

**A CASE IN FRENCH COLONIAL POLITICS OF
ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM:
ANTIOCH AND ALEXANDRETTA DURING THE MANDATE**

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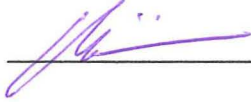
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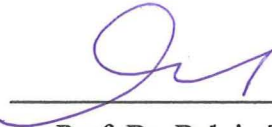


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ABSTRACT

A CASE IN FRENCH COLONIAL POLITICS OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM: ANTIOCH AND ALEXANDRETTA DURING THE MANDATE

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The aim of this study is to investigate characteristics of urban transformation in Antioch and Alexandretta during the French Mandate, 1920-1938. Contending that a purely formal analysis would fail to grasp complex politics of architecture and urbanism promoted by the French administration, this thesis seeks to explore the urban transformation of these cities in its political and representational context. In analyzing the French perception of the urban space especially in Antioch, this thesis devotes an extensive attention to the nineteenth century travelers who visited Antioch, by emphasizing the ways in which they described the urban make-up of the city. Moreover, it situates the case of Antioch and Alexandretta within the broader framework of French colonial architecture and urbanism by occasionally referring to French North Africa on the one hand, and other cities of the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon on the other hand. Along with an analysis of the changing built environment in Antioch and Alexandretta, other visual and representational strategies such as the colonial exhibition, archeological works, scholarly endeavors, and tourism are discussed. It is the major premise of this thesis that a comprehensive portrayal of the architectural and urban transformation of these cities might

be attained only through the inclusion of different forms of political and visual representation.

Keywords: Colonialism, Orientalism, Colonial Architecture and Urbanism, Architecture of the Mandate, French Mandate, Antioch, Alexandretta, Colonial Exhibition, Archeological Representation.

ÖZ

FRANSIZ KOLONYALİZMİNİN MİMARİ VE KENTSEL POLİTİKALARINA BİR ÖRNEK: MANDA DÖNEMİNDE ANTAKYA VE İSKENDERUN

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, 1920 ve 1938 yılları arasındaki Fransız mandası döneminde Antakya ve İskenderundaki kentsel dönüşümün özelliklerini araştırmaktır. Klasik anlamda biçimsel bir analizin Fransız yönetimi tarafından uygulanan karmaşık ve çok yönlü mimarlık ve kentleşme politikalarını kavramakta yetersiz kalacağı kanaatinde olan bu tez, adı geçen şehirlerin kentsel dönüşümünü politik ve temsili bağlamı içerisinde ele almayı hedeflemektedir. Fransızların özellikle Antakya şehrinin kentsel mekanını algılayışlarını analiz ederken, şehri ondokuzuncu yüzyılda ziyaret etmiş seyyahların anlatılarına, özellikle de kentsel dokuyu tasvir etme şekillerine önemli bir yer ayrılmaktadır. Bu tez, Antakya ve İskenderun örneklerini, Fransız kolonyal mimari ve şehircilik politikalarının genel çerçevesi içine oturtmayı amaçlamakta, bu bağlamda Fransız Kuzey Afrikasıyla ve manda yönetimi altındaki diğer Suriye ve Lübnan şehirleriyle mukayeseler yapmaktadır. Antakya ve İskenderun şehirlerindeki kentsel dönüşümün analiziyle beraber, kolonyal sergi, arkeolojik faaliyetler, dönemin bilimsel çalışmaları, ve turizm gibi görsel ve temsili stratejiler tartışılmaktadır. Bu şehirlerdeki kentsel ve mimari dönüşümün kapsamlı bir

analizine, farklı politik ve görsel temsil biçimlerinin dahil edilmesinin kaçınılmaz olması bu çalışmanın temel iddiasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kolonyalizm, Oryantalizm, Kolonyal Mimari ve Kentleşme, Manda Mimarlığı, Fransız Mandası, Antakya, İskenderun, Kolonyal Sergi, Arkeolojik Temsil.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xi
CHAPTERS	
1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
2: CONTEMPLATING THE SPACE: Nineteenth Century Travelers to Antioch	
2.1 Travel Accounts and the Middle East.....	15
2.2 An “Enlightened” Pioneer: <i>Volney and Voyage en Egypt et en Syrie</i>	19
2.3 A la Recherche de l’Espace Perdu <i>Or Historicism in the Travel Narratives on Antioch</i>	27
2.4 Other Travelers: <i>Peripheries of the Orientalist Discourse</i>	42
2.5 Concluding Remarks	52
3: POLITICS OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM IN SYRIA DURING THE MANDATE	
3.1 The French Mandate of Syria, 1920-1946.....	58
3.2 Architecture and Urbanism during the French Mandate.....	63
3.3 Urbanism and the International Justification of the Mandate: <i>The Danger Report to the League of Nations on French Architecture and Urbanism in Syria and Lebanon</i>	85
3.4 Scholarship and the Empire I: <i>L’Institut Français d’Archéologie et d’Art Musulman</i>	88
3.5 Representing the Mandate: <i>Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris, 1931</i>	92

4: AN INCOMPLETE PROJECT: Architecture and Urbanism in Alexandretta and Antioch	
4.1 The Sanjak of Alexandretta: <i>An Overview of Political History</i>	112
4.2 The Port of Alexandretta.....	118
4.3 Architecture and Urbanism: <i>The City of Alexandretta</i>	121
4.4 Architecture and Urbanism: <i>Antioch between Tradition and Modernity</i>	137
4.5 The Danger Plan of Antioch.....	148
4.6 Managing the Past: Archeology and the Museum of Antioch.....	152
4.7 Scholarship and the Empire II: <i>Jacques Weulersse and the Urban Geography of Antioch</i>	157
4.8 Tourism: <i>Constructing an Identity for Antioch</i>	161
5: CONCLUSION	167
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	174
APPENDIX A (Figures).....	183
APPENDIX B (Documents).....	236

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I

During the last few decades, there emerged a strong revisionist tendency in scholarly literature on colonial architecture and urbanism. Under the influence of the post-colonial critique of western imperialism, several scholars attempted to question, reconsider and rewrite this literature by emphasizing the broader ideological framework that architecture and urbanism in the colonies came to represent. First appearing in literary criticism triggered by the pioneering study of Edward Said, *Orientalism*, the so-called “post-colonial turn” in social sciences and humanities tremendously transformed the ways in which the legacy of colonialism was perceived, narrated and represented. In this respect, Orientalism or a vast array of texts, visual material, scholarly literature and stereotypes on the Orient, is taken as a “discourse” in the sense that Michel Foucault proposed the term.¹ Therefore, it is through an analysis of this discourse that the political manipulation of the knowledge on the Orient is to be unveiled. In other words, every cultural production on the Orient and for the Orient, from literary works to historical texts, from architectural implementations to personal memoirs, are regarded as being bound to the conceptual framework offered and delimited by the discourse of Orientalism.

One of the initial attempts at applying the Saidian critique of Orientalism to the study of visual arts was that of Linda Nochlin, who analyzed Orientalist painting by stressing its ideological tenets as a discipline regarding the Orient.² On colonial architecture and urbanism, on the other hand, a number of significant

¹ Said, Edward; *Orientalism*, p. 3, Vintage Books, New York, 1994; Gandhi, Leela, *Postcolonial Theory*, p.69, Edinburgh University Press, 1998, Edinburgh; Young, Robert J.C., *Postcolonialism: an historical introduction*, p. 400, Blackwell Publishers, 2001, Oxford, U.K..

² Nochlin, Linda, "The Imaginary Orient," *Art in America* 71, no. 5, 1983.

studies were conducted during 1980s and 1990s. These studies were basically concentrated on British India and French North Africa, where the built environment was thoroughly transmuted during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Gwendolyn Wright and Paul Rabinow's studies on French Morocco,³ Thomas Metcalf's analysis on British India,⁴ and Zeynep Çelik's book on French Algeria⁵ are among the most influential scholarly examples of the postcolonial critique of colonial architecture and urbanism produced in Anglo-American academies. What is so striking in these contexts is the complex ways in which the discourse of Orientalism has manifested itself in the realm of architecture and urban design. It is also significant to note that these ways were carefully modified and appropriated with respect to the new perspectives or modes of domination in the colonies throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. Architecture and urbanism became visual tools to represent the nature of political domination in the colonies, and their manifestation was accordingly appropriated by the colonizer. For example, while the French razed down a significant part of the ancient urban fabric of Algiers with the purpose of transforming the city in line with the principles of European urbanism during the initial decades of its rule in Algeria, it became increasingly important to respect the cultural heritage of the "natives" by 1860s, which was promoted by Napoleon III.⁶ From then on, an eclectic style that mixed local architectural motifs with the western space conception dominated the architectural make-up of Algiers. Creating a familiar urban environment for the

³ Wright, Gwendolyn, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991; Rabinow, Paul, *French Modern, Norms and Forms of The Social Environment*, The MIT Press, Cambridge and London, 1989.

⁴ Metcalf, Thomas, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, University of California Press, 1989.

⁵ Çelik, Zeynep, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997.

⁶ A similar process occurred in India after the Great Mutiny seriously threatened the British rule in 1857.

indigenous people, along with the conservation projects of the local architectural heritage would suggest French respect to Algerian culture, thus strengthening the legitimacy of domination in the eyes of the “natives.” This methodical turn in the politics of French colonialism was further elaborated during the French protectorate in Morocco which was established in 1912. Under the administration of the governor-general Hubert Lyautey, who greatly contributed to the theory of *associationism* in the colonial politics, Morocco became the showcase of an urban politics respectful to the cultural heritage of the native. While the old urban tissue was preserved as a milieu in its “authentic” state, novel districts (*villes nouvelles*) were created with respect to the principles of modern urbanism in adjacent territory. Such an understanding of urbanism was doubly functional for the maintenance of French rule in Morocco. Firstly, it worked to diminish hostility to colonial rule by showing respect to the architectural heritage of the Moroccans. The political counterpart to this was the promotion of the traditional status hierarchies of the Moroccans and encouraging the functioning of old power relations within the society.⁷ Secondly, the contrasting effect of the novel districts with modern facilities, constructed next to the conserved districts of the natives as symbols of a comfortable and hygienic life would legitimize colonialism in terms of its contribution to the development of the material conditions of the country.

II

The First World War became a watershed not only for the political structure of the Middle East but also for the entire politics of colonialism. After the demise of the Ottoman Empire, Britain and France emerged as mandatory powers over a number of countries in the former provinces of the Ottomans in the Middle East. While the British took over Iraq and Palestine, Syria and Lebanon were given to the French. There are three significant novelties in this partitioning of the Middle East in terms of the history of colonialism. Firstly, these countries were

⁷ Wright, p.89.

brought under the rule of Britain and France in a strict framework determined by international law. These two colonizing powers were rendered responsible to the newly established League of Nations, which established the legal framework for mandate rule, contrary to the earlier contexts of colonialism in which it was the arbitrary enterprise of the colonizer to take over other countries. Secondly, the term “mandate”, which had been coined recently as a political term, acknowledged that the invaded country had a certain degree of civilization to govern itself, unlike the colonies where the “desperately uncivilized” cultures required western domination. The function of the mandatory powers was, at least on paper, to tutor the country on the road to progress and civilization by encouraging the development of its autonomous institutions and legal mechanisms. Thirdly, the mandate framework stipulated by its very nature that this tutorial relationship was to be temporary. In other words, the mandatory powers agreed that they would leave the country after it became able to govern itself.

The French mandate of Syria lasted between 1920 and 1946.⁸ Throughout this period, mandate rule was shaken by a number of financial crises, political revolts, and by the opposition or indifference of the French public. Accordingly, there was no comprehensive architectural and urban transformation in Syria as it was the case in Algeria and Morocco. Instead, especially during the 1920s, infrastructural works were given prominence in order to establish the mandate authority throughout the country. In terms of urbanism, interventions remained fragmentary lacking the framework of a total program of urban transformation. The only attempt at planned development was made during 1930s by the employment of René Danger for preparing urban plans for Syrian cities. The Danger plans, however, could only partially be implemented during and after the mandate. Moreover, the French failed to promote a consistent and unitary

⁸ Since Lebanon was created as a political entity after the war, which was a widely disputed issue, I am going to use the expressions “French mandate of Syria” and “French mandate of Syria and Lebanon” interchangeably throughout this thesis.

architectural style in Syria during the mandate period. Although several buildings defined by supposedly local motifs were constructed, many others of neo-classical or modernist tendencies were also built. Very few French architects were active in Syria, unlike in Algeria and Morocco where they dominated architectural production. Nevertheless, the ways in which Syria was perceived by the French in terms of its architectural and urban heritage, along with its considerable economic and tourism potential constituted a unique aspect of French colonial history. These created a vision for the urban transformation of the country, although it could not be realized as a whole during the mandate. This vision was shaped by the idea that the French had a historical role in Syria as the civilizing power just like that of the Romans in antiquity. On the one hand, the French strived for stressing their links with the region with reference to the Roman and Christian legacy, which they claimed cultural descent. On the other hand, the age of the crusades and the Ottoman epoch during which France was economically and politically influential in Syria constituted its national links with the region. In other words, the French elaborated on a discourse which was a peculiar form of *mission civilisatrice* presupposing historical links with the occupied territory. No matter how it remained incomplete as a program, the French conception of Syria was reflected in a number of fields like archeology, architectural conservation, the discourse of tourism, appreciation of local culture, and urban planning.

Most studies on the architectural and urban transformation of Syria during the mandate are in French. A number of Ph.D. dissertations presented to University of Paris VIII, supervised by Stephanos Yerasimos in the early 2000s, are distinctively significant.⁹ An analysis of these studies points out a certain

⁹ Friés, Franck; Damas(1860-1946), *La Mise En Place de la Ville Moderne, Des Reglement au Plan*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris VIII, 2000; Ghorayeb, Marlène, *La Transformation des Structures Urbaines de Beyrouth Pendant le Mandat Français*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris VIII, 2000; Saliba, Robert, *Paysage Colonial et Eclectisme Provincial, La formation du Beyrouth résidentiel, 1840-1940*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris VIII, 2004.

incongruity between the Anglo-American and French academies regarding the ways in which they analyzed French colonial architecture and urbanism. While the former is highly critical of it in the light of the theoretical tools of post-colonial criticism discussed above, the latter is based more on an analysis of the legal framework of urbanism on the one hand, and a formal analysis of the transformation of the built environment on the other. In other words, the French “school” - if I may call it provisionally - on colonial architecture and urbanism in Syria and Lebanon has a much more reserved attitude vis-à-vis the alternatives offered by postcolonial criticism in the study of the built environment. The lack of a proper visual criticism in these studies may partly be explained by the relative lack of sources compared to those on French North Africa, as well as by the relatively modest transformation of Syria during the mandate. However, the basic reason of the difference between the Anglo-American and French studies seems to be involved with the very method they apply in approaching the historiography of the mandate.

III

One of the defining features of the French mandate in Syria was the promotion of local autonomies in the administration of the country. Although its scheme changed in time, the political system of Syria rested on five to six federative states, one of which was the Sanjak of Alexandretta (today’s İskenderun), which included the significant city of Antioch (Antakya), at the northwestern edge of the country. Three factors made the sanjak a peculiar component of the mandate. One was the significant port of the city of Alexandretta, the capital city of the sanjak. If Beirut and Tripoli can be considered as belonging to Lebanon, Alexandretta was the most important port of Syria during the mandate. It was therefore vital especially for the commercial link between northern Syria, basically Aleppo, and the Mediterranean world. Another is the city of Antioch which occupied an outstanding place in the collective imagination of the Christian west. Being one of the largest cities of the Roman

Empire, a holy Christian city where the followers of Jesus first called themselves Christians, and a decisively important city during the age of Crusades, Antioch constituted a unique urban phenomenon to be dealt with. In this respect, it had already been inscribed in the memories of the French travelers, historians and literary figures who visited, contemplated about and delineated Antioch especially in the course of the nineteenth century. The third factor was Turkish irredentism, which aimed at the annexation of the sanjak to Turkey. This claim was based on demographical grounds that depicted the Turks as the majority in the sanjak. A series of events that led to the integration of the sanjak to Turkey in 1939 made it the most turbulent territory of Syria especially during the second decade of the mandate.

Similar to the other cities of Syria, the architectural and urban transformation of Alexandretta and Antioch during the mandate remained as an incomplete program. It should also be added that these cities were relatively insignificant compared to Aleppo, Damascus and Beirut. Although it had an important port, Alexandretta never became a port city *par excellence* even during the Ottoman period. On the other hand, Aleppo had replaced Antioch as a commercial, political, and cultural center of northern Syria centuries ago. Nevertheless, the mandate period witnessed a transformation of the built environment in these cities, comprehensive as far as the financial resources and political conditions allowed. The relatively vacant and historically unimportant urban area of Alexandretta was redesigned not through an overall urban plan but through principles of modern urbanism that were applied fragmentarily. Several large boulevards were created along with a number of public buildings. In Antioch, the major problem was to deal with the ancient urban fabric that evolved in an organic manner throughout the centuries. Topography, however, offered an alternative for constructing a totally novel city next to the old urban fabric. The other side of the Orontes River, which constituted the western border of the city throughout history, allowed the implementation of such an urban conception,

while the old city could be preserved in its actual state. However, the difference between the old and new cities, separated by a *cordon sanitaire*, was not supposed to point out a racial segregation as in the case of other colonial contexts such as Delhi and Algeria. There were only a tiny number of European people, comprising officials, traders and religious missionaries. Instead, the visual difference between the old and new cities was to suggest the advantages of French rule in terms of hygiene, comfortable houses, and large streets, as opposed to the chaos and insalubrity of the old city across the river. A number of other visual apparatus like archeological remains and the museum, as well as some scholarly studies on the city served to elaborate on this discourse by emphasizing the connection between the Roman Empire and the French, as opposed to “the despotic rule of Islam” under which Antioch fell into decay after centuries of prosperity.

IV

The aim of this thesis is to situate architectural and urban projects in Alexandretta and Antioch realized or conceived during the French mandate within the broader framework of the urban politics of French colonialism. It also aims to contextualize these projects in their relation to and difference from the transformation of the built environment of other Syrian cities in the course of the 1920s and 1930s. Moreover, I claim that the defining features of the French vision of these cities did not emerge immediately after the establishment of the mandate. On the contrary, the architectural and urban image of these cities was inscribed in French national imagination long before the mandate, through the histories of antiquity, Christianity, and the crusades on the one hand, and through travel accounts of the nineteenth century which loudly pronounced the need of an “imperial touch,” especially for Antioch, on the other. In this respect, I consider French urban politics in Antioch and Alexandretta not as consisting solely of the concrete transformation of the urban fabric, but as a complex mechanism of visual strategies and representational systems whose major aim was to justify and strengthen the mandate rule not only in the eyes of the native inhabitants of these

cities, but also vis-à-vis the French and the international public. In other words, a strictly formal analysis of the French architectural and urban works executed during the mandate would essentially leave out a vast array of representational instruments like archeology, museum, colonial exhibition, and scholarly endeavors, which were the integral parts of the same discourse that informed the colonial politics of visibility.

The first chapter discusses a number of travelers who visited Antioch from the 1780s to 1910s, a period which I simply call the nineteenth century. My aim is to understand the ways in which these travelers perceived, contemplated about and delineated the urban fabric of Antioch, which they usually did in comparison to the ancient city of the Romans and Christians. These travel accounts, operating with the conceptual tools offered by Orientalist discourse, tended to juxtapose the contemporary Antioch of the Ottomans or Islam, which was “nothing but a disorderly, chaotic and unsanitary urban agglomeration,” with the rationally planned and prosperous city of the Romans. This narrative was perfectly compatible with the colonialist discourse which claimed foreign territories on the grounds of the idea of *mission civilisatrice*. There were occasionally direct references to a need for a European, basically French, political intervention to the region similar to that of the Romans in antiquity. The perception of urban space through a disdain of the current city and a lament to the loss of the ancient was thus instrumentalized in the call for the emancipation not only of Antioch but also of entire Syria from the despotic, indifferent, and lethargic rule of the Ottomans. In this respect, there is a striking parallelism between the discourse of these travelers and that of the French officials of the mandate regarding the nature of Ottoman rule and the mission of the French in Syria. As Robert Young argues, “Orientalism draws its reality from the authority of textual repetition other than any truth value in relation to what it represented.”¹⁰ I therefore consider the manifestations of the

¹⁰ Young, *Postcolonialism...*, p. 387.

French vision of Antioch during the mandate as “texts” that can be traced back to the travel literature of the nineteenth century. However, I also argue that the travelers discussed in this chapter can not be considered as a single and identical body. In other words, the different backgrounds, personal associations, and individual identities of these travelers resulted in respectively different accounts of the city of Antioch. To emphasize this diversity is one of the central concerns of this chapter. The point is to understand the pervasive influence of Orientalist discourse which shaped, defined, and circumscribed seemingly disparate accounts of the urban space of a Middle Eastern city.

The second chapter is an attempt to portray the mechanisms of cultural, architectural, urban, and scholarly production in their political context in Syria during the mandate. After giving a brief account of the political history of the mandate, it seeks to understand diverse features of architectural and urban transformation of the country in this period. It also tries to demonstrate the influences that shaped the urban fabric with reference to the other contexts like French North Africa. As Marlène Ghorayeb and Franck Friés argue, the legal and institutional framework of the Ottoman Empire was much more decisive in the making-up of the built environment in the inter-war period.¹¹ Although Hubert Lyautey’s theory of associationism was favored by a large number of officials throughout the French colonies, there was an already established legal system derived from the European countries in Syria during the post-Tanzimat period. Practically, Syrian cities were only fragmentarily intervened in during the first decade of the mandate. It was only after the arrival of René Danger in 1931 that planned development became a principle, although Danger’s plans were only partially applied in Syria during the French rule. On the other hand, architectural implementations remained marginal compared to Morocco and Algeria. The aspirations of the local elites and those of the local architects were the basic factors

¹¹ Ghorayeb, *ibid*; Friés, *ibid*.

that shaped the architectural makeup of the Syrian cities, instead of a comprehensive architectural program executed by expatriated architects. Moreover, the French Institute of Damascus (*L'Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman*) functioned as a prominent actor of urbanism in Syrian cities, rather than being a purely academic institution. It closely surveyed architectural and urban projects by examining their appropriateness to the authentic milieu of the cities. On the other hand, the participation of Syria and Lebanon to the Colonial Exposition of 1931 under the name of *Les Etats du Levant Sous Mandat Français* became a pure visual manifestation of the ways in which the French perceived their role as the mandatory power in Syria. The last part of this chapter tries to unveil the delicate visual strategies employed in the exposition, which aimed to depict France as the civilizing tutor that had a historically justified role in Syria.

The last chapter is an analysis of the transformation of the built environment in Alexandretta and Antioch during the French mandate in light of the discussions carried out in the first two chapters. It starts with a brief historical account of the Sanjak of Alexandretta with an emphasis upon the historiography of the mandate. After having pointed out the significance of the port of Alexandretta for the French, I attempt at an analysis of the architectural and urban works executed in the city of Alexandretta, which was more thoroughly transformed than Antioch especially in 1920s. Alexandretta was known for its unhealthy climate caused by the large swampy sites that surrounded and sometimes even penetrated the urban area. A major aim of the French administration was, therefore, the drying up of these swampy sites. Large arteries, public squares, and novel districts replaced the swampy sites by the end of the 1920s. A number of public buildings and novel residences, mostly constructed for the French officials, accompanied this process in Alexandretta. Architectural and urban projects in Antioch constitute another focus of this chapter. It basically deals with the managing of the existing built environment in the ancient core of the city, as well as with projects for the

construction of a novel city on the other side of the Orontes River in line with principles of modern urbanism. The Danger plan of Antioch, which was the only comprehensive project prepared for the city during the mandate, is discussed under a separate title. This part is followed by an analysis of the politics of archeology in the sanjak, which was crowned with a museum building in Antioch by the end of the mandate period. The relationship between urbanism and scholarship reemerges in this chapter in the analysis of an article by Jacques Weulersse, a researcher at the French Institute in Damascus in 1930s, on the urban geography of Antioch. The last part is devoted to an analysis of the discourse of tourism promoted by the French for Antioch during the mandate. It aims to show how this discourse worked to construct an “ideal identity” for the marketing of Antioch. Among various epochs that left their mark upon the city, it was the Roman period which became the defining identity of Antioch as a city to be consumed by the tourist.

V

A considerable portion of this thesis is based on the archival documents at Centre des Archives Diplomatiques (CAD) de Nantes in France, where the most substantial part of the archives on the French mandate in Syria is kept. Although it has an outstandingly rich set of documents concerning several aspects of the mandate, there are rarely specific documents on city plans and architectural projects. These must have been kept in the municipal archives, considering that the public buildings and city plans were approved by the municipalities before their execution. However, the municipalities of Antioch and Alexandretta do not have such documents except the cadastral maps, as the officials informed me during my visits. Moreover, le Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe Siècle in Paris contains only a handful of documents on René Danger, which included a number of materials on his plans of Beirut, Tripoli, and Damascus, but nothing on his plan

of Antioch.¹² In this respect, the most fruitful documents on the architecture and urbanism in Alexanderette and Antioch in CAD are the quarterly reports prepared by the sanjak administration, through an analysis of which several projects, the names of the architects and entrepreneurs, and municipal works can be detected in their chronological order. Moreover, the inventory titled *services techniques* contains several cartons on the public works executed in the sanjak, although most of these involved construction of roads and the port of Alexandretta. It should also be noted that some significant collections which consisted of cartons on tourism, archeology, cadastral works, municipalities, and public works were stolen before the French left the sanjak in 1938.¹³ The insufficiency of documents on architectural and urban works is a significant problem not only for the sanjak but also for other cities of Syria and Lebanon. Franck Friés states that his study of Damascus is bound to remain an analysis of the institutional transformation of urbanism during the mandate due to the lack of comprehensive archives on the architectural and urban projects.¹⁴

My approach to overcome the problem of the scarcity of primary sources involves an analysis which is inclusive not only of architectural and urban works but also of a series of visual strategies like those employed in colonial exposition, archeology, and museum that served to represent the French mandate. Such an analysis should also include a critique of the politics of colonialism, scholarly endeavors such as the French Institute in Damascus, and the historical origins of these policies and scholarly activities especially in the nineteenth century. In my view, it is only through such an analysis that the architectural and urban transformation of Syria during the mandate can be contextualized in its relation to

¹² See http://archiwebture.citechaillot.fr/awt/fonds.html?base=fa&id=FRAPN02_DANGE_fonds-358

¹³ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Inv.18, Carton 520, Evacuation des archives du sandjak, 1938.

¹⁴ Friés, p. 10.

the ideological background, visual/representational strategies, and other discursive manifestations of French colonialism between the two world wars.

CHAPTER II

CONTEMPLATING THE SPACE: Nineteenth Century Travelers to Antioch

2.1: Travel Accounts and the Middle East

“Residents of New York and other great metropolises who assume that the glories of their cities will last forever might take a cautionary lesson from this remote provincial outpost”¹⁵

Travel accounts have widely been used by historians as one of the most significant sources for any analysis of the society, politics, economics or arts of the nineteenth century Middle East. Although most of these analyses were uncritical of the interpretations of the travelers, during the last three decades, there is a strong tendency to question and problematize these accounts by emphasizing the broader ideological framework they represent. Together with other mediums of representing the land of Islam like paintings, world expositions, and history, travel books worked to reproduce, strengthen, and promote the image of the Orient as a counter-model of the social, cultural, political, and economical values of Europe which characterized the nineteenth century western world. One of the points that needs further consideration is the role played by architecture and urbanism in travel literature, since they are not only taken as paraphernalia in a complex system of representation to justify the personal agenda of the traveler but also they enable us to stress the “citationary nature of Orientalism” in the visual sphere. In other words, an analysis of the ways in which architecture and urbanism are represented in travel accounts would demonstrate discursive mechanisms through

¹⁵ The first sentence of an article by Stephen Kinzer titled "Antakya Journal; Asleep in the City's Dust, Martyrs, Lions and Saints", The New York Times, 3 December, 1997.

which descriptions of Middle Eastern cities are rendered possible, produced and reproduced. The scope of this chapter is limited to the discussion of a number of travelers who visited Antioch from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. It also addresses some references to the rise of travel culture in Europe and the instrumentalization of this culture in the service of imperialism. In order not to essentialize Orientalism in an analysis of how it essentialized the Orient, I aim to stress individual identities or agendas of travelers in order to depict, if any, different ways in which Antioch was represented through architecture and/or urbanism, while still being part and parcel of a principal discursive formulation.

From the late eighteenth century onwards, numerous travelers visited Antioch either as part of their greater voyage or solely for appreciating the city *per se*. In the travel routes of pilgrims, romantics, social researchers, spies, adventurers or women with a penchant for archeology and ancient cultures, Antioch appears as one of the essential places to visit, contemplate about and narrate. The proliferation of travel books on the Middle East in this period reflects not only the growing curiosity about the Orient - or the biblical lands, the Ottoman Empire at large, or the crusades -, but also a certain transformation of imperial practices and social sciences. In his discussion of British guidebooks and cultural imperialism, John Mackenzie argues that colonial empires of the nineteenth century were, in addition to being empires of war, economic exploitation etc., “empires of travel.”¹⁶ The enormous increase in the market for travel books, according to Mackenzie, is an obvious indicator of the growth of print capitalism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Claiming that they unveil a complete imperial mindset, he emphasizes the infatuation of the travelers with architecture and the development of urban forms, along with a penchant for the historicisation of cultures in the light

¹⁶ Mackenzie, John, “Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries”, in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, edited by John K. Walton, Clevedon, Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 2005.

of the idea of progress, by pointing out the British travel guides for India.¹⁷ The central theme of these guidebooks is the growth of modern towns with their westernized architecture under the British rule, juxtaposed with the exotic, insalubrious and decaying native/Indian towns; thus confirming once again imperialist tropes of oriental degeneration and British/western superiority. As I will demonstrate below, this system of representation is turned upside down in the descriptions of Antioch in which the ancient glory is juxtaposed with modern/contemporary decadence through references to architecture and urbanism.

Accounts of the individual travelers or the entire corpus fabricated by them were the principal source for the Oriental lands available to the European people and rulers especially after the late eighteenth century, thus assuming hegemony over the knowledge of the Middle Eastern cities, people, politics or arts etc.¹⁸ Emergence of a considerable demand for travel books engendered its own market rules with established styles of prose, expectancies and stereotypes resulting in a certain idea of Orient; therefore, some sort of a standardization of production was attained. One of the critical terms through which the merits of the traveler were appreciated was, as Bravo argues, *precision*, as a defining attitude of Enlightenment with connotations from the natural sciences¹⁹. The idea or principal

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 24.

¹⁸ I understand travel literature not as consisting solely of travel books and mémoires but as comprising a vast mechanism of writing about the oriental lands through diaries, journal articles or letters. The rise of tourism in Europe during the nineteenth century is decisive in this respect: "...it was the coverage of foreign travel in the press that helped to make the activity(tourism) seem normal and routine...While it is undoubtedly true that the emergence of new forms of visual culture, allied to popular entertainments in the form of dioramas and panoramas, played a major part in familiarising the public with far away places and making them attractive and fashionable, so too did the circulation of illustrated printed materials using the new reproductive technologies." Jill Steward, "How and Where to Go: The Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and The Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840-1914", in *Histories of Tourism, Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. by John K. Walton, Clevedon, Buffalo, Channel View Publications, 2005.

¹⁹ Bravo, Michael; "Precision and Curiosity in Scientific Travel, James Rennell and the Orientalist Geography of the New Imperial Age (1760-1830)", in *Voyages and visions : towards a cultural history of travel*, edited by Ja's Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés; London : Reaktion, 1999.

of precision functions “as a powerful force for domesticating otherness”²⁰, rendering legible other cultures through conventions of description. By means of precision, travel narration pretends to present an alien culture “as it actually exists”, if we disregard the fact that narrative techniques and other literary tools enable a writer to be selective, appropriative and reconstructive while simultaneously seeming ‘precise’ and ‘accurate’.²¹ It should also be pointed out that precision as a principle manifested itself in the nineteenth century realist novels which, Roland Barthes argues, were full of superfluous details in order to strengthen the plausibility of description, a method Barthes calls “reality effect.”²² In other words, “absence in travel writing is a poor indicator of absence in fact.”²³ In the case of the lack of ‘precision’ or other criteria of description or representation, on the other hand, a travel book is most probably to be censured and denied from the larger system of travel market by editors, publishers and other travelers. In this respect, every travel book serves as an instruction to other potential travelers on how to perceive, describe and delineate the Middle East, thus sustains and reinforces already existing methods of representation.²⁴

The following sections are devoted to the discussion of a number of travel accounts on Antioch written during the nineteenth century. The selection of these travelers among many others who visited the city in the same period is based on the aim of concentrating the most influential as well as the most peculiar figures in order to suggest the reflection of the diverse personal identities and aspirations on

²⁰ Ibid, p. 164.

²¹ White, Hyden V., "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, ed. by Hyden White, Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, 90-95.

²² Barthes, Roland, "The Reality Effect," in *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989.

²³ Bravo, p. 166.

²⁴ Throughout the chapter, I will use the terms Orient, Middle East and Near East interchangeably to signify Anatolia and the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

travel writing. It also aims to demonstrate the all-pervasive influence of the Orientalist discourse in the discussion of the built environment, regardless of the diversity of the personal agendas of the travelers.

2.2: An “Enlightened” Pioneer: *Volney and Voyage en Egypt et en Syrie*

J’aime Antioche, je
l’aimais par avance.
Elle ne m’a pas déçu.
Maurice Barrés, *Une
Enquête aux Pays Du
Levant*²⁵

Visiting Antioch in 1914 as a representative of the French Parliament, though with an extensive personal agenda, Maurice Barrés was delighted at the end of his first day in the city to have found the correspondence between his desired image of Antioch and the corporeal city through which he wandered throughout the day. In fact, after years of immersion in the works of Renan, the histories of Hellenism, Roman Empire and crusades, the Bible or travel books, he had been thrilled with the view of Antioch just before entering the city:

“La vieille Antioche! C’est d’ici que les Croisés l’aperçurent. Comme elle est belle, émouvante, et que nous [French] la désirons! Je savais bien que je l’allais voir, et pourtant sa vue m’étonne, me saisit, me surprend. Comme elle ressemble à ses portraits! Une étroite oasis contre la montagne, et ses fortifications grimant la côte, courant sur les cimes. Je suis impatient d’y pénétrer, et pourtant je me réjouis d’avoir une heure encore de route pour bien me préparer à y être heureux.”²⁶

²⁵ “I love Antioch. I was already in love with her before. She did not deceive me”; Barrés, Maurice, *Une enquête aux pays du Levant*, p. 42, Paris : Plon-Nourrit et cie, 1923. Throughout this study, translations from French to English belong to Gül Çatır and mine.

²⁶ “Old Antioch! It is from here that the Crusaders saw her. How beautiful, moving she is and how we desire her! I knew well that I would see her but her appearance surprises me and grips me. How she resembles her portraits! A narrow oasis across the mountain and her fortifications climb the

As an object of insatiable desire with an enigmatic power to intoxicate even from a considerable distance by means of its silhouette, Antioch had already been placed on the author's imagination through its portraits produced by the earlier travelers. Coming across the city at the point where the crusaders first viewed it, Barrés is absorbed by an ambivalent feeling, composed of zeal to penetrate it immediately, and rejoice for still having an hour to prepare him for the confrontation. It is exactly this "preparation", or the idea of the necessity of preparing oneself before appreciating a Middle Eastern city, which is one of the issues at stake in this chapter. Barrés is not the only traveler to Antioch who had been cultivated, conditioned, and prepared by texts that described the city and prescribed ways to perceive, feel about and approach it (or 'her', if we consider Barrés' constant emphasis upon Antioch's supposed femininity). In other words, hardly anyone who visited the city could refrain from ruminating over it with direct or indirect references to his/her earlier contact with this ex-imperial, Christian centre through historical, religious or literary texts. One of the cornerstones of this textual attitude was Constantin-François Chassebœuf, or as he was commonly known, Volney, whose travel to Egypt and Syria became a source of both inspiration and reference throughout the decades to come after him even though his outstanding style was largely undermined.

Volney traveled to Egypt and Syria during the years 1783, 1784 and 1785. His voyage was part of a greater project of rendering travel writing scientifically respectable and politically useful. Volney was an ardent supporter of the principles of the Enlightenment²⁷ and in this respect determined to found *la science de l'homme*, by analyzing the ways in which the climate, soil, mores, political systems, and religion shaped and determined the physical and political

slope and running the mountain tops. I am impatient for penetrating there but I also feel delighted of having an hour of road to prepare myself better for being happy there." *ibid*, p. 29.

²⁷ His penname was a contraction of Voltaire and Ferney.

characteristics of a given country or region. After acquiring a certain sum of inheritance at the age of twenty-six, Volney decided to deploy this revenue for his education, and among the ways to achieve this goal, the most effective one was travelling (la plus efficace était de voyager).²⁸ Initially, he planned to visit America, yet, considering that the Near East would better enable him to check the effects of the past on the contemporary physical and political situation in his search for the *science de l'homme*, he ended up embarking for Egypt and Syria in 1783.²⁹ Volney maintained a critical agenda regarding the earlier travelers to the Orient, who, instead of observing current realities, were obsessed with the ruins of the past. In order to attract more attention, Volney claims, these travelers were inclined to employ a pompous language in their narratives and emphasize monumental and more attractive objects or events, rather than displaying a comprehensive picture of the travelled regions. Their analyses were further disabled by the lack of two crucial requirements that Volney fulfilled: competency in the natives' language, i.e. Arabic, the lack of which deprived travelers of coming into an intimate contact with the local culture, and a long sojourn, the lack of which produced the mere impressions of a tourist. Volney aimed to supplement this method with an objective evaluation of the physical and political phenomena by an impartial love of truth (un amour impartial de la vérité).³⁰ He firmly believed that the genre of travel belonged more to history than literature, and therefore stated he forbade himself any kind of imagination (je me suis interdit tout tableau d'imagination).³¹ In his introduction to the 1959 edition of *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, Jean Gaulmier points out that Volney insistently stresses his direct

²⁸ Volney, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, p. 22, Paris, The Hague 1959.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 22.

³⁰ ibid, p. 23.

³¹ ibid, p. 23.

testimony throughout the text by means of expressions such as “la chose vue” (the thing seen), “J’ai vu les lieux” (I saw the places) or “J’ai entendu les témoins” (I listened to the witnesses).³² Gaulmier also argues that Volney’s Orient is different from that of the poets, missionaries or colonial financiers since it is the real Orient (l’Orient réel) seen by a ruthless observer (un observateur impitoyable).³³ However, I contend that Volney’s supposed impartiality and reconstruction of travel genre fail to veil his reproduction of the Orientalist discourse which places the Middle East as the polar opposite of European values and explains its “degeneration” as a natural outcome of Islam and tyranny. In other words, even though his analysis does not proceed, as that of a missionary probably would, through lamentations over the loss of Greek reason, Roman glory or Christian dominance, and its replacement by the decadent Islamic Empire, it is based on his reflections on the miserable physical and political state of Egypt and Syria, which he explains as a direct consequence of the inner characteristics of Islam and its tyrannical rule. It is through these convictions that Volney describes Egypt and Syria as countries where everything was still in the tenth century (tout est encore au dixième siècle).³⁴ What Gaulmier presents as the characteristics of the Orient that Volney perfectly grasped have been criticized, notably by Edward Said, as stereotypes through which Middle Eastern societies and people were essentialized;

“Volney a parfaitement compris l’allure de ce monde.....société pour qui, la Révélation étant définitivement terminée, toute nouveauté constitue une blasphème, et tout progrès une inconcevable illusion, société où l’angoisse profonde se dissimule sous les apparences d’une sérénité résignée.”³⁵

³² Gaulmier, Jean; “Introduction” to *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, Paris, The Hague 1959.

³³ Gaulmier, 13.

³⁴ Volney, p. 133.

³⁵ “Volney perfectly understood the appearance of this world.... society for which, the revelation having definitely ended, any novelty constitutes a blasphemy and any progress an inconceivable

Apart from learning Arabic before undertaking his journey, Volney thoroughly immersed in travel books on the Middle East, although only Carsten Niebuhr, the German member of the Danish expedition of 1761-1767 to the Orient, seemed as the model Enlightened traveler to him.³⁶ Despite the harshness of his criticism of earlier travelers in terms of methodical approach, and however perseverant his aim of describing Egypt and Syria impartially may seem, Volney reproduces the standard premises on the Middle East, although he achieves this not through references to antiquities but to the current political system, not by describing bizarre events but by evoking the Kur'an. In other words, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie* is bound by intertextuality in terms of the discursive formulations it inherits, although its author aimed to surpass his precedents in travel literature. One of the issues through which Volney's ambivalent attitude vis-à-vis previous travellers can best be observed is his depiction of the architectural and urban characteristics of Egypt and Syria, both ancient and contemporary. He describes his disillusionment with the remnants of the antique world in Egypt such as the baths of Cleopatra or column of Pompei as a perfect example of the exaggerations of travelers: "Ces noms ont de la majesté ; mais les objets vus en original, perdent de l' illusion des gravures."³⁷ However, according to Volney, the dilapidation is also a result of the inherent characteristics of the Turks and their barbaric despotism: "L' esprit turc est de ruiner les travaux du passé et l' espoir de l' avenir, parce que dans la barbarie d' un désotisme ignorant, il n' y a point de lendemain."³⁸ Also, when describing the contemporary built environment of

illusion, society where profound anxiety is disguised under the appearances of a resigned serenity" Gaulmier, p. 12.

³⁶ For the first translation to English: Carsten Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East*; Edinburgh: Printed for R. Morison and Son, 1792.

³⁷ "These names have the majesty, but the objects seen originally loose the illusion of the gravures". Volney, p. 27.

Cairo, Volney seems to have found evidences of tyranny and barbarism in the houses or streets of the city. A stranger who visits the city, he says, is stricken by a general atmosphere of ruin and misery.³⁹ Cairo does not have public or private edifices, nor regular squares, nor aligned streets, through which architecture displays its beauties (l'architecture déploie ses beautés).⁴⁰ The vicinity of the city is marked by hills of rubble, which augment day by day while inner Cairo is full of narrow, crooked and labyrinthine streets. Dwellings, on the other hand, are conceived like prison houses - with their high walls without any window-, since they miss the light on the street.⁴¹ In addition to the other aspects of the city he delineates like the poverty of the inhabitants, Volney states: "Tout ce que l' on voit ou que l' on entend, annonce que l'on est dans le pays de l' esclavage et de la tyrannie."⁴²

Architecture thus serves as a visual testimony to the abuses of tyrannical rule and barbarism in the meticulously designed agenda of a determined promoter of enlightenment. The urban character of Cairo is examined with respect to the western European conception of architecture and its failure to fit into this model is employed to enhance the greater portrait of Oriental despotism and decadence. Throughout Volney's book, this model is applied to other cities of Egypt and also to those of Syria; therefore serving to sustain, reinforce and legitimize his broader conception of the Middle East. His portrayal of Antioch is no exception, although it is not more than a mere page, due most probably to the relative insignificance of the town around 1780s and in consistence with his aim of concentrating on *l'état*

³⁸ "The Turkish spirit rests on destroying the works of the past and the hope of the future, because there is no future in the barbarism of an ignorant despotism" Volney, p. 28.

³⁹ Volney, p. 26.

⁴⁰ "The architecture display its beauties" Volney, p. 133.

⁴¹ Volney, p. 134.

⁴² "Everything that we see or we hear, announce that we are in the country of slavery and of tyranny". Volney, p. 93.

moderne. Contrary to most of the travelers before and after him, he does not even mention any of Christian, Roman or Hellenistic tales of grandeur pertaining to Antioch. Volney only indicates, in this respect, that Antioch was once famous for the luxury of its inhabitants, but this is presented in contrast to its contemporary misery: “Cette ville, jadis célèbre par le luxe de ses habitants, n' est plus qu'un bourg ruiné.”⁴³ Although Volney aims to produce an alternative travel narrative, and employ a much more restrained language on this marginal issue of his broader agenda, architectural characteristics of Antioch function as a proof for the degeneration of the once glorious city as a result of the centuries old ignorance and despotism. In other words, he inherits the basic premises of the earlier travelers albeit seeking alternative conceptual tools for objective narratives. With its houses constructed by mud and thatch, and streets crooked, narrow and miry, Volney's Antioch “offer the spectacle of misery and disorder” (*offre le spectacle de la misère et du désordre*).⁴⁴ After stating that the city is placed between the southern bank of Orontes and the mountain (Silpius) surrounding it, he mentions a ruined bridge on the river and city walls climbing up to the mountain, used, he claims, by the crusaders. He adds that only a certain area inside the walls was inhabited, the rest was full of gardens and rubble, which had no curiosities (*rien d'intéressant*).

By describing the overall architectural characteristics of Antioch as a “spectacle”, Volney envisages “misery and disorder” as an integral part of urban life in Antioch, and, by implication, essentializes and naturalizes this association in his broader conception of the Middle East. The term “spectacle” itself further implies the limits of Volney's impartial attitude, which he aims to prove through an unfeigned prose, *vis-à-vis* the object of his investigation. It should also be pointed out that there is an unbridgeable gap between Volney's universe and Middle Eastern corporeality, which he never imagines as a peculiar interplay of

⁴³ “This city, formerly famous for the luxury of its inhabitants, is now only a ruined town”, Volney, p. 276.

⁴⁴ Volney, p. 276.

norms, forms and meanings, evaluating it instead with respect to a series of criteria based on a western European notion of society, culture, and architecture. In this respect, Antioch is not more than a potential entrepot for the European traders, which is better suited for this purpose than Aleppo, despite the rudeness of its inhabitants (malgré la rudesse de ses habitants).⁴⁵

Voyage en Egypt et en Syrie became extremely influential among the later generations of travelers to the Middle East. On the one hand, Volney's allegedly objective and impartial style was taken to its extreme by means of systematic questionnaires (i.e. Vital Cuinet); on the other hand, many people of romantic or religious persuasions developed more personalized accounts of the Muslim lands (Maurice Barrés). Volney imposed his delineation and vision of the Orient upon these travelers almost without exception.⁴⁶ Volney's "will to truth" remained as his most significant and decisive legacy throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, even for such romantic writers as Nerval.⁴⁷ Although his analysis of Volney's voyage is limited to its relationship with the French invasion of Egypt, Edward Said makes a strikingly illustrative analysis of the extent to which Volney influenced French travellers after him;

"....French pilgrims from Volney on planned and projected for, imagined, ruminated about places that were principally *in their minds*(italics original); they constructed schemes for a typically French, perhaps even a European, concert in the Orient, which of course they supposed would be orchestrated by them. Theirs was the Orient of memories, suggestive ruins, forgotten secrets, hidden correspondences, and an almost virtuosic style of being..."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Volney, p. 276.

⁴⁶ Gaulmier, p. 15.

⁴⁷ Behdad, Ali; *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*; p.59, Durham: Duke UP, 1994.

⁴⁸ Said, Edward; *Orientalism*, p. 170.

2.3: A la Recherche de l'Espace Perdu ; or *Historicism in the Travel Narratives on Antioch*

Il y a dans l'Orient trois villes dont l'approche m'a fait battre le coeur: Athènes, dont le nom résume les gloires de la Grèce; Jérusalem, la plus sainte et la plus poétique des cités; Antioche, où la bravoure française fit des miracles. Michaud-Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient*⁴⁹

In his voyage to the Middle East on the traces of the crusaders during 1830 and 1831, Baptistin Poujoulat clearly demonstrates the cultural and intellectual formation through which he comes into an emotional contact with the Middle Eastern cities: It is intellectually ancient Greek, religiously Christian and nationally French. This list should be supported by an imperial identity emerging throughout the text, which is of course informed by Roman glory. Poujoulat's feelings perfectly illustrate the dominant attitude among the European travelers to the Orient throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. It is through such an agenda that they searched for the traces of the glories of Hellenism, Roman Empire, Christianity or Medieval Principalities by means of archeological and architectural remains as visual testimonies to such legacies. In addition to being a chief Roman city and a sacred Christian center, Antioch occupied a special place in the French travelers' imaginary due to the Frank Principality of Antioch, founded after the first crusade and came under Mamluk domination in 1268, considered, in conventional European historiography, as the beginning of the

⁴⁹ "There are three cities in the Orient which make my heart beat when I approach them: Athens, whose name resumes the glories of Greece; Jerusalem, the most saint and most poetic of the cities, Antioch where the French courage made miracles." Michaud, J.F.&Poujoulat B.; *Correspondance d'Orient, 1830-31*; Tome VII, p. 242, Bruxelles, 1841.

decline of the city under Muslim rule.⁵⁰ In this respect, the travelers searched for a genealogical tie between contemporary Antioch and an idealized past, the foundations of which have just been mentioned. This was to be achieved through architectural and archeological evidence from sites which were either completely lost or in total ruins. The present Ottoman city, on the other hand, was either contrasted with the ancient glory of the Romans or completely omitted. It was the baths of Trajan, the forum of Valens, the colonnaded street of Tiberius, the first Christians' grotto or the city walls of the Crusaders which dominated the narratives of the travelers. The accounts are often characterized by a deep emotional engagement, when the travelers come across those sites or places, expresses thrill on the one hand and a lament to their loss on the other. The narratives are occasionally accompanied by reconstructive drawings of the lost monuments or city plans, subsequently supplemented by photographs of archeological sites and the city walls. The whole endeavor is dominated by a certain wish, implicitly or explicitly expressed, for the resurrection of "reason" in this part of the world, which was to be led by the west, principally the French, and which, at the moment, was represented by Christian missions and the European trade consuls.

