished arches and stone masonry construction.

Figure 17. Unfinished stone masonry construction expressing sustainable/ open-ended construction or additive quality of buildings.

of *Kış Evi* or storages, are completely out of use in spite of the continuation of use in these spaces. Actually, changes in the ways the activity of preparing grape molasses is carried out bring new interrelations especially on spatial scale and in architectural elements, like, the introduction of the new *Şirahanes*, which can be constructed as a pool in the courtyards or the use of flat roofs. According to the information obtained from many informants in the site (38), the difficulties in carrying grapes to the old *Şirahane* carved into the rock and in taking grape juice from the pit called *Bolum* and the darkness of spaces are primary reasons for the abandonment of these spaces (Figure 14, 15).

Considering cultural expressions, some of the meanings and the expressions of creativity have still continued in relation with the continuation of local building tradition and the use of local building materials by masters. Among 'authentic and anonymous meanings', especially constructive meaning expressing a sustainable/ open-ended construction has still continued to be reflected on the unfinished building elements (Figure 16, 17). Especially for the restoration activities, the accurate documentation of this interrelation and the conservation of its continuity in local building tradition are significant. Unless the symbolic meaning of the unfinished elements is not known, they could be completed unconsciously during restorations. Moreover, the tradition of the front facade ornamentation and the expression of identity of the building and inhabitants on inscriptions are still continuing by changing. In spite of the continuity of the tradition of front facade ornamentation, the components or motifs of the carved ornamentation have entirely changed acquiring simplicity.

INTERRUPTED INTERRELATIONS OF TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE VALUES

The term 'interrupted interrelations', means a separation between tangible and intangible values. The abandonment of the dwellings by their original users, especially, caused by the rising tendency of migration is the most important reason of the interruption in the interrelations between cultural practices and tangible features in İbrahimpaşa. Changes introduced by tourism also play the leading role in the interruptions of interrelations between tangible and intangible values. The desire of making money easily in a short time, which is a result of the effects of tourism on value systems,





Figure 18. Old laundry now used as a Slaughterhouse.

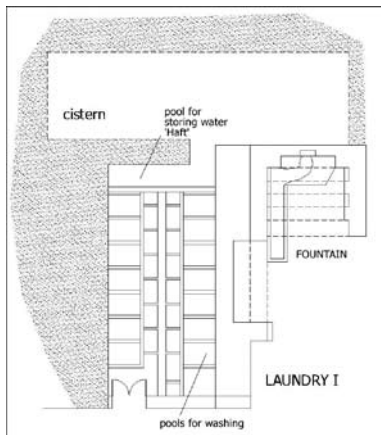


Figure 19. Restitutive Plan drawing of the old Laundry.

accelerates the trend of selling houses to outsiders and the increase in the commercial activities to serve the tourists in the village, motivating the interruptions between cultural practices and traditional buildings.

Changes in the value systems and the living culture, because of the increase in technological, cultural, economical interactions constitute another reason for the interruption in interrelations. Currently, in İbrahimpaşa, while the villagers prefer to live in new buildings; they also consider some traditional buildings and practices 'obsolete' and 'out of fashion' (39). The reluctance to perform cultural practices is resulted by a preference of ready-made consumption than local home-made foods. Decrease in the main subsistence activities, like cultivating the land and animal husbandry is also related to the transformation of value systems of the villagers. The villagers have increasingly pointed to the incompatibility between the traditional dwellings and the new life style recently.

Technological developments have especially caused certain cultural practices to disappear, and then, to interrupt their transmission processes. Then, the related buildings and the spaces within dwellings have become unused; in result, a considerable amount of abandoned or ruined building stock has come out in the village. In the village, besides the great number of out-of-use dwellings, there are two types of buildings out of use because of the interruption in the cultural practices: the old laundries and hearths (Figure 18, 19). Technological developments, first, lead to the disappearance of cultural practices carried out collectively, specifically washing clothes in the laundries and preparing bread in commonly used hearths. The related buildings and spaces have either fallen down or ruined, or destroyed by inharmonious functions given to them. Consequently, the disappearing cultural practices caused an interruption in the continuity in the interrelations between tangible and intangible values. As a result, the subsequent uses of those abandoned buildings emerge as a critical subject to manage the interruption in the process of conservation.

In addition to that, many cultural expressions have also disappeared in time although the local building tradition continues. Although some physical reflections of cultural expressions can still be observed in the buildings, their meanings have nearly forgotten by the villagers and builders. The traditional meanings of architectural elements in relation with agricultural and animal breeding practices lose their physical reflections on the environment; the related architectural elements started to be removed. The physical expressions of the traditional meanings of disappearing cultural practices have also vanished in the new buildings. Accordingly, bird holes and shelves for flowers on facades have not been constructed anymore because of the disappearing activities of feeding birds and flower growing in the village. Therefore, the documentation of disappearing cultural expressions is critical for transmitting information to next generations in conservation and new building projects.

