



Defining the Impacts of Historical Development Activities on Urban Heritage of İskenderun (Alexandretta)

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Abstract

İskenderun, also known as Alexandretta in antiquity, has long been a strategically significant port city in the Eastern Mediterranean thanks to its natural harbour. Due to its advantageous location, the settlement began to rapidly urbanize after the mid-19th century as a result of the impacts of Ottoman and later the French Mandate period development activities. This article focuses on defining the influences of historical development activities on the urban heritage of İskenderun by understanding and evaluating various efforts that lie behind the formation of the city as an important trade centre and port city connecting the Middle East, Asia Minor, and Europe. By doing so, the formation, development and transformation of the settlement are chronologically deciphered regarding its historical turning points: the mid-19th century Ottoman period, the beginning of the French Mandate period (1919), and the joining of İskenderun to the Republic of Türkiye (1939). Accordingly, the characteristics of the urban form, the ways these characteristics were transformed, and the problems and strategies encountered within different periods are decoded. This decoding employed a combined methodology, including historical interpretation and case study research methods. The results of the study reveal that İskenderun has experienced different solutions for problems of infrastructure within the different periods, as a reflection of different political understandings and public and social needs among those periods.

Keywords:

Eastern Mediterranean, İskenderun, urban development, urban heritage.

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INTRODUCTION

İskenderun, also known as Alexandretta in antiquity, has been a strategically important Eastern Mediterranean port city since ancient times because of its natural harbour. Throughout history, the city was ruled by the Seleucid, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Hamdani State, the Byzantines, the Seljuks, the Crusaders, Mamluks, the Ottomans, the French Mandate, and the Turkish Republic, respectively (Demir, 2016). İskenderun is located between the Mediterranean Sea and Mount Amanos at the south-eastern edge of Türkiye. This location supports close trade activities through terrestrial and maritime routes with the Middle East, Asia Minor, and Europe. Although İskenderun has existed since ancient times, it gained mobility at the end of the 16th century as the port city of Aleppo. From the end of the 16th century on, it had a significant role in terms of trade activities, but it was not suitable for inhabitation due to its being surrounded by large areas of marsh (Çelebi, 1982). İskenderun existed as a transit spot on the way to Aleppo and did not witness proper settlement and urban development until the mid-19th century.

The mid-19th century was a turning point for İskenderun in terms of both commercial and urban development. Since the mid-19th century, the volume of Eastern Mediterranean trade has increased with the impact of the Industrial Revolution (Özveren, 1994), and the need to get raw materials from the Middle East to Europe has also increased. This emerging development in commercial activities made it necessary to intensify the work on the marsh problem of İskenderun that troubled traders. Thus, periodic and regional improvements were achieved in terms of the marshes. Furthermore, the Aleppo-İskenderun Road became safe as banditry activities ceased (Cevdet Paşa, 1986). With these developments, a rapid increase in settlement activities began. The works carried out at this time were important steps towards converting İskenderun from a transfer port into a developed port city.

The development of the city experienced another turning point in 1919. This was the beginning of the French Mandate, which continued until the annexation of İskenderun to the Republic of Türkiye in 1939. İskenderun witnessed intense construction activities during the French Mandate period. These construction activities not only embraced the introduction of different building styles to meet the newly raised needs of the city, but also planning decisions and implementations on an urban scale.

The above mentioned three turning points concerning the history of İskenderun are important stages that affect the urban form. For this reason, this study has been carried out over the period intervals determined by these turning points, which are:

- Formation of place: The period covering up to the mid-19th century

- Development of place: The period which included intense implementations for urbanization, from the mid-19th century to the beginning of the French Mandate period in 1919

- Transformation of place: The period beginning with the French Mandate period and ending with the joining of İskenderun to the Republic of Türkiye in 1939

In relation to these turning points, this study aims to answer the questions below:

1. How did the urban form develop and transformed from the mid-19th century to the end of the French Mandate period (1939)?

2. What are the effects of urban implementations of different periods on urban form, regarding the important turning points of İskenderun?

3. How did the urban activities carried out in each period affect the next period?

Although there are many academic studies on the İskenderun's port trade, there is no study investigating the urban history, and the transformation of the city form of İskenderun. Other Eastern Mediterranean port cities, on the other hand, have been the subject of various academic studies¹. In this respect, the examination of İskenderun's urban form and how it was formed, developed, and transformed will be a contribution to the literature related to Eastern Mediterranean port cities.

On the other hand, the newly established Turkish State carried out intensive urban activities in all Anatolian cities following the establishment of the Republic. The prepared development plans were put into practice during the Early Republic period. In almost all urban and rural settlements, public buildings have been built according to master plans. Today, it is possible to talk about "Early Republican architecture" for every settlement within the borders of the Republic of Türkiye, while İskenderun falls outside of this generalization. It is crucial in this regard to record the urban implementations that İskenderun went through in this period.

A combined methodology, including historical interpretation and case study research methods, is used to answer the research questions of the study. Archival maps and photos documenting İskenderun during a certain period are analysed. Written sources giving information on different aspects of the city, including the physical environment, are examined. The visual archival materials and the written sources are compared and correlated to decipher how the city was formed, developed, and transformed. Field surveys are carried out at different times in 2017 and 2018 to fill in the gaps in the information coming from archives and literature sources. These field surveys were also helpful for deciphering the remaining buildings and urban forms from the earlier periods.

¹ Some of these academic studies are: (Abdel Salam, 1995), (Bilsel, 2000), (Masters, 1999), (Ünlü, 2020), (Ünlü, 2013), (Yenişehirlioğlu et al., 2019), (Kıhtır Öztürk, 2006).

There is very limited information about the city form of İskenderun until the mid-19th century, namely the “formation of place” in this article. For this reason, an attempt is made to depict the period using travellers’ notes. A detailed analysis is made of the following periods thanks to the diversity of the sources. The urban activities carried out in these different periods are analysed within the context of infrastructure works, streets, the built environment, open public spaces, and transportation. Through comparison, the effects of different periods on urban development activities are realized.

The main sources utilized in this study are archive sources consisting of a rich collection of visual materials in the form of old maps, old photos, and aerial photos. The maps dating back to 1851 (Ferhat Paşa, 1851), and 1896 (Monsieur Charles, 1896) were obtained from the Directorate of State Archives Ottoman Archives. 1916 dated map was obtained from the National Library. 1928 dated 1/500 and 1/1000 scaled cadastral maps were received from the Hüseyin Kanbolat personal archive. Old photos were mainly obtained from the archives of Orlando Carlo Calumeno (Köker, 2014), Mehmet Mursaloğlu (Mursaloğlu, 2000), and the Levantine Heritage Foundation. French Mandate period aerial photographs were obtained from Kanbolat archive.