Michaud, a celebrated historian of the crusades and ardent supporter of the Bourbons, and Poujoulat's, his pupil, *Correspondance* is on the experience of a travel to the Middle East during 1830-1831, although the book was published in 1840, after the death of Michaud. As the student of Michaud, the writer of a seminal work on the history of the crusades, Poujoulat aims at developing his studies by visiting the lands through which the crusaders had passed, and, at the same time, sharing his observations on the various spectacles of the Orient (spectacle si varié de l'Orient), made *in situ* (sur les lieux) with his readers and

⁵⁰ Most of the studies on the history of Antioch end up with the year 1268, as the titles of some of these studies suggest: Bouchier, E. S., *A short history of Antioch : 300 B. C.-A. D. 1268*, B. Blackwell, Oxford, London 1921 or Downey, Glanville; *A history of Antioch in Syria : from Seleucus to the Arab conquest*; Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1961. There is only superficial information for the period between 1268 and the 1920, when the French Mandate was established.

friends. Because he was not a specialist on the Orient, Poujoulat did not want to produce an *ouvrage grave et méthodique*, or a study on *l'Orient, de la science*; rather, his goal was to write the particular story of a voyager (*l'histoire particulière d'un voyageur*), emphasizing his admiration, surprise and curiosity in the familiar format of correspondence.⁵¹ In his introduction, Poujoulat also points out the necessity to "prepare himself" before undertaking his journey, like Barrés some eighty-five years after him, which he fulfilled in order to know what he would seek (*tout ce que j'allais chercher*).⁵² In this respect, Poujoulat puts forward a striking interpretation by claiming that the most distinguished voyagers to the Orient seemed to know about the lands and people they visited much before they undertook their travels as when they returned their countries.⁵³

In the seventh volume of the *Correspondance d'Orient*, after recounting his visits to the western provinces of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople and Anatolia, Poujoulat arrives at the vicinity of Antioch. Conforming to his itinerary, Poujoulat comes to Antioch through Latakia and organizes his correspondences accordingly. This itinerary placed the visit of Antioch a bit later, which makes him regret due to his impatient desire to talk about Antioch immediately; Antioch where "every stone tells the glory of France and the glory of the champions of the cross" (*chaque pierre raconte la gloire de la France, la gloire des champions de la croix*).⁵⁴ The Orontes region as a whole, Antioch being the chief center, is where the glorious legacy of the French, according to Poujoulat, is inscribed eternally: ".je dirai qu'en aucun pas d'Orient le nom de la France, Frengi, n'a laissé d'aussi profondes traces que sur les bords de l'Oronte."⁵⁵ The Orontes River, in fact, has a

⁵¹ Michaud, Tome I, p. 1.

⁵² Michaud, Tome I, p. 9.

⁵³ Michaud, Tome II, p.1.

⁵⁴ Michaud, Tome VII, p.237.

powerful metaphorical connotation for most of the travelers as an animated testimony to the past; which is, to a certain extent, comparable to the architectural and archeological ruins in terms of the effect it has upon the travelers. For Poujoulat, it is a poetical embodiment of the past which is irretrievably lost, however still present through its glorious legacy: "Quel plaisir pour moi de vous écrire.....en face de ce fleuve (Orontes) dont chaque flot qui passe murmure comme un hymne à l'héroïsme de nos premiers croisés."⁵⁶

Most of Poujoulat's account on Antioch is devoted to the siege of the city by the crusaders⁵⁷ in detail and of course with introductory remarks on the current state of the very places on which the crusaders camped or through which they launched attacks. The principal focus of his attention in this respect is the city walls, since they are the only solid remnants of the legacy of the crusaders in Antioch. Examining the city walls step by step, Poujoulat counts eight surviving towers and finds the overall condition of the walls pretty good, despite the severe earthquakes the city had suffered for centuries.⁵⁸ The persistence of the walls throughout centuries is emphasized as a source of pride by the author; as an eternal proof of the might and success of his ancestors. The most momentous source of pride for Poujoulat, on the other hand, was the crosses inscribed by the crusaders on the exterior part of the towers, very similar of which he had seen in Malta, and which inflated him with a strong romantic thrill;

⁵⁵ "I would say that nowhere in the Orient, the name of France, Frengi left a more profound trace than it did on the banks of the Orontes", Michaud, Tome VIII, p.15.

⁵⁶ "What a pleasure for me to write to you across this river, whose waves whisper like a hymn for the heroism of our first crusaders" Michaud, Tome VII, p. 237.

⁵⁷ In line with a certain romanticism for the medieval world as a whole, there was a considerable concern for the crusades throughout the nineteenth century. For a turn-of-the-century scholarly endeavor, see *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, a journal appeared between 1893-1911, Bruxelles, Culture et Civilisation, 1964.

⁵⁸ For a comprehensive list of the earthquakes that devastated Antioch since the reign of the Seleucus period, see Downey, Appendix.

"J'ai vu a l'exterieur des tours, des croix en bas-relief, des croix de nos guerres sacrées, posées là en signe de victoire par la main de nos chevaliers,...la joie patriotique que j'ai éprouvées à l'aspect de ces saintes reliques de nos aïeux;....mes regards sont restés long-temps attachés sur ces vieilles croix qui jadis ont passé par des mains héroïques, sur ces véritables trophées d'une guerre toute pleine de merveilles, et vous ne serez pas surpris si je vous dis que rien dans Antioche ne m'a fait plaisir comme la vue de ces images glorieuses."⁵⁹

It is through his reflections upon the city walls and the crosses that Poujoulat's agenda once more manifests itself clearly. These signs of national and religious pride are the center of the argument with respect to which other elements of his account are organized and presented, namely the crusades and to a much lesser extent the contemporary *Antaki*, the inhabitants of which do nothing but degrade and demolish the glorious heritage of the crusaders by taking away the stones of the city walls and employ them in modern constructions.⁶⁰ Poujoulat says that it is due to the destructive effects of people and time that the walls are triste and melancholic such that it can be said: "...ces murs, vieux témoins de tant de gloire, pleurent silencieusement leurs anciens maitres, et regrettent une grandeur qui n'est plus."⁶¹

This ambivalent atmosphere - of ancient pride and lamentation to contemporary degradation, signs of past glory read through the evident ignorance

⁵⁹ "I saw outside of the towers, the crosses in low relief, the crosses of our sacred wars, installed there as sign of victory by the hand of our chevaliers... the patriotic joy that I felt when I saw these saint relics of our ancestors... My eyes stayed attached for a long time to these old crosses which have passed from the hands of heroes, on the true trophies of a war full of miracles and you would not be surprised if I say that nothing in Antioch gave me more pleasure than the sight of these glorious images", Michaud, Tome VII, p. 245.

⁶⁰ In 1923, shortly after the establishment of the French Mandate over Syria, it was prohibited to use the stones of the ancient monuments in modern constructions. Local authorities were warned to apply this law severely. Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes, Fonds: Mandat de Syrie et du Liban; Inventaire 14: Renseignement et Presse, 1842; Rapport pour le 1er Trimestre de l'année 1923, no.6386.

⁶¹ "...these walls, the old witnesses of so much glory cry silently their ancient masters and regret the greatness which does not exist anymore", Michaud, Tome VII, p. 246.

of current inhabitants - dominates Poujoulat's account on Antioch. The contemporary city only appears in this account in contrast to the ancient grandeur of the Roman or Christian city; and it is through such juxtaposition that the ancient city appears more glorious and the contemporary city more decadent. In this respect, the latter, composed of small houses mixed with trees when seen from the mountain, seems to Poujoulat both as a city and a forest, and he takes this view as a striking metaphorical testimony to the dying civilization of the east, in fact a manifestation of his preconceived notion of the Orient: ".on la prendrai, à la première vue, pour une grand cimétiere d'Orient, où chaque tombe a son cyprès ou son acacia, comme ici chaque maison a son mûrier, son figuier ou son platane."⁶² The only palpable information on the contemporary city given by Poujoulat is that the houses are very light constructions due to the severe earthquakes that occasionally hit the region, supplemented with a brief mention of the major earthquakes that had devastated the city throughout centuries. The Ottoman city which barely covers 1/6 of the intramural area, "a great Oriental cemetery", is thus left silent except being the counter image of the celebrated old Antioch.

This discursive mechanism is not unique to Poujoulat, as I already pointed out, but fairly common to the nineteenth century travel literature on Antioch, regardless of the different agendas of the travelers. One significant example is Abbé Le Camus, whose *Notre Voyage aux Pays Bibliques* was published in 1889.⁶³ In terms of the literary devices employed to stress the difference between the old city and the new, it is striking enough to note the similarity between Poujoulat's metaphor of the dying Orient and that of Le Camus;

⁶² "We would take her for a big cemetery of Orient at the first sight, where every tomb has its own cypress or acacia, like each house has in here its own mulberry, fig or its plane tree" Michaud, Tome VII, p. 248.

⁶³ Abbé Le Camus, *Notre Voyage aux pays Bibliques*, Paris: L. De Soye, 1889.

"Nous nous asseyons sous un bouquet de gigantesques lauriers, et nous contemplons en silence ce vaste champ où fut une grande capitale et où la moderne et misérable Antakieh s'abrite sous quelques cyprès, comme à la porte d'un tombeau."⁶⁴

Le Camus was a Catholic priest and scholar who had produced theological works before undertaking his journey to the biblical lands. Contrary to Poujoulat's infatuation with the crusades, Le Camus' focus is Roman antiquity and early Christianity. His prose is more restrained and less romantic compared to that of Poujoulat, although there appears, at certain parts, some nostalgic remarks and bombastic descriptions pertaining to the period in which Antioch was a Roman capital city where the apostles first preached Christianity. In fact, most of Le Camus' account on Antioch can be taken as a history of this period, presented within the format of travel writing which includes some details on where he stayed, what he ate etc., or, observations made "sur les lieux". In other words, what Le Camus' voyage reveals is that he visited Antioch to confirm Biblical stories and Roman history, with little emphasis upon the current state of the city, unless it may offer a contrasting effect that augments the strength of his descriptions of ancient Antioch. With the exception of his contacts with the Catholic missions in Antioch, who very kindly hosted him, there are rare occasions in which Le Camus mentions Turks or other people of the Muslim faith. The latter appears either as a fanatical guardian of the relics of the Habib Najjar mosque, or someone seeking for "antika" in the midst of ancient ruins.⁶⁵ Even less emphasis is placed on the urban environment defined with "the winding streets and the insignificant bazaar" (les rues tortueuses et le bazar très insignifiant), except some remarks on the small channels in the middle of the streets that work for transmitting the torrents from

⁶⁴"We are sitting under a bunch of gigantic laurels and we are contemplating in silence this vast field which was once a great capital and where the modern and miserable Antakieh takes shelter under some cypress, like at the door of a tomb", Le Camus, p. 35.

⁶⁵ Le Camus, p. 34 and p. 74 respectively.

the mountain to the Orontes in times of heavy rain, thus saving the houses from flooding and enabling people to go around without getting wet.⁶⁶

Le Camus' "lost space" is basically Roman and principally early Christian. In fact, he was expecting to see more sites and buildings that survived in the Antioch of the 1880s;

"A toutes nos questions, ils(the hosts) font la meme réponse:<E niente da vedere! Nos pauvres Messieurs, vous n'avez rien à voir ici! -Comment! rien? Pas une ruine? Une pierre? - Niente, niente!Et sur ce glacial encouragement nous demandons quand même à sortir et, sinon à voir, du moins à chercher."⁶⁷

Immediately after this disappointment, Le Camus comes to realize, in the vicinity of Antioch, that the issue is much more complicated;

"Eh bien, <<E niente!>> C'est vrai et c'est faux. De visible, il n'y a rien. Sous terre, à un ou deux mètres de profondeur, il y a tout. A peine sortie de la ville, vers le levant, aux premiers jardins que nous rencontrons, des ouvriers cherchent des pierres pour construire, et ils trouvent des chapiteaux sculptés, des colonnes, des frises, et, les malheureux! ils les brisent pour édifier des mauvaises maisons."⁶⁸

The lost space is not irretrievably lost. It is under the soil waiting to be recovered, though not by the people of Antioch who destroy and deform the remains of the ancient city to construct bad houses.⁶⁹ On the one hand, the

⁶⁶ Le Camus, p. 43.

⁶⁷ "The Hosts give the same response to all of our questions "E niente da vedere!" Our poor Gentlemen, you have nothing to see here' – How come? Not a ruin? Not a stone? –Niente, niente!.. And we asked all the more to go out or else to see or at least look for even with this glacial encouragement", Le Camus, p. 33.

⁶⁸" O well.."E niente"...It is true and it is false. There is nothing visible. Under the ground, to one to two meters of depth, there is everything. Hardly out of the city, towards east, in the first gardens, we encounter workers looking for stones for construction and they find big tops in sculpture, columns and they break them to construct nasty houses"Le Camus, p. 34.

ancient city gets lost once more in the hands of contemporary people who are completely ignorant of its grandeur. On the other hand, the contemporary city gets more detestable by the houses constructed with the ancient materials which are reshaped and appropriated. In turn, such a conception strengthens the overall image that places the cultural and material richness of the ancient city in contrast to the degenerate, insignificant and chaotic Antioch of the 1890s, now part of a civilization on its deathbed. What remains to Le Camus is to reconstruct the lost places by, on the one hand, drawing a map of the ancient city, emphasizing the major monuments and streets, and, on the other, reimagining old Antioch, sometimes in the form of an itinerary, by finding these places with respect to the texts he had studied before coming to Antioch;

"En rejoignant d'ici(l'ancien théâtre), par la rue de Tibère, la Porte du Milien, on descendait vers ce Forum qui avait vu, à côté des capricieuses agitations du peuple acclamant ou bravant par de malignes invectives les maîtres qui passaient, un spectacle douloureusement sublime et dont le souvenir m'est resté en mémoire car ce qu'on a lu dans la langue inimitable de Tacite ne s'efface plus"⁷⁰

All such delineations are provided with a detailed historical framework, usually consisting of accounts on Roman emperors who favored the city and dotted it with monuments. However, as his professional affinity demonstrates, Le Camus' principal *raison d'être* in Antioch is his vast curiosity and reverence of the first Christians and their grottos or churches, a subject on which he displays the

⁶⁹ "La vieille cité, tant de fois surprise par les tremblements de terre, a été si bien couchée toute vivante, avec son luxe et ses richesses, sous le sol, qu'à la moindre pluie la terrain ravinés rendent à l'homme ses trésors enfouis depuis des siècles." (the old city, which was many times surprised with earthquakes, has been put under the ground all alive with all its luxury and its richness so much so that a little amount of rain in these terrains give treasures hidden for centuries), Le Camus, p. 44.

⁷⁰ "By rejoining Gate of Milien from the street of Tiberius, we were descending towards this Forum which had seen, besides the capricious agitations of the people cheering with or maliciously insulting the masters who were passing by, a show painfully sublime and which I remember because what we have read in the inimitable language of Tacite, which is not effaced anymore." Le Camus, p. 36.

most emotional and nostalgic tendencies throughout his account, as his words on the grotto of St. Pierre, said to be the first Christian church (le premier asile des serviteurs de Jésus Christ) clearly reveal: "Peut-être les échos de cette caverne ont-ils retenti du champ pieux des apotres et des martyrs. Peut-être ici Pierre a prêché."⁷¹ This is even more apparent in the remarks on the last hours of his stay in Antioch: "A six heures, après avoir une dernière fois célébré le saint sacrifice sur cette terre où jadis l'Esprit de Dieu fit des prodiges pour le developpment de son Eglise, nous prenons congé de nos hotes".⁷²

Returning back to Maurice Barrés, there appears another conception of Antioch, which is that of a romantic nationalist. Barrés was one of the most influential intellectuals of the turn of the century France who propagated and theorized a form of nationalism defined by an emphasis on ethnicity and racial solidarity.⁷³ He visited the Levant as both a member of Académie Française and a deputy of Seine in 1914, although the publication of *Une Enquete aux Pays du Levant* had to wait until 1923, due most probably to the Great War that erupted shortly after his visit. On the one hand, Barrés aims to investigate the situation and influence of *oeuvres françaises* in the Middle East with reference to the historical role of the French in the region. On the other hand, he has an extensive personal agenda consisting of a set of expectations to be fulfilled by *l'Asie* which Barrés always desired with ardor and toward which he always turned in times of "spiritual dryness" (Je l'ai toujours désirée avec une si folle ardeur, cette terre d'Asie. Je me

⁷¹ "Maybe the echoes of this cavern rang out from the pious steps of the apostles and martyrs. Maybe it is here that Pierre preached", Le Camus, p. 40.

⁷² "At six, we left our hosts after having celebrated one last time the saint sacrifice on this soil where in the past the Spirit of God made miracles for the development of his Church", Le Camus, p. 79.

⁷³ Sternhell, Zeev, "National Socialism and Antisemitism: The Case of Maurice Barrés", Journal of Contemporary History, Vol.8 No.4, October 1973, pp.47-66.

tournais vers elle à toutes mes heures de sécheresse).⁷⁴ Barrés' understanding of the Orient is a late rendering of the romantic conception of the Orient, which is authentic, natural and sincere as opposed to the western cities of the industrial age, a view that had been promoted not only by the travelers and literary circles but also by painters and architects of the previous century.⁷⁵ The Orient is where travelers like Barrés could renew and revive themselves, or, in other words, they search for "un enrichissement de l'ame" in the Middle Eastern lands. This is somehow personalized in the case of Barrés by means of his childhood memories: "Je suis né pour aimer l'Asie, au point qu'enfant je la respirais dans les fleurs d'un jardin de Lorraine..."⁷⁶ Following his romantic ancestors, Barrés positions himself vis-à-vis the Orient in an ambivalent manner. That is, while he had a strong yearning for and appreciation of the Orient, he not only keeps the notions of contemporary western superiority and Oriental degeneration constantly at his disposal but also perpetuates and reproduces these notions. Once the lands where reason triumphed and Christianity emerged, the Middle East is now at the zenith of its gradual degeneration under the rule of Islam. In this sense, whether it again rises as a hope for the world thanks to its great traditions is a central concern for Barrés (L'Asie est-elle encore la gardienne d'une tradition efficace et l'un des espoirs du monde?).⁷⁷ Such a transformation depends on the material and spiritual might of the French, or on the exercise of the French civilizing mission over the

⁷⁴ Barrés, p. 1.

⁷⁵ "...Avec Delacroix, le maître du choeur, ils (the painters) ont mis sur la cimaise, le rêve farouche du musulman, son fatalisme et la nostalgie des races qu'il opprime. C'est par ce chemin de leur romantisme que je suis allé d'imagination jusqu'à la part éternelle de l'Asie." Barrés, p. 3. (With Delacroix, the master of the choir, the painters exposed the fierce daydreaming of the Muslim, his fatalism and the nostalgia of the races he oppresses. It is through this path of their Romanism that I went from imagination till the eternal part of Asia).

⁷⁶ "I was born to love Asia, to such an extent that I was breathing her in the flowers of a garden of Lorraine", Barrés, p. II.

⁷⁷ Barrés, p. 4.

Middle East.⁷⁸ Barrés therefore visits the region not only to examine the efficiency of the French presence, but also to serve the noble agenda of reviving the Orient: "Je vais dans ce Levant pour y vérifier l'état de notre puissance spirituelle....Un écrivain français a des dettes et des devoirs envers les propagateurs de notre langue et de notre plus haute civilisation."⁷⁹

French consuls, religious and commercial missions or agents often appear in Barrés' book as representatives of reason, civilization, and Christianity in a country where fatalism, backwardness and Islam reign.⁸⁰ They are in the Levant with an idealist motive to develop the countries firstly by civilizational values, and then by architecture and engineering, which the Ottomans would never be able to achieve due to the lack of such values and visions, as illustrated in Barrés' words on the French couple whom he met in an old khan near Kırıkhan. Despite the poor conditions of the region and lack of proper housing, the idealism of this young couple is praised by Barrés with optimism for the future of the Levant: "Tous deux, ces jeunes gens, étaient bien les représentants de l'Occident, qui n'accepte pas les fatalités, qui croit que l'on peut dessécher les marais, construire les routes,

⁷⁸ In a train station in Lebanon, a young man asks Barrés to stay more and wonders why they came to the town if they are to leave such soon: "-Mais admirer votre pays, votre histoire, votre amitié." "-Cela seulement, admirer?" (-To admire your country, your history and your friendship.- Is it only this, only to admire?) The following is Barrés' interpretation of the young man's surprise: "Ce qu'ils attendent de la France, c'est une aide efficace. Ils veulent, après nos pretres, nos soldats; après leur instruction, leur délivrance." (What they were expecting from France was an efficient aid. They want their relief after our priests, our soldiers and their training), Barrés, Tome II, p. 2.

⁷⁹ "I am going to the East to verify the state of our spiritual power... A French writer has liabilities and duties towards the propagators of our language and of our high-ranking civilization", Barrés, p. 6.

⁸⁰ Perceiving the French language as a crucial means to propagate *mission civilisatrice*, France gave a considerable support to its schools in the Ottoman Empire 1860s onwards. Over 100.000 students had been enrolled in more than 500 schools throughout the empire by 1914. See Mathew Burrows; "Mission Civilisatrice: French Cultural Policy in the Middle East(1860-1914)" page, 110; in *The Historical Journal*, no.1, 1986.

éviter les fièvres, au moins le guérir.”⁸¹ With such an imperial vision embedded in his conception of the Levant, Barrés has a certain tendency to undermine and disdain the contemporary architectural and urban make-up of Antioch in contrast to the all-too-familiar antique city and its glorified memory. The contemporary city is a visual testimony to degeneration, backwardness and fatalism, and also, to the fall of the celebrated Christian city into Muslim hands and its gradual destruction. What some travelers are fond of as picturesque qualities in the streets and houses of Oriental cities, Barrés totally disregards and despises.⁸² Comprising only a certain portion of the intramural area, he says, the modern town has asymmetrical and empty streets defined by small houses with very little windows which are all closed. The houses are reached through courtyards which are surrounded by pretty high and blind walls. Wandering through such an urban atmosphere, Barrés points out the lost monuments of the Christian city with remarks defined by regret and lamentation:

“Basilique de l’apôtre Pierre, où fut trouvée cette sainte lance...rotunda byzantine, qui renfermiez une image miraculeuse de Notre-Dame; et vous, églises de saint Jean-Chrysostome, des saints Come et Damien, de sainte Mesme, de Sainte Siméon, qu’êtes-vous devenues? Les vainqueurs vous ont-ils islamisées, ou bien la montagne, ravinée par les pluies...vous a-t-elle ensevelies?”⁸³

⁸¹ “Both of these two young persons were the representatives of the Occident, who do not accept fatalities, who believe that we can dry out the swamps, construct roads, avoid fevers or at least fight against it.” Barrés, p. 26.

⁸² As his remarks on the khan near Kırıkhan where he passed a night and which he found very dirty perfectly illustrate: “Dire qu’il y a des voyageurs qui trouvent ce genre d’auberge intéressant, pittoresque! Ah! Lecteurs, que le ciel vous épargne ces piteuses délices!” (To admit that there are some travelers who find this kind of inns picturesque! Readers, I wish that the sky save you from these pitiful delight!), Barrés, p. 26.

⁸³ “The Basilica of the Apostle Pierre where was found this sacred sword, Byzantine rotunda which contained a miraculous image of Our Lady... And you the churches of Saint Jean-Chrysostome, of the Saints Come and Damien, of Mesme, of Simeon, what did you become? Have the conquerors Islamized you or the mountain, digged by the rain flows, has buried you?”, Barrés, p. 35.

Barrés searches for the traces of ancient city and for a stimulation of his imagination, not only in the contemporary city but also throughout the empty parts of the intramural area. He realizes how complicated the idea of a lost city is, pointing out that the city had undergone several destructions due either to earthquakes or to wars resulting in the reemployment of materials in the building up of novel cities. It is unlikely, he regrets, that the archeological excavations would recover the impact of the centuries which “erased from the earth this splendid city, which was the third of the Empire” (ont effacé du sol cette superbe cité, qui fut troisième de l’Empire).⁸⁴ However, Barrés’ feelings fluctuate from times of extreme regret and pessimism to the moments of lyrical praise of the land, from scornful remarks for what Islam had done to the city to respect and reverence to the first Christians of Antioch. As a symbol of the replacement of Christianity by Islam, reason by fatalism and progress by degeneration, the built environment of Antioch, despite its miserable situation, can not prevent Barrés from envisaging the western or Christian or French presence/dominance in the city;

“Ses rues sont étroites, ses maisons pauvres, pressées de pierrailles, de décombres; sa vaste enceinte, terrifiante; sa haute montagne jette une ombre lugubre; on y manque de sécurité: pourtant sa grâce est plus forte. Des ruelles tortueuses, la pénombre de ses bazars, ses mosques et leurs minarets ne m’empêchent pas de songer au poème du Tasse, à notre *Chanson d’Antioche*⁸⁵, et, sous les vergers de l’Oronte, brille le sourire de Clorinde et des dames de chez nous qui accompagnaient les Croisés. La couleur arabe s’est écaillée, et nous laisse voir une substance parente de la nôtre.”⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Barrés, p. 35.

⁸⁵ *Chanson d’Antioche* is a twelfth century epic poem on the first crusade.

⁸⁶ “Its streets are narrow, its houses poor, squeezed by small stones and by rubble; its vast surrounding wall, terrifying; its tall mountain throws a gloomy shadow: we are deprived of security there. But its grace is much stronger. The little winding streets, the semi dark bazaars, its mosques and its minarets do not prevent me from thinking to the poem of Tasse, to our *Chanson d’Antioche* and the smile of Clorinde and of our ladies who accompanied the Crusaders shines under the

It is, in other words, under the veil of the current city of the Muslims that the source of inspiration, imagination and national as well as religious honor lays for Barrés. The poorer the make-up of the Muslim Antioch is, the more magnificent the ancient city becomes in his account. This is of course consistent with the accounts of travelers before Barrés, just like the importance given by him to the literature on the Orient. In addition, there are other parallelisms with Barrés and these travelers such as his immense knowledge on the Orient in general and Antioch in particular, gained before embarking upon his journey, which were to be verified *sur les lieux*. Barrés occasionally mentions his debt to the great masters of Orientalism like Renan, and literary figures who wrote about the Orient like Victor Hugo and Goethe- along with his infatuation with Mawlana Jalal-ad-Din Rumi and mystic circles-, or painters like Delacroix. Especially his affection for the latter may help explain Barrés' perception of Antioch and other Oriental cities as feminine entities. The attribution of femininity works to enforce the idea of Oriental passiveness which both needs and tempts western male and his desire. Barrés' last words on Antioch purely manifest such an Orientalist design in which he turns out to be the western man in a "harem" of oriental cities;

"Toutes ces villes de l'Orient, je les vois comme un cercle de jeunes femmes, entre lesquelles je fus invité à choisir. Damas est leur reine; soit!Elle manque trop de solitude et d'intimité. Mon coeur ne met rien au-dessus d'Antioche.....Voilà le sentiment indéfinissable que j'ai d'Antioche, au bord de sa rivière, sous de grands arbres immobiles qui ont la courbe de vent. Des femmes voilées de noir, assises sur des pierres, contre les montagnes ravineées de torrents; une ville tassée, assoupie, demi-submergée dans la plus jeune verdure, et par-dessus, là-haut, le grand mur sérieux de Byzance et des Croisades: quelle image, dont je me nourris! Je suis amoureux d'Antioche."⁸⁷

orchard of the Orontes. The Arabian color broke into pieces and makes us see a substance familial to ours." Barrés , p. 42.

2.4: Other Travelers: Peripheries of the Orientalist Discourse

Beyond the abovementioned dominant travel narratives that contrast a myth of golden age with contemporary degeneration by means of a visual apparatus, there are a number of centrifugal attempts which are either consciously organized to oppose the dominant narratives or represent highly idiosyncratic and personal agendas. Neither of these writers were noted figures in their countries, at least when they undertook their travels, and it can be speculated that they were less concerned with the dominant styles of describing the oriental cities. In fact, what make their accounts significant today as well as in their own time are their novel methods and their very identity, religious as well as sexual. Instead of lamenting the loss of ancient Antioch and disdaining the contemporary one, they tried to depict the latter as it was, with little emphasis upon the decline of the city with the reign of Islam. However, I contend that even though they diverge from the grand narrative, they are still bound to operate within the conceptual framework provided by that very narrative. No matter how these travelers were outside the established methods and styles of delineation, they were part and parcel of an imperial agenda. Instead of functioning to transform the image of the Orient and Oriental cities in the eyes of the European public, their works perpetuated and enriched this image. Some of them further popularized the Orient in the European public as well as in the academies. Finally, all of the three travel accounts on Antioch that I am going to discuss below appeared during the turning points of the epoch of imperialism, directly serving some specific political goals in their countries.

⁸⁷ "I see all of the cities of the Orient as a circle of young women among whom I am invited to choose. Damascus is their queen, be it! She considerably lacks solitude and intimacy. My heart does not put anything superior to Antioch. That is my indefinable feeling towards Antioch, in the riverside, under motionless great trees which have the curve of the wind. Women veiled black, sitting on stones against the mountains dug by torrents, a city packed, dulled, semi submerged into the greenest verdure and on top of everything, the serious grand wall of Byzantium and of the Crusades: what an image with which I feed myself! I am in love with Antioch.", Barrés, p. 53.

Travels of Ali Bey was published first in French in 1814 and then translated into English in 1816. It consists of two volumes of notes taken by Ali Bey al-Abbasi, in fact a disguised Spanish named Domingo Badia y Leblich, during his voyage to North Africa, Arabian Peninsula, Syria and Turkey between the years 1803 and 1807. Ali Bey had studied Arabic along with a number of sciences in Valencia – not to mention his mastery over many European languages - and, at the age of 37, landed in Morocco in the guise of a rich Muslim merchant, claiming to have a lineage to the Abbasids and being proficient on every aspect of Arab culture, from language to religion.⁸⁸ He was received with great respect everywhere he visited and thus could witness aspects of Muslim culture that a Christian traveler would never encounter. He is still a mysterious figure concerning the motives and financing of his voyage, the most agreed-upon idea being that he was a secret agent of Napoleon who aimed to gain support from the Islamic world and that he was writing reports to Paris together with taking notes for a future travel book.⁸⁹ His death during his second voyage in 1817 near Damascus is also a mystery. Some claim that he was killed by the British; others say that he was died of dysentery, while a recent study shows that he was poisoned for claiming that the Great Mosque of Damascus was not properly situated towards qibla.⁹⁰

Ali Bey's aim for undertaking such a travel is a bit ambiguous, or he was almost utterly unconcerned with sharing his agenda with the reader, as his exceptionally short introduction proves. He briefly states that his goal is to observe

⁸⁸ Chelhod, Joseph; "Un Nouvel Eclairage sur la Mission et la Mort d'Ali Bey", in *Studia Islamica*, n.80 (1994), pp. 165-168.

⁸⁹ See Chelhod and also Bidwell, Robin; "Introduction" to *Travels of Ali Bey*; Garnet Publishing, UK, 1993.

⁹⁰ According to a recent document examined by Chelhod, Ali Bey announced this claim, which he attained using his mastery of western sciences, to the imams of the mosque, who are responsible for his death, as reported by a Polish traveller, an eye-witness called Wenceslas Rzewuski. It is also said that he was denied a proper Muslim funeral, since a cross was found on his neck posthumously. See Chelhod, *Un Nouvel...*

the manners and customs of the Muslim countries for some utility to his future homeland, after years of immersion with the western sciences. He then immediately jumps to his arrival at Morocco and his first impressions about the striking difference between the two shores of the Gibraltar, as representing two entirely different civilizations, people and towns of which are as alien to one another “as a Frenchman to a Chinese.”⁹¹ Ali Bey in fact keeps this distinction between the Muslim countries and Europe throughout his book. Although he appreciates many features of Muslim culture, notably architecture, he is assured that the Muslim world is in the peak of a dramatic decline, which he demonstrates through the architecture of a khan on his way to Aleppo:

“So fine an institution (khans) in the Turkish empire is an effect of the principle in religious morals...Those that I visited are very well built of stone, some even with an architectural embellishment; but as they are all very ancient , some are going to decay, and I believe that they will never be repaired. This strengthens my opinion that the period of Mussulman glory is entirely past.”⁹²

Despite his persuasion that the Islamic world lost its glory long ago, the way Ali Bey describes cities and people is much restrained, hardly bombastic, and rarely evokes history as a reference point, as opposed to the established styles of writing about the Islamic world. Thanks to his involvement with many branches of science, his descriptions are full of the aspects of the materials used by the people of the respective country together with geographical and topographical details. He never associates the relative material backwardness of the Muslim countries with the essential characteristics of Islam and even perpetuates the myth of the golden age of Islam. Whenever he mentions ancient world or Christianity, he does this for informing the reader, with no remarks of lamentation or regret to the loss of these

⁹¹ *Travels of Ali Bey*, p. 1.

⁹² *ibid*, vol. II, p.285.

lands to the Muslims. When he comes across ancient ruins, he explains their decay with the passing of time instead of attributing it to the ignorance of Islam, as his words on such ruins near Antioch demonstrate: “At every step are to be found fragments of cornices and other architectural ornaments...It is thus that the hand of time, always more powerful than the vain efforts of man, returns to nature that which art had risen up from it.”

Ali Bey’s account on Antioch is also defined by more simple descriptions and a detached view point, entirely different from that of Volney who, contrary to Ali Bey, had a strict program and certain values like his attachment to the Enlightenment or his hatred of despotism and Islam. Neither of these is apparent in *Travels of Ali Bey*, for whose author Antioch is only a small town like others. There seems no personal association with the town even though he is completely aware of the historical significance of Antioch. There is no pilgrimage-like visit to St.Pierre’s grotto, no regret for the loss of the Roman and Christian monuments, no detailed historical information of any epoch or no hatred of the Islamic rule over the city. City walls are not a source of pride for they were constructed by Romans and Christians, but only an indication of the former extent of the city, which was much greater. The urban environment of Antioch is not a testimony to the degeneration of the city under Muslim hands in Ali Bey’s account. His short mention of Antioch is simply for the description of the city for its own sake: “The streets of Antioch are narrow, but they have very elevated foot-pavements on each side. The houses are of stone, and have a somber and monotonous appearance. They were the first that I had seen covered with tiles since I had left Mecca.”⁹³

Vital Cuinet’s *La Turquie d’Asie* is a much more methodical study with a clearly defined agenda.⁹⁴ First published in 1894, it consists of seven volumes in which Cuinet depicts the current state of the Ottoman provinces of Asia Minor,

⁹³ *ibid*, p. 303.

⁹⁴ Cuinet, Vital; *La Turquie d’Asie, Géographie Administrative Statistique Descriptive et Raisonnée de L’Asie Mineure*; Les Editions Isis, Istanbul, 2001.

Syria and Iraq. Cuinet has two purposes in undertaking such a demanding journey. On the one hand, he was charged to survey the Ottoman lands and population for the Public Debts Administration in order to understand the extent to which the Ottoman Empire was able to pay its debts to the European states. On the other hand, he aims to employ statistical methods in a travel book, which would yield fruitful results in terms of appreciating “l'état présent” of Ottoman Asia which was ignored by the travelers and the “savants éminents, érudits et consciencieux” before him.⁹⁵ While the former were concerned with their own personal sentiments and fantasies, says Cuinet, thus producing nothing more than descriptions of a tourist, the latter were obsessed with antiquity and its splendor, with monuments and ruins rather than the present conditions of the Middle East. He thus aims to fulfil this “lacune”, by offering the reader “loyal descriptions not only of chief places of each province but also of the principal cities, the chief places of departments, of the arrondissements, like of all the remarkable localities and places, be it in the past or particularly in the present”.⁹⁶

Cuinet's *fidèles descriptions* consist of administrative divisions, population by race and confession, customs and manners, schools, commercial statistics, agriculture, mines, forests, roads etc. Supplying historical information for each town, Cuinet points out the threefold function of his study, which is to depict “this country the way it was in the past, the way it is currently and the way it could be or become when more favorable circumstances will appear”⁹⁷ Such an instrumentalization of travel writing is, to a certain extent, in line with the

⁹⁵ Cuinet, p. 7.

⁹⁶ “..de fidèles descriptions, non-seulement des chefs-lieux de chaque province, mais aussi des villes principales, chefs-lieux de sandjaks(départements), et de cazas(arrondissements), comme de toutes localités et endroits remarquables, soit dans le passé, soit surtout dans le présent.” Cuinet, p. 9.

⁹⁷ “ce pays tel qu'il a été, tel qu'il est présentement et tel qu'il pourrait être ou devenir lorsque des circonstances plus favorables s'y prêteront”, Cuinet, p. 10.

principles proposed by Volney, who would probably ignore the historical dimension in his search for “la science de l’homme”. Indeed, the fairly long parts in which Cuinet talks about the history of a town repeat and reproduce what exactly he opposes in earlier travelers and scholars of the Middle East. By using these travelers and scholars as sources of “the way this country was”, Cuinet starts with a certain notion of the respective town, nurtured by antique splendor, and then lets his numbers and *fidèles descriptions* speak. His account on Antioch (Caza d’Antioche) consists of six pages, three of which are devoted to the history of the city.⁹⁸ After defining the geographical orientation, administrative division, population and schools of Antioch, Cuinet recounts the history of the city with an obvious emphasis upon the pre-Muslim period. The foundation myths of the city, successive periods of the Seleucids, the Romans, Byzantines and Crusaders, and the prosperity accompanying these periods dominate his narration of the history of Antioch, “which does not occupy the one sixth part of its ancient site” (qui n’occupe même pas aujourd’hui la sixième partie de son ancien emplacement).⁹⁹ Even though Cuinet’s prose is not that of a romantic like Barrés who had a strong sense of loss and disdain, he obviously perpetuates the romantic conception of Antioch by praising the ancient city with its splendid monuments and ignoring the Muslim period during which began “the decadence of Antioch, which until that moment did not cease to be prosperous and still comprised 300,000 inhabitants” (la décadence d’Antioche, qui jusque-là n’avait pas cessé d’être florissante, et comptait encore 300,000 habitants).¹⁰⁰ While the hundred and sixty years old presence of the Crusaders in the city is recited for nearly a page, six-hundred years of Mamluk and Ottoman rule is mentioned in a couple of lines, which are basically on the ruining of the ancient fortifications by the troops of Mehmed Ali, governor

⁹⁸ Cuinet, vol.II, pp.61-67.

⁹⁹ Cuinet, vol.2, p. 62.

¹⁰⁰ Cuinet, p. 65.

of Egypt, to be employed in novel constructions. Apart from the section on historical information, *Eglise d'Antioche fondée par Saint Paul* is presented under a separate title, after *Edifices Publics*, as *la première église des Gentils*, founded by Saint Paul, who did the first conquests of Christianity in Antioch.¹⁰¹ The notions of objectivity and detached viewpoint once more appear as a myth in this respect. In other words, it becomes apparent in a study aiming to employ statistics to be faithful to the present realities of the Ottoman Asia that it is the dominant Orientalist discourse itself that defines the limits of an attempt to contend its formulations and hegemony. Within such a framework, the architectural and urban environment again serve as testimony to the dichotomy of the ancient vs. the modern city: “Elle (Antioche) n’a plus d’autres restes de son ancienne magnificence que quelque tours, converties en maisons particulières, le pont, datant de l’époque romaine, sur lequel on passe l’Oronte pour entrer par la porte *Bab-el-Djisr*, et quelques autres ruines n’offrant que le triste intérêt de donner une idée de la vaste étendue de l’ancienne ville.”¹⁰²

Gertrude Bell was one of the most outstanding travelers who visited Antioch, not only because she was a woman who traveled through the Middle East without any male company but also because she had a highly original personal agenda. With an honors degree in history from Oxford, Bell mastered several languages including Persian and Arabic. Together with her passion for archeology, she had a strong interest on the Middle East which she came into contact during a visit to Iran where her uncle was serving as a diplomat. After a trip to Palestine and Syria in 1900, she revisited these regions in 1905 with a strong emphasis upon the local cultures and archeological sites. Her travel notes were published in 1907

¹⁰¹ Cuinet, p. 65.

¹⁰² “Antioch does not have anything left from her ancient magnificence other than some towers converted to private houses, the bridge dating back to the Roman century on which we pass over the Orontes to enter the Gate of Bab-el-Djisir and some other ruins offering only a sad interest to give an idea about the vast space of the ancient city”, Cuinet, p. 65.

under the title *Syria: The Desert and the Sown*.¹⁰³ Her ability to speak Arabic almost without an accent, combined with her restlessness and insatiable curiosity, enabled Bell to penetrate not only the city life in Syria but also that of the nomads whom she greatly appreciated. Unlike the previous travelers, travelling to the Middle East for Gertrude Bell was not an exotic or scholarly pursuit, but a way of life to satisfy her passion for archeology, ancient cultures and nomadic life on the one hand and to cope with the increasing sense of estrangement from her life in Britain on the other.¹⁰⁴ Her account proceeds neither through an exaltation of a specific period in history over others nor through a strict scholarly agenda. It is rather an archeological, ethnographical and political analysis as well as a self-reflection. Exceptionally, the figures appearing in her account speak in their own words, unlike in the other travel books whose authors could also speak Arabic, and thus understand the natives. In fact, this is clearly stated in Bell's preface as one of her main concerns in undertaking her voyage:

“I desired to write not so much a book of travel as an account of the people whom I met or who accompanied me on my way, and to show what the world is like in which they live and how it appears to them. And since it was better that they should, as far as possible, tell their own tale, I have strung their words upon the thread of the road, relating as I heard them the stories with which shepherd and man-at-arms beguiled the hours of the march, the talk that passed from lip to lip round the camp-fire, in the black tent of the Arab and the guest-chamber of the Druze, as well as the more cautious utterances of Turkish and Syrian officials.”¹⁰⁵

Bell, furthermore, praises the “eastern habits of intercourse” as being less artificial and more tolerant, together with her appreciation of the hierarchical structure of the Oriental society. Nevertheless, her penchant for the “Oriental” and

¹⁰³ Bell, Gertrude; *The Desert and the Sown*; Virago Press, London, 1985.

¹⁰⁴ See Sarah Graham-Brown's Introduction to *The Desert and the Sown*, same edition.

¹⁰⁵ Bell, Preface.

its culture does not mean that Gertrude Bell abandons the notion of western superiority. On the contrary, she always preserves this notion, defending even further the need for a western –read as British- touch to the Middle East, despite her sorrowful persuasion that nomad life will disappear within half a century. Acting under the guidance of the centuries old traditions, Bell says, the Oriental has an entirely different conception of the world; he is “like a very old child”, who is “unacquainted with many branches of knowledge which we have come to regard as of elementary necessity.”¹⁰⁶ Laisram argues that despite Bell’s criticism of earlier travelers “who might have stayed at home and read a geography book”, and her considerable emancipation of the dogmatic Orientalist perceptions, “she clearly reduces the Orient to a type which conforms to her personal, psychological, and cultural needs.”¹⁰⁷ In other words, Bell’s representation of the Oriental is not that of a mainstream turn of the century European, who would probably either disdain everything Oriental. It is more ambivalent, which recognizes the fact that there is a different paradigm, thus problems and solutions, in the Orient, while, simultaneously, subduing this paradigm to that of the western European, thus legitimating colonialism.¹⁰⁸

Bell’s account on Antioch is very much in line with such a conception. As an atheist, she has no interest in the stories or spaces of the first Christians or Crusaders. Unlike many other travelers, her description of the ancient ruins is not to promote an established western identity whose genealogy reaches back to the

¹⁰⁶ Bell, Preface.

¹⁰⁷ Laisram, Pallavi Pandit, *Viewing the Islamic Orient, British Travel Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, p.179, Routledge, New York, 2006.

¹⁰⁸ Pandit argues that this ambivalence is what makes Bell’s approach peculiar among other travelers: “Broadly speaking, reviewers felt that Bell’s approach to the Orient was that of the romantic and the realist, the participant and the spectator, and that she fluctuated between imaginative and political domination of the Orient on the one hand, and participation and identification with it on the other. These varying responses indicate that the *Desert and the Sown* cannot be classified and dismissed easily as an Orientalist narrative.”, Pandit, p. 181.

Middle East, but an infatuation with remote cultures and their arts. Hittites and Assyrians are, in this respect, more of concern to her than the Romans. Her passion for archeology took her to the vicinity of the city, and throughout Syria, to visit as well as record unknown ruins. She was impressed, like others though with a more restrained manner, by the view of Antioch at first sight; the city “which was for so many centuries a cradle of the arts and the seat of one of the most gorgeous civilizations that the world has known.”¹⁰⁹ Considering that contemporary Antioch covered only a certain area surrounded by the city walls, and consistent with the sense of humor occasionally dominating her prose, she states that “modern Antioch is like the pantaloons whose clothes are far too wide for his lean shanks.”¹¹⁰ She considers Antioch as “one of the loveliest of places”, not with reference to its aura embedded in the soil and ruins but to the very city of the Ottomans and to its houses with clustered red roofs and the great mountain embracing the city. Her initial recognition that “beauty is the inalienable heritage of Antioch” is confirmed when Bell wanders through the city and saw the bazaar, empty streets except the main thoroughfare and the shallow gables covered with red tiles which “gave a charming and very distinctive note to the whole city” together with “shuttered balconies jutting out from house to house.”¹¹¹ In terms of the favorable geographical orientation of Antioch combined with its connection to the port of Alexandretta, Bell states that the city could become a commercial center and it has considerably grown in the past fifty years “even under the Turkish rule.”¹¹² Such a complicated and sophisticated attitude vis-a-vis Antioch can not be understood without considering, on the one hand, Bell’s intimate

¹⁰⁹ Bell, p. 320.

¹¹⁰ Bell, p. 320.

¹¹¹ Bell, p. 322.

¹¹² Bell, p. 324.

contact and love of the local cultures and, on the other, her firm belief in the superiority of the west in general and the British in particular. The latter is very clearly stated in a remarkable metaphor of the orientation of the huge head of a sphinx, carved upon a rock in the vicinity of Antioch:

“Her featureless countenance is turned slightly up to the valley, as though she watched for one that shall yet come out of the East. If she could speak she might tell us of great kings and gorgeous pageants, of battle and of siege, for she has seen them all from her rock on the hill side. She still remembers that the Greeks she knew marched up from Babylonia, and since even the Romans did not teach her that the living world lies westward, I could not hope to enlighten her, and so left her watching for some new thing out of the East.”¹¹³ (Figure 1)

2.5: Concluding Remarks

There is a substantial scholarly literature on the concept of “Islamic city”, which has been formed by the first decades of the twentieth century and came under severe criticism for the last thirty years. Studying the architectural and urban make-up of the North African and Middle Eastern cities, historians of the Islamic city claimed that the cities in these regions, as well as whole societies and cultures, were conditioned by Islam.¹¹⁴ In other words, principles of Islam have replaced the rationally planned towns of the Greeks and Romans with irregular and chaotic ones without any sense of order. Along with the reconsideration of Orientalism as a discipline by the late 1970s, this concept began to be questioned on a number of grounds. Scholars like André Raymond, Ira Lapidus and Janet Abu-Lughod have contended that not only these theories were overgeneralizations based on studies

¹¹³ Bell, p. 325.

¹¹⁴ I follow here the critique of this literature by André Raymond, “Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.21, 1994.

on some specific cities like Fez or Aleppo, but also they were conditioned by an imperial/Eurocentric mindset.¹¹⁵ In other words, these scholars have based their criticism on a historiographical analysis of the Islamic city model proposed by the French Orientalist school of the first half of the twentieth century. Although this issue is not a principal focus for this chapter, the travel literature on Antioch that I have discussed above may yield some clues to elaborate on this criticism. I argue that the basic premises of the travelers of the nineteenth century and the dominant scholarly literature of the twentieth century academic Orientalism are strikingly analogous to one another. It might therefore be contributive to inquire the discursive links between the travel narratives and scholarly model of the Islamic city. Cities of North Africa and the Middle East have been perceived by both as chaotic agglomerations shaped by the impact of Islam and consisting of communities often hostile to each other. Rising out of the remnants of the splendid cities of the Romans and Greeks, these disorderly urban environments are utterly in conflict with the reigning principles of western urbanism. In this respect, a central theme of both travelers and scholars is pre-Islamic architecture, urbanism and city life. They not only aimed to contribute to archeology or ancient history but also stressed the difference between the Greek or Roman or Christian city and the Islamic city, or, in other words, to demonstrate how much the latter degraded the heritage of the former. It should therefore be emphasized that the conceptual framework within which scholars of the Islamic city have operated in the course of the twentieth century have been formulated or invented by the travelers of the nineteenth century, along with a larger mechanism of producing and reproducing the knowledge of the Orient in the western world.

¹¹⁵ Raymond, *ibid.*, Abu-Lughod, Janet; "The Islamic City-Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance", *IJMES*, VOL.19, No.2, May 1987, pp.155-176; Lapidus, Ira, "Traditional Muslim Cities: Structure and Change", in *From Medina to Metropolis*, ed. By L. Carl Brown, Darwin Press, 1973.

As being part and parcel of a dominant discourse on the Islamic world in general and the Islamic city in particular, the traveler is bound to perceive, contemplate and write about this world within the limits of such a discourse, as the Saidian critique of Orientalism asserts. Although I basically agree upon this point, I am in favor of an analysis which stresses the diverse individual identities and agendas of the travelers in order not to depict Orientalism as a monolithic, monophonic and static discourse. Instead, the all-embracing strength of Orientalism as a discourse stems from its flexibility, its ability to absorb alternative narratives and finally to transform itself. There is no fixed image of the Orient in Orientalism. The Orient of a devoted Christian is by no means similar to that of an atheist woman traveler or that of a historian of the Crusades. The city can, in this respect, be represented as a spatial proof for the destructive effects of Islam, or it can be an object of desire for “picturesque” along with an affinity for the local culture, or it can be perceived as a terrain for experimenting methods for social research. The point is to consider such diversity as immanent in Orientalism while being aware of the notion of the inequality between the Orient and the Occident, the former being in need of the intervention of the latter, as a common denominator among these travelers. It is thus crucial to emphasize that an analysis of the travel narratives is bound to be political. Not only the existence of a certain political vision in most of the travel books on the Near East but also the tendency of the colonial powers to make use of these books as well as the travelers themselves in their political pursuits render such a consideration indispensable. The knowledge/power relation does not have to be direct, as some of the critiques of the Saidian approach maintain. It is rather that any narrative on the Orient is by nature political since it is bound to operate within the limits of a discourse which is itself politically charged on the grounds that it designs the Orient as backward, lethargic and irrational and the Occident as progressive, dynamic and rational, thus justifying the political hegemony of the latter over the former. However, even when we are to talk about a direct relationship between travelers/travel accounts

and political power, there are many remarks to be made on the travelers mentioned in this chapter. Volney's *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte* was very popular among the French officials who participated the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, Volney himself being received and praised by Napoleon.¹¹⁶ Along with his propagation of the idea that the French should take over Syria, Maurice Barrés was invited to write a preface to *Le Drame Oriental et Le Role De La France* by Pierre Lyautey who was an official for the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon and who was a nephew of the governor-general of Morocco, Hubert Lyautey.¹¹⁷ As I already stated, Ali Bey is claimed to have sent secret reports to France, which is believed to have sponsored his pompous travel, on the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Vital Cuinet was financed by the Public Debts Administration, which made use of his study in determining the resources of the empire. Finally, thanks to her outstanding familiarity with the Arab lands and people, Gertrude Bell was employed by Britain during and after the First World War and became extremely influential in the making-up of the state of Iraq such that she was called as "the uncrowned queen of Iraq." Nevertheless, the aim of this chapter is by no means to show the connection between travel writing and direct power in the Middle East by concentrating on the accounts on Antioch. It is rather an attempt to understand to what extent travelers and their accounts on Antioch, along with a larger and internalized conception of the Orient, shaped the perceptions of the French officials, soldiers, architects or urbanists on the city in general and the built environment in particular. It should at this point be notified that the travel accounts that have been discussed here are selected from a much larger amount of books that talk about Antioch from the late eighteenth to the first decades of the twentieth

¹¹⁶ Gaulmier, p. 15-16.

