Chapter 3: Understanding the place: The road between Milas and Labraunda

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3.1 General features of Milas


I realized that this land was not selected as homeland for nothing. Cities dedicated to love was not established around these regions for nothing, the temple which is unique was not constructed for nothing, legends by which the people can rival with gods and the immortality of people can be concealed to water were not assimilated for nothing.

1 In ancient times, Karia was a mountainous territory in the southwest Anatolia, neighboring to Lydia in the north, Phrygia and Pisidia in the east, Lycia in the south and the islands of the Aegean Sea in the west (Sevin, 2001: 108109) (Figure 6). In terms of natural boundaries, it was surrounded by Büyük Menderes River (Maiandros) and Aydın Mountains (Messogis) in the north, Babadağ Mountain (Saltbaks) in northeast, Acipayam Basin in the east, Dalaman Stream (Indos) in the southeast and Aegean Sea in the south and west (Umar, 1999: 1) (Figure 7). Today, considerable parts of Aydın, Muğla and the southwestern part of Denizli encircle the boundaries of ancient Karia.

2 The first capital city of Karia was Milas (Ancient Mylasa). Its occupation lasted long as archaeological investigations showed remains from the prehistoric times down to the modern period without discontinuity. Although the town lost its leadership sometimes in the Hellenistic period it was again a capital of Menteşe principality (Oktik et al., 2004: 14).

3 At the present, Milas that covers an area of 2167 km² is the second largest one of the twelve districts of Muğla (Milas Kaymakamlığı et al., 2006: 20). It is bordered by Söke, Koçarlı and Çine districts of Aydın in the north, the city center and Yatağan district of Muğla in the east and Bodrum district of Muğla in the south. Within the borders of the
city, there are 13 neighborhoods, 5 townships which are Bafa, Beçin, Güllük, Ören, Selimiye and 118 villages (Milas Kaymakamlığı et al., 2006: 21). Additionally, Milas hosts 27 archaeological sites within its boundaries (and more are discovered every year). Among these archaeological sites, Iasos, Stratonikea, Euromos, Becin, Keramos, Sinuri, Heraklia-Latmos and Labraunda are among the most important ones (Oktik et al., 2004:13).

Figure 6: Map of Karia

Henry, 2010
Milas is situated on a fertile plain in the west of the Menderes-Saruhan Menteşe massive. It is bounded by the shores of the Lake Bafa and Çomak Mountain in the north (Ancient Latmos), by Mountain of Îlbra and Bodrum Peninsula in the west, by Gökova Gulf in the south and by Ak Mountain, Koca Mountain, Marçalı Mountain and Kurukümes Mountain that is the highest point of the city with 1373 meters in the east (Kızıl, 2002:1).

Despite its mountainous geography, main plains of the city, namely Milas, Bahçeburun, Yaşyer, Pınarlı, Selimiye, Ağacıyık, Çamköy, Çine, Tabai and Gereme are located within the steep topography of Milas. They have a high degree of fertility thanks to the richness of water sources in the region (Aksan, 2007: 2).

Milas was one of the major religious centers and one of the most important cities of Karia since it had a strategic location in the general layout of the region. It was situated at the crossroads from Stratonikea to the Aegean Sea and from Halicarnassos and Keramos to Labraunda. That is why Milas was the first capital of Karia region in the 6th century B.C. (Bean, 1989) (Figure 8).
Milas, as a significant town, has a long history from Prehistory to the Turkish Republic. However, although all periods that influenced the development pattern of a site should be appreciated for the significance of it, successive segments and effects which played much more effective roles for the evolution and growth of regions should clearly be differentiated (ICOMOS, 2008: 8). Considering this, although the history of Milas starts from the early times and continues with different phases, all these periods could not be categorized as separate layers for the comprehension of the development process of the area because of their degree of effects to the city. On the other hand, due to the lack of sources and material, information related with several phases could not be identified specifically.

Depending on these factors, although Milas has experienced eight distinctive periods throughout its history, six independent historical layers that have acted on the development of Milas and have affected the formation of the city and its nearby surrounding by giving it an identical, specific, successive and valuable character are identified. These six periods can be categorized as (Classical) Karian Period-Persian Period, Hekatomnid Period, Hellenistic Period-Roman Period, Byzantine Period, Menteşe Principality Period-Ottoman Period and Republican Period.
3.2 Comprehension of the road between Milas and Labraunda

3.2.1 Location and general characteristics

A great number of intensive rearrangement, construction and building activities were carried in the region of Karia under the rule of the Hekatomnids. As one of the crucial traces of these intense activities, a surviving substantial road was discovered in Milas towards the archaeological site of Labraunda, together with its nearby cultural accumulation (Figure 9).

After its starting point at Milas-Baltalı Kapi Monument, the road runs toward the north from the center of Milas, crosses the fertile plain of Sarıçay River, orients to the olive forested hills and continues into the mountainous, rocky and wild areas of the region. Finally, the road reaches the sanctuary of Labraunda, 700 m above sea level and 14 km away from the city center (Baran, 2011: 51-52). In particular, the natural and challenging physical character of Milas and its environs is also valid for the region which hosts the road between Milas and Labraunda and the cultural accumulation on and around it.

