

**TOBB UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES**

**CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS IN İSKENDERUN (*ALEXANDRETTA*):  
THE COASTLINE FROM 1920S TO 1950S**



**MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE**

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## TEZ BİLDİRİMİ

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Ceylan Hülya TÖLÖN





## ABSTRACT

Master of Architecture

### CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS IN İSKENDERUN (*ALEXANDRETTA*): THE COASTLINE FROM 1920S TO 1950S

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Date: April 2021

This study attempts to examine and trace urban development, built environment, and material culture in İskenderun (*Alexandretta*) from 1920s to 1950s as the exceptional city of Turkey that experienced the change of ruling powers (Ottoman Empire, French Mandate, State of Hatay, Turkish Republic) in a few decades by focusing on the most vital part of the city, the coastline. Firstly, the terms of cultural diversity and collective memory are examined in order to constitute theoretical background of this thesis. These terms shed light to analysis since geopolitical and strategic location, cultural mosaic, and diversity of political administration and domination of different states in İskenderun set new orders/regulations/traditions that reflected to urban and architectural developments in the city in a few decades. Secondly, urban development, built environment, and material culture of İskenderun are scrutinized in order to understand how the urban planning (boulevards, streets, parks, quarters), public buildings (government buildings, schools, churches, mosques, synagogues, consulates), social and cultural institutions (restaurants, cafes), commercial buildings (banks) were formed, re-formed, used, adapted, and transformed in between 1920s-1950s. This thesis also attempts to understand to what extent the communities (Turks,

French, Arabs, Armenians and so on) perceived and experienced urban space and built environment, in other words, how the city and buildings were formed, re-formed, adapted, transformed and legitimized in urban memory. Lastly, the coastline, most vital part of the city, is analyzed in detail by examining how this cosmopolitan region and cultural continuity was developed from 1920s to 1950s. Thus, the aim of this thesis is to assess urban development, built environment, and material culture of İskenderun in a network of relationships in line with ideological, political and cultural dynamics from 1920s to 1950s. Urban and architectural formation should be evaluated with reference to the multicultural context of İskenderun that was formed somewhere in between dualities; practical/ideological, eastern/western, traditional/modern, but in some ways as an original model that was hybridized in result of cultural encounter.

**Keywords:** İskenderun, Coastline, Collective memory, Cultural diversity, Hybridity.

## ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

### İSKENDERUN'DA KÜLTÜREL KARŞILAŞMALAR: 1920'LERDEN 1950'LERE KADAR SAHİL ŞERİDİ

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Bu çalışma, kısa bir süre içinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan, Fransız Mandasına, Hatay Devletinden Türkiye Cumhuriyeti yönetimine geçen Türkiye'nin istisnai kentlerinden Hatay'ın ilçesi İskenderun'un (*Alexandretta*) 1920'lerden 1950'lere kentsel gelişimini, yapılı çevresini ve maddi kültürünü kentin en canlı bölgesi olan sahil şeridine odaklanarak incelemeye çalışır. İlk olarak, bu tezin teorik açıdan zeminini oluşturmak için kültürel çeşitlilik ve kolektif hafıza terimleri incelenmiştir. Bu kavramlar İskenderun'un jeopolitik ve stratejik konumun, kültürel mozağın, siyasi yönetim çeşitliliğinin, farklı devletlerin egemenliğinin ve belirlediği yeni sınırların/düzenlemelerin/geleneklerin kısa bir zaman içinde kentteki kentsel ve mimari gelişmelere nasıl yansıdığına anlamaya dair yapılan analize ışık tutar.

İkinci olarak, kent planlamasının (bulvarlar, sokaklar, parklar, mahalleler), kamu binalarının (hükümet binaları, okullar, kiliseler, camiler, sinagoglar, konsolosluklar), sosyal ve kültürel kurumlarının (restoranlar, kafeler), ticari binalarının (bankalar) nasıl biçimlendiğini, yeniden biçimlendiğini, kullanıldığını, uyarlandığını ve dönüştürüldüğünü anlamak amacıyla İskenderun'un 1920'ler-1950'ler arasındaki

kentsel gelişim, yapılı çevre ve maddi kültür irdelenmiştir. Ayrıca, bu tez, toplulukların (Türkler, Fransızlar, Araplar, Ermeniler vb.) kentsel mekanı ve yapılı çevreyi ne ölçüde algıladığını ve deneyimlediğini, başka bir deyişle, kentin ve binaların kent belleğinde nasıl biçimlendiğini, yeniden biçimlendiğini, uyarlandığını, dönüştürüldüğünü ve meşrulaştırıldığını anlamaya çalışmıştır. Son olarak, 1920-1950 yılları arasında kültürel sürekliliğin ve kozmopolit yapının nasıl geliştiğini anlamak için kentin en canlı bölgesi olan sahil şeridi detaylı bir şekilde analiz edilmiştir. Dolayısıyla, bu tezin amacı, İskenderun'un kentsel gelişimini, yapılı çevresini ve maddi kültürünü 1920'lerden 1950'lere kadar ideolojik, siyasi ve kültürel dinamiklere uygun bir ilişkiler ağı içinde değerlendirmektir. İskenderun'un çok kültürlü bağlamına istinaden kentsel ve mimari oluşum; pratik/ideolojik, doğu/batı, geleneksel/modern ikilikleri arasında bir noktada konumlanırken, bazı yönlerden de kültürel karşılaşma sonucunda melezleşen özgün bir model olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** İskenderun, Sahil şeridi, Kolektif hafıza, Kültürel çeşitlilik, Melezlik.



to my mother...



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- BNF** : Bibliothèque nationale de France (*National Library of France*)
- İB** : İskenderun Belediyesi (*The Municipality of İskenderun*)
- İKML** : İskenderun Kız Meslek Lisesi (*Vocational School for Girls of İskenderun*)
- İTM** : İskenderun Tapu Müdürlüğü (*The Directorate of Land Registry of İskenderun*)





## 1. INTRODUCTION

Following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923. The goal of the new Turkish Republic was to strengthen domestic policy by implementing a series of revolutions that is based on Republican ideology. In the 1920s and 1930s the revolutionary programme was introduced to Turkish people and disseminated to all within the borders of the country. Newly constructed public buildings, governmental institutions, urban monuments, and symbols for the legitimation of power and national unity served a desirable function in terms of putting the visual and spatial mark of the Republican ideology on urban space. The urban spaces of the Republic that are similarly constructed in the republican cities were carefully articulated to the passage routes i.e. *Atatürk Bulvarı*, public areas like *Cumhuriyet Meydanı*, statues such as *Atatürk Heykeli*, cultural institutions i.e. People's Houses (*Halkevleri*), schools referred to the names of important persons/events such as *Atatürk, İsmet Paşa, Cumhuriyet*, thus creating a new range of urban spaces in memory. These landmarks became primary elements of national ceremonies which are used to enable the creation of new intellectual maps in the existing space (Kezer, 2011, p.86).

Even though these fixed elements became the standard landmarks in most of the republican cities in 1920s and 1930s, there is one exceptional case that did not experience these standardized improvements as the others. The city known as Hatay (named by Atatürk in 1936 in reference to Turkish words of *Hitit, Eti, Ata*) was the only and last city that was involved in the national borders as late as 1939. The city offers a fairly unique position not only Turkish political history but also cultural history in where cross cultural interaction/communication/negotiation/conflict has taken place over the centuries particularly in the twentieth century.

When the modern Turkish Republic was founded in 1923 the sanjak of Alexandretta (Hatay) was not part of the Republic. Due to the defeat in the World War I the sanjak of Alexandretta was left to France which took Syria under its mandate. The sanjak

remained under French Mandate from 1921 to 1936 until the State of Hatay was proclaimed as a political entity in 1938. As a result of the nationalist policy conducted by Turkish Republic in late 1930s, the Sanjak included to the borders of Turkey on July 23, 1939.

İskenderun as the district of Hatay had even more special case in history in terms of its geopolitical and strategic position. The city has become a place of exchange with the arrival of locals/foreigners/travelers/missionaries/traders since ancient times due to its port. The Mediterranean voyages to İskenderun was the principal way of touring these coasts until the railroad network and coastal roads were built. Their connection to the world were made by sea routes (Acar, 1998, p.175).

Plane tree squares were the beginning and end of all sea voyages in the coastal cities of Anatolia from Rize to İskenderun. All the streets of these cities, even though they turned left and right, eventually came out to sea (Halikarnas Balıkcısı, as cited in Acar, 1998, p.172).

The coasts and port cities of Anatolia have come from Egypt, Assyria, Rome, Arabia, India, China, Africa, Europe, America and Australia throughout history where stories meet, mingle with each other, handrail neighborhoods (*küpeşte komşulukları*), dock shadows, tavern tables (Acar, 1998, p.172).

Ruled by different state/authority/power suggests an interesting case for potential of change in all aspects. At the threshold of cross cultural interaction urban development, built environment, and material culture experienced in the city become the prime symbols of cultural encounter. Multi-ethnic/religious/lingual communities lived in İskenderun likewise in most part of the Ottoman territory pursued relations on a friendly footing in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The social and political change over came out with the change of ruling power/state (catalyzed by the modern construction of nationalist movement), transfer of Armenian community from the region in 1915, leaving of the French and Armenians in 1939 and disputes among the communities did not turn into major conflicts and bloody revolts in the sanjak in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The cultural diversity (despite of displacement of population and increase/decrease in the population of the communities for several reasons) somehow continued even though the change of political power was experienced four times from 1918 to 1939. While the diversity of political administration and domination of different states might have posed problems about

perpetuation of existed orders/regulations/traditions in the society did not result in transculturation/assimilation. On the other hand, it carried grand potential in a positive way to enrich the existing material culture that led to the emergence of something original.

It would be better to move on and reveal the intertwined relationship of socio-cultural, political, and economic conditions with urban development, built environment, and material culture of the communities in the city. This thesis by taking İskenderun as worthy of study analyzes the significant dynamics/relations/practises that reflected to the city as architecture and spaces of daily life based on urban narratives, at the threshold of cultural and political encounters between 1920s-1950s. The exceptional position of İskenderun particularly during the French Mandate period (1921-1936) resembles colonial societies in some respects. Between 1936-1939 was a transition and preparation period where Turkish nationalism gave its first sprouts and concrete steps towards national sovereignty started to be taken. From 1939 to 1950s was the development period of İskenderun within national borders as the newly included city of Turkey in which economic and industrial progression is given priority. This thesis is structured on this exceptional history of İskenderun that reflected to the city, its architecture, and spaces of everyday life focusing on the most vital part of the city, the coastline.

This examination is structured upon two principal terms that forms a framework; collective memory and cultural diversity that gets deepened and enriched with further discussions on hybridity. The process of building collective memory depends on urban spaces and built environment suggests a useful tool to make a critical analysis in this thesis. Collective memory suggests an intrinsic value to discuss the topic since spatial-physical memory develops before language ability in the brain and takes a priority place in remembering functions even than visual stimuli (Tversky, 2003, p.66). The city is the common living space of all citizens. But it is hardly difficult to speak of collective memory in multicultural societies. There are further circumstances to make it complicated in case the society experienced the change of power four times in almost 20 years time.

It might be possible to experience varieties/inequalities/segregations in a multicultural society among different communities. To what extent the communities (Turks, French,

Arabs, Armenians and so on) perceived and experienced urban space and built environment, in other words, how the city and buildings were formed, re-formed, adapted, transformed and legitimized in urban memory are the issues to be discussed in this thesis. Correspondingly, the way of the communities experienced everyday life in the city and how the material culture that makes social reality (based on architectural production/objects etc.) i.e usage, creation, norms, traditions became visualized and turned out to be the symbols in this complex process are to be questioned in this thesis.

Collective memory cannot be perceived as monolithic and stable, rather a variable influenced by class, ethnicity, religion, gender, and other marks which leads to multiplicity. If the collective memory comprises the individual memories, in that case how the individual memories (might be generalized as a community here) would form among such plurality evokes the second term, cultural diversity that brings a new perspective to this thesis. Such plurality turns the society into a platform of negotiation and cultural harmony. As Homi Bhabha, leading figure on cultural studies, claims that cultural place does not belongs to one single, moreover that culture cannot be conceptualized through dualities between west and east, tradition and modernity (Hubbard & Kitchin, 2018, p.138). At this point, the cultural hybridity which has elaborated by him could be a rewarding term to analyze this topic. Cultural hybridity presents a variety of examples through objects, practices, people, cultural importation, and exportation (Burke, 2011, p.7). It cannot be defined generally as the result of decisions taken individually but rather developments that might so to say structural factors to encourage cultural hybridization in the long term (Burke, 2011, p.8).

This term brings out the question to what extent cultural hybridity could be evaluated by analyzing the city, built environment, and material culture of the city at the time of cultural encounters. How the biological term of hybridity denotes a condition in architectural terms presents an important key reference to discuss. Going through with such motivation, it is aimed to discuss how the urban planning (boulevards, streets, parks, quarters), public buildings (government buildings, schools, churches, mosques, synagogues, consulates), social and cultural institutions (restaurants, cafes), commercial buildings (banks) were formed, re-formed, used, adapted, and transformed in between 1920s-1950s. Thus, the aim of this thesis is to assess urban development,

built environment, and material culture of İskenderun in a network of relationships in line with ideological, political and cultural dynamics focusing on the critical years.

Within a chronological sequence and contextual scheme, this study initially provides historical information with relevant definitions and discussions that is followed by a catalogue of existed buildings focusing on the coastline. Based on the discipline of architecture this research is stands on an interdisciplinary study that benefits from cultural and political history, and urban studies. All these sources offer extensive information that helps to understand the process and figure out how architecture and urban development took shape in this critical space and time.

The research is structured depending on primary and secondary sources in the process of data searching and collecting such as original visual materials (city plans, drawings, photographs, postcards etc.) and original documents (reports, letters). In addition to those, local periodicals (newspapers and magazines) and invaluable literary sources (novels, descriptive essays, memoires, travel diaries etc.) provided by contemporary authors in a taste of urban narratives increased the quality and depth of this discussion. The research conducted in personal archives of the local collectors, local archives, and libraries (*Antakya ve İskenderun Belediyeleri, İskenderun Tapu Müdürlüğü, İskenderun ve Antakya İlçe Kütüphaneleri, Hatay Çevre ve Şehircilik İl Müdürlüğü*), State Archives (*Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri*), and public libraries (*Milli Kütüphane, Türk Tarih Kurumu Kütüphanesi, TMMOB Kütüphanesi*) made tremendous contribution on this thesis in reaching the awesome resources.

