

# INVESTIGATION OF THE CONTINUITY OF URBAN MEMORY IN ANTAKYA THROUGH STREETS USING MAPS

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## Abstract

This study aims to analyze and discuss the continuity and ruptures in urban memory through streets and using maps. The permanence of the spatial elements that form the city is directly related to the continuity of urban memory. Among the city's spatial elements, streets are the most permanent and tend to preserve their original layout. Therefore, the research focuses on streets. Since the development and change of the streets are shaped in a close relationship with the boundaries of the city, these two elements are considered in a holistic perspective. The study area is the city of Antakya (Antioch), which has not been abandoned despite the devastating earthquakes and natural disasters in the historical process, has been rebuilt many times thanks to its religious and commercial importance, and has been settled since the Hellenistic period. The methodology of the research is a case study structured by comparing and superimposing 12 maps drawn about Antakya, interpreting the information read on these maps together with the data obtained from written sources and field surveys conducted in the city. As a result of the study, it has been revealed that there have been spatial and social changes since ancient times due to natural disasters, wars, changes in the natural environment of the city over time and planned and unplanned interventions in the urban space by human hands, resulting in ruptures in urban memory. Despite this, it is seen that some elements of urban memory such as street traces and place names have been maintained since ancient times.

**Keywords:** Urban Memory, Streets, Antakya, Maps



## ANTAKYA'DA KENTSEL BELLEĞİN SÜREKLİLİĞİNİN SOKAKLAR ÜZERİNDEN HARİTALARLA İNCELENMESİ

### Öz

Bu çalışma, kentsel bellekteki süreklilik ve kopuklukların sokaklar üzerinden haritalar aracılığıyla analiz edilmesini ve tartışılmasını amaçlamaktadır. Kenti oluşturan mekansal öğelerin kalıcılığı, kentsel belleğin sürekliliği ile doğrudan ilişki içerisinde. Sokaklar, kenti oluşturan mekansal öğeler arasında orijinal düzenini koruma eğiliminde ve en kalıcı olanıdır. Bu nedenle, araştırma sokaklara odaklanmaktadır. Sokaklarının gelişimi ve değişimi, kentin sınırlarıyla sıkı bir ilişki içerisinde şekillendiği için bu iki unsur bütünsel bir perspektifle ele alınmıştır. Çalışma alanı, tarihsel süreçte yaşanan yıkıcı depremler ve doğal afetlere rağmen dini ve ticari önemi sayesinde yeniden inşa edilen ve Helenistik dönemden itibaren kesintisiz

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yerleşime ev sahipliği yapan Antakya kentidir. Araştırmanın yöntemi, Antakya ile ilgili çizilen 12 haritanın karşılaştırılması ve üst üste çakıştırılması, bu haritalarda okunan bilgilerin yazılı kaynaklardan elde edilen veriler ve kentte yapılan alan çalışmaları ile birlikte yorumlanması şeklinde yapılandırılmış bir durum çalışmasıdır. Çalışmanın sonucunda antik yıllardan itibaren doğal afetler, savaşlar, zaman içinde kentin doğal çevresinde gerçekleşen değişimler, kentsel mekana insan eliyle yapılan planlı ve plansız müdahaleler nedeniyle mekansal ve sosyal değişimler gerçekleşerek kentsel bellekte kopukluklar olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Buna rağmen kentte hala sokak izleri, yer isimleri gibi bazı kentsel bellek unsurlarının antik yıllardan itibaren sürdürüldüğü görülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kentsel Bellek, Sokaklar, Antakya, Haritalar



## Introduction

The city is a place that reveals the embodiment of lifestyles, collective events and collective memory with all its components, and through which different experiences and impressions are experienced (Rossi, 1982). Urban space (where the event takes place), social events and social groups that take place in collective memory mutually bear traces of each other (Halbwachs, 2018). The city becomes a living organism through the interaction of spatial, temporal and social elements and acquires consciousness and memory over time (Rossi, 1982). Urban memory is the element that transforms a space into a place that evokes meanings and memories (Cheshmehzangi, 2021). The continuity of urban memory keeps the meaning and memories attached to a place alive and ensures a sense of belonging. It is directly related to the permanence of the spaces that contribute to the formation of the city. According to Poete, urban continuities are ensured by the basic layout of the city and the continuity of the plan. Cities tend to preserve their axes of development and original layout, especially in terms of plan and street layout. The qualities of the plan and streets are differentiated, often deformed, but essentially exist on different levels (Rossi, 1982). Jabos states that streets represent collective memory and are symbols of a society's past (Jacobs, 1995). Connerton emphasizes that the first thing that comes to mind when thinking of a city is often specific streets or groups of streets with a strong influence (Connerton, 2012). Among the elements that integrate the city with memories and experiences, streets are the most permanent and impressive ones. Therefore, Streets are the urban elements that should be considered to trace the continuity of urban memory.

The aim of this study is to present a framework for analyzing continuities and ruptures in urban memory through maps and streets, and to discuss the causes of ruptures in urban memory. This framework has been questioned and researched on the district of Antakya, the center of the city of Hatay in southern Turkey. Based on the assumption that the development of streets is directly linked to the natural and artificial boundaries of the city, the relationship between boundaries and streets was analyzed holistically in the research process.

## A. AREA OF THE STUDY

Antakya (Antioch) is one of the leading cities in history, both commercially and religiously. It is a trade center located at the crossroads of trade routes in 64 BC. It played an important role in trade between east and west. It is the intersection point of two main trade routes from the Euphrates to the port of Seleucia and from Bika to Asia Minor (Baedeker, 1898). With the onset of Christianity, it became a religiously sacred city, the name Christianity was first used here, and Antakya became a Christian pilgrimage site (Downey, 1961). Today it is still recognized as a place of pilgrimage. Due to its religious and commercial significance, geographical features, mild climate, and fertile soil, Antakya has been inhabited since the Hellenistic period and has seen many nations rule over it. Despite these positive features, frequent destructive earthquakes are one of the city's unsolved problems. Despite all its destructiveness, the city rose again after the earthquakes in history and life continued here. However, with the earthquakes on February 6 and February 20, 2023, and the destruction caused by the aftermath, life in the historical city center of Antakya was interrupted and the elements that make up the built environment, including street traces in some areas, were completely destroyed. The city of Antakya, which has harbored many layers over hundreds of years, but is under the threat of extinction due to the earthquake, is an ideal research site for examining continuity and ruptures in urban memory. In addition, it is thought that analyzing the formation and change of Antakya streets in relation to memory will be a guide in the process of the city's recovery.

One of the most radical interventions in Antakya's urban form in the last century, prior to the February 6, 2023 earthquakes, was the opening of Kurtuluş Street, which passes through the organic urban fabric in the northeast-southwest direction. This intervention can be evaluated as the reflection of social events and the change in lifestyle on the urban form as a design object. Excavations have shown that Kurtuluş Street existed in different layers in ancient times and was known as the Colonnaded Main Street or Herod Street. The roots of Kurtuluş Street dating back to the ancient period and the presence of many buildings belonging to different periods such as Mamluk, Ottoman, French Mandate and Republic on the street show that this street itself can be characterized as a place of memory. Kurtuluş Street, which has survived in different levels, names and qualities despite many earthquakes, downsizing and changes in pattern since the ancient years, is the most remarkable, discussed and excavated street in Antakya. The existence of this street is considered as a symbol of the continuity of urban memory and therefore, it was determined as the study area of the research.

## B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Thanks to its rich historical past, Antakya is one of the cities where many maps have been drawn and frequently visited by travelers. This rich archive played an important role in structuring the methodology of this study. The maps and written archival documents used in this study are described in this section.

### 1. Maps of Antakya in History

Twelve of the maps and plans obtained within the scope of this research were identified as primary sources because they are related to the research topic of this article (Table 1). The maps dated 1766, 1831, 1871 and 1898 were drawn with the cartographic techniques and facilities of the period they were drawn.

Therefore, they contain proportional and semantic differences and contradictions. Maps dated 1839 and 1890 are intended to depict Roman Antioch, not the period in which they were drawn. These predictive maps, which were drawn by interpreting the existing ruins of that period and the information in literature, give us clues about the city and street layout of the past periods, although their accuracy is not high. Even though maps drawn in the 18th and 19th centuries do not provide precise information about the periods they depict and the periods they were drawn, they contain important information and provide a basis for the discussion and research of possible scenarios (Table 1).

The cadastral maps drawn in 1929 with modern coordination and mapping techniques and consisting of 1/500 and 1/1000 scale plans contain detailed information about streets and buildings. The accuracy of these plans is high since they do not contain any proportional and scale errors, and they coincide with the current maps. Although the 1959 map was drawn according to the current coordinates, it does not contain as much detail as the 1929 map. Dead-end streets are not drawn on this map. Another of the main map sources for the study are the 2009 dated conservation development plan and the base map, which is the map drawn in the closest period to the present day. In addition to the maps of the streets and spatial elements of the city, the “Excavations in and around Antakya”, which provides information about the archaeological remains unearthed during the excavations carried out between 1932 and 1936, is one of the auxiliary sources in the conduct of this research.

