The last inhabitants of Anatolia, the Turks, produced a unique vernacular architecture. Working within the spirit of a distant nomadic life, they developed a highly versatile, functional and visually exciting house-form that became acceptable to a diverse group of people with various ethnic backgrounds and religious preferences. The small eighteenth-century town of Safranbolu provides a good case study of this architecture. Vernacular architecture in Safranbolu became the root of urban form, as houses related to streets as a way of life. The strength of the architecture of Safranbolu lies in a dedication to house design as cultural expression based on certain maxims and construction traditions. One aspect of this cultural expression is a belief that the needs of the community should take precedence over the needs of the individual in the creation of public space. Another is the belief in a self-sufficient private and secular house-form. The architecture of Safranbolu provides a beacon of hope for the future.

The predominantly eighteenth-century town of Safranbolu is a highly developed, well preserved example of high vernacular architecture (FIG. 1). It is perhaps the only town with substantial examples of unspoiled high vernacular remaining in Turkey today. In Safranbolu vernacular architecture became the root of urban form out of the magic of street-making, house-making and room-making, activities that intertwined to create a sense of happiness for the residents of the town. The strength and beauty of Safranbolu lies in the dedication of its builders to good design and planning based on a series of maxims.1
In Safranbolu one can find a laboratory to study houses in a comparative perspective — as houses were, as they are, and as they may be. Through architecture one can see how a cherished way of life developed into a culture that was expressive of shared beliefs, values, customs, traditions, maxims and behaviors. Built spaces reflected what people believed to be a true world view; they embodied what people held to be good and bad; and they were achieved according to shared feelings and consensus. A series of maxims suggested the nature of streets. Others directed the adjustment of the house to the street. And just as the house became the micro-model of the macro street, so the room became the micro-model of the macro house.

This paper focuses not on how strong adherence to building traditions tends to stifle architectural growth, but on how a mix of planning maxims, building traditions and living customs tends to allow architectural change, growth and excellence.

THE REGION

Anatolia has been a cradle for many civilizations (Fig. 2). The last group to predominate and create a unique civilization were the Turks, the makers of two empires: the Seljuk Empire and — from the thirteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century — the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottomans inherited cultural legacies from both the Byzantine and Seljuk Empires, but neither legacy left a tangible imprint on housing traditions. Similarly, little evidence remains today of Ottoman vernacular architecture before the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This lack of architectural legacy was partially due to the general level of neglect in which Anatolia has been kept by its rulers. It was also partially caused by fires, earthquakes, and the Liberation War of 1919, which diminished the housing stock considerably. Adding to the problem has been the fact that the populace in general has built only with cheap, impermanent materials. Forced Westernization beginning in 1839 further accelerated the degeneration of housing stock.

Throughout the period of Ottoman rule people of different nations, religions and ethnic backgrounds lived together with the Turks. The empire was initially founded as a federation in which each nation was assigned a primary economic role. In this rigidly enforced system, the Turks were mandated to become soldiers, farmers, and sometimes bureaucrats. The result was that the majority of Turks were treated as peasants, making them as much a minority as any other group. As time went...
on, the old and agriculturally tired Anatolia became a neglected and impoverished domain. It was taken for granted in the affairs of government and left to survive by itself. After a long period almost entirely free of outside interference, a unique architecture became the genesis of a type of urban form whose influences transcended the geographic borders of the region.5

During this time the Turkish house became acceptable for all people living in Anatolia. Even though the Turks were Moslems, the Anatolian house did not strictly govern the separation of men and women. The flexible plans that developed allowed or suggested separation only when required, and then only with moderation and finesse. Other religious and ethnic groups used the Turkish house-form because it made sense, thereby allowing a secular house-form to evolve that satisfied all the people of Anatolia.6

Excluding the complex vernacular of the big cities, the small town and the rural village vernaculars can be seen as the two main typologies. Farmers (peasants) created one- or two-room marginal shelters made of adobe, the most readily obtainable and affordable building material. This rural village architecture, dominated by strong traditions, has shown almost no change since the days of Catalhoyuk and the Hittites.7 Village buildings were adequate answers to the four severe seasonal climates of Anatolia. Thick adobe walls and thick compacted earth ceilings provided the needed insulation. And yet these features made the buildings of the rural village vernacular unsafe in a land that experienced frequent earthquakes, heavy snowfalls, and torrential rains and floods.