This study is composed of five chapters. Following the introduction that gives informational background of the topic that briefly emphasizes, the second chapter deals with the two primary terms that the thesis is structured upon. Collective memory in relation to spatial perception/culturation focusing on social memory and identity are analyzed with contribution of different approaches/studies on the concept of memory. It has been tried to draw attention to the points how and when memory merges with history. The second term is the cultural diversity of a city which presents a variety of customs/traditions/practises/buildings/symbols in a society. The uniqueness that comes out in result of cultural encounter carries an invaluable potential in terms of cultural continuity. The tendency of change in architectural and urban programme in this context inserts them in a peerless location.

The third chapter deals with general features and historical developments in İskenderun. The changes and transformations occurred on urban and architectural fields have been examined to understand what kind of layerization experienced with the change of ruling powers from 1920s to 1950s. In this context, the political, economical, and cultural history of İskenderun, a district of Hatay today is scrutinized starting from the last periods of the Ottoman Empire to the 1950s. Focusing on the urban landmarks of the city (well known buildings for all) this kind of investigation has given the opportunity to see the layers of the city and how they interacted with each other resulting in change of programme, name etc.

The fourth chapter focuses on the coastline in İskenderun in term of its evolution and development of the area. All searched data are used to understand the social, political, and economic contexts as well as to trace the layers of the Coast Line. The vitally important part and thus, appropriate space in İskenderun for analysis, exposes a favorable urban space to discuss in terms of collective memory and cultural diversity. All the textual materials and urban narratives describing the area helps to figure out urban and architectural development and material culture appeared in the coastline from 1920s to 1950s.

In the last chapter, urban space just beyond the assessment through physical data, the practices of everyday life experienced is examined in the framework of the change in political, cultural and economic systems from 1920s to 1950s. To what extent the city/the buildings /material culture was formed/re-formed/changed/adapted/transformed/integrated through the terms of collective memory, cultural diversity, and hybridity in İskenderun provides a fruitful platform to discuss of an unstudied field by filling a gap in the academic literature.



## 2. THE CITY BUILT UPON: MEMORY AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The cities which are the accumulation of the buildings, monuments, streets, parks, squares, dwellings, districts with the way of life experienced have been continuously constructed and reconstructed over the layers in time. The city can't be merely identified with its material entities, but the necessary component to describe a city is its "soul". Rossi in his seminal book titled *The Architecture of the City* states "the soul of the city becomes the city's history, the sign on the walls of the municipium, the city's distinctive and definitive character, its memory" (Rossi, 1984 p.130). The city is interwoven with urban memories. It is the materialized form of human thoughts/practices/experiences/memories over years and years. Eisenman interprets the relationship of the city with memory in the revised edition of Rossi's book as follows:

The city is a theater of human events. This theater is no longer just a representation; it is a reality. It absorbs events and feelings, and every new event contains within it a memory of the past and a potential memory of the future. Thus, while the locus is a site which can accommodate a series of events, it also in itself constitutes an event. In this sense, it is a unique or characteristic place, a "locus solus" (Rossi, 1984, p.7).

It is the urban policy, architectural products, and some other forms of collectively accepted/internalized material culture that form the memory of the communities. Rossi explains this relationship clearly in his statement.

This relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artifacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge. In this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it (Rossi, 1984, p.130).

The intimate relationship established between city and memory is vitally important to note here. Below the long quotation taken from Boyer draws a framework that is helpful to understand this topic better.

... the city is the collective expression of architecture and it carries in the weaving and unraveling of its fabric the memory traces of earlier architectural forms, city plans, and public monuments. Although the name of a city may remain forever constant, its physical structure constantly evolves, being deformed or forgotten, adapted to other purposes or eradicated by different needs. The demands and pressures of social reality constantly affect the material order of the city, yet it remains the theater of our memory. Its collective forms and private realms tell us of the changes that are taking place they remind us as well of the traditions that set this city apart from others. It is in these physical artifacts and traces that our city memories lie buried, for the past is carried forward to the present through these sites. Addressed to the eye of vision and to the soul of memory, a city's streets, monuments, and architectural forms often contain grand discourses on history (Boyer, 1996, p.31).

The city is more than material existence of buildings, streets, parks, houses and so on. Social relations that is produced and reproduced over time is the key issue in understanding the cities.

...the city is an *oeuvre*, closer to a work of art than to a simple material product. If there is production of the city, and social relations in the city, it is a production and reproduction of human beings by human beings, rather than a production of objects. The city has a history; it is the work of a history, that is, of dearly defined people and groups who accomplish this *oeuvre*, in historical conditions (Lefebvre, 1996, p.27).

The city is associated with the terms of “memory” and community”. The relationship between the two is established by some prominent features of the city, the streets. Walter Benjamin, important intellectual of the twentieth century, published several works on culture and society considering the streets as the houses of the society. “Societies is always awake, an afterthought dynamic being; society also lives, tries, learns and thinks between the outer walls of the building how individuals live, try, learn and think under the protection of their own four walls”<sup>1</sup> (Benjamin, 2020, p.261).

If the community is accepted as the main constituent of the city, then to analyze the community and its structure is inevitable. Community is defined as “the people living

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<sup>1</sup> All the quotations taken from Turkish sources are translated into English by the author.

in one particular area or people who are considered as a unit because of their common interests, social group or nationality” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d., Url-1). It is obvious that a community means a variety of people, thoughts, needs, feelings, daily life, and memories.

How the memories of a community (shared memories of a group, family, race) are constructed and reconstructed by means of urban development, built environment, and material culture in a city over against destruction, reproduction, change of system/regulations, presents a remarkable issue to analyze. The thresholds/breaking points in the history of city led to constitution of the layers. If each period are regarded as one of the layers of the city, then how the layers interrelate with each other through urban design and architecture is a rewarding issue to deal with. How possible to mention cultural continuity in case of cultural diversity through urban development, built environment, and material culture in İskenderun between 1920s-1950s are worthy of consideration. The terms of “collective memory” and “cultural diversity” linked to “hybridity” are the terms that is principally used in the analysis. In this study, cultural hybridity encompasses social and cultural discourse as well as architectural production and urban development. Before discussing the topic in relation to those terms it is necessary to define and describe two terms in detail to be able to establish the spatial relationship which sheds light on an indepth discussion through İskenderun case.

## **2. 1. Collective Memory**

The collective memory is an overarching term that is “based on common experience, learning, heritage, tradition and more” (Crane, 2000, p.2). It is also a powerful way to hold together the “communities and other social and cultural groups through the creation of shared experiences, values and memories, all of which work to help cement or recreate social networks and ties” (Smith & Waterton, 2009, p.44). It would be appropriate to describe the ancient concept of memory which came to be associated with re-calling. In ancient times, memory would mean memory of the eye. Through the memory of the eye, it is thought that the images are remembered and revived in mind.

In the seventeenth century during the time of John Locke, people believed that ideas were innate. “According to this idea, people come to the world knowing what a dog,

cow or bear is” (Locke 1997, as cited in Öymen-Özak, 2008, p.36). However, Locke asserts that thoughts are not innate and are obtained through sensations. In other words, Locke admits that the mind is empty that is “tabula rasa” which is stated by him as follows:

No innate ideas in the memory. To which let me add: if there be any innate ideas, any ideas in the mind which the mind does not actually think on, they must be lodged in the memory; and from thence must be brought into view by remembrance; i.e. must be known, when they are remembered, to have been perceptions in the mind before; unless remembrance can be without remembrance. For, to remember is to perceive anything with memory, or with a consciousness that it was perceived or known before. Without this, whatever idea comes into the mind is new, and not remembered... (Locke, 1999, p.79).

Locke admits that memory is the storage of ideas. These ideas are comprised of perceptions that are actually found in our mind. So, the mind has the power to revive perceptions that has acquired in many cases. That means the ideas are found in our memory, and the ability in mind just tries to revive them and make a picture for the itself, “though some with more, some with less difficulty; some more lively, and others more obscurely” (Locke, 1999, p.133).

William James, American philosopher of the late nineteenth century, claims that consciousness is uninterrupted and flows continuously. Therefore, consciousness and memory cannot be distinguished from each other, every consciousness includes a memory (Hançerlioğlu, n.d., p.173). According to James, consciousness and memory are not independent phenomena from each other. Memory is a conscious process and peculiar to human.

Today, memory as a human phenomenon is the research subject of different disciplines and is defined variously depending of their perspectives. Among these disciplines are neurology which investigates the neurological foundations of memory, psychology which analyzes cognitive and emotional recalling processes of individuals in certain situations, philosophy which searches for the phenomenon of memory, sociology which investigates the formation of collective memories, and history which investigates the reliability of human memory against history (Öymen-Özak, 2008, p.9).

According to Haçerlioğlu, memory which has the ability to preserve and recreate the past is a momentary process. Therefore, memory as a skill expresses the consciousness of both hiding and finding what is hidden when necessary (Haçerlioğlu, n.d., pp.148-149). The things in memory are not stored as they are. In this regard, it has been observed in neurological studies that when memory remembers each time it creates a new narrative. Sayın claims that since all our experiences and feelings are recorded in memory as narratives, we relive and rewrite them in the process of recall. All the experiences in life are stored in memory as a narrative (Sayın, 2006, pp.39-40).

The memory of the individual in the lifetime is formed by overlapping data received from life. Past memory comes after the individual merges with the current memory and develops towards the future. The experiences of the present are largely based on understanding about the past. The world of today is lived in a context of causality links with the events and objects of the past. Because the past is the events that are not happening at that moment and objects that are not perceived at that moment (Bergson 1998, as cited in Öymen-Özak, 2008, pp.37-38). Similarly, as Halbwachs stated that a recall is largely “a reconstruction of the past achieved with data borrowed from the present, a reconstruction prepared, furthermore, by reconstructions of earlier periods where in past images had already been altered” (Halbwachs, 1980, p.69).

Memory and time are the intertwined terms. The past is remembered and re-established in the memory. The past can only exist when it is in contact with itself. Memory is related to the past and consists of learning, recalling, oblivion and recognition. Bergson says that recognition is the concrete act that we have captured the past in the present time. (Bergson, 2007, p.105). Bergson says in relation to recognition as follows:

... For instance, I take a walk in a town seen then for the first time. At every street corner I hesitate, uncertain where I am going. I am in doubt; and I mean by this that alternatives are offered to my body, that my movement as a whole is discontinuous, that there is nothing in one attitude which foretells and prepares future attitudes. Later, after prolonged sojourn in the town, I shall go about it mechanically, without having any distinct perception of the objects which I am passing (Bergson, 2007, p.110).

However, Maurice Halbwachs, student of Bergson, brings a different approach from Bergson's thoughts on memory:

... According to Bergson, our past in its entirety remains in memory, and only certain obstacles, notably the behavior of the brain, prevents our evoking any and every segment. In any case, the images of past events rest fully formed in the unconscious mind like so many printed pages of books that could be opened, even though they no longer are. In my view, by contrast, what remains are not ready-made images in some subterranean gallery of our thought. Rather, we can find in society all the necessary information for reconstructing certain parts of our past represented in an incomplete and indefinite manner, or even considered completely gone from memory (Halbwachs, 1980, p.75).

Halbwachs is the first theorist who takes out the memory beyond something regarded as personal and individual. Instead of being an individual ability, he claims that memory should be considered as a social or group phenomenon that depends on social environment. Memory is socially determined. According to Halbwachs “a person who has grown up in complete isolation would have no memory” (Halbwachs 1992, as cited in Assmann, 2011, p.22). That is, societies/groups determine memories of their members even in their most personal recollection (Halbwachs 1992, as cited in Assmann, 2011, p.22). Halbwachs says that memory is of a social feature. When memory perceives a reality, the represented way of this reality is limited with the understanding and language of society. Thus, by the recall of memory, social perception is reproduced. The perceived reality is comprehensible with an image produced by the dynamics of the society. The recall of memory is directly related to the image. The image, that is, what is remembered, is the abstraction of the relations and ideas that surround the individual and emerges as a representation approved by the system of values created by the social environment. As a result, the image forms the basis of recall and perception (Halbwachs 1925, as cited in Öymen-Özak, 2008, p.39).

Jan Assmann is another leading figure in cultural studies who evaluates memory in a cultural and social framework as follows:

...the human memory, which initially we tend to think as purely internal- located within the brain of the individual, and a subject of encephalology, neurology, and psychology but not of historical cultural studies, the contents of this memory. However, the contents of this memory, the ways in which they are organized, and the length of time they last are for the most part not a matter of internal storage or control but of the external conditions imposed by society and cultural contexts... (Assmann, 2011, p.5).

Moreover, it is noteworthy to add that if the individuals and societies can reconstruct the past only within the framework of the relationship with which it connects to, they will forget everything outside of this framework (Assmann, 2011, pp.22-23). The social and cultural dimension of the memory is described by Paul Connerton who is another prominent person on social memory.

Memory and identity are fluid, intangible and inherently social concepts... The way societies or other collectives choose to remember and reminisce, and what they choose to remember and forget, are thus cultural and social processes of meaning-making (Connerton, as cited in Smith & Waterton, 2009, p.45).

This reveals how “memory has a great potential to be transmitted, changed and articulated. Memory needs often to be conventionalized, because it has to be meaningful and understood for the entire group...” (*Memory and Identity. An overview*, n.d.). There is an absolute and powerful relationship between social memory and spatial experiences. For Halbwachs memory and space are inseparable as stated by Boyer as follows:

And memory always unfolded in space, for when memories could not be located in the social space of a group, then remembrance would fail. Consequently, the activity of recollection must be based on spatial reconstruction (Halbwachs, as cited in Boyer, 1996, p.26).

The construction of memory needs spatial references to the past, ancestors to be remembered by community which is depended on intangible culture (traditions/commemorations/rituals), tangible culture (images/objects/symbols) and spatial references like location or material culture like the monuments, parks and squares etc. From this point onwards, memory which is an interdisciplinary concept, will be analyzed by with reference to spatial aspect.