Figure 9: The road between Milas and Labraunda

Google Earth, Last Accessed on 01.02.2013

Since it bears various elements of cultural accumulation that reveal evidence of cultural and historical actions, the road can be respected as an added cultural value within the cultural landscape in which it is located. Therefore, this road that is considered to be used by different cultural groups for different purposes over different periods, can be regarded as one of the most crucial cultural values of Milas.
3.2.2 Development process

There are no evidences related with the presence of the road between Milas and Labraunda within the classical Karian Period. However, it is believed that the settlement pattern of Milas and Labraunda started to be developed by Karians thanks to the discovered potsherds and architectural fragments during the excavation studies conducted at Labraunda.

The road between Milas and Labraunda was assumed to be built as a stone paved axis during the extensive building activity of the Hekatomnids in the first half of the 4th century B.C. In order to facilitate the transportation of the marble from Milas to Labraunda, this stone paved ancient road was developed with bridges, drainage channels and strong retaining walls as a part of this extensive network (Baran, 2011: 52).

Within the period of the Hekatomnids, the road between Milas and Labraunda was supported with various water structures, especially fountains at regular intervals in order to distribute the sacred natural spring water of the region. These fountains and wells are also considered to be constructed in order to enable areas of rest and relaxation for the travel of construction workers and pilgrims walking to Labraunda (Baran, 2011). Because of these features, it is thought that Labraunda was not only seen as a sacred place but also as a vacation destination. Moreover, again in this period of time, the road between Milas and Labraunda was thought to be braced with a network of defensive structures from the isolated tower to the bastion; toward the sanctuary it was also surrounded by a large necropolis.

Following these kinds of construction and development activities, the road between Milas and Labraunda was called the “Sacred Road of Labraunda” since it was used to increase the accessibility of pilgrims from Milas to Labraunda for annual festivals and specific ceremonies on behalf of the worship of Zeus Labraundos (Hellström, 2007: 145). In addition to this, considering the defensive installations built during the Hekatomnid period, Lars Karlsson suggested that the road might also have played an important geostrategic role both in the Hekatomnid and Roman Periods (Hellström, 2007: 151-153).

Another important element of the road, Baltalı Kapi, was constructed in Milas as the starting point of the road. Although there are different views on the construction date of the structure among researchers, this monument that was used as the northern gate of Milas and regarded as the origin of the ancient road of Labraunda, is mostly considered to be built during the Roman Period.

During the Turkish Period, especially in Menteşe Principality and Ottoman Periods, the environs of the road between Milas and Labraunda were started to be built-up. It is known that several honey towers as crucial traces of the rural traditional life of the region were constructed within this time period (Hellström, 2007: 151-153). Moreover, the road was also framed by a traditional modern settlement pattern in the environs of Baltalı Kapı monument.

One can also find traditional rural villages (Kırcağiz, Kızılçayıkık, Kargıcak) and two neighborhoods of Kargıcak (Yukarılamet and Aşağılamet) which were probably built during Menteşe Principality and Ottoman Period along the road. Accordingly, since these settlements that have been developed in the course of time show different characteristics, the road through Labraunda has also revealed a social and cultural diversity by connecting different patterns of lives and traditions.
Furthermore, according to İlhan Tekeli (2006: 67 - 70), both the historical caravan road network and harbor network of the region depending on the maritime and trade activities of ancient Karia might be a substantial evidence that this road was indeed part of this complex commercial system in the 19th century. Therefore, it can be said that the road between Milas and Labraunda might have also a valuable role as it stood within the caravan and long-distance trade routes of Anatolia.

Eventually, the section that lays immediately north of the town of Milas, and hosts several small commercial and administrative structures as Milas cattle market, Labranda drinking water facilities, Milas Court of Justice, restaurants and green housing structures is called “Labraunda Boulevard”. Further, north the road is also the main access to several quartz and feldspar quarries and windmills that are located within the rugged topography of the region.

Therefore, it can be said that there has been a diverse cultural accumulation with various cultural values at different scales along the road between Milas and Labraunda with its areas rich in cultural, historical and natural heritage together with the local, architectural and spiritual values over the years.

3.2.3 The road between Milas and Labraunda: Its meaning and spirit

Since ancient ceremonies, festivals and/or similar processions were accomplished by walking old roads, routes and/or axes themselves, sacred pilgrim roads can easily be regarded as meaningful symbolic parts of the ceremonies of worship. Pilgrims and people attending to these religious festivals have used sacred roads in order to reach sanctuaries. Accordingly, since the road between Milas and Labraunda was used as the “Sacred Road of Labraunda” by pilgrims on behalf of the worship of Zeus Labraundos during a period of history, it should also be respected with a spiritual point of view (Figure 10).

As quoted from Hamdi Topçu; not only the sacredness, but also the natural, cultural, social life styles and other values of the region arouse interest and different spiritual feelings regarding regions that host ancient axes. Considering this, integration with elapsed time, unique spaces and people who are examiners should also be respected as a crucial input for the road between Milas and Labraunda.

In addition to these, as stated by Christina Williamson (2010: 3-5), with the help of the ancient processional road between Milas and Labraunda, the pilgrims were steered through different economical, spatial, natural and social zones of the area for days, even sometimes weeks on end. With this regard, it can be said that there should have been an
awareness regarding the meanings of places of the road for people who walked through it previously. Depending on this argument; for example, when pilgrims passed along the ostentatious graves of the necropolis of Labraunda, they were believed to consider the time passed and effort spent. Thereby, the sacred ceremonies, festivals and regular processions performed along the “Sacred Road of Labraunda” were also thought to provide an opportunity for pilgrims to commemorate the people buried there (Henry, 2010: 102).