My observations over twenty-five years of the rural villages of central Anatolia have allowed me to postulate a hypothesis regarding the prevailing lack of change in building technology. This is that lack of change can be attributed to a strong adherence to building tradition and religious dogma coupled with a persistent poverty. Poverty has forced people to live on the brink of survival and allowed them to construct only the merest of shelters.8

In village-planning and house-building there has been no discussion, only traditions. After each earthquake, each catastrophe, buildings have been re-built exactly as before, and no lessons have been learned. Hence, village vernacular tends to have a low spatial and visual interest for many architects.9 To the villagers with their absolute belief in fatalism and their religion pointing towards a better world at another time, it has been unnecessary for buildings to change. After millenia of building without thinking or questioning, both the process and the product have become stagnant. Even when there have been towns that villagers have traded with that have contained more highly developed, safer buildings, none of what the villagers have seen has seemed to cause changes in their attitude.10

THE TOWN AND ITS STREETS

While archaeological evidence suggests that Safranbolu was founded many millenia ago, its Turkish Ottoman background dates only to the early fourteenth century.11 As it stands today, Safranbolu's building stock is largely made up of eighteenth- and early twentieth-century houses. In Safranbolu outside forces for change are deliberately fought by a desire to preserve the existing physical structure.

Safranbolu has traditionally been a town of about 6000-8000 inhabitants.12 It is situated along the slopes of a deep gorge with a small river running through it. There are four distinct seasons. The winters are snowy but not cold, and the summers are hot but not dry. The town is located at a "break of bulk point" on a traditional trade route.13 Traders traditionally rested here, creating the need for the large Cinci Hoca Inn with its sixty rooms, storage and stable facilities. The center of town dev-
eloped as a trade center for the major local industry -- tanning and leather products. Until the advent of industrial technologies, the products of Safranbolu were exported as far as Istanbul and other cities under the rigid and watchful eyes of the guilds. Together with the benefits provided by ample water supplies and agricultural land, some of the wealth accumulated from this industry found its way into the physical setting of the town.

Carpenters, adobe makers and stone masons were employed to make the buildings. Families helped, and plans were standardized and fitted into the site. By definition, everything that existed nearby prior to a building project was respected. A tree, a boulder, a view, another house, the wall of a neighbor's garden, the privacy of others: all were accepted and related to with the belief that this made for a better way of life. Above everything, the land and the topography were accepted. The challenge of slopes, irregular lot sizes and curving streets became reasons for creativity (FIG. 3). This constituted design by reaction; newcomers related to all that had come before. Accepting the challenge and finding a common-sense solution is one of the maxims of vernacular architecture.

In siting a house in relation to the street, the ground floor and the garden wall followed the street to continue its established edge. The second story then prepared the way for the formal third floor. Regardless of how irregular a lot was, its shape was
accepted and the regular plan of the top floor was achieved by design. In doing so the cobblestone street and the stone-walled ground floor became visual extensions of one another. This made visual reality out of the statement that where the street stopped the house started, and where the house stopped and the street started (FIG. 4). Thus after a street developed it was almost impossible to determine whether the house came first, or vice versa (FIG. 5).

Many maxims were developed for making streets that would be "narrow" with one part in the shade and one part in the light and yet wide enough so that pedestrians, animals and carts could move with reasonable ease (FIG. 6). The width of streets, designed to be at the scale of people and animals, also related to the height of the buildings. All of these non-dimensional widths were arrived at by consensus of the occupants of houses on the street. Other maxims called for streets to be short, so there would only be a small number of houses on them and they could form into and act as a community. Streets also followed contours and became curved. It was said that being on the curve made every house different and thus more equal.