**Table 1.** Maps of Antakya (Antioch) used in the article

No	Year	Name	The Source & The person or organization that drew the map
1	1766	Grundriss der Stadt Antiochien (Ground plan of the city of Antioch)	(Niebuhr, 1837) & Carsten Niebuhr
2	1831	The site of the battle of St. Simon	(Jacquot, 1931) & Michaud and Paujoulat
3	1839	Antioch Iconography	(Müller, 1839) & Karl Otfried Muller
4	1871	Antioch Plan	(Rey, 1871) & Emmanuel Guillaume Rey
5	1890	Antioche Ancienne (Ancient Antioch Map)	(Camus, 1890) & L'abbé E. Le Camus
6	1898	Antioch (Antakiyeh)	(Baedeker, 1898) & Wagner&Deber, Leipzig
7	1929	Antakya Cadastral Plan	(Land Registry and Cadastre Hatay Regional Directorate) & M.C. Duraffourd
8	1932-1936	Antioch and Vicinity Excavations of 1932-1936	(Stillwell, 1938) & The Committee for the excavation of Antioch and its vicinity
9	1959	Antakya	Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, National Library, Non-Book Material, HRT_2005_BD_19& Hatay Eski Eserleri Derneği
10	1999	Antioch the Great. Reconstruction of the Hellenistic city layout with drawings of later findings.	(Hoepfner, 1999) & Wolfram Hoepfner
11	2009	Conservation Development Plan and Base Map	(Municipality of Antakya, 2009) & Municipality of Antakya
12	2010	Siteplan of the Citywalls	(Brasse, 2010) & Christiane Brasse

## 2. Travelers and Their Visits to Antakya (Antioch)

The main written sources for this article are chronicles, travelogues, excavation reports, and historical and geographical sources on Antakya, which are presented in Table 2. The earliest historical source used in the conduct of this study is the 6th century “Chronographia” of the Byzantine historian Malalas of Antioch, in which he describes Antioch. Between the 17th and 20th centuries, the notes of travelers who visited the city for various reasons constitute the other sources used in the article. Antakya's religious and commercial importance in history made it a place frequently visited and wondered by travelers. Among the reasons for travelers' visits to Antioch were to trace the traces of the Roman heritage, to get to know the city, which was the subject of the Crusader wars due to its importance in Christianity, to re-imagine the Battle of Bohemond, and to see the religious buildings of Antioch, which is considered a holy city. To understand Hellenistic and Roman Antioch, excavations were carried out by Princeton University between 1932 and 1939 at 33 different locations in the city. As a result of the excavations, much information about the past of this rich city was uncovered and presented in books and reports. In addition, the researchers who came to the city during this period also provided information about the current situation of the city. The studies conducted during this period are valuable sources used in the conduct of this research.

**Table 2.** Written archival sources



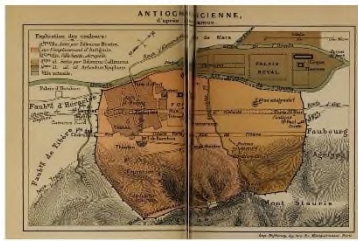
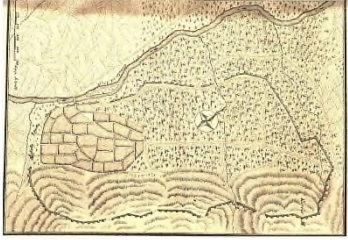
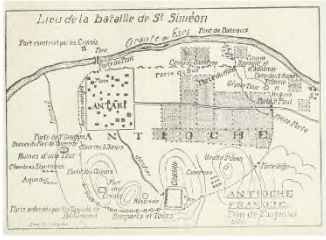






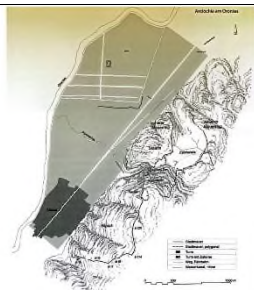
Year	Author Name	Publication Name
6 <sup>th</sup> century	Ioannes Malalas	The Chronicle of John Malalas
1638	Jean Babsiste Tavernier	Tavernier Seyahatnamesi
1648	Evliya Çelebi	Günümüz Türkçesiyle Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi 3. Cilt 1. Kitap
1831	M.Michaud ve M. Poujoulat	Correspondance d'Orient, 1830-1831. VII / par 1833-1835.
1836	John Carne, W.H. Bartlett, William Purser	Syria, Holy Land, Asia Minor
1871	Emmanuel Guillaume REY	Etude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des croisés en Syrie et dans l'île de Chypre.
1890	E. Le Camus	Notre Voyage Aux Pays Bibliques III
1898	Edited by Karl Baedeker,	Paelstine and Syria: Handbook for travellers
1934	William A. Campbell, Frederick O. Waage, Jean Lassus, Donald N. Wilber	General Report on the Excavations at Antioch on the Orontes for The Season of 1934
1934	Jacques Weulersse	Antioche Essai De Géographie Urbaine.
1935-1936	Jean Lassus	Antioch On the Orontes V, Les Portiques d'Antioche.
1936	Charles R. Morey	The Excavation of Antioch-on-the-Orontes.
1938	Edited by Richard Stillwell	Antioch on the Orontes II the Excavations of 1933-1936

## C. RESEARCH METHODS

In this article, which aims to investigate the continuities and the ruptures in Antakya's urban memory through the streets, a mixed methodology was applied in which different techniques were used together by following the case study strategy. Thanks to these techniques, the physical continuity of the streets and the change in the way of life on the streets were analyzed. The physical continuity of the streets was investigated through comparisons and superimpositions between maps in order to analyze the street system, the boundary elements with which it is in relation and their changes. This study was

mainly based on 12 maps (table 3). Maps drawn in the 18th and 19th centuries have proportional differences compared to today's maps due to the lack of development of cartography techniques and technology. Since rearranging the proportional differences in these maps by deforming them would cause the original forms to be lost, a comparison was made by determining the common reference elements in the maps. St. Paul's Gate in the northeast and St. Georges Gate in the southwest, whose locations are known according to the excavation results and mentioned in the travelers' notes, were determined as reference points and the maps were aligned according to these points. The cadastral plan dated 1929, the map titled "Antioch and Vicinity Excavations of 1932-1936", the map dated 1959, the zoning plan dated 2009, and the city wall map dated 2010, all drawn in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, were superimposed in the AutoCAD program. Since they were drawn according to the current coordinate system, no proportional error occurred as a result of superimposing these maps. All maps used in the study were redrawn in vector form by taking into account the streets, natural and artificial boundary elements. In addition to the information obtained by reading the maps, data on the physical and social environment of Kurtuluş Street were obtained through field surveys conducted in August, 2022 before the earthquake and March, 2023 and 2024 after the earthquake. The situation before and after the earthquake is presented on the current map. The data obtained from the maps were interpreted together with the basic written sources presented in Table 2 and the data on social life obtained through field surveys, and inferences were made about the continuity and interruptions in urban memory.

**Table 3.** Maps of Antakya (Antioch) used in the article (The images in this table are numbered in relation to the sources given in table 1)

1	2	3
		
4	5	6
		
7	8	9
		
10	11	12
		

## D. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Within the scope of the research, continuities and ruptures in urban memory are discussed in relation to the change of streets and boundaries. The boundary of a settlement is the last point where streets and buildings can expand. Boundaries are one of the defining elements of urban form and without understanding the boundaries of a settlement, it is difficult to trace the development of the form within

these boundaries. In Antakya, the study of natural and artificial boundaries and their changes over time has allowed the principles of street development to be traced and understood. The existence, location, size, type of use and destruction of the city's natural and artificial boundaries were analyzed on different maps. In relation to these data, the street pattern, the expansion area of the pattern, the dimensions of the streets and building lots, and the changes of the prominent streets in the city have been read on different period maps. The effects of spatial changes on social life are discussed and presented.

## **1. Boundaries in Antakya Historic Settlement Area**

The northwestern boundary of the historical settlement of Antakya is defined by the Asi (Orontes) River, and the southeastern boundary by the Habib Neccar (Silpius) and Kuseyr (Staurin) mountains, which are the extensions of Mount Kel. The mountain and the river constitute the natural boundaries of the historical city, while the city walls that have existed since the Hellenistic and Roman periods constitute the artificial boundaries.

### **1.1. Asi River, Habib Najjar and Qusair Mountains**

Asi River, which forms the northwestern border of Antakya, was one of the natural elements that enabled the city to take part in international trade in ancient times. Trade was carried out with ships loaded from Antakya and reaching the port of Seleucia Pieria (Hatay, Samandağ) (Bouchier, 1921). However, as the river's flow decreased over time, transportation was restricted, and commercial activities decreased. In 1638, Tavernier visited the city, and according to his travel notes, ships and galleys could no longer pass over the river (Tavernier, 2006). The change in the physical structure of the Asi River and the decrease in its flow rate led to the disappearance of the second branch of the river and the island formed by it. Maps depicting the Roman period (1839 and 1890) show the island formed by the Asi River. (Figure 1-number 2 and 3) The excavation reports revealed the remains of the Hippodrome, baths, stadium and temple structures on the island formed by the Asi River (Stillwell, 1938). The presence of these structures indicates that this region was an important and lively area of the city during the Roman period. Maps dated 1766, 1831, 1871, 1898 show that the Asi River Island no longer exists (Figure 1-number 4, 5, 6, 7). The location of the disappeared island is understood to be in the northern part of the ancient settlement based on the works of Leblach and Poccardi (2004). The location of the Ancient Island drawn to the north on the 1890 map, which is a depiction of the Roman period, is consistent with the data revealed in recent studies (Figure 1-number 3). A comparison of the 1929 and 2009 maps reveals that the main tributary of the Asi River has also changed in the last century (Figure 1-number 8, 11). It is observed that the bed of the Asi River has shifted towards the northwest in the southwestern part of the ancient settlement.