The information coming from archive documents is supported by written sources. The guidebook written by Paul Jacquot (Jacquot,1931), 1908 dated Aleppo yearbook, the notes of Piri Reis, Jean Babtiste Tavernier, Evliya Çelebi, and Şerafeddin Mağmumi describe the social and spatial characteristics of İskenderun at different periods.

Although there is a wide variety of sources obtained within the scope of this study, they carry different limitations and obstacles in different respects. Travellers’ notes do not provide detailed information about the built environment. Although a wide collection of old photos was obtained, most of their dates are unknown. Information related to the names of the streets, buildings, and open public areas is missing on the Ottoman maps. The visual sources of the French Mandate period are richer.

After the introduction, the article focuses on the formation, development, and transformation periods of the city according to the influence of different periods’ urban development activities, together with the effect of the presence of maritime trade. Finally, the influence of different periods’ urban development activities is evaluated and discussed as a conclusion.

THE FORMATION OF PLACE (İSKENDERUN BEFORE THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY)

Eastern Mediterranean port cities and trade centres gained mobility in the 16th century. The reason for this was the commencement of the Ottoman Empire’s rule of Baghdad and Basra in 1534-1535. Thus, transportation between the Eastern Mediterranean ports, the Euphrates River, and the Persian Gulf, which were already under Ottoman rule, started to operate regularly (Oğuzoğlu, 2009).

Beirut, Tripoli and Latakia are the closest ports to İskenderun, providing transfers between the inner regions of Syria and Europe. The port of Latakia was unsuitable for the entry of large tonnage ships due to its sand-filled area (Issawi, 1988). Therefore, in terms of the areas they transfer, Beirut and Tripoli are the cities with which İskenderun competes. Alexandria provides transfers between Yemen, Africa, and the south of Egypt, and Europe (Seyyid, 2000). In the commercial relations between the cities of Jaffa and Haifa, the route between Jerusalem and Europe is effective (Carmel, 2011) (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Eastern Mediterranean cities and trade routes (revised by the authors from the original map at the T.R. Directorate of State Archive, Ottoman Archive, Haritalar (HRT.h.) Archive Record, Folder no: 379)

In the mid-16th century, transportation between the inner regions of Syria and Europe was provided mostly via the Tripoli Port. However, political conflicts and corruption at this port caused an increase in the value of İskenderun in the later part of the century (Grisswold, 2002). By 1590 Europeans were almost exclusively using İskenderun thanks to its sheltered harbour, proximity, and administrative dependence on Aleppo, which was open to foreigners with its large commercial buildings (Masters, 1999). Another reason why the İskenderun harbour was opened to international trade in this period was that Damascus, one of the favourite centres of Eastern trading, was not large enough for traders due to the increasing commercial activities in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Due to this increase, Aleppo rose as a commercial centre in a short time, thanks to the size and wealth of its market and caravan routes that were safer than those of Damascus (Sahillioğlu, 1979, as cited in Acıpinar, 2017).

The information about the urban form of İskenderun is limited to the narratives of the travellers in the 16th century. According to Çelebi's depiction, "all four sides of İskenderun are reeds and marshes" (Çelebi, 1982, p.15). Tavernier, on the other hand, talks about the diseases and the poor air quality brought about by the marshes as follows: "*the air of*

İskenderun is extremely bad, especially in summer. It is dangerous to come here in this season. Even if you get rid of death, you can't get rid of dangerous diseases" (Tavernier, 2006, p.165).

Despite the fact that all travellers have brought up the marsh issue, there had been no study for two centuries regarding a solution to this problem. The first proper work could only begin with the construction of the İbrahim Pasha Canal in 1832. Although this channel temporarily solved the problem, over time it was filled with soil and sand and could not provide a long-term solution (Ürkmez, 2012).

The insufficiency of the built environment conditions is another issue mentioned in the narratives. Piri Reis describes the city as "a ruined castle on a low ness" (Reis, 2013). Therefore, it can be said that at the beginning of the 16th century, İskenderun was a very secluded place. At the end of the century, due to the use of the port, the city was revived. According to Braudel: "*Since 1593, the journeys towards Venice are no longer from Tripoli, but from İskenderun, where the Venetians transferred their connections and other Christian boats came to follow them. The new pier does not know the old chicane. Although it has less favourable conditions, it is closer to Aleppo. However, at this pier, the lack of warehouses for stocks of goods is annoying for the Venetians, and more than them for the Marseilles*" (Braudel, 1989, p.381).

In the 17th century, the customs building, the storehouses, the consulates, and the taverns that performed services such as entertainment and accommodation to the crew of the ships were present in İskenderun (Çelebi, 1982). Consulates provided residential services to merchants because of the lack of hans and/or hotels. While there were just two consulates as of 1638, within ten years, that number increased to seven (Çelebi, 1982; Tavernier, 2006). The inhabitants of the city consisted of Franks and Rums. The Rums operated taverns that served merchants. It is understood from Tavernier's depiction of "*a city where the old houses of the Rums are stacked on top of each other*" that the locals continued their lives under poor conditions (Tavernier, 2006, p.165). It is evident from the travellers' notes that the built environment started to be formed entirely based on trade in this century.

Even though the travellers' notes are invaluable sources for understanding various aspects of the city, it is not possible to decipher the built environment from these sources. Although some buildings are mentioned by travellers, their location could not be interpreted.

DEVELOPMENT OF PLACE (OTTOMAN İSKENDERUN AFTER THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY)

Despite the global usage of the İskenderun harbour, the marshes enclosing it prevented the development of the city until the mid-19th century. Therefore, İskenderun could not go beyond being a commercial spot dependent on Aleppo (Masters, 1999). The fact that Aleppo had hosted trade houses open to foreigners on long-distance trade routes and had been an important accommodation point was another reason why

İskenderun could not be a self-sufficient and independent port. In this sense, the roles of Beirut and İskenderun were different from each other. Beirut, which was the natural port of Damascus, had been able to establish its market area and mercantile establishment in relations with foreign states since the beginning of the 19th century by taking advantage of the fact that Damascus was a traditional city remaining distant from foreigners (Özveren, 1994).

Mağmumi, in the last quarter of the 19th century, explains the condition of İskenderun as follows: *“Those who saw İskenderun 20 years ago say that there is nothing but customs administration and 40-50 shacks built by the locals in the reeds and on four posts. Today, there is a regular neighbourhood with a few hundred tiled roofed houses”* (Mağmumi, 2011, p.238-239).