THE GARDEN AND THE HOUSE

In Safranbolu the ground floor wall of a house facing the street is always unbroken and solid. The only major opening is the entrance. In a house with a walled garden, entrances are sometimes made into the garden first. The garden, with its flowers, fruit trees and small vegetable plot, is the closest relation the house has to nature. Whoever built a garden wall first made sure that the water drained off it into their garden. A double-door gateway provides entry into the garden. Each side of it is wide enough to allow passage for a cow, a horse or a loaded donkey (FIG. 7, 8). Until recently each household would have had this minimum combination of animals in their stables. These would have been located either on the ground floor of the house or in a separate building in the garden.

In Safranbolu the language of building technology is very rich. Above the ground floor buildings are built in half-timber with adobe and sometimes limestone infill. This is then plastered over and whitewashed, leaving the aged dark color of the wooden parts to contrast with the white of the walls (FIG. 7). A maxim calls for buildings to show how they were built. For every detail the language has an appropriate name, and for every part of the building there is an appropriate tool. This specialized language is not elitist. It is known and used by laymen and craftsmen as part of everyday speech, thereby making communication and participation possible.

The private space or place inside the garden is called taslik and is a place to sit and sometimes do chores. The door to the house opens into a functional space called hayat, meaning "life" (FIG. 9). Major storage, yukluk, occurs here, and the stairs up to the second floor begin here. At the foot of the
stairs a person leaves their shoes in an area called pabucluk, "shoe place." People on their way out always find their shoes paired, cleaned and pointing toward the outdoors. Taking the shoes off is an old custom left over from nomadic days. It is done out of respect for the house and the guests. The remainder of the ground floor is divided into a cooking area for large-scale food preparation, a place to store firewood and animal feed, and the stable. These spaces are well ventilated by grills, and they constitute seasonal production areas for the self-sufficient family. The ground-floor wall, after being parallel to the street, forms the house by acquiring a rectilinear shape in the garden. This allows it to prepare for the second floor, the transitional floor that leads to the third, or main floor (FIG. 10).

The second floor is for the family and the daily chores. One of the rooms here is set aside for cooking. Since daily meals are frugal except for the main course eaten in the late afternoon, this room differs from a kitchen. The major difference between it and other rooms is that it has more cupboards for storing pots and pans. Food preparation is done on the floor over a piece of fabric called catki. Frugal use of water to wash dishes and to clean vegetables and cooking enough for one sitting at a time are customs carried over from nomadic days. Storage could be elsewhere, keeping only spices, salt, tea, sugar and the like in this space. Making of bread and baking take place either in the oven on the hayat or in the garden. The fireplace is used for cooking with a wood fire, and enough wood is brought up and stored on either side of it. Every day the fireplace is thoroughly cleaned and whitewashed. There is a designed space with an appropriate name for every utensil in this room. All of these places are part of the architecture, and they come with the building. Probably an initial correspondence existed between possessions and space, since this fit is too good to be an accident or the result of afterthought. Rooms in this transitional floor are often for daily living and sleeping, and when separation of the sexes is warranted, they are used by the men.

THE ROOMS

It is well beyond the scope of this paper to dwell upon the functions and types of all rooms in the house. Therefore, after brief discussion of the hall, the sofa, I will only investigate the rooms in general.

The stairs to the top floor arrive in the hall. The main room is close to these stairs, making it possible for it to be used as a guest room without disrupting the life of the rest of the house. Where the stairs end arched frames sometimes mark the end of vertical circulation, showing the transition to a new space (FIG. 11).

The hall is usually built to be any shape that allows the other rooms on the floor to become as close to a square as possible. Depending on where the hall is located, various house typologies have been developed. But diagrammatically all houses have the same plan. Maximum variety within a very strict order is achieved by this kind of design. The sofa is an organizer. All the rooms relate to one another by it. Bathrooms become accessible through it. All
day long it acquires the role as the space for self-sufficiency, for the production of long-term food preparation and preservation, for weaving, socializing and even sleeping. In Safranbolu, the term *cardak* is used for this hall. This all-purpose space is the domain of women during the day as a result of their economic contribution to family life. Often its ceiling is the untreated roof itself, reminiscent of the *sofa* once having been outdoors. Its floor is one step lower than surrounding rooms and often is it left uncovered. The space is defined by the walls of the rooms, but this never results in it being thought of as left-over space. The *cardak* is a space that accommodates the form of the rooms, and it is a designed space. Like the rest of the house, it has its own vocabulary and appropriate names for different areas and functions.