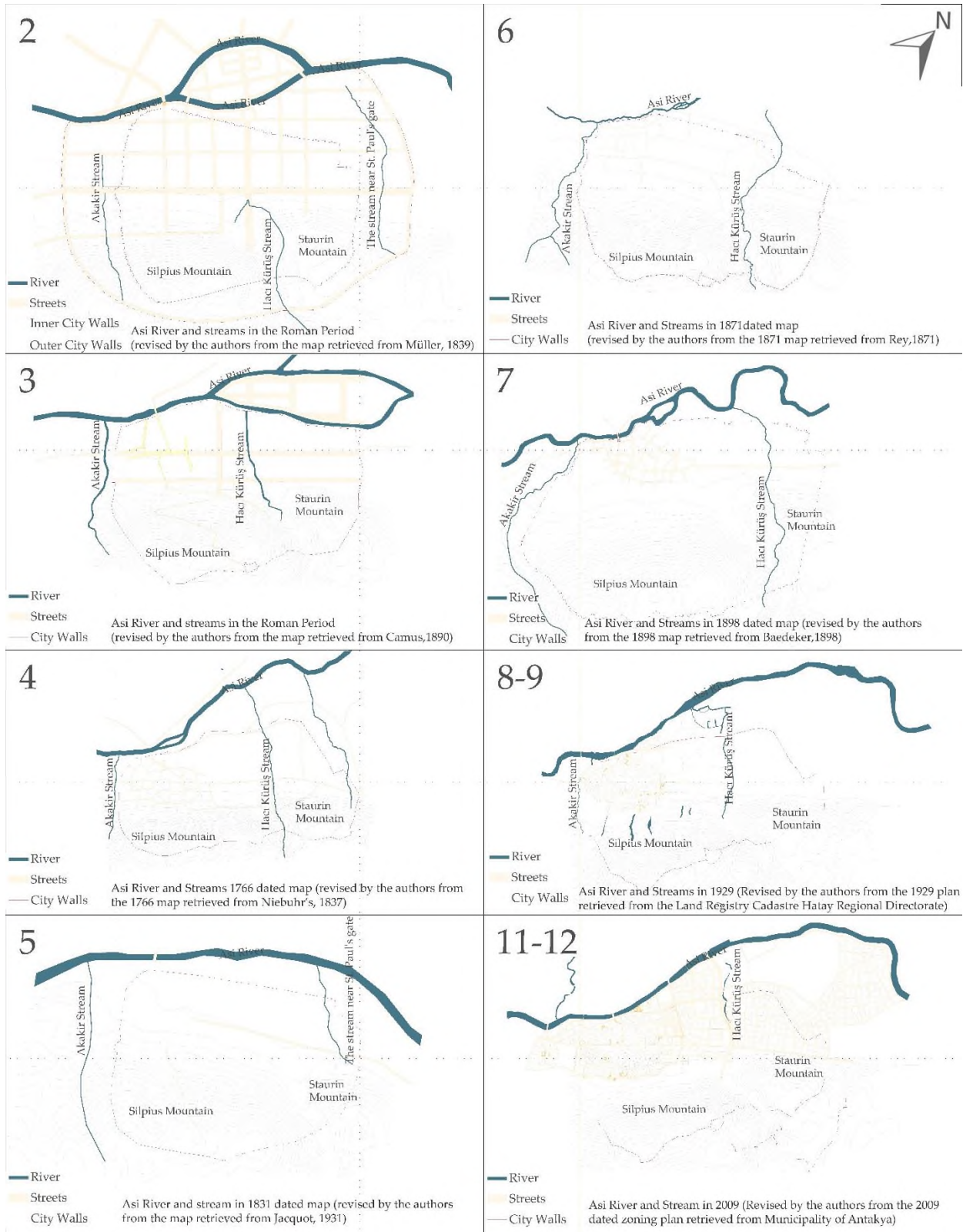
Other natural boundary elements in the city are the streams flowing towards the Asi River, which flows through the city. One of these streams is the Hacı Kürüş (Onopietes-Permeneus) stream, located between the Kuseyr (Staurin) and Habib Neccar (Silpius) mountains, which still exists today. Another is the stream named Akakir (Pkyrminos), which is located southwest of the city on historical maps. Maps dated 1766, 1839, 1871, 1890, 1898 show both Hacı Kürüş and Akakir streams. On the 1929 map, the Akakir Stream flows through sharp slopes to the southeast of the main road dividing the city into two parts, while the section of the stream to the northwest of the main road has disappeared (Figure 1 number



8). Today, it is understood from both the 2009 map and field surveys that this stream has completely disappeared (Figure 1- number 11). Another stream, which is depicted on the 1766, 1831 and 1839 maps but not mentioned by name, is located on the northern border of the settlement (Figure 1-number 2, 4, 5). Poujolat refers to this stream as “a pure spring of water, shaded by three large plane trees, beautifying the surroundings of St. Paul's gate” (Michaud & Paujolat, 1835). However, there is no representation of this stream on 20th and 21st century maps. In addition to these streams, the cadastral plans of 1929 show the presence of watercourses formed by winter rains on the Silpius and Staurin mountains (Figure 1-number 8) (table 4).

**Table 4.** Asi River and Streams on Maps

Year of the map	Asi River Island	Akakir Stream	Hacı Kürüş (Permeneus) Stream	The stream near St. Paul's gate
1766				
1831				
1839				
1871				
1890				
1898				
1929				
2009				



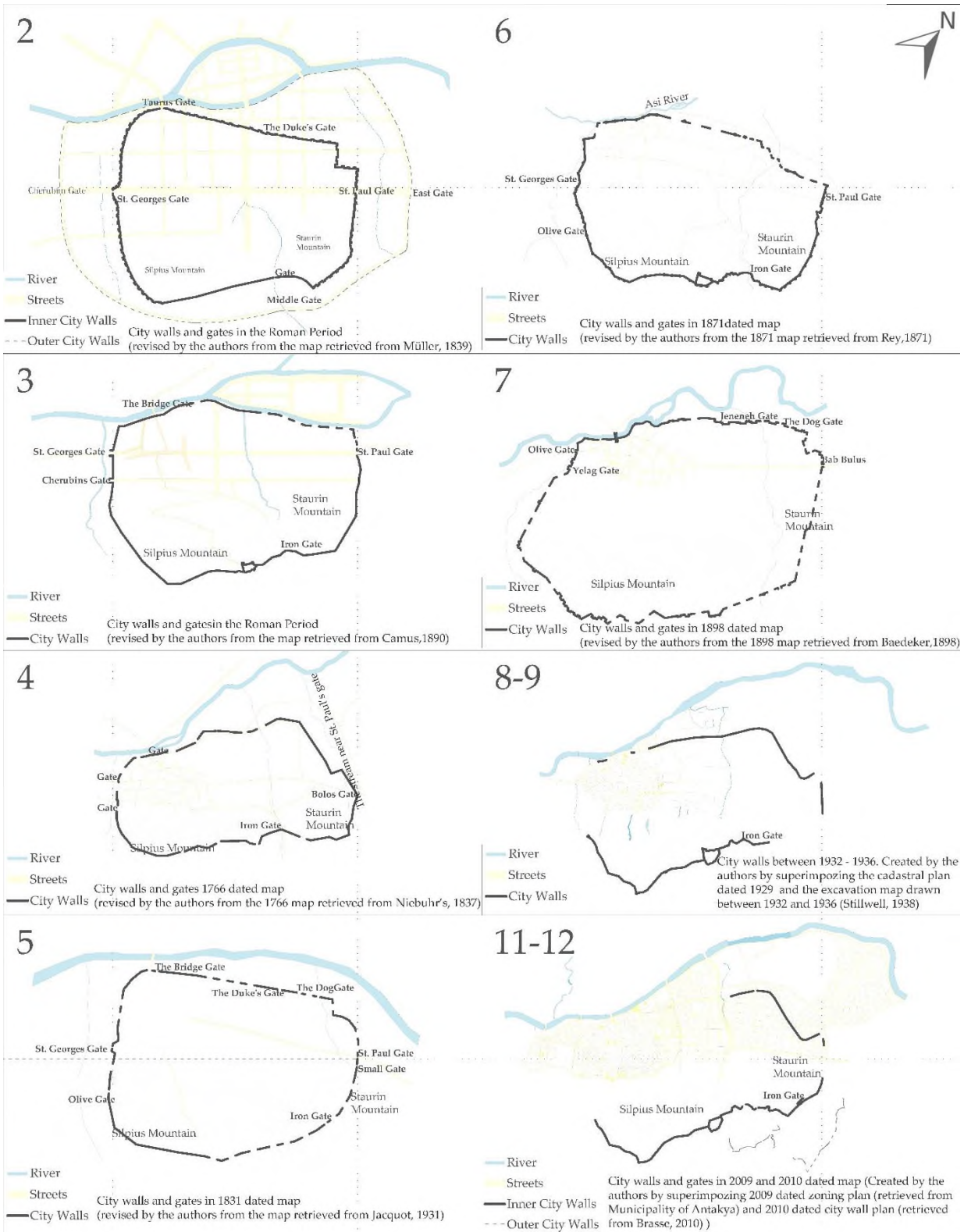
**Figure 1.** Change of waterways (prepared by the authors) (The numbers in the figure are related to the numbers listed in table 1 and mapped in table 3)

## 1.2. City Walls

The city walls play an important role in determining the settlement characteristics and boundaries of Antakya. All 18th and 19th century maps (1766, 1831, 1839, 1871, 1890, 1898) used in this article show the city walls. Maps dated 1766, 1831, 1871, 1898 show a single line of city wall (Figure 2-number 3, 4, 5, 6, 7). According to these maps, the walls start near the point where Akakir Stream flows into Asi River in the southwest of the settlement, rise towards Mount Silpius, pass through a gate over Permeneus Stream between Mount Staurin and Mount Silpius, and continue towards Mount Staurin. The city walls then descend and curve down into the plain, running along the plain to the southeast of the old island formed by the Asi, merging with the Asi River to the west and running along the river shore to the Akakir Stream (Figure 2).