¹¹⁷ Lyautey, Pierre, *Le Drame Oriental et la Role de la France*, Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, Paris, 1923.

century.¹¹⁸ In selecting these narratives from among those of many other travelers who visited Antioch, I considered two basic criteria. Firstly, I attempted to discuss the most influential figures like Volney, Michaud, and Barrés whose books were cited by many of the successive travelers. Secondly, I tried to emphasize the marginal figures in terms not only their very identity such as being a woman or a disguised spy but also of their challenge to the dominant Orientalist discourse on the Middle Eastern cities.

As the only available sources regarding Antioch to these figures, travel books became considerably influential not only in determining the way the city was imagined but also in the urban and architectural projects of the French, executed or remained as plans, which will be the focus of the rest of this study. Here it suffices to refer to a book by a French official in Antioch, lieutenant-colonel Paul Jacquot, titled *Antioche, Centre de Tourisme*.¹¹⁹ This three-volume study, published in 1931, aims to promote tourism in and around Antioch with references to the current state of the region along with a considerable emphasis upon history and the French activities. Edward Said argues that “every writer on the orient assumes some oriental precedent, some previous knowledge of the orient, to which he refers and on which he relies.”¹²⁰ The end of the section in which Jacquot mentions the travelers to Antioch perfectly illustrates the impact of these travelers upon the ways in which the French imagined the city by demonstrating that intertextuality is embedded in any description of an Oriental city:

“C’est toujours la même petite ville (with reference to the earlier travellers), compacte, serrée, lézardée de ruelles, de venelles, d’impasses, avec la lèpre de ses places bosselées et de ses cimetières aux stèles

¹¹⁸ For an exhaustive list, see Downey, Appendix. For a narrower one with a separate description of each travel account at its face-value, see Ataman Demir, *Antioch through the Ages*, Akbank Yayınları, Istanbul, 1995.

¹¹⁹ Jacquot, Paul; *Antioche, Centre du Tourisme*, Comité de Tourisme d’Antioche, 1931.

¹²⁰ Said, p. 20.

blanches bousculées. ...Les petites cafés de Pujoulat sont toujours là...Rien n'égale en pittoresque orientale les ruelles d'Antioche..”¹²¹

¹²¹ “It is always the same little city, compact, squeezed, cracked by little streets, alleys, dead ends, and with the eroding of its embossed places, of its cemeteries with white shoved steles. The little cafes of Pujoulat are always there. Nothing can be equal to the little narrow streets of Antioch in terms of Oriental charm.”

Jacquot, p. 344.

CHAPTER III
POLITICS OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM IN SYRIA DURING THE
MANDATE

3.1: The French Mandate of Syria, 1920-1946

After the Ottomans were defeated in the First World War, Syria was controlled by the Hashemite Emir Faysal, who was supported by the British, between 1918 and 1920. Following the post-war negotiations between France and Britain, the former was granted a mandatory authority, which was a novel form of domination of a foreign territory, over Syria and Lebanon in return for the recognition of the British mandate over Iraq and Palestine. Both powers were rendered responsible to the League of Nations, another post-war invention, concerning their rule over these countries. In fact, the French mandate for Syria and Lebanon, just like those of Britain, was designed to be temporary, that is, it would be valid until Syria and Lebanon would be able to govern themselves, without a need for a foreign state to supervise them. According to the first article of the French Mandate for Syria and Lebanon, France was obliged to create an “organic law for Syria and Lebanon” designed in cooperation with the native authorities in order to integrate the interests and customs of the local people into the novel legal structure.¹²² The long term aim of the mandate was to support the “progressive development” of the country towards independence. This legal and theoretical framework could never be reflected upon the political structure as it had been foreseen. In other words, the twenty-six years of French presence in Syria and Lebanon is defined by political crises, revolts, instability and

¹²² For the articles determined by the League of Nations for the French Mandate for Syria and Lebanon, see, “The American Journal of International Law”, Vol.17, No.3, Supplement: Official Documents, (July., 1923), pp.177-181.

multilayered conflicts between the Syrians and the French, between the Syrians themselves and between the French themselves. On the one hand, there was a strong Arab nationalism which strived for a complete independence from French rule. On the other hand, various ethnic and religious groups like Druzes, Alawis, Arabs or Turks had different and sometimes clashing agendas concerning the future of Syria or parts of it like the Sanjak of Alexandretta, along with the constant tension between the collaborators of the mandate and those who bitterly opposed it. Lastly, it is difficult to claim that there was a certain consensus in France upon its presence in Syria and Lebanon neither in legal terms, that is, as a mandate, nor on a financial basis.

In consistence with the Covenant of the League of Nations for the mandate, France encouraged local autonomy in Syria by dividing its territories into semi-autonomous units, and this division was appropriated in a number of occasions throughout the mandate. Basically there were five states or sanjaks except Greater Lebanon: The State of Damascus, State of Aleppo – these two were merged in 1925 under the title of the State of Syria - Alawi State, Druze State and the Sanjak of Alexandretta (See Figure 2). Although there was nominal control of the Syrians in local and administrative affairs, this was supervised by a certain number of French officials who had the power to veto any decision taken by the Syrians. The highest authority was the French High-Commissioner, who resided in Beirut, the capital city of Greater Lebanon which was separated from Syria. He had *délégués* who represented him in every regional state or sanjak in terms of the administrative affairs including municipalities. In other words, while the self-government of the Syrians was to be encouraged in their path to independence, it was strictly controlled and manipulated by the French. Due in part to the delay of the organic law for Syria and Lebanon, which should have been issued within three years by 1920,¹²³ a great revolt against the French rule erupted in Damascus

¹²³ See the first Article of the Mandate.

and the Druze state in 1925. The French reaction to the revolt was unprecedentedly severe, culminating in the air-bombardment of Damascus, costing the lives of many civilians. The decline of the French prestige in Syria as well as in the League of Nations resulted in a search for an alternative approach in the administration of Syria which would be more inclusive of the natives, though the term “native” denoted basically the urban notables. Cooperation with the notables as well as a series of Syrian governments after 1925 eventually led to a treaty in 1936 granting a limited independence to Syria, however it has not been ratified.¹²⁴ The annexation of the Sandjak of Alexandretta to Turkey in 1939 further diminished the French credibility among Syrians, and immediately after the Second World War, in 1946, Syria became an independent country.

France’s presence in Syria has been an extremely costly undertaking throughout the mandate. By 1936, some four billion francs had been spent in Syria in return for which the French acquired little in financial terms.¹²⁵ There were a number of pressure groups such as the Lyon silk firms, concessionaires of the railways and ports, and some officials, “a small but tenacious group”¹²⁶, who propagated the necessity of maintaining French domination in Syria and Lebanon. Other than these, a considerable portion of the French public was almost utterly unconcerned with the mandate and the future of the French interests in the region. In this respect, those who were in favor of the idea that France should be actively involved in Syria led campaigns to manipulate French public opinion for this

¹²⁴ Rabinovich, Itamar; “The Compact Minorities and the Syrian State, 1918-1945”, p. 696, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.14, No.4, A Century of Conservatism, Part 2. (Oct., 1979), pp. 693-712.

¹²⁵ Fieldhouse, D.K.; *Western Imperialism in the Middle East, 1914-1958*, p. 252, Oxford University Press, New York, 2006; Khoury, Philip, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p.48-50, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1987.

¹²⁶ Khoury, p. 44.

cause. Pierre Lyautey's¹²⁷ attempts at recruiting support in France perfectly illustrate how arduous a task this was. In a letter to General Gouraud, who was the High Commissioner at that time, Lyautey says that he prepared an article which would mean little for the General but would be read by "39 millions idiots who do not know where Syria is"(39 millions d'idiots qui ne savent pas où est la Syrie!).¹²⁸ Furthermore, there was no unanimity in the French parliament either. While there were nationalists who found the conditions of the mandate degrading¹²⁹, others like the prime-minister Clemenceau announced during the negotiations with Britain that they wanted Syria only to appease the nationalist demands.¹³⁰ There was a certain tendency in France to keep up a manageable amount of foreign territory in order to stabilize the economical and political strength of the French Empire. In other words, it constituted a huge problem for the propagators of French rule in Syria to legitimize the mandate not only among the Syrians but also among the French themselves. This was a crucial factor that deepened the crisis defining the mandate period especially between the two world wars.

The way France dealt with Syria throughout the mandate was considerably influenced by the previous experiences of colonial administration as well as the recent transformation of the French approach vis-à-vis the natives and their cultures. Theorized by Hubert Lyautey and applied during his governorship of Morocco by 1912, this novel approach was defined by an appreciation of local culture and heritage, and hence the inclusion of the local elements in the

¹²⁷ See the Concluding Remarks of Chapter One.

¹²⁸ Fournié, Pierre and Riccioli, Jean-Louis, *La France et le Proche Orient, 1916-1946*, p. 30, Casterman, Belgique, 1996.

¹²⁹ Haas, Ernst B., "The Reconciliation of Conflicting Colonial Policy Aims: Acceptance of the League of Nations Mandate System", p. 536, in *International Organization*, Vol.6, No:4. (Nov., 1952), pp. 521-536.

¹³⁰ Fieldhouse, p. 250.

administrative affairs. In opposition to the French rule in Algeria 1830s onwards, which depicted obvious assimilative tendencies, Lyautey's Morocco would be the model of the "politics of association", which denoted an alternative path to the modernization of the non-European, especially Arab, countries by means of a certain will for the preservation of the local traditions and built environments in collaboration with the local administrators. Some of the most influential French officials in Syria like General Gouraud had served in Morocco and experienced Lyautey's administrative trial which proved to be highly successful.¹³¹ The need for an "indigenous facade" in the administration of Syria was pronounced immediately after the fall of Faysal.¹³² Furthermore, there are plenty of references to the "politics of association" as a model to be inspired in the French documents concerning the mandate over Syria and Lebanon. However, it would be misleading to suppose the existence of a clear-cut parallelism between Morocco and Syria considering the influence the former had upon the latter. First of all, there was a strong presence of Arab nationalism in Syria, which had experienced political representation during the last decades of the Ottoman rule and hence had a certain vision for independence from the French rule. Moreover, administering Syria and Lebanon was much more a complex task than the case of Morocco considering the outstandingly plural ethnic and religious make-up of the former countries.¹³³ Lastly, the Mandate for Syria and Lebanon was established with respect to an international legal framework to which France was rendered responsible from the very beginning. It is therefore obvious that the relations between different parties,

¹³¹ Khoury, p. 55-57.

¹³² Fieldhouse, p. 254.

¹³³ Khoury's analysis is illuminating in this respect: "The French assumed that they understood the Levant when in fact they did not. French officials assigned to Syria were rarely familiar with conditions in the country before setting foot there. Instead, they were forced to rely on previous experiences and training in other French colonies where conditions were often strikingly different." Khoury, p. 76.

i.e. French and the “natives”, as well as the relations among the different groups within the same party, have been “constantly reconstituted and reimagined” throughout the mandate, if we apply Keith D. Watenpaugh’s analysis pertaining to the relationship between the resistance and the resisters to the whole epoch of the mandate.¹³⁴ In other words, the twenty-six years of French presence in Syria and Lebanon can be described as the ambivalence between colony and mandate, or independence and domination; also between different forms of hegemony, occasional crises and provisional solutions, between the French belief in their prestige in the region¹³⁵ and the strong tendencies among the Syrians for a British or American rule instead of the French Mandate.¹³⁶ Such instability reflected upon the architectural and urban transformation of the Syrian and Lebanese cities under the French Mandate.

3.2: Architecture and Urbanism during the French Mandate

Sixteen days after the French troops entered Beirut, in 25 October 1918, the first organization of public works (*Travaux Publics*) was created.¹³⁷ Its immediate mission was to secure, on the one hand, the passage of the army into Lebanon and Syria as soon as possible, and, on the other hand, to provision the local people whose conditions were dramatically severe due to the long-lasting First World War. These people, says a report prepared by the French three years

¹³⁴ Watenpaugh, Keith D., *Being Modern in the Middle East*, p.217, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2006.

¹³⁵ See Chapter One in general and the footnote 78 and 80 in particular.

¹³⁶ The King-Crane Report, sponsored by President Wilson in 1919 showed the Syrians were not in favor of a foreign rule. However, if that is unavoidable, they would accept Britain and the USA but in no way France. See Fisher, Edgar, “*Review of Syria and Lebanon Under French Mandate by Stephen Hamsley Longrigg*”, in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.74, No.3,(Sept., 1959), pp.456-457.

¹³⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes. Fonds: Mandat Syrie et Liban, 2e versement, inv. 21, Services Techniques, Carton 364, “Rapport sur l’oeuvre des Travaux Publics en Syrie”, 1921.

later,¹³⁸ were systematically starved by the Turks during the war, and it was the duty of the French to liberate a race which was irreducibly attached to France (se libérer d'une race irréductiblement attachée à la France). As this report as well as many other French documents illustrate, public works have been conceived as a tool to articulate a discourse of modernism and civilization, as opposed to the supposedly indifferent and degenerated rule of the Ottomans, from the very beginning of the French domination in Syria and Lebanon. The claim of progressing and fostering these countries, as they had been up until the hegemony of Islam, was a principal legitimizing notion as well as being a means of attaining local support for the French. As the travel accounts discussed in the previous chapter illustrate, there were grand visions and plans for the future of the Syrian cities in terms of urbanism even before the establishment of the mandate. These notions persisted during the initial years of the mandate even to a greater degree as the officials from various backgrounds called for the transformation of the cities in line with the ways in which the cities of French North Africa had been remade. However, more than two decades of French rule in Syria and Lebanon left a modest mark upon the built environment compared to its architectural and urban heritage in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. There were a number of factors that disabled the fulfillment of the initial visions; political instability and financial crises being the chief among them. Nevertheless, a thorough legal and institutional change determined the ways in which spatial production was realized not only during the mandate but also after its demise. The conditions, legal framework and actors of the spatial production in Syria and Lebanon throughout the interwar years present an outstandingly peculiar case considering the other colonial contexts under the French hegemony.

The organizational structure of the public works office has been modified and appropriated several times throughout the mandate. *Le service de travaux*

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

publics remained the backbone of all of the architectural, urban and technical works that have been planned, projected and executed. However, there were various actors that contributed to the making-up of the Syrian cities, such as municipalities, local initiatives and independent city-planners like René Danger. It is, in fact, the peculiar interplay of these actors that made the urban transformation of the cities under the mandate exceptional. In a 1921 decree on the responsibilities of the *service de travaux publics*, it is specified that the service will be in charge of preparing and executing projects for common interest, advising and consulting the projects prepared by the local governments, and controlling, under the same conditions, the projects executed by the municipalities of the principal cities.¹³⁹ In other words, the fragmentary administrative system of Syria and Lebanon under the French Mandate echoed in the realm of public works. The local actors exercised some form of control over the ways in which the built environment would be transformed, while their acts were to be approved and manipulated by the French authorities. Moreover, the urban politics of the French mandate underwent immense changes with respect to the major political events and administrative transformations. There is indeed a striking difference between the first and the second decades of the interwar period in this respect.

The first years of the mandate were dominated by an emphasis upon developing the road network of the country, instead of architectural and urban implementations, in order to promote not only commercial activities but also to pervade French authority in every part of the country. In 1920, the road network of Syria was 650 kilometers, 470 of which were in almost total ruins due to the effects of the war. By 1935, it almost tripled and the country had 1868 kilometers of regional roads.¹⁴⁰ A considerable attention in this respect was given to the

¹³⁹ MAE, CAD, Nantes. Fonds: Mandat Syrie et Liban, 2e versement, Inv. 21, Services Techniques, Carton, 337, "Projet d'Arrete Organisation", Avril 1921.

¹⁴⁰ *Quinze Ans de Mandat- l'oeuvre française en syrie et au liban*, p.35, M.A.E., 1936/ Imprimerie Catholique Beyrouth, 1936. Also see Maurice Pillet's article on urbanism in Syria in which he

rehabilitation and remaking of the road connection between the port cities and their principal purveyors, such as Aleppo-Alexandretta and Damascus-Beirut. Especially during the initial years of the mandate, most of the personnel of the *service de travaux publics* were engineers who served in the construction of the roads and bridges.¹⁴¹ In many of the reports of the local administrations to Beirut, the sections on *travaux publics* are dominated by the completed, continuing or planned works of regional or interregional road construction.¹⁴² Another focus was to develop or remake the ports of Syria and Lebanon which were vital to the economy of the countries. The capacities and the facilities of the three major ports, Beirut, Latakia and Alexandretta, were increased in order basically to promote the commercial activities between France and the Levant. In this respect, another actor which contributed to the public works of the mandate was the concessionary companies which not only constructed the ports by themselves, but also were involved in some of the urban works in the respective cities. For example, the *Société du Port d'Alexandrette*, a firm based on French capital, played a substantial role in the drying out of the marshy sites of Alexandretta, which were the major problem of the city in terms of both urbanism and hygiene. Between 1923 and 1935, some 2.5 billion francs of French capital was operating in Syria and Lebanon through numerous companies such as the Banque Française de Syrie, Société de Chemin-de-fer de Damas, Société Auto Routière du Levant, Société

claims that the existing 470 kilometers of road network augmented to 4900, 1900 being interregional and 3000 being regional, by the end of the first decade of the mandate. Pillet, Maurice, "L'Urbanisme en Syrie", p.36, in *Urbanisme, Revue Mensuelle de L'Urbanisme Français*, Numéro I, pp.33-38, April, 1932.

¹⁴¹ Nantes archives for French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon comprises a special inventaire for the personnel who served throughout the mandate: MAE, CAD Nantes, Fonds: Mandat Syrie et Liban, Direction du Personnel. Among more than a thousand of officials, there are only seven architects compared to many more engineers. Also see Friés, Franck, *Les Plans d'Alep et de Damas, un banc d'essai pour l'urbanisme des frères Danger(1931-1937)*, p. 312, in *Figures de l'Orientalisme en Architecture*, Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée, no.73-74, 1996; Pillet, p. 36.

¹⁴² See *Les Rapports Trimestriels* for each local administration in the section Renseignement et Presse of the Nantes Archives(1er versement, Inv.14).

d'Electricité d'Alep, Société des Grand Hotels de Levant etc..¹⁴³ Their concessions sometimes included urban works beyond their *raison d'être*, since the French administration found it profitable to rely upon these companies not solely on financial basis, but also for the lack of qualified personnel attached to the *service de travaux publics*.

The two decades of the mandate are strikingly different in terms of the ways in which architecture and urbanism were dealt with. During 1920s, there was no global and coherent approach concerning the urban renewal of the major cities in Syria and Lebanon. Instead, the cities were treated as fragments, and therefore the interventions were limited to some specific neighborhoods and conceived as limited solutions to the problem of urbanism. In this respect, Franck Friés' study on Damascus perfectly illustrates the changing perspectives vis-à-vis the transformation of the built environment throughout the mandate.¹⁴⁴ During the initial years of the French rule in Syria, the major aim was to rehabilitate the infrastructure of Damascus which manifested itself with the opening up of roads and sideways, and the construction of a sewer system. These works were carried out under the supervision of an engineer with a considerable experience in Morocco, Lucien Vibert, who had modest financial means and a very limited number of skilled personnel. Vibert's service in Syria between 1922 and 1927 was marked by a tendency to modernize the urban infrastructure as well as establishing "the novel colonial order."¹⁴⁵ The substantial increase in the population of Damascus and the respective expansion of the city toward its periphery were almost utterly arbitrary due to the lack of a coherent policy of urbanism. Between 1920 and 1930, the urban area of Damascus enlarged as much as it did between

¹⁴³ *Quinze ans de Mandat*, p. 68.

¹⁴⁴ Friés, Franck; Damas(1860-1946), *La Mise En Place de la Ville Moderne, Des Reglement au Plan*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris VIII, 2000.

¹⁴⁵ Friés, *ibid*, p.87.

1880 and 1919 (See Figure 3).¹⁴⁶ This is a conspicuous sign of the claim that more emphasis was given to respond the necessities of the French domination rather than envisaging the planned development of the city. On the other hand, there were some attempts at preparing a comprehensive city plan for Beirut in the early twenties. Entrusted to concessionary companies and defined by a stress upon opening up main arteries in the city in order to connect the center with the periphery, some studies for a city plan were carried out, but these have never been implemented.¹⁴⁷ The Great Revolt of 1925 became a turning point not only for the administration of Syria but also for the urban politics of the French mandate. Even though it had no immediate effect upon the cityscape, the revolt forced the French officials to reconsider the importance of urbanism in establishing bonds between the local people and the mandate; or, in Friés' words, urbanism became a political instrument after the revolt.¹⁴⁸ Initially, the neighborhoods which were damaged during the revolt were reconstructed in order to efface the reminders of French oppression. It eventually became apparent that a coherent urban policy was needed for all Syrian cities with an emphasis on planned development, along with the need for uniformity of the legal framework of architecture and urbanism. In 1926, novel regulations concerning the height of the buildings, facade types and materials used for constructions were issued. This process led to the arrival of René Danger to Syria to prepare city plans for almost all the major cities during 1930.

Before discussing the second decade of the mandate in which "planning" turned out to be the key concept of urbanism, some defining features of the architecture and urbanism of the mandate should be pointed out. The official French attitude, pronounced not only by the officials of the mandate, but also many scholars active in Syria at that time, was that modernity was introduced to

¹⁴⁶ Friés, p. 91.

¹⁴⁷ Ghorayeb, Marlène, *La Transformation des Structures Urbaines de Beyrouth Pendant le Mandat Français*, p. 197-198, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris VIII, 2000.

¹⁴⁸ Friés, p. 100.

Syria by the French administration. This view holds that the aim of the mandate system was to endow Syria with the modern tools and institutions, thus civilizing a country which had hitherto been oppressed by the despotic and ignorant rule of the Ottomans. The city, in this respect, was taken to be the visual testimony to the disorderly, chaotic and decadent past of the Ottomans under whom Syria had remained dormant despite its rich resources. There is a tendency, in this respect, to neglect and undermine the fact that the first regulations and implementations under the impact of western urbanism were realized by the Ottomans in the post-Tanzimat period.¹⁴⁹ This tendency reigned not only among the French officials at that time but also in the scholarly literature of the mandate up until the last two decades. The most obvious sign of the extent to which the Ottomans established the legal and institutional framework of western urbanism is that especially during the first decade of the mandate, many features of the legal system concerning urbanism such as the expropriation law were either left untouched or slightly modified by the French.¹⁵⁰ In various occasions such as the law concerning the neighborhoods destroyed by fire, the Ottoman code was retained as being more suitable than the Moroccan code under the French protectorate.¹⁵¹ With reference to the French impact on the post-Tanzimat regulations of architecture and urbanism in the Ottoman Empire, Marlène Ghorayeb claims that the urbanism of the mandate in a legal point of view was nothing but the refrenchization of the Ottoman regulations [la (re)francisisation de la réglementation ottomane].¹⁵² In this

¹⁴⁹ Among many studies on the Ottoman modernization concerning architecture and urbanism, see Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1987; Stephanos Yerasimos, "Doğu ve Güney Akdeniz Kentlerinin Batılılaşma Sürecinde Osmanlı Etkisi", in *Akdeniz Dünyası: Düşünce, Tarih, Görünüm*, ed. by Ozveren, E., Ozel, O., Unsal, S., Emiroğlu, K.; İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006.

¹⁵⁰ Gaudin, Jean-Pierre; "L'Urbanisme au Levant et le Mandat Français", p. 191, in *Architectures françaises outre-mer*, Liège, P. Mardaga, 1992.

¹⁵¹ Friés, p. 112-113.

¹⁵² Ghorayeb, p. 184.

respect Syria is unique in the French colonial empire where the French either imported the regulations from homeland or applied the legal system of one colony to the other. In spite of the fact that there was a certain impact of the Moroccan experience of the French under Hubert Lyautey, the most defining influence in the French mandate for Syria and Lebanon was the Ottoman legal system, contrary to the belief in the pervasive influence of French North Africa. In the case of Syria and Lebanon, some of the key concepts of French urbanism like hygiene had already been made a significant principle by Cemal Pasha during the Great War in Beirut.¹⁵³ Moreover, in Damascus, a concrete vision of urbanism manifested itself through the construction of some public buildings such as the faculty of medicine, the train station and the university in cooperation with the Germans. The extent to which Cemal Pasha's stress on urbanism became influential can be understood with reference to the remarks of a Lebanese architect, Tabet, who was active during 1930s. Disillusioned by the French lethargy in transforming the city into a modern one despite fifteen years of mandate rule, Tabet regrets the fall of the Ottomans, who, in his opinion, would do a good deal of business in terms of urbanism if they could stay only one more year.¹⁵⁴

The impact of North Africa, nevertheless, can be considered fairly substantial. In the Nantes archives, some of the cartons on *travaux publics* contain numerous reports and pamphlets on the legal structure of urbanism and other public works, such as the law on the width of the roads or construction permits that came from Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria.¹⁵⁵ Lyautey's theory of colonial

¹⁵³ Gaudin, p. 190.

¹⁵⁴ Ghorayeb, p. 188.

¹⁵⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, Services Techniques, 2e Versement, Inv.21, Carton. 354: "Note sur la construction du réseau de Routes du Maroc", Carton. 353: "Gouvernement General de l'Algerie, Departement d'Oran, Ville d'Oran(Décret du 5 Aout 1908), Reglement Sanitaire de la Commune d'Oran", "Réglement General de la Voirie"(concerning

administration, his emphasis upon the importance of architecture and urbanism, and his work in Morocco were extremely popular among the French officials in the colonies as well as in France.¹⁵⁶ For example, Lyautey was one of the chief figures who promoted the publication of the leading periodical of the 1930s, *L'Urbanisme*, from 1932 until his death in 1934, which was dominated by his ideas on colonial architecture and urbanism. Moreover, Lyautey was the leading proponent of the Congress of Architecture and Urbanism in The Colonies and Tropical Countries of 1929, whose proceedings were published in 1932.¹⁵⁷ His politics of association assumes architecture and urbanism as its integral component, since they would be one the most significant means to gain local support. It therefore holds that the ancient or indigenous city should be preserved from the destructive effects of modernism. The ancient city is to be separated from the novel, modern city that would be constructed by the French as its civilizing endowment to the colonized country. In other words, while the ancient city, along with the private life of its inhabitants, its deep-rooted traditions and artistic heritage, would be conserved, a modern, French city would be constructed on its adjacent territory. It would thus demonstrate the French respect to the local and the French might to bring comfort and civilization simultaneously. The architectural expression of the politics of association was called *Arabisance*, which denoted an eclectic style defined primarily with the Moorish motifs of the middle ages. However, this eclectic attitude would only be valid for the façades, while the interior space would be constructed in “western” style. Coming back to Syria and

municipal decrees on construction permits, materials to be used etc.), Carton. 337: Three legal pamphlets concerning travaux publics in Tunis dated respectively 1908, 1914 and 1920.

¹⁵⁶ There are a number of studies that discuss the impact of Lyautey on the French colonial administration as well as his vision of architecture and urbanism. See Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism*, University of Chicago Press, 1991; Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, MIT Press, 1989.

¹⁵⁷ *L'Urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays tropicaux*, ed. by Jean Royer, La Charité-sur-Loire: Delayance, 1932.

Lebanon, it should be pointed out that Lucien Vibert, the first influential figure of urbanism of the mandate, had served in Morocco, under Henri Prost who was the celebrated architect of Lyautey in Morocco. According to Vibert, the Moroccan model would be completely suitable for Syria, as he considered Lyautey's paradigm as valid for all Arab countries that were colonized (valable pour toute société de type arabe colonisée).¹⁵⁸ The idea of the conservation of the ancient parts of the cities and their separation from the novel neighborhoods with modern facilities is the defining feature of not only the urbanism of Vibert but also that of René Danger who dominated the Syrian and Lebanese urbanism of the 1930s. The latter also worked with Henri Prost in the preparation of a city plan for Izmir in 1924.¹⁵⁹ The Danger-Prost plan of Izmir had a protectionist attitude vis-à-vis the old urban fabric while proposing the creation of modern administrative, commercial, and residential districts next to it.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, the respect to the traditions and the artistic heritage was fulfilled by a number of scholars under the French Institute in Damascus, whose first president, Eustache de Lorey, came to Syria after serving in the French Institute in Morocco, which was a counterpart to the former.

Immediately after the Great Revolt of 1925, the first High Commissioner without a military background, Henri Jouvenel, was appointed to Syria and Lebanon. One of the first aims of the new, non-military administration was to invest in urbanism in order to calm down the opposition against French rule. Despite the modest results of the period of Jouvenel, his successors achieved a dramatic transformation of the politics of urbanism not only in the legal but also the practical sphere. Under the High-Commission of Henri Ponsot, a special bureau

¹⁵⁸ Friés, p. 98.

¹⁵⁹ Bilsel, Cana, "Ideology and Urbanism During The Early Republican Period: Two Master Plans for Izmir and Scenarios of Modernization", in *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 16, 1996, pp.13-30.

¹⁶⁰ Bilsel, p. 19.

for the preparation of city plans and control of the municipalities was founded in 1929, together with issuing a municipal reform (*bureau technique spécial chargé de l'étude des plans de ville et du contrôle des travaux municipaux*).¹⁶¹ The primary motive for the installation of this bureau was to centralize and control the urban politics, mainly by controlling the municipalities, and to prepare plans for major cities of Syria and Lebanon. In Friés' words, there were three concepts that summarized the aim of the bureau: *conseil, contrôle, exécution*. Furthermore, another office to deal solely with urbanism was founded under the ministry of interior in 1930, *service d'urbanisme*.¹⁶² One of the first, and possibly the most important, acts of the service d'urbanisme was to sign a contract with René Danger for the preparation of city plans for the cities of Syria and Lebanon in 1931. In fact, despite the agreement made between the Danger Company¹⁶³ and the *service d'urbanisme*, he had to make separate deals with each municipality, and the plans prepared by Danger had to be approved by the municipality of the respective city, demonstrating the limited extent to which urbanism in Syria and Lebanon was centralized. In fact, such decentralization, no matter how it was tried to be overcome by the French, was a founding principle of the mandate, since it was designed in the legal framework of the mandate that the autonomous institutions led by the Syrians themselves would be encouraged by the French. It should therefore be stressed once again that, in terms of architecture and urbanism, the case of Syria and Lebanon under the mandate constitutes a peculiar context considering the complex interplay of various actors in the making-up of the built environment, as opposed to the other colonial contexts like the French North Africa, where the local powers had a very limited power to exercise upon the decision-making process.

¹⁶¹ Friés, p. 145-146.

¹⁶² Two years later, in 1932, service d'urbanisme passed to the ministry of travaux publics.

¹⁶³ Danger frères et fils, Société des plans régulateurs de villes.

René Danger was a fairly renowned urbanist who had worked not only in France (Troyes, Caen, Auxerre etc.) but also gained a considerable international experience in cities like Izmir, La Valette and Bone. Danger carried out city plans through his family company, *Société des plans régulateurs des villes*, in which he cooperated with his brother Raymond Danger, professor of urbanism, his son Paul Danger, the only architect of the company, and his daughter, Therese Danger who was an engineer.¹⁶⁴ He himself was a professor at l'Ecole Spéciale de Travaux Publics where he taught urbanism and topometry. René Danger and his company can be considered as one of the most active and representative figures of inter-war French urbanism, which was the leading branch of European urbanism in this period, although its representatives like Henri Prost and Le Corbusier can never be taken as part of a certain French *école*. The significance of the *Danger frères et fils* stems from the way they tried to apply the principles of western urbanism of the inter-war period within the socio-cultural context of the Levant.

The first municipality to sign a contract with Danger was Aleppo in 1931. It was followed by Tripoli in the same year, Antioch and Alexandretta in 1932, Beirut in 1934 and finally Damascus in 1935. The contracts he signed with the municipalities were uniform: The Danger company was to furnish circulation plans, a plan for the extension of the cities, a justification report, a regulation of sanitary policy, a construction regulation and, if necessary, studies for squares and crossroads.¹⁶⁵ All these works were carried out with respect to the peculiar system of urbanism defended by Danger and his company. According to the principles of Danger, there were two crucial steps to be taken before embarking upon a city plan. The first was the *enquête urbain* in which all of the characteristics of a city, from economical situation to the make-up of the population, from cultural motifs to the historical background, and the architectural and artistic patrimony were

¹⁶⁴ See the on-line catalogue of le Centre d'Archives d'Architecture du XXe Siècle : http://archiwebture.citechaillot.fr/awt/fonds.html?base=fa&id=FRAPN02_DANGE_fonds-358

¹⁶⁵ Friés, p. 150.

carefully studied. Urbanism in inter-war years in Europe was perceived as a scientific activity *per se*, and as a corollary to this, it was expected to have an intimate relation with the social sciences, which was to be supported by statistics.¹⁶⁶ However, the starting point for Danger was not scientific but almost totally individual. What he first did was to produce the imaginary city of his own by utilizing the nineteenth century Orientalist literature, and then he tried to relate this imaginary city with his impressions pertaining to the physical conditions, topography and the images offered by the city. Danger's reliance upon the nineteenth century Orientalist literature is an illustrative example of the direct impact of the scholarly literature and travel accounts of the nineteenth century upon the methods of city planning in Syria during the mandate. Moreover, he stressed upon the folkloric motifs in this initial phase of the *enquête urbaine* which was in fact promoted as a scientific undertaking *par excellence*. This demonstrates the extent to which the European urbanist coming into contact with the "Orient" modified his very methods in order to be able to grasp a culture which he thought was such different that his principles of "universal" urbanism were to be tailor-made. The history of the city, in this respect, constitutes a substantial part of the *enquête* contrary to its basic formulation as a tool to understand the present conditions of the city in its relation to the past and the future. Under the title of *physionomie locale*, this section of the *enquête urbaine* consists of five sub-titles: Research of the characteristic of picturesque sites, elements of local architecture, an examination of the historical monuments, examination of the perspectives and picturesque sites, and research of the manners and customs of the different categories of inhabitants.¹⁶⁷ In Damascus, for example, Danger closely collaborated with Jean Sauvaget, a well-known French historian and orientalist who was studying the archeology and architecture of Syria during that time at the Institut

¹⁶⁶ Friés, p. 153.

¹⁶⁷ Ghorayeb, p. 218.

Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman of Damascus.¹⁶⁸ The latter tremendously contributed to Danger's conception of the Syrian cities in terms of the incorporation of the historical heritage and the relations between the neighborhoods.¹⁶⁹ On the other hand, contrary to the variety and richness of the architectural heritage of different epochs in Aleppo and Damascus, Danger was disillusioned by the scarcity of visual remains of the past in Beirut.¹⁷⁰ Considering the demographic aspect of the enquête, Danger concentrated on the ethnic and religious plurality and its spatial reflections in all of these cities. This spatial division would be one of the main principles of the second step toward the city plan.

After developing a notion of the "Oriental" city, triggered by his impressions and imaginary Orient and organized with the help of social sciences, Danger moved on to the study of the technical aspect of the city plan, which was represented by the *rapport justificatif*. In the making-up of the *rapport*, there were basically three criteria, which were also the key concepts of inter-war urbanism: Hygiène, circulation, esthétique. Among these criteria, hygiene held a prominent position not only for the Syrian cities but also for all other Muslim cities under some sort of a colonial domination. Hygiene was regarded by the colonizers as a crucial theme to articulate a civilizing discourse vis-à-vis the natives. "Healing the sick" is not only a literal expression but also connotes the aim of reviving a whole civilization which had fallen into ruins under the centuries-old despotic hegemony of Muslim rulers. Danger was, in this respect, utterly in agreement with this politics of hygiene, which had already been part and parcel of a comprehensive program of urbanism in Morocco under the governorship of Hubert Lyautey and

¹⁶⁸ Friés, p. 155.

¹⁶⁹ Gaudin, p. 181.

¹⁷⁰ Ghorayeb, p. 214.

his architect, Henri Prost.¹⁷¹ The distribution of water, construction of a sewage system and collection of garbage were the three major considerations. Furthermore, unhealthy ateliers of small-scale production would be removed from the center to the outskirts of the city. In this respect, the problem of circulation was perceived as intimately connected with the issue of hygiene, as the wide arteries and streets would enable air circulation which was needed for public health, and which the Syrian cities desperately lacked due to their organic and irregular street network. Circulation was, furthermore, to be considered with respect to the future intensity of traffic, estimating that the personal and public use of cars would greatly increase in the near future. It was also crucial for the integration of the periphery to the center and center to the world as long as the economy and commerce are concerned. Finally, the issue of aesthetics was closely connected to the aim of embellishment which comprised the implementation of public gardens, sports areas, playgrounds for children as necessary not only from an aesthetical point of view but also for hygiene. For Danger, moreover, the creation of *espaces libres* was another indispensable condition for both public health and public security, the latter being a legacy of the Haussmannian urbanism of the nineteenth century.

One of the major motives of the Danger plans was to keep the extension of the cities under control by means of the deployment of a number of public facilities at key points. Hospitals, public gardens and sports areas were to be placed either on the main arteries or at the heart of the novel districts in order to prevent undesired extension and real estate speculation. A significant contribution of Danger to the Moroccan model was to add a socio-economic dimension to the spatial segregation of ethnic and religious groups.¹⁷² The system of zoning was to secure a morphological unity and demonstrate the historical layers of the evolution

¹⁷¹ Wright, p. 30-36, Rabinow, p. 240.

¹⁷² Friés, p. 171.

of the city. There was also a functional zoning in terms of the separation of the commercial and residential districts. Aleppo, for example, was divided into the zones of bourgeois residence, artisanal, oriental residence and the picturesque (corresponding to the intra-muros).

The most delicate issue was to deal with the ancient parts of the cities. In other words, it was an extremely important question to find reconciliation between the requirements of modern urbanism and the idea of respect to local culture and its architectural heritage. The difference between the preservation and conservation of architectural heritage at home and in the Orient was that while only ancient individual buildings were preserved in France, it is the entire ancient milieus which were to be preserved in the Orient.¹⁷³ However, a complete preservation of the ancient cities in their current urban conditions was an anathema to the principles of the urbanism defended by Danger. One of the solutions to the problem of preserving the ancient city was to encircle it by means of a grand artery called *tour de ville*, or *boulevard peripherique*. This grand artery either served as a means to connect the center to the periphery and the other centers through links with the regional roads, or as a promenade facility as in Antioch. Its implicit purpose, however, was that it protected the ancient part of the city from destructive interventions as well as setting a limit to its unplanned extension. In other words, it functioned as a means to secure the peaceful sleep of the old ville (*laisser en repos la vieille ville*). In Beirut, it took the form of double encirculation with one *tour de ville* around the old city and another that engulfed the first and comprised the periphery.¹⁷⁴ Aleppo also required, in Danger's opinion, the same system of two *boulevards peripheriques* one engulfing the other due to the physiognomy of the city.¹⁷⁵ On the contrary, Antioch had since its foundation been placed between the

¹⁷³ Ghorayeb, p. 244.

¹⁷⁴ Ghorayeb, p. 223.

Orontes river and the Habib Najjar Mountain and it was defined by the remains of the ancient city walls. Since the natural area of the extension of the city was the other side of the river, there was only one *boulevard peripherique* in the ancient part. Danger aimed a minimum amount of intervention into the authentic and picturesque life and milieu of the natives. In this respect, he supported and collaborated with the Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman in the classification and conservation of the monuments of the Syrian cities. For example, while he was in favor of constructing novel public baths in Beirut, Danger's proposition for Damascus was to allocate the hamams to the municipality, defending that this would please both the hygienist and the archeologist.¹⁷⁶ However, the two aims of implementing the modern urbanism and preserving the historical heritage clashed several times, and in the case of Aleppo, Danger decided to demolish a part of the vernacular tissue in order to open up the Bab Faradji square, which was implemented during the 1950s.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, intra-muros of Aleppo and Antioch were less intervened than Damascus, where a minimum of fifteen meters was sought in the main streets.¹⁷⁸ In Aleppo, it was prohibited to paint the facades and construct novel buildings that could harm the nature of the ancient city. It was also decided that the stone that characterized the city should be the chief building material.¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, Danger was against the idea that the motifs of the "historical" Syrian buildings should be promoted as the defining style of the period, or *Arabisance* in the Moroccan context. A kind of harmony in terms of the building materials would be fairly satisfactory for him. Ancient architecture should only be surveyed in terms of the

¹⁷⁵ Gaudin, p. 181.

¹⁷⁶ Friés, p. 160.

¹⁷⁷ Gaudin, p. 184.

¹⁷⁸ Friés, p. 159.

¹⁷⁹ Gaudin, p. 182.

ways in which it may offer solutions to the problem of security and hygiene as well as the requirements of the climate.

The transformation of the residential and public architecture of the cities under the mandate followed a peculiar path, as opposed to both the other colonial contexts and the imperial or national cases of the Middle East. Robert Saliba's study on the aspects of eclecticism in Beirut before and during the French Mandate is an extremely illustrative inquiry into the ways in which architectural styles were appropriated by different actors and in different ways in Syria and Lebanon compared to the important centers of architectural eclecticism both in the west and in the Middle East.¹⁸⁰ According to Saliba, there are poles of architectural eclecticism, like the metropolitan poles of the west, which are the centers *par excellence* like Paris and Boston, the peripheral generative centers like the cities of the Maghreb, and the reactive provincial poles like Istanbul and Cairo.¹⁸¹ Beirut and the other Syrian and Lebanese cities can be considered as the provincial poles of the second order which do not have an ideological background, contrary to Cairo and Istanbul, in the formation of their eclecticism. It was basically carried out and pioneered by the local notables or bourgeoisie in the absence of any comprehensive architectural program especially during the mandate. Saliba states that the late Ottoman eclecticism that emerged in Beirut can be defined as the domestication of the modern influences and the result is a highly original synthesis of centrally-planned building types.¹⁸² The second period of eclecticism that comprises the French Mandate, on the other hand, witnessed an increasing employment of the western architectural idioms in the facades, while the spatial conception of the interior, that is the central-hall type, was almost totally

¹⁸⁰ Saliba, Robert, *Paysage Coloniale et Eclectisme Provincial, La Formation du Beyrouth Résidentiel, 1840-1940*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Université Paris VIII, 2004.

¹⁸¹ Saliba, p. 32-33.

¹⁸² Saliba, p. 10.

preserved. However, this short-lived eclecticism of Beirut did not offer a clear-cut model, due to the plurality of actors who contributed to its emergence. Most of the architects who were active in Beirut during the mandate were Lebanese Christians, who had a lesser tendency to make references to Islamic architecture, examples of which were already scarce compared to the Syrian cities. Furthermore, it was very common that the same architect used different eclectic expressions in different works. Youssef Efendi Aftimus, for example, designed the Clocktower of Abdulhamid II in 1900 in what is called the Neo-Ottoman style. Twenty-five years later, during the mandate, his Municipality building and Grand Theater were constructed as neo-mamluk buildings. Furthermore, his favorite style for the private commissions was European eclecticism.¹⁸³ Architectural eclecticism was a product of the local actors not only in Beirut, but also in the Syrian cities, contrary to the case of Casablanca, Cairo or Istanbul where it was pioneered by the expatriated Europeans.¹⁸⁴ In this respect, the ways in which the penchant for the eclectic buildings manifested itself differed greatly in different cities in Syria as a result of the different aspirations of the local notables and the formation of the architects. In Antioch, for example, the residential architecture of the upper class depicts an obvious tendency to employ the fin-de-siècle Ottoman idioms during the French mandate, as Mine Temiz's study on the Kurtulus Street, ancient Herod road and the main thoroughfare of the city, demonstrates.¹⁸⁵ This employment of the post-Tanzimat and neo-Islamic elements, instead of the European idioms under the rule of the French, is an illustrative example of the complexity and peculiarity of the architectural transformation in Syria and Lebanon during the inter-war

¹⁸³ Saliba, p. 27.

¹⁸⁴ Saliba, p. 184.

¹⁸⁵ Temiz, Mine, "New Architectural Formations On The Mandate-Era Kurtuluş Street in Antakya", in *Chronos – Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand (Numero Special – Antioche, Temps et Sociétés, numero 13, pp. 181-230, Liban, 2006.*

period. It also illustrates the limited extent to which the French mandate left an architectural legacy behind it, contrary to the North African cities which had thoroughly been transformed.

Nevertheless, not only the French officials but also the French scholars were keen to stress that the miserable conditions of urbanism in Syria that had hitherto been misruled by the Ottomans were arguably developed by the French during the mandate. While the emphasis was upon the state of the regional and interregional roads in the initial years, it moved gradually to urbanism especially in the course of the second decade of the mandate. Maurice Pillet's two successive articles on French urbanism in Syria that appeared in *Urbanisme* in 1932 reflect a desire to evoke interest in France for the French contribution to Syrian urbanism.¹⁸⁶ One of Pillet's basic motives is to show how restrictive an administration scheme the mandate is. Considering the French obligation to "guide" Syrian people in the way to progress and development, Pillet claims that only by sharing authority and initiative with the locals that it could be realized a rapid and complete oeuvre. He argues that such a legal system contrasted to the case of North Africa where the French could undertake a thorough architectural and urban program by the single executive authority of Lyautey's administration. Nevertheless, the French achieved in twelve years a good deal of work in a country which had "slept for centuries under the oriental indifference" (en ce pays sommeillant, depuis des siècles dans l'indifférence orientale).¹⁸⁷ The major achievements, in this respect, were legislation, assistance, post and telegraphs, technical education, and agriculture. After listing in detail the roads that were either constructed or rehabilitated by the French, Pillet states that the issue of urbanism was neglected in the first decade of the mandate. His explanation for this

¹⁸⁶ Pillet, Maurice; "L'Urbanisme en Syrie" in *Urbanisme*, p.33-38, Avril 1932, NumeroI; and, NumeroII, p. 62-64.

¹⁸⁷ Pillet, *Urbanisme* Numero.I, p.36.

neglect, however, does not pertain to the financial and organizational problems, but paradoxically to, the loss of the most productive population on the one hand and the mass-migration of the Armenians to Syria, who had fled the massacre of the Turks, on the other.¹⁸⁸ In other words, the French inability to transform the Syrian cities in the first decade of the mandate is explained by Pillet by a vague demographic logic, dismissing, first of all, the fact that it was those very Armenians who were employed by the French in all sorts of offices and crafts thanks not only to their fidelity to France but also to their outstanding skills pertaining especially to architecture. The rest of the article is devoted to the fragmentary interventions of the French to the architectural and urban make-up of the Syrian cities. It shows how these interventions in the major cities were in line with the basic principles of western urbanism, architecture and conservationism. Pillet's primary points of focus are the opening up of large boulevards, construction of novel residences, conservation of historical patrimony (preservation of the Church of St. Jean of the Crusades in Beirut, and the citadel of Aleppo, for example), and the embellishment of the cities. He also mentions the difficulty of modernizing the ancient parts of the cities. In Damascus, however, the ruins of the souk of Hamidiye, a building destroyed in the 1925 bombardments, were appropriated to construct a large boulevard.¹⁸⁹ The most complete urban transformation was achieved in Latakia, the most important port city of Syria after the loss of Alexandretta to Turkey. Firstly, the major regional roads that connect Latakia to the other centers like Beirut and Alexandretta were constructed. Secondly, the marshy sites of the city, the insalubrity of which was famous throughout Syria, were dried, and the town turned out to be one of the most properly urbanized cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. The city was embellished with a major thoroughfare, a public garden, a touristic hotel, well-conceived

¹⁸⁸ Pillet, *ibid.*, p.37.

¹⁸⁹ Pillet, *Urbanisme* Numero II, p.63.

houses and streets with planted trees (Figure 4). Nonetheless, despite all the attempts at advertising French architecture and urbanism in Syria to the French public, Syria was more famous in the western world for its dead cities than its living cities, as the title of another article by Maurice Pillet to *Urbanisme* suggests.¹⁹⁰ The ancient cities of Palmyre, Baalbeck or Qalaat-Sim'an were much more popular, considering the increasing interest in archeology at the time, than the current architectural and urban activities of the French in Beirut, Damascus or Aleppo. Furthermore, a certain historicism is manifested in a reference by Pillet to the remaking of the city of Tartous in Lebanon. It shows how the age of the Crusades is inscribed in the memories of the French, or how the penchant of the nineteenth century travelers for the Crusades still persists, considering Pillet's plans for making Tartous one of the visual witnesses of the Crusades like Rhodes [l'un des plus beaux témoins de l'époque des croisades, dans le genre de Rhodes].¹⁹¹

As Michel Ecochard states in a report he drafted after being the chief advisor in 1941 for all of the archeological, architectural and urban works that the state or the municipalities could undertake,¹⁹² there were various administrative problems that prevented a properly functioning system of urbanism.¹⁹³ Ecochard states that one of the first acts realized by Lyautey in Morocco was to set up a service d'urbanisme; however, the office was founded only in 1932 in Syria, which never responded to local needs. He does refuse the claim that the inadequacy of the public works in Syria was a result of the lack of money, personnel or vision. The only reason for Ecochard was the lack of an

¹⁹⁰ Pillet, Maurice, "Les Villes Mortes de la Syrie", *Urbanisme*, Numero 28, pp.259-261, 1935.

¹⁹¹ Pillet, *Urbanisme* Numero I, p.37.

¹⁹² MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, Direction du Personnel, 3e Versement, Carton. 36, Document title: Situation de M. Ecochard.

¹⁹³ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, Services Juridiques, 1er versement, Carton. 2927: Le Problems d'Urbanisme dans les Etats du Levant, par Michel Ecochard.

organizational framework and coordination among the offices. The result was, Ecochard claims, that France failed to adorn Syria with architectural and urban works substantial enough to challenge the Roman legacy. Considering the architectural and urban legacy that a great nation like France should have left [l'oeuvre qu'une grand nation doit laisser derrière elle], says Ecochard, the French did simply nothing.¹⁹⁴

3.3: Urbanism and the International Justification of the Mandate: *The Danger Report to the League of Nations on French Architecture and Urbanism in Syria and Lebanon*

From the French point of view, architecture and urbanism were not merely technical issues pertaining to the development of the Syrian cities and to the integration of the country to the world economy. They were also a substantial political means to strengthen the French domination in Syria, not only by gaining prestige in the eyes of the native inhabitants, but also by convincing the League of Nations that its presence in Syria was legitimate and that France properly fulfilled its obligations vis-à-vis the Syrians. In this respect, a series of demands made by René Danger to the High Commission in Beirut (as well as to all local centers) are outstandingly important. Danger's task was to prepare a report to the League of Nations on the French contribution to the built environments of the Syrian cities, and an analysis of this report helps to unveil the ways in which architectural and urban works were manipulated as part of a political agenda by the French. Comprising a number of correspondences that are found in the Nantes archive, the documents of Danger as well as the official responses further illustrate the primary aims and the peculiar context of French architecture and urbanism in Syria and Lebanon.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid*, page 2.