The other rooms on the floor are often symmetrical-ly balanced about the *sofa*. Normally there are rooms in all four corners. Sometimes this number is reduced to two in small houses or increased to up to five or six rooms in large houses. Plans of rooms in the houses of the rich and the poor are the same although richer people will tend to have larger and more ornate rooms. The reason for this is the nomadic *acardak* background which created a lifestyle of minimum possessions. When this lifestyle was coupled with the Moslem notion that a frugal life of hard work opens the doors to a better life in the next world, a wonderfully simple, highly organized, exceedingly functional and humanly beautiful architecture emerged. The room became inclusive of what people believed to be a true world view and what they hold to be either good or bad. The house and its rooms became self-centered, introverted and separated from the rest of the world by choice, just like a tent on the plains.²²

Another maxim is that at least one room, often the main room, should be designed with a visual relationship to the street. The street is considered the public extension of every private house. Monitoring the street is a significant part of life, and so at least one room must see as much of it as possible. But in doing so each house must respect all prior houses and relate to them by not cutting their views or their breezes (FIG. 12, 13).²³ This outreach-ing into the street allows cross-ventilation from the street as a bonus. Thus the street and the houses on

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**FIGURE 10. A town house, all three floors (After Günay).**
USE OF ROOMS

In Safranbolu each room is designed as a self-sufficient unit -- a work room, a living room, a dining room and a bedroom, as the need may be. Entrance often comes at the corner (FIG. 14). The wall facing inward has the fireplace. The corner containing the entrance is often mitered. The area of the door-swing is at the same elevation as the hall, but the room is one step higher. This allows for a show of respect when the room is used as a ceremonial space, and it provides a sense of coming into a different place. The direction of the door-swing and the act of coming into the room are perpendicular to one another (FIG. 15). As one changes direction to move into the room, a balustraded handrail separates the transitional space from the rest of the room.

The ceiling at the door-swing area is depressed, but the ceiling of the room itself is high, three meters or more. The feeling is one of spaciousness and light. Windows always appear in a rhythm of solids and voids (FIG. 16). Where the windows start is where the sedir, or fixed seat, stops. Where the windows end a shelf runs around the room visually collecting both the tops of the windows and rows of fancy copper utensils. The height of the shelf is determined by how far its occupants can reach. Window dimensions are thus determined by two human acts, seating and reaching up.

FIGURE 11. Arch frame detail top of stairway into "cardak".

FIGURE 12. House stretching out into the street.
(TOP RIGHT)

FIGURE 13. Rhythm of bracketed cantilevers respecting one another. (BOTTOM RIGHT)
The corner across from the entrance is the place of honor where the owner and most distinguished guest may sit diagonally across from each other (FIG. 17). The sedir is designed so it can be sat on cross-legged or with one leg under. It is covered with runner rugs, and its back is made of rug cushions (FIG. 18). Often sets of identically designed rugs are used throughout the room, but sometimes there is a mixture of different designs. Above the windows, above shelf level, a room has upper light windows. Made of two layers of glass (the inside one of which is colored and set in plaster of Paris,) these serve both as decoration and as a second source of light and color (FIG. 16). Each room with its colored glazing and its rugs bearing abstract geometric patterns and brilliant colors recreates the very nature that the house initiatly shut out. This symphony of colors is further accentuated by a dark wood abstract geometric design in the ceiling (FIG. 19).

Rooms can function with two people sitting at any corner, as well as with any number of people seated around the sedir (FIG. 20). When all seating is with people’s backs to the walls, everybody’s vision is focused into one another and into the space of the room. This reinforces a sense of togetherness and unity, a quality that is precious in a family. Since people look in while they sit, they look out by choice. This choice is exercised by shifting the
body to one side or turning the head. One sees out by choice and not by force.