NEW INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE VALUES

Besides the continuing and interrupted interrelations, some new interrelations between intangible and tangible values have also developed keeping the continuity of life despite of the change. To identify such new interpretations of interrelations are especially significant to underline the problems regarding the sustainability of the interrupted traditional relations. Besides the new expressions of the villagers observed in the

38. Informants: Sabahat Aslanap, Hayriye Aktürk, Halil Çınar, Zeliha Sarıkaya.

39. Informants: Sabit Aksoy, Mehmet Ali Kılımcı, Emine Balcı.



Figure 20. Living space in a restored building owned by an outsider.



Figure 21. Ornamented courtyard door of the restored building owned by an outsider.

traditional and new buildings, like new *Şirahanes*, with raising the selling trade and restoration activities, the different expressions of outsiders started to be embodied in the restored buildings (Figure 20, 21). In the former, the new ways in carrying out cultural practices could be observed in spatial features and organization; in the latter, the expressions of outsiders are mostly identified in architectural, decorative elements and the furnishing conforming to their life style and value systems in the restored buildings.

Considering cultural expressions, such new interpretations lead to the radical changes in the value systems, being an intrusion to the living and building culture of the villagers and masters. Increasing restoration activities exhibit the contradictions between the different interrelations created by the original users and the new users used in a misleading entity or atmosphere disregarding time, change and authenticity.

As an example of these contradictory relations, certain misleading ornamentation and architectural elements can be used unconsciously to create a so-called "authentic" environment during restorations under the name of "basic repair" (40). Actually, in the restoration sites, villagers work under the control of a builder from the village in a master-apprentice relationship experiencing an information flow from builders to the workers. It initially seems positive considering the transmission process of cultural expressions. But, according to impressions and information gained from interviews, a misleading information transfer could sometimes occur because of the lack of regular control of architects. Under the effects of tourism on the value systems of the villagers and builders, who attribute

40. Informants: Mehmet Ali Kilimci, Faruk Mağden.

41. Venice Charter puts forward the significance of the honesty which should be based on original material and documents in the restoration process: "The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case, must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument". Venice Charter, International Congress of the Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, 31.5.1964 (Erder, 1971). See also Feilden and Jokilehto (1998, 62).

42. Revitalization was introduced as a physical and economical conservation approach (Doratli, 2005), but, recently, it has gained a cultural dimension by its definition as a safeguarding measure for the transmission of intangible cultural heritage in the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and in the recent UNESCO studies. This study tries to combine and reinterpret these two frameworks of revitalization, as both the physical and economical approach and a safeguarding measure for intangible cultural heritage, focusing on the sustainability of interrelations of tangible and intangible values. (Karakul, 2009).

tourism an economic value, certain reflections of cultural expressions on physical features, especially the ones in the generative process of the traditional environment have become more 'crucial'. Thereby, concerning the carved ornamentation embodying 'authentic anonymous meanings' in local building tradition, 'older', 'highly ornate' has become more valuable than 'newer', 'simply ornate'. This situation accelerates the misleading information transfer between builder controlling the site and workers. Then, over-loading architectural or decorative elements completely destroys the authenticity of building contradicting with scientific restoration approaches (41) by giving misleading information about the original decorative elements and the spatial characteristics.

CONSERVATION APPROACHES FOR THE SUSTAINABILITY OF LIVING AND BUILDING CULTURE

The study mainly points out the continuity or sustainability of interrelations as the most critical issue in the conservation of cultural heritage. After the discussion on the genuine qualities of interrelations between tangible and intangible values in the conceptual model, in the present inquiry in İbrahimpaşa, the diversity of their interrelations with the related conservation problems could be clearly identified. As explained above, the differences in the interrelations between tangible and intangible values present the different states of conservation of the buildings and practices. Starting from the selected examples in İbrahimpaşa, the prospective conservation approaches ought to reply the question of how the sustainability of interrelations between tangible and intangible values can be provided both in living and building culture in rapidly changing conditions. In fact, it is significant to state that the reflections of the complex and dynamic structure of interrelations, caused by the intertwining relations between 'structuring structures', 'intangible values' and 'tangible values', ought to be conveyed to conservation approaches.