In June 1936, René Danger sent a letter to the director of public works, stating that he was charged by the French Ministry of Health to prepare a report to the League of Nations, and demanding some information regarding urbanism in Syria¹⁹⁵ The aim of the report, Danger states, was to demonstrate to the League of Nations the French activities of urbanism and habitation in the states of the Levant under French mandate [il s'agit de manifester à la Société des Nations l'oeuvre de la France en ces matières(i.e. l'habitation et l'urbanisme) dans les Etats du Levant sous Mandat Français]. There are four basic points that are stressed by Danger:

1. The housing of the Armenians and the Assyro-Chaldeans.
2. The works of cleaning up and urbanism done since the occupation (opening up of roads, cleaning up of neighborhoods and the creation of novel districts) especially in Latakia, Beirut, Aleppo, Damascus and Alexandretta.
3. Works for summer facilities (l'estivage).
4. Legislations and regulations concerning the construction and sanitary policy.

For his report on these issues, Danger does not demand long texts but a couple of documents and citations, supported, if possible, by some photos taken on site. He also sent a similar letter to each of the local centers, Beirut, Damascus, Latakia, Aleppo and Alexandretta, which had already taken orders from the High Commission. The orders were similar for each local center. The correspondence that was sent to Alexandretta states that a dossier on French urban works since the occupation should be sent as soon as possible. The dossier was to involve the opening up of new roads, public squares, and public gardens, the cleaning up of the unhealthy neighborhoods, the creation of new districts, a sewage network, the distribution of water and electricity, tramways, garbage management, the

¹⁹⁵ MAE, CAD, Nantes. Fonds: Mandat Syrie et Liban, 2e versement, Inv.21, Services Techniques, Carton 347, Nom du Dossier: Urbanisme – Projet de Legislation, Aménagement de ville, Documentation Danger.

establishment of a slaughterhouse, and bazaars. It had also to cover the issue of legislation concerning construction and sanitary policies as well as statistical information on the construction permits given since 1920. This order, sent in 27 June, was responded in 8 August by the Délégué of High Commissioner in Alexandretta, and other délégués' responses also arrived in the course of the same month. As a supplementary to the main dossier, Alexandretta sent photographs of the works of the municipality of Antioch, Alexandretta, and Kırıkhan as well as the plans and graphics concerning the drying up of the marshy sites of Alexandretta. Unfortunately, the French administration did not reserve a copy of the dossiers sent by the cities, at least the Nantes archives does not have one. Moreover, the only comprehensive archive of the Danger company, *Centre d'Archives d'Architecture Française du XXe Siècle*, contains only a photograph album sent by Damascus.¹⁹⁶

Nevertheless, these correspondences themselves demonstrate the primary motifs of the French urbanism in Syria. They also unveil a discourse of urbanism with an emphasis upon its most defining features. Firstly, the housing of the Armenians and Assyro-Caldeans was part of a humanitarian program that aimed to help those who had migrated to Syria during and after the 1915 events. This program enabled France to gain international prestige as the protector of the victims of war and cruelty, thus being a legitimating ground for the mandate in the eyes of the League of Nations. It also provided invaluable local support considering the fidelity of the Armenians to the mandate, whose number was by no means modest. They also provided skilled manpower as well as soldiers that the French needed in order to sustain its rule over Syria and Lebanon. On the other hand, the most defining feature of the dossiers involves the emphasis on issue of hygiene, as the insisting demands for information on the drying up of the marshy sites, sanitary policies, system of garbage management, sewage network, and

¹⁹⁶ See http://archiwebture.citechailot.fr/awt/fonds.html?base=fa&id=FRAPN02_DANGE_fonds-358

water distribution clearly illustrate. The demonstration of the French oeuvre for developing the sanitary conditions of Syria would be an evidence to how a defining principle of inter-war urbanism, hygiene, was pursued by the French. In this respect, the creation of novel districts, large boulevards, and public squares were to be presented as part of a legitimating framework proving that the obligations of the mandate (progress and development of Syria along western lines) were fulfilled. The most delicate issue regarding these correspondences is the very fact that the target of colonial architecture and urbanism was no longer solely the local population, but also an international public expecting to see the French carrying out substantial works for the Syrians. In other words, architecture and urbanism were no longer merely a means for quelling hostility toward a foreign domination and to gain local support; they could not solely be defined as a product of the relations between the colonizer and the colonized. For the first time in the history of colonialism, the colonizers came under the circumscription of international law by being accorded and represented with respect to the treaty of a mandate. This can be taken as the most unique aspect of the French architectural and urban endeavors in Syria and Lebanon.

3.4: Scholarship and the Empire I: *L'Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman*

In 1922, two years after the establishment of the French mandate, an institute for the appreciation and preservation of Syrian archeology, and Islamic art and architecture was established in Damascus. Between 1922 and 1930, it was called *L'Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman* until it became *L'Institut Français de Damas* in 1930. The institute was accommodated in the Azm Palace, an eighteenth century Ottoman building. Its basic aim was to study and preserve the Syrian-Arab archeological heritage, art and architecture on the one hand, and to contribute to the development of modern French Orientalism, on

the other. Throughout the mandate, several scholars, most of whom were French, took up positions in the institute as fellows, researchers, architects, archeologists or administrators. Among these were such well-known scholars like Jean-Sauvaget, Louis Massignon and architect Michel Ecochard, who came to Syria as an inexperienced archeologist and architect, and rose to prominence after serving in various official positions. These scholars not only extensively worked for the definition, classification and preservation of the artistic heritage of the country, but also produced a considerable scholarly literature, culminating in the annual periodical of the institute, the *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*.

The institute, however, was by no means a purely scholarly establishment. One of its founding principles was to provide “favorable propaganda for the French”, as General Gouraud, the High Commissioner who supported the institute, stated.¹⁹⁷ One means of propaganda envisioned by Gouraud was the education of the public through the *Ecole Annexé de Arts Decoratifs Arabes* by means of courses on Muslim art and design.¹⁹⁸ Another was the collection of the archeological and artistic findings of Syria and the representation of these findings in museums and temporary exhibitions. In terms of propagating the French mandate, the most visible and influential activity of the institute was the preservation and restoration of the architectural patrimony of Syria. In this respect, some of the most important works done by the French included the restoration of the citadels of Aleppo and Damascus, and the Mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus.¹⁹⁹ The overall aim of these activities was to demonstrate the French

¹⁹⁷ Avez, Renaud, *L'Institut Français au Palais Azem, 1922-46*, p.27, Institut Français de Damas, Damascus, 1993.

¹⁹⁸ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, Renseignement et Presse, Carton 1843, Damas, Rapport Trimestriel, 2me Trimestre, 1923, L'Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman.

¹⁹⁹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, Renseignement et Presse, Carton 1844, Damas, Rapport Trimestriel, 1er Trimestre, 1925, Haut Commissariat de la R.F., Travaux de l'Institut, page 1.

respect for Syrian-Arab culture, in line with the associationist colonial policy of Lyautey in Morocco, and thus gaining the local support that was vital for the maintenance of the mandate.

However, the most significant realms where French colonial politics in Syria and the institute as a scholarly establishment intersected one another were architecture and urbanism. One of the major missions of the institute was to supervise, advise, examine, and approve any kind of urban intervention and building activity in order to secure the authentic and picturesque character of the Syrian cities:

“Pour sauvegarder le caractère des villes syriennes, il est en effet nécessaire de n’y tolérer que les édifices construits suivant les traditions du pays, ou du moins dans un style assez neutre pour rester inaperçus, suivant l’exemple de la Tunisie et du Maroc.

A cet effet, les plans dressés par les administrations sont examinés soigneusement par cet institut, et des modifications y sont apportées suivant des directives énoncées plus haut.”²⁰⁰

One of the most blatant signs of the North African impact was that the first director of the institute, Eustache de Lorey, had served in Morocco before occupying his post in Syria.²⁰¹ In 1924, he proposed to establish a “competent organism” which would make necessary interventions and consultations in order to secure that a historical monument was not damaged, or, that a novel construction did not harm the picturesque character of the cities.²⁰² An essential figure of this

²⁰⁰ “In order to protect the character of the Syrian cities, it is in fact necessary not to tolerate but the buildings constructed in line with the traditions of the country, or at least within a style sufficiently neutral to remain unnoticed, following the example of Tunisia and Morocco.

To achieve this, the plans set up by the administrations are examined delicately by this institute and the modifications are brought in accordance with the directives enounced earlier”, MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, Renseignement et Presse, Carton 1844, Damas, Rapport Trimestriel, 1er Trimestre, 1925, Haut Commissariat de la R.F., Travaux de l’Institut, page 3.

²⁰¹ Friés, p. 97.

organism, which was the institute itself, was a supervising architect who would examine urban interventions and building plans with respect to these criteria. This post was taken up by Michel Ecochard, who, as a representative of the institute, later worked with René Danger in the preparation of city plans for Syrian and Lebanese cities. In fact, most of the conservation projects in the Danger plans were shaped by the institute, or by specific people like Ecochard and Sauvaget with whom Danger closely collaborated. In addition to his scholarly activities and involvement in contemporary urbanism in Syria, Sauvaget was also an important figure for the classification of the historical monuments, especially in Aleppo and Damascus. He prepared 110 dossiers, each of which was for a specific monument in these cities.²⁰³ The major criterion for a monument to be considered historical and worth preservation was that it was to be constructed before 1700. One exception was the restoration of the eighteenth century Azm Palace (dated around 1750), the very building that housed the institute, which was heavily damaged during the Great Revolt in 1925, since it was seen by the Arabs as one of the symbols of French domination. Another criterion was that if a building masked a historical monument, it was to be taken down, as in the case of the restoration of the Mosque of Umayyads, when many local buildings around the monument were torn down.²⁰⁴

Among the contemporary constructions with which the institute engaged by 1925 were the Greek Catholic Patriarchate building, a commemorative chapel, a public garden and the Place des Canons in Beirut, a mosque and several buildings in Damascus, a tourism hotel and the opening up of a number of squares

²⁰² Avez, Renaud; the former version of the abovementioned book with the same title which was presented as a master thesis to Université de Rennes-2, Haute-Bretagne, 1990, page 23.

²⁰³ Friés, p. 17.

²⁰⁴ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, Renseignement et Presse, Carton 1843, Damas, Rapport Trimestriel, 2me Trimestre, 1923, L'Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman.

and public gardens in Aleppo.²⁰⁵ Constructed in an architectural style in harmony with the existing built environment, or a style neutral enough to be unnoticed, these works by the institute aimed to preserve the “original” milieu of the Syrian cities in their oriental character, instead of preserving monuments one by one as in the case of Europe. Such an attitude has significant political, economic and ideological underpinnings. In addition to the idea of gaining local support by respecting and promoting the culture and heritage of Syria, the preservation of a supposedly authentic Syrian city was thought to attract western tourists eager to experience an oriental city *in situ*. Moreover, denied change and transformation, the ancient parts of the Syrian cities would perpetuate the myth of the stagnant and dilapidated Orient, in striking contrast to the novel districts which were adorned with contemporary facilities by the French in the name of progress and civilization.

3.5: Representing the Mandate: *Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris, 1931*

In April 30 1930, there appeared an article in L’Orient, a Beirut based newspaper published in French, with the title “une juste protestation”.²⁰⁶ It informed the reader about the opposition of M. Habib Boustani, a member of the chamber (of commerce most probably), concerning the participation of Lebanon to the Colonial Exposition at Paris to be held the following year. Boustani’s opposition was based on the very title of the occasion since he considered it humiliating for the Lebanese people to be represented among the French colonies. Boustani argued that Lebanon was not a colony but under mandate rule together

²⁰⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, Renseignement et Presse, Carton 1844, Damas, Rapport Trimestriel, 1er Trimestre, 1925, Haut Commissariat de la R.F., Travaux de l’Institut, page 3.

²⁰⁶ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568. See Appendix 1.

with Syria, which was designed to promote economic, social, and political institutions with local collaboration. Independence would follow this process which had been determined as a short term arrangement. Boustani argued that, since the very notion of the mandate was created in opposition to that of the colony, the chamber should not provide any financial support for the exposition until it was guaranteed that Syria and Lebanon would not figure among the French colonies and protectorates. Stressing that the members of the chamber considered the issue a matter of pride, the author of the article warns that this kind of opposition could spread to the public and turn out to be an enormous problem for the French.

This discussion over the issue of the nature of participation to the colonial exposition is one of the most striking examples of the ambivalence that defines the French rule over Syria and Lebanon during the inter-war period. Neither a colony *par excellence* nor a totally autonomous political entity, *Les Etats de Levant* became a contested terrain in terms not only of real politics but also of its official description, classification and representation. Considering the Lebanese opposition to the placing of the Syrian pavilion among the French colonies, a sort of compromise was eventually reached and it was constructed in the section called “Les Participations Etrangères” together with the pavilions of the Portuguese, Dutch, Italian colonies, while Palestine was represented under the British mandate.²⁰⁷ The arrangement aimed to give the impression that Syria was a country developed enough to be able to represent itself, and France was only a mediator, or a supervisor as the mandate power. However, this was hardly more than an illusion since almost everything concerning the Syrian participation to the exposition was conceived, designed and executed by the French with respect to the techniques and principles of representation employed for its colonies. In other

²⁰⁷ *L'Effort Colonial dans le Monde*, p.687; Exposition Coloniale Internationale Paris 1931, Edition de Propagande du Sud-Ouest Economique – No.213 – August 1931. Britain did not participate the exposition except a pavilion for its mandate rule over Palestine, since it was planning during that time to prepare a colonial exposition of its own.

words, placing the Syrian pavilion within the section for foreign participants was nothing more than a delicate formal adjustment in order to quell opposition against the mandate system in general and to foster participation to the exposition in particular. Furthermore, the ways in which the representation of Syria in the colonial exposition was discussed, conceived, contended and executed demonstrate the discursive mechanisms and visual strategies through which the French aimed to legitimize the mandate rule.

The Colonial Exposition of 1931 had its roots in the nineteenth century world fairs. First held in London in 1851, followed by Paris, Vienna and Chicago (to mention only the most spectacular ones) world fairs celebrated the triumph of the west over the world in terms of industry, science, technology and politics. They attracted visitors from all around the world to witness the enormous spectacle of the achievements of western capitalism as well as its respective political domination in the form of colonialism. World fairs also attracted scholars and critics of the twentieth century since they were thought to be the purest manifestations of the political, ideological, economic and visual mechanisms of Western Europe and the U.S.A. Walter Benjamin was one of the first, and perhaps the most influential, critics of the world fairs.²⁰⁸ He perceived them as a crucial means like arcades, Haussmannism or photography, not only for an analysis of the prevailing material and cultural modes of the period but also for unveiling the hidden systems of values and meanings. Toward the end of the twentieth century, world fairs became one of the major topics for the critique of western colonialism and Orientalism. Scholars like Timothy Mitchell strived to demonstrate the representational systems of world fairs that carefully placed the west at the center not only of the exposition space but also of the entire world, whereas the rest of the world was placed at the margins, as political entities that remained backward in

²⁰⁸ Benjamin, Walter; "Paris: The Capital of the Nineteenth Century", *Perspecta*, Vol. 12, 1969, pp. 165-172.

the path to civilization.²⁰⁹ Mitchell also claims that world expositions became extremely influential in determining the representational framework of the nineteenth century world. They were in a mutual relationship with the material and visual culture of everyday life outside the exposition. In other words, the exposition and the “real” world were organized by the same set of political, economic and ideological systems. Thus, the spectator was confronted with the same representational motifs in the form of commercial products, politics or architecture both within and out of the exposition. This blurring of the division between the exposition and the outside world is called by Mitchell as the representational state in which the world turns out to be exposition.²¹⁰ Moreover, the ways in which the Islamic world was depicted in the world fairs through delicate architectural strategies became another object of research during the last few decades. Zeynep Çelik demonstrated the manipulation of architectural styles in order to reflect the European conception of the Islamic world as its polar opposite.²¹¹ While the French tried to depict its civilizing mission in North Africa, and appropriate the architectural heritage of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco for a desired image of the Islamic world as the other, the Ottomans tried to speak back to this discourse by portraying their own image as part and parcel of the civilized world on the one hand, and attempting to organize expositions of their own, on the other. As a result, the world fairs became contested terrains of representation, though with a blatant hegemony of the European cultural, ideological and political tenets concerning the Islamic world. The European image of the Islamic world as a stagnant, backward and decadent civilization was visually represented by means of

²⁰⁹ Mitchell, Timothy, *Colonizing Egypt*, Cambridge University Press, 1988

²¹⁰ Mitchell, p. 10-13.

²¹¹ Çelik, Zeynep, *Displaying The Orient, Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth Century World's Fairs*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1992.

architectural details like the paint of the buildings which was intentionally left dirty in *Rue de Caire* in the 1889 World Exhibition at Paris.²¹²

The colonial sections were one of the most popular sites of the world exhibitions throughout the nineteenth century. The idea of organizing a separate colonial exhibition dates back to the early 1910s; however it could not be realized due to the Great War that erupted in 1914. The major aim of the 1931 Exposition was to celebrate the achievements of the European, mainly French, powers in civilizing and modernizing their colonies. It had, however, the explicitly didactic purpose of demonstrating the dynamics of the colonial world order, and persuading the visitors about the necessity to continue colonization, as expressed by Hubert Lyautey, now a veteran politician and the chief of the organization committee.²¹³ Displaying the good works of the colonizers would, according to Lyautey, function for quelling hostility against colonialism, which was growing at that time not only among the colonized but also among the European intellectuals and artists, who were mostly socialists. It was expected that the fair would increase public support for carrying on the colonial enterprise. A subtle balance, in this respect, was sought in the structuring of the exposition by showing the western contribution to the colonies on the one hand, and demonstrating the innate backwardness and inability of self-rule of the colonized on the other. The latter strategy was visualized by means of the ethnographic and historical objects that suggested the primitive state of the culture of the colonized compared to that of the west. However, the organizers of the exposition aimed at avoiding the exotic and inauthentic representation of the colonies that dominated the nineteenth century fairs. This became a significant problem since exoticism had in the previous exhibitions been the primary factor that shaped the interest of the visitors to the

²¹² Mitchell, p. 1, Çelik, p. 75-79.

²¹³ Morton, Patricia; *Hybrid Modernities, Architecture and Representation at The 1931 Colonial Exposition*, p. 3, 73-78; M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2000.

colonial or oriental pavilions. As a solution to this problem, an amalgamation of exotic and “authentic” strategies was employed through a number of representational tools like dioramas, films, written guides, and architectural expressions.²¹⁴ On the other hand, a linear narrative of the historical mission of the French vis-à-vis its colonies, starting with the crusades, were to be emphasized within a retrospective framework through texts and objects.²¹⁵ In other words, colonialism by now had an archive of its own to display and boast about in the colonial exposition. With the capturing words of Leon Cayla, a well-known French administrator of colonies who served as a deputy of Lyautey during the colonial exhibition, the principal function of the exposition was to illustrate “a retrospective and contemporary synthesis of the immense colonial effort of the French” (*une synthèse rétrospective et contemporaine de l’immense effort colonial de la France*).²¹⁶

Syria and Lebanon were formally invited to join the colonial exposition in April 1927. Considering the federal system of the mandate, the High Commissioner Henri Ponsot informed the semi-autonomous states about the exhibition and demanded information on their capacity to contribute. In October, he sent a letter to Paris stating that Syria and Lebanon accepted to participate to the colonial exhibition as a joint entity.²¹⁷ One of the first activities for the preparation to the exposition was the establishment of a bureau in Paris, with the suggestion of Lyautey,²¹⁸ for the promotion of the French mandate among the French people. It

²¹⁴ Morton, p. 4.

²¹⁵ Morton, p. 74.

²¹⁶ *La Depeche Coloniale*, interview with Leon Cayla, 26 October 1928. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1573.

²¹⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1572.

²¹⁸ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique,

was called the *Office des Etats du Levant Sous Mandat Français*, which functioned as the chief center that dealt with the participation of Syria and Lebanon to the colonial exposition. Pierre Alype, the head of the office, linked the administration of the exposition with Syria and Lebanon, and informed the latter of the rules, regulations and requirements of the exposition. Alype was a specialist on colonial press and propaganda.²¹⁹ He proposed ideas, schemes, and people concerning the ways in which the mandate would be represented, and the execution of necessary works like the construction of the pavilion. Alype had visited the International Exposition of Barcelona in 1929 in order to develop his ideas about the participation of the mandate to the colonial exposition by examining the novel and popular forms of representation.²²⁰ Due to the lack of Oriental pavilions in the Barcelona Exposition (except the unrefined Andalusian motifs of the Spanish pavilion) Alype gained little inspiration in architectural terms. However, he was impressed by the idea of exhibiting contemporary architectural and urban works, which were, in his view, extremely influential in the case of Barcelona. Alype was also impressed by the public interest in aerial photographs of the cities, as well as in local costumes, and works of art, architecture and archeology that were reproduced identically in small scales by means of casting.

An important part of the preparations to the exposition involved the publication of a propaganda brochure for Syria and Lebanon to be distributed to the visitors of the exposition to be offered to the consideration of the literati. The brochure was conceived as an exhaustive informing document comprising three basic issues. One was the impressions of French literary figures like Henry

Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1572, no. 491.

²¹⁹ Fournié, Pierre&Riccioli, Jean-Louis; *La France et Le Proche Orient*, p.31, Casterman, Italy, 1996.

²²⁰ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no 862.

Bordeaux and Myriam Harry concerning the Levant, which they had recently visited.²²¹ Secondly, every issue concerning the mandate such as administration, economy, agriculture, public works, was to be included in the brochure by means of separate sections. These chapters were to be written using the documents and statistics provided by the High Commission in Beirut. The third significant motif of the propaganda brochure was the supply of illustrations which were to have documentary and aesthetic value at once. The resulting publication, in Alype's words, was to be distributed to the national and foreign libraries as a testimony to the efficiency of the mandate (comme un témoignage de l'efficacité du Mandat).²²² The first part of the brochure gave information about the geographical and demographic characteristics of the country with an emphasis upon the natural resources.²²³ It was followed by a section on the French influence in the region. Mandate rule was to be presented by information on the High-Commissioner Ponsot on the one hand, and two views of Beirut one the other. One of the Beirut portraits was to depict an old quarter, the other involved a "*quartier moderne*", blatantly emphasizing the modernizing influence of the French on the country which had not had a proper concept of urbanism before the mandate, as the two contrasting views would suggest. In addition to that, *les oeuvres Françaises* were illustrated by a few examples of the French contribution to the education of the public by means of primary schools and universities, and, to public health by means of dispensaries. The third emphasis was on tourism, which introduced through information on the touristic sites, and archeological and historical centers of curiosity.

²²¹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no 134.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, brochure de propagande, projet d'illustration.

The participation of Syria and Lebanon to the fair was conceived as a means of demonstrating the French contribution to these countries during the mandate period and also well before its establishment. One of the explicit points made was that the French mandate, thanks to its technical capacity and social justice, developed Syria and Lebanon more than any other epoch in history, including that of the Romans.²²⁴ In this respect, agricultural development during the mandate was emphasized by means of an information scheme on the past (chiefly the Roman), the present and future of Syrian agriculture. Hygiene was one of the key points to demonstrate that the French were acting in accordance with the requirements of the mandate by investing in sanitary projects, simultaneously implying the fulfillment of a humanitarian, civilizing mission. Therefore, plans and photographs of the marshy sites that were dried as well as those of the systems of water supply and sewage were displayed in the exhibition.²²⁵ These were supplemented by information on the institutions of health like hospitals and dispensaries together with statistics involving the staff and treated patients. In terms of the public works, an enormous *carte en relief* was prepared to depict the railways, roads, urban centers and agricultural areas in Syria and Lebanon. The model was lighted by means of twenty-five light bulbs that highlighted the French contributions to these networks, centers, and areas. It was also supplemented by fifteen texts to provide information to the visitors. Alype was of the idea that it would be extremely influential, in terms of demonstrating the efficiency of the mandate, to display architectural and urban works done in Damascus, Aleppo, Beirut, Latakia etc. since the beginning of French domination. He also defended the need to stress of connection between the past and the present involving the French presence and contribution in the Levant. The establishment of such a

²²⁴ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.2962.

²²⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.5.339-4.

connection would suggest that the mandate was an extension of the French civilizing mission in the region, rather than being a form of invasion and political hegemony: “.. on insistera sur le rôle que les Français ont joué au levant à travers l’histoire; on invoquera les établissements qu’ils y ont créés; les relations qu’ils ont eues avec les autochtones, afin de suggérer que, par le mandat, la France reste fidèle à sa tradition civilisatrice.”²²⁶ In 1930, a petition was sent to the Chamber of Commerce in Marseille, demanding historical documents on French trade in the Levant.²²⁷ Before this petition, the news of a recently organized conference on tourism in Syria appeared in the *Cahiers du Sud Marseille*.²²⁸ The conference was basically about the role played by the French in the Levant since Charlemagne, and especially after the Crusades, as the protector of the Christians. It consisted of two sections, and tourism proper in Syria was discussed in the second section. The first section was devoted to a discussion of French travelers to Syria in the nineteenth century, like Renan, Lamartine, Chateaubriand as literary figures, Gustave Michaud as a historian of the Crusades, and Maurice Barrés and Henri Bordeaux as some of the recent visitors. It was reported that the common theme among these figures was the stress given to the French civilizing mission in the Levant throughout history.

The exhibition was not an isolated world of representation confined to the area allocated to it, but continued to exert influence upon the visitor in the outside world; or, in Mitchell’s words, “the world turns out to be the exhibition itself.”²²⁹

²²⁶ “We would insist on the role that the French played in the levant throughout history, we would invoke the establishments they have created, the relations they have had with the natives in order to suggest that with the mandate France remains loyal to her civilizing tradition” MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.81.

²²⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568.

²²⁸ “Cahiers du Sud Marseille”, 19 March 1929. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1573.

In this case, the colonial exposition and the conference in Marseille operate within the same conceptual, ideological and historical framework. They handle the issue of French influence in the Levant in a strikingly parallel way, and reach similar conclusions. One aiming at reaching a wider public, other to a limited number of professionals and scholars, these two venues make use of a vast array of historical materials - be it objects, historical documents or travel writing - in the making-up of a coherent portrayal of the French civilizing mission in Syria and Lebanon. They constitute a mutual relationship, together with a series of other representations preceding or following them like nineteenth century travel literature, one gaining legitimacy with reference to the other. I understand this mechanism of representation as the “discourse”, in the sense that Michel Foucault proposed the term, of Orientalism in general and that of the French relationship vis-à-vis the Levant on the basis of the idea of *mission civilisatrice* in the micro level. It is this very discourse that dominates not only the nineteenth century travel literature on Syria but also the *realpolitik* and visual representation of the French mandate during the inter-war period.

In addition to the documents demanded from Marseille, there was a series of objects and documents to be provided by the mandate administration in order to stress the French influence in the region until and during the mandate. It was perceived essential to display texts, graphics and illustrations involving French institutions of charity and education like religious schools and dispensaries that had been established since the eighteenth century. The development of these institutions during the mandate was to be carefully emphasized. Furthermore, the archives of Christian institutions were to be examined to reveal historical documents supporting the thesis of the ongoing French civilizing mission. Even before the participation of Syria and Lebanon was officially confirmed, these activities were also supported and encouraged by the Banque de Syrie et du Grand

²²⁹ Mitchell, p. 12.

Liban, which emphasized the need to display the moral and material interests of France in the Levant during the exposition.²³⁰ In addition, it was carefully implied that France was ruling outstandingly diverse ethnic and religious groups in Syria and Lebanon, magnifying the image of imperial power even further. One of the significant visual materials in this respect was a sort of religion tree of Syria and Lebanon (Figure 5). This was a graphic scheme depicting the demographic distribution of followers of different religions and sects, represented by the branches of a tree and supplemented by numbers above each branch. The tree is conceived as a chronological symbol of humanity in which religions emerge from the main body as separate branches and subdivided into sects in the exact time order as they had emerged in history. There are twenty-four different religious orders, nine belonging to Islam, one to Judaism and the remaining orders to Christianity. Moreover, documents pertaining to the history of Islam and Christianity were to be provided for the exposition. However, the French officials paid a great attention not to offend Islam and its believers, which might cause an opposition to the exhibition. It was stated by Alype that liturgical objects were to be provided, but only those which would not cause dissent among the Muslims.²³¹ For example, Jean Marchand, the painter in charge of the paintings inside the pavilion, proposed to paint the dream of Mohammed, “the miraj,” but he was rejected on the grounds that such a painting would offend the Muslims.²³² Concerning the ethnographic section, a series of objects like costumes, hunting gear, devices of local technology, and religious objects were collected. For example, it was demanded from the Sanjak of Alexandretta different costumes of

²³⁰ . MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1573, letter dated 2 June 1927.

²³¹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.81.

²³² MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.51.

the Kurdish tribes, Alawis, Turcomans, and examples from the hairstyles of the women of the region together with a series of objects like the tools of an ordinary fisherman, carpets, and different types of embroidery.²³³ As Zeynep Çelik and Leila Kinney argue, “the success of the ethnographic displays rested upon their theatrical presentation, in which documentation intermingled with certain kinds of entertainment, deemed culturally authentic.”²³⁴ Although there seems no sign of belly-dance or other kinds of spectacle in the Syrian pavilion, human figures were perceived as essential to the display of costumes, and fifteen people were employed for this purpose. In the archeological and historical section, objects from different epochs of Syrian history, as well as the photographs and miniatures of architectural landmarks were to be displayed. In the section called *La Culture Du Levant*, the aim was to illustrate the contribution of Syrians to Arab culture in terms of scholarly studies in the course especially of the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition to examples from newspapers, periodicals, works of literature, dictionaries and encyclopedias produced by the Syrian literati in this period, rare collections were sought in order to display within this section. The expected audience of *La Culture du Levant* was basically French scholars and travelers who, in Alype’s words, did not know anything beyond North Africa.²³⁵ Ethnographic and historical sections were extremely important in the eyes of the French officials because of their conviction that the objects of contemporary Syria and Lebanon would not attract French visitors due to the backwardness or almost primitive state of industry and agriculture in these countries.²³⁶ Instead, they

²³³ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no 406/50.

²³⁴ Çelik, Zeynep&Kinney, Leila, “Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Expositions Universelles”, p. 39, *Assemblage*, No.13, (Dec.1990) pp.34-59.

²³⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.2092.

thought, history and ethnography were to be highlighted with a stress upon the contacts between the orient and the occident since the middle ages.

The pavilion of *Les Etats de Levant Sous Mandat Français* was designed by Ulysse Moussali, a Lebanese *émigré* living in Paris, on the model of the Azm Palace in Damascus (Figures 6-7-8-9-10). He has collaborated, however, with a number of French officials (Alype and Ponsot most prominently) scholars and many other experts during the design process. In other words, Moussali was not given total freedom; rather, his work was intervened, appropriated and manipulated by these authorities on financial, political and representational grounds. Housing L'Institut Français de Damas during that time, Azm Palace constituted a perfect model for a pavilion which was thought to be more sober, having an easily perceivable vision, compared to the oriental pavilions of the previous expositions, as Alype pondered during his visit to the Barcelona exposition.²³⁷ However, it was apprehended that a restrained pavilion might diminish the public interest, as visitors were accustomed to more pompous oriental pavilions. Albert Tournaire, the chief architect of the exposition, found the initial plans of the pavilion as not skillful enough (*peu habile*) in terms of facade composition.²³⁸ Alype himself stated that an unassuming facade might invite less people: "Un pavilion trop fermé risque de ne pas attirer un public très sollicité par ailleurs. Il convient en proposant, dès l'abord, au passant une vue d'ensemble assez séduisante, de fixer son attention et d'exciter sa curiosité."²³⁹ Apparently,

²³⁶ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1573, Note sur l'exposition coloniale de 1931.

²³⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no 862.

²³⁸ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.815.

²³⁹ "A too restrained façade risks not being sufficiently attractive for the public, already with a low propensity to come. It is convenient to propose from the first approach, a sight charming enough to fix his attention and excite his curiosity." *ibid*.

Moussali did not study the Azm Palace *in situ*, since he demanded detailed photographs of the building more than once, requesting larger pictures.²⁴⁰ He insisted upon close shots in order to obtain a precise model for the reproduction, especially those of the columns and windows, rather than photographs taken with an artistic point of view. The project was conceived in consultation with Eustache de Lorey, the head of the French Institute in Damascus, who seemed to be in agreement with Moussali in terms of the large openings dominating the facade, since, de Lorey thought, such a conception would remind the entrance to the great khans of Aleppo. Meanwhile, the idea of constructing a pavilion consisting solely of *rez-de-chaussée*, probably belonging to the High Commissioner, was rejected by Alype on the grounds that it would destroy the desired aesthetic effect and require a novel plan. In addition to the financial cost, it would diminish the area allocated to Syria and Lebanon in the exposition.

The Syrian pavilion was a two-storeyed, symmetrical structure dotted with a minimum amount of ornament on its facade. The center of the building was defined by a pointed-arch entrance and a projecting tiny balcony above it in the second storey. The two flanks were given coherence by two rectangular windows on each flank in the first storey. There were also slender columns with no structural purpose in this part of the building. The second storey was more austere, pierced only by two small openings on each flank, and the balcony and its portal in the center. There were also two lateral projections, almost totally blind, with small and white domes crowning them. While one of the sides was more massive, except a small aisle with eight small windows and six domes above it, the other side was more transparent with a large portico of pointed arches leading to the shops of the pavilion in the first storey, and a small gallery formed by twelve rhythmical windows in the second. In the interior of the pavilion, there was a rectangular

²⁴⁰ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.224.

courtyard, in line with the dominant residential type of the wealthy in the Eastern Mediterranean, and a pool in its center. The exit was defined by a huge pointed arch, while there were porticoes with pointed arches and Corinthian columns leading to the shops in the sides. Although there was a central dome above the entrance in the original plan, it was eliminated in favor of a flat roof. Moreover, the more visible ornamentation of the frieze in the initial design was given a more stylizing touch during the execution.

The parts of the pavilion which were constructed in steel and concrete would be refragmentable and recomposable. The idea was that it might be reconstructed as a mosque after the exposition, considering the disposition and dimensions of the building. C. L. Brossé, who was an official in Direction des Antiquités of the mandate, proposed that such a mosque could be constructed in Marseille which had a more considerable Muslim population than Paris.²⁴¹ He defended that a decorative style with a certain oriental allure is needed if the pavilion were to be converted to a mosque after the exhibition.

Immediately after entering to the pavilion, in the Grand Salle across the entrance, the visitor encountered an introductory remark in bold characters: "*La France entraine les Etats du Levant sur la voie du progrès.*"²⁴² There were a series of panels that depicted various parts of Syria and Lebanon inside the pavilion. These were executed by Jean Marchand, who had worked out projects inspired by the mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus, and two of them involved Damascus, one involved Aleppo and the other depicted the cities of Orontes, which, Alype says, Maurice Barrés made popular in France.²⁴³ Marchand's works

²⁴¹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1572, Projet Pour l'Exposition Coloniale de Paris en 1931.

²⁴² *ibid.* "France trains the states of the Levant on the way to progress."

²⁴³ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no.51. Also see, Maurice Barrés, *Jardin sur L'Oronte*, Plon, Paris, 1922.

were not only representative and documentative, but also evoking images of the Orient, according to Alype. Moreover, a Paris-based Lebanese artist with a considerable archive, Philippe Mourani, executed panoramas and dioramas on the ancient and contemporary sites of curiosity.²⁴⁴ Three *toiles-diaroma* were depicting the ruins of Baalbeck, those of Palymre, and Antioch respectively. Mourani also rendered a panorama of Damascus that gave the illusion of standing on top of a terrace in the city. In addition, there was a panorama of Beirut which gave the illusion of arriving at the city, executed by a Lebanese *boursier* in Paris named Gemayel. On the other hand, a frieze was painted with historical subjects that were to evoke the French presence in the Levant since the age of Charlemagne, stressing the age of the Crusades (*en faisant aux croisades la part qu'elles méritent*).²⁴⁵ While one side of the pavilion was reserved for the exhibition, the other side would consist of small shops. A room was reserved for the enactment of the typical eighteenth century Levantine life of a wealthy member of the society. Furthermore, a Bedouin tent laden with original objects was set up within the pavilion. Products of local industry promoted by the French were also exhibited.²⁴⁶ Left outside the pavilion was the propaganda film produced to be screened in the colonial exposition. By 1931, film as a medium of visual representation had already taken its place among other visual media employed in the previous expositions like photography and panorama. It had even been dramatically transformed by the late 1930s, if we consider Alype's idea that the propaganda film was to be *sonorisé* since silent films became outmoded by that day. Despite the insistence of the High Commissioner to display the film inside the

²⁴⁴ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1568, no 862.

²⁴⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1572, Projet Pour l'Exposition Coloniale de Paris en 1931.

²⁴⁶ For an exact organization of the rooms of the pavilion and their content, see Appendix 2.

pavilion, it was impossible due to the regulation that all films were to be displayed in the *Cité des Informations* of the exposition.²⁴⁷

The architecture of the pavilion was a success in the eyes of the French officials. A few months before the inauguration, an unsigned note of a high-ranked official, probably Alype, praises its originality, well-situation and sobriety: “...(pavilion) c’est un gros morceau. Bien placé a l’intersection de deux voies importantes, suffisamment dégagées si on ne lui accole pas des restaurants ou des attractions diverses, il présentera, autant qu’on en peut juger dans l’état actuel des travaux une silhouette très neuve, et qui, heureusement, ne ressemblera pas à celles des pavilions orientaux traditionnels, genre “rue du Caire”(quote original) qu’on a vu si souvent figurer aux expositions et qu’on y verra encore cette-fois ci. Ce sera une production originale qui fera honneur à la Syrie et au Liban.”²⁴⁸ The initial aim of constructing a less exotic and more authentic pavilion seems to have been fulfilled, although a delicate balance was sought in order not to deprive the pavilion of picturesqueness and “oriental character” the visitors of the exposition would demand. In fact, the pavilion of *Les Etats de Levant* was one of the most successful enterprises in the colonial exposition in terms of Lyautey’s penchant for authenticity of form and detail in the pavilions, and his ideal of a representative if entertaining exhibition as opposed to the pompous and carnivalesque atmosphere of the previous expositions.²⁴⁹ However, the principal purpose of the Syrian

²⁴⁷ The film was produced by a company called *société pathe consortium cinema*, using 10.000 meters of film. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1572, no 1708.

²⁴⁸ “The façade is a big piece. Properly placed in the intersection of two important roads, sufficiently free if we do not position restaurants or diverse attractions around it, judging from the actual state of works, it will present a novel silhouette and which fortunately would not look like those traditional oriental pavilions, the type of “Cairo street” that we have often seen in the expositions and we would also see in this one. This will be an original production that will honor Syria and Lebanon”, MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1572, Note, Exposition Coloniale, 11 Octobre 1930. Also see the pavilion of the North African colonies (Figure 11).

participation, that is, the demonstration of the French civilizing mission in the Levant and the vitality of this mission, was always kept as the most defining feature, pervading the whole occasion. This has been purely manifested in the capturing passage of the propaganda edition of the exhibition:

“...les Etats du Levant placés sous le mandat Français ont tenu à collaborer dans la plus large mesure possible au vaste effort dont la réalisation heureuse amène à Paris des foules considerables. ..(..).c’est une très sérieuse concrétisation de notre activité dans le Levant...(..). le pavillon des Etats du Levant rappelle aussi, de manière pittoresque et attachante, l’influence des peuples (*the French*) qui ont marqué de leur passage le Liban et La Syrie au cours des dix derniers siècles”.²⁵⁰

The participation of Syria and Lebanon to the Colonial Exposition should be evaluated within a broader representational framework, employed by the French in order to legitimize the mandate rule not only in the eyes of the Syrians but also to the French public and the League of Nations. In other words, it was part and parcel of a comprehensive mechanism of visual representation which manifested itself through architectural and urban works, archeological excavations, official reports to the League of Nations, activities of the scholarly establishments, and the colonial exposition. Any analysis that treats these mechanisms as separate projects or implementations remains inadequate to understand the discourse of French colonialism and its peculiar manifestations in Syria during the mandate. It is essential, in this respect, to scrutinize architecture and urbanism of the mandate period in Antioch and Alexandretta with reference to the ways in which diverse

²⁴⁹ Morton, p. 177.

²⁵⁰ “ the states of the Levant placed under the French mandate have collaborated at the largest extent possible and the realization of this vast effort brought to Paris considerable masses ... This is a very serious concretization of our activities in the Levant. This pavilion of the States of Levant remind also in a picturesque and engaging way the influence of the peoples (the French) who have left their marks in Lebanon and Syria by their passage in the course of these last ten centuries”, *L’Effort Colonial dans le Monde*, p. 829.

forms of visual apparatus were employed by the French as part of a colonialist rhetoric of civilization.

CHAPTER IV

AN INCOMPLETE PROJECT: Architecture and Urbanism in Alexandretta and Antioch

4.1: The Sanjak of Alexandretta: *An Overview of Political History*

As a territorial and political entity, Sanjak of Alexandretta is an invention of the post-war international and military power balance of the late 1910s. Instead of being an inherently contested territory that inevitably became a source of tension after the war, as national historiographies largely hold, the making-up of the sanjak has much to do with the Ottoman lines of defense still hold when the treaty of cease-fire was enacted in October 1918.²⁵¹ The Ottoman army was still controlling the region of Iskenderun up to the Orontes, slightly north of Antioch. According to the Turkish point of view, the lines controlled by their army would define their future boundaries (Misak-ı Milli) and therefore they were trying to control the unoccupied regions to the south, trying to capture Antakya and Reyhaniye. Although these attempts proved to be futile, the region remained as a source of a certain irredentism for Turkey, whose president, Mustafa Kemal, had been serving as the commander of the Ottoman army in the region during that time, and claiming an even larger territory extending to Latakia in the south and Aleppo in the east for the control of his army on demographical grounds.²⁵²

In the late 1919, when the war was going on between Turkey and France in Cilicia, an autonomous Sanjak of Alexandretta was established for the first time by the French, in line with its policy of dividing the country in ethnic and local lines

²⁵¹ Yerasimos, Stephanos, *Milliyetler ve Sınırlar*, p.179-180, transl. by Şirin Tekeli, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1994.

²⁵² Yerasimos, p. 181.

(*balcanization*, according to Serhan Ada) to facilitate control over Syria.²⁵³ It was attached to the Government of Aleppo in September 1920, without being deprived of its administrative autonomy. A peculiar administrative regime for the sanjak was later confirmed by the Franco-Turkish treaty of 1921 in which Turkish language was accepted as an official language.²⁵⁴ According to the official historiography in Turkey, sanjak was temporarily sacrificed for the sake of a treaty with France which would secure the recognition of the Ankara government on the one hand, and provide an opportunity to consolidate power, on the other.²⁵⁵ For the French, however, an autonomous sanjak would provide a subtle means to manipulate against Arab nationalism, which was their chief problem, and Turkish expansionism at once. Formerly consisting of four *cazas*, Alexandretta, Antioch, Harim and Beylan, the boundaries of the sancak were eventually fixed in 1921 with the exception of Harim, having an overwhelmingly Arab population. This territorial appropriation increased the rate of the Turcophones from 28% to 38.9%, having a tremendous impact – considering the self-determination principle- upon the turbulent years of the late 1930s, as a result of which the sanjak was annexed by Turkey.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Ada, Serhan, *Türk-Fransız İlişkilerinde Hatay Sorunu*, p.83, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005.

²⁵⁴ Khoury, Philip, *Syria and The French Mandate*, p.496, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1987; Ada, p.83; Pehlivanlı, H., Sarıay, Y., Yıldırım, H., *Türk Dış Politikasında Hatay(1918-1939)*, p. 34, ASAM Yayınları, Ankara, 2001; Yerasimos, p.186; Khadduri, Majid, “The Alexandretta Dispute”, p. 406-408, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol.39, No.3 (July 1945) pp.406-425.

²⁵⁵ Sarıay, H. and others, p.38; Sökmen, Tayfur, *Hatay'ın Kurtuluşu İçin Harcanan Çabalar*, p. 60-63, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara, 1978; Melek, Abdurrahman, *Hatay Nasıl Kurtuldu*, p. 7-8, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1966.

²⁵⁶ Demographical make-up of the sanjak was constantly a matter of debate throughout the mandate. There are myriad of studies carried out to determine the number of people according to religious and ethnic affiliation. Rather than the numbers itself, interpretation of these census was a source of tension, since Alawites, who constituted a considerable portion, were claimed both by

Although financially and administratively autonomous, the sanjak of Alexandretta was politically tied to Syria, and this was carefully emphasized by the French. In 1923, an assistant delegate (délégué adjoint) of the High Commissioner was appointed to the sanjak, having an ultimate authority over the administrative affairs, which were entrusted to the mutasarrif in principle.²⁵⁷ This post was taken up by Pierre Durieux, who served for fourteen years, and who had graduated from L'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes with a degree on Persian, Arabic and Turkish.²⁵⁸ Having served in Jerusalem, Tangiers and Damascus as an interpreter, Durieux became an extremely influential figure for the sanjak throughout his service. While the financial and administrative autonomy of the sanjak was confirmed by the French in a number of occasions²⁵⁹, its status became an increasingly disputed issue by the mid-1930s together with the increasing representation of Arab nationalism in the Syrian Parliament on the one hand and the resurgent Turkish involvement with the region on the other. The discussion over the issue of the representation of the sanjak in the Colonial Exposition is an illustrative example of its contested and ambiguous status. While there was a certain demand for an independent room of the pavilion for the sanjak, expressed by Durieux, it was rejected by Damascus in favor of the idea that the sanjak should take place in the room for *Etats de Syrie*. Durieux further insisted to be displayed in the room reserved for Latakia (the Alawite state), it was also

Turks and Arabs. Among many census, one carried out in 1925 states: Turks, 37%(47,445), Alawites, 28%(36, 968), Shiites 20%(26.793), Arabs, 11%(14,482), Yerasimos, p. 188.

²⁵⁷ The French did not change the administrative divisions as well as the administrative posts of the Ottomans, though the nature of these divisions and posts were transformed. *Sancak* was divided into *cazas*, which were, in turn, divided into *nahiyes*. The administrative posts were mutasarrif, kaymakam and mudir, respectively. See Altuğ, Seda, *Between National and Colonial Dominions, Antioch Under the French Mandate*, p.78, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Bogazici University, 2002.

²⁵⁸ Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, Tome Douzieme, Paris-VI Libraire Letouzey et Ane, 1970.

²⁵⁹ Except that it paid 5% of its income as a tribute to Syria, the sanjak was almost completely independent financially. Ada, p.85.

rejected by the High Commissioner, as well as the Syrians who were keen on displaying the sanjak as an integral part of Syria.²⁶⁰ Another issue that created tension between the Arabs, not only those inhabiting in the sanjak but also in other provinces of Syria and Lebanon, and the Turks was the official language of the sanjak. For example, during an official meeting in 1929, the speeches were delivered in Turkish by the Mutasarrif of Alexandretta and the Mayor of Antioch, which was severely criticized by the Arab press on the grounds that the sanjak was an Arab province, therefore the speeches were to have been delivered in Arabic.²⁶¹ Furthermore, there was a certain tension between Alexandretta and Antioch, since while the former was more inclined to remain a part of Syria with its population mostly composed of Arabs and Christians, there was a Turkish majority in Antioch and its vicinity. This was crystallized with a series of petitions in 1930 by the notables of Antioch, mostly Turks, for the relocation of the center of the sanjak from Alexandretta to Antioch, as well as the counter-petitions of the Alexandrettines, mostly Christians and Arabs, demanding the maintenance of the status-quo.²⁶² While the merchants and notables of Aleppo were in favor of the status-quo, those of Kırıkhan supported the demands Antioch during these discussions. Although both parties presented several arguments on financial, economic and social grounds, it seems that the real motive behind this struggle was political concerning the future of the sanjak after the mandate. The status-quo was eventually preserved, but, nonetheless, this process shows the inherent conflicts within the sanjak, which reappeared more violently toward the end of the decade.

²⁶⁰ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1572, no. 11292, Délégué de Beyrouth a Haut Commissaire; and no.421/38, Durieux a Haut Commissaire.

²⁶¹ Tekin, Mehmet, *Halefzade Süreyya Bey*, p.30, Kultur Bilgi İşlem Basımevi, Antakya, 1993.

²⁶² MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Inv.5, Carton, 545, no. 627/ES/2, no. 561/ES/2, and, no.284/5.

In 1936, a treaty was signed between the French and Syrian delegates in Paris concerning the end of the mandate within three years and granting of independence to Syria.²⁶³ Although the treaty was not applied due to the conflict over its terms as well as the approaching war in Europe, it became a watershed for the future of the sanjak. Disturbed by the possibility of the inclusion of the sanjak to an independent Syria, Turkey launched a diplomatic attack demanding guarantee for the preservation of the special status of the Sanjak of Alexandretta. Initially, there was no Turkish claim for the annexation of the sanjak, at least on the surface. It is neither the aim nor the intention of this chapter to narrate the rather well-known events that led to the annexation of the sanjak to Turkey. It suffices to say that the sanjak first became an independent state in the name of Hatay²⁶⁴ in 1938, and joined Turkey in the following year. However, it would be illuminating to have a concise look at the historiography of these events, since they dominate almost all historical narratives of the sanjak until the last decade or so.

The first chapter of this thesis attempted to demonstrate the ways in which Antioch was narrated and represented in western historiography and travel writing. The echo of the annexation of the sanjak to Turkey is, on the other hand, more diverse in different national historiographies. One of the most commonly agreed interpretations of the French submission to Turkish demands on the sanjak is that it was seen as extremely important by the French to secure Turkish neutrality, if not alliance, in case of a war with the Germans.²⁶⁵ It was also feared that Turkey had enough military power to invade not only the sanjak but also the whole Northern Syria in case of the refusal of their demands, which would diminish the

²⁶³ Khoury, pp. 485-493.