Doing things by elegance is a Safranbolu maxim. As one looks out, one sees a very sophisticated window, balustrade, screen and shutter combination, an unusually rich way of separating the inside from the outside (FIG. 21). Since windows come all the way down to the back side of the seats, they are dangerous for little children, the balustrades keep the children safe. The screen is for ventilation and visual privacy. The shutters are for climatic protection as well as for symbolically announcing retirement to the street. Finally, the actual window can be opened a number of ways for air. The inspiration for all these elements is the sedir which is not a mere addition to a room, but an integral part of its design and construction. The sedir's dimensions are universal and so migration from one house to another is painless. From outside the height of the sofa and the height of the shelf are seen as two dark lines and the height of the sedir is seen as a horizontal band. This creates one of many design elements for unity in the overall environment. Constancy and change, variety within order: these are the maxims that the carpenters of Safranbolu cut and hammered into their buildings.
Inside the room, the wall containing the fireplace is full of closets and niches for storing and displaying functional and sometimes sentimental objects. The closet stores bedding, clothes and towels, wrapped up with embroidered fabrics into bohca, bundles. One of the closets is used as a washbasin for ablutions. Various cupboards and closets in other walls acquire different names depending on what they store. The closets are always below the shelf level.

The elaborate ceiling is perhaps and abstraction of the sky brought in where the sky’s infinity is searched for. Very much like the tent of the nomad was the generator of nomadic life, the room is the generator of the house. The house is the generator of the street; and the streets, the town.

**CLIMATE CONTROL**

In the nomadic tradition, during the hot summer months the family moves to a summer house built higher up within a large, productive garden. The town houses did not need to concern themselves too much with mediating against the summer heat. Heat control was taken care of in the summer house by proper orientation, cross-ventilation, and circulation of breezes under the house. Part of the summer building is on stilts so that rooms may be cooled. The act of moving each year is a ritual still adhered to in Safanbolu and all over Anatolia. This migration is an accepted way of life, and it requires that all household goods be easily transportable.

In Safranbolu a house’s orientation was not determined by climatological concerns but by its relation to the street. The only truly oriented part of a house in climatological terms was a small balcony on the south side that was used to dry food and air clothes. Beyond this the all-purpose rooms and the symmetrical plan were the solution. For every season and need one could find an appropriate room. People moved from room to room through the morning and afternoon, summer and winter.

The half-timber structural system over a thick stone ground floor was adequate protection against earthquakes. The thick adobe infill, together with the shutter, protected windows and provided appropriate insulation against the cold. For daily use in winter only one room would be heated. This created the opportunity for the whole family to
come together. Dinner sitting around a low table or copper tray would make a room the dining room (FIG. 22). Bedding brought out of a closet would turn a room into a bedroom (FIG. 23). Every room in the house also doubled as a prayer room. Rug-covered floors and privacy made them all perfect for this purpose. Since spaces were never entered with shoes, and since the house was always kept impeccably clean, the all-purpose room, easily became a shrine. Within the house a very strong sense of personal place was developed by mutual consent. A particular corner could belong to any one person (FIG. 24). When a person was in that corner, it meant that they wanted to be left alone, and this wish would be respected. A person could always have maximum privacy even in a crowded house. This sense of personal territory coincided with everything else in the house. In a system where the house is designed with all its features fixed in place, a hierarchy determined by age would pass absolute judgement on disputes. Within the system there was an accepted process to register grievances and objections. All of these were rigorously adhered to since peace could only reign by maxims.