Between the years 1840 and 1914, with the impact of the Industrial Revolution, the volume of Eastern Mediterranean trade increased approximately nine times. At the end of the 19th century, the trade volume difference between Beirut and its rivals such as İskenderun and Tripoli gradually closed (Özveren, 1994). During this period, most of the agricultural products were transported from Aleppo to the Eastern Mediterranean by road. İskenderun is the port with the most advantageous position among its competitors in terms of distance (Beşirli, 2004b).

In light of these developments, İskenderun entered a period of rapid urban development from the mid-19th century on. Tanzimat regulations have been effective in the rapid development activities in the city. Tanzimat regulations were the beginning of a modernization movement, implemented not only in İskenderun but also in most of the Eastern Mediterranean port cities. Foreign merchants' goals for the smooth operation of trade and their emphasis on the urban environment have been influential in the rapid modernization of port cities (Yenişehirlioğlu et al., 1995). Opening wide streets and docks, removing narrow streets and culs-de-sac, establishing grid-planned and street layouts, and the use of fire-resistant materials such as stone were among the most common of the new regulations (Özcan, 2006). The coexistence of people with different religious and ethnic origins was another factor that affected urban identity. 1908 dated Aleppo Province yearbook shows that İskenderun consisted of Muslims, Rums, Armenians, Assyrians, Maronites, Latins, and Jews (Eroğlu et al., 2012).

The feature that distinguishes İskenderun from other port cities is its marshy areas. Although it has many features of urban form in common with other port cities, it is seen that developments such as railway and modern port construction took place later due to the marsh problem.

Marsh drying works gained intensity after the mid-19th century. Many officers were assigned by the Grand Vizier to solve the marsh problem (Ürkmez, 2012). Among these, Ferhat Pasha (assigned in 1851) and Monsieur Charl (assigned in 1896) come forward because of the maps they drew (T.R. Directorate of State Archive, Ottoman Archive, İ.D.H.

Archive Record, Folder no: 244, File no: 14880; ŞD. Archive Record, Folder no: 2234, File no: 27) (Figure 2). However, as before, the attempts of these officers could not deliver a permanent solution to the problem.

The following notes from Mağmumi towards the end of the 19th-century prove the insolvency of the biggest problem of the city: *“The weather is heavy, humid, and hot in summer, as İskenderun was who are unable to escape and desperately remain in the town are distinguished by the waxy hue of their skin colour. Although the marsh area is started to fill for a few years, a technical method is not used. So, twenty years cannot be finished at this rate. Up to now, only the streets of the town could be filled and tiled. One cubic meter of land costs three kuruş. And it is told that at some points, two or three cubic meters of soil was filled up”* (Mağmumi, 2011, p.240).

To accelerate the soil and stone filling works of marshy areas, it was decided to build a narrow-gauge railway line in 1894. For this purpose, 24 iron wagons and 2500-meter iron rails were built. In 1896 a “Marsh Commission” was established by Monsieur Charl. This commission drew a detailed map and brought forward a proposal (Figure 2). Building a 2300-meter length, 1.80-meter height set, opening new channels, and adding 20 wagons and 500-meter rails to the narrow-gauge railway line were proposed (Ürkmez, 2012).

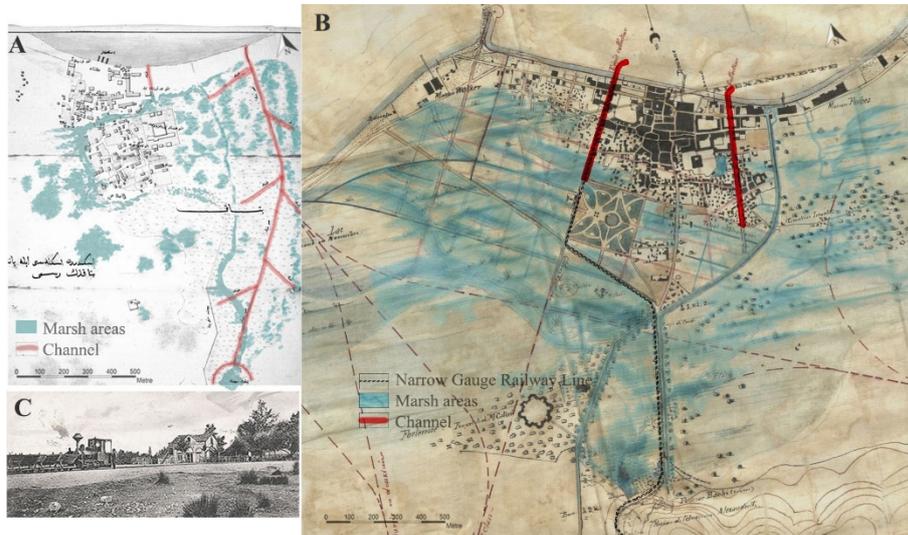


Figure 2. A. The marsh area in 1851 dated map (revised by the authors from the original 1851 map retrieved from Ferhat Paşa, 1851) B. The marshes and the collectors in 1896 (Revised by the authors from the original 1896 map retrieved from Monsieur Charles, 1896) C. The narrow-gauge railway line (Levantine heritage, 2018)

According to the 1908 Aleppo yearbook, some marshes were dried thanks to the works of the Marsh Commission, and the air of the city recovered (Eroğlu et al., 2012). However, three years later, on June 27, 1911, Hüseyin Kamil Bey, Governor of Aleppo, stated in his report that years of work and money spent did nothing but raise the marshy ground by one or two meters. Due to the lack of a regular plan and calculations in the works, the marshes could not be drained (T.R. Directorate of State Archive, Ottoman Archive, DH.İD. Archive Record, Folder no:44, File no:30 as cited in Sandalçı, 2005).

Although years of studies did not provide an exact solution for the marshes, periodic improvements contributed to the development of the urban fabric. These improvements made the city relatively liveable. Looking at the 1851 map, the street patterns could not be deciphered completely, but it can be said that the city consisted of streets that were located irregularly without a main axis. Cul de sacs between the marsh areas existed. Streets in the north direction, near the sea, are not shown on the map (Figure 3).