The 1839 Müller map shows two separate city walls, unlike other 19th century maps (figure 2-number 2). Recent archaeological research supports the information that there were double city walls. According to the map drawn in 2010 by Brasse based on the results of the archaeological research conducted since 2004, the location of the inner city wall is in line with the maps of the 18th and 19th centuries, where a single city wall line was drawn. The outer city wall is located north of Mount Silpius and 400 meters from the inner city wall along Mount Staurin (figure 2 number 11, 12) (Brasse, 2010). There is information about the expansion and contraction of the city wall line in the literature. According to the information from Malalas' *Chronographia*, a new line of walls was added to the old city walls built by Seleucus during the reign of Tiberius in 25 AD. During the reign of Theodosius in 383 AD, many residences were built up to 1 mile (1480.87 m) outside the city walls. During this period, the houses outside the city were surrounded by a new outer city wall. Between 458 and 540, Antioch witnessed many disasters such as earthquakes, fires and wars. The population declined due to the repeated disasters (Demir, 1996). Instead of repairing the city walls due to the declining population, the city walls were rebuilt in the Justinian period (between 527 and 565) to enclose a smaller area (Baedeker, 1898). Archaeological investigations on the surviving sections of the city walls have not been able to substantiate the information provided in the literature, and the design plan and expansion phases of the city wall system have not yet been clarified (Brasse, 2010).

Travelers' notes and maps provide information about the dimensions of the city walls, the towers that were part of the city walls and how they were used, the deterioration and destruction of the city walls. According to Evliya Çelebi, who visited the city in 1648, the circumference of the city walls is 44000 steps (approximately 30800 meters) and can be walked in 12 hours (Çelebi, 2012). In 1898, Beadaker stated that the Chinese, who were in trade relations with Antakya at that time, reported the circumference of the city walls as 100 (18500 meters) stadia (Baedeker, 1898). Different information about the height and thickness of the walls is also recorded in the travelers' notes. In 1836, Barlett states that the height of the city walls varied between 9.1 m and 15.2 m (Barlett & Purser, 1836). According to Beadaker, the height of the city walls was 7.9 meters in the plain and 12.1 meters on the top of the mountain. The thickness of the walls is 4.5 meters according to Bartlett and 2 meters according to Rey (Rey, 1871).



**Figure 2.** City Walls and Gates on Maps of Antioch (prepared by the authors) (The numbers in the figure are related to the numbers listed in table 1 and mapped in table 3)

Barlett's notes indicate that there were no battlements on the city walls, only stepped circulation areas, and that there were many towers. According to Beadeker, there were 360 towers in total, 3 stories high, and spaced at intervals of 64 paces (approximately 51.2 m). In 1871, Rey states that the existing towers were converted into detached houses (Rey, 1871). The city walls have been subjected to many destructions and deterioration over time. According to Barlett, in 1836 most of the walls of Ancient Antioch still existed and the west side was still standing despite earthquakes (Barlett & Purser, 1836), while in 1871 Rey describes the deliberate destruction of the walls with the following sentences:

*"About thirty-five years ago, the walls of this city were almost intact. How regrettable then that a regular plan was not drawn up! Unfortunately, during the Egyptian rule in Syria, it was used as a quarry for the construction of the huge barracks that Ibrahim-Pasha erected there."* (Rey, 1871).

The barracks mentioned by Rey was built in the southwest, right next to the city walls. As a result, the city walls have deteriorated considerably in the west and southwest and have been demolished down to ground level, so that the plan can be understood. The walls that continue between the gardens in the northwest are indistinct and are indicated with dashed lines on the map dated 1871 (Figure 2- number 6) (Rey, 1871). According to the excavation map of 1932-1936, the southwestern and northeastern parts of the city walls have been destroyed. To the north and northwest, the walls continue along the plain from the edge of the former Asi River Island to the beginning of the settlement area and are interrupted in the settlement area (Figure 2 – number 8, 9). The 2010 map of the excavation results drawn by Brasse shows that the remains of the city walls can be traced almost uninterruptedly only on the hills of Silpius and Staurin. By comparing the two maps, it is understood that approximately one kilometer of the city walls that existed in the plain section between these dates have also been destroyed (Figure 2 number 8-9, 11-12).

### 1.3. City Gates

Historical maps contain conflicting information about the number, location and names of the city gates on the city walls. The 1766 map shows 6 gates, the 1831 map 8 gates, the 1839 map 9 gates, the 1871 map 5 gates, the 1890 map 5 gates and the 1898 map 5 gates (Figure 2) (Table 5). In the maps of 1766, 1831, 1839, 1871, 1890, St. Paul's Gate is located in a similar position, northeast of the city walls, on the main street coming from the Aleppo direction towards the city. In the 1898 map, the gate in the same location is named Bab Bulus. In the 1839 map, which shows two lines of the city walls, one inner and one outer, this gate is located on the inner wall. In 1831, Paujolat wrote about this gate, "The St. Paul's Gate was undoubtedly the most beautiful of all gates" and stated that it was a preserved gate. He also said that a Turk had settled in the vicinity of the St. Paul's gate and offered coffee and pipes to passersby, and that Muslims went to play chess and checkers under the plane trees near the gate every day (Paujolat & Michaud 1835). There is another gate on the outer city wall on the same road axis as this gate and it is named as "East Gate". On the 1831 map, there is another gate called "Little Gate" just east of the St. Paul gate. However, none of the other maps include the name and drawing of this gate. Maps dated 1766, 1831, 1871, 1890, 1898 show the Iron Gate between Mount Staurin and Mount Silpius. On the 1839 map, there is a gate on the inner wall in a similar position, but its name is not specified. The gate on the outer wall near this gate is named as Middle Gate (Figure 2) (Table 5).



It is observed that the gates on the southwest line of the city wall are given different names on the maps. The gate located on the Silpius mountain on the southwest line is named as the Olive Gate in the 1831 and 1871 maps, the Defne Gate (on the outer wall) in the 1839 map, the Cherubim (Angel) Gate in the 1890 map, and the Yelag Gate in the 1898 map. The gate with the southwestern line close to the river is named St. Georges Gate on the 1831, 1839 (on the inner wall) and 1890 maps, and Olive Gate on the 1898 map. On the 1839 map, the gate on the same axis as St. Georges Gate but on the outer wall is named Cherubim Gate (Figure 2) (Table 5).

In the maps of 1831 and 1890, Bridge Gate is located in the same position at the bridge entrance to the west of the city. In the 1839 map, this gate is named as the Taurus Gate. In the plain to the west, there is another gate named Duke Gate in the maps of 1831 and 1839 (on the inner city wall). There is another gate to the northwest in the maps of 1831 and 1839 (on the inner city wall) and it is named as Dog Gate. In the 1898 map, the gate in the same location is named Jnneh Gate (Figure 2) (Table 5).

**Table 5.** City gates on the maps (prepared by the authors)

	1766 map	1831 map	1839 map inner city wall	1839 map outer city wall	1871 map	1890 map	1898 map
St. Georges Gate							
St. Cherubim Gate							
Daphne Gate							
St. Paul Gate							
Iron Gate							
Bridge Gate							
Taurus Gate							
The Duke's Gate							
The Dog Gate							
Jnneh Gate							
Yelag Gate							
Olive Gate							
East Gate							
Middle Gate							
Small Gate							
Bolos Gate (Bab Bolos)							
Dsjenein Gate							
Medine Gate							

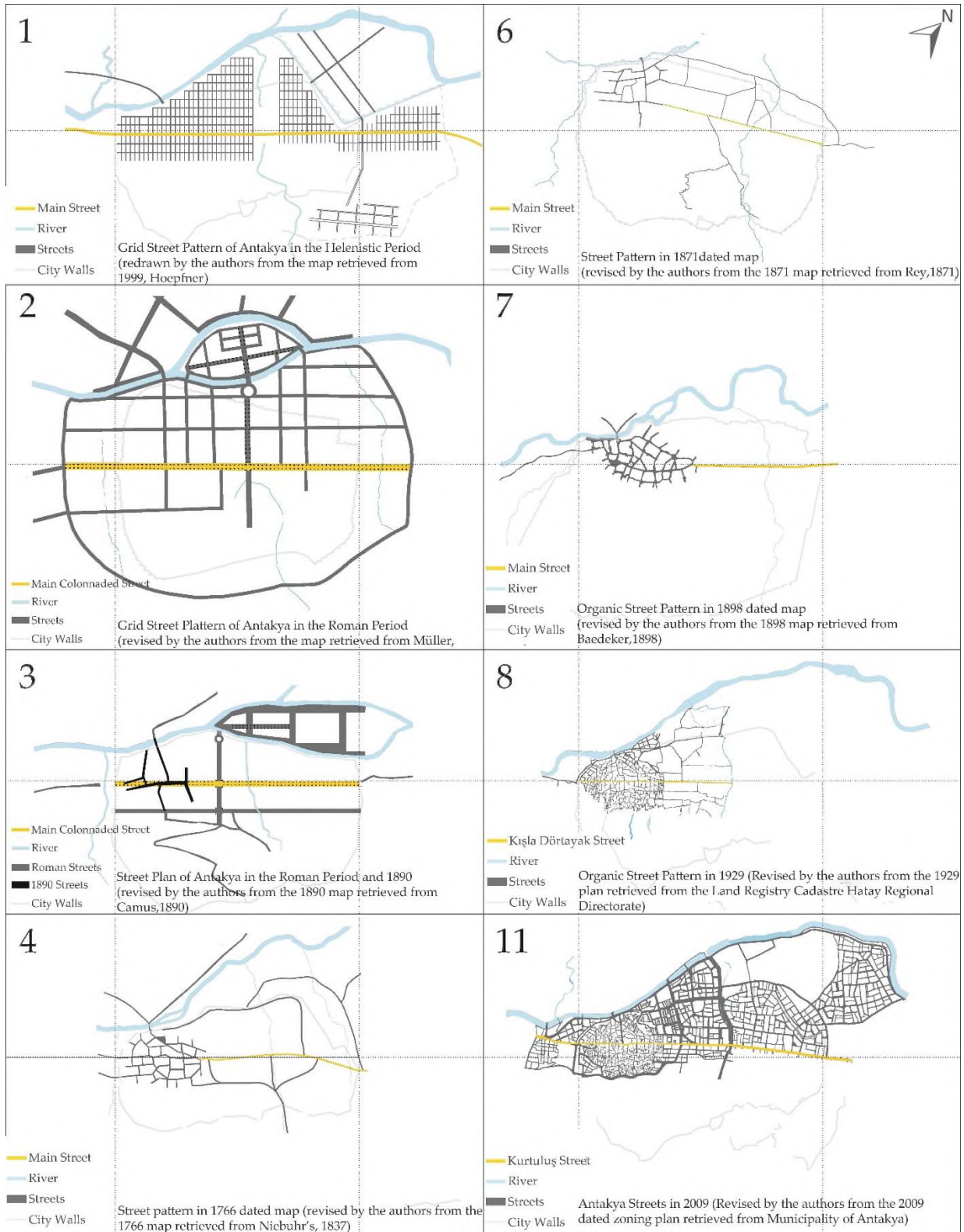
Earthquakes have affected the gates depicted on maps. In 1831, Michaud mentions that the gate called St. Paul or Bab Boulos was damaged by the earthquake of 1822 but was still standing. He noted that there was another small gate near the gate of St. Paul and that people were demolishing it to get its stones. He says that he saw only the ruins of the Dog Gate and the Duke's Gate to the north (Michaud & Paujolat, 1835). Almost all of the gates depicted on the maps have been destroyed over time. The Iron Gate is the largest surviving structure of the city walls in the strait of Permeneus between Mount Silpius and Staurin. In addition to being a gate, it has the task of controlling the water coming from the mountain. (Brasse, 2010).