In addition, since there were fresh and clear natural water springs in the region, especially in the sections close to Labraunda, the road can also be regarded as a symbolic intermediary tool that provides connection between Milas and the curative place of Labraunda (Blid, 2010). Further, fountains and wells that were considered to be built in order to facilitate places of rest and relaxation for the travel of construction workers and travelers might also have crucial meanings for the people walking along this road connecting Milas to Labraunda.

At this point, the accounts of travelers regarding the road and the components of the cultural accumulation should be appreciated as a crucial input. It is known that the road between Milas and Labraunda, the cultural landscape with its above mentioned cultural accumulation including natural values, archaeological and/or architectural assets and traditional urban and/or rural settlements together with their social and cultural lifestyles were seen, observed, noted and/or illustrated by several different travelers. Although the information coming from the records of travelers are not completely reliable because of their fields of interest, they still give an overall figure regarding the meaning of the road and the idea achieved.

Indeed, following its construction period, the road between Milas and Labraunda was believed to be used by several different cultures for several different purposes and supported with various cultural assets, just like a vein (Figure 11). In other words, a wide range of assets dispersed through the nearby environment of the road between Milas and Labraunda in the course of time.

Accordingly, since the monumental road between Milas and Labraunda that accommodated the rich cultural accumulation and transported pilgrims through the sacred areas of their region provided them a broad perspective of the lifestyle, experiences of older generations and uniqueness of place, it should not be reflected as a simple piece of connection medium. On the contrary, the road between Milas and Labraunda should be approached as a physical and spiritual witness of the process of development and pilgrimage, which strengthened the sense of identity and spirit of community together with the unique meanings, customs, ideas and values attached to it.
However, the road between Milas and Labraunda has been transformed into a common transportation path formed with static components for the residents of the region to meet their daily necessities, by the new functionsCultural accumulation of the road between Milas and Labraunda given and new structures constructed to the region.

Chronology of usage pattern of the road between Milas and Labraunda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Usage Pattern</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Built for transporting the building materials up to Labraunda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as an intermediate tool that provides connection between Milas and Labraunda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as the “Sacred Road of Labraunda”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used for fortification, military and political concerns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supported with modern and rural traditional settlements with their social and cultural natures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used as a part of the complex commerce system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respected as a symbolic and spiritual site</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
30 Although it plays a crucial role for tourists who visit the archaeological site of Labraunda and for villagers to graze their animals (especially for the inhabitants of the villages Kırcağız, Kızılcayıkık, Kargıçak and its two small neighborhoods Yukarılılamet and Aşağılılamet) the road and its components have started to lose their meanings and spiritual significance with the negative effects of modern days.

31 Since places develop from combinations of many factors that are closely interrelated, it is not possible to separate the concepts of cultural aspects from their natural dimensions especially units of Kargıçak as Yukarılılamet and Aşağılılamet and finally the social and cultural components (Figure 12).

3.2.4 Cultural accumulation on and around the road between Milas and Labraunda

32 Considering their specific features, the components of the cultural accumulation of the road between Labraunda and Milas can be grouped under three main categories as: natural components, man-made components with its two sub-headings as historical components (the archaeological site-Labraunda, remaining parts of the ancient road, spring houses and wells, fortification towers, honey towers, tombs, bridges and contemporary components) traditional urban settlement pattern (Baltalı Kapı Street) and
traditional rural settlements (Kırcağız, Kızılçayıkık, Kargıcak and two neighborhood units of Kargıcak as Yukarılamet and Aşağılamet) and finally social and cultural components.

**Natural components**

33 It is not possible to separate concepts of cultural aspects from their natural dimensions, especially from the dynamic and living environment of the flora, fauna, vegetation and the geomorphology. Accordingly, as also mentioned within the scope of the understanding of the place, planning and management studies of cultural routes must include a perception of natural components which have formed the cultural landscape.

34 When associated with the case study area, it can be said that there is a rich and diverse natural accumulation in the region between Milas and Labraunda. Firstly, as stated by A. Batur in the book “Mylasa Labraunda–Milas Çomakdağ” (2010: 159), the flora of the region is mainly characterized by trees with needle-like leaves and maquis-like plants. Therefore, these maquis-like plants and oak species, together with the Turkish pine, stone pine and tobacco can be counted as the predominant species of the surrounding forests of the road between Milas and Labraunda.

35 On the other hand, olive groves and olive trees that are the most typical elements of the natural beauty of the fertile region between Milas and Labraunda should not be ignored. Even, these components of the nature can be identified as the major elements of the unique nature of the region. In addition, evergreen olive trees are also crucial in relation with the subsistence and investment with their fruits, oil and waste products for centuries. Further, public and private gardens, parks together with the agricultural lands and green housing areas within the boundaries of the traditional villages along the road—especially in Sarıçay Plain should also be respected from this point of view, as the region in terms of the values of nature.

“Her dönemekte anırsınız karşımıza çıkan ve her biri başka bir varlığa benzeyen bu kayalardan ürkmemek olamicsız. - Bu bir kaplumbağa... - Bu da balina... - Bak bak bu buldoğa benziyor değil mi? - Tanrıça Hekate’nin geçeleri bu dağlarda daşırken yanında gezirdiği Kerberoslardan biri, bu olmasın sakın? - şu kaya var ya, şu kaya! Karyalılar, Zeus’un labrisini kesinlikle ondan esinlendikler. Her Şu kaya var ya, şu kaya... Karyalılar, Zeus’un labrisini kesinlikle ondan esinlendikler." (Topçu, 2012: 102).