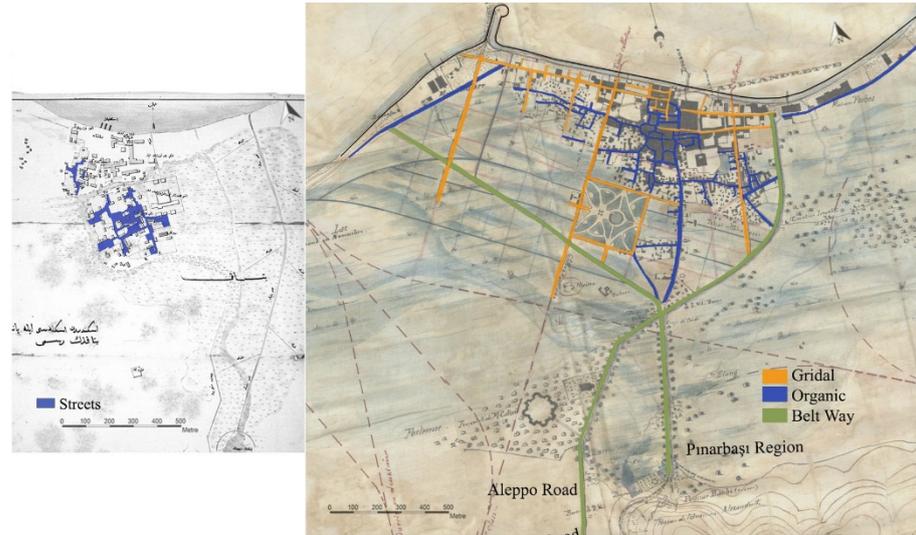


Figure 3. Left: Streets in the 1851 dated maps (Revised by the authors from the original 1851 map retrieved from Ferhat Paşa, 1851) Right: Streets in the 1896 dated maps (Revised by the authors from the original 1896 map retrieved from Monsieur Charles, 1896)

The 1896 dated map shows that streets were spread on a much larger area after 45 years. The grid system consisting of several streets perpendicular to and a few streets parallel to the sea and the beltways bordering the city were built. One of the two beltways bordering the city was connected to the Aleppo Road, and the other was connected to Pınarbaşı, the distribution point of drinking water (Figure 3).

The built-up area on the 1851 map is in the region where the organic pattern is located on the map of 1896. The street pattern in this region is mainly composed of culs-de-sac. At the end of the 19th century, besides the organic pattern in which Ottoman influences are seen, there is the formation of a grid pattern.

Many changes can be observed in the built-up areas in relation to the change of street pattern from 1851 to the 1896. There was an increase in the variety of buildings. Comparing the 1851 and the 1896 dated maps, it is seen that the built environment doubled in 45 years² (figure 4).

While there are 13 monumental buildings according to the 1851 dated map, 29 monumental buildings have been identified on the 1916 dated map (Figure 5). The location of the customs office, old ruined Indian Han, Rum Church, Mihail Elyan Han, British Consulate, quarantine building, and ruined castle did not change over the years. The 1908 dated Aleppo yearbook gives information about the buildings in İskenderun (Eroğlu et al., 2012). From the buildings mentioned here, the location of a government office, a military barracks, two mosques, four churches, a

² It is known that a great earthquake happened in the İskenderun region in 1872. However, due to the inadequacy of written and visual sources, the effects of the earthquake on the city could not be understood. This earthquake damaged two out of three of the structures in Antakya, which is 55 km away from İskenderun (Demir, 2016).

hospital, a warehouse, two of the 21 coffeehouses, one of the four restaurants, two of the five liquorice factories, one of the two baths, and one of the six hotels have been deciphered.



Figure 4. Correlation of the 1896 and 1851 dated maps (Revised by the authors from the original 1896 map and 1851 map retrieved from Monsieur Charles, 1896 and Ferhat Paşa, 1851)

The location of the six primary schools (Sıbyan) could not be detected. However, schools connected to churches are observed. The region where the hans and shops are located were identified with the help of old photographs, but only the name of three of the 17 hans are known. Although consular buildings, the École des Frères (School of the Brothers), post office, the Syria Lebanon Bank, and customs buildings are not mentioned in the yearbook, looking at the maps and photos reveals that these buildings also existed (Figure 5).

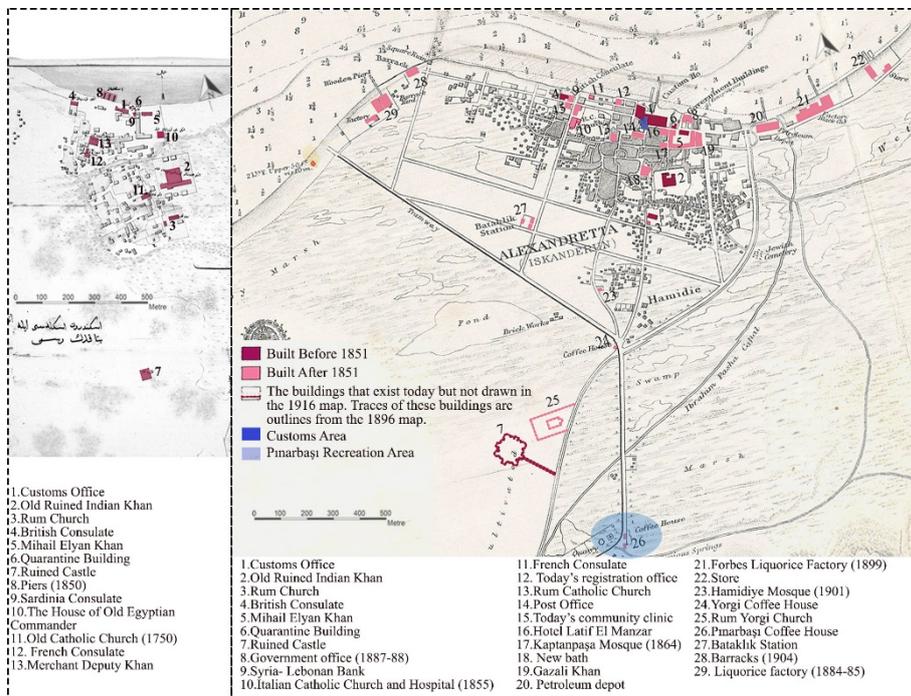


Figure 5. Left: Monumental buildings on 1851 dated map (Revised by the authors from the original 1851 map retrieved from Ferhat Paşa, 1851) Right: Monumental buildings on 1916 dated map (Revised by the authors from the original 1916 map at National Library of Turkey, ca.1916)

The photographs of deciphered Ottoman period buildings are diagrammed chronologically. Looking at this scheme and the photo showing the coastline (Figure 6), it is possible to get an idea about the increasing number and variety of buildings after the mid-19th century.