Memory is a social phenomenon which becomes concrete through spaces. The spaces legitimize the memory. Space plays a reminder role in establishing relations of perceiving, remembering and interpreting events and holds a lot of information on it. Yet, this information can be read through spatial elements that is associated with. Even if the environment and conditions experienced over time change, the sense concerning space continues (Savaş, 2019, p.9). Much of the data stored in memory is naturally spatial. Memory is the fundamental part of creating space, and the space acts “as a kind of filing system” to store and access memories (Groh, 2014, pp.189-190). Jennifer

M. Groh is a professor on cognitive neuroscience who studied on how the brain process spatial information. The act of recalling and evoking images in memories is based on cognition of space.

Barbara Tversky, specialist on cognitive psychology, indicates an important point as follows:

Human activity takes place in space. To act effectively, people need mental representations of space. People's mental representations of space differ from space as conceived of by physicists, geometers, and cartographers. Mental representations of space are constructions based on elements, the things in space, and the spatial relations among them relative to a reference frame. People act in different spaces depending on the task at hand. The spaces considered here are the space of the body, the space around the body, the space of navigation, and the space of graphics. Different elements and spatial relations are central for functioning in the different spaces, yielding different mental representations (Tversky, 2003, p.66).

Memory is formed in mind through situations or events experienced in the space. Besides, during the recall of information from memory, the images are firstly visualized in mind through the space (Çolpan, 2017, p.24). The traces of past and present in the space, that is, political, architectural and cultural events, traditions, habits, constitute the memory of space. (Gültebekin 2017, as cited in Savaş, 2019, p.10).

According to Pierre Nora "memory is life, always embodied in living societies and as such in permanent evolution, subject to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting" and opens to "appropriation and manipulation". "Memory is rooted in concrete: in space, gesture, image, and object" (Nora, 1996, p.3).

Urban memory is different from the "everyday understanding". Urban memory more commonly points out "the city as a physical landscape and collection of objects and practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city's sequential building and rebuilding." (Crimson, 2005, p.xii)

The city is the place for collective spatiality due to the collective nature of it. The ideas of Halbwachs are later on supported by Aldo Rossi and adapted to urban theories.

With respect to the workings of memory, it is primarily the two modes of actualization and interpretation that interest us; we know that these depend on



time, culture, and circumstances, and since these factors together determine the modes themselves, it is within them that we can discover the maximum of reality (Rossi, 1984, p.131).

... the union between the past and the future exists in the very idea of the city that it flows through in the same way that memory flows through the life of a person; and always, in order to be realized, this idea must not only shape but be shaped by reality. This shaping is a permanent aspect of a city's unique artifacts, monuments, and the idea we have of it (Rossi, 1984, p.131).

Moreover, Rossi claims “one can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places” thus, “memory becomes the guiding thread of the entire complex urban structure” which constitutes the consciousness of the city. (Rossi, 1984, p.131). The social relationships become spatially visible through urban spaces and architecture and become integral part of urban memory.

Boyer expresses that the city is not merely represented in a certain order by city planners and architects, but also expresses the order of society. As the structure of the city changes, its representational form also changes. Each discourse establishes a spatial order and “a frozen image that captures” the temporary perception of the present (Boyer, 1996, p.32). This clarifies how the memory is processed in the city through material culture.

...Composed city scenes are designed to be looked at and spectator's amazement and memory evoked by their figural images. As spectators, we travel through the city observing its architecture and constructed spaces, shifting contemporary scenes and reflections from the past until they thicken into a personalized vision. Our memory of the city is especially scenic and theatrical: we travel back in time through images that recall bits and pieces of an earlier city, project these earlier representations forward into recomposed and unified stagings (Boyer, 1996, p.32)

In this outline, urban space and built environment plays a crucial role in the formation of urban memory. Where the communities live become important and deeply connects them to this place. That reminds us the term of “place”. “Place places man in such a way that it reveals the external bonds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality” (Heidegger, 1958, p.19). Edward Relph, a geographer studies on place and placelessness, attributes a significant value to place. He states “a place is not just the “where” of something; it is the location plus everything that occupies that location seen as an integrated and meaningful phenomenon” (Relph,

1976, as cited in Erdoğan, 2011). This indicates that the place where people live mean something more. It is a kind of integration of tiny pieces and means more than a location. “Rather they are sensed in a chiaroscuro of setting, landscape, ritual, routine, other people, personal experiences, care and concern for home, and in the context of other places” (Relph, 1976, as cited in Erdoğan, 2011).

The city with its built environment and landscape is community oriented. The streets, parks, squares are the places where the life of the city dwellers passes. It is for public which refers to all people in general. Public means the people as a whole, and accessible by all individuals of a society. In other terms, it is open to all, something organized for the use of community who share common interests/dreams/feelings etc. In addition, public denotes “provided especially by the government, for the use of people in general” (Crowther, 1995).

Although the public is open to all, the relationship of the community to the city might differ depending on experiential differences. Collective memory is defined as something changing and variable in case of multiplicity of ethnicity, religion, language, class, and gender. Since memory could not be involved in an activity without words, thoughts and tools that is associated with his/her social environment. “Nevertheless, it is true that one remembers only what he himself has seen, done, felt, and thought at some time” (Halbwachs, 1980, p.51). In recalling the individual, the consciousness of the group that he/she belongs to plays an important role. Because individuals could acquire, localize and recall their memories through their affiliation of a group (Connerton, 1989, p.36).

Memory depends on experiences and meanings “that are created through the intersection of people at multiple levels” (Kuijt, 2008, p.174). The city becomes unique with its features of architecture, topography, location and its cultural richness.

It is inevitable to recognize the marks of the community which lives in, on every single stone of the pavements. On the other hand, sometimes a city obtains the shape and character through long ages as citizens are bound to the limit of the city and live the life which the city serves them to continue (Erdoğan, 2011, p.2).

In this case, if the city is built upon cultural diversities then how is it possible to talk about commonality/collectivity and cultural continuity? From this point onwards, it is

necessary to examine the terms of “cultural diversity” and “hybridity” that is linked to urban space and built environment.

## **2.2. Cultural Diversity and Hybridity**

The culture which are the symbolic forms that constitute itself are produced as a field of negotiations. The culture is something formed continuously, on the other hand it is something invented. Eric Hobsbawm, a British historian on capitalism, socialism and nationalism, introduced the term of “invented traditions” which refers a set of cultural practices “actually invented, constructed and formally instituted” and “essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition” (Hobsbawm, 1995, pp.1-4). The emergence of such attempt was quite helpful and favorable among the societies trying to gain independence when the nationalism movement increased particularly by the nineteenth century onwards. Creation of common past, history, practices, thoughts and everything that enables unity are quite eligible to obtain national sovereignty and tie the communities under the roof of a “nation”. Even if it was necessary to establish this common bond within a variety of cultures, it was not easy. Jürgen Habermas, a German philosopher and sociologist on critical theory, points out the essentialness of common culture as follows:

Multiculturalism, while endorsing the perpetuation of several cultural groups in a single political society, also requires the existence of a common culture... Members of all cultural groups will have to acquire a common political language and conventions of conduct to be able to participate effectively in the competition for resources and the protection of groups as well as individual interests in a shared political arena (Habermas, 2017, p.54).

However, Habermas points out the troubles of founding a consolidated community even if the common life is shared by the community:

The mere fact that the multitude shares some form of common life- common traditions, customs, interests, history, institutions and boundaries- is not sufficient to generate a genuine, independent, legitimate political community” (Habermas, 2017, p.58).

For this reason, during the foundation process of a new nation introduction of a set of practices depended on common symbols to the society is essential.

“Nation-building as development means the extension of an active sense of membership to the entire populace, the secure acceptance of state-authority, the redistribution of resources to further the equality of members, and the extension of effective state operation to the periphery” (Habermas, 2017, p.61).

Ernest Gellner argues that cultural and ethnic differences in the nationalist societies were expected to be internally homogeneous, but externally heterogeneous. The state as political unit was now the protector of culture, and culture would ensure legitimacy through symbols of the state (Gellner, 1998, pp.59-60, 69).

It is possible to express that there is an expanded content of symbols revealed by the state to emphasize collectivism. This ideological setting of the states and utility of some apparatuses for the benefit of state is harshly criticized by Louis Althusser. He argues that the state has ideological apparatuses on a variety of fields such as religion, legal, political, communication, and cultural fields. The state has other ideological apparatuses beside its own political ideological apparatuses; church, news, schools are some of those mentioned by him. The state also has an apparatus on oppression in daily life, namely the police, security organizations and the army (Althusser, 2008, p.17,169). While those structures constitute the foundation of a powerful state revealing its authority it also offers the emotions of collectivity to the community. The state apparatuses such as schools, churches, state institutions, and the military are the components to allow subordination to the dominant ideology or the dominance of its practice (Althusser, 2008, p.159).

One of the critical things is the problem of “equality” and “balance” between majority and minority of a society. In multicultural societies cultural diversity offers the potential of trouble in terms of justice, fairness, and discrimination.

Culturally sensitive issues, such as formal language, non-formal education and training programs, the status of the church and religious communities, criminal law norms, as well as the position of family and marriage-style communal life, acceptance of everyday standards, or less important issues that deal with the boundary between private and public life, are generally determined by the ethical-political-self conception of a superior majority culture for purely historical reasons (Habermas, 2017, pp.52-53).

Another problem Habermas points out is that the artificially formed countries reach external sovereignty without reaching a more effective state power. Only if the societies are organized into a democratic rule of law, a “diversity-sensitive” inclusion eliminates discrimination (Habermas, 2017, pp.53,61).

It is possible to argue that culture is a process and a site of contestation. Cultural diversity is defined as “the variety, difference and abundance of cultures that can be found within the same region or geographical space, in which they coexist peacefully regardless of their heritage, culture or tradition” (Euston, n.d., Url-2). This term brings up several terms that is linked to: acculturation, interculturalization, transculturation, and cultural hybridity. The definition of those terms are presented very briefly to provide a basis for final discussion of the case study at the end.

The first term is the “acculturation” described as follows:

...the process by which a human group or community acquires, adopts or assimilates, usually involuntarily, certain values alien to its tradition. It is the process in which a person or a group of people acquire a new culture. It is a process of adopting and adapting to another culture, especially with the loss of one's own culture (Euston, n.d., Url-3).

Second term is the “interculturalization” which is defined below:

...refers to the mixing of cultures that goes on between groups who shares a space. The groups do not necessarily give up their own culture, but participate in various ways in each other's lives (Prezi, n.d., Url-4).

In an intercultural society, no one is left unchanged because everyone learns from one another and grows together (Spring Institute, n.d., Url-5).

Another key term to define cultural situation is the transculturation that “describes the process where a culture changes drastically, actually overcoming itself and translating into something new” (Prezi, n.d., Url-6). In other words, it is “a process of cultural transformation marked by the influx of new culture elements and the loss or alteration of existing ones” (Merriam-Webster, n.d., Url-7).

Transculturation refers to a process through which a social group progressively adopts and appropriates the cultural practices of another social group. This process can take place with consent, as in the case of immigration to another country or by imposition or force, as in the case of colonial, for example, in periods of war or conflict” (Euston, n.d., Url-8).

Cultural hybridization is a “process by which a cultural element such a food, language, or music blend into another culture by modifying the element to fit cultural norms” (Prezi, n.d., Url-9). It is an umbrella term that contains all sorts of cultural production

such as housing, clothing, fashion etc. peculiar to its culture. In the light of de Certeau, Barthes and Lefebvre, none of the elements of everyday life is worthless, nonsense, and out of political. It should be known that cultural dynamics are closely associated with politics which let us articulate the term of hybridity.

“Hybrid” is a botanical term that represents a duality or multiplicity of identity; it is no longer a purely one or the other. According to Oxford English Dictionary “hybrid” is a noun that “a thing made by combining two different elements; a mixture”. The term is also an “adjective to describe something of ‘mixed character’.” Even if the term originated in the early seventeenth century the term used to describe offspring of two plants/animals/humans in the nineteenth century. This term has gained a new dimension with evolving discussions based on racist approaches. The reproduction of two humans (from different races i.e. black and white, social status i.e. freeman and slave) that refers fertility and sexuality created a widespread anxiety among the western society. This term is later adopted by the social scientists such as anthropology and sociology and continues to be inspiration for many more disciplines like architectural and urban discourse (Encyclopedia.com, n.d., Url-10).

Hybridity is one of the essential terms in postcolonial theory with the interaction of colonized and colonizer that turns into creation of new transcultural forms. This new form (cultural, political, racial, linguistic and so on) could be called as the third and hybrid one. Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha are the avantgardes of this phenomenon who deals with the issues of displacement, migrancy, exile, and transnationalism.

The influential work that fed postcolonial discourse was written by a linguist and cultural theorist Mikhail Bakhtin. He theorized the relationship between politics and hybridity via languages. Bakhtin makes a key distinction between ‘organic’ and ‘intentional’ hybridity as follows:

The point we take from Bakhtin is that all cultures, like languages, are continuously evolving, unconsciously and organically; they are neither bounded nor fixed. At the same time, however, intentional, transgressive, newly created, deliberate and often shocking cultural mixings challenge normative separations or dominant hegemonies and are the grounds for reflexivity and for the public bridging of cultural differences” (Werbner & Moodod, 1997, XIV).

Homi K. Bhabha uses the term “hybridization” to describe “the ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority” (Bhabha 1994, p.112). However, he evaluates this term as subversive and “as an active moment of challenge and resistance against a dominant cultural power” (Young, 1995, p.23). Bhabha states that cultural statements and systems are constructed in a space which he named it as “third space of enunciation” (Bhabha, 1994, p.37). The transgressions can occur in a “third space” that includes forms of interaction and cultural difference that challenge dominant and totalizing norms (Encyclopedia.com, n.d., Url-10). “In other words, Bhabha appropriates the concept of hybridity as an in-between third space, synthesizing cultural differences within the postcolonial condition” (Hanlon, n.d.). It indicates the ambivalent space of cultural identity/culture/tradition between exploiting power and exploited culture. Bhabha argues “nationalism is never homogeneous and unitary; it is the liminal space created by the permanent performative transgression of national grand narratives...” (Werbner, 1997, p.14).