It is impossible not to blench from the rocks that all look like different entities and are encountered at every corner. - It’s a turtle. - It’s a whale... - Look, look this looks like a bulldog, isn’t it? - Can it be one of the Kerberos that walks with the Goddess Hekate when she was wandering around at night? - That rock, that rock! Karians certainly made the labrys of Zeus by inspiring it.

36 As quoted from Topçu, the unprecedented topography of the region provides several astonishing and surprising panoramas of the natural landscape of the region (Batur, 2010: 160). Moreover, large groves of sacred plane trees and several similar types of monumental like trees in the sanctuary of Labraunda also contribute to these panoramas as crucial qualities of the nature. With this regard, with its tremendous masses of rocks turned into natural sculptures in time and the colorful covering of its landscape in the skirts of topographies, the special pattern of topography is in a unique harmony with the archaeological site Labraunda and the traditional villages (Figure 13). There are also streams, rivers, natural sacred water sources and fountains that provide fresh and clean water in the region - especially in the several sections close to the sanctuary. Particularly Sarıçay that provide the lands nearby much more fertile also provide a distinctive character for the region.
Man-made components

“Except the indispensable physical element which is the communication route itself, basic substantive elements of cultural routes are the tangible heritage assets related to its functionality as a historic route such as staging posts, customs offices, places for storage, rest, and lodging, hospitals, markets, ports, defensive fortifications, bridges, means of communication and transport; industrial, mining or other establishments, as well as those linked to manufacturing and trade, that reflect the technical, scientific and social applications and advances in its various eras; urban centers, cultural landscapes, sacred sites, places of worship and devotion, etc.” (ICOMOS, 2008: 3).

Man-made components that constitute one of the major component groups of cultural routes can be regarded as one of the most important elements that form the basic characteristics of a place. For the case of the study area—the road between Milas and Labraunda, man-made components can be divided into two as historical components and contemporary components. According to this grouping, while historical components that bear diverse traces and qualities of past within their configurations can be stated as the archaeological site of Labraunda, remaining parts of the road between Milas and Labraunda itself, spring houses and wells, fortification towers, honey towers, tombs and bridges; contemporary components of the region which mainly consist of the values of the present can be categorized as Milas-Baltalı Kapi Street and rural settlements as Kircağiz, Kızılcayıkık, Kargıcak and its two small rural neighborhoods Yukarılımet and Aşağılımet.
**Historical components**

Figure 14: The archaeological site of Labraunda

Archaeological site-Labraunda: The archaeological site of Labraunda, located north of Milas, on the south-eastern slope of the Besparmak Mountains (ancient Latmos) was a sanctuary and a sacred center for pilgrims and people of Karia in ancient times (Figure 14). Since the sanctuary hosts the “Temple of Zeus Labraundos” that is one of the three important temples in the region, it was visited by Karians once a year using the previously mentioned road to sacrifice on behalf of the god Zeus Labraundos (Hellström, 2011). In this respect, it can be said that Labraunda was valued as one of the most important sanctuaries in western Karia in antiquity. Indeed, it is one of the few ancient sites spared from devastation with its unique and special landscape, impressive view, well conserved ruins, architectural remains and inscriptions.

Remaining Parts of the Road Between Milas and Labraunda Itself: According to the studies conducted by researchers, the road between Milas and Labraunda, dating back to Hekatomnid times, was nearly a 6-8 meter wide and approximately 14 km long path paved with large stone blocks [Baran, 2011: 51-53] (Figure 15). In addition, small bridges and strong retaining walls equipped with drain channels were used to support the road from the center of Milas through the mountainous area of the sanctuary of Labraunda [Baran, 2011: 65].

Although the road was extremely wide and long in history, only ten remaining parts of it could be discovered thanks to the investigations carried by the excavation team of Labraunda. Then, within the content of the research, all these ten remaining parts were documented by photographs and brief explanations.
Spring Houses and Wells: As one of the most significant witnesses of the sacred water and natural springs of the region, the remains of fountains should also be considered as the elements of man-made cultural accumulation of the road between Milas and Labraunda. Since

“a spring is the resurgence of an underground water channel mostly at the surface of the ground or simply as a natural outpouring of water and a fountain is a man-made architectural expression of delivery of water to a public place”; these fountain remains have been called “spring houses” by the excavation team of Labraunda (Baran, 2011: 66) (Figure 16).

A broad archaeological research regarding the discovery and documentation of the existing spring houses was started by the excavation team of Labraunda in 2003. Forty-two spring houses and two wells were found along the road between Milas and Labraunda within the scope of this research.
Figure 16: Spring house example

Figure 17: Fortress example
Figure 18: Honey tower example

Personal Archive

Figure 19: Honey tower example

Personal Archive
Fortification Towers: Apart from the discovered remains of the road between Milas and Labraunda itself, i.e. spring houses and wells, the investigations between 2007 and 2010 revealed that the sanctuary of Labraunda was situated within a complex defense system in ancient times (Figure 17). This defensive system that was composed of three fortification towers (Uçalan, Kepez and Harap Tower), two fortresses (Tepesar and Burgaz Fortress) and an Acropolis Fortress located above the sanctuary, was aimed to control access along the road between Milas and Labraunda.