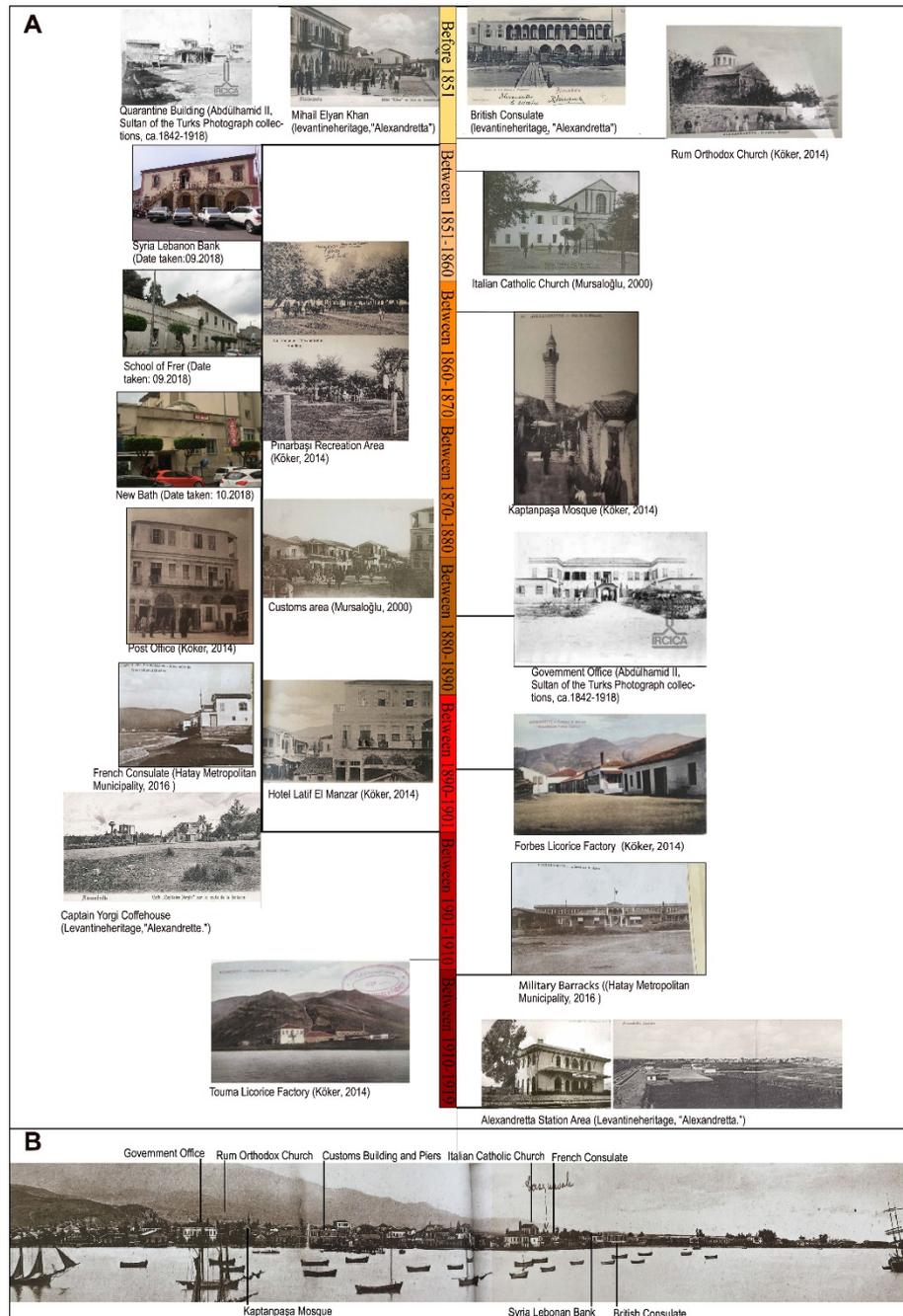


Figure 6. A. Monumental buildings and public open areas of the Ottoman Period (Prepared by the authors, 2020) B. The silhouette of the Alexandretta (Prepared by the authors on the photograph retrieved from Hatay Metropolitan Municipality, 2016)

Typologies such as government office, bank, and post office are the types of buildings formed after the Tanzimat. Stone material, which became common after the implementation of the Tanzimat regulations, was also used extensively in the monumental buildings of İskenderun. Similar structures were built in other Eastern Mediterranean port cities such as Beirut, Haifa, Jaffa, Alexandria, and İzmir under the influence of the modernization movement (Ünlü, 2020).

Among the residential buildings of the Ottoman period, the "huğ" house typology, is remarkable. Huğ is a traditional housing type seen in Çukurova and the Eastern Mediterranean region. It is built with timber,

reeds, and mud (Tokay, 2004). There are also examples of traditional Ottoman period houses located in the organic pattern.

Public open places such as parks and squares were not designed in the Ottoman period. Open public areas were composed of the customs area and the Pınarbaşı recreation area. The customs area was located at the intersection of the streets behind the customs building, where the materials to pass through customs were gathered. This area constituted a meaningful place with the bazaar that consisted of stores and the hans (figure 5).

Since İskenderun is a port city, one of the most significant factors in its commercial relations is transportation. Accordingly, works on road, rail, and sea transportation were carried out. Until the railway was built in 1913, road transportation was the only way to deliver raw materials from the inner regions of Syria to İskenderun. Therefore, the safety and quality of the road were important to traders. The completion of the İskenderun-Aleppo highway in 1866 (Tuncel, 2000) and the rescuing of the region from banditry activities in the same year provided vitality in trade (Yurt Encyclopaedia, 1982). However, the commercial volume of Beirut increased again due to Beirut- Aleppo railway built in 1910 (Beşirli, 2004a). The commercial activities of İskenderun were badly affected by the construction of the Beirut- Aleppo railway.

With the impact of the Industrial Revolution, the British, Germans, and French carried out many railway projects in the Ottoman lands in the 19th century. In 1903, in connection with the Konya-Baghdad-Basra project on the Baghdad railway line, the Ottoman State gave the Germans the privilege of establishing a branch line from Toprakkale to İskenderun. However, engineering problems due to difficulty in tunnelling in the Amanos Mountains and lack of funding delayed the construction of the Toprakkale-İskenderun line. More importantly, Britain, France, and Russia made the construction of the line difficult by creating political obstacles intended to protect their interests in the region. For these reasons, the construction was barely started by 21 March 1911 and was finished on 1 November, 1913 (Beşirli, 2004b). With the construction of the İskenderun-Toprakkale line, it was aimed to eliminate the commercial difference between Beirut and İskenderun. However, with the outbreak of the First World War, this expectation could not be met in the Ottoman period.

Although the construction date of the railway buildings is not certain, it is believed that they were built by the Germans in the same period as the railway line, due to the similarities they show to those built by the Germans in nearby stations like Yenice and Zeytinli (Şenyiğit, 2002). Just after its construction, the Toprakkale-İskenderun branch line was bombed and damaged many times during the First World War (Beşirli, 2004b).

Raw materials coming from the inner regions of Syria were transferred from İskenderun to Europe by sea, but there was no state-owned pier to ease the transportation of the goods to and from the ships

in 1850. Various modest piers were constructed, but none of them could last long (Ürkmez, 2012). The government then privileged a construction and operation concession to a German company named Haydarpaşa Port Company for the construction of a new modern port. However, this again could not be achieved due to the First World War. Nothing was built other than the pier where small marine vessels could dock (Darkot, 1977).