²⁶⁴ *Hatay* was invented by Mustafa Kemal as a term that was supposed to refer to the Hitites and their kinship with the Turks in remote antiquity, along with a number of other historical theses to support this theory.

²⁶⁵ Khoury, p. 494, Yerasimos, p. 199,

already declining prestige of the French in Syria.²⁶⁶ However, the French inability to resist Turkish irredentism was not only protested by the Syrians, on the grounds that the annexation was an anathema to the legal framework of the mandate which specified whole of Syria as integral and undividable, but also some French who had bitterly opposed to giving-up of the sanjak.²⁶⁷ While the sanjak affair was relatively unimportant for the French considering its greater imperial concerns, it left a terribly disappointing mark upon Syrian nationalists, who perceived the loss as not only of the most developed port of the country, but also of a territory that was a very part of the nation. The *Alexandrette affair* also attracted scholars of political science and international law considering the fact that it was one of the rare examples which was, at least formally, concluded within the institutional framework of the League of Nations.²⁶⁸ On the other hand, Turkish historiography on Hatay (Alexandretta and Antioch) is laden with narratives of the political events during the late mandate period, while the Ottoman and pre-Ottoman periods were largely neglected. There are a myriad of studies which were mostly produced during the years following the secession, on the one hand, and during the last decade, on the other. Whereas the initial studies were based on the aim of demonstrating the efforts for integrating the sanjak with Turkey,²⁶⁹ recent studies are more oriented toward contextualizing the sanjak affair within the Turkish international policy in the inter-war years.²⁷⁰ Both kind of studies voice the official attitude in Turkey which holds that the annexation ended the sufferings of the

²⁶⁶ Khoury, p. 509.

²⁶⁷ See for example, Du Véou, Paul, *Le Desastre d'Alexandrette*, Editions Baudinière, Paris, 1938.

²⁶⁸ Khadduri, *ibid*.

²⁶⁹ Sökmen, *ibid*; Melek, *ibid* .

²⁷⁰ Pehlivanlı and others, *ibid*; Ada, *ibid*; Güçlü, Yücel, *The Question of the Sanjak of Alexandretta: A Study in Turkish-French-Syrian Relations*, Turkish Historical Society Printing House, Ankara, 2001.

Turks under the French rule, heavily relying on documentary evidences especially involving the recent works. This attitude has recently been criticized by Cemil Koçak in terms of their selective and manipulative readings of the documents on the one hand, and their official ideological agenda, on the other.²⁷¹ Serhan Ada's study is a revisionist attempt that tries to keep a certain distance from the official historiography of the sanjak, though his book is a strictly political history.²⁷² Social and cultural history of the sanjak became a marginal issue in mainstream historiography except a series of studies by the Antioch-based researcher Mehmet Tekin, and a recent study on Antioch by Seda Altuğ.²⁷³ However, in my view, it is through an analysis of the social, cultural, urban, and architectural characteristics of the mandate period that would better situate and contextualize any history of this outstandingly peculiar region during the interwar period.

4.2: The Port of Alexandretta

If there was a single factor that made the city of Alexandretta extremely significant during the mandate, it was its deep-water port, the best of Syria at that time. Even before the French rule, Alexandretta was one of the considerable ports of the Eastern Mediterranean, despite the fact that the city never developed respectively, and remained as a small town. The major obstacle to the development of the city was its insalubrious climate generated by the swampy sites that dominated the large parts of the inhabitable area.²⁷⁴ During the nineteenth century,

²⁷¹ Koçak, Cemil; *Review of Serhan Ada's Türk Fransız İlişkilerinde Hatay Sorunu*, <http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/742/1/3011800000180.pdf>.

²⁷² Ada, *ibid.*

²⁷³ Tekin, Mehmet, *Halefzade...*, Altuğ, Seda, *Between National and Colonial Dominions*.

²⁷⁴ According to Eyüp Özveren, the basic difference between Beirut, which became a port-city *par excellence* during the nineteenth century, and Alexandretta was, in fact, the difference between Damascus and Aleppo, the chief purveyors of the ports of Beirut and Alexandretta respectively. While Damascus remained close to the foreigners until the Egyptian invasion of 1830s, Aleppo was

the port of Alexandretta was marginalized due first to a severe earthquake in 1822, and subsequently to the opening-up of the Suez Canal in 1869.²⁷⁵ Conforming to the demand of the French embassy for the rehabilitation of the port, the Ottomans built a new quay in 1863 to promote trade via Alexandretta.²⁷⁶ Toward the end of the century, the port acquired some significance again. However, this was disabled during 1900s by the construction of Aleppo-Beirut railroad, which diverted the commercial traffic to the port of Beirut.²⁷⁷ In 1910, Germany was given the concession for constructing an extension of the Bagdad railroad to Alexandretta, the Toprakkale-Alexandretta line. This was extended by a concession to build a port with contemporary facilities in Alexandretta, which was granted to the Haydarpaşa Port Company. Although the railroad was completed in 1913, no construction for the port had been undertaken when the war broke out in 1914.

Shortly after consolidating its rule over Alexandretta, the French started to be involved with the port by searching for the ways to modernize it as soon as possible. In August 1920, a copy of the agreement between the Bagdad Railroad Company and a certain David Lorimer was sent to the High Commissioner Gouraud.²⁷⁸ According to this agreement, the company guaranteed the construction of a number of buildings for Lorimer in return for which he transferred a couple of estates to the company. Due to the unfulfillment of the

always a more cosmopolitan city with a considerable foreign population and consulates. In other words, Aleppo was a port city in the desert, Alexandretta being its natural outpost, thus remained insignificant as a city. Ozveren, Eyüp, "Beirut", p. 470, in Review, Special Issue: *Port-Cities in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Fall 1993.

²⁷⁵ Beşirli, Mehmet, "Haydarpaşa Liman Şirketine Verilen İskenderun Limanı İnşa ve İşletme İmtiyazı ve Liman Tarifesi," p. 180, in, Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Sayı 11, pp. 179-203, Konya, 2004.

²⁷⁶ Beşirli, p. 180.

²⁷⁷ In 1909, 40% of the Aleppo trade passed through Alexandretta, while it was 60% for Beirut. The ratio for the following year is 25% to 75% respectively. Beşirli, p.182.

²⁷⁸ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 3e versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 231, no 43103.

articles of the agreement, that is, no building was constructed by the company, Lorimer demanded a compensation for his loss. Gouraud rejected this petition on the grounds that no company to succeed the Bagdad Railroad existed at that time. In May 1921, the French transferred the concession regarding the port of Alexandretta to the mandate administration, and granted it to the *Société d'Etudes pour le Port d'Alexandrette*, a French consortium, in November.²⁷⁹ After having completed the urgent works for the functioning of the port like the renovation of the quay, and the railroad from the port to the train station, the consortium involved with the construction of new buildings, hangars, and a lighthouse.²⁸⁰ By the end of 1938, more than ten million francs was spent for the modernization of the port.²⁸¹ In return, the port brought a total profit of 5,818,464 francs between 1923 and 1938. Commercial movement in the port of Alexandretta respectively increased during the same period. In 1913, 50,426 tons of goods passed through the port. It dramatically decreased to 11,916 tons in 1920 due to the devastating effects of the Great War. However, by 1930, it reached the amount of 132,299, 83,975 being the imports and 48,324 the exports. In 1936, the numbers are 146,596, 69,516, and 77,080 respectively (Figure 12).²⁸²

As was pointed out in the previous chapter, concessionary societies played a considerable role in the implementation of public works that sometimes remained beyond their founding principles. *Société du Port D'Alexandrette* also contributed to a number of public works in the region. One was the renovation and

²⁷⁹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 3e versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 231, Note sur le Port d'Alexandrette, 1921-1938, p.5.

²⁸⁰ Two buildings for the imports, one for exports, one for transit goods, and two hangars for combustible materials constructed until 1938. *ibid*, p.15.

²⁸¹ The exact sum is 10,228,927 francs, of which 1,930,208 was provided by the French Government, 917,360 by the Syrian State, 2,249,102 by the Sanjak, 3,309,365 by the profits of the ports, and 1,882,927 by the Société du Port. *ibid*, p. 20.

²⁸² *ibid*, p. 27.

enlargement of the Alexandretta-Aleppo road, which was vital to the traffic of the port.²⁸³ Its major contribution, however, involved the drying-up of the swampy sites of the center of Alexandretta, which was a crucial problem for the future of the city.

4.3: Architecture and Urbanism: *The City of Alexandretta*

(Referring to the young French couple he met around Alexandretta in 1914). “Tous deux, ces jeunes gens, étaient bien les représentants de l’Occident, qui n’accepte pas les fatalités, qui croit que l’on peut dessécher les marais, construire les routes, éviter les fièvres, au moins le guérir.” Maurice Barres, *Enquete aux pays du Levant*²⁸⁴

The unhealthy climate of Alexandretta caused by the swampy sites that dominated the heart of the city was a common theme among the western travelers who visited the city during the last centuries of the Ottoman Empire. It was also emphasized that Alexandretta could become a significant center of commerce if the city could be recovered from its swampy sites. Considering the neglect of this problem, there appears a criticism of the Ottoman Empire, implicitly or explicitly expressed, and the Ottoman people and their world view in these travel narratives.²⁸⁵ This alleged lethargy of the Ottomans does not seem totally plausible

²⁸³ *ibid*, p.28.

²⁸⁴ “Both of these two young persons were the representatives of the Occident, who do not accept fatalities, who believe that we can dry out the swamps, construct roads, avoid fevers or at least combat against it”, Barrés, p. 26.(Also quoted in Chapter I, Footnote, 81.)

²⁸⁵ Also consider Poujoulat’s account: “..Alexandrette appelée aujourd’hui Scanderun....Scanderun n’est qu’un misérable village d’environ deux cents habitants, arméniens, grecs, ansariens, turcs....Scanderun est bâti au milieu de marais infects; la fièvre maligne y réside, et chaque année le nombre de ses victimes est effrayant. Il ne faut pas songer à demander au gouvernement turc de dessécher ces marais, de transporter Scanderoun sur les hauteurs voisines où les habitants

considering the efforts for the rehabilitation of the port throughout the nineteenth century. Furthermore, it seems evident that there was a certain bureau for the drying-up of the swampy sites in Alexandretta at least in 1909.²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, when the French took over the city, Alexandretta was still full of large swampy sites that terribly harmed the sanitary conditions as well as rendering any program of a comprehensive urbanism impossible. The swampy sites therefore became the primary concern of French urbanism in the city especially in the course of the first decade of the mandate.

There were a number of actors that served in the process of the cleaning up of the interior of the city. Immediately after the arrival of the French, in June 1919, a commission of hygiene was constituted by the military initiative, and this commission started the preliminary works on the problem of swampy sites.²⁸⁷ After the establishment of the political order, the issue was taken up by the *Service de Travaux Publics* in 1922; and the following year, an independent *Commission de Comblement des Marais* was created. Furthermore, the concessionary company called *Société du Port d'Alexandrette* contributed to the cleaning up of a number of sites throughout the process.

respireraient un air pur; une telle insouciance est d'autant plus déplorable que la Méditerranée n'a pas une plus belle rade que celle de Scanderoun; si on voulait prendre la peine d'assainir ce rivage, une cité nouvelle y fleurirait bien vite; Alexandrette, le port d'Alep, deviendrait tout à coup alors une place de commerce importante." "Alexandretta is called Scanderun today... Scanderun is nothing but a miserable town of approximately two hundred inhabitants, Armenians, Greeks, Ansarians and Turks. Scanderun is built in the middle of infectious swamps, the bad fever resides there and each year the number of its victims is frightening. We should not think of asking the Turkish government to clean up these swamps, to transport Scanderun on neighboring heights where the inhabitants could breathe a pure air. Such an unconcern is so regrettable considering the fact that the Mediterranean does not have a similarly beautiful harbor to that of Scanderun. If we wanted to clean up this shore, a new city would immediately flourish. Alexandretta, the port of Alep would become suddenly an important place for commerce" Michaud, J.F.&Poujoulat B.; *Correspondance d'Orient, 1830-31*; Tome VIII, p.9, Bruxelles, 1841.

²⁸⁶ Tekin, p. 167.

²⁸⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 3e versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 231, Note sur le port d'Alexandrette, 1921-1938, p.34.

During the initial years, swampy sites were dealt with fragmentarily, initially by the military, and subsequently by the mandate administration. In 1926, a comprehensive project was prepared, and it was applied between 1928 and 1931 as long as the resources allowed.²⁸⁸ The major problem involved discharging the marshy water which came from the mountains and stay within the city due to the absence of any mechanism to divert it to the sea. The first interventions were the drying up of the constant lakes of water and marsh within the city by filling them with sea sand on the one hand, and planting trees on the other. The most favorite type of tree was eucalyptus, which was occasionally distributed to people to plant in front of their houses. Acacias and plane trees were also favored. Since the soil was mainly composed of sand, a great amount of cultivable soil was transported to the city, especially for the establishment of the *jardin public*, an integral part of the sanitary and urban program. Toward the end of the 1920s, the process became more sophisticated by means of the construction of main and subsidiary canals in *beton-armé* (Figure 13). These were entrusted to private enterprises like that of a certain Giovanni Rosazza, and M. Katchdorian, both of whom also undertook several works of architecture and urbanism in the sanjak. Another significant implementation involved the sewage system, which was vital to the functioning of the grand arteries as well as the secondary roads.

Drying up of the swampy sites was seen by the French as an integral part of the politics of hygiene. Investments on sanitary institutions like hospitals and dispensaries as well as the employment of professional doctors and nurses were presented under the same discourse of the French *oeuvre* of civilizing mission through the improvement of health conditions. Initially, the existing hospital was rehabilitated in 1925, and later it was converted into a prison following the completion of the new hospital of fifty beds with contemporary facilities, which

²⁸⁸ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Inv.5, Carton 545, Affaires Politiques, Exemplaire des Archives, Sandjak d'Alexandrette, 1937.

was constructed in March 1928 (Figure 14).²⁸⁹ Costing two million francs, this hospital treated fifteen thousand cases per year.²⁹⁰ The outcome of these works was reported annually, and interpreted by the decrease in the number of diseases, mostly malaria, and deaths caused by these diseases. Even in 1923, it was reported that the sanitary conditions were improved, and death rate from malaria considerably decreased.²⁹¹ All these were achieved, according to the French point of view, despite the indifference of the local population. It is therefore a purely French achievement, a work of civilization: “L’assainissement des marais est une oeuvre civilisatrice, modeste en apparence, qui fait honneur à tous ce qui se sont attachés avec persistance à la réaliser sous mandat Français.”²⁹² It is also represented with reference to the accounts of the travelers to the city regarding the sanitary conditions before and after the French rule. The 1938 report on the port of Alexandretta and the marshy sites of the city quotes the words of Doctor Lortet, the Dean of the Faculty of Lyon who visited the region in 1875. Lortet describes the inhabitants of Alexandretta as *misérables*, who were dying from typhoid, dysentery, or malaria due to the unhealthy climate and insalubrious quarters.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Sandjak Autonome d’Alexandrette, Rapport pour le 1er Trimestre de l’année 1928.

²⁹⁰ This hospital was mentioned during the struggle between Alexandretta and Antioch for being the center of the sandjak in a somewhat ironic manner. While the notables of Alexandretta boasted having such a modern hospital, and presented it as a superiority of their city over Antioch, the notables of the latter claimed that this hospital was constructed because of the various diseases caused by the unhealthy climate of Alexandretta, contrary to the agreeable climate of Antioch. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Inv.5, Carton, 545, no, 627/ES/2, and no. 561/ES/2.

²⁹¹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1839, Le Sandjak Autonome d’Alexandrette en 1923.

²⁹² “Cleaning up of the marshes is a work of civilization, modest in appearance, which honors all those who have been attached with persistence to its realization under French mandate” MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 3e versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 231, Note sur le port d’Alexandrette, 1921-1938, p.38.

²⁹³ Ibid.

However, Alexandretta became such an agreeable city that it would be impossible, the report says, for a traveler in 1938 to have an idea of that insalubrious city of the pre-French years.²⁹⁴

As discussed in the previous chapter, there were a number of legal actors that contributed to the remaking of Syrian cities during the mandate, instead of a single executive authority. Although the municipalities that were led by the local figures had a certain power to undertake public works, their projects had to be approved by the délégué of the High Commissioner, who in turn could propose plans and projects to be implemented. Architectural and urban policy of the mandate determined by the High Commission in Beirut was also decisive of the ways in which the local powers would function. Likewise, the impact of the North African colonies of the French as well as that of Paris itself is apparent in the sanjak just like in the rest of Syria.²⁹⁵ This complex interplay of various actors and influences worked to transform the city of Alexandretta during the mandate in a much greater scale than the rest of the sanjak. When the French took over the city, Alexandretta was a small town of a few thousand people, who were basically dependent upon the port. There were a number of districts which were somewhat sporadically placed inside the city without the existence of a coherent urbanism, which was rendered impossible by the swampy sites. Alexandretta had, however, a considerable economical and tourism potential to be exploited, as well as being a city suitable for large scale urban interventions due to the lack of a substantial patrimony of architecture, as opposed to the case of Antioch.

²⁹⁴ References to the travelers before and after the French rule is very common in French documents in order to emphasize the progress achieved during the mandate in terms of urbanism and sanitary conditions. Also consider the photo of Latakia in Figure 4.

²⁹⁵ A report on the public works in Northern Syria includes in its attachment a brochure that came from Paris titled *la rédaction des projets* which dated 1850. It also includes in the same manner a booklet on municipal regulations that came from Morocco.

Especially during the first decade of the mandate, the French administration strived to provide the city with contemporary facilities like electricity, water supply, and sewage network. When the French took over Syria and Lebanon in 1920, Beirut and Damascus were the only cities that had electricity. In the first day of March 1925, it was introduced to the roads and some households in Alexandretta, the network being considerably extended during the years 1935 and 1936.²⁹⁶ In 1928 and 1929, the network of water supply was implemented by a French concessionary company which was simultaneously operating in Antioch.²⁹⁷ Moreover, construction of a sewage system went hand in hand with the drying up of the swampy sites, and therefore it was gradually extended. On the other hand, the French tried to establish the principles of modern urbanism and municipal administration in order to control, regulate, and reorder the city life. The presence of the state authority was manifested through practices like surveillance of prostitution,²⁹⁸ elimination of the wandering cats and dogs,²⁹⁹ or the regulation of the slaughtering of animals by constructing a slaughterhouse with contemporary facilities.³⁰⁰ Initially, however, the most urgent task was seen

²⁹⁶ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1844, Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l'année 1925; MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 364, Note au Sujet d'un emprunt pour la mise en valeur de la Syrie.

²⁹⁷ The project of exploiting a source near the village called Karasu met a severe opposition of the inhabitants of the village. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 2e trimestre de l'année 1928.

²⁹⁸ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1839, Rapport Annuel de la Direction Generale de l'Hygiene et Assistance Publique, 1925.

²⁹⁹ In the second quarter of 1927, 216 dogs were destructed by the municipality. The third quarter saw the destruction of 349 dogs, while in the first quarter of 1928, 7 cats were killed along with 150 dogs. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1845, Rapport pour le 2e trimestre de l'année 1927; Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1927; Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l'année 1928.

³⁰⁰ The slaughterhouse was constructed in 1934. *Rapport a la Société des Nations sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban (Année 1934)*, p.118, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1935.

as connecting Alexandretta with the neighboring centers like Antioch and Aleppo through auto routes and railroads in order to facilitate the flow of goods on the one hand, and to promote tourism on the other. The remaking of the Antioch-Alexandretta road was pursued in 1922 and 1923, while the Aleppo-Alexandretta road was completed in 1927. Other centers of the sanjak like Suveydiye (ancient Seleucia Pieria, contemporary Samandağ) were also connected to Alexandretta, with stopovers on the roads constructed for the travelers.³⁰¹

During the initial years, almost all of the personnel employed by the French administration as well as the municipality were engineers and other technical experts on road construction, drying up of the swampy sites, or other kinds of technical works. Even in later years, there is no evidence of the employment of an architect by the sanjak administration, except those who were employed for the service of antiquities. An exception was a certain M.Kovalski, who was attached to the sanjak for the construction of the Palace of Justice, and Antioch High School.³⁰² Instead, it was generally the case that the projects were entrusted to private enterprises that had their own architects and engineers executing projects for buildings and other public works. Most of these engineers Lebanese Christians some of whom had been educated in France, some of them were French and a considerable number of others were Armenians.³⁰³ There is limited information on their backgrounds except a few of them who were hired by

³⁰¹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1845, Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l'année 1927.

³⁰² MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 2e trimestre de l'année 1928.

³⁰³ In 1937, the head of the *Comité central des réfugiés arméniens*, M. Tchobanian, proposed M.Bedevian to the post of *architect-urbanist de sanjak* to the High Commission. Bedevian studied urbanism at Bruxelles with the scholarship provided by Boghos Nubar Foundation. He was described by Tchobanian as "honest and laborious, enthusiastic and devoted, a good Armenian and fervent admirer of France and the French culture". However, this request must have been declined due to the proclamation of the independence of the sanjak next year, and its annexation by Turkey in 1939. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cbinet Politique, Inv.18, Carton, 517, no.707, Au Sujet de M.Bedevian, candidat au poste d'urbanist du Sandjak d'Alexandrette.

the French administration. It is usually the case that only the name of the owners of the enterprises was mentioned in the French documents instead of the architects or engineers who executed the projects. The most active entrepreneurs who carried out projects in the sanjak were Habib Manoukian, Spir Machta, Shéhadé Samaha, Issa Annouza, Makhoul Kassouf, Georges Moussalem, Dib Antoun, M.Auboire, Leon Benjuda, and Giovanni Rosazzi.³⁰⁴ These entrepreneurs were seemingly not based in the sanjak, but were undertaking works throughout Syria and Lebanon. There are three other entrepreneurs who were active in Aleppo in the early 1920, when the sanjak was part of a state of Aleppo, although it had some kind of an autonomous status. These are Costa Saroit, Micaélian frères, Arparian Company.³⁰⁵ It looks like very hard to find information on the personnel these entrepreneurs employed, nevertheless, it can be said that most of them were of engineering background. On the other hand, some impressions can be obtained regarding the ethnic and educational background of the personnel employed by the French administration in the sanjak.

During the first years of the mandate, there were a limited number of personnel employed by the bureau of public works in Alexandretta. The first director of the public works was an engineer called M. Djabri Bey. One of the engineers attached to him, an Armenian called M. Katchdorian, was involving with the drying up of the swampy sites.³⁰⁶ A professor in L'Ecole Française d'Ingenieurs in Beirut, M.Jacquet was active in the sanjak in 1926 through some projects like the reparations in the Governor's House in Antioch and construction of a building for the representative council and a hospital with fifty beds in

³⁰⁴ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1928; Carton 1848, Rapport pour le 2e trimestre de l'année 1929; Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1929.

³⁰⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1843, Raport Trimestriel, 1924, Alep.

³⁰⁶ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 2e Versement, Inv.21, Carton, 354, Compte Rendu de Tournée, 1921.

Alexandretta.³⁰⁷ In 1928, it was reported that one of the engineers of the bureau of public works called M.Tarrab left his post for studying in Ecole de Chaussees et Ponts in Paris.³⁰⁸ The most well-known figure who worked in the sanjak for a while was Michel Ecochard who designed the Museum of Antioch, which will be discussed below in the section devoted to archeology in the sanjak. Some of the other figures who worked for the bureau of public works in the sanjak were M.Coste and M.Humbert. Furthermore, there were a number of personnel of Russian origin who worked for the cadastral surveys in Syria. Cadastral survey of the country was given a considerable importance by the French on the grounds that it would secure a planned urbanism. It would also regulate property rights, especially in the countryside, thus rendering a regular tax system possible. The surveys were undertaken throughout Syria and Lebanon by the mid-1920, and went on until the end of the mandate. In this process, several Russian technicians who had served in Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution were employed.³⁰⁹ They were regarded as outstandingly skilled men in cadastral surveys, therefore brought from Serbia where they were residing around 1925. One such expert who served in the sanjak around 1928 was called M. Waligorski.³¹⁰

The aim of emphasizing this diversity of the figures in terms of their ethnic and educational background is to point out the lack of a comprehensive program urbanism during the French mandate, as opposed to the case of Algeria or

³⁰⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1840, Sanjak Autonome d'Alexandrette, Rapport Annuel pour l'Exercice 1926, no 2/10.

³⁰⁸ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 4e trimestre de l'année 1928.

³⁰⁹ References for eleven of these experts were presented to the High Commissioner. Some of these names are: Serge Ermouski, Georges Doukchinsky, Zev Sopotzko, and Basil Neranoff. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Affaires Diverses, 1920-1940, Inv.8, Carton, 876, Travaux du Cadastre et d'Amélioration Agricole des Etats de Syrie, des Alaouites et du Grand Liban.

³¹⁰ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 2e trimestre de l'année 1928.

Morocco where it was basically the French architects, urbanists or technicians who carried out projects as part of a strictly planned program of urbanism and architecture. Nor was there a unified architectural identity of the mandate in the sanjak, or in Syria as a whole. Instead, public buildings were treated as fragmentary investments, whose style was so diverse that it might be claimed that they were not constructed with reference to a predetermined architectural principle like the neo-classicism in Algeria around the mid-nineteenth century, or the Arabisation of Lyautey in Morocco during 1910s and 1920s. The cosmopolitan nature of the personnel of the public works in the sanjak as well in the rest of Syria has two momentous aspects. Firstly, it is perfectly in consistence with the remarkably cosmopolitan demography of Syria and Lebanon, which decisively influenced not only the mandate politics but also its visual manifestation. The diversity of the local, ethnic, religious, class or personal aspirations, combined with the cosmopolitanism of the figures who contributed the urban transformation resulted in an outstandingly multifarious built environment. Secondly, the multicultural make-up of the figures who transformed the built environment of the sanjak is partly a tribute to the population shifts and displacement of an extremely large number of people after the First World War, as might be observed in the case of the Armenians and Russians who served for the mandate administration.

Opening up of the large boulevards and secondary streets, as well as the enlargement of the existing ones in order to facilitate circulation of vehicles and air was one of the primary aims of the French in Alexandretta especially during the first decade of the mandate. Like the process of the installation of the sewage system, the enlargement and regulation of the street network went on with respect to the progress made in the drying up of the marshy sites. The most important project carried out by the French was the filling up of the seashore and creation of

a large boulevard called Boulevard Cayla (See Figure 15).³¹¹ It was initiated immediately after the establishment of the French rule, and the boulevard was considerably enlarged in 1923. In order to protect the boulevard from the waves of the sea, a concrete wall of thirty two meters was constructed.³¹² In 1927, the boulevard was stoned and cylindered with the longitude of 1200 meters and width of ten meters.³¹³ The two flanks of the boulevard were planted with trees in the same year. In order to complete the cleaning up of the boulevard from the swamps, a concrete canal of 350 meters was constructed in 1928.³¹⁴ Parallel to Boulevard Cayla were Rue Marechal Foch and Rue Beauregard, which were separated by Rue Hamidié, the main artery that led to the sea. Rue Beauregard was of six meters width and eight hundred meters long, while Rue Marechal Foch was of 413 meters long, both of whom underwent a similar process of refection like Boulevard Cayla. Rue Hamidié was one of the most swamp laden streets in Alexandretta, which required an immense work for the installation of canals and sewage network. Other streets that were parallel to Hamidié from the west to the east were Rué des Eglises, Rue el Jadida, Rue de la Mosquée, Rue Raife Pacha, and Rue el Naher. A sort of grid was thus sought by connecting these roads to one another in a geometrical pattern (Figure 16). The refection and enlargement of the most of these roads were completed around 1929.³¹⁵ In order to enlarge these roads, several houses or shops were expropriated and demolished. For example, it

³¹¹ After the name of the well-known French colonial administrator, Léon Cayla, who served as the counselor to the government in Alexandretta in the early 1920s. He later became an active figure in the organization of the Colonial Exposition at Paris in 1931.

³¹² Some parts of this wall collapsed because of the waves in 1929, and it was repaired within the same year.

³¹³ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1845, Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1927.

³¹⁴ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1928.

³¹⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1848, Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l'année 1929.

was reported in 1928 that two houses were expropriated and demolished for the enlargement of Rue de la Mosquée.³¹⁶ A major square was created at the intersection of Boulevard Cayla and Rue Hamidié, which was named Place Gouraud, after the first High Commissioner of the French Mandate, Henri Gouraud. It was enlarged in 1924, and a *jardin public* was created at the northeast of the square, between the future Palais de Justice and Boulevard Cayla.³¹⁷ Also in 1937, a new square was inaugurated with a ceremony, and named after Pierre Durieux, who had recently left his post as the *délégué* to the High Commissioner in Alexandretta, after serving for fourteen years.³¹⁸

In fact, Alexandretta was the most conspicuously developed city of the sanjak between the two world wars. The relatively scarce habitation of the central area of the city as well as its notable potential of being a commercial center played a decisive role in this respect. Architectural transformation of Alexandretta during the French mandate was also considerable compared to the other towns of the sanjak. A number of prominent public buildings were erected along with several residences for the officials and the notables. Although there is only rare information on the transformation of the popular quarters, a critique of the architectural characteristics of the mandate period in Alexandretta might be achieved with reference to these public buildings.

Most of the public buildings constructed in Alexandretta during the French mandate had supposedly “local” references especially in their facades, parallel to the architectural policy pursued in Morocco during 1910s and 1920s. However, contrary to the case of Morocco, there was no comprehensive architectural

³¹⁶ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l’année 1928.

³¹⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1843, Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l’année 1924.

³¹⁸ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1936, Bulletin d’Information Hebdomadaire, 1937-1938, No.47, 1937.

program that was implemented by a team of professionals and supported by a powerful political authority. Instead, public buildings were seemingly treated as fragmentary undertakings that were not entrusted to the architects attached to the administration, but to private enterprises. There is, in this respect, hardly any direct evidences regarding the official attitude vis-à-vis architectural styles to be promoted in public buildings. On the other hand, it is well-known that Lyautey's politics of association was widely appreciated by the French colonial officials during that time. Therefore, architecture was perceived as a means to stress the French respect to the local culture. The evident penchant for the local vocabulary in architecture, however, was not based on a profound survey of the architectural characteristics of the region, but on a stereotypical image of the "oriental", or "Islamic" architecture that was seen as valid equally in Casablanca and Alexandretta.

The most imposing building that was constructed not only in Alexandretta but also in the whole sanjak was the Palace of Justice (Figure 17-18-19). It was designed by architect M.Kowalsky³¹⁹ in 1928, and completed in 1930-1931.³²⁰ The construction was undertaken by the Makhoul Kassouf enterprise. The Palace of

³¹⁹ The only study on the architectural works of the French during the mandate belongs to Inci Aslanoğlu. She states that the Palace of Justice was designed by the Armenian architect Ayvazyan in 1927. Aslanoğlu, Inci, "Fransız İşgal ve Manda Döneminde İskenderun Sancağı: Kentsel ve Mimari Değişimleriyle İskenderun, Antakya ve Kırıkhan Kazaları"....in *Ortadoğuda Osmanlı Dönemi Kültür İzleri Uluslararası Bilgi Şöleni*, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara, 2002. However, it is stated in the quarterly reports prepared by the French administration that the architect was M. Kowalsky, who was provisionally employed by the sanjak for the design of a couple of buildings in Alexandretta and Antioch. After having completed his designs, Kowalsky returned to his post in Aleppo. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 2e trimestre de l'année 1928; Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1928. See also Appendix 3.

³²⁰ In the early 1928, it was foreseen that the building was to be completed by late April 1929. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 2e trimestre de l'année 1928. However, there is no indication of the inauguration in the reports prepared for this period. In his *Antioche, Centre de Tourisme*, which was prepared in 1930 and published in the following year, Paul Jacquot states that the Palace of Justice was still being constructed in 1930, though largely completed. Jacquot, Paul, *Antioche, Centre de Tourisme*, v.1, p.67, Comité du Tourisme d'Antioche, 1931.

Justice was built on the site where the ancient customs house stood when the French took over the city. It is a two-storied building of a rectangular plan with a central courtyard, fairly imposing in scale. While the first storey is a simple structure pierced by rectangular windows without almost any ornamentation, the second storey is defined by pointed arches that encircle the building and vary in scale. Tiny niches above arches are filled with abstract mosaic motifs, which is the most peculiar feature of the Palace of Justice. The main entrance is defined by six sequential arches and a balcony in the second storey, and a respectively large portal in the first storey. The northwestern edge of the building is dotted with a clock tower. Although named Palace of Justice, the building was to house various offices in addition to the judicial, and it served as P.T.T. for some time.³²¹

The Alexandretta branch of Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban (contemporary central bank) was represented in close proximity to the Palace of Justice with a building that was constructed in 1929-1930. According to Aslanoğlu, it was designed by a French architect called E.Chenille.³²² The façade of the building is more emphasized with a huge elongated pointed arch at the portal, and windows with round arched frames in the second storey and rectangular frames in the first storey. Like in the Palace of Justice, abstract mosaics occupy a significant place in the façade. The building was given a “colonial touch” with the employment of white color in the outside as the defining feature (Figure 20-21). While the Aleppo and Damascus branches of Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban were constructed in a similar architectural outlook, Beirut branch was a much more restrained neo-renaissance building (Figure 22-23).

According to Aslanoğlu, the Konak of Alexandretta where the mutasarrif resided was constructed in 1928 (Figure 24).³²³ There is however no indication of

³²¹ See Appendix 4.

³²² Aslanoğlu, p.93.

³²³ Aslanoğlu, p. 92.

the construction of such a building during that time in the quarterly reports in which all kind of public works executed during the respective period were mentioned. Instead, a profound transformation of the existing building that served as the Konak, or sérail, is said to have been undertaken in 1926.³²⁴ This is confirmed by two other sources, one being a French document of the time, the other is a Turkish periodical. The notables of Alexandretta who favored the preservation of the status-quo concerning the center of the sanjak, as opposed to the demands of Antioch for being the center in 1930, claimed that a substantial investment was made to Alexandretta during the first decade of the mandate. In addition to the construction of novel public buildings like the hospital and the Palace of Justice, they stated that the old sérail was reconstructed.³²⁵ Moreover, a photograph in *Hatay Fikir ve Sanat Dergisi* depicts today's Governor's House in its condition during 1910s.³²⁶ The building has the same spatial conception and scale, the only blatant difference is the portico of the open courtyard, which must have been what involved the transformation of the building by the French. Therefore, it is most likely that the konak is basically an Ottoman building. The dramatic difference between the façade of the building and its other sides supports this idea (Figures 25, 26). Originally a sober building consisting of a main structure and two flanks was thus given an "oriental" appearance with the addition of a portico defined by round arches.

Another significant architectural implementation of the French mandate involved the hospital. Contrary to the other public buildings, the hospital has very rare "oriental" references in the exterior (Figure 14). It is a tripartite, H-planned

³²⁴ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1840, Sanjak Autonome d'Alexandrette, Rapport Annuel pour l'Exercice 1926, no 2/10.

³²⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Inv.5, Carton, 545, no, 627/ES/2.

³²⁶ *Hatay Fikir ve Sanat Dergisi* (undated)

building with two stories that are defined by symmetrical windows with blind arches in the first storey, and windows with neo-classical features in the second storey. The Hospital of Alexandretta was inaugurated in March 1928, and treated fifteen thousand cases per year in the following years.³²⁷ It must have involved a delicate choice to employ a “western looking” style for the hospital, which was presented as a French donation to a city stricken by diseases for decades due to the “oriental indifference and backwardness”, while the other public buildings were constructed in a mixed combination of allegedly local architectural motifs.

A number of private residences built along the Boulevard Cayla as well as the consular buildings mostly placed on Rue Venissia displayed different architectural tendencies. Two-storied private houses with gardens with generally the same outlook had a mixture of influences mainly from Palladian villas and colonial residences (Figure, 27).³²⁸ Aslanoğlu argues that these residences seem to have been constructed by the same architect, and at least two of them were designed by the Italian architect Alfred Benuni. Some of these houses must have been constructed for the officials of the mandate administration, since they are mentioned among the French investments in Alexandretta as comfortable residences, though the location is unspecified.³²⁹ On the other hand, there were a number of consulates in the city, mostly run by the non-Muslim notables of the city. For example, Catoni family was the representatives of Britain in Alexandretta. There were also Russian, French, Italian and Persian consulates, according to the cadastral map prepared in 1928. The Italian community was also represented by a church, school and hospital, all of which were placed in the same enclave. The consulate buildings were rather modest structures with two-stories

³²⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l'année 1928.

³²⁸ Aslanoğlu, p. 93.

³²⁹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Inv.5, Carton, 545, no, 627/ES/2.

with rare stylistic references. The French consulate, for example, is a rectangular shaped building, with a small porch that led directly to the second storey on one side, and a projecting veranda on the other side (Figure 28). These buildings might have well been constructed before the French mandate, since there is no reference to the construction of such buildings in the first decade of the mandate.

Although considerably transformed during the French mandate, Alexandretta did not acquire a peculiar architectural characteristic that would mark the mandate period. Due chiefly to financial problems and political instability, a comprehensive program of architectural and urban transformation could not be developed, and therefore, the French intervention to the built environment remained fragmentary. Although more substantial works were carried out in terms of urbanism like the drying-up of the swampy sites, installation of electricity and water supply, and opening-up of the large boulevards, architectural contribution of the mandate remained relatively insignificant. In other words, the most urgent works were given priority according to the role attributed to Alexandretta in economical, political, and tourism terms.

4.4: Architecture and Urbanism: *Antioch Between Tradition and Modernity*

In terms of the architectural and urban characteristics, Alexandretta and Antioch were almost polar opposites of one another. While there were hardly if any architectural heritage in Alexandretta, Antioch had a considerably rich built environment consisting of an intact residential fabric, extensive bazaars, landmarks of religious architecture, city walls, and archeological remains all in their “authentic” milieu. Therefore, large scale urban transformation through demolitions, extensions and remaking was possible in Alexandretta, whereas Antioch offered an entirely different path through which the traditional and the modern were to stand in a striking contrast to each other.

Although the two cities were parts of the same political unit, thus the same laws and regulations of urbanism, Alexandretta was more thoroughly transformed in terms of municipal works like electricity and sewage system, architecture, and opening up of the roads during the first decade of the mandate. Although the major reasons for this discrepancy were economical, considering the port, and administrative, considering that Alexandretta was the center of the sanjak, it should also be pointed out that the lack of skilled personnel in Antioch played a decisive role. While there was a chief engineer, an engineer, a number of other personnel in Alexandretta in 1922, there was no official to represent the *service de travaux publics* in Antioch.³³⁰ Moreover, establishing an efficient municipal organization consumed more time than it did in Alexandretta, as the constant complaints expressed in the French reports considering the impotency and disorder that defined the municipal works in Antioch until the end of the 1920s.³³¹

In order to provide electricity to Antioch, an agreement was signed in 1929 between the municipality and *La Société Antioche Electrique*, a concessionary company constituted by various capitals that operated throughout French colonies.³³² After carrying out studies for the supply of electricity from Daphné waterfall, the company decided to build a power plant, which was completed in April 1931. In 3 of November, electricity began to be supplied to some public buildings, and subsequently to residences. Moreover, sewage networks were

³³⁰ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 2e versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 354, Organisation du Service Des Travaux Publics Dans Les Etats Sous Mandat.

³³¹ "La Municipalité d'Antioche est loin d'avoir un fonctionnement aussi normale que celui d'Alexandrette. Une récente inspection a mis une fois de plus à jour l'ignorance et l'incompétence générale des fonctionnaires de cette administration. Il foudra des efforts soutenus pour corriger le désordre actuel." (The Municipality of Antioch is far from having a functioning as normal as that of Alexandretta. A recent inspection has brought to light once more the general ignorance and incompetence of the administrative staff), MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1845, Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1927.

³³² MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 2e versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 545, Renseignements divers relatifs a la ville d'Antioche, 1936.

installed initially in a fragmentary manner in the late 1920s. It was only in 1933 that a global project was prepared by a French engineer, and approved by the municipality.³³³ The issue of water supply was also perceived as a major requirement considering the simple need of water provided in a contemporary manner on the one hand, and sanitary conditions heavily damaged by the private wells that were the backbones of water purveyance to Antioch on the other. The limited network of water supply during the 1920s was nourished by the nearby source of Zgaybo, which could only supply a parochial portion of the city. In 1930, the richer source of Daphné was connected to Antioch by means of an approximately ten kilometers of underground pipe system, some portion of which was the Roman tunnels which were left untouched and integrated into the novel network. It was in the following year that this network began functioning, accompanied with a law that prohibited the use of wells for water supply, which were seen as extremely detrimental to health.³³⁴

Most of the public works in Antioch were carried out by the municipality, though under the framework and financial means provided by the mandate administration. The plurality of the actors that shaped the built environment in Syria during the mandate was also the case in Antioch. In other words, the municipality of Antioch which was headed by Halefzade Sureyya Bey between 1920 and 1933 undertook several significant public works in its own initiative. In this respect, it should be pointed out once more that the architectural and urban transformation of Syria under the mandate was not a purely French program, shaped and applied by a single executive authority as in the case of the French North Africa. The Municipality of Antioch carried out a number of projects that involved the opening up of new roads, construction of significant buildings like the slaughterhouse, and infrastructural works under the mayoralty of Sureyya

³³³ Tekin, Mehmet, *Halefzade Sureyya Bey*, p.61, Antakya, 1993.

³³⁴ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 2e versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 545, Renseignements divers relatifs à la ville d'Antioche, 1936; Tekin, p.45.

Bey.³³⁵ Nevertheless, these were all realized under the legal system, skilled personnel, and financial sources provided by the French mandate, in addition to the influence of the public works undertaken in the other Syrian cities, which constituted a model to be inspired.

The core area of the city of Antioch since its foundation comprised the area between the Habib Najjar Mountain and the Orontes River (Figure 29-30). The built environment in this area had an organic nature that had been arbitrarily shaped for centuries without the existence of an urban plan in the European sense of the word. The main artery of this area, the ancient Herod road, had gradually disappeared due to various earthquakes as well as the encroachments of the tenants upon the street. The only part of the core area that underwent a planned development in the late nineteenth century was the southwestern edge called Saray District, where a small area was regulated in a grid pattern. This district was dotted with public buildings like the governor' house together with shops, cafés and a hotel. It thus turned out to be the “westernized” part of the city. Except the Saray District, the rest of Antioch preserved the old street patterns and architecture that consisted of residential neighborhoods, large souks, and religious monuments. On the other hand, the other side of the river was almost empty except some sporadic settlements. This side constituted the most significant area of urban extension during and after the mandate.

Considering the politics of hygiene promoted by the French throughout Syria, two projects were distinctly momentous. One is the construction of a slaughterhouse with contemporary facilities. Slaughtering of animals with respect to the requirements of hygiene was perceived as essential since the usual site for this performance was streets, which made it injurious both hygienically and aesthetically. The plan of the slaughterhouse was carried out by the engineers of the bureau of public works and a French veterinary, and it was inaugurated in

³³⁵ See Mehmet Tekin's biographical study on Halefzade Sureyya Bey cited above.

September 1928 with an official ceremony.³³⁶ The other significant project involved construction of a hospital thanks chiefly to the financial support of the *Congrégation des Soeurs de St. Joseph de l'Apparition* (Figure 31).³³⁷ It was built during 1931 and 1932 in a fair line with the principles of architectural modernism that was still being formulated in Europe during that time. The Hospital of Antioch is a U-shaped symmetrical structure of two-stories that are pierced by unadorned rectangular windows of identical shape. This almost utterly functional building has an emphasized portal of stylized geometrical shapes. Constructed on the outskirts of the ancient part of the city, the hospital became the most imposing building of its vicinity in the 1930s.

The most important urban intervention in ancient Antioch was the reopening of the Herod Road, renamed as the Rue Jadid by the French. This was the main processional road with colonnades on each flank during the Roman epoch, comparable to Mese (Divan Yolu during the reign of the Ottomans) in Istanbul.³³⁸ The Herod Road mostly disappeared due to the encroachments and severe earthquakes that occurred throughout centuries. Reopening of it would provide a main artery to facilitate the movement of vehicles and goods in the city on the one hand, and connect the interregional Aleppo road with Harbiye (Daphné) road, on the other. Expropriations and demolitions for the revival of the Herod Road began in 1927 under the responsibility of the municipality and the

³³⁶ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1928.

³³⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Inv.5, Carton 520, Oeuvre Français du Sandjak d'Alexandrette, Beirut, 3 Février 1939.

³³⁸ This road was called by the inhabitants of Antioch as Kışla-Dörtayak Street, since it began in the south in the Military Barracks (Kışla) and ended in the north where a four-footed (dörtayak) monument stood during the Roman period, which, as an expression, apparently persisted through generations.

governorship of Antioch.³³⁹ However, the completion of the project took years due chiefly to the financial problems, and it could only be inaugurated in 1935.³⁴⁰ The revival of the Herod Road was in line with the implicit imperial contention that the French were in Antioch as the inheritor of the Roman Empire and its civilization. The novel buildings that would define the street were to be, in the official point of view, suitable for an image of the main artery of Antioch, though without pointing out a certain architectural style.³⁴¹ The resulting architectural image of the street, however, had an affinity more to the fin-de-siècle Ottoman residential architecture, rather than the mid-nineteenth century manifestations of modern and colonial architecture elsewhere in the world.³⁴² Occupied basically by the notables and well-to-do families of the city, the houses of the Herod Road (later Kurtuluş Caddesi) became the architectural expression of the dominant aspirations of the upper-class in Antioch, which were not inclined towards European modernism or architectural trials that were made elsewhere in Syria and Lebanon, but to the supposedly outmoded late Ottoman architectural idiom mixed with local motifs (Figures 32-33). The prevalent residential architecture with inner courtyards gave way to the row houses with inner sofas, characteristic of late Ottoman residential architecture.³⁴³ This demonstrates once again the essential pluralism that

³³⁹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l'année 1928. For a detailed list of expropriations, see Tekin, *Halefzade*, p. 55-56.

³⁴⁰ Tekin, *Halefzade*., p. 57.

³⁴¹ "Il restera, il est vrai, à obtenir des propriétaires riverains la construction d'immeubles convenables et dignes de la grande artère de la ville." (What will be left is to obtain the construction of reasonable buildings worthy of the grand arterial road of the city from the owners of the riverside), MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l'année 1928.

³⁴² Temiz, Mine, "New Architectural Formations On The Mandate-Era Kurtuluş Street in Antakya" in *Chronos – Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand, Numero Special – Antioche, Temps et Sociétés*, numero 13, pp. 181-230, Liban, 2006.

³⁴³ Temiz, p. 203.

characterizes the architectural expression of the French mandate not only in Antioch but also in Syria and Lebanon as a whole.

The scarcity of inhabitation on the other side of the river offered an extremely favorable alternative for constructing a novel city with respect to principles of modern urbanism. Large streets intersecting each other with right angles, geometrically designed large squares, and finally public and private buildings of western appearance would create an image of a city that was essentially different from the ancient city at the other side of Orontes, which was characterized by crooked streets, lack of public space, and an architectural make-up that was thought to be decaying. The river of Orontes, in this respect, would function as a *cordon sanitaire* in the sense that the term is used for the urban segregation especially in British India and French North Africa. In other words, the river as a physical boundary would be transformed into a mental, cultural, and ideological boundary which was perceived as separating not only two different urban environments, but also two different mental worlds, the east and the west, that were regarded as essentially distinct from one another. Quite strikingly, this principle of colonial urbanism was defended not only by the French officials, but also by some of the natives of the city:

“A novel Antioch which would stretch along the Orontes with a large quay would probably be one of the most beautiful cities of the world. One wishes to see elegant kiosks, excellent hotels, and clubs and cafés that would animate the city life in the place of the dilapidated buildings that occupy the riverside.

One can talk about two theoretical principles in urbanism. One is destroying the old city and constructing a new one; the other is leaving the old city untouched and establishing a totally new city in the other side of the river.

Just like they constructed Heliopolis in Egypt, the British apply the same project in all of its colonies. And they see this style as cheaper and more practical. However, no matter in which style, it is a vital need for the people of Antioch to come into contact with air and sun by destroying the city walls that constitute a high obstacle between the gorgeous nature and our eyes like a castle wall.”³⁴⁴
(author’s translation)

³⁴⁴ Önünde geniş bir rıhtımla Asi boyunca uzanıp giden yeni bir Antakya herhalde dünyanın en güzel şehirlerinden biri olur. Bütün nehir boyunca işgal eden köhne binaların yerinde insan zarif

Cemil Süleyman's penchant for a new "modern" city was fairly common among the inhabitants of Antioch, despite the fact that few people had an idea of the method to be applied. As opposed to Süleyman, the French were in favor of the idea that the city walls should be conserved together with the ancient urban fabric as a whole. Only in the case of inevitable interventions for the opening up of the Herod road or some other streets mostly along the river, expropriations and demolitions were realized. On the other hand, a number of decisively important urban works were undertaken across the ancient city albeit remaining incomplete as a comprehensive project at the end of the mandate. The most significant implementation was the creation of a large square which was defined by a number of public buildings like the museum, municipality, P.T.T., and cinema on the one side, and the main bridge and the river on the other (Figure 34). This square became the carrefour of significant interregional roads of Suveydiye and Alexandretta as well as three wide arteries that would become the backbone of the future extension of the city to the west. Along the riverside to the south and north of the square was gradually built prominent private and public buildings like the house of the governor and the house of the Adalı family. Moreover, the new Antioch High School building was constructed on one of the main arteries that lead to the square, thus creating an important center of attraction. As a result of these implementations, the nucleus of a novel city that had an urban make-up strikingly different from the ancient city of the other side of Orontes was generated.

yalıların, muhteşem otellerin, memlekete biraz hayat biraz neşe veren kulüplerin, gazinoların sıralandığını görmek istiyor.

İmar işlerinde iki noktai nazar mevzu bahis olabilir. Birisi, eskisini yıkıp yerine bir yenisini yapmak; ikincisi eskiyi bir tarafa bırakıp nehrin kenarına büsbütün yeni bir şehir kurmaktır.

İngilizler Mısır'da Heliopolis'i yaptıkları gibi, bütün müstemlekatta aynı projeyi tatbik etmektedirler. Ve bu tarzı daha ucuz ve ameli görmektedirler. Mamefih hangi şekil olursa olsun, güzel tabiatla gözlerimizin arasında bir kale duvarı gibi yüksek bir mani teşkil eden surları yıkıp biraz havaya, biraz güneşe çıkmak, Antakyalılar için hayati bir ihtiyaç halindedir.", Dr. Cemil Süleyman, *Yedigün*, 25 March 1931; whole article quoted by Mehmet Tekin, *Hal efzade...*, p.64-65.