Today, most of the problems regarding the conservation of historic environments are principally caused by the imbalance between tangible and intangible features handled in conservation studies. Although conservation studies have made progress in the last decades, the study of the tangible features still dominates. Disregarding the transmission process of intangible values, the transformation process of historic environments has been tackled in conservation studies, mainly focusing on tangible features. If the reconciliation of those two processes can be succeeded in conservation studies, it is certain to increase the accuracy and consistency in implementations. Investigating the transmission process of cultural practices and expressions in transformation process, the study puts forward that if the interrelations between tangible and intangible values continues, then, they are conserved naturally; but, if they are interrupted, the conservation problems start. This study adopts the conservation approach, which is mainly based on the continuation of the continuing interrelations; and the revitalization and the documentation of the interrupted interrelations.

SUSTAINABILITY OF LIVING CULTURE

The genuineness in living culture expresses the continuity of the interrelations between cultural practices and tangible cultural properties conforming to the particularities of its context and the capacity of managing the change. The different state of change of interrelations between cultural

43. As determined in the Venice Charter, conservation of monuments is facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose considering that selected function should not change the lay-out or decoration, and the modifications necessitated should be within the limits. See Venice Charter, International Congress of the Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, 31.5.1964 (Erder, 1971).

44. Pinna (2003, 3) and Stefano (2009, 113) mention about the significance of expressing the meanings and values of people as well as physical description in museums.

activities and the physical environment helps to identify the particular conservation approaches. In İbrahimpaşa, for the sustainability of living culture and safeguarding cultural practices, 'revitalization' (42) and documentation needs to be considered as the appropriate approaches for conservation. For example, the interruption in the interrelation between 'washing' and 'laundries' presents the different conservation problems from the continuing interrelation with changes between 'Şirahanes' and the activity of 'preparing grape molasses'. Actually, the buildings out of use, like laundries, are the ones where the genuine interrelations between tangible and intangible values are lost in living culture. They also embody a conflict between the interrupted interrelations and the newly developed interrelations created by the transformation regarding their new uses (43), which need to be determined by the conservation projects. In the former case, the laundries have become obsolete functionally due to technological developments. Accordingly, in this case, the genuine interrelations between the buildings and the activity in the period, through which the laundries were used, are not possible to be revitalized today. Then, how can the genuine interrelations be re-created or revitalized?

Despite the interruptions in the traditional interrelations, both tangible and intangible values continue their existence by establishing new kinds of interrelations through the transformation process. For example, although the laundries lost their original function as a building for washing collectively, the emotional ties and memories related to the original interrelations and especially the associated social practices and togetherness, are still alive in the minds of villagers. Therefore, this memory value needs to be considered in the documentation and conservation processes accurately. Because of the impossibility of the revitalization of the activity of washing, the revitalization approach needs to consider the originality of interrelations in the past and the later attributed values of people, like the memory value with regard to the disappearing social practices with the building for their sustainability. At this point, considering the documentation of the disappearing practices, the role of museums also needs to be discussed. Especially, the new understanding of museums has responsibility for presenting tangible properties with its cultural expressions or developing new methods to conserve and display intangible cultural heritage (Alivizatou, 2006, 48). For the exhibition of disappearing cultural activities, old photographs, the sound recordings of interviews and oral histories can be used to convey both 'functional' and 'expressive' aspects of cultural activities (44). Both for displaying original materials and disappearing practice and revitalizing social practices among women, a multi-purpose social center and museum can be appropriate for the new use of the laundries.

In other cases, the changing interrelations, like the one between the activity of preparing grape molasses and the unused traditional Şirahanes could be regenerated only by improving the physical conditions because of the continuous transmission of the activity. The practice of preparing grape molasses has continuously carried out by the villagers for long years; thereby, its continuous transmission also proves that the meaning of activity is still kept in their minds. About how şirahanes can be operated more efficiently and profitably, a support to local people for revitalization needs to be considered. The village inhabitants need to be supported by the conservationists and the local authorities to start to use Şirahanes after improving their conditions and eliminating the difficulties in carrying grapes and taking grape juice from *Bolum*.

45. UNESCO encourages States to establish national systems of "Living Human Treasures"; in this respect, bearers of intangible cultural heritage, like builders, are identified and encouraged to continue to develop and transmit their knowledge and skills. (See <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00061>) last accessed in 5.5.2010)

SUSTAINABILITY OF BUILDING CULTURE

The sustainability of building culture can be discussed with regard to the sustainability of interrelations between cultural expressions and tangible properties in İbrahimpaşa. Cultural expressions are mostly related to the local building tradition and the building culture; so, their sustainability and conservation is intimately linked with the practice of the masters in the implementation of restorations and new buildings. If the masters continue to practice the traditional ways of building and the physical attributes of cultural expressions in local building tradition in new building technology, then, their sustainability can be provided.