Honey Towers: In addition to the fortification ones, there are also several honey towers or with their local names, “Kovanlık”, along the road between Milas and Labraunda. However, as also mentioned within the content of the annual reports prepared by the excavation team of Labraunda and reflected from the work of Jesper Blid (2010: 25), in addition to the discovered examples; there should be several more honey towers in the mountainous region. Since there is not a concentrated research related with honey towers of the region to date, there are no definite information regarding their locations, total numbers and basic architectural features.

As in the case of the fortification towers, almost all of these discovered honey towers were also constructed on top of hills and/or big rock masses. However, different from the configurations of the fortifications, they are approximately five meters high semicircular shaped stone structures. As stated by Blid (2010: 25); although some of these honey towers were built with marble pieces, they were usually constructed with reused and/or recut ashlar gneiss stones and fixed with mortar. Even, almost all honey towers contain large stone pieces that were originally parts of the architectural elements and/or
structures of Labraunda. Considering this information, these honey towers are thought to be recently constructed edifices of the region (Figure 18 and Figure 19).

As their names imply, honey towers are believed to be used to protect the local honey production from bears (Blid, 2010: 25). In other words, based on a regional tradition, honey towers were considered to be used by the people of the region as storages for honey. As it can be seen from the photographs, none of these honey towers are in use today because of their damaged conditions, changing traditions and customs and/or recent technologies of the modern ways of living.

Tombs: Being one of the most important components of the cultural accumulation of the road between Milas and Labraunda, tombs that show various characteristics in terms of size, shape and material occupy an extensive area in the mountainous region of Labraunda (Figure 20). According to the studies of Olivier Henry, the necropolis hosts more than a hundred tombs, each of which sheltered more than one individual. The chronological range of the necropolis also seems fairly extended as the first tombs seem to have appeared sometimes in the 5th century B.C. while the latest carry trace of Late Roman material (Henry, 2010: 90-95).

Figure 21: Bridge example

Bridges: As also mentioned previously, the road between Milas and Labraunda was also supported with small bridges and strong retaining walls because of the assorted topography of the mountainous region. Especially the areas where rivers and/or spring houses are located could only be managed with connections in the forms of bridges and/or similar overpasses (Baran, 2011: 65). Therefore, two ancient bridges should also be mentioned as the final elements under the heading of the man-made components of the road between Milas and Labraunda (Figure 21).
Contemporary components

As also mentioned under the heading of the history of the region, human beings have been surviving in the settlements of inner Karia from the ancient times because of its special aspects such as the geomorphologic characteristics, topographical features, natural resources, fertility conditions, protection and/or defense qualities (Batur, 2010: 153-155). To be specified, as the area surrounding the road between Milas and Labraunda was very productive for agriculture, appropriate for protection against the enemies due to its rugged topography and for the basic necessities, the region has been very suitable for settlements since the ancient times. Therefore, the surviving settlements should also be counted under the heading of the cultural accumulation as the contemporary components of the road between Milas and Labraunda. Depending on their nature, general characteristics, significance of culture and the relationship with the elements of the cultural accumulation, these settlements can be regarded as the living evidences of the life and history of the region. Therefore, not only the singular man-made structures, but also general identities of their settlement patterns such as their geographical locations, topographical features, settlement forms, relationships with the buildings and structures nearby, natural elements and the social life itself should be considered and evaluated as the contemporary cultural components of the ancient road.

From this point of view, there are two different settlement patterns as contemporary components within the region, along the road between Labraunda and Milas. While the first one is Milas/Baltalı Kapi Street as a traditional urban figure, the second group is composed of Kıracı, Kızılçayıkık and Kargıcak as well as two small settlement clusters of Kargıcak namely Yukarılamet and Aşağılamet as traditional rural settlements with smaller dominance areas.

Traditional Urban Settlement:

Milas/Baltalı Kapi Street: The street of Baltalı Kapi is where the road between Milas and Labraunda has its beginning is located in between the ring road of Milas, Balavca River and weekly open air market area of Milas in Ahmet Çavuş Neighbourhood. It is called as Baltalı Kapi Street because of Baltalı Kapi Monument that measures approximately 5x12 meters located at the beginning of the street (Oktik et al., 2004: 30) (Figure 22 and Figure 23).

Baltalı Kapi Monument that was constructed with white marble of Sodra Mountain is claimed as one of the best preserved works of the antiquity in Milas. As stated by Kızıl (2002: 27), there are several drawings and gravures of Baltalı Kapi Monument in the literature.
Figure 22: Baltalı Kapı Monument

Figure 23: Baltalı Kapı Street
The environs of Baltalı Kapı Monument have shown a traditional urbanized settlement characteristic in the course of time because of the construction and development activities. Therefore, Baltalı Kapı Monument and its nearby environment—especially Baltalı Kapı Street should also be considered as an important element of the cultural accumulation of the road between Milas and Labraunda. In this regard, in order to comprehend the context and setting of the region as a whole, this area should also be included under the heading of the contemporary component of the road between Milas and Labraunda.

Although they are not specified and documented, there are several remaining parts of the ancient road between Milas and Labraunda along the Baltalı Kapı Street. As also shown in the captured figures, these Hekatomnid stone blocks are either used as supportive elements for garden walls, structures and/or architectural elements for building and living purposes such as pieces of basements, stairs and/or resting points (Figure 24). On the other hand, some of them are observed under the modern asphalt road, either in hidden, changed, deteriorated or destroyed conditions.