TRANSFORMATION OF PLACE (İSKENDERUN DURING THE FRENCH MANDATE PERIOD)

After the First World War, today's Syria, Lebanon, and Hatay region came under the French Mandate. This region was as important to the French as Istanbul and the Straits. It is in a position that the French navy could easily reach (Yorulmaz, 1998). It is the region where all kinds of opportunities were available in terms of supplying the raw materials needed by the French for the industrialization process. That is why, after İskenderun was placed under French control, it experienced significant changes not only in its political environment but also in its cultural life and physical sphere. The French carried out intensive urban activities in İskenderun, such as opening new streets, designing new open areas, constructing monumental and residential buildings, carrying out infrastructure works, and improving transformation facilities during their governance for about 20 years.

To solve the marsh problem, the Public Works Technical Service was established in the Mandate period (Aslanoğlu, 2002). A detailed project was prepared in 1928 and implemented until 1931. The first intervention carried out was to dry the water coming from Pınarbaşı and its surroundings. For this purpose, besides filling the marshes, trees such as eucalyptus, acacia, and plane that absorb water were planted. Main and secondary reinforced concrete canals were built (Açıkgöz, 2008) (Figure 7).

As a result of these efforts, İskenderun became a sterilized city in 1931 and 400,000 cubic meters of the area were dried. The inner parts of the city were almost completely dried. Malaria cases declined steadily (Jacquot, 1931). In addition to the solution of the marsh problem, works on electricity, water and infrastructure systems were conducted in the first decade of the Mandate. Conducting other infrastructure works together with marsh drying works also achieved success (Açıkgöz, 2008). Looking at the 1928 map, it is understood that new boulevards were opened, and existing roads were extended and widened to improve the street pattern. Cayla Boulevard was built on the coast parallel to the seashore, right after the beginning of the Mandate (Aslanoğlu, 2002). Streets running perpendicular from Cayla Boulevard to Phare and Naher Streets on the city periphery, and parallel streets to Cayla Boulevard, form the grid street pattern. Grid pattern streets were left unfinished in some places due to lack of time and budget. Cayla Boulevard and its parallel Marechal Foch and Beauregard Streets, and Hamidiye and Eglise

Streets which run perpendicular to those, are the most important avenues where public buildings were concentrated (Figures 7).

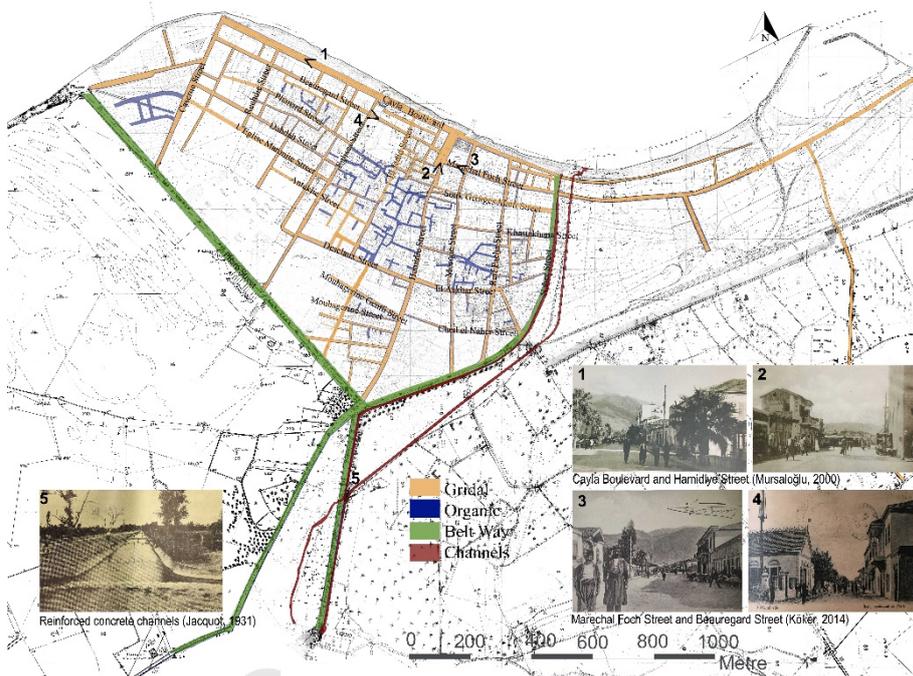
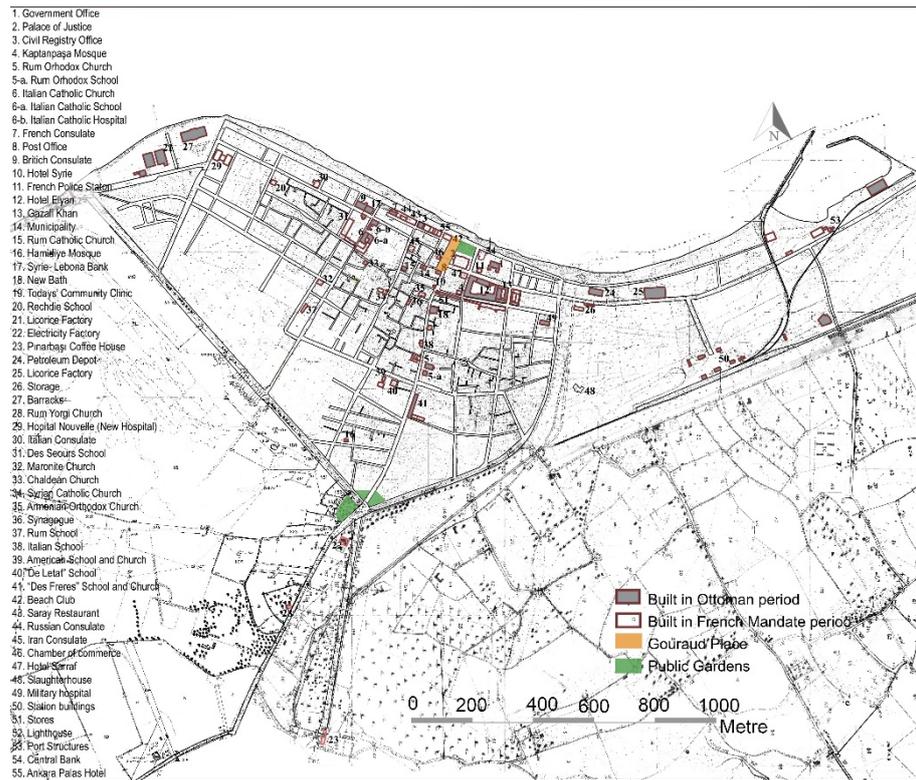