A BEACON FOR THE FUTURE

Safranbolu’s architecture, or rather vernacular architecture in general, as depicted in house-form cannot and should not be explained as the culmina-
tion of physical forces present in climatic or material or local technologies. It is the result of a large range of social, economic and cultural factors that use climate, local materials and technology to express a complex inner self. That complexity can best be understood by analyzing past and present aspirations of the people. In this way some of the contradictions between what people want today and what their buildings have offered them may surface. One must admit that at this stage investigators of vernacular architecture suffer from the belief that all vernacular architecture is good. We tend to look at vernacular architecture with great romanticism and often with closed minds. Part of the reason for this is that we see a high level of inadequacy in present-day professionally-designed housing. The physical forms of the vernacular appeal to our visual tastes, but we fail to understand that vernacular architecture is a vehicle for a long time gone. To understand the vernacular is to understand how things once were. At this time, to this author, it cannot say much about how things might be. But the history of the study of vernacular has just begun. Arguments about its definition, methodologies of research, and even its acceptance as an honorable field of study are still being made.

Many of the causes so well addressed in Safranbolu have been rendered invalid today. The odd-shaped lot, the opportunity to build as one wishes where one wishes, the united freedom to form streets are gone. The old maxim that a person should be given that portion of the street that is in front of their house as a personal domain and therefore should keep it clean and in good repair ceases to be valid the minute one moves into the realm of concrete and asphalt. Today the mitered corners of buildings that allow ease of movement for people, animals and carts are only pretty details (FIG. 15, 16).

The carpenters of Safranbolu used regional materials and technologies as they existed. They also used standardization, system design and detailing, as well as user-participation. Since their livelihood completely depended on user-evaluation and appreciation, their work was under constant scrutiny. Wouldn't these qualifications put them at the same level as the professionals called architects today?

Until recently the role of women living in these houses was maximal. Male researchers often failed to understand women, and women failed to communicate with them. A rather distorted view of how women perceived their houses was formulated. Perhaps at a time in the distant past they might have thought differently, but today they do not. Hired help for chores at one time was readily available. This is no longer the case. Notions of comfort have changed. In the past when rooms got colder one dressed in more clothing. There is no question that the vernacular of Safranbolu is not energy-efficient by today's standards. The old standards were acceptable at that time for there was no choice. In this it was assumed that women always loved their houses.

Women no longer accept a role of complete submission, nor do they accept a life of constant chores. Safranbolu houses are too cumbersome to keep up. Daily scrubbing, constant rubbing of the wood with
lemon, daily white-washing of the fireplace cannot be done anymore. Extended families are turning into nuclear families. The abundance of women help has disappeared. Many physical facilities like kitchens and bathrooms are part of life now but are not part of the houses. One can find many categories like this. These may sound like contradictions to all that has been said so far about Safranbolu houses. This is a way of saying that vernacular architecture does not easily accommodate rapid social change that seeks out other aspirations and values. This is one of the major misgivings about vernacular architecture today.

Vernacular architecture, as evidenced by Safranbolu, fares well in terms of building technology. It shows excellent use of materials and sensitive and skilled use of detailing. One significant reason for this is that the houses have been built by professionals and not by occupant-owners. Owners provide labor and financing. The carpenters accepted the challenge of designing and building. The fact that carpenters belonged to guilds perhaps was the reason for this quality. The rigidly controlled apprentice-master system allowed for information to be perfected and passed along. Most of that quality came from a solid understanding of geometry, and from exploiting the potential of the beauty of dynamic, non-symmetrical design to achieve rhythm and harmony. Known technology was pushed to its limits to make these principles that help record the history of a people.

Today Safranbolu is a dormitory town for nearby industry, a tourist attraction, an architect’s delight, a preservationist experiment, a social scientist’s curiosity -- to cite a few possible labels. The town is truly a laboratory to study houses and communities in comparative perspective. Today national cultural degeneration has led to “the estrangement of the individual and society from their own selves, from their roots, from their cultures, from all the values accumulated throughout generations.” Safranbolu with its visual delights, extraordinary harmony with the built environment and nature, and its multi-purpose, timeless space not only stands out with great distinction as one of humanity’s achievements, but it stands as a beacon of hope for the future, full of lessons for all to learn.

**REFERENCE NOTES**

1. Maxims are unwritten rules arrived at by consensus over a long period of time that embody the belief that community life is good. This is acquired out of mutual respect. Maxims are statements general enough to be interpreted. This entails understanding. With traditions, there are no questions, therefore there is no need to understand.