The interrelations between cultural expressions and tangible features in their literal meaning can only be sustained in restorations. It cannot be accepted that new buildings are built by imitating traditional for the sustainability of cultural expressions. Regarding their sustainability, to continue the traditional ways of buildings by the builders, use of local materials helps to develop to re-create cultural expressions by re-interpreting their actual meanings. Particular to the new buildings, sustainability means to continue the holistic meanings of cultural expressions by interpretation within the specific context and time. The documentation is critically important for the sustainability of the interrupted interrelations in both the restoration works and the new buildings. The documentation entails inventorying the integrity of the relations between 'meanings', 'symbols' and 'expressions' and their physical imprints. Besides the physical surveying methods, folklore and ethnographic research methods also need to be used for understanding the cultural expressions accurately. The development of 'master- apprentice relationships' provides the transmission of cultural expressions in local building tradition. "UNESCO Living Human Treasures System" (45) needs to be considered as an important safeguarding measure for the sustainability of the building culture, which necessitates the support of the masters for practicing, their training and the compilation of their knowledge and providing the transmission of their know-how to the apprentices.

CONCLUSION

The conservation of historic environments is an issue related to understanding the genuine relations between tangible and intangible properties. This study emphasizes the significance of understanding, documentation and analysis of the integrity of tangible and intangible values, and, presents a conceptual approach and the method of the study related to this intention. It also argues the specific conservation approaches for the various interrelations of tangible and intangible values, established in transformation process. The conservation problems in historic environments are mainly caused by the interruptions in the interrelations of intangible and tangible values that are mostly related to the intangible values, not carried out in living and building culture and not transmitted to new generations. In this respect, the study mainly points out the sustainability of interrelations between intangible and tangible values as the most critical issue in conservation.

In conclusion, triple interrelation system between 'structuring structures', intangible and tangible values, which actually reveals the binding rules of the integrity of historic environments needs to be considered

in conservation practices. As identified in transformation process, the integrity of historic environments starts to be degraded when certain constituents of interrelations change or disappear. For this reason, in every context, these mutual and complex interrelations need to be re-investigated to find the specific rules that are binding the different aspects of tangible and intangible values with each other for conservation. The sustainability of interrelations needs to be discussed in the living and building culture concerning their different aspects and the different conditions of change. The conservation approaches are mainly based on the revitalization and the documentation of the interrupted interrelations; and the support or the encouragement of the continuing interrelations. The critical issue in conservation is the public participation both as the enactors of cultural practices and as the conscious individuals aware of the significance of conservation. For the sustainability of the building culture, in terms of the continuation of cultural expressions, training and organizing the masters is significant. The experienced and old masters need to be found for the transmission of their knowledge to the apprentices; the interrelations between cultural expressions and tangible features need to be documented accurately.

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Anahtar Sözcükler: somut ve somut olmayan kültür varlıkları; yaşama kültürü; yapı kültürü; kültürel pratikler; kültürel anlatımlar; sürdürülebilirlik; koruma.

SOMUT VE SOMUT OLMAYAN KÜLTÜR VARLIKLARININ ETKİLEŞİMLERİNE DAYANAN BÜTÜNCÜL BİR KORUMA YAKLAŞIMI

Fiziki özelliklerin korunmasıyla başlamış olan tarihi çevre koruma çalışmaları, kültürel özelliklerin korunması da içeren kapsamlı koruma yaklaşımlarıyla sürmektedir. Tarihi çevrelerin, kültürel yönlerinin önemi, özellikle 1950- 60 yıllarından itibaren tartışılmaya başlanmıştır. Artan farkındalığa rağmen, somut olmayan kültürel varlıkları saptama ve belgeleme çalışmaları, fiziki varlıkların belgelenmesinin oldukça gerisindedir. Günümüzde, tarihi çevre koruma pratikleri, esas olarak, kültürel kimliği koruma ve sürdürmeye odaklanmaktadır. Bu bakımdan, somut özelliklerin yanısıra, yapılı çevrelerde somutlaşan, somut olmayan değerlerin saptanması, incelenmesi ve korunması önem kazanmaktadır. Bu yazı, tarihi çevreleri, somut ve somut olmayan kültür varlıkları arasındaki ilişkiler bütünü olarak incelemek için bütüncül bir yaklaşım sunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, esas olarak, tarihi çevrelerde, somut ve somut olmayan kültür varlıklarının birlikte korunması gerekliliği savını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu açıdan, tarihi çevrelerde somut ve somut olmayan kültür varlıklarının, başka bir deyişle, kültür ve yapılı çevrelerin etkileşimlerinin incelenmesine yönelik bir kavramsal model sunmakta ve bu modelin, İbrahimpaşa Köyü'nde uygulamasını yapmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma, köydeki somut ve somut olmayan kültür varlıklarının etkileşimleri ile oluşan bütünlüğün sürdürülebilirliğine yönelik koruma yaklaşımları önermektedir.

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