## 2. Streets

When the maps of Antakya are analyzed, it is seen that both grid and organic street patterns exist in the city. The grid pattern can be seen in the restitution plan describing the Hellenistic period drawn by Hoepfner in 1999 (figure 3- number 1) , in the maps depicting the Roman Antioch drawn by Müller in 1839 and by Camus in 1890 (figure 3- number 2, 3) . It is understood from the maps that urban fabric has changed and transformed over time. Maps drawn in 1766, 1871 and 1898 show that the organic street pattern is dominant and there are few right-angled streets reflecting the traces of the ancient grid pattern (Figure 3 number 4, 6, 7). In the cadastral plan dated 1929, which contains more details, it is seen that a similar pattern is maintained (Figure 3 number 8, figure 5). Within the urban fabric, there are many dead-end streets accessed from both right-angled streets and organic pattern streets. In the 2009 map, it is seen that the organic street pattern has been preserved for the most part and a few more right-angled streets have been constructed within the old pattern and on its boundaries (Figure 6 number 11, figure 6).

Based on the city maps, it is observed that the spread of urban fabric has changed in relation to the development and decline of the city. The 1999 restitution plan of the Hellenistic period shows that the street pattern was bounded by the Asi River in the northwest and continued to the foothills of the Silpius and Staurin mountains in the southeast (figure 3-number 1). In the Müller map of 1839, which depicts the Roman period, the grid pattern covers the entire area within the boundaries formed by the inner and outer walls, except for the peaks and high slopes of the mountains (figure 3- number 2, 3). After the earthquakes, fires and invasions of the 5th and 6th centuries, the spread of the grid street pattern became smaller and retracted into the Justinian walls built during this period (Hoepfner, 1999). Archaeological evidence suggests that there was no extensive reconstruction and repair in the city after this date (Kennedy, 1985). The maps of 1766, 1871 and 1898, which are the first maps where the street pattern can be read after this date and where the organic pattern is dominant, show that the settlement pattern has become even smaller. According to these maps, which contain similar information, the organic street pattern occupies a small area in the southwest within the Roman Walls (approximately 1 in 6) (Figure 3-number 4, 6, 7). In 1919, Weulersse noted the smaller scale of the city when he wrote: "From the top of Silpius, Antakya looks like a vast gray dot in the greenery, tightly contracted between the mountain and the river. Antakya has nothing in common with the powerful city that preceded it" (Weulersse, 1934).

Reading the maps, it is noteworthy that the streets in the organic pattern are quite narrow compared to the streets in the grid pattern. Excavations results shows that the width of the Colonnaded Street, which divided the city into two parts in the northeast-southwest direction and was a part of the grid pattern during the Roman Period, was determined to be 25 meters with the colonnaded and porticoed section on the side (Lassus, 1936). According to the 1929 cadastral plan, the width of the streets forming the organic pattern varies between 1.5 and 5 meters, and this width decreases to 1 meter in dead-end streets. The map drawn in 1890 shows both the organic streets of the period and the streets of the ancient period. In this map, the narrowness of the organic streets compared to the grid streets is striking (Figure 3).



**Figure 3.** Streets in the Antakya Maps (prepared by the authors) (The numbers in the figure are related to the numbers listed in table 1 and mapped in table 3)



Barlett, who came to the city in 1836, said that the streets of Antakya were narrow, stuffy in summer and muddy in winter, supporting the information read on the map. Weulersse describes life on the streets as “Life is inside the houses, and from the streets it seems to be non-existent. Behind this closed view, there are inner courtyards with trees, which are entered from the streets and where most of the life is spent” (Weulersse, 1934). In the 1859 photograph taken from within the urban fabric of the city, the dense pattern formed by single-storey and two-storey buildings rising around narrow streets can be seen (Figure 9 left). At the beginning of the 20th century, a photograph taken in the streets of Antakya shows the narrowness and desolation of the streets, proving Weulersse's description of the streets (Figure 4).

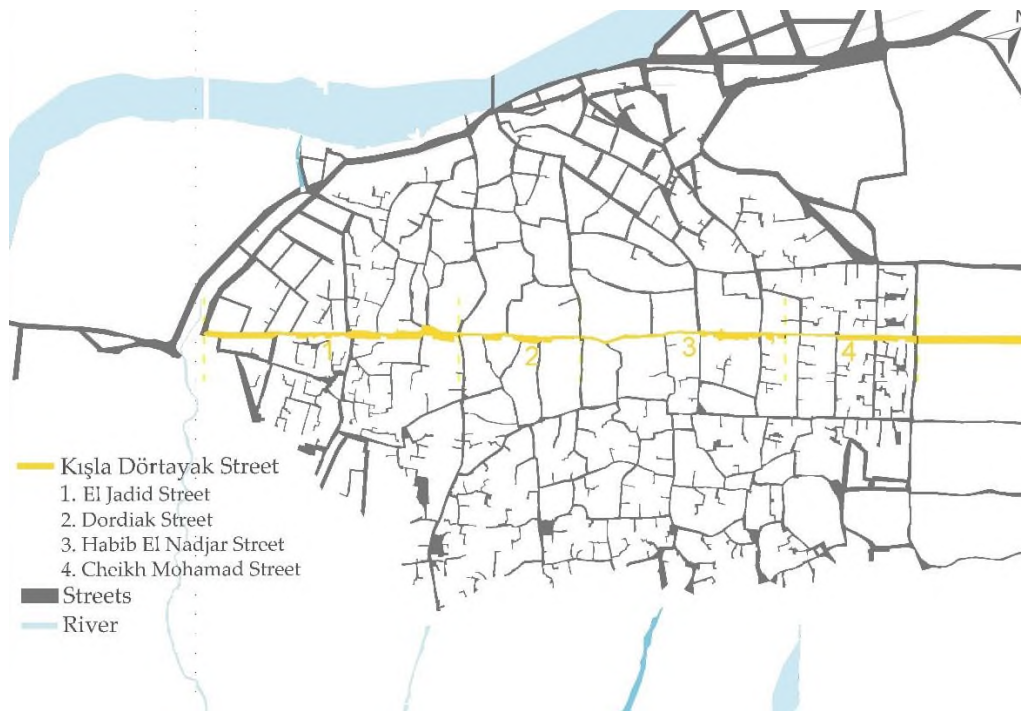


**Figure 4.** Left: Urban Fabric of the city in 1859 (Clerco, L. (1859), Right: Example from the organic pattern streets of Antakya (Thévénét, Clément Album, Istanbul University)

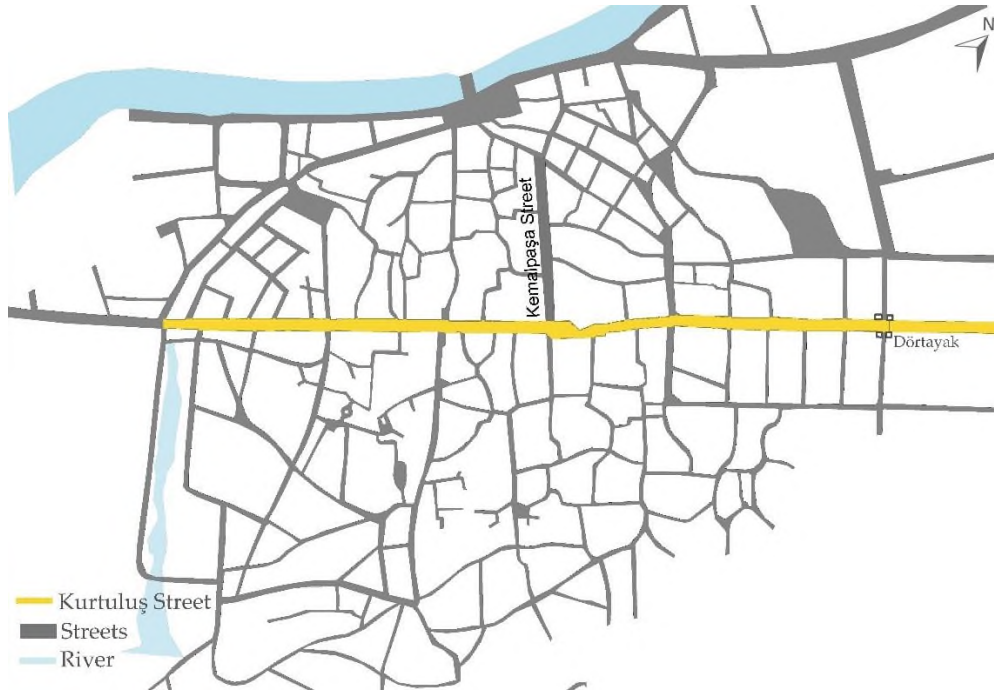
There is different information in the literature about the size of the buildings lots in the grid pattern in Antakya. According to Downey, the building lots are  $\frac{1}{2}$  in proportion and their size is 58 X 112 meters (Downey, 1961). According to Hoepfner, the width of the building lots varies between 51-52 meters and the depth between 102-104 meters (Hoepfner, 1999). The 1839 Müller map depicting the Roman period shows many buildings lots of different sizes and is in line with neither Downey's nor Hoepfner's research results. In the 18th century and later maps, it is not possible to talk about any fixed size for the building lots in the organic pattern. It is seen that many different buildings lots exist between the curving streets in terms of form and dimension.