Few public buildings were constructed in Antioch during the first decade of the mandate. Just like the significant urban interventions realized in both sides of the river, most of the public buildings of the city were constructed during 1930s. There is no dominant architectural style that defines the mandate period in the city like anywhere else in Syria. Instead, styles as diverse as neo-classical, Islamic revivalist, a heavier interpretation of European modernism, and sometimes eclecticism with motifs from all these were employed in a dozen buildings, mostly in the west bank of the river. Since there is no official architectural policy regarding the facades, local authorities, architects-entrepreneurs, and French officials were almost equally influential in the making-up of the visual characteristics of the buildings. Furthermore, few architects of these buildings are known for sure, while there is some information on the entrepreneurs who undertook constructions and repairs in Antioch during the mandate.

It was also common that the existing buildings were appropriated for housing different institutions than their original purpose by the French. Most of these buildings were in the Saray district in the south-west edge of the ancient city. Rifat Bereket's mansion was bought by the French in order to convert it into a tourism hotel of neoclassical appearance (Figure 35). Another building of Islamic revivalist appearance was bought by Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban in 1925 (Figure 36).³⁴⁵ The governorship of Antioch was first built during the Egyptian invasion of 1832-1840, and it subsequently underwent various modifications (Figure 37). It continued to be used as the *sérail* by the French, and its restoration and reparations was entrusted to M. Jacquet of L'Ecole Française d'Ingenieurs in Beirut.³⁴⁶ In addition to these buildings, there are several private residences and

³⁴⁵ Pinto, Vita, *L'Évolution de Antioche, son passé, son état actuel, son avenir*, p. 168, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris, 1938.

³⁴⁶ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1845, Rapport pour le 2e trimestre de l'année 1926.

shops in the Saray District, which were constructed in an eclectic style defined by European classicism and local motifs at once.³⁴⁷

On the other side of the river, a number of buildings created a semi-circle around the novel square. On the western edge of the square was placed the museum, which was being constructed throughout the 1930s. Its neighboring lot was filled after the mandate with the Agricultural Bank building. Between the two grand arteries that stemmed from the square was constructed the Municipality Building which was completed during the later years of the mandate (Figure 38). It was placed upon a podium, and reached through large staircases. It is a fairly sober building stripped of any ornamentation on the portal and windows. Next to the municipality was constructed the postal office building which dates slightly before the former according to Aslanoğlu, although the exact date is not known. It is in line with Central European modernism which is a heavier interpretation of the totally functional and geometrical manifestations of western European modernism in architecture (Figure 39-40).³⁴⁸ The P.T.T. building is a two-storied structure having an entrance with stylized geometrical lines and unornamented symmetrical windows. Between the Alexandretta road and the river, across the museum, the cinema was constructed, which later served as the parliament of the short-lived state of Hatay in 1938 (Figure 41). According to Aslanoğlu, it was constructed in the early 1930s by the Leon Benjuda enterprise.³⁴⁹ It has a semicircular entrance with stylized muqarnas motifs on the frieze. Except the large openings of the entrance, it is a massive building with few windows especially on its sides. It is a highly original mixture of motifs from Islamic architecture and stylized

³⁴⁷ These buildings might be mistaken as French implementations, but they date back to the late Ottoman period, although detailed information on their architects or inauguration dates are not available. They are mentioned as repaired buildings in French reports of the period.

³⁴⁸ Aslanoğlu, p.92.

³⁴⁹ Aslanoğlu, p.93.

geometrical masses integrated into a whole. Behind the cinema was the prominent private house of the Adali family. The façade that overlooks the Alexandretta road was constructed in 1933, while that which overlooks the Orontes was completed in 1946 (Figure 42).³⁵⁰ It is a symmetrical structure constructed out of cut stone with two rectangular windows on each side, ornamented with low relief motifs. On the other hand, the summer residence of the délégué of the High Commissioner, who passed his summer in Antioch throughout the mandate, was constructed behind the museum. It was implemented by the Spir Machta enterprise in 1929.³⁵¹ It is a two-storied structure of cut-stone whose windows in all sides, as well as in between the stories, have embellishments inspired by the residential architecture prevalent in Antioch (Figures 43-44-45). The last significant building on the other side of the ancient river is the Antioch High School, constructed in 1929-1930. Among all the French buildings of Antioch, the most clear information on the architect can be obtained for this high school since it is indicated in the quarterly reports that the architect is a certain M.Kowalski who was hired by the sanjak for the design of the high school and the Palace of Justice at Alexandretta, after the completion of which he rejoined his post in Aleppo in 1928.³⁵² The construction that began in 1929 was undertaken by the Georges Moussalem enterprise.³⁵³ This is a clear sign of the need for being cautious concerning the architects of the buildings in the sanjak, which might be mistaken with the mere entrepreneurs instead of the designer. The Antioch High School originally consisted of two single storeyed symmetrical masses and one central mass of two stories integrated into a whole,

³⁵⁰ Aslanoğlu, p. 94.

³⁵¹ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1848, Rapport pour le 1e trimestre de l'année 1929.

³⁵² MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1846, Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1928.

³⁵³ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1848, Rapport pour le 3e trimestre de l'année 1929.

although the side structures were added another storey later on (Figure 46). It is basically an austere building with rectangular windows, except the central mass which has pointed-arched windows on the second storey.

The lack of a comprehensive program of architecture and urbanism is apparent in Antioch just like in Alexandretta and elsewhere in Syria. In addition to the fact that the French mandate remained an incomplete project in terms of architecture and urbanism, its implementations were mostly based on meeting the urgent needs instead of applying a consistent project in terms of stylistic references. Nevertheless, a serious attempt to overcome this problem was made in the early 1930s by contracting René Danger for the preparation of a global city plan for Antioch.

4.5: The Danger Plan of Antioch

By 1932, René Danger had already prepared city plans for Aleppo and Tripoli. His contract with the municipality of Antioch signed in the same year initiated Danger's third project in Syria, which was followed by Beirut and Damascus. The principles of urbanism defended by Danger manifested themselves in a peculiar manner especially in his preservation of the ancient city, though with some significant interventions.

The only detailed source on the Danger plan of Antioch is a master thesis prepared in Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris in 1938. Its author, Vita Pinto, was a native of Antioch who went to Paris to study urbanism with Marcel Poete thanks to a certain scholarship. His thesis, *L'Évolution de Antioche, son passé, son état actuel, son avenir*, explores the history of the city stressing the urban characteristics that evolved throughout centuries as well as offering a comprehensive picture of the present conditions of politics, economics, demographics, and urbanism and urban laws. This approach is perfectly in line with René Danger's method of studying the city before executing the plan, which

Danger called *enquête urbain*.³⁵⁴ The last part of Pinto's thesis is devoted to the description of Danger's plan and its defining features, along with his critique of the plan.

Danger's plan for Antioch had three basic purposes. The first was developing the interregional roads that passed through the city, the second was the intervention to the ancient city, and the third was the extension of the new city to the west of the river. The roads of Alexandretta and Suveydiye that originated from the semicircular square in the western bank were enlarged to 25 meters of width (Figure 47). This operation did not require any expropriations and demolitions since the area along these roads was vacant. On the eastern bank, the Asi (Orontes) road along the river was enlarged to 15 meters with some expropriations, and it was to join the road of Harbiye (Daphné). The Aleppo road was already connected to the Harbiye road passing through the ancient Herod road, which was still being revived at that time.

Intervention to the ancient city was the major problem that Danger faced in his plan. Preserving the original and picturesque character of the city was one of the basic principles of his urbanism similar to that of Lyautey in Morocco. However, it clashed with the idea of communication and hygiene that defined the European urbanism at that time. The opening up of novel streets as well as enlarging the existing ones was therefore a requirement in order to secure the circulation of air and installation of modern facilities like water supply and sewage system. Danger found a compromise to this dilemma by nurturing the Herod Road by three arteries that were to connect each other by means of a circular road that pierced the ancient city, while undermining the need to open up secondary streets (Figure 48). The circular road would originate from the main bridge, pass around the souqs, intersect the Herod Road at Dört-Ayak, ascend to the slopes of Habib Najjar to a certain extent, and rejoin the Herod road where it connected to the

³⁵⁴ See Chapter II, p. 75.

Daphné road. The two perpendicular axes cut the Herod road and join this circular road of 12 meters width. The aim of this transformation, according to Pinto, was to order the “actual chaos of the built environment of Antioch” as much as possible.³⁵⁵ The circular road was surrounded by another circular road which was a part of the *boulevard périphérique* that was to encircle whole city on both sides of the river, and connected by two major bridges to be constructed. The part of the *boulevard périphérique* that surrounded the ancient city on the hills of Habib Neccar was narrower than the other parts of the boulevard, since it was to serve as a promenade road without a major transportation purpose. On the other hand, it was of 25 to 30 meters width on the other side of the river. The basic purpose of the *boulevard peripherique* was to set a limit to the extension of the city, also facilitating the transportation of vehicles within the city. Contrary to the ancient city, the western bank was to be transformed thoroughly by enlarging all of the existing roads. The main arteries would originate from the semicircular square near the bridge, which would be the main carrefour of the roads that connected Antioch to the other cities. This novel center on the western bank would be the main residential area in Danger’s plan with a public garden and sports areas. A novel district totally devoted to residences would be created around the Osmaniye hill above the High School.³⁵⁶ This conception strengthens the idea that the Orontes River would function as a *cordon sanitaire* that segregated the ancient city from the new one. The river, in other words, would be the border that separated the traditional from the modern, the latter being utterly a French contribution to the built environment of Antioch. The ancient city was not totally left in its “authentic” state of being as in the case of Casablanca. However, Danger defended a minimum amount of intervention necessary for hygiene and transportation. He was of the idea that the picturesque character of Antioch should be preserved in its

³⁵⁵ Pinto, p.193.

³⁵⁶ Pinto, p.194.

actual state. Although the city did not have many prominent historical monuments in the core area, the preservation of the entire “milieu” aimed at attracting tourists who were eager to experience the mysterious streets of an oriental city on the one hand, and at suggesting the French respect to the local heritage and traditions on the other.

It should be emphasized that the idea of *cordon sanitaire* did not aim at a racial or economical segregation as in the case of Delhi or Algiers. The major reason of this difference is that there was no substantial foreign, (or western, or colonizer) population in Antioch. The novel city would be for the use of the actual inhabitants of Antioch themselves, who would appreciate the facilities of modern urbanism while constantly remembering the disorder and unsanitary districts of the old city across the river. This should be noted as a peculiar manifestation of colonial urbanism in Antioch.

Vita Pinto has a number of criticisms to Danger’s plan. He claims that the plan lacks enough free spaces and large streets especially in the ancient part of the city. Pinto accuses Danger of privileging aesthetic concerns over those of public hygiene. In other words, he finds the limited intervention of the Danger plan to the ancient city as insufficient considering the requirements of modern urbanism.³⁵⁷ This is a sign of the fact that the figures of French urbanism in the interwar period did not constitute a homogenous group that approached the problem of colonial urbanism in a more or less similar manner. Instead, it oscillated between the extreme conservatism of Lyautey in Morocco, a much more interventionist approach in line with the requirements of modern urbanism, and the reconciling method of Danger who intervened in the ancient fabric in a limited scale.

Danger’s plan was approved by the municipality of Antioch, and it was supported especially by the mayor Sureyya Bey.³⁵⁸ Although it could be

³⁵⁷ Pinto, pp.196-200.

³⁵⁸ For an interview with Sureyya bey regarding the details of the plan, see Tekin, *Halefzade...*, pp.65-67.

implemented relatively more extensively on the west bank of the Orontes, Danger's plan could only be applied partially in the ancient city. In addition to the financial crises of 1930, the escalating political tensions in the sanjak rendered a comprehensive urban transformation impossible.

4.6: Managing the Past: *Archeology and the Museum of Antioch*

The League of Nations Convention for the French Mandate consisted of twenty articles one of which regulated the responsibilities of the mandatory power concerning the archeological heritage of Syria and Lebanon. The fourteenth article of the convention specified that it was the obligation of the mandate administration to preserve the archeological heritage of the country, punish those who damage or destroy any artifact, and regulate excavations.³⁵⁹ Antiquity meant, according to this article, "any construction or any production of human activity prior to the year 1700 A.D." These principles were entrusted to the High Commission in Beirut by issuing a law on antiquities, archeology, and beaux-arts. In addition to the requirements of the article of the convention, the creation of museums was regarded as among the responsibilities of the mandate administration.³⁶⁰

In every province of the sanjak, a *services d'antiquités* was established, and these units conducted excavations by closely collaborating with Institut Français de Damas. There were also foreign archeological missions which operated throughout the country. The most intense works were undertaken in Palmyra and Baalbeck along with numerous other archeological sites throughout Syria and Lebanon. Moreover, several churches mostly dated to the age of

³⁵⁹ *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol.17, No.3, Supplement: Official Documents, p.181, (July, 1923), pp.177-181.

³⁶⁰ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 2e versement, Services Techniques, Carton, 354, Arrete No.824, Article:XIII/c.

crusades were classified and restored by the service d'antiquités and the institute.³⁶¹

A significant part of the archeological excavations was carried out in Antioch and its vicinity. In addition to the excavations led by the sanjak administration, three foreign missions were active in and around Antioch especially during 1930s. While Princeton University and Louvre conducted researches in Antioch, Chicago Oriental Institute excavated near Reyhaniye.³⁶² Moreover, the High Commission encouraged local administrations to acquire antiquities possessed by the notables of each region in order to enrich the official collections which were to be displayed to the public in either temporary exhibitions or permanent museums. Several laws were issued in order to protect the historical and archeological heritage of the sanjak such as the law that inhibited the use of stones that belonged to the past monuments in order to build houses.³⁶³ Another significant legal regulation involved the expropriation and demolition of houses that harmed the view of historical and archeological monuments and sites.³⁶⁴ Long before the construction of the museum, a commission consisting of the notables and literati of the city was formed in order to acquire archeological

³⁶¹ Pillet, Maurice, "Les Villes Mortes de la Syrie", *Urbanisme*, Numero 28, pp.259-261, 1935.

³⁶² *Rapport a la Société des Nations sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban(Année 1934)*, p.56, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1935.

³⁶³ "...des instructions très sévères ont été données aux autorités locales leur prescrivant de sévir contre les habitants qui utilisent les pierres des monuments anciens pour construire leurs demeures." "...very severe instructions have been given to the local authorities to be applied against the inhabitants who make use of the stones of the ancient buildings to construct their houses" MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1843, Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l'année 1923.

³⁶⁴ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Archives Financiers du Mandat, 1918-1948, Carton 2400, Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Direction du Service d'Antiquités, Règlement sur les Antiquités, 1933, Article 28. It is reported in 1934 that the people of Antioch did not oppose the necessary expropriations in this respect. See *Rapport a la Société des Nations sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban(Année 1934)*, p.113.

vestiges for the collection of the future museum. An Antioch resident doctor called Basile Khoury served as the head of this commission between 1925 and 1939.³⁶⁵

Although artifacts and inscriptions that belonged to the Islamic period of the city were occasionally unearthed and studied by the Orientalists,³⁶⁶ the real stress was given to the Roman and Byzantine epochs and their archeological remnants. Despite the fact that Antioch was relatively a more significant city during these periods, the emphasis upon the Roman age especially served a complex ideological agenda whereby the French linked themselves to the territory in historical terms. The archeological testimonies of the Roman Empire in Antioch during the reign of which the city had its most glorious days in history worked to bolster the idea that such a prosperity would be attained under the rule of the French who pretended to be the descendants of the Romans. As it was discussed in the previous chapters, this ideological viewpoint was common not only among the French travelers before the mandate but also the French officials who made frequent references to and comparisons with the Roman period regarding the degree to which both Antioch and Syria as a whole were developed in material and cultural terms. In other words, the exhibition of the Roman artifacts in temporary or permanent exhibitions did not only serve to a purely cultural and artistic agenda, but also turned out to be a visual means to connect an idealized historical epoch of the city to the contemporary political rule which aspired to be its successor. Archeology thus became an instrument of indoctrination that aimed to legitimate the French political existence in the region in the eyes of the local people.

³⁶⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Carton 520, Copie des Délibérations de la Chambre des Députés du Hatay du 22 Déc.1938, de la protection des antiquités.

³⁶⁶ An inscription found in the Habib Neccar Mosque in 1925 was sent to an Orientalist called Gaudefroy Demonbynes to be examined. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1844, Rapport pour le 4e trimestre de l'année 1925.

The construction of a museum of antiquities was one of the initial aims of the French in Antioch. During most of the mandate period, however, exhibitions were held in different locations like the garden of the sérail, or, for a long period of time, in the first storey of the building of Antioch High School.³⁶⁷ The design of the museum of Antioch was undertaken by the *Service d'Antiquités* of Syria, which entrusted the project to Michel Ecochard, then a young architect serving for this bureau at that time. Ecochard came to Syria in 1930, at the age of twenty-five, before obtaining his degree on architecture from Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1932. He served in *service d'antiquités* for several years until he became the director of *service d'urbanisme* in 1940. The Museum of Antioch is Ecochard's first oeuvre which he designed in 1931-1932.³⁶⁸ He submitted his design to the government of the sanjak in the early 1933, which was approved with the note that the construction would be held by parts and last for several years.³⁶⁹ The originality of Ecochard's design stems from the fact that the museum building was conceived according to the nature of the archeological findings to be displayed, mostly the huge Roman mosaics unearthed around the city. It was constructed on the other side of the river of Orontes which was scarcely inhabited. Placed upon the edge of the principal bridge of the city, the museum building was to be one of the public

³⁶⁷ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Archives Financiers du Mandat, 1918-1948, Carton 2400, Budget 1929, Crédits pour l'Archéologie, no.831.

³⁶⁸ Along with several restoration projects, Ecochard also designed the Museum of Damascus in 1936. Subsequently, during the late 1940s and early 1950s, he became an extremely important figure of architecture and urbanism in Morocco as the *Directeur du Service de l'Urbanisme*. *Michel Ecochard(1905-1985), Notice Biographique*, Extrait de: (Dion) Mathilde, *Notice Biographique d'Architectes Français*, Paris, Ifa/ Archives d'architecture du XXe siècle, 1991. 2 Vol.; MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 2e versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 348, Musée de Damas, Dressé par M. Ecochard, Architecte Diplome par le Gouvernement. Also see Figure 49-50.

³⁶⁹ “ M.ECOHARD, diplome du gouvernement attaché à la mission de Palmyre a présenté les plans du futur musée d'Antioche. La construction sera faite par portions successives et réportés sur plusieurs années. ” « M. Ecochard, representing the government, linked to the Mission of Palmyre presented the plans of the future museum of Antioch. The construction will be done in successive pieces and in a few years” MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1851, Rapport pour le 1er trimestre de l'année 1933.

buildings that defined the novel square created during the mandate. Its construction began in 1934 and continued until 1939, after the sanjak joined Turkey, although its official inauguration had to be delayed until 1948.³⁷⁰ It is a purely functional, rectangular-planned building which is constructed with cut-stone and stripped of any ornamentation (Figures 51-52-53).

The city of Antioch became a significant center during several epochs throughout history, from the age of Hellenism to the Ottoman Empire. The archeological museum was, however, conceived to highlight a specific period of its long history as a defining identity of the city. The Roman epoch of Antioch was desired by the French as the ideal age to be longed for, copied and surpassed under its tutelage as the historical inheritor of the Romans. Archeology and museums served the French efforts in constructing desired identities for the Syrians and Lebanese, which took different epochs of history as the reference point. As Hegnar Watenpaugh argues, this ideal epoch for Lebanon was that of the Phoenicians, that became a leading political and cultural force in antiquity albeit being a small country.³⁷¹ In the case of Antioch, the museum implied another significant aspect of the ideological tenets of the French rule. The sophistication of the Roman civilization, as demonstrated by the archeological findings like enormous mosaic panels, stood in a striking contrast with the misery and disorder of the city under the Ottomans, thus legitimating the French mandate once more.

³⁷⁰ *Hatay Müzesi rehberi*, p.16-17, Hatay Eski Eserleri Sevenler Derneği, Hatay, 1980.

³⁷¹ Watenpaugh, Hegnar, "Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon," p. 198, in Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett editions, *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective* pp.185-202, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004.

4.7: Scholarship and the Empire II: Jacques Weulersse's Urban Geography of Antioch and Social Groups as Inherent Enemies

Since its foundation, the French Institute in Damascus hosted several Orientalists who studied the history, art, architecture, and ethnography of Syria throughout the mandate and beyond. In 1931, the institute started to publish a periodical, titled *Bulletin d'études orientales* and appeared annually, to which these Orientalists contributed with articles of diverse subjects. *Bulletin d'études orientales* (BEO) became an extremely influential scholarly enterprise which produced a quite substantial literature especially on the history of Syria, Arab culture, archeology, and Islamic art and architecture. For example, Jean Sauvaget's studies on Syrian cities of Aleppo and Damascus became fundamental for the history of these cities. In other words, this veneer of French Orientalism that was formed around the institute produced the essential principles through which any study on Syrian cities was formed during the later decades. In this respect, Jacques Weulersse's article titled "Antioche. Essai de géographie urbaine", published in BEO in 1934, is a manifestation of the basic premises of this school concerning the Oriental city and its defining features.³⁷² This approach originated from a stereotypical image of the Orient and Islam, and basically aimed to find the reflections of this image in the built environment.

Weulersse's article is an exhaustive survey of the urban characteristics of Antioch in close relation to the ethnic, religious, and economic make-up of the inhabitants of the city. Having a background on geography rather than architectural and urban history, his aim is to understand the ways in which different identities of social groups shaped the urban fabric in thoroughly different ways. The constant reference point that appears throughout the article is the concept of Islamic or Oriental city, the characteristics of which manifest itself in

³⁷² Weulersse, Jacques, "Antioche. Essai de géographie urbaine", *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, Tome IV – 1934, pp. 27-79.

the organization of the private and public spaces in every city under some form of an Islamic rule. In contrast to the concept of Oriental city (l'Orient musulman), Weulersse always employs the term Occidental city (notre Occident) when discussing an urban element like souqs or khans which did not exist in the European cities. This contrasting effect aims to familiarize his interlocutors with Antioch not as an urban entity that emerged out of a peculiar interplay of different cultural factors, but as a visual expression of the inherent irrationality and chaos characteristic of Oriental cities as opposed to the reasonably ordered European cities.

Weulersse's article is divided into five parts through which he aimed to give a comprehensive picture of the urban morphology of Antioch. The first part is an analysis of the city as a whole not only in terms of architecture and urbanism, but also of the socio-cultural make-up of the city. The second part is an evaluation of the Turkish districts, third is that of the Christians, and fourth of the Alaouites. The last part is devoted to an evaluation of suqs, bazaars, and khans which Weulersse perceives as the essential elements of an Islamic city together with the mosques. Just like the travelers of the nineteenth century, Weulersse emphasizes the dramatic difference between the ancient Antioch of the Romans and the contemporary Antioch of the Muslims.³⁷³ His morphological inquiry, in this respect, gives several references to the traces of the grid plan of the ancient city (Figure 54). Antioch is thus depicted as a perfect example of the effects of Islam on the ancient cities of the Romans which were seen as the ancestors of the modern European cities. Weulersse states that the effect of Islam on the contemporary city is so deep-rooted that it is still, in the second decade of the mandate, impossible to replace the Ottoman administrative organization of the

³⁷³ Weulersse, p. 28.

district (mahalle), which granted the landlords great freedom of encroaching on the public space.³⁷⁴

The location of the residential districts as well as their relations to each other reflects a strict ethnic, economical, and religious separation in Antioch. As the dominant ethnic group in the city in terms of population and economical background, the Turks inhabited the largest area between the souqs and the Habib Neccar Mountain. Weulersse divides the Turkish districts into three in terms of social class and therefore urban morphology (Figure 55).³⁷⁵ While the districts of notables are found between the Herod Road, the souqs area and the Christian districts, the other groups of artisans and workers are placed between the Herod Road and the slopes of Habib Najjar. The notables have safe and secluded districts composed of grand houses with courtyards, which is called today as the “traditional” houses of Antioch. The houses of artisans are much more modest, whereas the districts of the lower classes are simply miserable shanty towns. In line with their rising economical and commercial influence, the Christians were mostly inhabited around the Saray district in increasingly more comfortable houses, while the Alouites were pushed to the outskirts of the city as fellahs (Arab peasant) of considerably low income. According to Weulersse, this kind of an ethnic division is a characteristic of the Oriental cities, which is inextricably tied to the immanent technical skills of certain races. Hostility between the ethnic and religious groups is immanent in such a division in his view:

“...Mais nous sommes ici en Orient., où divisions ethniques et techniques, comme par une étrange logique interne, tendent toujours à coïncider plus ou moins étroitement: la repartition des métiers se fait suivant les races. Nous verrons donc apparaître, a côté de la cité turque et musulmane, des agglomérations qui lui sont étrangères, des quartiers non musulmans à la population plus ou moins spécialisée dans le commerce ou l’artisanat. En même temps apparait un principe de division entièrement inconnu dans notre Occident actuel, car chacun de ces groupes

³⁷⁴ Weulersse, p. 40.

³⁷⁵ Weulersse, p. 44.

ethniques ou religieux se cantonne en quartiers autonomes fermés, souvent même hostiles les uns aux autres.³⁷⁶

..Antioche n'est, en fait, qu'une juxtaposition de petits unités urbaines séparées, parfois même hostiles"³⁷⁷

As a proof of the supposed hostility between the ethnic groups, Weulersse proposes specific historical events like the massacre of the Armenians in 1909 and the armed bandits (çete) of the late 1910s. A further proof for Weulersse's model regarding the hostility between the ethnic groups is the rarity of mixed marriages. I have already mentioned some of the most influential critiques of the essentialism of the French Orientalism concerning the Islamic cities, the basic premises of which, these critiques claim, were derived from studies on specific contexts as geographically distant as Fez and Damascus before being generalized.³⁷⁸ The Islamic city model assumes that there is no common interest among the inhabitants of the city in Islam. It holds that the social patterns of nomadic life is maintained in an urban setting, where ethnic and religious groups perceive each other not as their cohabitants with converging interests but as potential enemies.

French imperial policy in Syria was based on the principle that local autonomies were to be encouraged along ethnic and religious lines. Whereas Lebanon was created during the mandate on the grounds that the Christians constituted the majority, an autonomous Alawi state was established to the north of Syria on the Mediterranean coast. On southern Syria was placed the Druze

³⁷⁶ Weulersse, p.37.

³⁷⁷ "But we are here in Orient where ethnic and technical divisions tend to coincide more or less narrowly like within strange interne logic: the repartition of the professions is done according to races. We will thus see appear, besides the Turkish and Muslim city, the agglomerations which are foreign to it, non Muslim areas with a population more or less specialized in commerce or craft industry. Simultaneously a principle of division entirely unknown in our present Occident appears, because each of these ethnic or religious groups takes refuge in closed districts which are often hostile to each other."

"Antioch is in fact only a juxtaposition of separated, little urban units, sometimes even hostile." Weulersse, p.38.

³⁷⁸ Raymond, *ibid.*, Abu-Lughod, *ibid.*, Lapidus, *ibid.*

State, whereas Damascus and Aleppo had basically a Sunnite majority. Ethnic and religious conflicts were directly favorable to the maintenance of French rule, which manipulated these conflicts to its own advantage. Moreover, as Seda Altuğ demonstrates, hostilities between different ethnic and religious groups were not immanent to the urban culture in Antioch, but can only be explained by the rise of nationalist ideologies in the region by the end of the First World War.³⁷⁹ Weulersse's insufficiently proven idea of the immanent hostility between the ethnic and religious groups in Antioch sounds perfectly compatible with the imperial policy of promoting ethnic and religious divisions in Syria. Being possibly the most comprehensive study of the urban geography of Antioch ever conducted, Weulersse's article reproduces not only the Orientalist narratives of the nineteenth century, but also the French political discourse that dominated the politics of the mandate in the scholarly realm of urban geography.

4.8: Tourism: *Constructing an Identity for Antioch*

Tourisme et urbanisme! C'est presque la même question sous un double aspect, car la ville est de moins en moins la propriété exclusive de ceux qui l'habitent. Elle sollicite le touriste, ou du moins il faut qu'elle compte avec lui. Si celui-ci a du goût, il se détourne de la ville qui en manque. Par ailleurs, l'urbaniste se complete et se confirme par ce qu'il apprend comme touriste dans ses voyages."

Alphonse Roux, "Tourisme et Urbanisme dans l'Université", 1935.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁹ Altuğ, *ibid.*

During the interwar period, tourism was increasingly perceived as a prominent financial source for national economies. Providing facilities like hotels, transportation, and guides became essential for countries which aimed at obtaining income from tourism. The Middle East continued to attract many people especially from European countries, who had a penchant for experiencing the Orient *in situ*. Thanks to the development of transportation facilities and a certain degree of infrastructure such as hotels, travel culture of the nineteenth century was transformed into a mass movement of tourists to the Oriental lands in the first half of the twentieth century. While these tourists sought the Orient which they became familiar through texts, paintings, architecture, and world expositions, there emerged a certain will for “correcting” the image of the Orient on the part of the natives of the Middle Eastern countries. During 1930, the *Société Oriental de Tourisme*, founded to promote tourism in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Iraq, launched propaganda to challenge the image of the Orient as the land of the desert, nomads, turban, or camel:

“Nous ne sommes donc, aux yeux des étrangers que des Orientaux sauvages....puisque dans ces cartes postales on ne donne de l’Orient que les vues d’une minaret, d’une maison en ruines, d’un café Arabe ou d’un chameau aux pieds des Pyramides.

Aucune oeuvre de propaganda sérieuse n’a été entreprise à ce jour.

Même les Compagnies de navigation ou de Tourisme, suivant toujours la même devise des éditeurs de cartes postales, tout en présentant par leurs affiches des vues ou Panaromas attrayants n’oublent pas de faire contempler cette beauté Orientale par les baudet, l’arabe, turban ou chameau.”³⁸¹ (Figure 56)

³⁸⁰ “Tourism and urbanism! It is almost the same question under a double aspect, because the city is less and less the exclusive property of those who live in it. She approaches the tourist or at least she needs to be taken into consideration with him. If this one has a taste, he turns away from the city which lacks it. Moreover, the architect is completed and confirmed by what he learns as a tourist in his travels.” *Urbanisme*, Revue Mensuelle de l’Urbanisme Français, Numero 28, pp.105-107, 1935.

³⁸¹ “We are thus in the eyes of the foreigners only some savage Orientals.... as in these postal cards there are only the views of a minaret, of a house in ruins, of an Arabian café or a camel near the Pyramids. No serious work of propaganda has been carried out till this day. Even the firms of navigation or of tourism, following always this same motto of the editors of postal cards, do not

According to the Société Oriental de Tourisme, correcting the image of the Orient was not only an act aiming at promoting tourism and gaining income, but also an essential act of dignity (Ce n'est pas seulement notre intérêt qui nous le dicte pour favoriser le tourisme, mais c'est notre dignité qui nous l'impose pour relever notre moral.) It is difficult to know to what extent this campaign which predicated the Saidian critique of Orientalism became successful during those decades. However, it is obvious that the French had a comprehensive agenda concerning tourism in Syria which was to emphasize its role as the civilizing power and as the inheritor of the Roman Empire. No matter how the aim of promoting tourism in Syria remained incomplete as a program (just like any other transformation the French attempted during the mandate), its vision and limited manifestation suffice in unveiling an overall discursive framework.

The favorable conditions of Syria for tourism in terms of its historical heritage and geographical position as a bridge between different worlds became an issue for the French already in 1922. An official report on the country prepared in that year offers a detailed account of these conditions with an emphasis upon the possible actions to manipulate the potential of tourism in Syria.³⁸² In 1924, monographs were prepared for each *caza* of Northern Syria for the use of tourists and businessmen who would visit the region.³⁸³ On the other hand, a conference devoted to tourism in Syria was organized in Marseille in 1929.³⁸⁴ In this

forget to make contemplate this Oriental beauty by the donkey, the Arab, the turban or the camel, by depicting attractive views or panorama in their posters." Propagande Orientale a l'Etranger, Société Orientale de Tourisme, Caire, Beyrouth, not dated. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1574.

³⁸² La Syrie et Le Liban en 1922, Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Paris, Emile Larose.

³⁸³ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement Renseignement et Presse, Inv.14, Carton 1843, Rapport Trimestriel, Alep, 1924.

³⁸⁴ Cahiers du Sud Marseille", 19 March 1929. MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Renseignement et Presse, Inv.18, Carton, 1573.

conference, it was the dominant attitude that the historical mission of the French in the Levant should be represented in the formation of the discourse of tourism in Syria with reference to the travelers, literary figures and Orientalists of the nineteenth century. It was through promoting archeology in Syria by suggesting the link with the ancient (basically Roman) Syria and the French that this historical mission would be strengthened. In this respect, archeological works carried out in Syria became decisive assets within the program of attracting tourists who were fond of the antique world. The construction of museums in a number of centers in the country was an integral part of this program. On the other hand, it was an essential requirement to provide the infrastructure of tourism, which was basically undertaken by constructing hotels in prominent cities and rehabilitating the roads that led to the ancient sites. Furthermore, cruises were organized by the *Compagnie Messagerie Maritimes* each year to transport large numbers of tourists to Syria.

Although it failed to attract a large number of tourists throughout the mandate, Antioch was seen by the French as one of the most promising cities of Syria in terms of tourism. Its outstandingly rich historical and archeological potential as well as the significant place it occupied in western culture as one of the holiest cities of Christianity, a prominent city of the Romans, and the capital of the crusader's kingdom, increased Antioch's significance in the eyes of the French. One of the most significant enterprises of infrastructure was the creation of a Hotel du Tourisme of twenty-five beds by converting the mansion of a notable of the city into a hotel of neo-classical appearance (Figure 35). This hotel was managed by *Société des Grands Hotels du Levant*, which dominated this sector throughout Syria by means of a number of hotels (Figure 57). Furthermore, cruises were organized by *Compagnie Messagerie Maritimes* each year to transport large

numbers of tourists to the sanjak.³⁸⁵ Moreover, the formation of a *Comité du Tourisme* in 1930 was decisive in the development of tourism in Antioch. The basic mission of the committee was to press the authorities for the improvement of the conditions of the sites of curiosity.³⁸⁶ The most significant influence of this committee was its contribution to the preparation of an extensive tourist guide for Antioch, which was published in 1931.

This exhaustive guide of three volumes, titled *Antioche, Centre de Tourisme*, was written by Paul Jacquot, a colonel serving in the French army at that time.³⁸⁷ It not only describes Antioch and its vicinity, but also all towns and curiosities of the Sanjak of Alexandretta. Jacquot designed his book in the form of an itinerary which starts around Alexandretta, and passes through significant places on the road to Antioch, which was the central theme of the study. *Antioche, Centre de Tourisme* is defined by a stress upon extremely detailed information regarding the current conditions of cities and roads, archeological sites and historical curiosities, and histories of each region from the ancient times up to the French mandate. It is through the latter parts of the book that Jacquot's ideological tenets manifest themselves most clearly. In fact, his is simply a reproduction of the defining attitudes of the nineteenth century travelers and Orientalists who wrote about the city, and whose studies Jacquot occasionally cites. His fundamental assumption is that Antioch, which was one of the most prosperous cities of the world during the Roman Empire, fell into decay under the rule of Islam, a process which Jacquot describes as the tragic history of Antioch.³⁸⁸ There are several references to Oriental despotism, irrationality and backwardness which he sees as

³⁸⁵ MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Cabinet Politique, Inv.5, Carton 545, Renseignements divers relatifs a la ville d'Antioche, Année 1936.

³⁸⁶ Ibid. A veteran journalist, Refik Kireççi, a native of Alexandretta, says he remembers giant ships that brought dozens of tourists to the city when he was a child. Personal interview with Refik Kireççi, April 2006, Alexandretta.

³⁸⁷ Jacquot, Paul, *Antioche, Centre de Tourisme*, Comité du Tourisme d'Antioche, 1931.

³⁸⁸ Jacquot, Vol.II, p.212.

the reason for the miserable state of the city when it was taken over by the French.³⁸⁹ On the other hand, the detailed account of the lost monuments of the Roman period was to be read as a hymn to their replacement by the contemporary city of disorder and dust. The tourist is thus invited to experience the ancient grandeur through witnessing its surviving traces, juxtaposed with the chaotic Muslim city of 1930s. Throughout the book, the reader is reminded of the current French presence in the region, and its activities in terms especially of public works, building of roads, investments for commerce, and city planning. It is through such a method that tourism is manipulated for the justification of the political existence of the French in Antioch and the rest of Syria.

As a city that experienced various epochs throughout history, Antioch's defining historical identity was based on the Roman period, as demonstrated by various French practices in the city during the mandate. As I have discussed above, archeological excavations and the museum were essential elements of this discursive formulation. In this respect, tourism as an institution was to provide interlocutors to be inculcated with the French imperial discourse, beyond mere economical concerns.

³⁸⁹ Ibid, p.336.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The idea of writing a thesis on architecture and urbanism in Antioch and Alexandretta during the French mandate was originated in February 2005 at the beginning of my last semester in undergraduate studies. After taking a seminar course on Orientalism and visual arts at Bogazici University in the fall semester of 2004, I became deeply impressed by the ways in which colonial rule manipulated architecture and urbanism, especially in the French North Africa, in order to sustain and legitimize its hegemony over the colonized through complex visual strategies that were nurtured by Orientalist discourse. As a student on the verge of graduation, who was planning to continue his studies in the graduate level, I was contemplating to find a possible object of study for my future master thesis during those late days of February. Quite haphazardly, I was watching, half indifferently, a documentary program on TV which was about Hatay (the name of the sanjak in modern day Turkey).³⁹⁰ After some information on the famous foods of Antioch, a couple of quick shots that depicted some buildings emerged with the accompanying voice of the presenter who described them as “flamboyant” (süslü) buildings which were, he said, the legacy of the French mandate in the city. This became, as might easily be predicted, like a revelation for me, together with a quick flow of several thoughts which all of a sudden situated the case of Hatay within the recent literature on French colonial architecture and urbanism. I had already some notions on the historical significance of Antioch and its cosmopolitan make-up which, I thought, might have been influential in shaping the French politics of urbanism, considering the discourse of the conservationist projects in Morocco during the protectorate. I also thought of the political crises

³⁹⁰ The documentary was called “Genç İşi”, prepared by two young presenters who visited a city of Turkey in each volume. TRT 2005.

that eventually led the integration of the sanjak into Turkey, which must have made it a peculiar context in “French Syria,” if I may use the term. The idea of studying a relatively minor context further encouraged me, since it was my gradually strengthened conviction toward the end of an undergraduate study on history that it was through the analysis of marginal and peripheral cases that the most peculiar manifestations of historical processes might be detected. (In turn, I usually became exposed to the question of whether I was from Antioch, or whether I had some sort of a personal link with the city, as if it were a requirement for working on a specific period of the urban history of the city.) After a literature survey which demonstrated the lack of a comprehensive study on this topic, I finally decided to inquire it during my master studies.

After three and a half years, I have a very different text at hand than the one I was imagining at that time, a simply natural phenomenon for those occupied with social sciences and humanities. In the course of my studies for this thesis, I came to appreciate more and more the ability of colonialism to adapt itself to peculiar realities, while drawing its visual politics from among the vast resource of earlier trials in colonial architecture and urbanism. In this respect, colonial politics on the built environment of the Islamic Orient did not simply emerge out of concrete political encounters, but rested on an ample repertoire of visual and literary representations, travel accounts, history, and previous administrative experiences on the Orient, or, on how to deal with it. Beyond a survey of the critique of Orientalism and other contexts of colonial architecture and urbanism in the Islamic Orient, therefore, I found it meaningful to examine the travel literature on Antioch and its built environment(s) in order to seek discursive links between this literature and the politics of the mandate. I suggest that the travel accounts were one of the principal sources for the French officials who found themselves in charge of an Oriental city immediately after the First World War. In this respect, the most defining link involved the contrast between the ancient prosperity of the city under the Romans and contemporary “decadence” of the Ottoman/Muslim

city. The essential outcome of this conception was the necessity of French involvement in the city as the civilizing force and inheritor of the Romans. As Edward Said argues, “nearly every nineteenth century writer ...was extraordinarily aware of the fact of empire.”³⁹¹ The travelers discussed in the first chapter of this thesis were also, despite their different aspirations and regardless of the extent to which they tried to contend the dominant travel literature, educated, shaped, and circumscribed by the “empire”, or the idea of the essential superiority of the west vis-à-vis the Orient. In the case of Antioch, the resulting notion of the political domination of the Orient by the west was articulated and strengthened by the discourse on space which juxtaposed the ordered and elegant city of the Romans with the chaotic and dilapidated city of the Ottomans. There are two reasons behind the idea of emphasizing the diverse identities and agendas of these travelers. Firstly, I aimed to demonstrate the all pervasive influence of the Orientalist discourse and its inherent intertextuality, even in such travelers that searched for ways to challenge the reflection of its defining features in travel literature. Secondly, I aspired to stress that Orientalism was not a stable and uniform discourse as might be deduced from certain readings of its critique, but a multifarious and vast mechanism of representation which influenced, to a varying extent, any form of thought, description, and narration of the Orient.

The politics of architecture and urbanism in Antioch and Alexandretta during the mandate is of course intimately linked with the other cases of Syria and Lebanon. Therefore, the second chapter explores characteristics of architectural and urban transformation in Syrian cities in the interwar period. It also seeks to point out the factors like financial crises, political instability, and the lack of a strong backing from various French governments for the maintenance of the mandate, which hindered the implementation of comprehensive projects as opposed to the case of Morocco and Algeria. While the first years of the mandate

³⁹¹ Said, p. 14.

are defined by an effort to transform fragments of cities in an interventionist manner as far as the modest resources allowed, the second decade was dominated by the principle of planned urbanism after the arrival of René Danger to Syria. Despite their partial application during the mandate, the Danger plans are outstandingly important to understand the appropriation of the tenets which defined French colonial urbanism in the peculiar context of Syria. Danger tried to find equilibrium between the extreme conservationism of Lyautey in Morocco, and the requirements of modern urbanism like hygiene and circulation. In the realm of architecture, on the other hand, the case of Syria is peculiar considering the various actors that contributed to the making-up of the built environment throughout the mandate. Whereas it was basically the French architects who shaped the architectural outlook of the North African cities, various architects of local background, and of different ethnic and religious identity engendered a complex urban milieu in Syria and Lebanon. Moreover, a meticulously conceived architectural style was promoted by the French in Morocco and Algeria, while the aspirations of the local notables and municipal councils, as well as the personal background of the local architects played as considerable a role in French Syria. It should also be pointed out that Syrian and Lebanese cities were quite familiar with the eclectic architectural experiments since the second half of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, architectural and urban projects were examined, revised, and approved by the French Institute of Damascus on the grounds that the novel constructions and urban designs should be in consistence with and respectful to the existing urban milieu. Principally a scholarly establishment founded for the appreciation of the archeological, architectural, and cultural heritage of Syria, the decisive involvement of the institute with the contemporary building and city planning activities demonstrate the extent to which the cumulative knowledge of the Orient was linked to the shaping of the built environment during the mandate. Finally in the second chapter, I tried to explore the nature of the Syrian participation to the Colonial Exposition of 1931 in Paris. As the showcase of the

French civilizing mission in its colonies, the exposition aimed at an ordered spectacle of the French colonies according to a certain geographical division. However, considering the opposition of the Syrians against being represented among the French colonies with reference to the different framework of the mandate rule, the pavilion of *Les Etats du Levant sous Mandat Français* was placed in the section called *Participation Etrangere*. This was, however, hardly more than a delicate formal appropriation, considering that the representational strategies employed for the Syrian participation were strikingly similar to those employed for other French colonies in the exposition. The only exception was the peculiarly sober pavilion of Syria as opposed to the more exotic pavilions of Algeria or Morocco. The rest of the representational pattern was conceived as a proof to the benefits of the French mandate for the Syrians in terms of its contribution to the development of the country. In this respect, architectural and urban implementations were manipulated in the Colonial Exposition as the most concrete examples of the French civilizing mission in Syria.

In the light of the discussions over the politics of architecture and urbanism in Syria during the mandate, I tried to explore the characteristics of urban transformation in Antioch and Alexandretta. My major premise is that the mandate was an incomplete project not only in the sanjak, but also in all over Syria. The initial vision of transforming the cities in line with modern architecture and urbanism could never be formulated as a comprehensive program, which was to be implemented by a strong executive authority. Therefore, the principal purpose of this chapter is not an exhaustive analysis of the changing built environment for its own sake. It is rather an attempt to scrutinize the ways in which French politics of mandate manifested itself through and around the issue of architecture and urbanism along with other visual instruments like archeology and the museum. It is in this respect decisively significant to consider the French activities like the drying up of the swampy sites, opening up of large boulevards and streets, conservation of old districts, establishment of hospitals, promotion of tourism, and

construction of public buildings as intimately linked to, and delicately employed for strengthening, the broader discourse of the French civilizing mission in Syria. For instance, after stating that the various French implementations throughout the Northern Syria affirmed the dignified French tradition, an official report of 1926 on public works in the region concluded that civilization was marching in Syria (*La civilization marche*).³⁹² I thus aimed to locate the urban transformation of Alexandretta and Antioch within the system of political legitimation which was articulated by the French throughout the mandate. In this respect, Alexandretta was to emerge out of its unhealthy swamps as a modern city of commerce and tourism. On the other hand, the outstandingly rich memory of urban space inscribed in Antioch was to be manipulated through complex strategies of urbanism based on the principle of the contrast between the old and the new. This has also taken a peculiar form in Antioch where only a little number of foreigners inhabited during the mandate. In other words, the spatial segregation was not based on racial principles as in the case of French North Africa and British India. Instead, the novel city was also to be inhabited by the “natives” who would appreciate the advantages of the modern life as opposed to their former districts defined by disorder and insalubrity. These very natives would also be surrounded by the images of the ancient city through the archeological exhibitions and the museum, which would propagate the link between the Romans and the French. They would finally find themselves marketing the Roman and Christian heritage of their city to the tourists, who were willing to hear tales of grandeur pertaining to ancient Antioch.

Especially in the discussion of the travel literature on the urban space of Antioch in the first chapter, I desired not to essentialize the travelers and reduce them into mere mouthpieces for the propagation of Orientalist stereotypes. While

³⁹² MAE, CAD Nantes; Fonds, Mandat Syrie Liban, 1er versement, Services Techniques, Inv.21, Carton 353, Notice sur un programme de travaux publics et genie civil pour la region nord de la Syrie.

writing this chapter, I reminded myself of the simple fact that they were first of all “individuals” who were part and parcel of a peculiar historical process. Frankly speaking, I have doubts on the extent to which I achieved these aims, since I also consider myself as part of another historical process which defines and circumscribes the conceptual tools through which I perceive, scrutinize, and criticize:

“The problem of the truth of what I say is a very difficult one for me; in fact, it's the central problem. That's the question I still haven't answered. And yet I make use of the most conventional methods: demonstration, or, at any rate, proof in historical matters, textual references, citation of authorities, drawing connections between texts and facts, suggesting schemes of intelligibility, offering different types of explanation. There is nothing original in what I do. From this standpoint, what I say in my books can be verified or invalidated in the same way as any other book of history.”³⁹³

There are yet other references to be made and other connections between texts and facts to be drawn for the question of the politics of architecture and urbanism in Antioch and Alexandretta. The lack of municipal archives is a major obstacle which hinders a more comprehensive analysis of architecture and urbanism during the mandate. Moreover, an inquiry in the archives of French Institute of Arab Studies of Damascus, formerly *L'Institut Français d'Archéologie et d'Art Musulman*, might contribute to the analysis of the link between scholarship and the colonial politics. Moreover, some of the archives of *service des antiquités* which are kept in *Institut Français du Proche Orient* in Beirut might provide additional information on archeological practices in Syria during the mandate period. In this respect, I wish to conclude by repeating a poststructuralist dictum which has long been turned into a cliché, but which simply sums off my final idea on this study: No text is ever finished. This thesis is no exception.

³⁹³ Michel Foucault, “Interview with Michel Foucault”, p. 242, in J. Faubion ed., translated by Robert Hurley and others. *Power The Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984. Volume Three*. New York: New Press, 2000.