**Traditional Rural Settlements:**

Kırçağız that constitutes several examples of both historical and modern architecture within its boundaries is a traditional village 3 km away from the center of Milas. It established on a slightly sloping area which expands from north towards the south-through the plain of Sarıçay.

As it can be seen from the figure, the compact form of Kırçağız shaped by the features of the topography such that it consists two main sections which are old Kırçağız - the northern section of the village located on the hill side - and new Kırçağız - the southern section of the settlement located on the plain of Sarıçay along the main street (Figure 25). Considering this feature of the village, it can be said that while the examples of the
vernacular architecture of Kircağız is more preserved around the hilly areas in old Kircağız, new Kircağız is mostly composed of recently constructed buildings with their wide gardens and/or unused open areas. Accordingly, although traditional vernacular buildings cannot be observed with a large number of well-preserved examples in the village, there are several examples of this kind of buildings within the boundaries of old Kircağız.

Figure 25: Kircağız settlement pattern

58 Kızılcayıkık: 5 km to the center of Milas, Kızılcayıkık is settled on Sarıçay Plain. Since it is surrounded by hills on the north and east, the general settlement pattern of Kızılcayıkık formed by parcels mostly having wide gardens and greenhouse areas. In a more detailed manner, since the western and southern parts of the region which are closer to Sarıçay are much more fertile than the other parts of Kızılcayıkık, these sections of the village covered mostly with green houses (Figure 26). Accordingly, it can be said that the main sources of livelihood in Kızılcayıkık are formed with agriculture and greenhouse activities.
Kargıcak, Yukarılamet and Aşağılamet: Kargıcak together with its two small and compact neighborhood clusters namely Yukarılamet and Aşağılamet also have several examples of both traditional and modern architecture within their boundaries. Different from the villages mentioned above, these traditional settlements which are 5, 7 and 6 km away from Milas respectively established on the steep and rocky topography on the southern side of the sanctuary of Labraunda.

Considering this feature as dominant natural consequences, overall settlement patterns and general architecture of them depend on the main characteristics of their geography, size and positions of rocks and stones of the region. Moreover, as it can be seen from the figure, these morphological features of the region not only determine the locations of buildings and locality of lands but also characterize the boundaries of gardens and lands to be cultivated, open and closed spaces whether public or private and even outline the lines of transportation [Batur, 2010: 160] (Figure 27). Accordingly, it can be said that Kargıcak, Yukarılamet and Aşağılamet which are strongly influenced by the geological characteristics of the region and in a strong contact with the nature as a factor of aesthetic harmony give incredible views to the region from all points.
Social and cultural components

“A cultural route must necessarily be supported by tangible elements that bear witness to its cultural heritage and provide a physical confirmation of its existence. Any intangible elements serve to give sense and meaning to the various elements that make up the whole... The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated there with - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.” (ICOMOS, 2008: 4).

Physical setting and social as well as cultural relations of historic environments are continuously interrelated by influencing and changing each other. Therefore, as mentioned in the ICOMOS “Charter of Cultural Routes”, man-made elements and their physical artifacts need to be considered and analyzed together with their social and cultural features.

Social and Cultural Values of the Archaeological Site-Labraunda: Apart from its general historical identity - as one of the most important monumental symbols of ancient Karia - the traces of the diverse intangible features of Labraunda such as the life at the sanctuary together with the traditions, mythical stories, symbols and organizations are crucial for the overall assessment of the region. In order to comprehend this character of the site, it is important firstly to figure out the story behind the origin of Labraunda. As also mentioned within the section of history, Labraunda was transformed into an independent sanctuary with the power of the Hekatomnids during the 4th century B.C. According to further investigations of researchers, the first architectural remains were discovered as dated back to 7th century B.C. However, as also mentioned previously, although the earliest evidence and the first architectural remains were belonged to much earlier times before the Hekatomnids, the shrine of Labraunda is thought to be much older than those findings (Hellström, 2011).

In the light of this view, the broadened studies of researchers revealed that Labraunda was firstly perceived as a sacred place during Karian and Lydian times due to a notable rock formation which was located just above the sanctuary (Figure 28). In ancient times, this rock was believed to be chapped into two as a result of a strong thunderstorm and allow the flow of rain water between its broken parts.

According to ancient people, nothing less than the hand of a god could have created that kind of a rock mass and then divide it in half. Therefore, this sacred rock, in its local name “Yärk Kaya”, made people believe that Labraunda was the home of god Zeus Labraundos. Indeed, since it originated the idea that Labraunda is the home of Zeus Labraundos, the rock together with the sources of sacred clean and fresh water running from it can be considered as the key elements of the intangible dimension of the region.

Although Labraunda was a sanctuary quite far away from its nearest city Milas, there were also some people such as priests together with their relatives, shrine retainers, helpers, workers and farmers living at or close to Labraunda (Figure 29). As also highlighted by Hellström (2011), the regular daily life of those people was possibly predictable within the existing layout of the sanctuary with predetermined works and specific cultural activities in public structures such as baths, churches, temples and dining buildings. However, in direct contradiction with the modest ordinary life in Labraunda, “Sacred Feasts” that were organized from Milas through Labraunda as one of the major commemorations to sacrifice Zeus Labraundos changed the common image of
the sanctuary. There is also a natural side of the social and cultural values of the sanctuary of Labraunda. In this regard, when there were limited numbers of structures in Labraunda during the Hekatomnid Period, the region was called as a sanctuary with “grove of plane trees” because of its natural features. In addition to this, the local name of Labraunda, “Koca Yayla” especially by the residents from nearby settlements also illustrates the natural identity of the site.