In the maps depicting the period when the grid street pattern was dominant and, in the maps, depicting the period when the organic street pattern was dominant, there are streets that distinguish themselves in terms of their width and/or formal characteristics. In the map of 1839, the colonnaded Main Street, which divides the city into two in the southwest-northeast direction, and another colonnaded street that cuts it perpendicularly and extends towards the Asi River Island stands out due to their width (figure 3-number 2). The 1890 map also shows these two streets. In addition, the 1890 map shows another street, Tibere, parallel to the colonnaded Main Street (also known as Herod), which Malalas also mentions in his chronicle. Although their locations do not coincide, both the 1839 and 1890 maps show that some of the streets inside the island are lined with columns. It is understood from the maps of 1766, 1831, 1898 that the right-angled and columned streets in the maps describing the ancient period no longer existed in the 18th and 19th centuries (Figure 3-number 4, 6, 7). In the 1929 map, a straight street consisting of

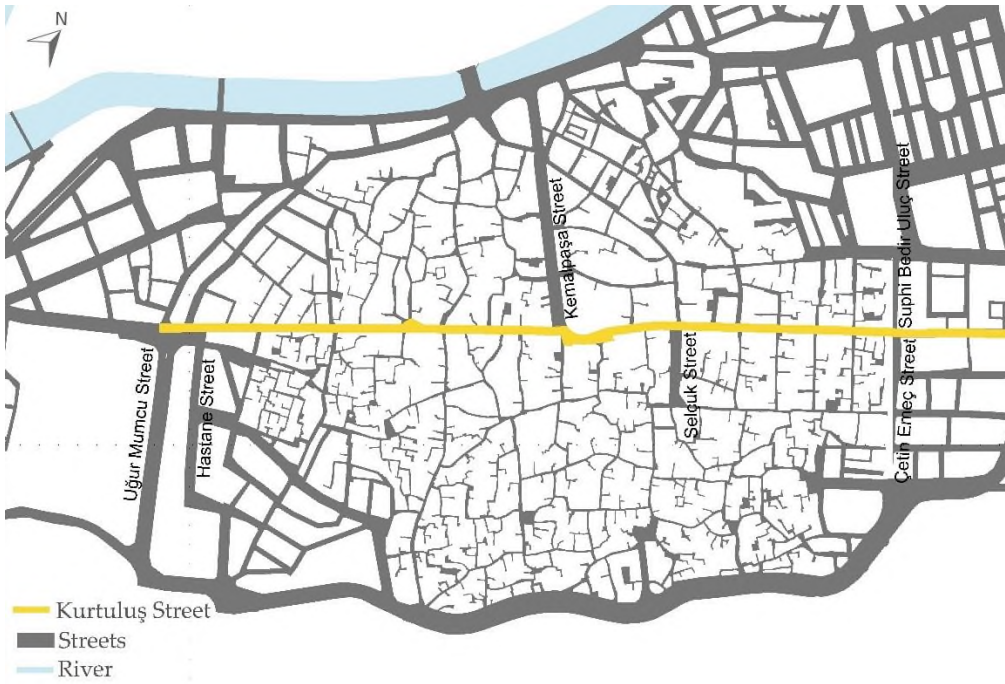
four sections called El Jadid, Dordiak, Habib El Nadjar and Cheikh Mohamad, passing through the organic pattern and dividing the city into two and located in the same position as the Columned Main Street of the ancient period, is notable. This street is popularly known as Kışla-Dörtayak (Barrack-Tetrapylon) Street because it is located between the barracks to the southwest and the Dörtayak (Tetrapylon) district to the northeast (Figure 5) (Weulersse, 1934). In the 1959 and 2009 maps, this main street continues to exist under the name Kurtuluş Street. In the 1959 map, a street, formerly known as Balçılar Street (Nakib, 2012), which cuts the Kurtuluş Street almost perpendicularly (82 degrees) and extends towards the Asi River, was widened and renamed as Kemalpaşa Street (Figure 6). In the 2009 map, it is observed that there are two streets named Uğur Mumcu and Hastane (Hospital) rising from the Main Street towards Habib Neccar Mountain at the location of the disappeared Akakir stream, and there are buildings rising exactly on the bed of the stream between the streets. In the field surveys conducted in March 2024 after the earthquake, it was observed that all of the structures built on the creek bed between the two streets were demolished. On the 2009 map, Selçuk Street, which is located opposite the entrance of the Uzun Bazaar on Kurtuluş Street, and Çetin Emeç Street and Suphi Bedir Uluç Street, which form the northeastern boundary of the historic urban fabric, are right angled streets that were later widened (Figure 7). Among the streets read on the maps, the change in Kurtuluş Street was investigated because, as explained in the introduction, it has survived in different layers and contains the structures of many periods together.



**Figure 5.** Streets on the map dated 1929 (Revised by the authors from the 1929 plan retrieved from the Land Registry Cadastre Hatay Regional Directorate)



**Figure 6.** Streets on the map dated 1959 (Revised by the authors from the 1959 dated plan retrieved from National Library)



**Figure 7.** Streets on the map dated 2009 (Revised by the authors from the 2009 dated development plan retrieved from Municipality of Antakya)

### 2.1. Kurtuluş Street (The Main Colonnaded Street)

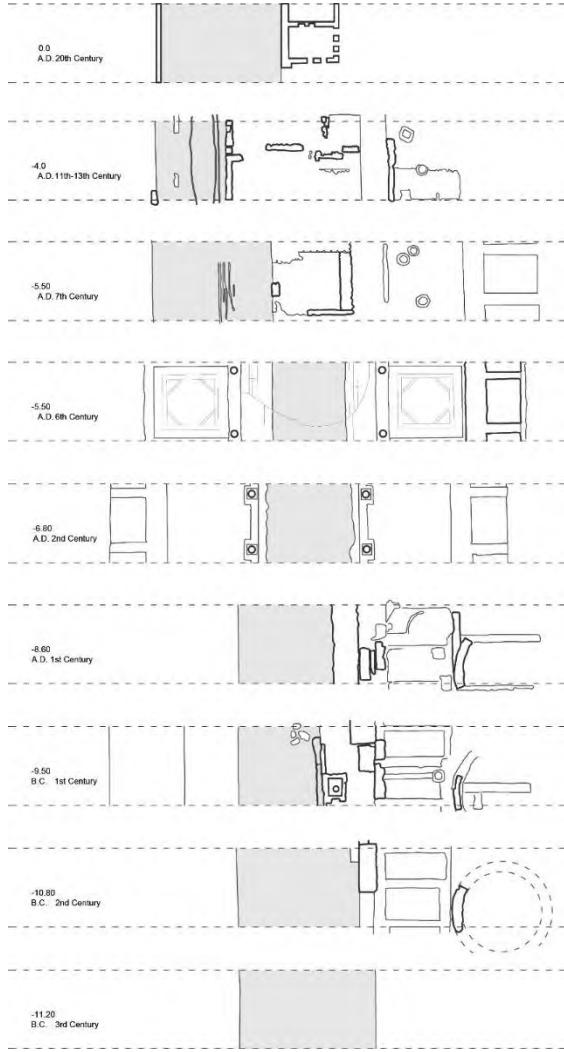
The existence of the Colonnaded Main Street, which is drawn on maps depicting the ancient period, was confirmed by excavations in 1934. It was discovered that the lowest layer of the main street was Hellenistic and that the street continued to exist during the Roman and early Byzantine periods (Campbell, Waage, Lassus, & Wilber, 1934). Frequent earthquakes in Antioch caused damage to the street many times. Nevertheless, the street was repaired after the earthquakes and continued its existence and importance until the fifth century. However, in the sixth century, during the reign of Justinian, the street was rebuilt on a smaller scale in parallel with the shrinking of the settlement and the city walls (Kennedy, 1985). Excavations reveal that in the 7th century, smaller-scale buildings were constructed directly on the street pavement with reused materials (Lassus, 1935, 1936). The 1766 dated map first shows that the street, which gradually shrinks, no longer exists in the settlement area. In the maps dated 1766, 1871 and 1898, the Main Street axis continues to exist until the settlement area when coming from the Aleppo direction in the northeast. However, in the settlement area, the Main Street has disappeared. The 1890 Camus map shows that there are already building lots on the colonnaded Main Street (Figure 3, number 3). In 1927, the street axis, which continued outside the settlement, started to be reopened in the settlement area. Expropriation and demolitions were completed in 1935 and the street was opened (Açıkgöz, 2008).

In 1934, excavations were carried out during the widening and reopening of the Main Street. Accordingly, it was found that the lowest level of the road was 11.2 meters below the current street level, while the Roman street was five to six meters below the current street level (Figure 8). The change in the elevation of the street is attributed to the accumulation of mud and gravel layers due to the flood waters from the winter rains and the fact that the road was sometimes rebuilt on rubble instead of being repaired after earthquakes (Lassus, 1935, 1936). In 115, during the reign of Trajan, such practice was carried out after the earthquake in Antioch. It was calculated that repairing the collapsed colonnaded street was more costly than building a new street from scratch, so a new elevated street with foundations on a layer of rubble was built (Giorgi & Eger, 2021).