The term of hybridity from the lens of Bhabha is defined clearly by Mambrol as follows:

It is the ‘in-between’ space that carries the burden and meaning of culture, and this is what makes the notion of hybridity so important. Hybridity has frequently been used in post-colonial discourse to mean simply cross-cultural ‘exchange’. This use of the term has been widely criticized, since it usually implies negating and neglecting the imbalance and inequality of the power relations it references. By stressing the transformative cultural, linguistic and political impacts on both the colonized and the colonizer, it has been regarded as replicating assimilationist policies by masking or “whitewashing” cultural differences (Mambrol, 2016).

Hybridity which Bhabha calls “intermediate space” is not a term that brings two cultures closer to each other, but on the contrary, it is a term that reveals the identity conflict and the uncertainties that it causes. It is mostly evaluated as a situation to “de-historicize and de-locate cultures from their temporal, spatial, geographical and linguistic contexts, and to lead to an abstract, globalized concept of the textual that obscures the specificities of particular cultural situations” (Mambrol, 2016). However, it is a space that is free from all the prejudices by paving the way for thinking from a different perspective.

Such rewarding term is seminal to scholars from different disciplines who studies migration, diaspora, transnationalism, and globalization. The term is used to define the people of mixed race/cultural origin/ influence (migrants), the cultural production of “hybrid” people (music, language, style), “and/or processes of cultural mixing that shape identity formation and cultural production. That is, hybrid identities, cultural products, and/or practices are often seen as challenging, in novel and creative ways, essentialist norms of culture, race, and nation” (Encyclopedia.com, n.d., Url-10).

Jevremovic describes hybridization as a process which “manifest itself through various areas, generating new cultural and social orders, new architectural and urban, programme and shape formation, as well as hybrid reality in general” (Jevremovic, 2017, p.240). Interaction lays at the basis of hybridity. Hybridity indicates productive potential and becomes a source of inspiration when it is used in architectural field. It can be adapted to many situations on architectural field. The hybridity may refer interaction of what is described as local and new. Şentürer and Buğra evaluates such relationship as follows:

Local symbolizes belonging to the place, as well as the essence, the self and the accustomed situations. And, new is defined as the “other” of the local. Hybridity symbolizes both the situation and the end product created by the hybridization and the hybridization process itself. The discursive concept of third space, where the cultural hybridity is built, is objectified associated with “place” in architecture on which the building is constructed (Buğra, 2011, XI).

This thesis attempts to discuss in the conclusion to what extent the city/the buildings /material culture was formed/re-formed/changed/adapted/transformed/integrated with reference to collective memory and cultural diversity. This study also aims to question how to define the situation in İskenderun and discuss if it is possible to identify them as hybrid in terms of cultural, architectural and urban aspects. To discuss this topic in the conclusion, it would be appropriate to examine urban development, built environment, and material culture of İskenderun.



### 3. MULTI-LAYERED CITY: İSKENDERUN

İskenderun was founded as *Alexandreia* to commemorate the great success at the Battle of Issus against Persian King Darius III in Cilicia in 333 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Until the rule of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, İskenderun was occupied respectively by the following civilizations: Romans, Byzantines, Abbasids, Crusaders, Seljuks and Mamluks. From the sixteenth century to the end of World War I, the city was remained under the rule of the Ottoman Empire (Kireççi, 1996, pp.15-16).

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the region (Hatay) was occupied first by the Arabs and British in 1918 and then by the French<sup>3</sup> (Figure 3.1). Immediately after the occupation, on 27 November 1918, the Beirut-based French High Commissioner issued a decree and thus, “the Sanjak of Alexandretta” was established including the region of İskenderun, Antakya and Harim. Armed conflicts between France and the people of the region continued until 1921. Consequently, France and Turkey signed the Treaty of Ankara in 1921 so as to stop the conflict in that region. According to the treaty, the Sanjak of Alexandretta remained outside the national borders of Ottoman State and became a French mandate of Syria (*2000 Yılında Hatay*, pp. 27-29). After a while, the “mandate” was accepted by the League of Nations (*Milletler Cemiyeti*) in the Syrian region in 1926 including the Sanjak of Alexandretta. Thus, France legitimized its occupation in the region with its mandatory identity (Tekin, 2010, pp.117-118). According to this treaty, a special regime would be established for this region. The Turkish inhabitants of the region would benefit from legal rights by keeping their culture. Besides, Turkish language would have officially recognized by the Mandate administration in the region. Turkish-Syrian border line,

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<sup>2</sup> In 302 B.C, Antigonos, one of the commanders of Alexander the Great, founded the city (Kireççi, 1996, p.15). It was called as Alexandria Minor in the Roman Period. This name is expressed in Arabic with *İskenderuna*. It was used as *Alexandrette / Alexandretta* in Western languages (Ürkmez, 2012, p.6).

<sup>3</sup> With the Mondros Armistice Treaty signed on 30 October 1918, the Allied Powers occupied the region of Hatay. After staying in the region for 5-6 days, the British left the city and the city was transferred to the French (Mursaloğlu, 2015a, p.12).

drawn by the Treaty of Ankara, was identically recognized upon Lausanne Peace Treaty signed in 1923. In this period, the Sanjak of Alexandretta consisted of the districts of İskenderun, Antakya and Kırıkhan. The Sanjak of Alexandretta which consists of these three districts was later named as “Hatay”<sup>4</sup> by Atatürk in 1936 (2000 *Yılında Hatay*, pp. 29-30).



Figure 3.1: The Occupation of İskenderun by the British Army (1918) (Mursaloğlu, n.d, p.16)

In mid 1930s, the issue of the Sanjak of Alexandretta was a reason of disagreement between Turkey and France. Turkish community lived in the Sanjak had close ties with Turkish State and followed developments happening in Turkey (Zürcher, 2001, p.294). Nationalist thoughts among Syrians against French mandate increased by 1930s. On the other hand, the fact that France was on the edge of the World War II which led to serious economic and cultural problems.

In September 1936, France declared that they would give the Sanjak to the Syrian State. This announcement caused a reaction among Turkish Republic and Turkish community lived in the Sanjak who found this decision unacceptable. The issue

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<sup>4</sup>Hatay, Hata, Ata, Eti: These are the Turkish words stemming from the same root which express the same meaning... The geographical name of Antakya, İskenderun and its surroundings is called as Hatay. The origin of this word is associated to the ancestors of Turks believed living here called as “Hata” (Duman, 2014, p.146).

between Turkey and Syria would be determined by the League of Nations, and a committee was sent to the Sanjak by the League of Nations in January 1937. Consequently, the committee concluded that the Turks constituted a majority of the inhabitants lived in the region. A constitution was drafted by an international commission of the jury and the elections were held in July 1938. Turks succeeded to have 22 deputies of a total of 40 deputies in the parliament. The new parliament declared the foundation of the independent State of Hatay at the first assembly dated September 2, 1938 (Figure 3.2). After a year, on 29 June 1939, Parliament declared that Hatay would be united with Turkey (Zürcher, 2001, pp. 294- 295).



Figure 3.2: 30 August 1938 Victory Day Celebrations in Cumhuriyet Square in İskenderun (Mursaloğlu, 2017, p.285)

Political power has changed very rapidly in İskenderun in 20 years. One of the reasons behind such a drastic change from 1918 to 1939 was İskenderun's multicultural structure which hold communities from different ethnics/languages/religions all together throughout history.

According to census study, in 1882-1883, the population of the center of İskenderun was 1866, however, in 1884-1885, it was almost doubled reaching to 3227 inhabitants in total. In 1887-1888, the number of those who lived in the city of İskenderun were 3274 in total by comprising of 1577 Muslims, 1675 Christians, and 22 Jews. In the

year between 1889-1890, the population of İskenderun and its surroundings increased to 12569 and the town center consisted of 3728 inhabitants (Ürkmez, 2012, p.169). Once analyzed the demographic structure of İskenderun, it can be seen that population highly increased in the late nineteenth century. The population of İskenderun reached to 23309 after it was occupied by the French in 1918 (Table 3.1). One of the factors behind such increase in population was the migrations in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century that changed the demography of İskenderun. In this period, especially immigrants from Caucasia and Crete were settled in the city center and in the villages found suitable to accommodate (Ürkmez, 2012, p.456). The other factor behind such increase was the railway construction that was completed in 1913 (Ürkmez, 2012, p.459).

Table 3.1: Population Change of İskenderun between 1889-1918 (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.172-173)

| Yıllar  | Toplam Nüfus |
|---|--------------|
| 1889-1890                                       | 12.569       |
| 1890-1891                                       | 12.628       |
| 1891-1892                                       | 11.502       |
| 1892-1893                                       | 12.630       |
| 1895-1896                                       | 13.306       |
| 1897-1898                                       | 13.240       |
| 1898-1899                                       | 13.240       |
| 1902-1903 <sup>747</sup>                        | 13.628       |
| 1903-1904 <sup>748</sup>                        | 13.956       |
| 1904-1905 <sup>749</sup>                        | 13.515       |
| 1905-1906 <sup>750</sup>                        | 13.956       |
| 1906-1907 <sup>751</sup>                        | 19.306       |
| 1908-1909 <sup>752</sup>                        | 19.509       |
| I. Dünya Savaşında Önceki Durum <sup>753</sup>  | 20.498       |
| I. Dünya Savaşında Sonraki Durum <sup>754</sup> | 23.309       |

The majority of population consisted of Muslims, Christians (Armenian, Greek, Syriac, Maronite, Chaldean), very few Jewish people and foreigners. The majority of the Armenian and Greek population were Gregorian and Orthodox, there were also Catholics and Protestants. There were slightly different numbers between the communities before and after the World War I (Table 3.2). As the demographic situation indicates that the majority of the population were Muslims of which were mostly Turks. Apart from this, it is possible to see people from many different nations

and high population mobility in İskenderun since it is a port city. This mobility had an important impact on İskenderun's multicultural structure.

Table 3.2: Population of İskenderun between Pre-War and Post-War (Ürkmez, 2012, p.172)

| I. Dünya Savaşı öncesi nüfus durumu <sup>745</sup> |        |        | I. Dünya Savaşı sonrası nüfus durumu <sup>746</sup> |        |        |                  |
|--|--------|--------|---|--------|--------|------------------|
| Kadın  | Erkek  | Toplam | Kadın   | Erkek  | Toplam |                  |
| 6.223  | 8.386  | 14.609 | 8.223   | 11.482 | 19.705 | Müslüman         |
| 79   | 104    | 183    | -   | -      | -      | Rum Katolik      |
| 26   | 33     | 59     | -   | -      | -      | Ermeni Katolik   |
| 994  | 1.224  | 2.218  | 1.302   | 1.490  | 2.792  | Rum Ortodoks     |
| 530  | 684    | 1.214  | 116   | -      | 116    | Ermeni kadim     |
| 49   | 61     | 110    | 66  | 105    | 171    | Marunî           |
| 9  | 6      | 15     | -   | -      | -      | Keldani          |
| 35   | 43     | 78     | 193   | 209    | 402    | Süryani Katolik  |
| 30   | 40     | 70     | -   | -      | -      | Latin            |
| 10   | 10     | 20     | -   | -      | -      | Profestan        |
| 49   | 35     | 84     | 67  | 56     | 123    | Yahudi           |
| 593  | 1.094  | 1.687  | -   | -      | -      | Yabancı          |
| 52   | 99     | 151    | -   | -      | -      | Tebaa-i Ecnebiye |
| 8.679  | 11.819 | 20.498 | 9967  | 13.342 | 23.309 | Genel Toplam     |

Based on the Court records (*Şer'iyye Sicilleri*) Ürkmez points out that Muslims and Christians lived in the same neighborhoods even though Christians were a bit more in the neighborhood known as *Kilise Mahallesi*. However, there was not a separate neighborhood/quarter where only non-Muslims lived in the city (Ürkmez, 2012, p.457). A historically important incident was that almost all of the Armenians in İskenderun were transferred to Northern Syria in accordance with the Relocation and Resettlement Law (*Sevk ve İskan Kanunu*) in 1915. This situation did not affect Muslim-Christian relations very much in İskenderun. Even during the days of political disturbance, it is recorded that social, legal and commercial relations between Muslims and Christians continued without creating much social unrest (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.458-459). Regarding this issue, in his book called *Antioche Centre de Tourisme* (1931), French Lieutenant Colonel Jacquot states “strictly speaking, there is no Turkish quarter and no Armenian quarter...”<sup>5</sup> (Jacquot, 1931, p.67).

<sup>5</sup> All the French texts are translated into English through Google Translate.

However, Faik Türkmen<sup>6</sup> who was a teacher wrote in his book (1937) that the population of İskenderun decreased to 15000 in recent years due to the political conflicts (Türkmen, 1937, p.101). Türkmen emphasized difference of Syrian and French media from Turkish media regarding the news on population of Hatay which was vitally important to determine the future administration:

Many disputes have been taking place about the population of Hatay for a year. The numbers given by Syrian and French newspapers on the population of Sanjak are as follows: The total population is 220,000, including 86,000 Turkish Sunni, 59,000 Alawites, 34,000 Kurds and Circassians etc., 25,000 Armenians, 16,000 Arab Sunnis.

The numbers given by Turkish media are as follows: There are 240,000 Turks, the majority of them are Sunni, others are Alawites. The total population is 300,000, including 20,000 Arab Sunnis, 25,000 Armenians, 15,000 Christians, etc.

The big difference in numbers between the two total sum is due to the fact that there are many hidden populations lived in Hatay. We do not record all the population here. The exact results will be obtained by the upcoming census (Türkmen, 1937, pp.93-94).

The differences in this census during the French mandate can be seen as a reflection of the desire to seize political power. Mursaloğlu points out that after the annexation, the right to choose their nationality was given to all citizens (2017, p.31). Within two months following the participation of Hatay to Turkey, Armenians who is one of the oldest and powerful communities of Hatay emigrated to Syria (Günel, 2006, pp.135-136). As a result of this mobility, significant demographic changes were observed in the city.