Figure 28: The Split-Rock “Yarıkkaya” of Labraunda

Figure 29: A figure showing the people of the sanctuary together with the restored view of the Andrones and the Temple
On the other hand, as also mentioned above, the water of the region together with the plane trees of Labraunda were considered to be sacred. Because of this reason, there were several water structures in the sanctuary such as baths, pools, wells and springhouses. Depending mainly on some basic characteristics of these clean and fresh sacred water sources of the archaeological site of Labraunda, several legendary stories were recorded by travelers. For example, as mentioned by the ancient traveler Pliny the Elder, there were “oracle eels wearing earrings” within these sacred spring waters.

Social and Cultural Values of the Traditional Settlement Pattern-Milas - Baltalı Kapı Street: The intangible character of the traditional urban settlement pattern Milas-Baltalı Kapı Street should also be analyzed as another subheading of the social and cultural components of the road between Milas and Labraunda. The social and cultural values of Baltalı Kapı Street can be studied under two categories as cultural activities - life styles at Baltalı Kapı Street, daily occupations and economy of people, relations with public structures, practices, traditional knowledge - and cultural expressions - symbols, meanings and representations of Baltalı Kapı Monument, mythical stories, interrelations with the other archaeological ruins in the area (Figure 30).

Considering the historical identity of the site, the labrys symbol which is a double axe with two cutting edges figure can also be regarded as an important expression for Baltalı Kapı Monument (Figure 31). Since it was carved at the top of the arch of Baltalı Kapı, this symbol is accepted as one of the most important signs of ancient Karia (Kızıl, 2002: 27). On the other hand, as also shown in Figure 31, there are also two eye figures located on both sides of the labrys symbol. According to a publication prepared by the Municipality of Milas; these eye figures associated with the eyes of Zeus Labraundos. It was mostly believed that the eyes of Zeus Labraundos can see the road between Milas and Labraunda. Therefore, Zeus Labraundos can follow the pilgrims on the road during their sacred walks and/or processions (Milas Kaymakamlılığı et al., 2006: 20). Hence, it can easily be noted that labrys symbol held a crucial place for the continuity of the power of Karia in ancient times.
Figure 30: Open air market area of Baltalı Kapı

Since it reflects the ways of life of the residents as an attractive factor, the open air market area that is prepared once a week in front of the area of Baltalı Kapı Monument should also be regarded as one of the crucial inputs for the social and cultural dimension of the area. Therefore, this area can also be regarded as an intangible element contributing to the cultural accumulation of the ancient road between Milas and Labraunda.
Social and Cultural Values of the Traditional Settlement Pattern-Villages: Kırcağız, Kızılcayıkık, Kargıcak and Yukarılamet, Aşağılamet: As the final section of the social and cultural components of the region between Milas and Labraunda, it is important to identify the tangible components as physical edifices providing traces for the intangible character of the region. For instance, since different storeys of buildings reflect different life sections, the spatial organization of residential buildings can be considered as one of the most important evidences showing the daily life of residents.

In this regard, depending mainly on the architectural and photographic survey of buildings conducted during the field studies, it can be said that while entrances and ground floors of buildings are generally used as service and circulation spaces, other storeys of the houses are mainly consist of living, hosting, meeting, resting and bathing spaces with or without courtyards and/or balconies. On the other hand, secondary service buildings located within the lots of building of these villages show a cultural value regarding the rural character and traditional way of life. As also mentioned in the description part of the traditional rural settlements, these interior spaces are equipped with various interior architectural elements such as doors, fireplaces, sedirs, sekis, niches, cupboards, hearts, lamp stands and shelves in relation with the daily requirements. These can also be classified as important evidences of daily life of residents.

Right along with these residential ones, traditional public buildings and structures such as tandoors, mosques, special olive production spaces and structures, public storages and fountains should also be examined under the heading of intangible cultural assets of the region. In this regard, tandoors are generally used by women of the region for the purposes of baking and cooking. This traditional custom not only helps women population of the villages to prepare their food, but also bring relatives and neighbors together as a social practice and increases their sense of collaboration. However, there is a disappearance of tandoor tradition in almost all villages because of the new construction activities, daily technologies and timing issues.

Economy of these villages that depends mainly on the geographical and natural features of the region should also be added as an important variable for the intangible character of the traditional settlements. Considering this, agricultural production, green housing, forestry, livestock breeding and mining can be considered as the main economic activities for Kırcağız, Kızılcayıkık and Kargıcak together with its neighboring units Yukarılamet and Aşağılamet. It is learned that especially olive industry held a crucial place for the living of the residents in the past. However, considering the shifts in daily life styles, production patterns, socio-economic structures, economic sectors and relations of these settlements have started to be changed.

Depending mainly on this, most of the local residents gave up animal husbandry in time, however continued agriculture with a new form: green housing. Green housing is carried by several local residents as a source of livelihood, in both the areas developed around village skirts for that purpose and in their private gardens.