The excavation reports also note some changes in the axis of the street over time. In the 7th century, during the Arab raids, the axis of the street shifted, and the excavations revealed that the use of the basalt street was abandoned as a result of some disasters and the new street axis was built on the portico walls of the old street. The modern street is on the same axis as the 12th century street. The western edge of the Roman and Byzantine Street is on the wall that forms the eastern border of the modern street. (Figure 8) In addition, it has been determined that there are deviations in the axis of the modern street in some areas. The 1929 cadastral map shows that the street curves around the Habib Neccar Mosque on the street, changing direction in relation to the location of the Mosque, and continues by returning to the same axis at the end of the Mosque. In front of Sarimiye Mosque, another mosque located on the street, the street axis is disrupted, and a gap is formed (Figure 5, Figure 7).

The excavations revealed that the two sides of the street in the Hellenistic layer were surrounded by gardens in the early periods and were more like a road than a main street, but from the first century BC onwards it was bordered by simple buildings (Campbell, Waage, Lassus, & Wilber, 1934). During the

Roman period, the main street was paved with marble blocks and colonnades were built on its sides. Later, the colonnades were connected with arches and covered with a roof (Bouchier, 1921) (Figure 8). According to the excavation results, the distance between the columns in the Roman layer was measured as 4.8 meters from center to center. In the 12th century layer, there are no columns on the side of the street, but walls with a width of 43-48 cm (Lassus, 1935, 1936).



**Figure 8.** Layers of Kurtuluş Street (Revised by the authors from the drawing retrieved from Princeton University, 2024)

The periodical differences in the character and importance of the main street are also reflected in its width. According to the excavation results, the width of the street during the Roman Period was 9 meters, with columns on both sides and porticoes of 8 meters each. After the decline during the Justinian period, the width of the street decreased to 5.30 meters. In the 12th century, the width of the street was measured as 3.70 meters (Figure 8) (Lassus, 1935, 1936). Mehmet Tekin, who has conducted historical research on the city, stated that the Colonnaded Main Street was covered with four to five meters of soil as a result of earthquakes in the early twentieth century, and was replaced by a narrow crooked road,



and that it was sometimes impossible to pass through this road, which was very narrow in some places (Tekin, 1993). In 1929, it was measured that the width of the street was very variable, 3 meters in the narrowest zone and 10 meters in the widest zone. The constantly narrowing and widening dimensions of the street indicate the traces of buildings that were expropriated and demolished during the reopening of the street. Figure 9 shows the buildings and trees in front of the Habib Neccar Mosque, which had not yet been demolished during the opening of the road. According to Nakib's (2012) research, the Zincirli Madrasa opposite Habib Neccar Mosque and the Sarımiye Madrasa, a part of the Sarımiye Mosque, are among the buildings known to have been expropriated and demolished during the widening of the road.



**Figure 9.** Views around Habib Neccar Mosque during the reopening of the street (The University of Chicago, 2022)

Maps depicting the ancient period show tetrapylons and nymphaeum structures at the intersections of the streets (figure 3- number 2, 3). Tetrapylons are monumental buildings with four identical arched facades located on two intersecting axes (Curl, 2006). Maps drawn in 1839 and 1890 depicting the Roman Period show the existence of a tetrapylon structure at the intersection of the Colonnaded Main Street and the street extending towards the Asi River Island (Figure 3). However, excavations carried out in the 1930s revealed the presence of a Nymphaeum structure, not a tetrapylon, on the plan showing this square. To the southwest of this area, again on the colonnaded main street, the remains of a building, which is estimated to be a tetrapylon, were found in trench 19 M during the excavations. This building rises in the center where the street turns into a square by disrupting the colonnade order on the main street. This part of Antioch is known by the name Dörtayak, the Turkish equivalent of tetrapylon. This name and the mixed remains of the building suggest that there was a tetrapylon structure here (Campbell, Waage, Lassus, & Wilber, 1934). The maps of 1839 and 1890 depicting the Roman period do not show any trace of a tetrapylon structure in this area. In the 1959 map, an existing structure at the location of the 19M excavation is marked as "Dörtayak" (Figure 6). However, there is no trace of a tetrapylon structure at this location today.

It is observed that the Main Street had commercial functions both in antiquity and today. Archaeological excavations in the Roman layer revealed the presence of shops lined up side by side behind the street porticoes (Figure 7). Weulersse highlights the commercial identity of the reopened street and characterizes it as a Western shopping street with a mix of different shops and stores. According to Weulersse, the bazaar area was divided into guilds during the Ottoman period and each craft was located in a separate area. The bazaar district is the liveliest part of the city (Figure 10). It is suitable for old techniques, but it does not contain spaces suitable for mass production, modern techniques and massive industrial production. For this reason, during the French Mandate, the city's commercial activities moved to the main street and other neighborhoods (Weulersse, 1934). During the reopening of the main street, a photograph taken in the southwestern part of the street, called Rue Jadid, shows shops on the ground floor. In addition, traces on the road surface and a tree in the middle of the street indicate that this axis was intensively used even though the works had not yet been completed (Figure 11 left). In another photograph from the French Mandate period, the presence of soap factories built in the 19th century in the northeastern part of the street draws attention (Figure 11 right). In these images, the rising minarets of the Sheikh Muhammed Mosque, Habib Neccar Mosque and Sarımiye Mosque are included in the frame and stand out among the structural elements that shape the identity of the street.



**Figure 10.** Photographs taken from the bazaar area in Antakya (Delcampe, 2023)

In addition to commercial uses, newspaper archives reveal that in the first years of its reopening, Kurtuluş Street was a street where protests and parades were frequently organized, and clashes and deaths took place. Since narrow streets with organic pattern were not physically convenient, the straight and relatively wide street acquired an identity during the French Mandate period, where protests and parades were held. The last years of the French Mandate period were a period in which different groups clashed, and bloody incidents took place in Antakya. It has been observed that Cumhuriyet, Ulus, Tan, Son Haber, Son Haber, Son Posta and Akşam newspapers published in Turkey between 1936-1938

featured Antakya and the news of the bloody events that took place there. In addition, celebration marches were also organized on the street (Figure 12).



**Figure 11.** Left: The reopened main street and stores accessed from the street (The University of Chicago, 2022), Right: The reopened main street and soap factories (The University of Chicago, 2022)



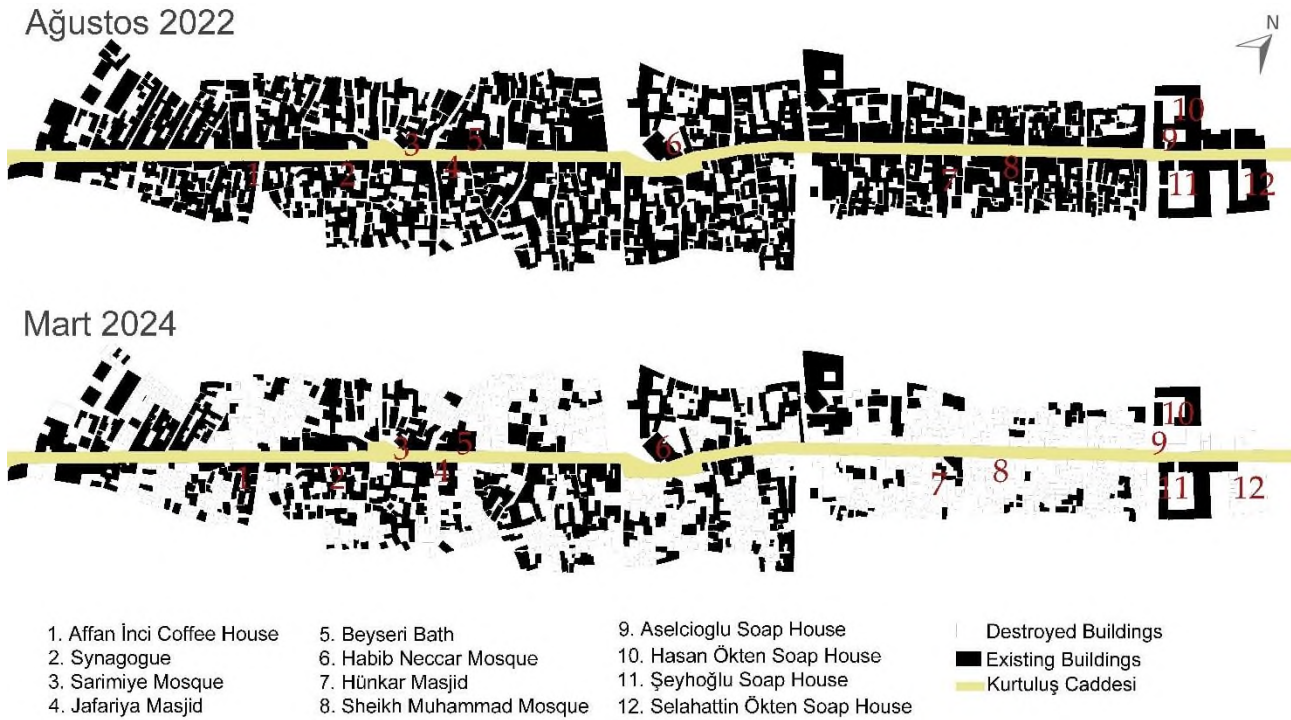
**Figure 11.** Social life / protests / celebration on Kurtuluş Street in Antakya in 1936 (Left: Cumhuriyet e-Gazete, 1936; right: Gaste Arşivi, 1937)

In 1939, after Hatay joined the Republic of Turkey, although new buildings were constructed on the street, the street's identity, which was intensive in trade on the ground floor and included religious buildings, was maintained. Accordingly on the street, there are commercial shops such as haberdashery and drapery shops, barber shops, grocery stores, pharmacies, and photography studios; as socializing



places coffee houses, wedding and meeting hall, open-air cinema at the southwestern end of the street opposite the Kışla; Educational buildings; production structures such as soap factories; religious buildings; hammam structures; historical fountains; residential buildings built during the Ottoman, French Mandate and Republican periods (Nakib, 2012)