2. Anatolia is another name for Asia Minor where today’s Turkish Republic is located. Anadolu in Turkish means “full of mothers” or “motherland.”


4. Even today in the eyes of city folk the word “peasant” in everyday language is used in a derogatory way. To be called a peasant is an insult. It also implies dirt, poverty and ignorance.


10. In “Anatolian Vernacular: Triumph of maxims over traditions,” in M. Turan (CMU), ed., *Vernacular Architecture: a Collection of Essays* (to be published), I observed that there were better building technologies and materials within reach of many villages. There were even attempts to give these away free, and yet they were not accepted. A tradition that accepts seemingly no change is a
significant reason for this. A. Arel, 
Osmanlı Ko nu Gelemeğinde Tarıhsel Sorunlar Ege Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar 
Fakültesi Yayınları No. 11, İzmir, 1982, p. 80 explains this phenomenon by the 
existence of constant marginal economic 
conditions over millennia. Therefore, 
when a new culture acquired a new house 
from a prior one, there was no reason to 
change it.

11. R. Günay, GeleenekSafranbolu Evleri 
ve Olusumu, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları: 

12. Very large new industries close by 
have now converted Safranbolu into a 
dormitory town with tremendous 
pressure for higher densities and 
"contemporary urbanization." S Aktüre, T. 
Şenyapılı, "Safranboluda Mekansal 
Yapının Gösterdiği Nitelikler ve Koruma 
Önerilerinin Düşündürdüğü," ODTÜ 
Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi, Cilt 2 Sayı 1. 
Ankara, 1976 pp. 61-95. The above 
authors in their essay investigate the 
present status of the town in relation to 
the past.

13. Ibid., p. 62.

14. Ibid., p. 64.

15. Ibid., p. 64-69.

Process 15, Process Architecture 
Publishing Co., Tokyo, 1980, p. 24-25, an 
attempt is made to investigate Safranbolu 
houses in terms of facade and cantilever 
details, types and plans. This makes it 
quite clear that "variations about a theme 
is very much the case.

17. In the studies of the Turkish house 
often the relationship to the street is 
overlooked. Concentrating only on the 
house may give a wrong impression of 
the place of the house in a town. The well 
defined street fabric values the order of 
the town by making all roads lead to the 
commercial center and the marketplace.

18. Günay, pp. 97-175

19. The richer the spoken language in 
terms of explaining building technology, 
the more the users and builders can 
communicate. This also allows for 
maximum communication for repairs and 
restoration. For a short glossary, see, 
Günay, pp. 186-189.

20. Arel, pp 101-103 depicts three 
different ways of making typologies for 
Turkish house-plan types. These are S.H. 
Eldem's "sofa"-originated, D. Kuban's 
axial-cellular and M. Erdim's functional 
unit variations. Either one all by itself 
answers a complete spectrum of Turkish 
house plan types.

21. S.H. Eldem, Türk Evi Plan Tipleri, 
İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Mimari 
Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1955. This 
comprehensive study investigates sofa as 
the generator of plans. Safranbolu houses 
fall into this method of category well.

22. The notion of the Turkish house-sofa 
room combination being a derivative out 
of the nomadic tent is mentioned 
rigorously in Kucukerman, pp. 26-32. 
There is enough circumstantial evidence 
to point to this as a fact.

23. Goodwin, p. 450.

24. Günay, p. 81. Width seems to be 75- 
105 centimeters and height is 35-45 
centimeters.

25. Ibid., p. 20.

26. Ibid., pp. 169-175.

27. During my many visits women's 
accounts to me of what they thought 
about their houses were diametrically 
opposed to those of my wife. To me 
everything was fine; to her a lot was 
heartaches. Things did not matter much 
for the working men for they were out 
much of the time anyway.


29. A Evin and D. Rastorfer, eds., The Aga 
Khan Awards for Architecture, 1983 (Surrey: 
Thompson and Tomkins, 1983), Ch. 3, p.4.