During the French occupation, most of the Turks left the city, and the French government let Armenians settle in the city. With the annexation of Hatay to Turkey, Armenians and some Arabs went to Syria. Today, there are few Arabs in the city and many foreigners, especially Americans...

MY NOTE: I came to İskenderun in July of 1938. The French and Armenians were slowly retreating.

With the annexation of Hatay to Turkey and the leaving of these two nations (French-Armenians), the population approximately decreased to 8000-6000. Thus, İskenderun was left as a small town with three neighborhoods and three schools ... I came again the city on 3/5/1943. The population had approximately risen to 14.000 (Haykır, 1969, p.12).

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<sup>6</sup> Faik Türkmen was a graduate of the Faculty of Literature/ Istanbul University and studied philosophy at the University of Paris. He wrote a book called *Mufassal Hatay Coğrafyası ve Edebiyatı* in 1937.

The book titled *Hatay İl Yıllığı* presents the first census results in Hatay (1940). Hatay had a total population of 36,575 while the population of İskenderun was almost 1/3 of the all population in Hatay by reaching 11,859. The rest of the population lived in rural areas was 25,716. In 1945, population growth rate in the city of İskenderun was 56%. The population of the city reached 18,612, rural population 27,668, with a total of 46,280. In 1950, the rate of increase was 23%, the population of the city was 22,946, with a total of 56,029. In 1955, a huge growth rate in the city was seen reaching 103.3%, the population of the city was 46,580, with a total of 83,801. As can be understood from these statistics, after the annexation of the region to Turkey the population of İskenderun has increased rapidly. İskenderun turned out to be a big city especially after 1950s (*Hatay İl Yıllığı*, 1973, pp.48-50).

The city has always had an important place in history since ancient times due to its geopolitical and strategical position. The city is located on the skirts of Amanos Mountains which is found on the eastern Mediterranean coast with a gulf. As the port city of Aleppo which was the commercial hub of Middle East, İskenderun was ideally placed settlement in transition/exchange of the products between East and West for many centuries. Towards the end of sixteenth century, thanks to its port the city became strategically important in terms of its economic potential proceeded by especially Venetian merchants who did silk trade from İskenderun along with Aleppo and Tripoli. However, the port lost its importance in the nineteenth century and became of little use due to the catastrophic earthquake in 1822 that ruined the city and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 which led not to compete with other maritime lines (Beşirli, 2004, p.180). In addition to those developments, unsafe roads of Mount Amanos and swamps spreading on a large area affected the city in a negative way (Koday, 1998, pp.216-217). Despite of these negative developments stated above and additional problems of transportation i.e lack of railroad network/convenient port, the port of İskenderun regained its importance by the late nineteenth century as the result of changing internal and external dynamics (Figure 3.3).

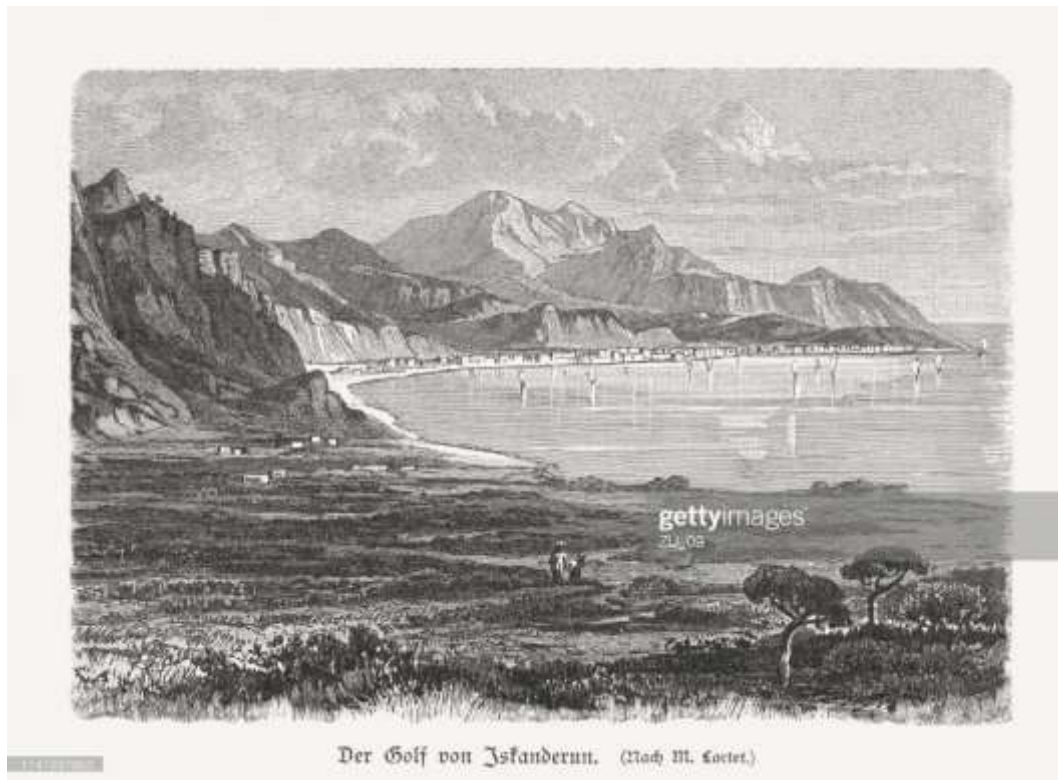


Figure 3.3: The Golf of İskenderun (1897) (Url-11)

It is very important for a coastal city to have a pier and a harbor. In mid nineteenth century, İskenderun was a small village consisting of consulars and a few people living about twenty houses. It became an attractive market thanks to its location as being on the line of Aleppo, Baghdad, Basra and Southern Anatolia. The construction of a pier in İskenderun was first implemented by the foreign consuls in mid-nineteenth century and they built three piers to get the dockage for each load that goes to the pier. However, foreigners were forbidden to acquire property in the Ottoman Empire at that time. These piers were built by the French Consul and British Community. When the large store at the head of the pier owned a British man was noticed in 1851 by the Ottoman civil servants, it was decided that the piers built by the consular representatives in İskenderun must be turned into public property. The cost of the piers was paid by the Ottoman state immediately and the property was sold to Ottoman State. Despite of the decision the property of piers could not be taken from those people. Two years later, the sea waves destroyed two of the piers. As a result, a wooden pier extended from the Customs district was built in 1853 by the Ottoman State. Construction of a second wooden pier followed the first one however, it was collapsed against the sea waves. Due to the financial difficulties of the Ottoman state at that time,



the construction of the pier was given to French who built the pier about 40 meters away on the western coast of the city, in front of the residence of French consular in İskenderun. This area where the consular's residence was located was far from the shore. The pier was built in 1862, from 1863 to 1868 it was open to exclusive usage of French. The control of the pier in İskenderun had been a chronic problem between French and Ottomans. In 1868, a public pier with a length of eighty meters was built by the Customs Administration. Over the years this pier was extended, repaired and replaced by an iron pier constructed in 1907 (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.109-131). The pier which small marine vessels docked provided connection to the ships anchored in the offshore (Koday, 1988, p.218) (Figure 3.4).



Figure 3.4: The Pier in the 1920s (Erol Makzume's Official Website, Url-12)

Building the pier as well as the port was a very difficult task to do as it was vitally important. Açıkgöz states that a modern port in İskenderun was not built due to the World War I (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.119). According to Aslanoğlu, even though the port was not large enough it remained as an active port in the Levant trade. After the World War I, the French administration started building a port immediately in 1922 to make a connection with Aleppo which was regarded as the commercial center between Eastern Mediterranean and Central Asia (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.91) (Figures 3.5 - 3.7).



Figure 3.5: The Port Shown on the French Cadastral Map (1929) (the Archive of İTM)



Figure 3.6: The Postcard showing Construction of the Port during French period (Yılmaz, 2019, p.107)

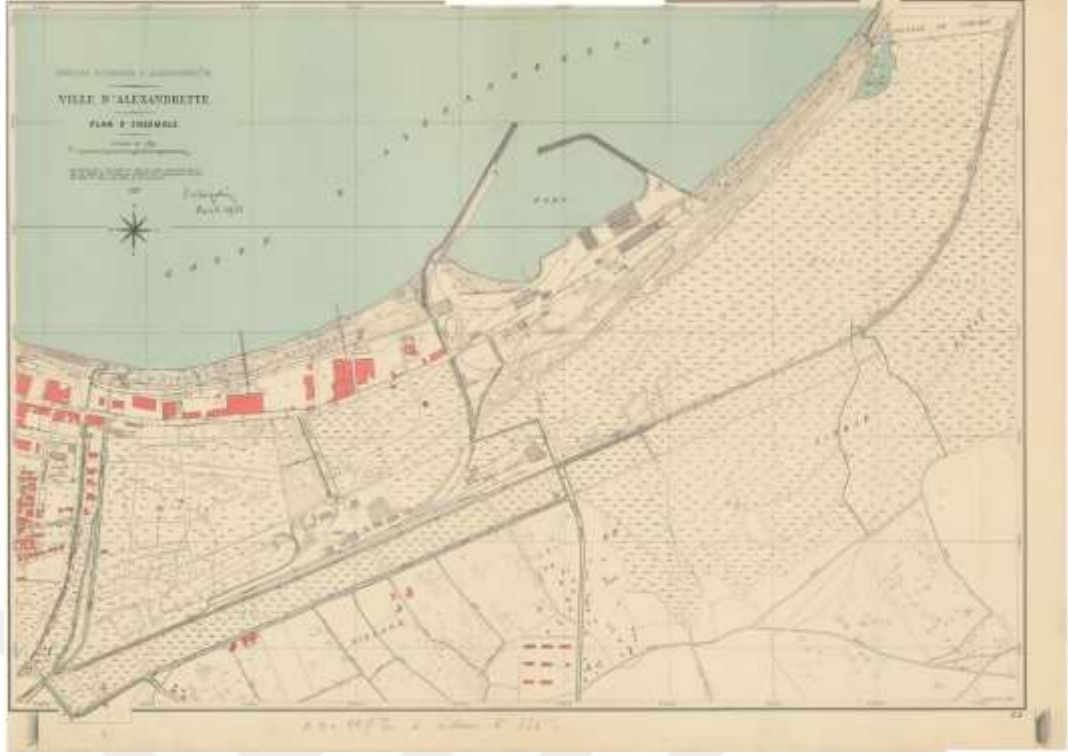


Figure 3.7: The Port of İskenderun (1929) (the Official Website of BNF, Url-13)

Although it was vitally important to build a modern port, a small port could have been built by the French in 1927 to accommodate barges. In the following years there were internal and external dynamics that led to development of the port. Due to the activities of the German Navy in the Mediterranean and Aegean in the years of World War II, the ports of İzmir and İstanbul were not operated and thus, İskenderun became the active port for all importation and exportation (Figure 3.8). Thus, the port of İskenderun was expanded in 1942<sup>7</sup>. The port became larger in 1954 and 1972. Günel

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<sup>7</sup> “Cenup Yolları ve İskenderun İskelesinin Açılma Töreni”. *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* (1945, February, 11(3), p.98.

The article titled “İskenderun” in the *Belediyeler Dergisi* (1941) expressed that despite this importance of its geographical location, İskenderun has not received the attention it deserves. Neither a port to facilitate the loading and unloading of large ships, nor large trade hangars and warehouses have been established. Considering this need of İskenderun in the first place, our government decided to construct a modern port with all kinds of scientific facilities and unfortunately, the European war prevented the implementation of this decision (p.53). During the French period, a new dock, was approximately built 240 meters long in addition to the port of İskenderun, built in French period for the shelter of small ships. The construction of the large pier where ships of 10-15 thousand tons could berth had started (*Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi*, October & November, 1942, 9(5,6), p.58). The article titled “Cenup Yolları ve İskenderun İskelesinin açılma Töreni” in the *Nafta Haberleri* section of the *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* (1945, February, 11(3), p.89) writes that İskenderun pier was put into operation after the special ceremonies.

states that in the 1970s, İskenderun became a vital trade center especially thanks to the acceleration of industrialization (Günel, 2006, p.75).



Figure 3.8: The Port in the 1950s (Boyacı, 2015, pp.274-275)

The change of ruling authorities took place four times in almost 20 years which affected development of pier and the port as well as urban development and built environment in İskenderun. Before focusing on the urban development and architectural formation on the coastline as the cosmopolit and dynamic area of the city it should be appropriate to figure out history and general tendencies in urban development and built environment in İskenderun.

### **3.1. Urban Layers: Architectural and Urban Developments in İskenderun**

As is well known Alexandretta was a trading city since ancient times. Due to its sea connection the region was accessible by a lot of people for several reasons. Besides business and trading, Anatolia (including Hatay) and Middle East were found interesting to discover by the European travelers and diplomats. Particularly by the eighteenth century onwards, European intellectuals wondered about the cultural heritage of ancient traditions thus, they created travel routes along Middle East. Having the curiosity of the “West” towards “East” with an Orientalist sentiment, the tour routes were created in the trace of Holy Books and expanded to the Middle East over the centuries. The travelers started making tours to the trading cities of the Ottoman state in the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century. One of the earliest travelers was a British man named Fynes Moryson who made a tour of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch, Aleppo, Constantinople, and Crete. Alexandretta was among the places which he traveled to in 1596. He described it as a small and neglected port town. It is interesting to note that the town was named as *Scanderone* (İskenderun) by the Turks but as *Alexandretta* by the Christians. In 1675, another British traveler Henry Teonge stated “there was a Turkish church” in İskenderun in those years. The British man might have used the “Turkish church” or “Mohammedan church” referring to a mosque. Another place of worship which he mentioned was an Orthodox church by describing it “the Greek church is much larger, much better cared, surrounded by a beautiful garden...” (Pişkin, 2011, pp.202-204). French Colonel Paul Jacquot in his book *Antioche Center de Tourisme* (1931) mentions about this church by saying “in the courtyard of the Greek Orthodox Church are five beautiful marble sarcophagi and some carvings; tombs of five members of the English factory, including that of a consul (1674 to 1700)” (Jacquot, 1931, p.75).