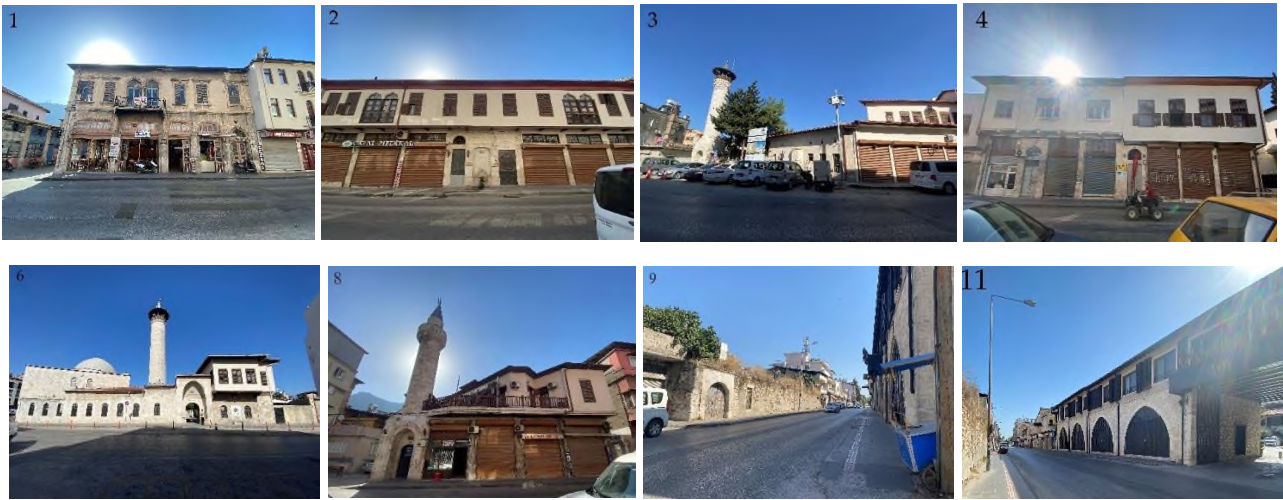
In August 2022, before the earthquake, a field survey was conducted in Antakya and it was observed that the ground floors of the buildings were mostly used for commercial functions, while the upper floors were used as residences. In addition, there are buildings with both social and commercial functions such as coffee houses, cafes and restaurants on the street, as well as hotels converted from residential buildings that are used for commercial and accommodation purposes. Furthermore, Habib Neccar, Sheikh Muhammed and Sarimiye mosques, Hünkar and Caferiye masjids, and a synagogue have been identified as religious buildings that give the street its identity (figure 12 and figure 13). Besides these, a historical bathhouse structure, abandoned soap factory structures that preserved their original function and were converted into a hotel were recorded as features that enrich the architectural and cultural pattern of the street (figure 12 and figure 13).



**Figure 12.** Solid-void Map around Kurtuluş Street before and after the earthquake (prepared by the authors on 2009 dated map).

492 | After the February 6, 2023 earthquake, Antakya's historic residential area and Kurtuluş Street were severely destroyed. The physical elements that make up the urban memory, including street traces, have been largely destroyed. The destruction of Kurtuluş Street and its surroundings was represented as a "solid-void map" using Google Earth aerial photographs and field surveys conducted in March 2024, the first year of the earthquake. In this map, structures that were partially demolished but not completely

removed and transformed in situ are marked with the “solid” legend, while voids represent structures that were completely removed from the area. The buildings on Kurtuluş Street, which are known by the citizens and have an important place in the memory of the street, are numbered on the solid-void map and photographs taken after the earthquake in March, 2023 are presented in line with these numbers (figure 12, figure 14). As a result of the field survey, in the area between Soap Factories and Sheikh Muhammed Mosque in the northeast of the street, the removal of the rubble of the buildings that collapsed during the earthquake or were deliberately demolished because they were heavily damaged has created huge gaps in the city. Also, in the area between Habib Neccar Mosque and Beyseri Hamam and in the area opposite İnci Kiraathan, the street traces have disappeared due to the demolished buildings (figure 15). As of November 2024, Kurtuluş Street was closed to traffic for the restoration and reconstruction of the buildings on the street.



**Figure 13.** August 2022 views from the street ( Taken by the first author)



**Figure 14.** March 2023 views from the street ( Taken by the first author)





**Figure 15.** Empty areas around Kurtuluş Street in March 2024 due to earthquake and removal of buildings (Taken by the first author)

### Discussion and Conclusion

Readings and analyses on the streets of Antakya reveal the continuities and interruptions in urban memory by addressing the physical change and its impact on the way of life. The ruptures in the urban memory can be listed as the effects of natural disasters, wars, changes in the natural environment of the city over time, planned and unplanned interventions in the urban space by human hands, changes in the form of political administration, the effects of architecture and habits created by modernity. Despite all these factors, it can be said that there are spatial and social continuities in urban memory. Depending on the analysis of the buildings, it is possible to explain these results by associating them with maps.

Changes in the natural environment of the city have created ruptures both physically and in urban life. The drying up of the Akakir Stream is an example of this. Akakir Stream, which was located on the southwestern border of the settlement during the Ottoman period, was in the center of the city with the growth of the city (Figure 1). Two streets and multi-storey apartment buildings were designed on the land created by the drying of the stream. In the 2023 earthquake, it was observed that the buildings built around the stream bed on this street were destroyed or heavily damaged and later removed. The destruction of the Akakir stream bed should be seen as a lesson to be learned from the disaster, and new streets and multi-storey buildings should be built with nature and history in mind.

The destruction of the city walls, which were the artificial boundaries of the city, by earthquakes and man-made interventions over time has affected the urban life and thus the urban memory. The city walls can be defined as an urban threshold located at the last point where the city expanded in ancient years (Fig. 2 number 2, 3). They are thresholds emphasized with huge gates at the first and last visible point at the entrances and exits of the city. Despite its distance from the center due to the downsizing of the city during the Ottoman period (Fig. 2, number 4, 6, 7), St. Paul's gate still serves as an entry point and is used as a place of resort and entertainment. Today, as the integrity of the city walls within the city has been largely disrupted (fig. 2, number 11, 12), the remaining parts of the city walls continue to exist as an urban trace that is unrecognized by many city dwellers.

The change in the form of the streets over time affects the experience of urban space and urban memory. In ancient times, streets with a wide grid pattern, reinforced with columns and porticos were the places where life was carried out. Over time, the wide streets, which disappeared due to earthquakes and alluvial floods covering the city, were replaced by narrow streets that became organic, as can be seen in figure 3. In 19<sup>th</sup> century the streets are deserted, life is no longer on the streets, but in courtyard buildings that have little access to the street. Lifestyles have changed. Nevertheless, the small number of right-angled streets traces of antiquity that remain in the urban fabric visible in Figure 3 and figure 5 is an indication that it is very difficult for the physical traces of a city's memory to disappear completely. These physical traces can be considered as parts of urban memory that have been forgotten but have the potential to revitalize. Sometimes these continuities appear in the names that are part of the memory of society. An example of this is that the “Dörtayak” location on the main street has a spatial counterpart and was associated with a Roman tetrapylon after years of excavation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The impact of changes in physical structure and lifestyle on urban memory can also be explained through the Colonnaded Main Street. As seen in Figure 8, the layers of the Main Colonnaded Street, which have accumulated over time due to earthquakes and floodwaters since the Hellenistic period, exist at different levels, demonstrating both continuity and ruptures in urban memory. The remnants of the street at varying levels signify the ruptures caused by disasters such as earthquakes in urban memory, while its reconstruction in the same location indicates continuity. The habits associated with the street also evolved in parallel with the transformation of the space. During the Roman period, the main street was a commercial and social axis, flanked by porticoes and shops. Following the disasters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, including earthquakes, fires, and wars, the city lost its former grandeur, and the habits associated with the main street changed as well. First, the width of the street decreased. Later, structures were built over the street pavement, and as seen in Figure 3, the straight axis of the main street disappeared. During the Ottoman period, the street and its former commercial practices ceased to exist. It transformed into a narrow passage, used solely for transportation, where even the passage of a few people simultaneously became impossible. Between 1927 and 1935, a planned intervention reopened and widened the street. If this expansion is viewed as the reconstruction of a forgotten spatial and social memory buried underground, it can be said that urban memory was preserved. However, this intervention also disrupted the Ottoman streets and habits that constituted the urban memory of the period, causing a rupture in memory. The commercial activities that once existed on the street were revived. At the same time, new spatial practices of the era, such as protests and marches, emerged.

During the Republican era, the main street was renamed as Kurtuluş Street. The residents of the city embraced the modern identity of this street, integrating it into their daily lives. Shopping at the stores located on the ground floors of the buildings along the street and visiting historically significant religious structures on the street became part of the spatial practices of the city's inhabitants. However, the massive destruction caused by the earthquakes on February 6, 2023, completely altered life in the historic city center of Antakya and, consequently, on Kurtuluş Street. As seen in Figure 12 and figure 15, much of the urban fabric, including street traces, has been destroyed in and around Kurtuluş Street. Life on the street has been disrupted, and collective memory has been deeply affected. A significant portion of the population living here has migrated to other regions. Today, Kurtuluş Street has been closed to traffic,

and restoration and reconstruction efforts for the buildings in the area are ongoing. In addition to the physical reconstruction of Kurtuluş Street, it is essential to analyze the needs of the local residents through a participatory planning process, develop strategies to revive the pre-earthquake social and cultural fabric, and implement inclusive initiatives that support the habits, social lives, and sense of belonging of the communities living there.

#### **Ethics Committee Permission**

This study is not included in the study group that requires ethics committee approval.

#### **Contribution Rate**

The authors contributed equally to the article.

#### **Conflict of Interest Declaration**

There is no conflict of interest between the authors of the article.



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