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APPENDIX A: FIGURES

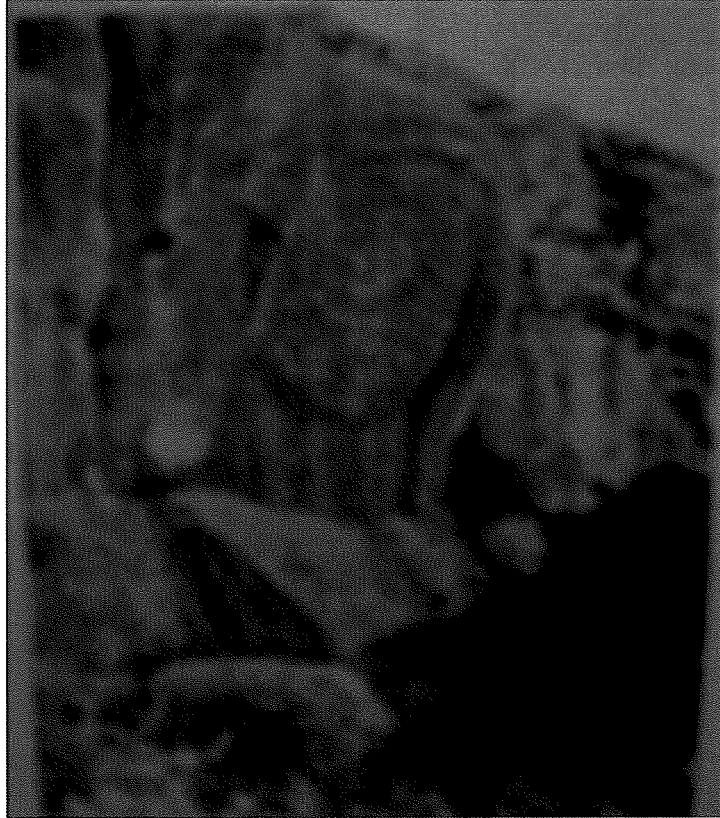


Figure 1: Head of a Sphinx, Antioch (After Bell)

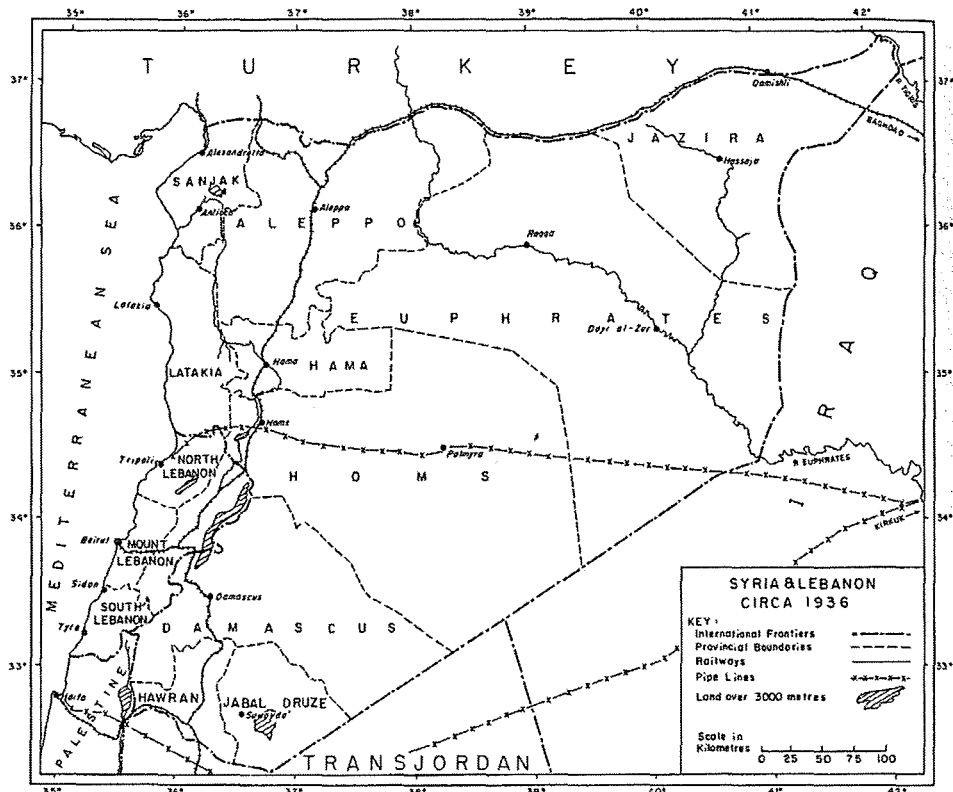


Figure 2: Syria and Lebanon during the French Mandate, circa 1936. (After Khoury)

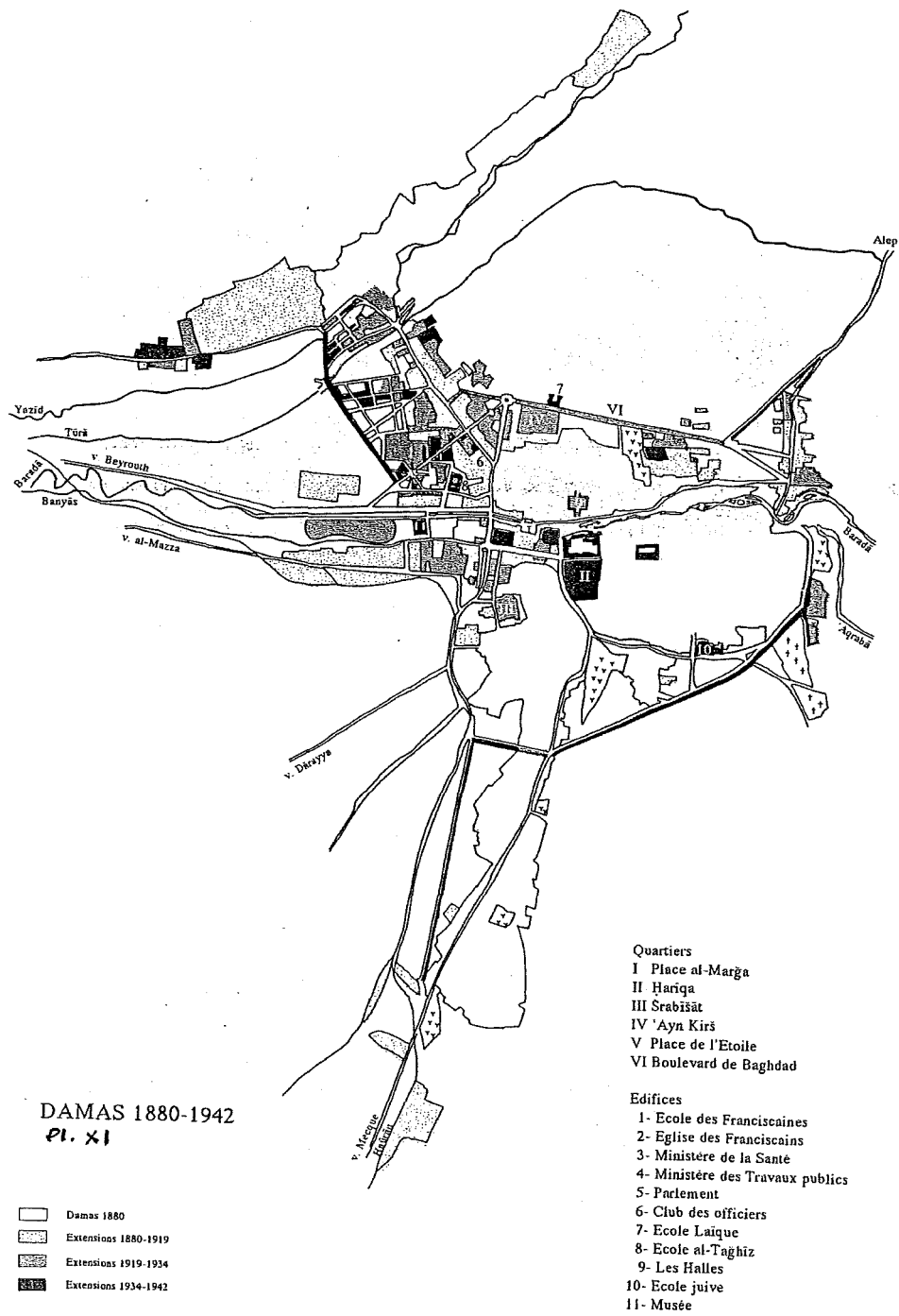


Figure 3: Expansion of the urban area of Damascus between 1880-1942. (After Friés)

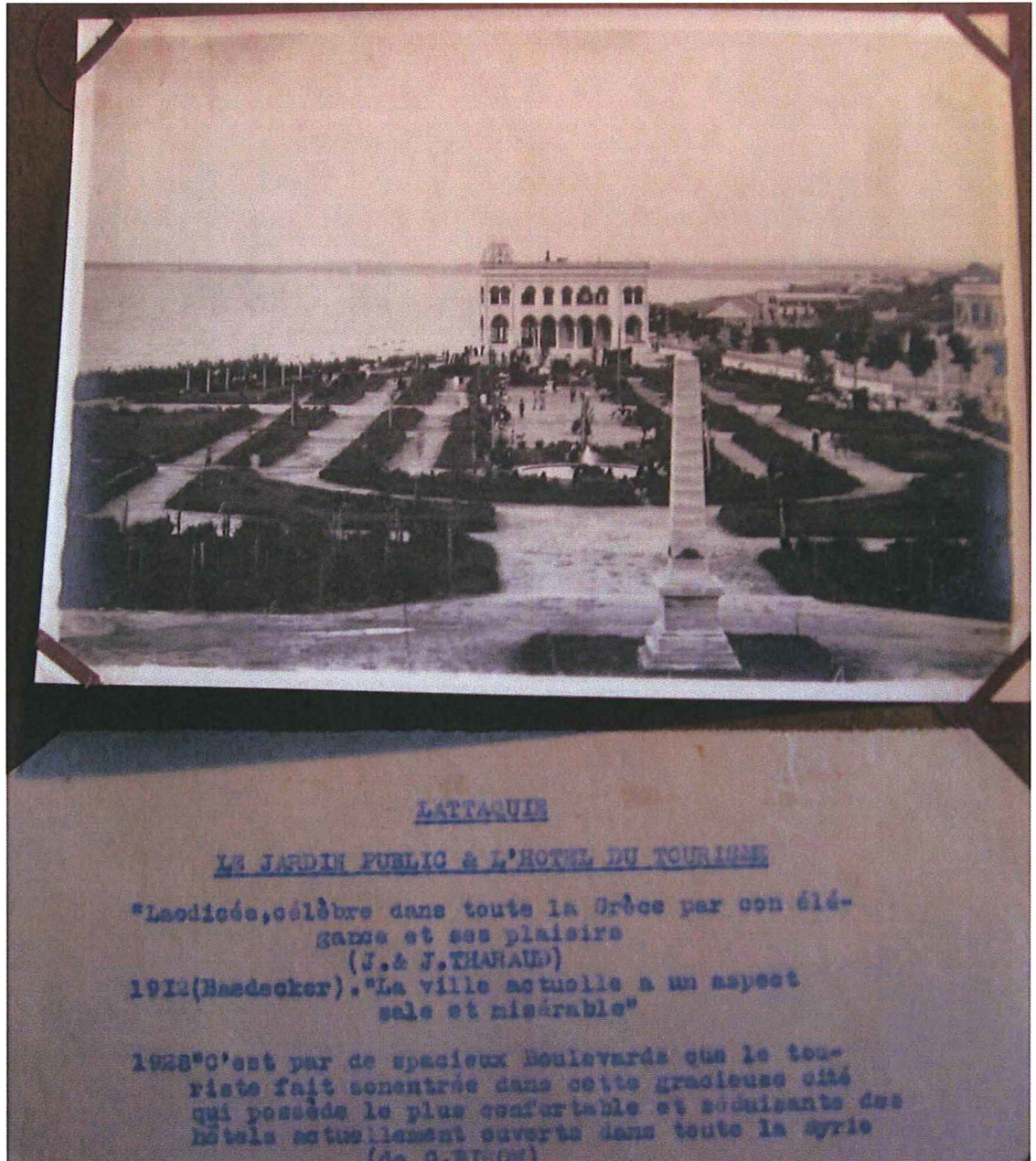


Figure 4: Latakia, 1928. Below the picture are three quotes from western visitors to the city. The first quote is on the ancient fame of Latakia. The second is on the miserable state of the city in 1912. The last one describes the considerable development of the city under the mandate rule.



Figure 5: The Religion Tree of Syria and Lebanon. (MAE, CAD)

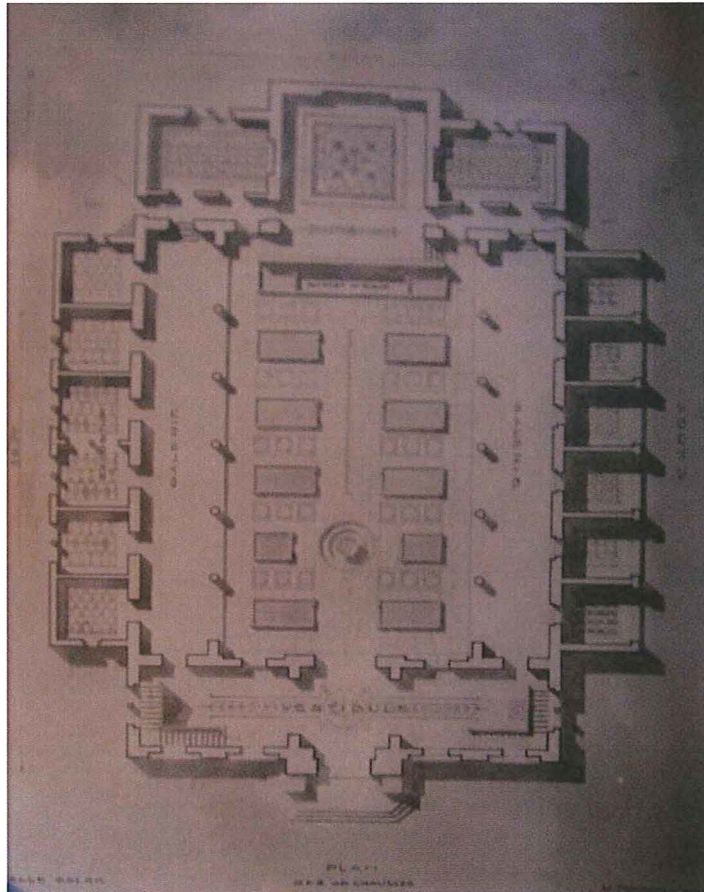


Figure 6: Syrian Pavilion in the Colonial Exposition. (MAE, CAD)

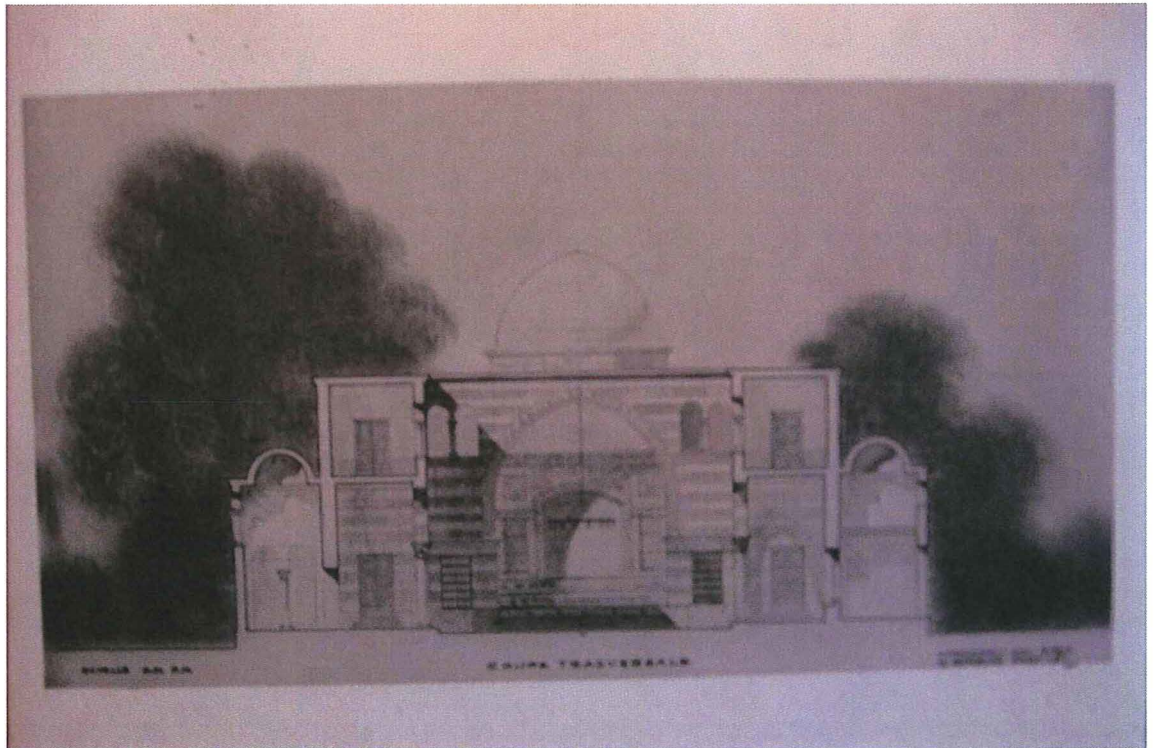


Figure 7: Syrian pavilion, an earlier sketch. (MAE, CAD)



Figure 8: Syrian pavilion. Inner Courtyard. (MAE, CAD)

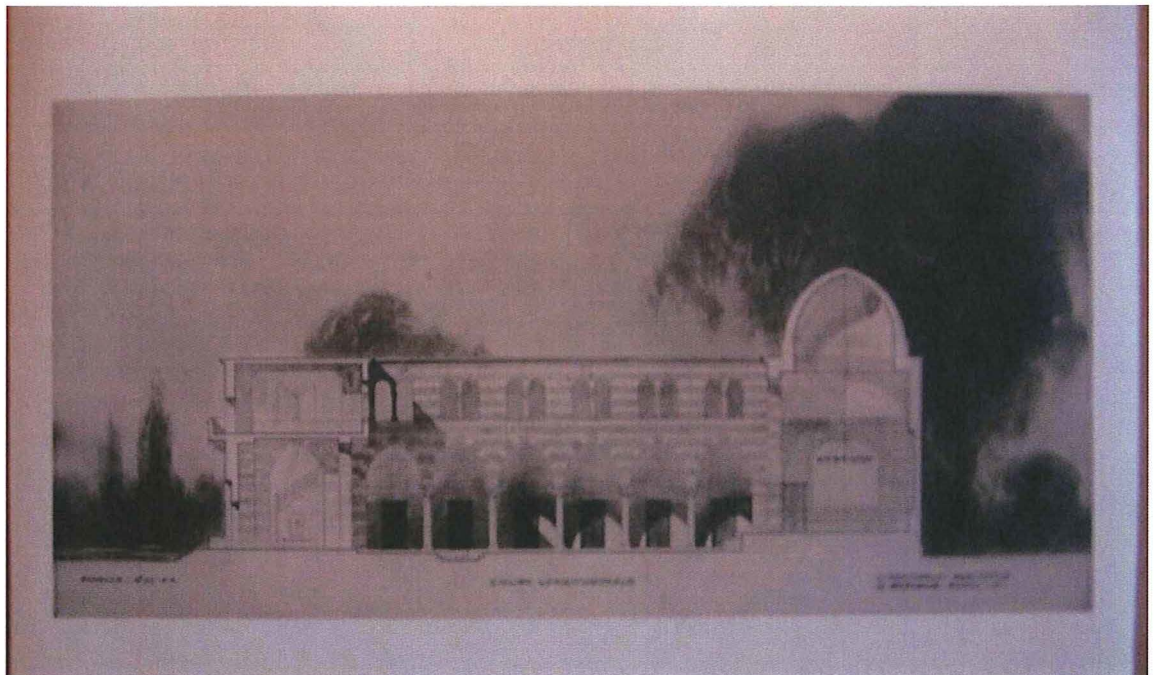


Figure 9: Syrian pavilion. Side elevation. (MAE, CAD)

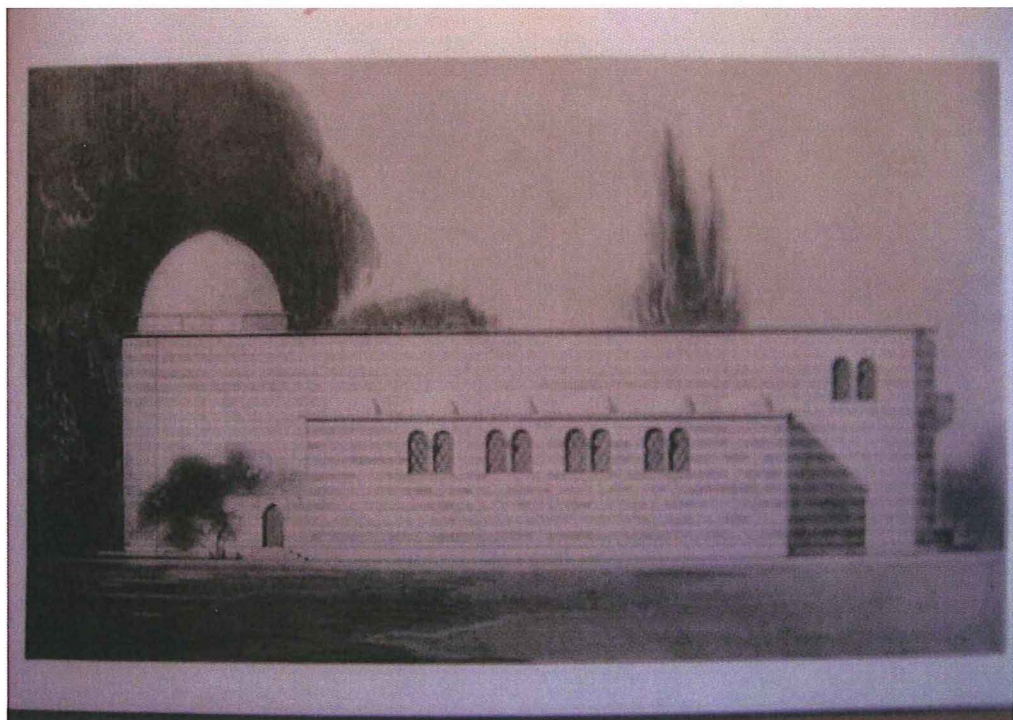


Figure 10: Syrian pavilion. Side elevation. (MAE, CAD)

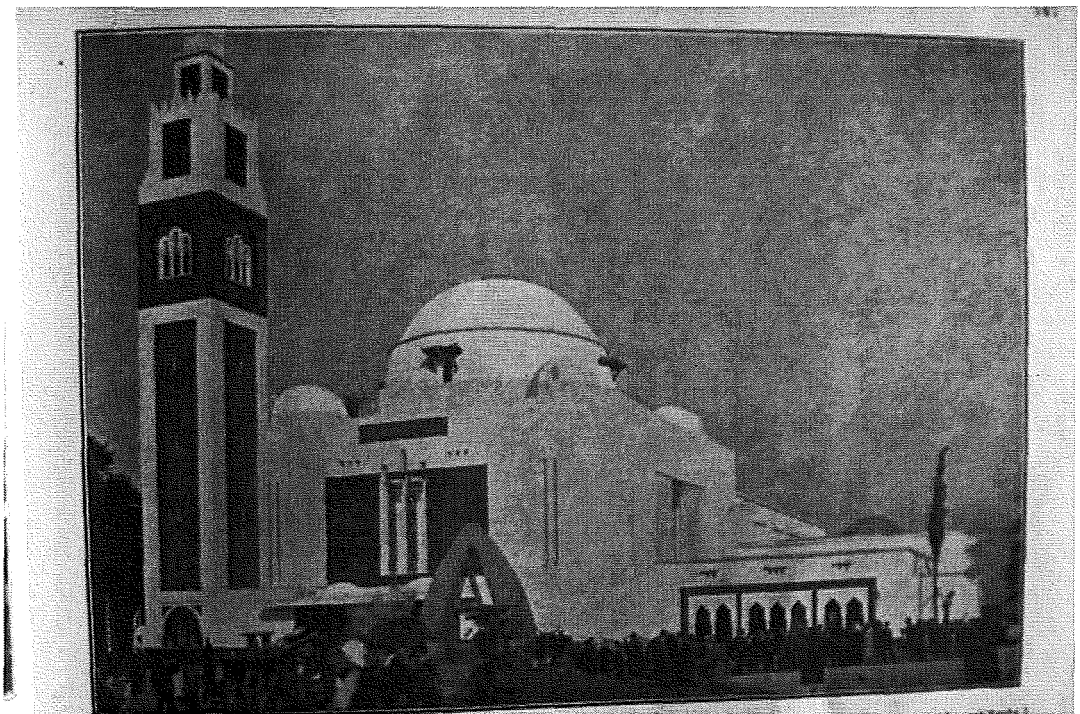
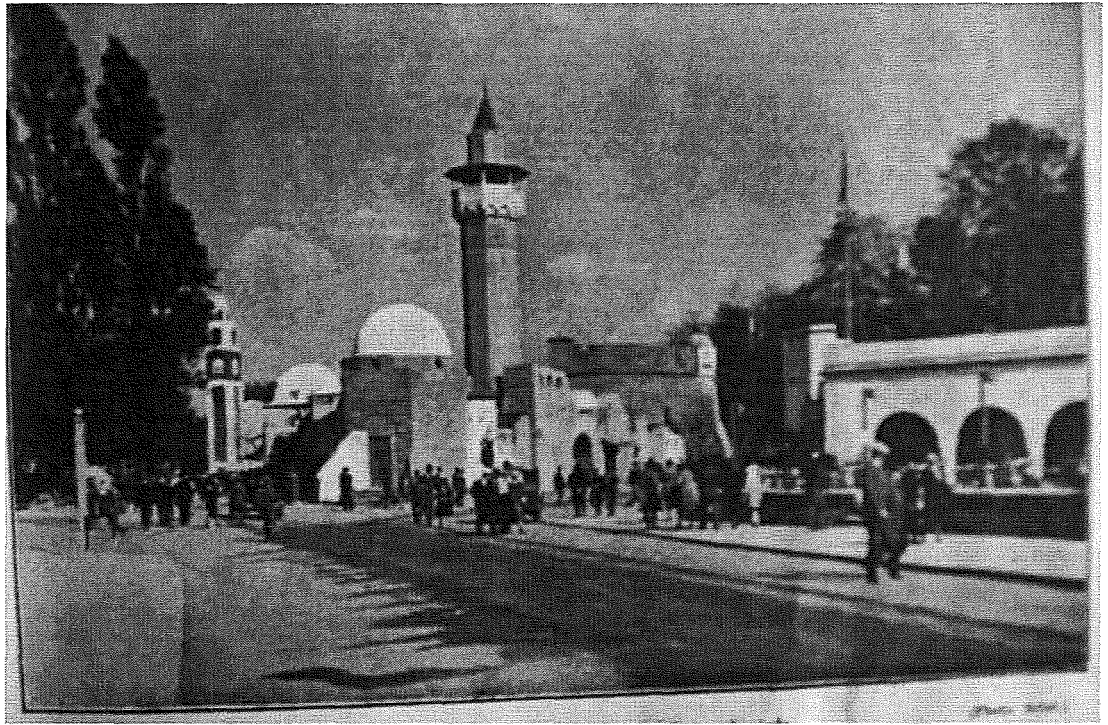


Figure 11: Tunisian (above) and Algerian (below) pavilions in the Colonial Exposition. (After L'Effort Coloniale dans le Monde)

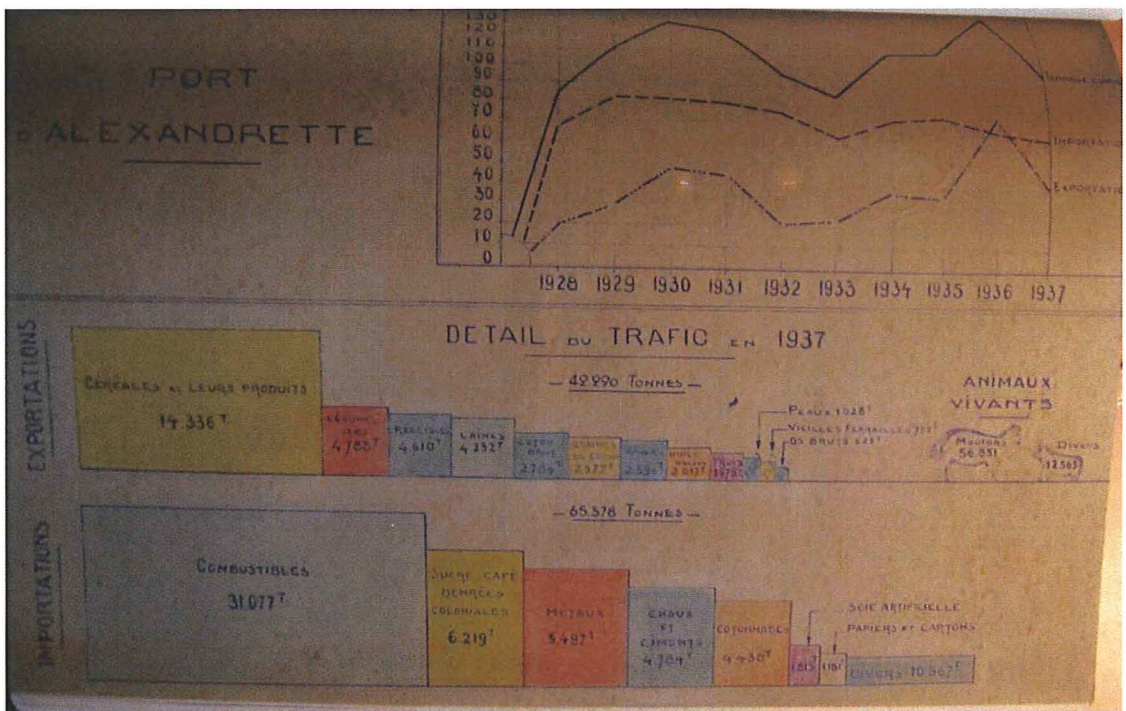


Figure 12: The port of Alexandrette. Import – Export scheme 1928-1937 (MAE, CAD)



Figure 13: Drying up of the swampy sites in Alexandretta. (After, Jacquot)

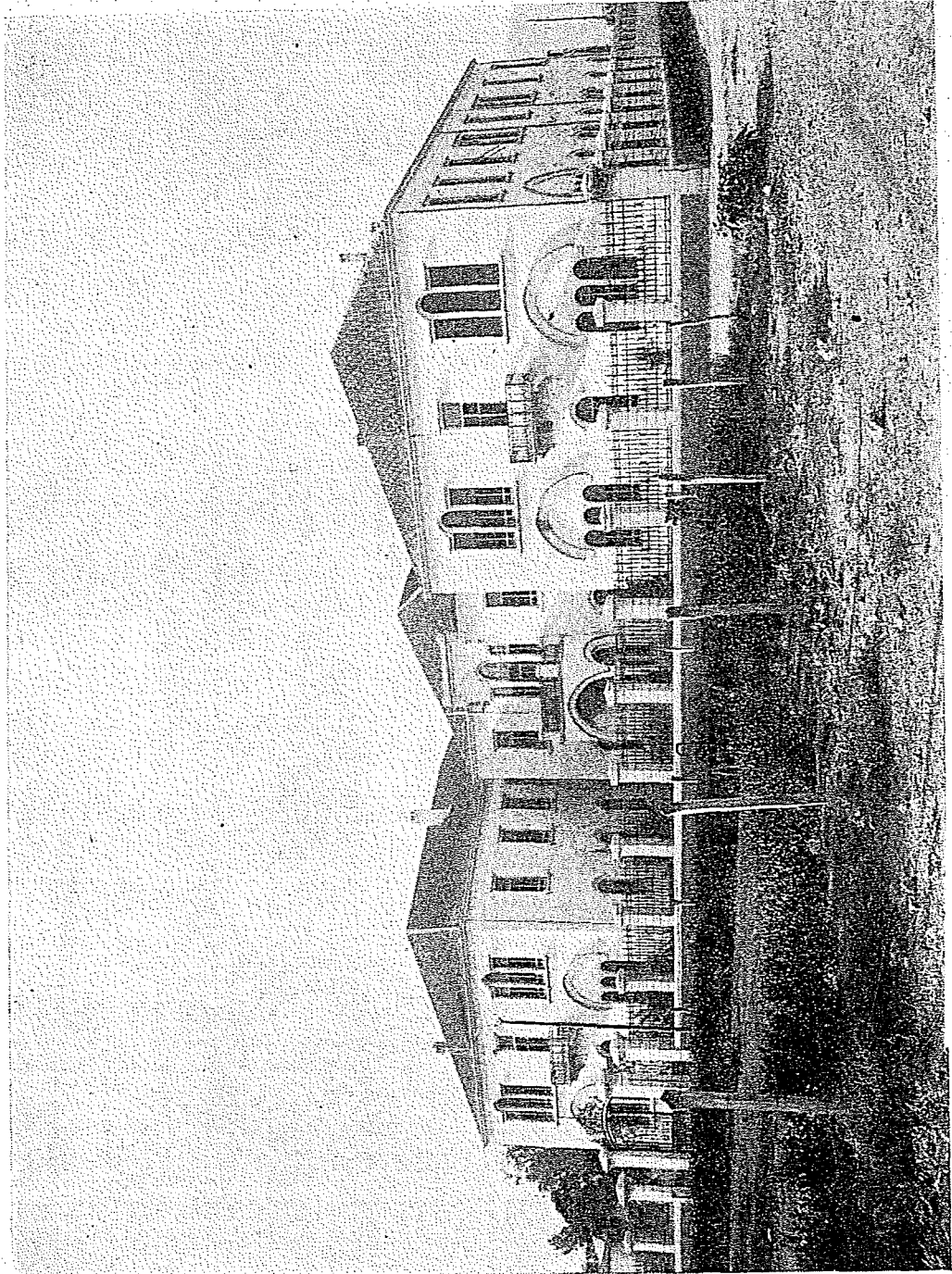
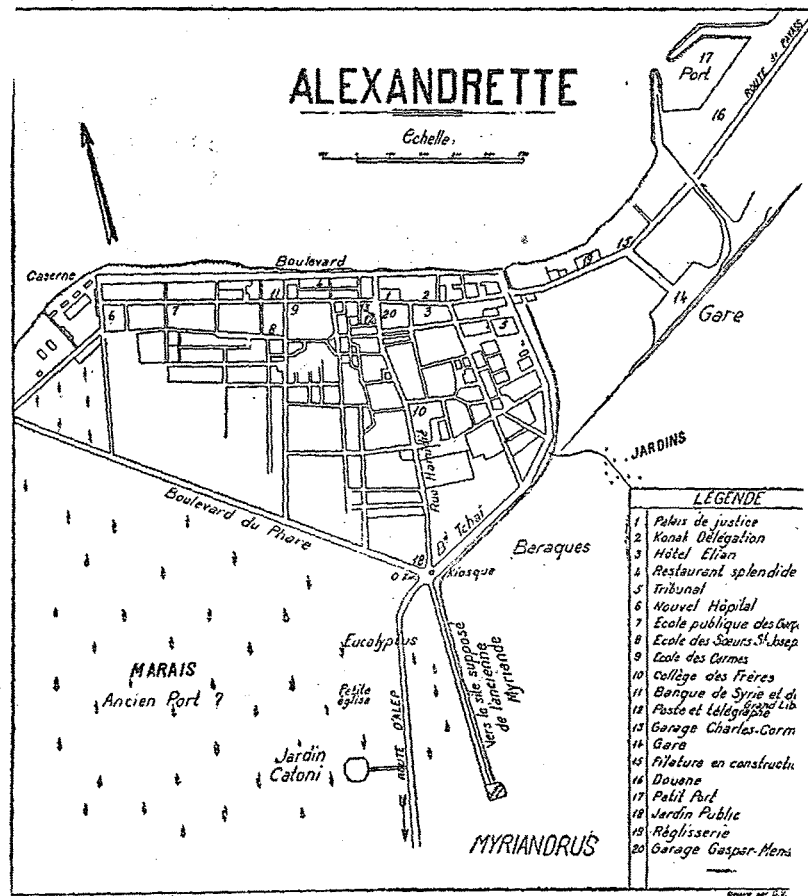


Figure 14: Alexandretta Hospital (After Jacquot)



Figure 15: Boulevard Cayla (After Aslanoğlu)



- Plan de Alexandretta

Figure 16: Plan of Alexandretta, 1930. (After Jacquot)

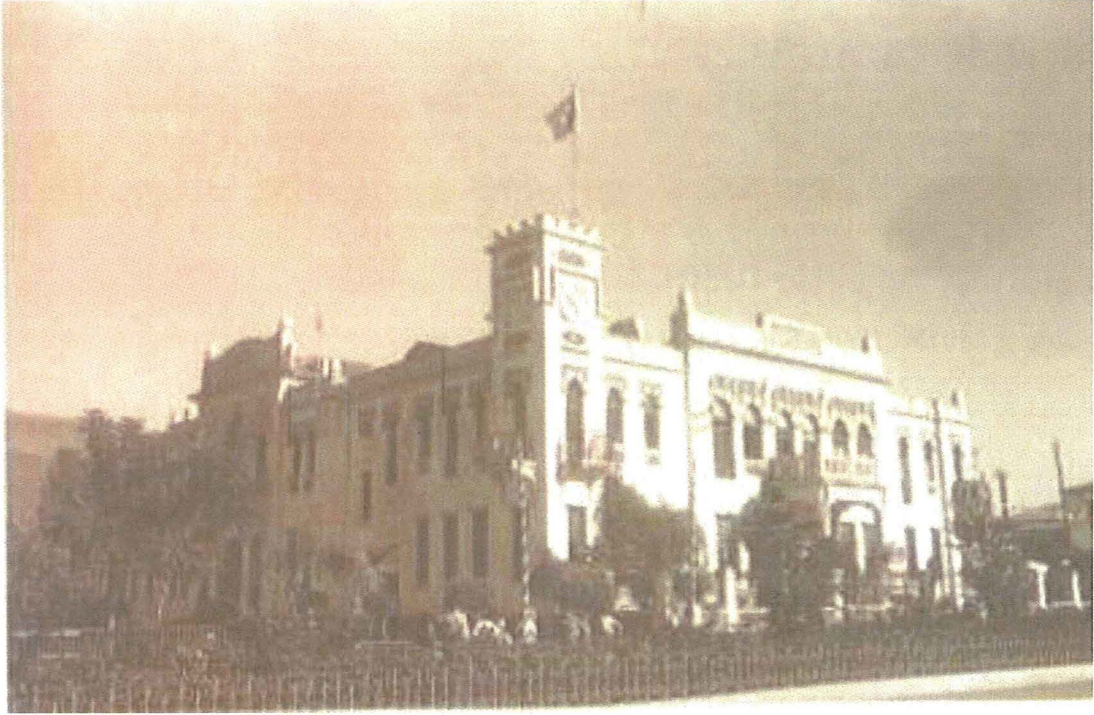


Figure 17: Palace of Justice, Alexandretta (After *Zaman İçerisinde İskenderun*)



Figure 18: Palace of Justice (P.T.T.) – Courtesy of Mine Temiz



Figure 19: Palace of Justice, detail



Figure 20: Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban (After *Zaman İçerisinde İskenderun*)

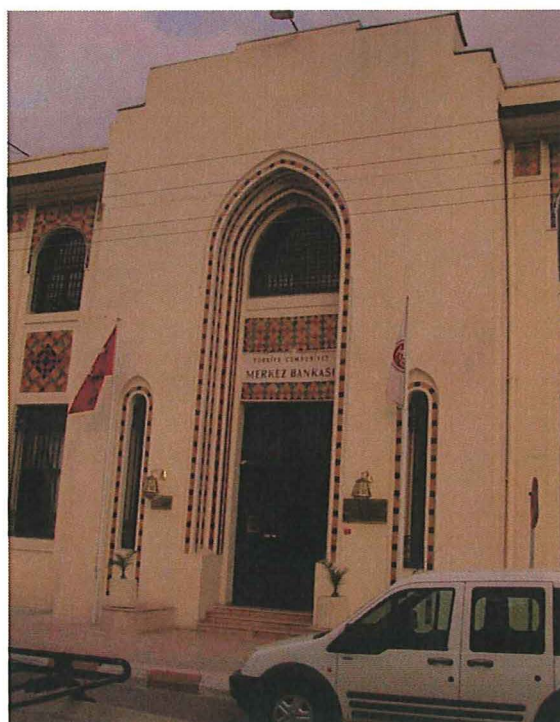


Figure 21: Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban, detail.

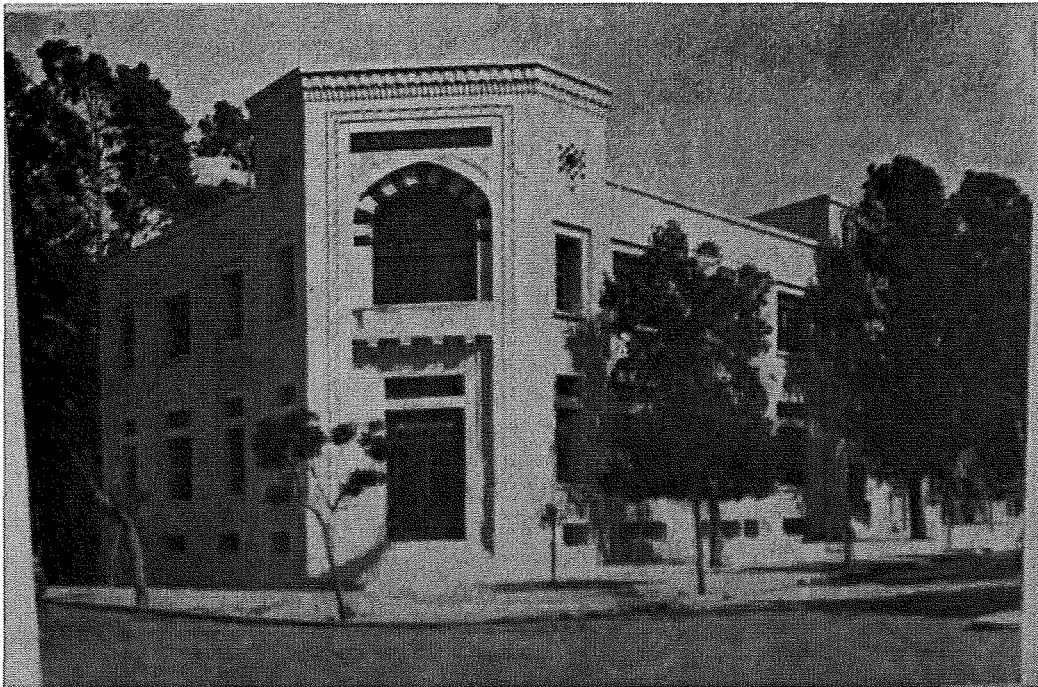
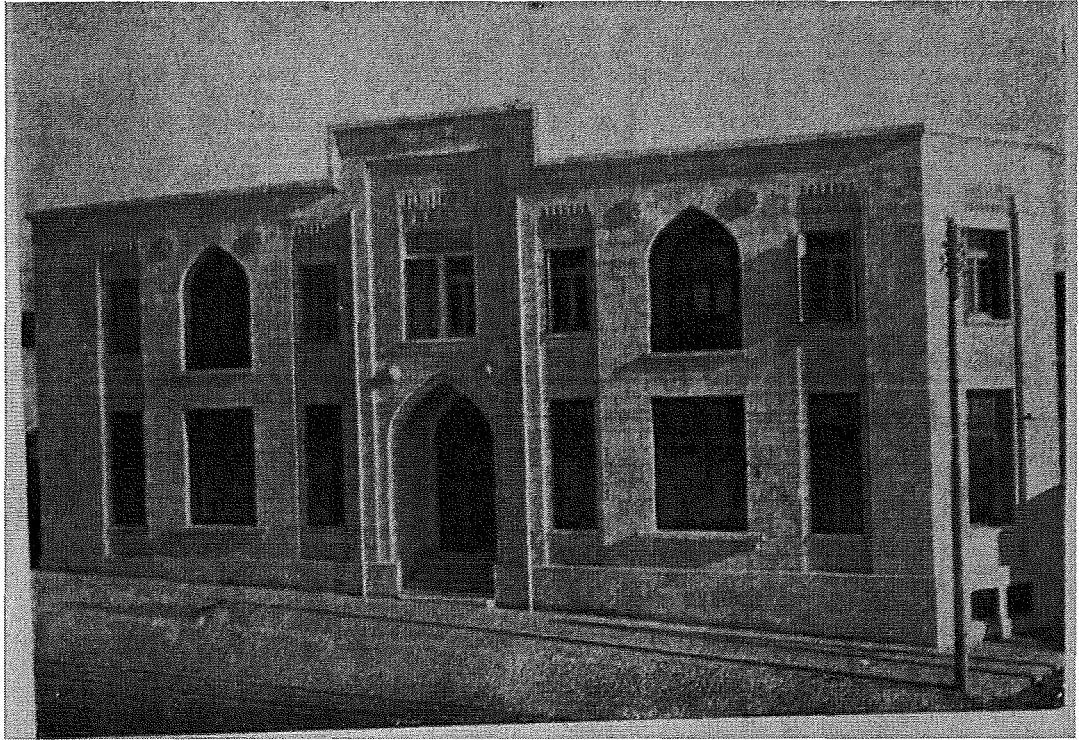


Figure 22: Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban, Aleppo (top) and Damascus (below), (After *Quinze Ans de Mandat*)

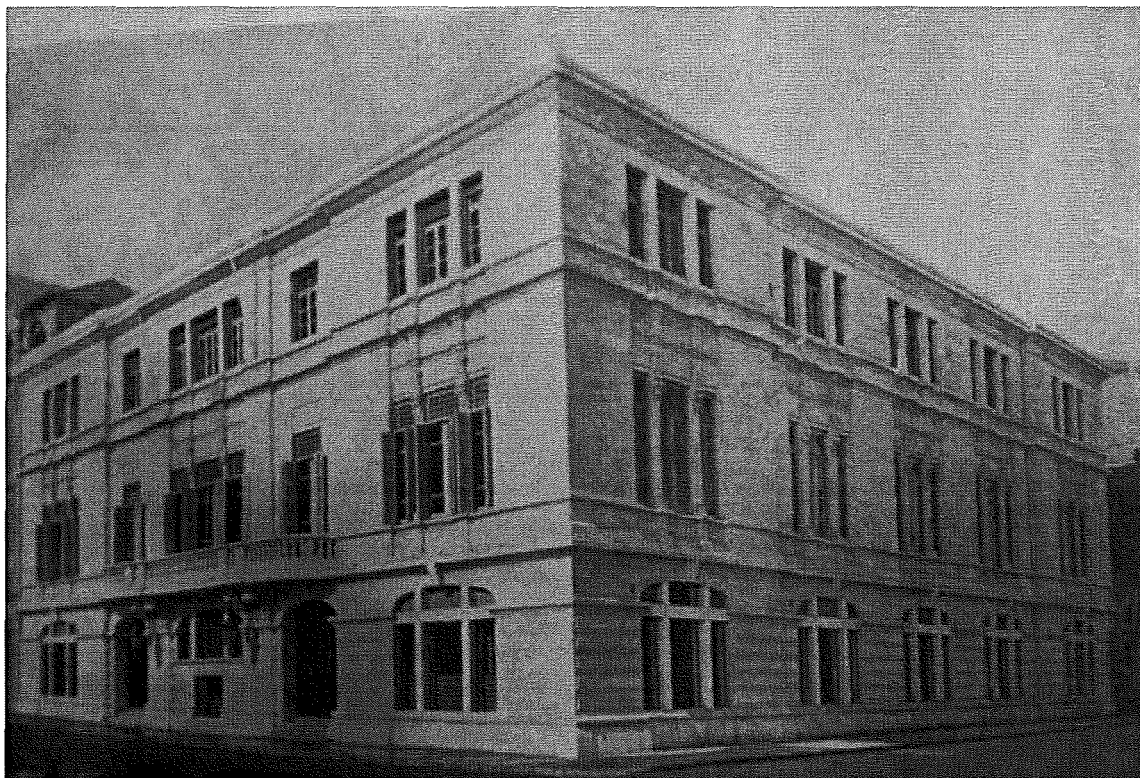


Figure 23: Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban, Beirut (After *Quinze Ans de Mandat*)



Figure 24: The Konak of Alexandretta (After Aslanoğlu)



Figure 25: The Konak of Alexandretta.



Figure 26: The Konak of Alexandretta, during 1910s. (After *Hatay Fikir ve Sanat Dergisi*)



Figure 27: A private residence in Alexandretta (Courtesy of Mine Temiz)



Figure 28: The building which housed the French Consulate in Alexandretta during the mandate.