Evliya Çelebi who passed through İskenderun in 1648 described the town in his travel book named *Seyahatname* as follows:

Since Franks and Greeks live in İskenderun, there are no mosques, inns, baths, bazaar...etc., but there are many taverns (*meyhane*). When some people who came to İskenderun stay in taverns during the winter season because these taverns are like inns... There are the vice-consuls of the seven emperors in İskenderun... Since İskenderun is the pier of Aleppo and its surroundings, there are large warehouses next to the customs building. Franks trade around the clock. All around İskenderun are reeds and swamps (Tekin, 2000, pp.47-48).

In 1830, İskenderun was almost like a village having 200 inhabitants. Indeed, the trading was controlled by the foreigners and the coastline was abounded with the properties of foreigners. Indeed, European powers had privileges to trade due to the capitulations given them. The capitulations initially given to France in 1535 and was followed by an expanded content. In 1740 the Ottoman-French Treaty marked the French influence in Ottoman trading in the eighteenth century which gave the opportunity of trading and transportation to France at the Ottoman ports. Then onwards, the capitulations were given to other countries such as Britain, Holland, Denmark in the eighteenth century. Thus, most of the inhabitants of İskenderun consisted of foreign traders, brokers and non-Muslims who were leading the commercial activities during the Ottoman period (Tekin, 2000, pp.53-55) They had highly decorated houses to represent their financial power (Figure 3.9). In this multicultural society, France represents the majority and leading culture as Aslanoğlu mentions below:

In the period between the late nineteenth century and the First World War, France was the largest investor country in the Ottoman Empire. Among the rights that France acquired through renewed capitulations, there was also the right to protect the Jesuit (*Cizvit*) and Capuchin (*Kapüsen*) missionaries and all Roman Catholics within the Ottoman lands. The French who opened schools, orphanages and dispensaries in Antakya and İskenderun before World War I, started the colonial expansion policy in the region in 1870s. In the cultural sphere, France aimed to make a total change in the education system and to control the region of mandate through unification of French language. (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.90).

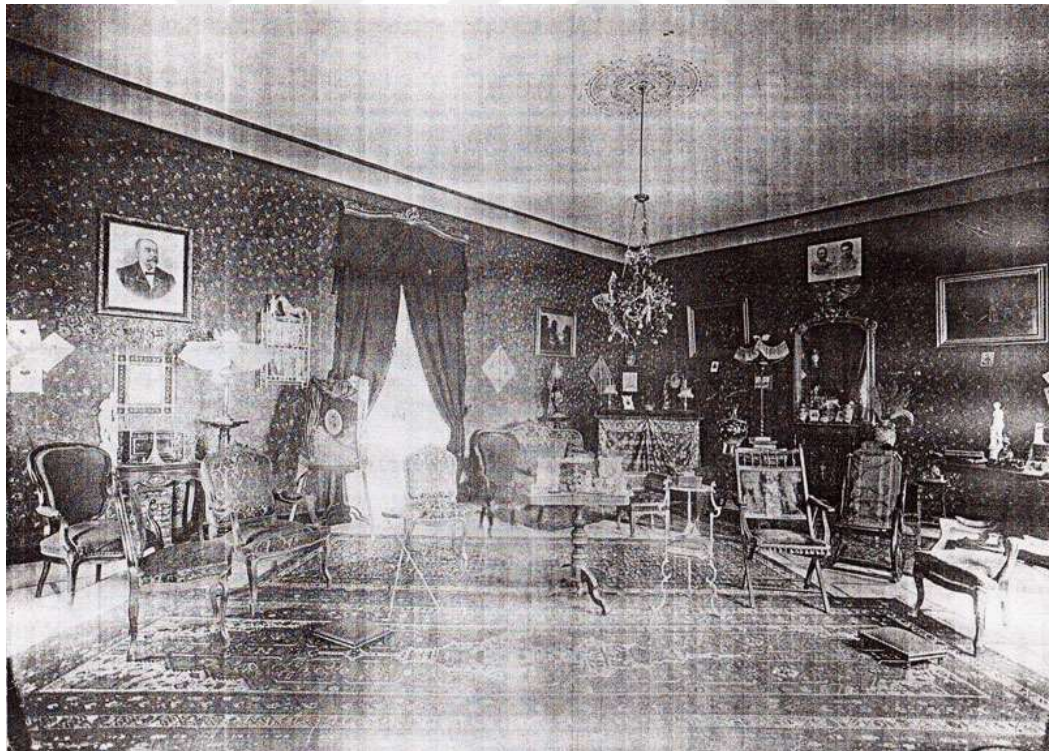
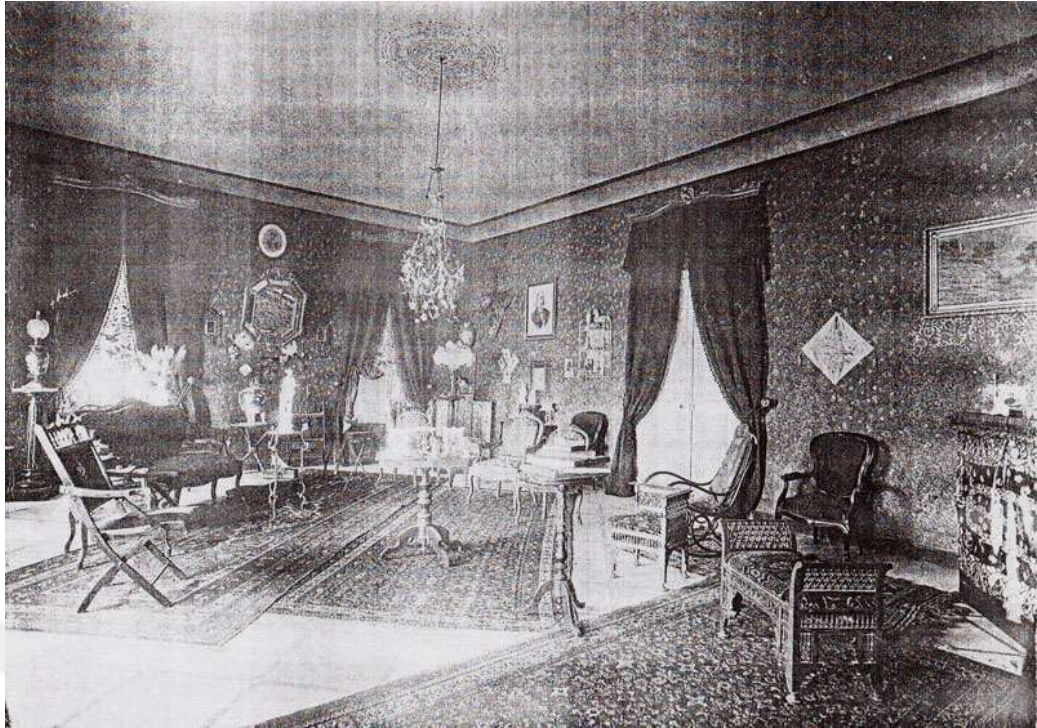


Figure 3.9: Elegantly Decorated Living Room of Levante's House in İskenderun (1895) (Url-14)

It is noteworthy to state that development of İskenderun was closely related to presence of the French in the region which conducted Eastern Mediterranean trade particularly eighteenth century onwards. France sought multiple ways to establish its influence to the region by making investment on education, health, religion, and railway construction (Okuyan, 2003, p.15). In 1854, the French consulate was opened in the region to facilitate the affairs of French merchants (Tekin, 2000, p.101).

In Ottoman period, the Governmental Office (*Hükümet Konağı*), Kaptan Paşa Mosque, Hamidiye Mosque, Catholic Greek Church, Armenian Church, Catholic Latin Church, Hamidiye Gureba Hospital, Military Barracks, lighthouse and a quarantine building stand out as the most important physical elements of the city (Ürkmez, 2012, p.456). According to Tekin, there were more than those such as 4 churches, 1 synagogue, 6 primary schools, 10 fountains, 25 stores, 360 shops, 13 inns, 2 bathhouses, 17 bakeries, 21 coffeehouses, 13 taverns, 2 casinos, 4 restaurants, 1 armory, 3 hotels, 16 mills in the city of İskenderun (Tekin, 2000, p.156) (Figure 3.10).

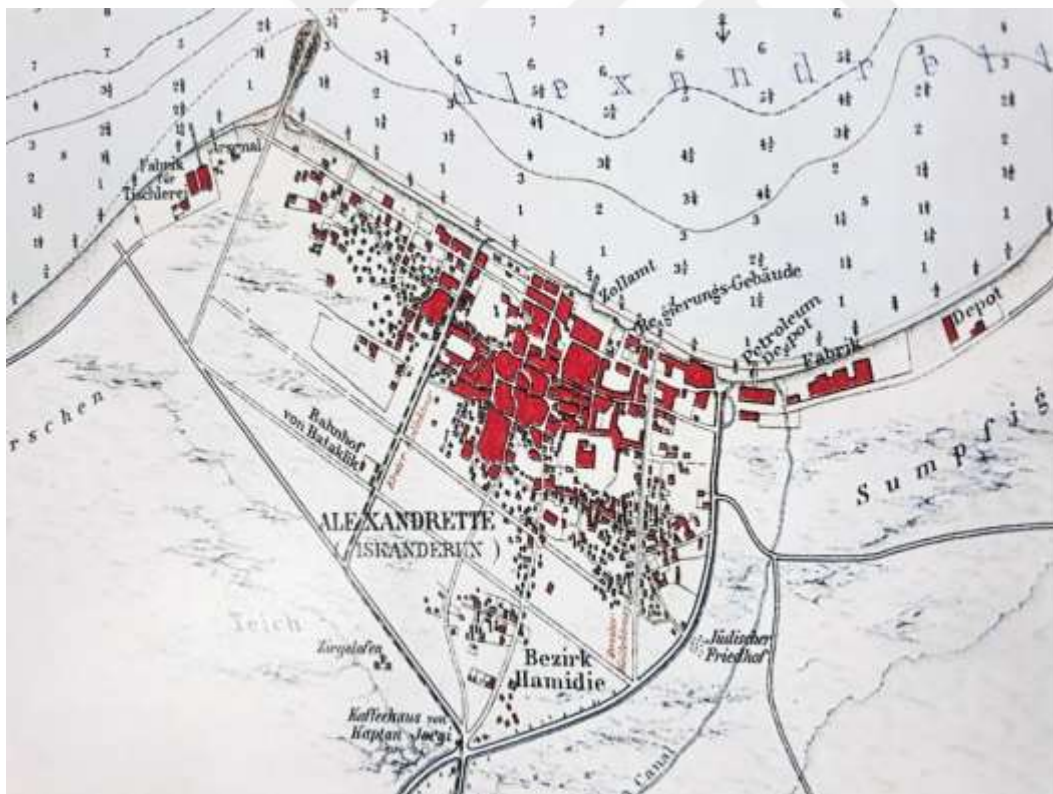


Figure 3.10: The City of İskenderun (1901)<sup>8</sup> (Sandalcı, 2013, p.22)

<sup>8</sup> The map was drawn by the traveller Ludwig Salvator, Archduke of Austria, who was a “naturalist, pioneering conservationist, and explorer of little-known Mediterranean lands” after his trip to the Holy Lands in 1899 (Url-15).



It would be appropriate to describe the prominent public buildings in town. How those buildings were constructed, used, re-used, adapted and transformed in time would be helpful to figure out the historical and cultural thresholds experienced in the city.

In terms of sacred places, there were two important mosques in town according to the sources. The first of those two and the oldest one (probably survived) known as Kaptan Paşa Mosque was opened in 1866 for the Muslim community. The only original part still remained today is its minaret (Ürkmez, 2012, p.164; Tekin, 2000, p.112). The other mosque named as Hamidiye referring to Sultan Abdülhamid II (also known as *Cami-i Cedit*) was built in 1902 due to the increasing need for a mosque as the Muslim population increased in years. In the following periods, the mosque was demolished and completely renovated (Ürkmez, 2012, p.166). The mosque still exists today (Figure 3.11).



Figure 3.11: Kaptan Paşa Mosque (on the left) and Hamidiye Mosque (on the right) on the French Cadastral Map (1928) (the Archive of İTM)

Another place to worship is the synagogue that was built for a small number of Jewish communities in İskenderun. In 1887, Jewish community consisted of twenty-two inhabitants who were not powerful enough to find even a place to stay and worship. A person named Hoca Lion from Aleppo appropriated a room for them to stay which was turned into a synagogue in the following years. The population of Jews increased to 58 in 1909, to 84 before the World War I and to 123 after World War I (Ürkmez, 2012, p.197). Today, there is an apartment building on the place of synagogue and no information is available about when this structure was demolished (Figure 3.12).



Figure 3.12: Synagogue on the French Cadastral Map (1929) (the Archive of İTM)

Since İskenderun was highly populated place of Christian community there were multiple churches devoted to different sects and communities. One of those was the Catholic Latin Church (also known as Catholic Capuchin Church or Italian church ) built in 1891 by Catholics. And also there was a school belonged to this church (Ürkmez, 2012, p.193, p.195). The school next to the church was later named St. Therese of Latin School (*École des Carmes*) (Tekin, n.d., p.74). In the following years, a second church built in the courtyard of this church and school should be the place named Italian hospital. Its function might have changed over time. In addition, the French left these buildings to Italians in 1913 (Ürkmez, 2012, p. 196-197). Today, the Catholic Latin Church is still in use (Figure 3.13).

Another church built in İskenderun was the Greek Catholic Church (also known as Greek Yorgi Church). In 1880s, the Catholic Greek nation in İskenderun requested for permission to build a church for themselves. The İskenderun Administrative Council investigated the construction of the church in 1888 and conveyed the result to the provincial administration. According to this letter, the land on which the church to be built was a state land and it is also stated that the land to be appropriated to the church would not be located near the mosque. In 1889 Sultan Abdülhamit II approved construction of the church and it was built immediately after. This church exists today and still in use (Ürkmez, 2012, pp. 190-192).