Figure 7. The map and photographs that shows the streets and channels of the city in the French Mandate period (Revised by the authors from the original 1928 map retrieved from Kanbolat archive)

The 1931 tourism guide contains information about the buildings in the city (Jacquot, 1931). Five of six hotels; three of nine restaurants; the government office; palace of justice; a new hospital; one of two baths; a synagogue; two mosques; one of three police commissions; the town hall; customs office; post office; French, British, Italian, and Iranian Consulates; chamber of commerce; two liquorice factories; and one electricity factory mentioned in this guide were detected on the cadastral map dated 1928. The number of churches recorded as six in the guide is ten on the 1928 map. The Russian Consulate, the Central Bank, and the Italian Hospital, whose names are written on the 1928 map, are not registered in the guide. The location of the Consulates of Belgium, Norway, Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, and the USA; two flower factories; two ice factories; exchange offices; one photographer's shop; one bookstore; one newspaper printing house; and one Syrian gendarmerie company could not be determined on the 1928 map (Figure 8).

Three different types of Mandate period houses are detected. The two-story villa type asymmetrical residences on Cayla Boulevard are one of the types. Buildings with neoclassical features, whose ground floor is used for commercial functions and the upper floor for residential functions, constitute another housing type. Finally, symmetrical structures with single-story, retracted entrances, rectangular jambs, and back gardens are also French-era structures.

Figure 8. Monumental building and public open areas in 1928 dated French Mandate period map (Revised by the authors from the original 1928 map retrieved from Kanbolat archive)



It is not possible to generalize the characteristics of the buildings of the Mandate period. According to Açıkgöz, the most important reason for this is probably that there was no comprehensive planning in İskenderun as in Algeria and Morocco, which were under the French Mandate in that period. Instead, work was carried out in pieces (Açıkgöz, 2008). Reflections of this condition can be read from the monumental structures. Many buildings with different architectural styles were built. While some of the buildings have local influences such as courtyards, crown doors, and mosaic coverings, some of them feature the characteristics of neoclassical architecture with their Palladian windows, pediments, and jambs (Figure9).

In the 1931 tourism guide, it is mentioned that a plan was made to improve the city. It is stated that 1200 meters long, 25 meters wide Boulevard was opened; the courthouse, police station, prison, and quarantine buildings were built; and a large hospital had just been completed. Also, the construction of the power plant, public works atelier, customs buildings and reinforced concrete canals were mentioned (Jacquot, 1931, p.67). As a result of reviewing the written and visual sources, no other information could be found about the scope, details, and drawings of this plan. This situation gave rise to the possibility that the aforementioned plan might not be very comprehensive, as Açıkgöz stated.

Public open spaces were built at both ends of Hamidiye Street in the Mandate period. Following the demolition of the customs building and the buildings to the west of the customs building in 1924 (Aslanoğlu, 2002), a square, and adjacent to it a public garden, were built here. The

square was formed by the expansion of the customs area behind the destroyed customs building, towards the sea. Its name was designated as Gouraud Place, after the French Commissioner Gouraud. In the following years, new structures such as the palace of justice, the chamber of commerce, and the Beach Club were built surrounding the square (Figure 9). Another public garden was at the intersection of Hamidiye Street with El Naher and Phare Streets (Figure 8).

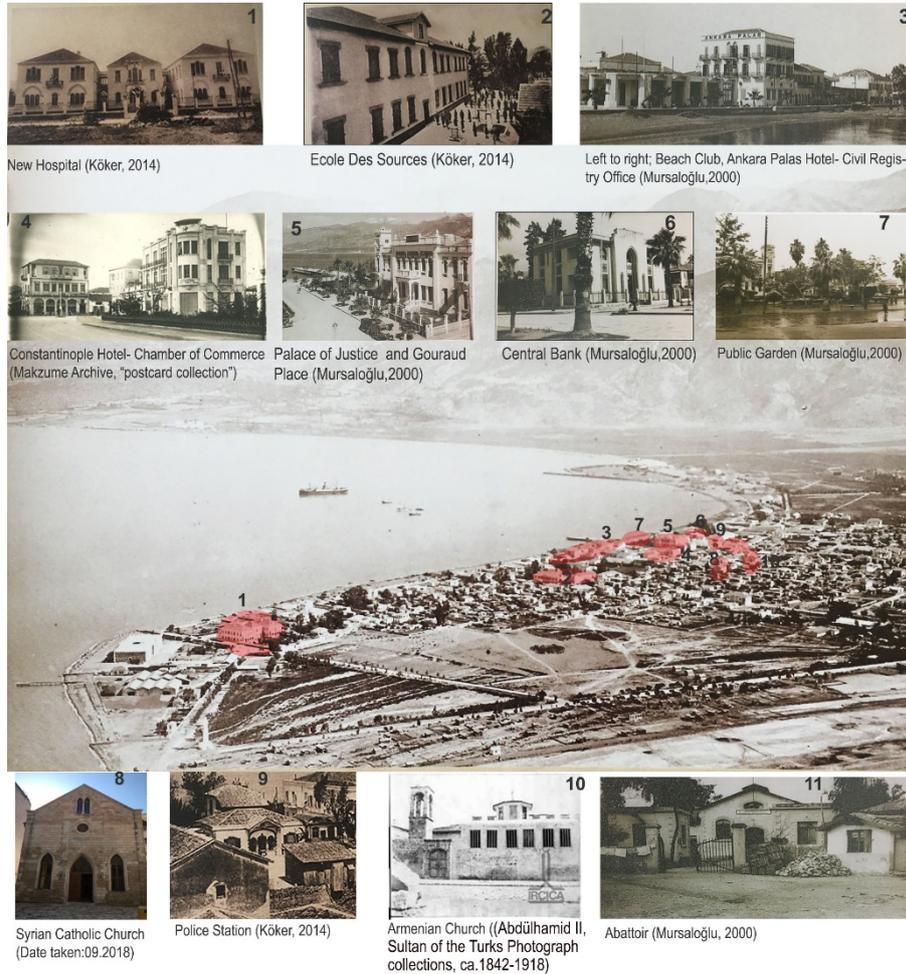


Figure 9. Monumental buildings of the Mandate period (revised by the authors on the photograph retrieved from Hatay Metropolitan Municipality, 2016)

Apart from these public open spaces, it is known from the written sources that there was a new square opened in 1937. This square was named after High Commissioner Pierre Durieux (Açıkgöz, 2008). However, no other information was available regarding the location and planning features of the square.