Figure 29: Antioch, aerial view (Courtesy of Mine Temiz)

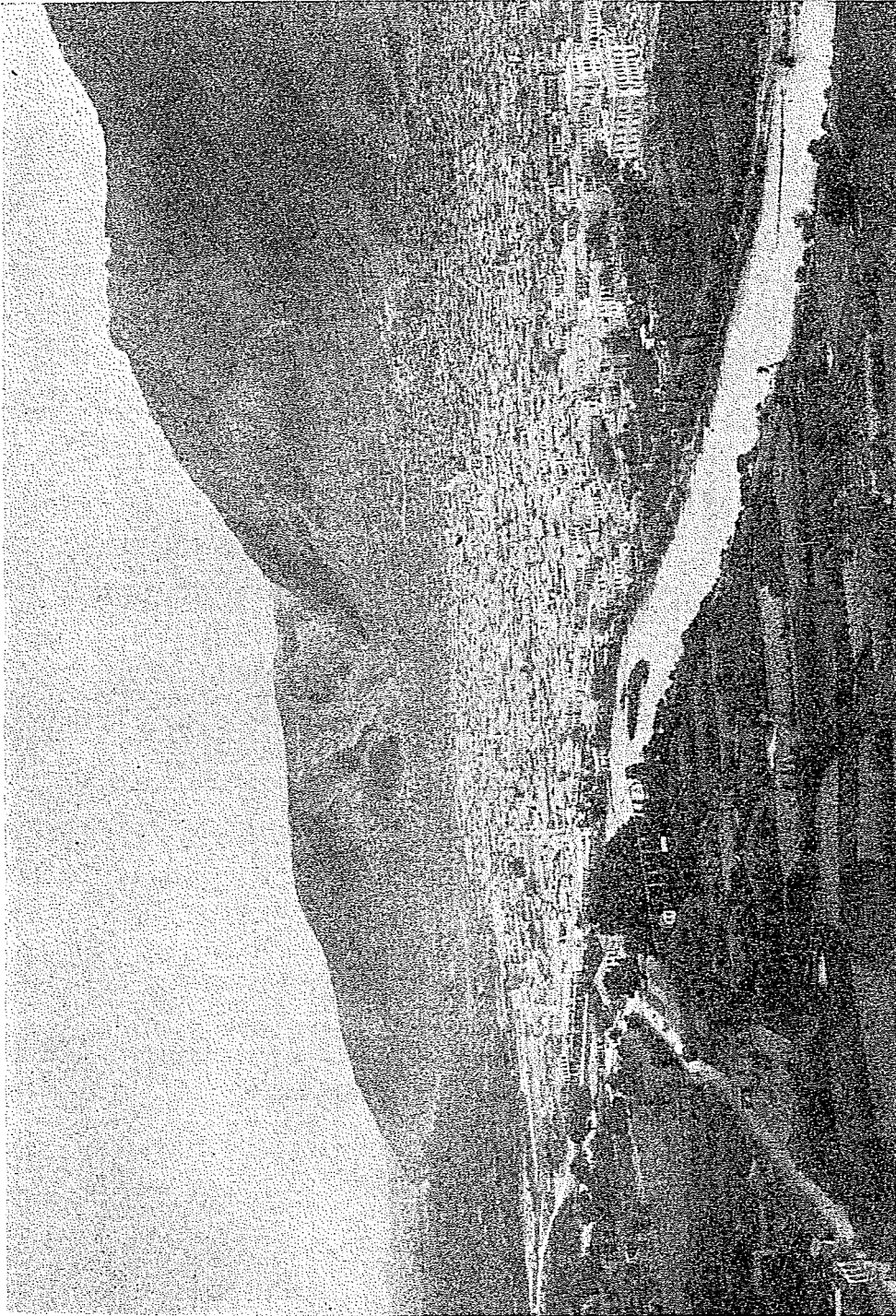


Figure 30: Antioch, aerial view. (After Jacquot)

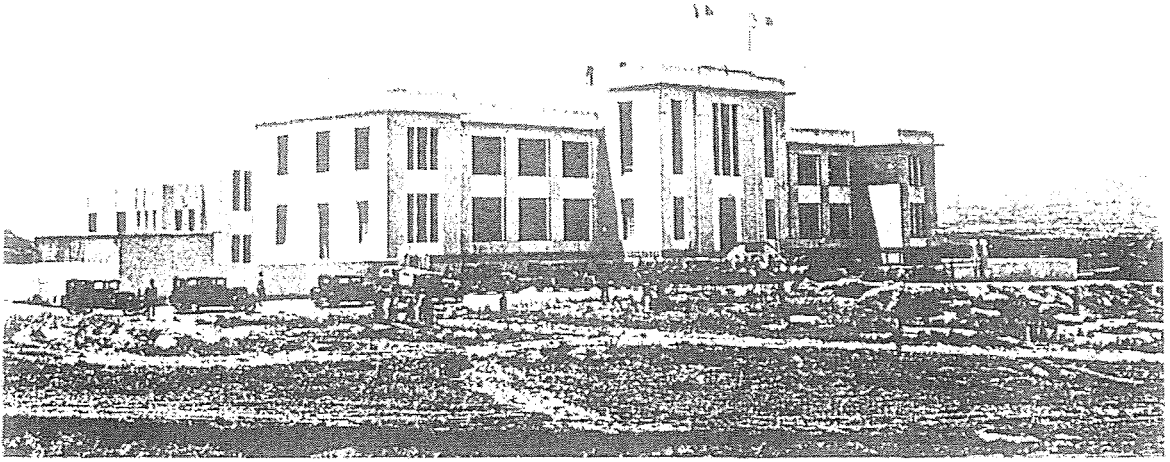


Figure 31: Antioch Hospital (After Aslanoğlu)

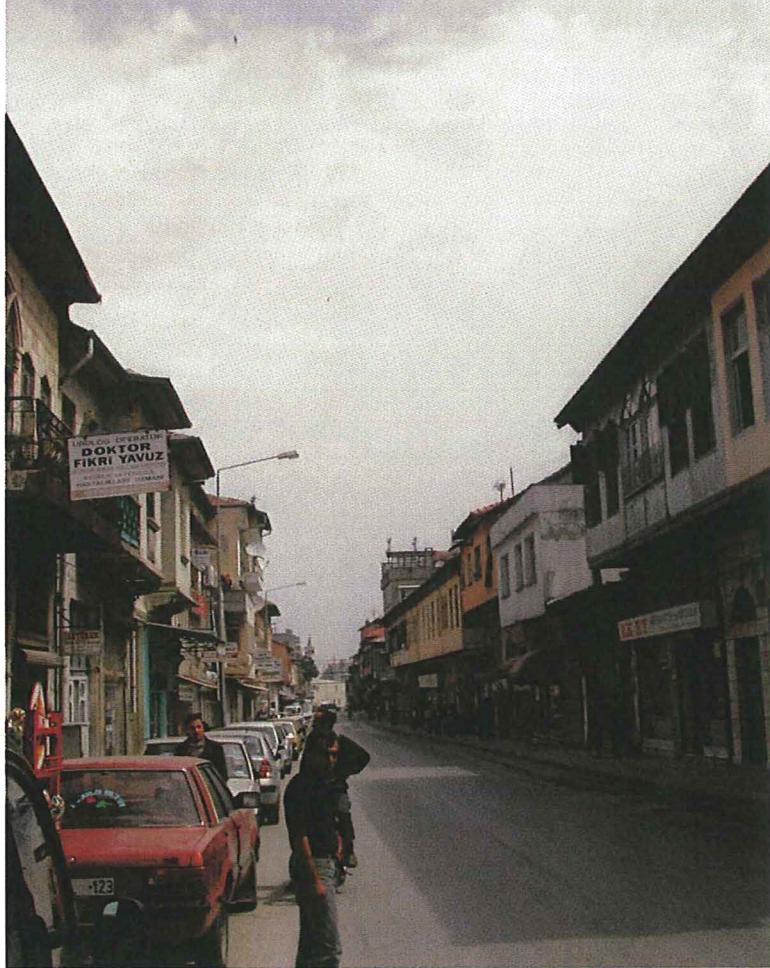


Figure 32: Herod Road (Kurtulus Caddesi)



Figure 33: A building constructed after the revival of the Herod Road.



Figure 34: The novel square across the river. The white building on the background is the municipality, constructed during the mandate.



Figure 35: Antioch, Tourism Hotel.



Figure 36: Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban, Antioch. (Recently converted into a Protestant church)



Figure 37: Governorship of Antioch.



Figure 38: Municipality Building, Antioch. (After Aslanoğlu)

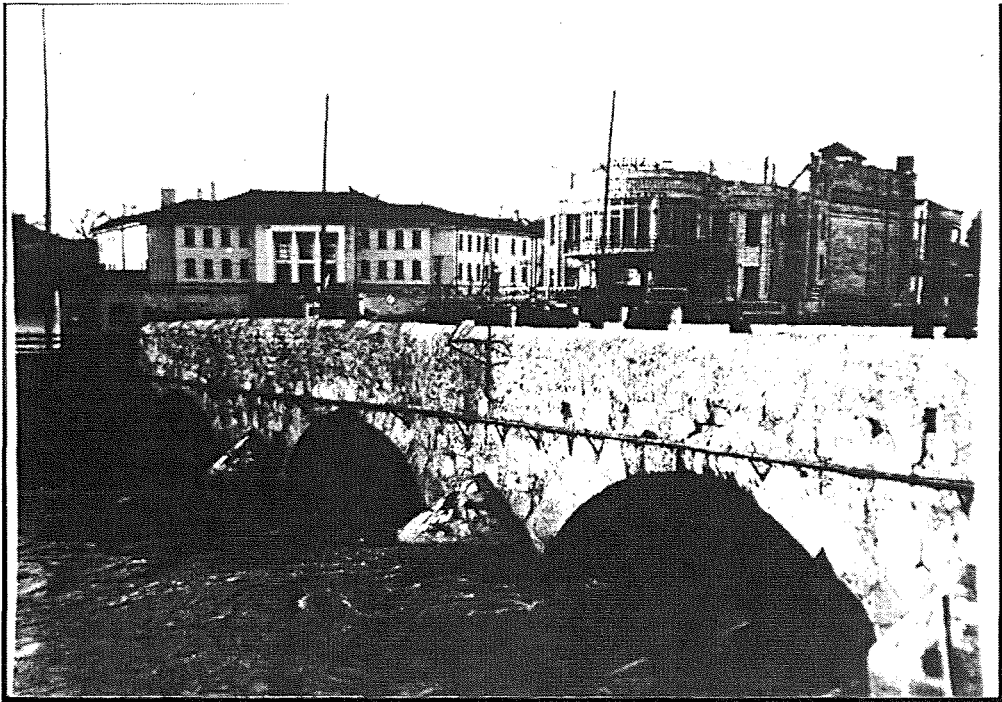


Figure 39: P.T.T. building, seen from the ancient part of the city. (Courtesy of Mine Temiz)



Figure 40: P.T.T., detail.

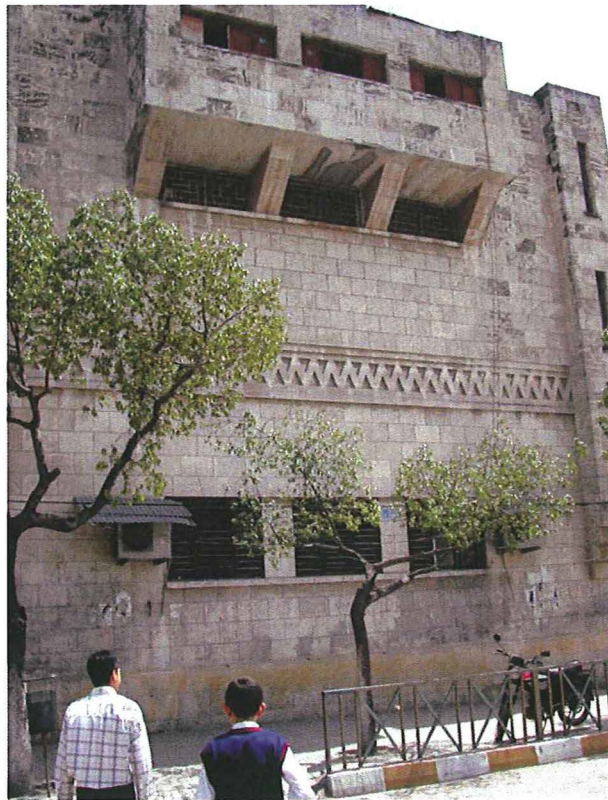


Figure 41: Cinema, Antioch.



Figure 42: Adali House.



Figure 43: The summer residence of the délégué of the High Commissioner, Antioch.

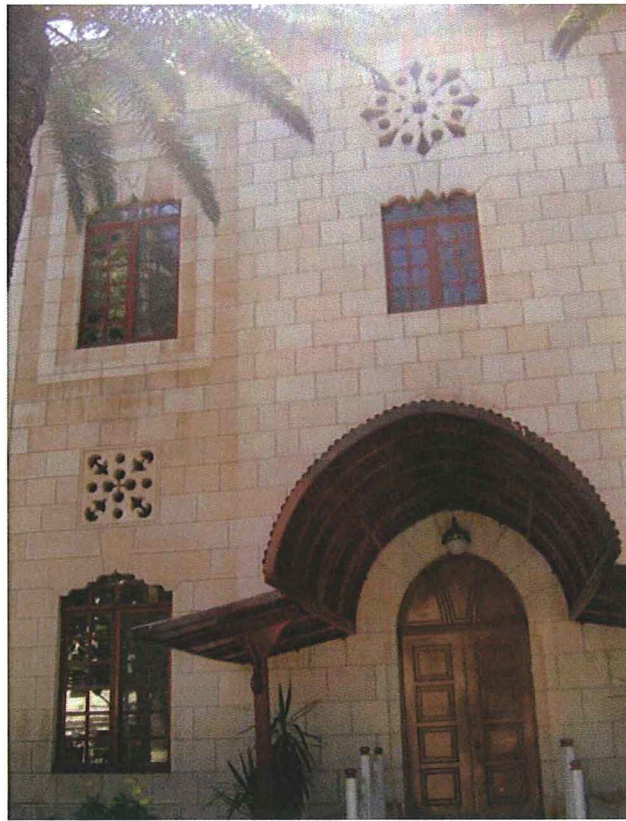


Figure 44: Summer residence, detail.

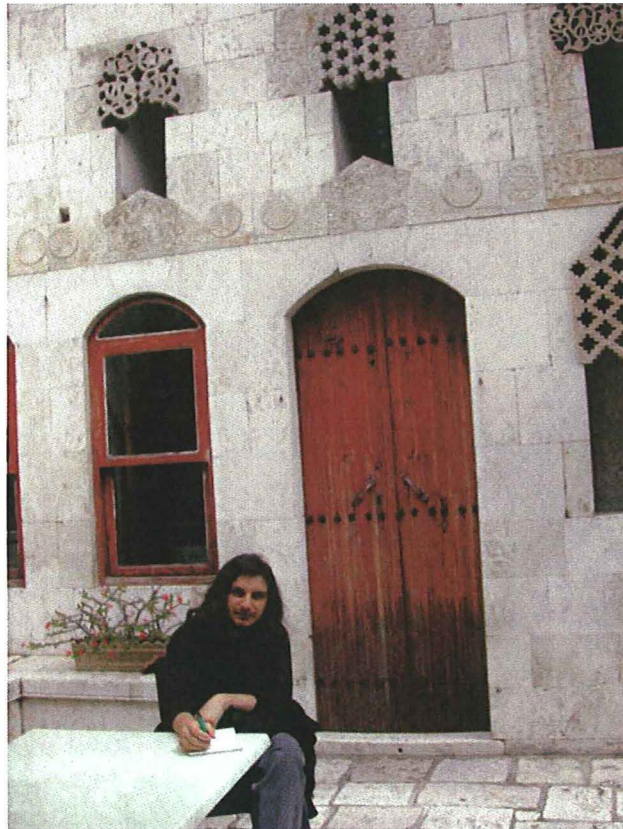


Figure 45: Courtyard of an old house in Antioch.

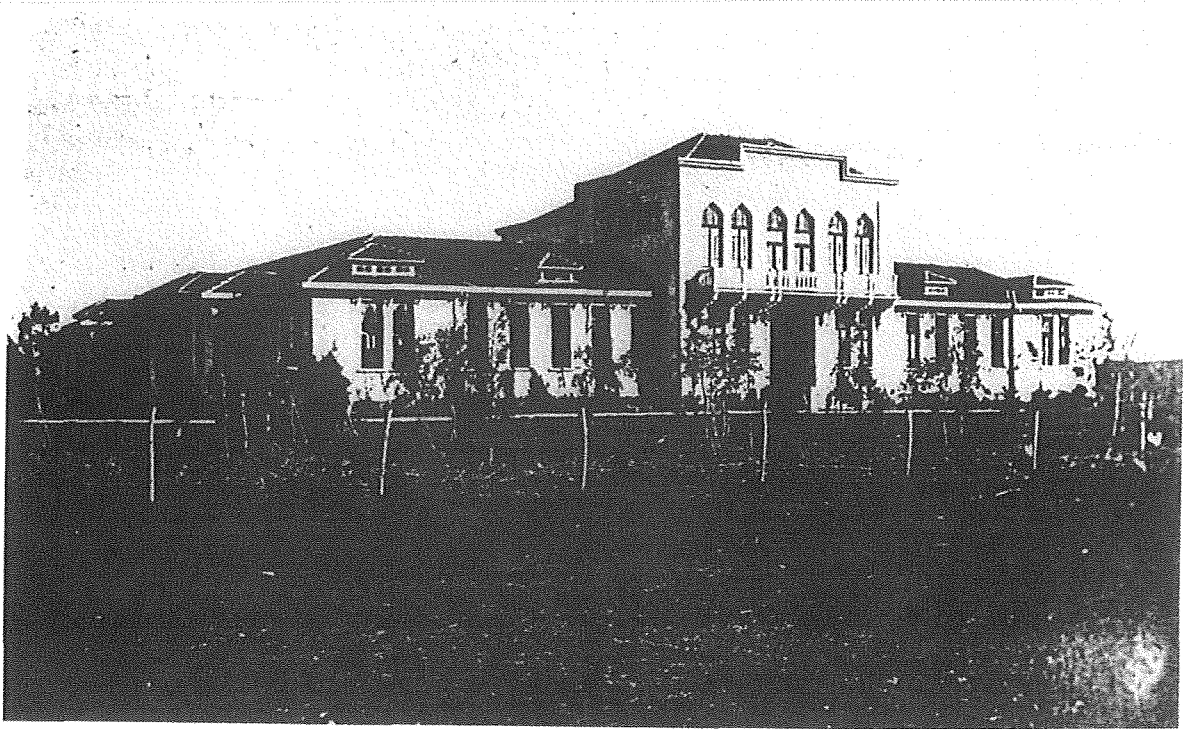


Figure 46: Antioch High School (After Aslanoğlu)

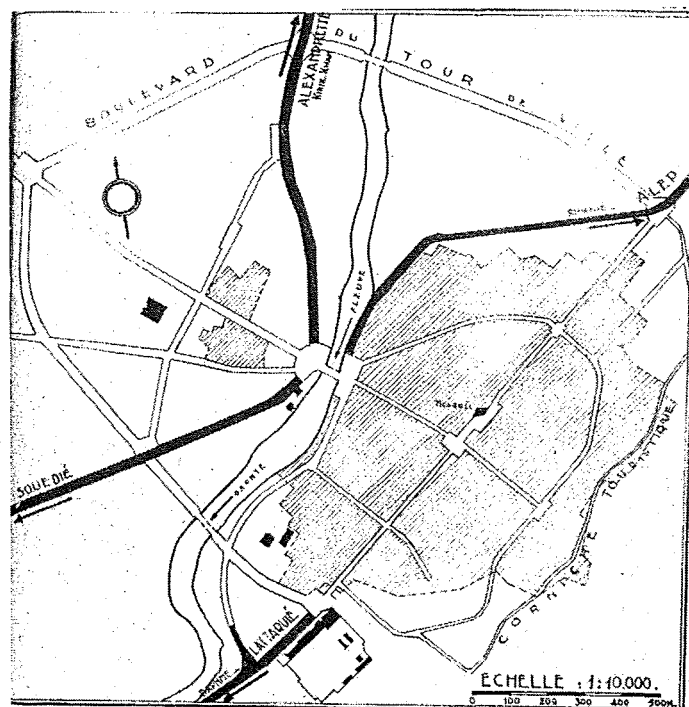
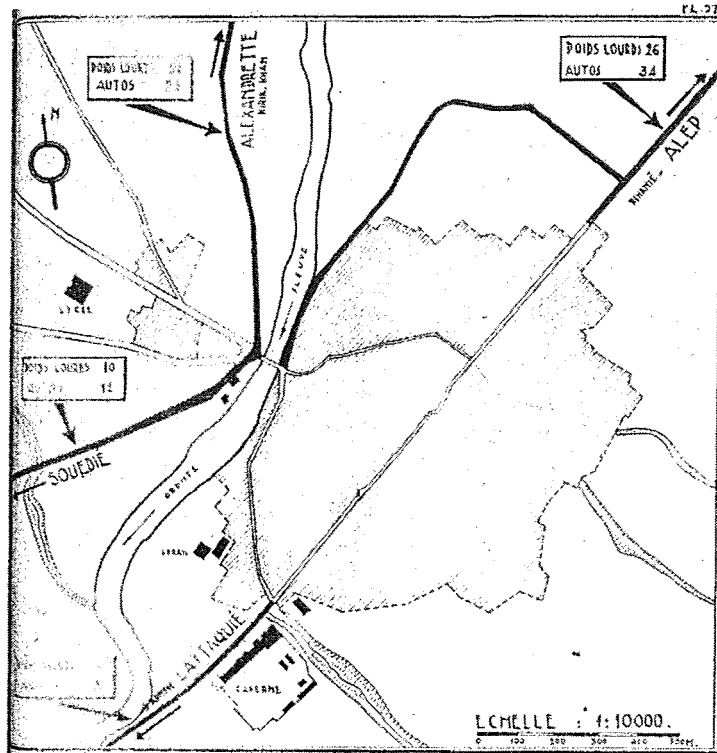
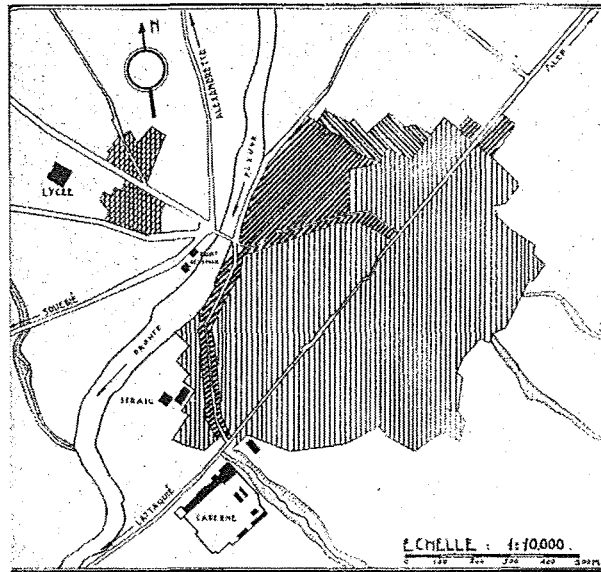
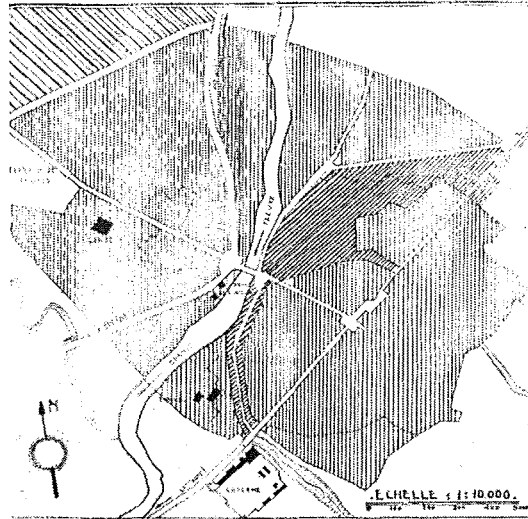


Figure 47: Antioch, the existing circulation scheme and the Danger proposal. (After Pinto)



SCHEMA DU ZONING ACTUEL.

- | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | ZONE D'HABITATIONS COLLECTIVES. | | ZONE DE COMMERCE (SOUKS). |
| | ZONE DE RESIDENCE. | | ZONE DE PETITE INDUSTRIE. |



SCHEMA DU ZONING FUTUR.

- | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | ZONE D'HABITATIONS COLLECTIVES. | | ZONE DE COMMERCE (SOUKS). |
| | ZONE DE RESIDENCE. | | ZONE DE PETITE INDUSTRIE. |

Figure 48: Functional zones of Antioch, and Danger's proposal. (After Pinto)

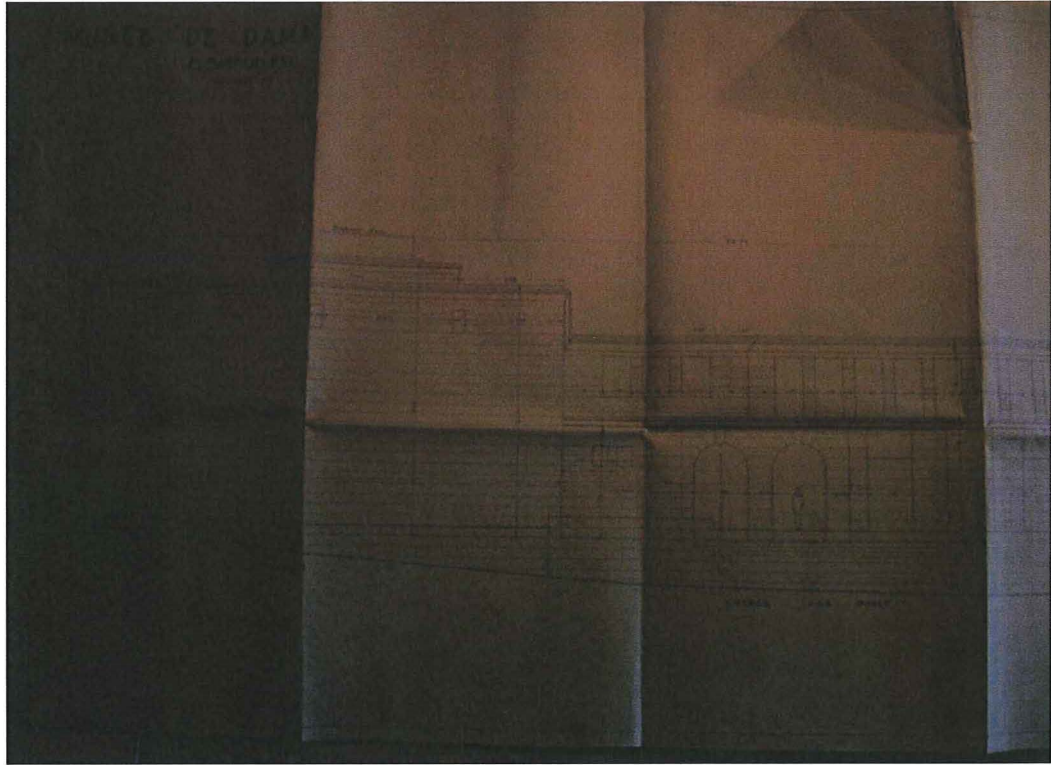


Figure 49: Michel Ecochard, Museum of Damascus, eastern elevation. (MAE, CAD)

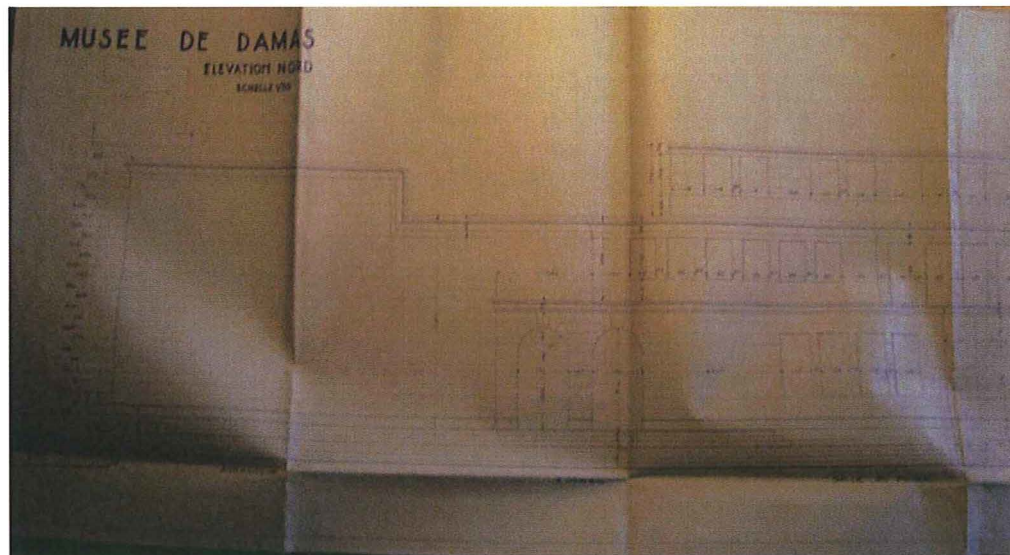


Figure 50: Museum of Damascus, northern elevation. (MAE, CAD)



Figure 51: Archeological Museum (The small entrance building to the left was added in 1970s), Antioch.



Figure 52: Archeological Museum, detail.

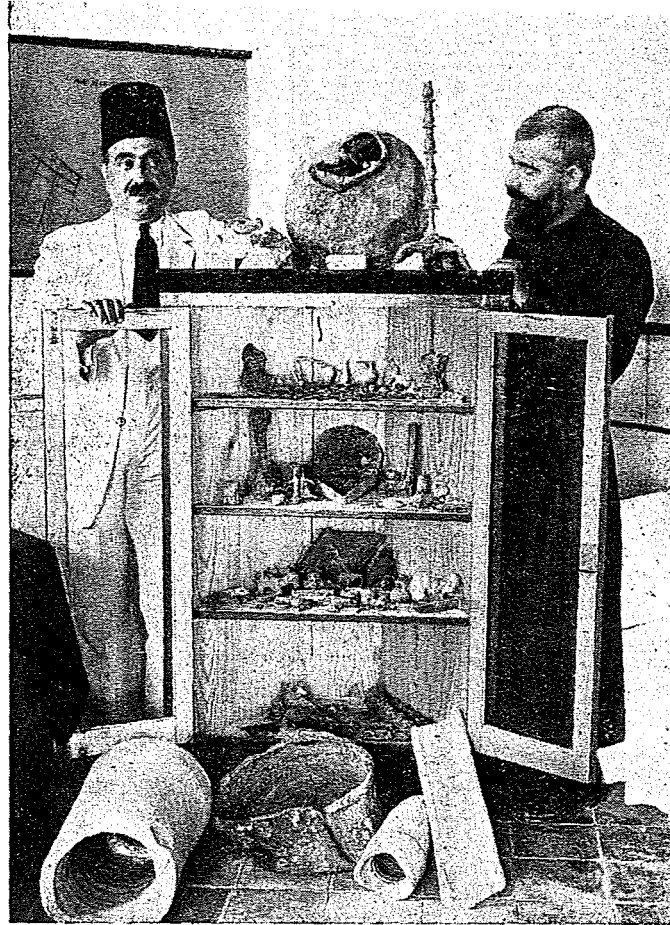


Figure 53: Archeological findings exhibited in the municipality. (After Jacquot)



Figure 54: Aerial photograph showing the traces of the Roman grid plan in Antioch.
(After Weulersse)

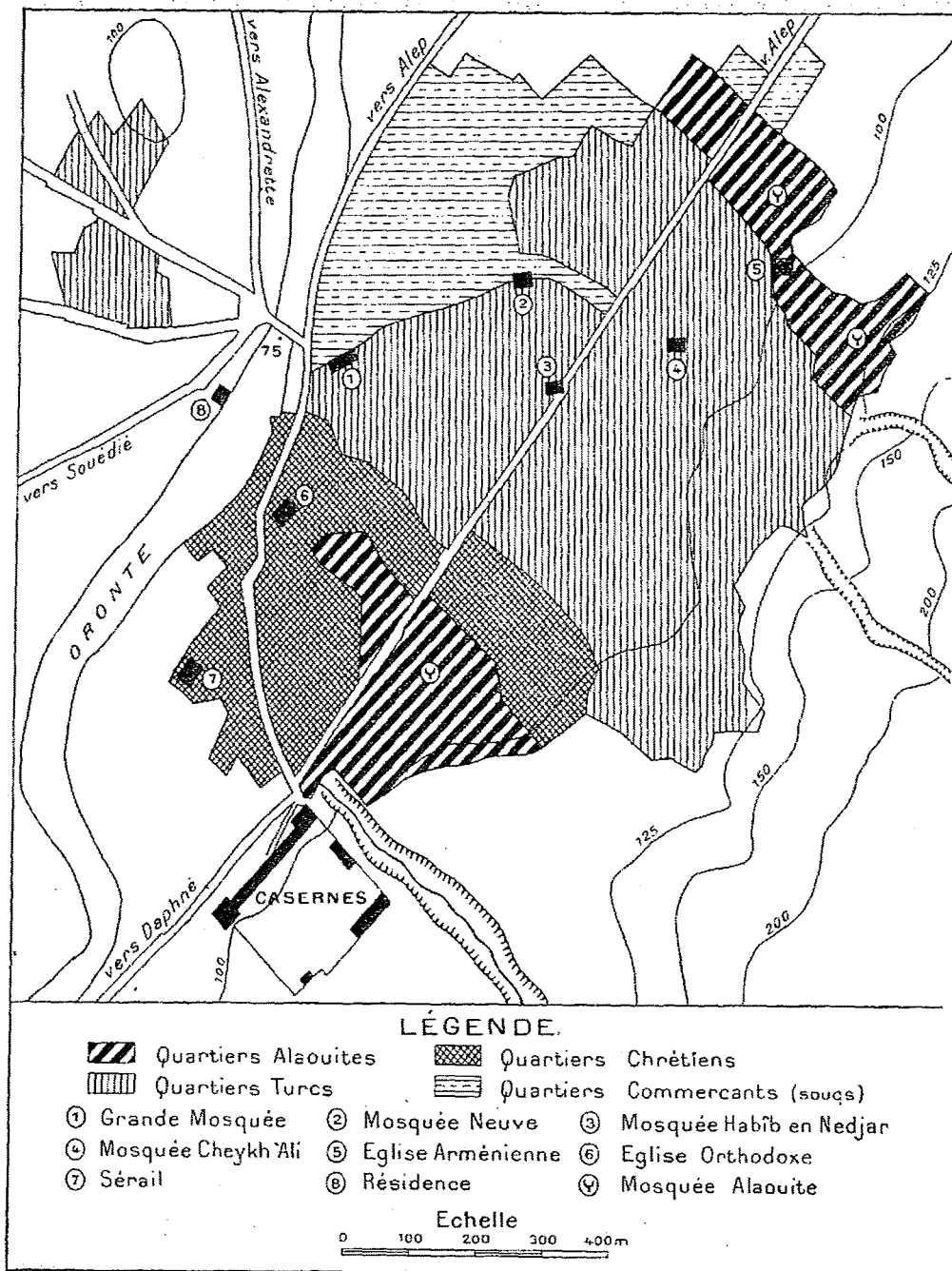


Figure 55: Quarters of Antioch. (After Weulersse)

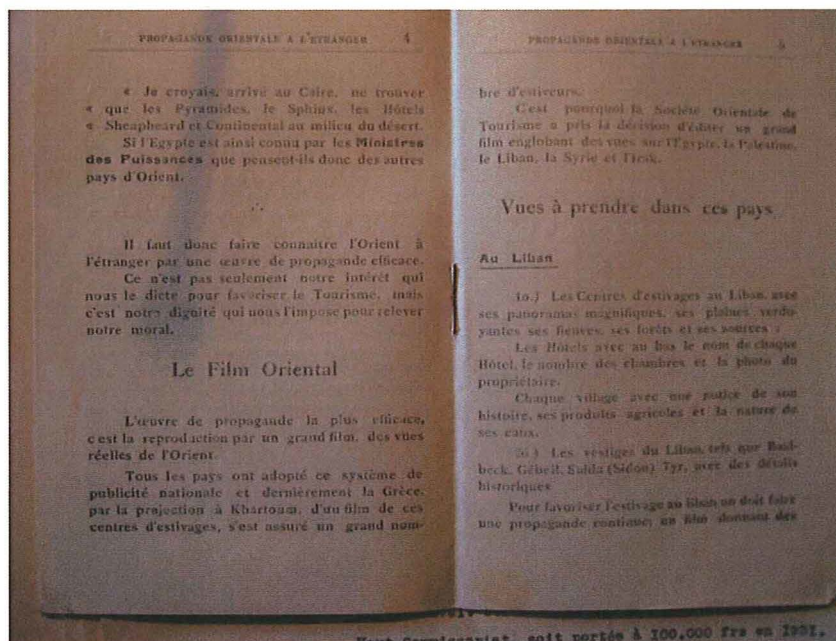
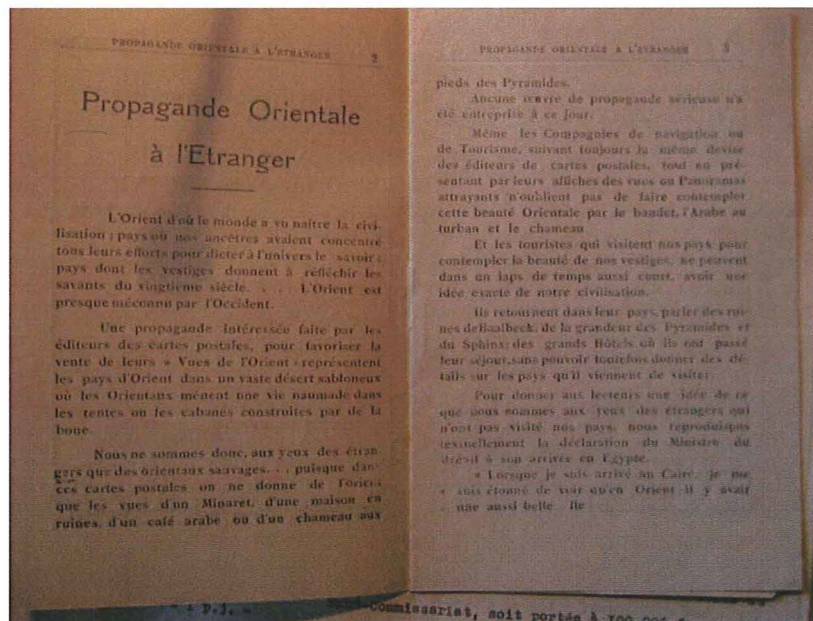


Figure 56: Propaganda Oriental a l'Etranger. (MAE, CAD)

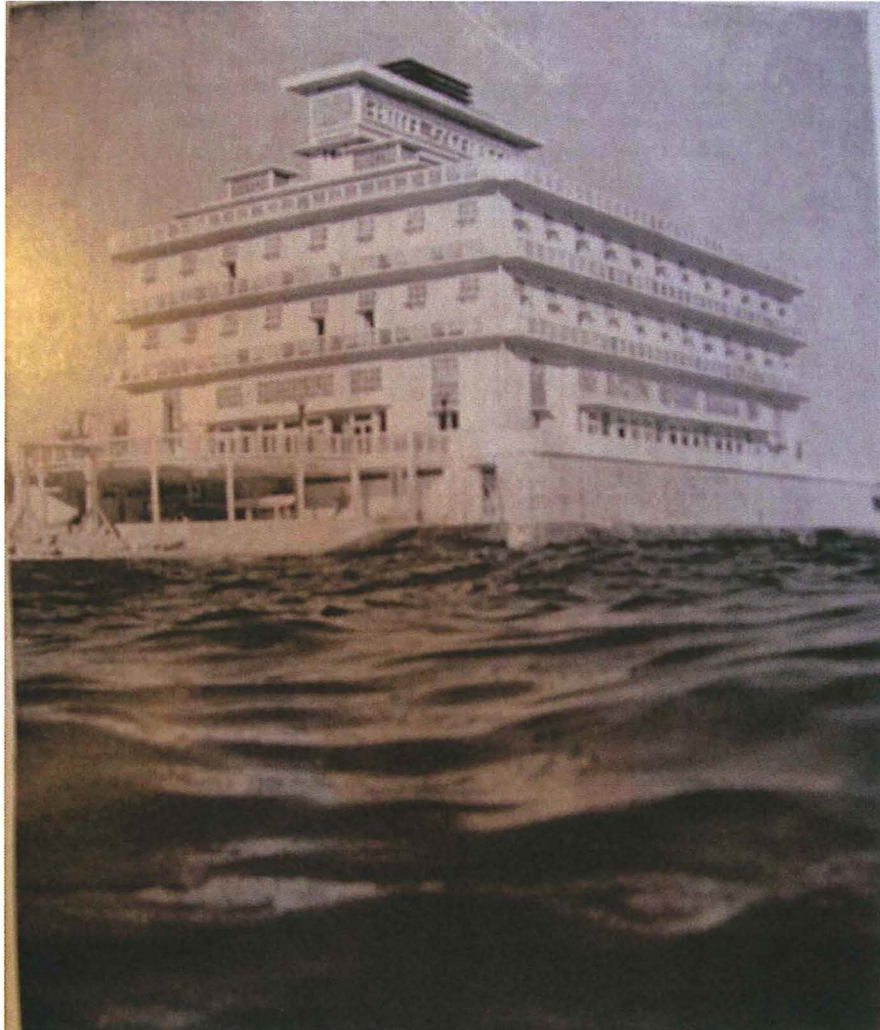


Figure 57: Hotel Saint Georges, Beirut – Société des Grands Hotels du Levant (After *Quinze Ans de Mandat*)

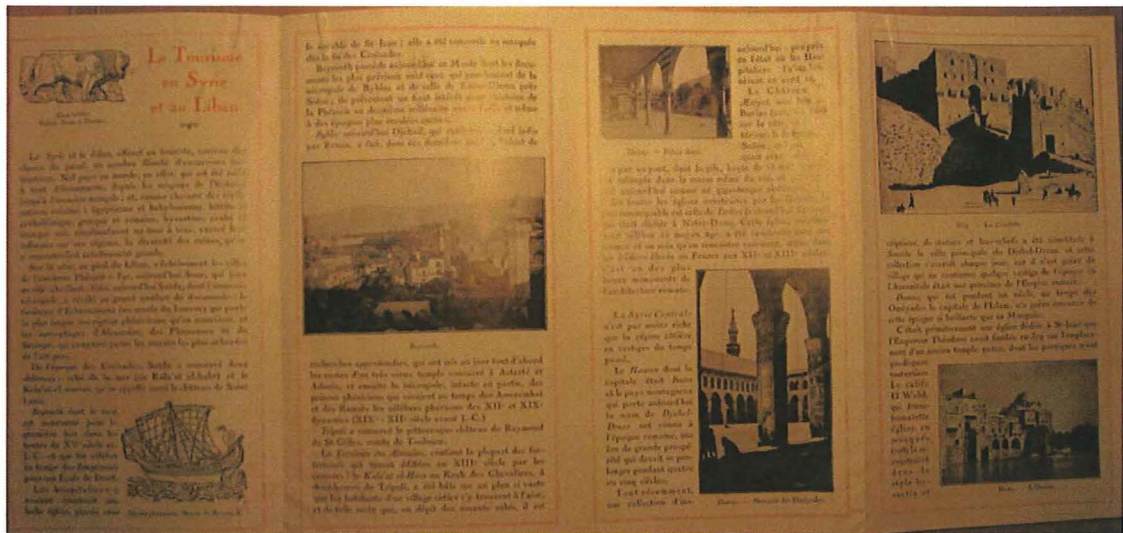


Figure 58: A Tourism Brochure. (MAE, CAD)

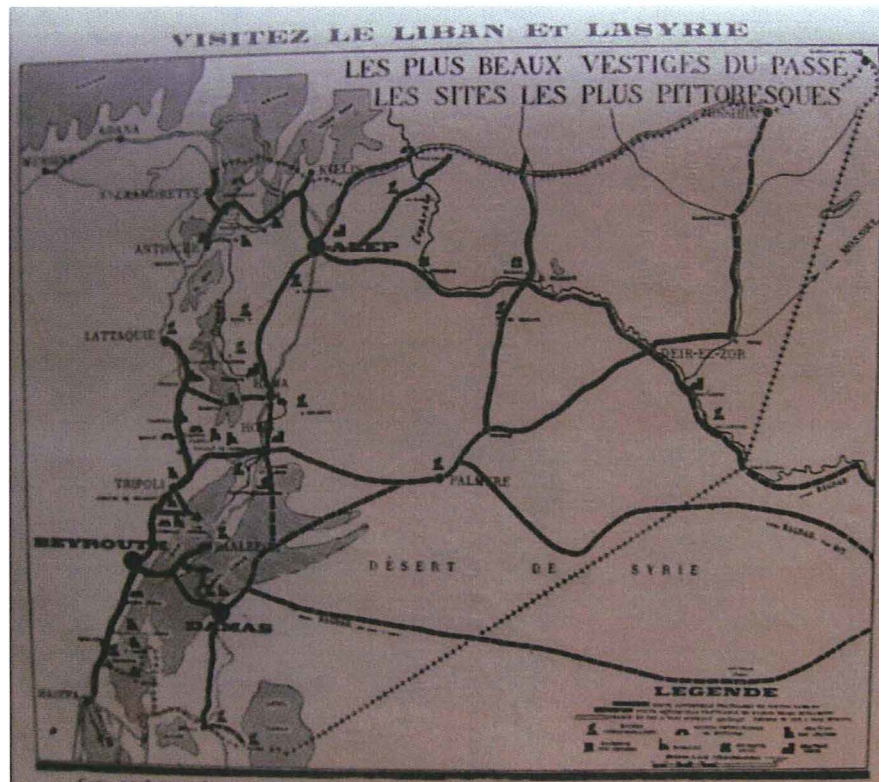
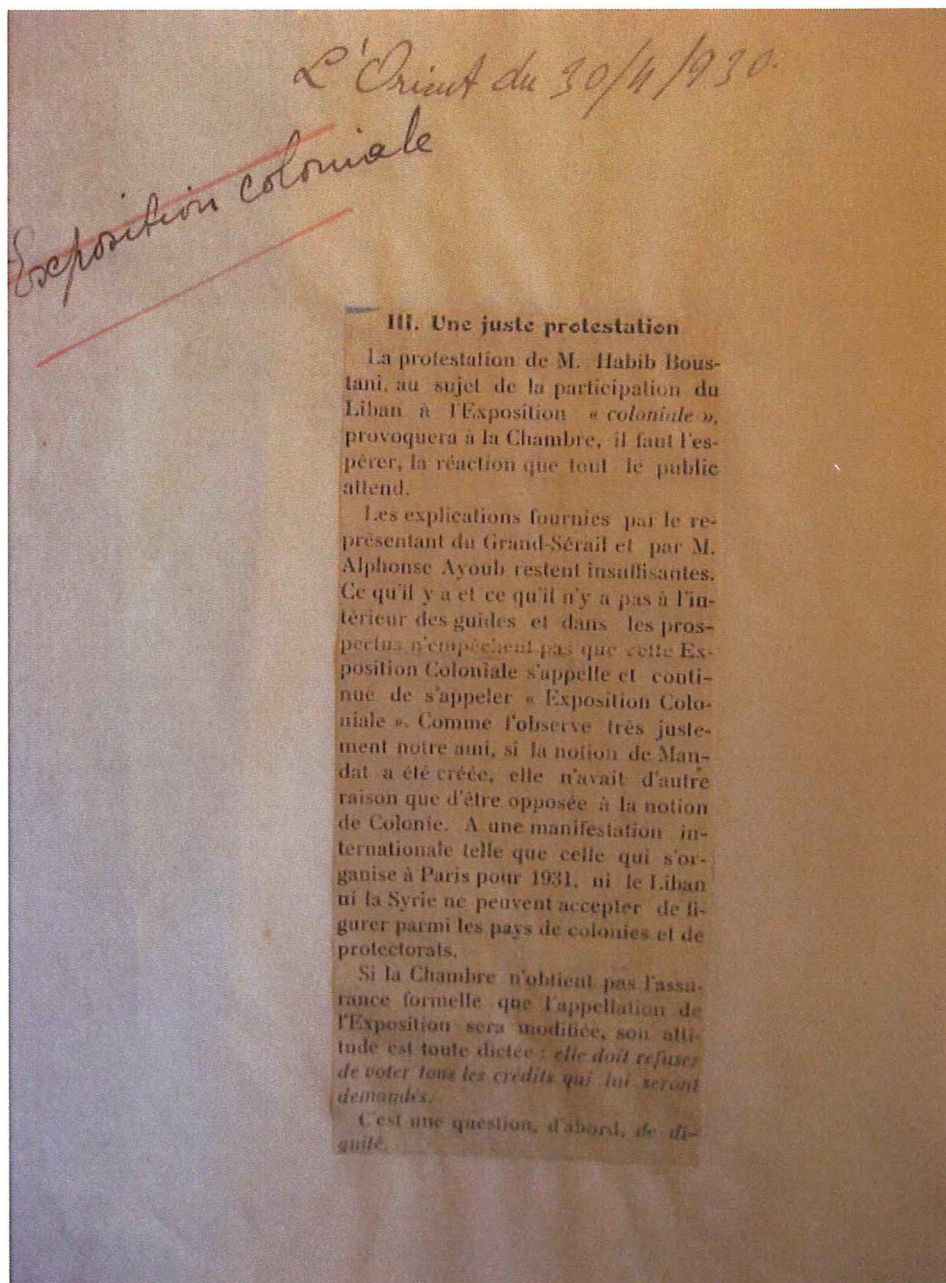


Figure 59: A map of tourism, Syria and Lebanon.(MAE, CAD)

APPENDIX B (DOCUMENTS)



Appendix 1: Objection to the participation of Lebanon to the “Colonial” Exposition. (MAE, CAD)

PROJET DE REPARATION DES SALLES DU PAVILLON

REI-DE-CLASSEES

Vestibule d'entrée	: Préhistoire et archéologie
(21 et 22)	: Sandjak d'Alexandrette
Salles de gauche	: exposition : Etat des Alsaciens
(22 et 21)	: République Libanaise
Salon de gauche	: République Libanaise
Salon de droite	: Oeuvres françaises et culture arabe
Galerie	: Objets divers
Sauk (6 boutiques)	: Le répartir suivant les demandes des Etats. Il pourrait être accordé trois salles à la Syrie, 2 au Liban, 1 aux alsaciens.

PREMIER ETAGE

Galerie au dessus du vestibule d'entrée	: Tourisme et géographie
Galerie de gauche	: Archéologie
Salon de gauche	: Histoire
Salon de droite	: Int. Sta. Française et grands travaux
Galerie de droite	: Syrie et Djebel-Druze

1/1/1919

Tomou

6/1/1919

Appendix 2: Organization of the Syrian Pavilion. (MAE, CAD)

39
TRAVAI PUBLICS

Personnel du service central

M. Kowalsky, architecte, après avoir établi les plans des palais de Justice, Prisons et Gendarmerie à Alexandrette, et lycée à Antioche, a été remis à la disposition des Travaux Publics de la Région Nord, le 15 septembre.

Achat et entretien d'outils et machines

Le service éprouve certaines difficultés en ce qui concerne la marche des rouleaux compresseurs "Laffly" mis en service courant juin. Le fournisseur a fait parvenir gratuitement des pièces de rechange et a envoyé sur place un mécanicien de Beyrouth spécialiste en moteurs semi-Diesel. Les causes pour lesquelles le rendement espéré n'est pas obtenu étant encore indéterminées, la maison "Laffly" ne peut disposer, d'après son représentant à Alexandrette, à envoyer à ses frais un mécanicien de France.

Entretien

Les équipes de camionniers ont été plus particulièrement employées au répannage de matière d'agrégation sur la chaussée.

Entretien des bâtiments de l'Etat

Afin de pouvoir procéder à la démolition de l'ancienne douane sur l'emplacement de laquelle sera construit le Palais de Justice et les P.F.T., l'Administration a dû adjoindre à ses frais l'ancien hôpital d'Alexandrette pour y loger les prisonniers, la gendarmerie et le Tribunal. Le bâtiment appartient à la municipalité.

Recommandations.....

Appendix 3: Quarterly Report, section Personnel du Service shows the activities of Kowalsky in the sanjak. (MAE, CAD)

37

par suite du froid et d'abondantes chutes de neige.

b) Travaux d'entretien - Route N°5 - Kirik-Ujan - Hadjilap :
 Pose de blocage entre les Km.0400 et 1400.
 Il a été employé pour la couche supérieure, environ 800 m³ de pierre cassée de qualité médiocre approvisionnée durant la guerre mondiale.

Bâtiments..

Palais de Justice d'Alexandrette :
 - Entreprise Kassouf.-
 Les Maçonneries atteignent la hauteur du rez de chaussée, dont le niveau est à lm.00 au dessus des trottoirs.

Caracol et Audirieh d'Ak-Tépt :
 - Entreprise Rosazza.-
 Caracol : pose de la charpente et couverture des écuries.
 Audirieh: maçonneries à hauteur des appuis des fenêtres.
 Les travaux ont dû être suspendus pendant deux mois environ en raison de la basse température.

Hôtel du Bar à Ak-Antioche :
 - Entreprises Benjuda.- /20
 Démolition, prévue dans le projet, des divers murs intérieurs.- Exécution des cloisons de répartition, ravalement de la façade principale et rejointoiement sur les façades postérieures et latérales gauche. 2/20
 Coffrage de l'escalier principal. Fabrication à l'atelier des portes et fenêtres.

Résidence de Monsieur le Délégué à Antioche : /3/29
 Le bâtiment est terminé.
 Le sur de clôture est en cours d'exécution. 4/2/29

ETUDE ET PROJET
 NOTES ET INFORMATIONS GÉNÉRALES

Route N°1 - Section Antioche - Har-Ab-Chachour.- 2/4/29

3^e Lot du Km.17 au 20. Adjudicé. Sans adjudicé le 2 avril 1929
 4^e Lot du Km.22 au 24 - Adjudicé à l'approbation de l'Administration.
 5^e Lot du Km.24 au 25. Adjudicé à l'approbation de l'Administration.

Appendix 4: Quarterly Report showing the Kassouf, Rosazza, and Benjuda enterprises' activities in the sanjak. (MAE, CAD)