Figure 3.13: Catholic Latin Church (*Église Italienne*) & Catholic School or Italian School (*École Italienne* or *École des Carmes*), and Italian Hospital (*Hopital Italienne*) in the 1920s (Image 1, the Archive of İTM; Image 2, Url-16; Image 3, Mursaloğlu, 2000, p.51)

Beyond those sacred places, there were a variety of schools devoted to different communities living in İskenderun. The town was developed in mid-nineteenth century and then onwards population increased. Educational institutions consisted of primary and secondary schools began to spread throughout the city. There was no madrasah in city which was the educational institution of the Ottomans based on Islamic principles. Since İskenderun was a small settlement with a few households until mid-nineteenth century there was only one primary school, *sıbyan mektebi*, Ottoman traditional educational institution. It is noteworthy to state that even though the number of Muslims was more than non-Muslims in those years, the Muslim schools were less than that of non-Muslims (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.293-294). Besides, in mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman state attempted to increase the number of schools throughout the country while foreign communities were also opening schools at important centers of the country (Antakya, İskenderun and its surrounding), mostly for the missionary activities (Tekin, 2000, pp.123-124).

In Hatay the schools were opened by the foreign and local communities of the region by mid-nineteenth century onwards. The founders of these schools were mostly the missionaries came from Western countries. The purpose of these missionaries was to set up educational institutions for the Christians who were living in this region and thus, to spread Christianity gradually. In Hatay, Catholics sent their children to the French missionary schools, Protestant families preferred British schools, Jews sent their children to other missionary schools (Tekin, n.d., p.72). As soon as the World War I started, the Ottoman Government decided to remove foreign citizens residing in İskenderun and sent them to other cities of the empire to reduce them in number. The state also closely monitored activities of foreign citizens who kept on living in the city if they attempted to do any political action against Ottoman State. Thus, after a while the monasteries belonged to Jesuit (*Cizvit*) and Capuchin (*Kapüsen*) missionaries and colleges directed by foreigners were closed in İskenderun and Antakya (Tekin, 2000, p.174).

One of those schools that was connected to a church was the Armenian School. In parallel to increase in number of the Armenians in İskenderun there was a need for school and a church for the community. For this reason, the Armenian population asked permission from the Ottoman state to build a school and a church for the community. After having the approval of Sultan Abdülaziz the construction was completed in 1871. The Aleppo Administrative Council emphasized that the church to be built could not be in the area where the Muslims mostly lived. Hoca Manuk Malikyanan, an Ottoman citizen resided in İskenderun, appropriated his land to Armenian community to build a school and a church next to it (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.345-346). Today, this church exists in İskenderun and is still in use (Figure 3.14).

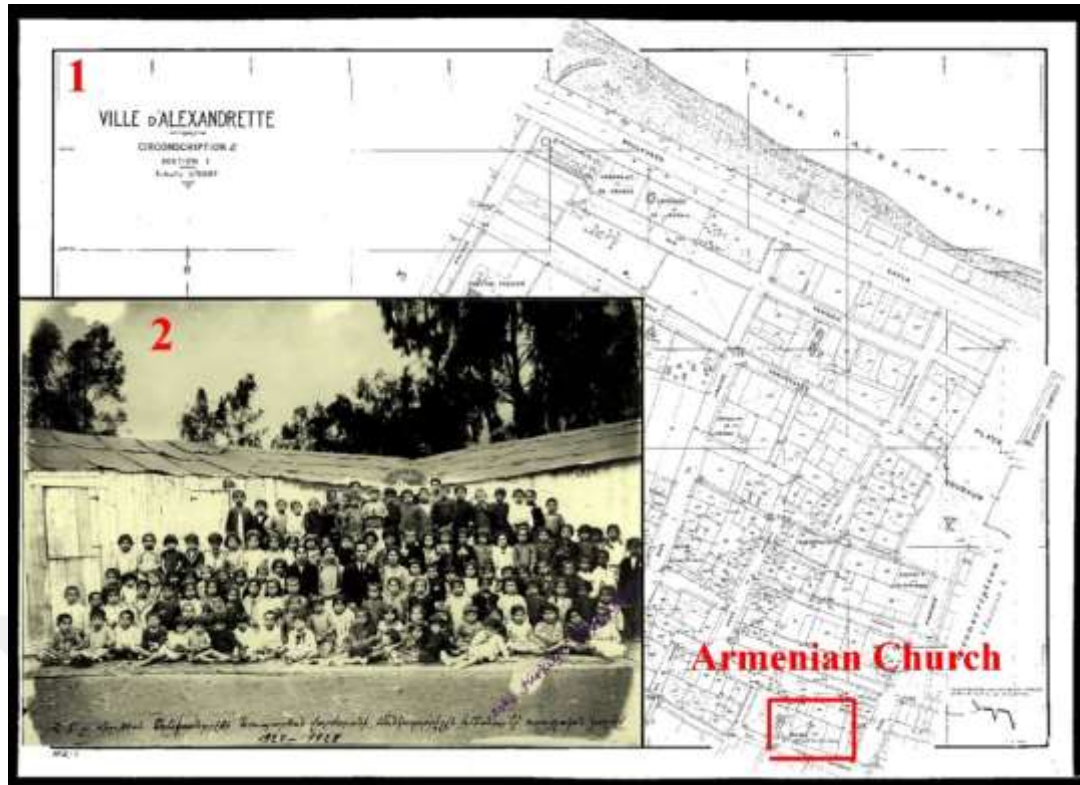


Figure 3.14: Armenian Church on the French Cadastral Map (1928) (the Archive of İTM) and Armenian School in İskenderun (1927-1928) (Url-17)

Another school in İskenderun was the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek school attached to it. According to one of the sources on İskenderun, St. Nicola Orthodox Church was established in 1870 (*2000 Yılında Hatay*, p.143). However, on the map dated 1851<sup>9</sup> the Greek church already appears on the same location. Also, as mentioned above, the British traveler deals with an Orthodox church in İskenderun in 1675. As it can be understood from this note, if the Greeks had lived in İskenderun from seventeenth century onwards the Greek Orthodox Church might have been dated seventeenth century (Figure 3.15). Ürkmez mentions that in the following years, the number of Greek schools in İskenderun increased to two. The language of education at this school was Arabic and French (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.347-348). There is no information available about when this school was closed down.

<sup>9</sup> Please see, Ürkmez, 2012, p.66.



Figure 3.15: Orthodox Greek School (*École Grecque Orthodoxe*) and Orthodox Greek Church or St. Nicola Orthodox Church (*Église Grecque Orthodoxe*) (Image 1, the Archive of İTM; Image 2, Mursaloğlu n.d., p.18; Image 3, Mursaloğlu, 2000, p.23; Image 4, Mursaloğlu, 2000, p.24)

Tekin stated that *Les Freres des Ecoles Chretiennes*, this mission group of French, opened the school called *College des Freres* or Brothers School (after annexation named as *İskenderun Lisesi*) in 1911-1912 (Tekin, n.d., p.72). The school were closed when the World War I started in 1914 and opened again in 1918 (Ürkmez, 2012, p.349). The school was highly popular thus, a new school building was built next to it in 1918. According to archival records of the Mandate Administration, the school had 400 enrolled students in 1933, but this number decreased to 338 in 1938. In 1939, the school was reorganized having named as *İskenderun Secondary School* (Tekin, n.d., p.72) and was used until 1955. It became a secondary school and high school afterwards and in 1966 the building started functioning as high school (Garbioğlu, 2017, p.62) (Figure 3.16).



Figure 3.16: Brothers School (*École des Freres*) and French Catholic Church (*Église Catholique Française*) (Image 1, the Archive of İTM; Image 2, *Şehr-i Hatay*, p.179; Image 3, Garbioğlu, 2017)

Another school building named İskenderun French Catholic School (later named as *Mithatpaşa İlköğretim Okulu*) was opened by the missionary group of *the Sisters of St. Joseph (Les Sœurs de St. Joseph)* in 1887. This group opened a school as well as an orphanage and a dispensary (Tekin, 2000, p.124). The school opened by the nuns of *Marseille Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition* was a secondary school for boys. More than a hundred students from various ethnicity, religion, and secs such as Turk, Latin, Armenian, Maronite, Syriac, and Chaldean were sent to this French school at that time (Ürkmez, 2012, p.348). It is located in the center of İskenderun on Mithat Paşa Street. This building continues to be used as a school today (Figure 3.17). Ürkmez states that *Marseille Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition* nuns mentioned above also opened a school for girls in the same year in 1887. In 1913, these French Schools (the schools for boys and girls and the college), together with their churches, were transferred to the Italians. Schools were closed when the World War I started in 1914, and re-opened in 1918 (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.348-349). The name of the school for girls mentioned above is

Italian School for Girls (*École Italienne Filles*).<sup>10</sup> There is no other information available about this school.



Figure 3.17: The French Catholic School (*Ecole des Sœurs – St. Joseph de l'Apparition*) (Image 1, the Archive of İTM; Image 2, Image 3 & Image 4, Garbioğlu, 2017)

One of the other schools founded in İskenderun was the İskenderun British School (later named as *5 Temmuz İlköğretim Okulu*). British Presbyterian missionaries opened this British school in 1902. The same missionaries also built a church in İskenderun. During the First World War, these institutions were closed, but after the World War I they opened again (Ürkmez, 2012, p.349). According to Tekin, the new building of this school was constructed in 1925 (Tekin, n.d., p.73) by the British Protestant community. However, the French cadastral map dated 1929 indicated this building as American School. The American Church seen on the map does not exist today. Garbioğlu states that between 1940-1946, the American school served as the Technical School for Boys (*Erkek Sanat Okulu*) (2017, p.56) (Figure 3.18).

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<sup>10</sup> You can see the location of Italian School for Girls on the French Cadastral Map in Appendix 1.



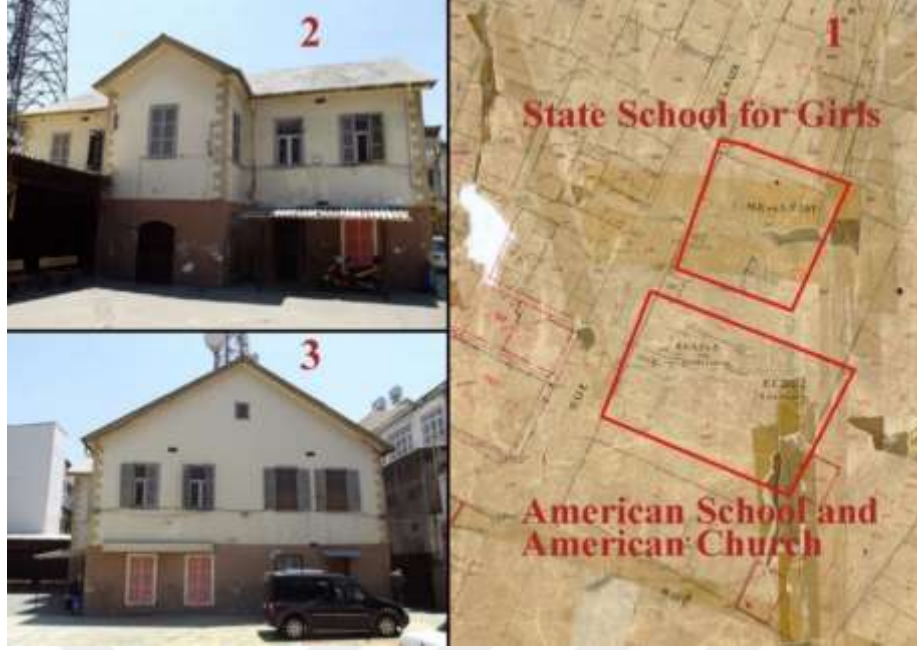


Figure 3.18: American School (*École Américaine*) & American Church (*Église Américaine*) and State School for Girls (*École de l'Etat filles*) (Image of the Archive of İTM; Image 2 & Image 3, Garbioğlu, 2017)

Once the Ottoman schools were analyzed in the late-nineteenth century, it is understood that two primary schools for boys (*Mekteb-i İptidai* or *Tehzibiyye* and *İrfâniyye*)<sup>11</sup> and one primary school for girls (*İnas Mekteb-i İptidai*) were opened in İskenderun between 1896-1901. (Ürkmez, 2012, p.301, p.310). It is important that there was a primary school for girls in İskenderun at that time which proves the positive attitude of local community towards education.

...The fact that İskenderun is located on the coast is that its people have more skills in education than other places. İskenderun has been developing and growing for few years and its population has increased. The people are aware of the importance of education and demand that their girls go to school. Some people even send their girls to non-Muslim schools (Ürkmez, 2012, p.320).

İskenderun Primary School for Girls (also known as Hamidiye Primary School for Girls) opened in 1901 was located in the Hamidiye District of İskenderun. In 1904 the name of the school was changed to *Hamidiye İnas İptidai School* (Ürkmez, 2012, p.323). There is no other information available about these Ottoman schools for boys and girls.

<sup>11</sup> In the 1900s... *Mekteb-i İptidai* (Tekin, 2000, p.156). The first of the two primary schools for boys in the center of İskenderun is named *Tehzibiyye*, and the second is *İrfâniyye* (Ürkmez, 2012, p.311).

The other public building in İskenderun was a hospital. There was a large number of visitors/traders passing by the city. Besides, İskenderun was a military transfer point thus, the city was crowded with the military officers. There were chronic diseases in the city particularly malaria due the swamp areas. The reasons required construction of hospitals in late-nineteenth century. Due to the need, it was decided to build a thirty-six-bed hospital in İskenderun. The construction of the hospital started in 1903 with the participation of civil servants, soldiers, residents, and foreign notables. The hospital was to be built on two floors. The first floor of the hospital was completed in 1903 (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.162-163). The Figure 3.19 is thought to be the Hamidiye Gureba Hospital. Thus, it can be said that Hamidiye Gureba Hospital was also used as a military hospital in Ottoman period. In the French cadastral plan of 1928 this hospital is shown as *Ancien Hospital*. Because the French built another hospital called *Nouvel Hospital* in the city. Although there is no information about function of the building during Turkish Republic, most probably the building continued to give health service after the annexation. But, it is seen that this building was used as Kurtuluş Primary School in the 1960s -1970s.<sup>12</sup>



Figure 3.19: Hamidiye Gureba Hospital in 1910s (Image 1, the Archive of İTM; Image 2, Url-18; Image 3, Mursaloğlu, 2000, p.57 & Image 4, Url-19)

<sup>12</sup> Please see the location of Kurtuluş Primary School on the city map in 1960s-1970s in Appendix 2.