In addition to these variables, the traditional cultural practices, knowledge and representations can also be linked directly with the intangible values of the region. With respect to this, it is important firstly to mention about the local productions, folk dance and music, clothes, jewelry and food. It should also be mentioned at this point that Milas and its nearby environment have a unique title in terms of carpet weaving. This tradition dated back to the times of Menteşe Principality. However, there are also views on these
products that they are dated back to the Karian times, such that the name “Ada Milas” which is a pattern type of the carpets of Milas was assumed to derived from Karian Queen Ada. Milas carpets which are generally made by wool and yarn have various patterns. They depend mainly on various geometric figures and colors which are provided by root dye obtained from plants and natural substances.

Furthermore, local performances and folk dances which are usually carried out during these cultural activities in the public squares of Kırcağız, Kızılcaayıkık and Kargıcak can also be regarded as an intangible asset for the region. Especially “Zeybek Culture” including its traditional music, dance and performance can be experienced with the help of local drum and horn – “zurna” – musicians in these villages. As in the case of streets and squares, private open spaces, courtyards and/or gardens also serve for similar purposes.

Therefore, it can be said that these multipurpose spaces stimulate the communication between local inhabitants by strengthen their social integration. With their colorful clothes, multi-colored flower crests and traditional necklaces consisting of a combination of thirty gold coins – “sandıklı” -, women of this region can also be seen as an intangible component of the traditional culture of the region. As another input for the intangible values of these villages, local foods and traditional dishes such as fried liver, keşkek, stuffed artichokes, salads and pies with various weeds growing in these villages hold an important place.

### 3.3 Conservation and development activities

**Conservation and Development Activities in Regional Scale:** Since the existing legal decisions as well as the conservation, planning and development activities are the major guides of the current status of a region, the development history of the road between Milas and Labraunda and the components of the cultural accumulation on and around it should also be examined and evaluated from the beginning to the end. In order to reach a holistic framework, this study should also be supported with the regional and local planning practices related with Milas (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Conservation and Development Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Development Plan of Milas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Revision of the Development Plan of Milas prepared in 1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>First Registration and Designation of Archaeological Site Boundaries of Milas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1/5000 Development Plan of Milas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Revision of the 1/5000 Development Plan of Milas prepared in 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Change in 1st Degree Archaeological Site Area and Conservation Plan of Milas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Revision of the 1/5000 Development Plan of Milas revised in 1983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Conservation and development activities related directly with the road between Milas and Labraunda and the cultural accumulation on and around it

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Conservation and Development Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>It is known that an appropriate road was built from Milas to Labraunda in order to ease the transportation between Milas and Labraunda (Figure 32).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Labraunda together with 38 discovered physical remains such as remaining parts of the ancient road, spring houses and tombs were registered and the area covering these structures was designated as 1st Degree Archaeological Site by the 3209 numbered decision of GEEAYK in 17.3.1993.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Modern asphalt road project was implemented along the road from Milas to Labraunda by the General Directorate of Highways.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>The 1st Degree Archaeological site boundary of Labraunda was expanded thanks to the discovered remains such as wells and bridges by the 1494 numbered decision of GEEAYK in 14.12.2005. In addition, 10 meters conservation zone was specified for all the registered components of the cultural accumulation. On the other hand, a new road project which will follow a different route was specified as a crucial necessity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>88 immovable cultural heritage assets which were under the property of Treasury were allocated and their status transformed into the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The nearby area of Baltali Kapı Monument was defined as 3rd degree archaeological and urban site by the Conservation and Development Plan of Milas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>The first degree archaeological site boundary of the region was expanded with the 6066 numbered decision of GEEAYK in 6.5.2010.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2011 | The road comprising the remaining parts of the road between Milas and Labraunda were registered with the 7197 numbered decision of GEEAYK in 3.6.2011.  
The boundary of the 1st degree archaeological site was considered to be expanded through south-east according to the recently discovered tombs.  
In addition to this, in order to protect the cultural accumulation elements observed outside the boundaries of the 1st degree archaeological site, a conservation 10 meters belt which comprise the road between Milas and Labraunda with its two sides were also identified as 1st degree archaeological site.  
The demand regarding the expansion of the existing modern asphalt road between Milas and Labraunda was rejected with the 7198 numbered decision of GEEAYK in 3.6.2011. A new road construction for easing the accessibility to planned tourism facilities was rejected with the 250 numbered decision of GEEAYK in 24.11.2011. |
| 2012 | 3 more spring houses, some discovered tomb remains, Roman and Byzantine remains were registered with the 829 numbered decision of the GEEAYK in 4.7.2012.  
All works related with the construction and repair of the modern asphalt road between Milas and Labraunda was designated to be made with the supervision of the professionals of Milas Museum.  
All works related with the “Muğla Cultural Road Project” was designated to be made in coordination with the Conservation Council of Muğla with the 831 numbered decision of the GEEAYK in again 4.7.2012. |
3.4 Key interest groups concerning the road between Milas and Labraunda

Almost all of the components of the cultural accumulation of the road between Milas and Labraunda that are mentioned above have an organization under a broad framework consisting of various key interest groups and partners. Key interest groups and partners that are also known as stakeholders can be defined as authorities and/or people both at central, provincial, municipal levels for those who given value to the site, those who implemented knowledge about the site and those who can influence for the future of the site. Identification of and communication with these key interest groups are crucial from the beginning to the end of the process (Figure 33).
Figure 33: Key interest groups and partners related with the road between Milas and Labraunda and the cultural accumulation on and around it

NOTES

6. Translated by the author.
7. Translated by the author.