Besides the construction of new buildings and public open spaces, regulations were made to improve the transportation routes to the city and thus to develop trade. One of them was the construction of the modern port project that could not be built due to the First World War. For this purpose, in May 1921, the İskenderun port concession was transferred to the Mandate administration. Emergency works such as the renovation of the dock and the construction of the railway from the train station to the port were completed. Later, new buildings, hangars (with a capacity of 4000 square meters), and a lighthouse were built at the

entrance point of the dock, and the 200 meters long quay strip lit up (Figure 8) (Açıkgöz, 2008).

In addition to the construction of the port, works were carried out on the highway and railway. While the Antakya-İskenderun Road was rebuilt during the Mandate period between 1922 and 1923, The Aleppo-İskenderun Road and İskenderun's railway which was damaged during the First World War were repaired. The İskenderun-Suveydiye road was built to allow travellers to travel together with stopovers (Açıkgöz, 2008).

EVALUATION AS A CONCLUSION

It is possible to discuss how the urban form has changed and how different periods' urban practices have impacted the İskenderun city's form as a result of the analysis carried out. The conclusions of the study can be summarised as follows:

- Despite all efforts during the Ottoman period, the marsh problem could not be solved permanently. The work done provided recovery for only a few years. Despite this, the periodic improvements provided by the works carried out in this period paved the way for the construction of new buildings and streets for the refinement of the urban form. The lack of a permanent solution and the effort and money spent to solve this problem have caused urban development to progress more slowly than other port cities in the Eastern Mediterranean. With the solution to the marsh problem during the Mandate period, the construction works have progressed more quickly and safely.



Figure 10. Transformation of the streets (Prepared by the authors, 2020)

The streets forming the grid pattern seen on the map of 1896 were extended and widened during the Mandate. Many new streets were built running perpendicular to each other. The organic street pattern where the city was first formed was largely preserved both during the late Ottoman and Mandate periods. The grid plan streets built as an effect of the Tanzimat regulations during the Ottoman period facilitated the rapid expansion of this texture during the Mandate period.

The streets could not be completed due to insufficient time and budget in the French Mandate period, showing that the French shaped their urban activities in hopes of being permanently present in İskenderun (Figure 10).

- Considering the criteria such as the designing of the built environment and the functional positioning of the buildings in the Ottoman and French Mandate periods, it can be said that the most important change between the two periods was the growth of the city in the east because of the construction of the modern port and railroad. Other functions continued to exist at different scales in approximately the same areas during both periods. The change in regime and the increasing population raised the need for administrative, health, education, and residential buildings during the French Mandate period. To meet these needs many buildings were designed such as the palace of justice, the chamber of commerce, a new hospital, and the “Des Sources” school. The number of houses was increased, and they spread to a wider area. Villa-type stone houses on the beach, single-story stone buildings, and two-story neoclassical buildings were added to the Ottoman period *hüç* houses and two-story Ottoman house typologies. The diversity of people from different nations led to an increase in the diversity and number of religious structures (Figure 11).

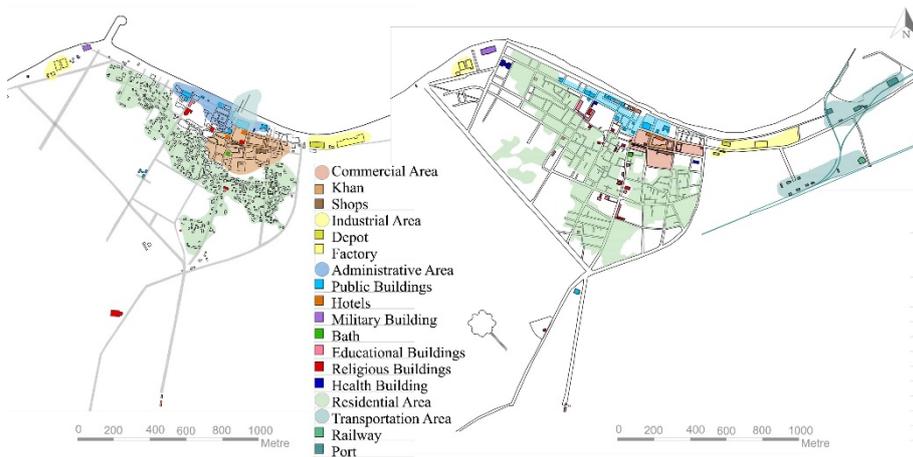


Figure 11. Functional distribution of the Ottoman and Mandate period buildings (Prepared by the authors, 2020)

The continuity of monumental buildings has been at a high rate. Twenty-one of the 55 monumental buildings that existed during the Mandate and whose location is known were built during the Ottoman period. It is observed that only four Ottoman period monumental buildings were destroyed. These are the customs building, marsh station,

quarantine building, and Yorgi Coffeehouse. Mihail Elyan Han and the post office changed their functions and were converted to hotels. Although the government office was built in the Ottoman period, it was renovated, and additions were made during the French Mandate period.

The previous period's buildings are either preserved or functioned with needed uses during the Mandate period. This attempt reveals that the public works of the Mandate period did not aim to erase the traces and remains of earlier eras, but rather to articulate the existing city form as a core for the addition of new urban forms and buildings. İskenderun is a city that developed during the modernization movement brought by the Tanzimat regulations. In this respect, it can be said that İskenderun did not have a typical Ottoman city form before the Mandate period and this might be the reason for keeping it.

- There is an apparent difference between the two periods in terms of constructing public open spaces. Public open spaces, which consisted of a recreation spot and customs space in the Ottoman period, were replaced by squares and public gardens during the Mandate period. The rare implementation of open spaces during the Ottoman period means that the Tanzimat regulations related to public open spaces were not implemented in İskenderun. For this reason, new squares and public gardens were built during the Mandate period as a reflection of modernisation.

- The foundations of road and rail transportation were laid in the Ottoman period, and the existing roads were repaired and improved in the Mandate period. The modern port, whose negotiations were initiated in the Ottoman period, could not be built. Rather, it was built during the French Mandate period. The construction of the station area outside the city during the Ottoman period also affected the urban form in the following period. For this reason, port facilities were built outside the city, close to the station area. This situation caused the transformation of the urban form in a way that it started to be established and developed around the pier. This new port location has had a positive effect on the security of goods. However, in the city that existed and developed as a port city, the relocation of the port and customs building outside the settlement negatively affected the relationship with other commercial structures benefiting from the port, such as the hans and the stores in the bazaar region.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS/NOTES

This paper is based on a master's thesis entitled "Transformation of İskenderun historic urban fabric from mid-19th century to the end of the French mandate period" prepared by Canan Nalça, under the supervision of Assist. Prof. Dr. F. Nurşen Kul and co-supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mert Nezih Rifaioğlu in the Department of Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage at İzmir Institute of Technology in 2018.

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