As well as the public buildings in İskenderun, there were industrial buildings such as the licorice factories in the nineteenth century. In 1900, the number of foreign licorice factories in İskenderun increased to four and functioned until World War I (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.444-445) (Figures 3.20-3.21).

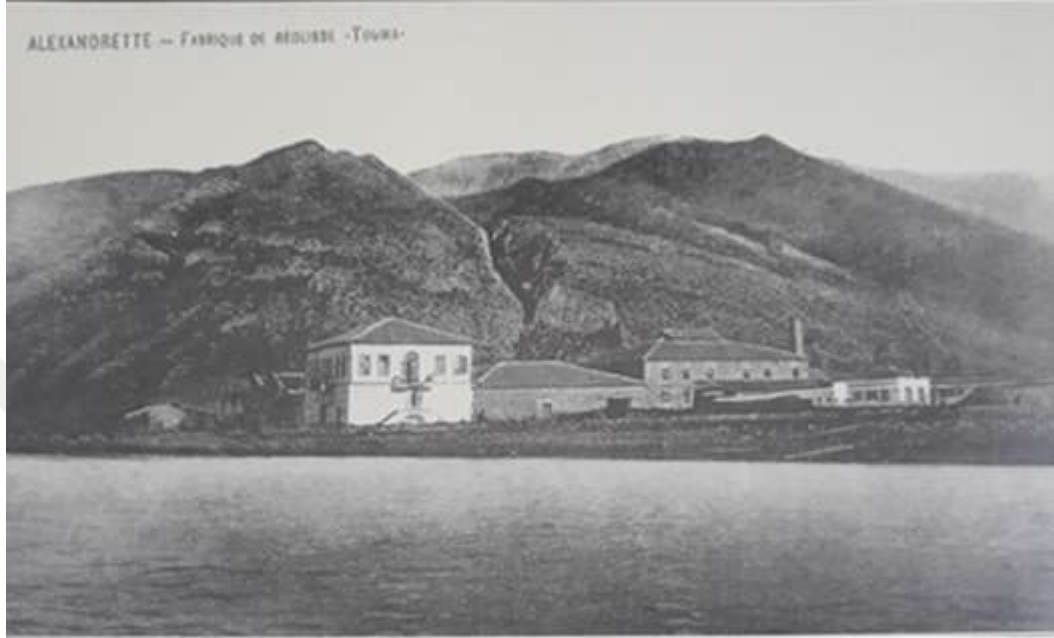


Figure 3.20: Licorice Factory in Ottoman period (Mursalođlu, n.d., p.20)



Figure 3.21: Licorice Factory in Ottoman period (*Şehr-i Hatay*, p.171)

Some of these factories continued in the French period. For example, Mc. Andrews & Forbes Licorice Factory is one of the factories that functioned starting from the Ottoman period to the 2000s (Figures 3.22-24).



Figure 3.22: Mc.Andrews & Forbes Licorice Factory (1928) (the Archive of İTM)



Figure 3.23: Mc. Andrews & Forbes Licorice Factory (Image 1, Şehr-i Hatay, p.230; Image 2, Mursaloğlu, 2000, p.60)



Figure 3.24: Taken the Photo in front of the Mc. Andrews & Forbes Licorice Factory in 1900s (Url-20)

After dealing with the prominent buildings during the Ottoman period, the study will be focused on the French period between 1921-1936 to figure out the architectural and urban developments happened in İskenderun.

### **3.1.1. French Period (1921-1936)**

As mentioned above, the coastal part of the city was occupied by foreigners. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, commercial life gained momentum. This brought up opening up new urban spaces for newcomers. However, İskenderun was surrounded by swamps. Therefore, it was less developed than other Mediterranean port cities. Thus, İskenderun which was initially developed on the edge of the coast expanded towards the back of the coast in time (Ürkmez, 2012, p.60). The attempts to solve the critical urban problem of drying the swamps were initiated in the Ottoman period, but intensified during the French Mandate period. The government focused on this issue in the first decade in order to open new roads and new areas (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.122). The book called *Alexandrette* written by the father Paul Chammas, Deputy Chaldean Patriarch describes the city in 1931 very well as follows:

The current town with less than 15,000 inhabitants is built on this marshy land, reclaimed from the sea. Since the French Occupation, the High Commissioner's

Delegates have had major works carried out there: the town was cleaned up by the progressive filling of the swamps, a remarkable boulevard was created along the sea, and gardens develop on all the east side, object of the solicitude of the Economic Services; modern constructions have sprung up on all sides, such as the Civil Hospital, the Palais de Justice, the Residence, the Gendarmerie and the Prison, the Soap Factory, the Electric Forces Factory, the Oil Depot, the Port Services and Customs, eight Churches, two Mosques, a Temple, a Synagogue, eleven Schools, four Convent of Men and Women Religious; finally, reinforced concrete canals to clean up the marshes, bring the waters of the source and the mountains to the sea. Major works are still the subject of various projects to be carried out, we hope, in a short time. They would transform completely Alexandrette:

1. Installation of absolutely essential sewage system in a city against the threat of malaria.
2. Asphalted the streets of the city.
3. Creation of a *Cité Ouvrière* to eliminate all the lamentable and leprous dwellings of the Refugees which spoil the harmony of the city.

Alexandrette is working on its recovery (Chammas, 1931, p.19) (Figure 3.25).



Figure 3.25: İskenderun Map (1929) (the Official Website of BNF, Url-21)

Besides, French Colonel Paul Jacquot in his book *Antioche Center de Tourisme* (1931) mentions about the structures in İskenderun as follows:

The city is lit by electricity. Hotel Elian in the road Marechal Foch has 16 rooms, one bed 20-franc, two bed 25-franc; board 35 francs, meal 10 francs. *Hotel de Constantinople* in the road Hamidiye, rooms at 8 francs... Restaurants are Syrian Flower on the road Marechal Foch, Syria Restaurant, Restaurant Trikha; Cafes are Café Bellevue, Beach Cafe, *Café de la Bourse*, Port Cafe, Municipality Cafe, Cafe Splendide... There is civilian hospital with 100 beds, equipped with a modern radiography facility and an operating room... French dispensary run by the Sisters of St. Joseph the Apparition. The banks are Bank of Syria and Greater Lebanon, French Bank of Syria, Bank of Rome (belong to the Belfante and Catoni). Schools are College of FF. Christian Schools, Greek Orthodox School, Mixed American School, Italian Carmelite School, School of the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition, Italian School of the Carmelite Sisters, Muslim school. All the schools teach French. Religious buildings are Latin church, Greek Catholic, Assyro-Chaldene, Maronite, Syriac, Greek Orthodox, Catholic Chapel, 1 temple protestant, 1 synagogue, 2 mosques (Jacquot, 1931, pp.59 -60) (Figure 3.26).

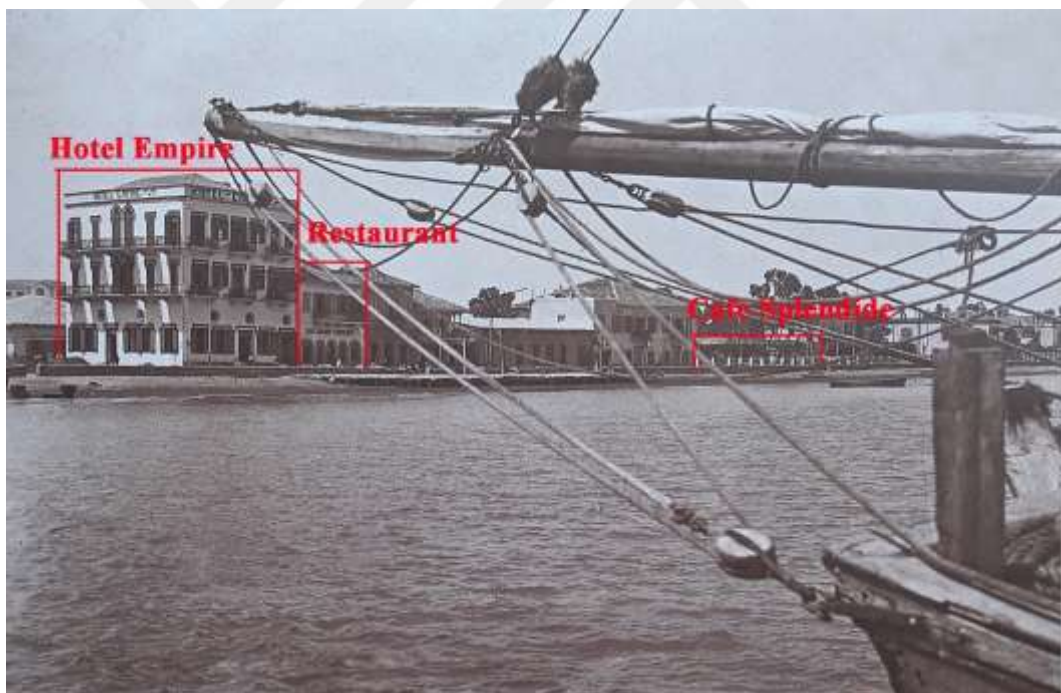


Figure 3.26: Hotel Empire and Cafe Splendide in the 1930s (*Şehr-i Hatay*, p.215)

Moreover, Jacquot mentions that Christians are the majority in the city and there was a diversity of ethnic, language and religion in İskenderun. The Turks are mostly Sunni and the Christians are mostly Gregorian Armenians, Greek Orthodox, Protestants,

Syrian Catholics, Jacobites, Catholic Chaldeens, Nestorians, Latins, Maronites, Greek Catholics, and Armenian Catholics (1931, pp.75-76).

Paul Chammas stated that the French did great things in terms of creating infrastructure, paving roads and constructing new roads which would completely transform the city. There are structures built during French period such as parks, residences, the new hospital, the new port, Palais de Justice... etc. in addition to those, there are also some other structures remained from the Ottoman period. For example, he mentions above, the Gendarmerie and Prison, eight churches, two mosques, a synagogue, eleven schools, four religious and male-female monasteries. However, these structures were built either by the Ottoman state or by the missionaries during the Ottoman period.

As Paul Chammas and Paul Jacquot mentioned above, a new hospital, named French Hospital (later named as İskenderun State Hospital), was built by French in İskenderun. Aslanoğlu stated that the hospital also known as *Hospital Nouvel* was founded in 1932 by *St. Joseph de l'Appraption Sirs* who were the missionaries in that region (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.93). But Açıkgöz pointed out that the H-planned hospital building with two stories having fifty beds was opened 1928 (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.136). Açıkgöz states that this hospital was one of the important investment of the French mandate by saying:

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 (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.136).

The building was originally built as a French Hospital which continued to operate as İskenderun State Hospital (Garbioğlu, 2017, pp.78-79) since the annexation of Hatay in Turkey. It continues giving service as a dental hospital today (Figure 3.27).





Figure 3.27: İskenderun French Hospital (*Hopital Nouvel*) (Image 1, the Archive of İTM; Image 2, Jacquot, 1931, p.44; Image 3, Mursaloğlu, n.d., p.51; Image 4, taken by author)

In the French period, an electric power plant was established and electricity was supplied to the city (Figure 3.28). When Hatay annexed to Turkey in 1939, this electricity factory was purchased by the Turkish Government. The factory was used in İskenderun until the new power plant was established.

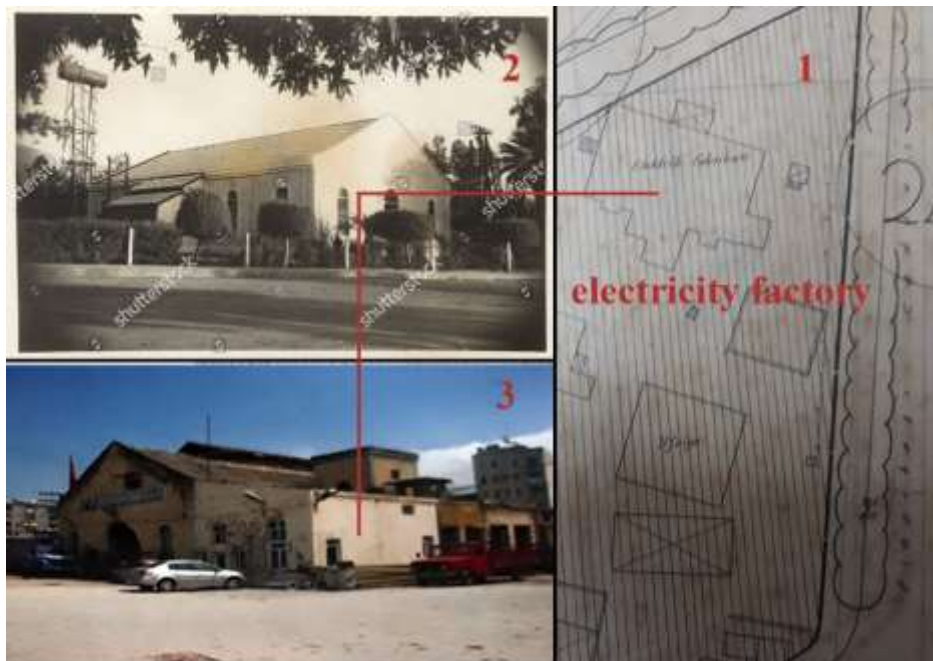


Figure 3.28: Electric Power Plant (Image 1, the Archive of İB; Image 2, Url-22; Image 3, Sezgin, 2014, p.331)

In this section, the hospital and electricity factory which belonged to the French period are mentioned. However, the buildings remained from the French period and located on the coastline such as the Courthouse (*Palais de Justice*), Public Park (*Jardin Public*) and the other important ones will be explained in the fourth chapter.

### **3.1.2 Nationalist Waves in İskenderun (1936-1939)**

There were some statements in the provisions of the Treaty of Ankara (1921) to confirm perpetuation of Turkish people's culture by letting them speak in mother tongue in the sanjak region (Birsal & Özkaya-Duman, 2013, p.49). In the same vein, a series of reforms in social and cultural sphere were implemented respectively as of 1923 in Turkish Republic such as abolition of the Caliphate and Islamic sharia, abolition of fez and turban and many others.

In 1928, the Latin alphabet had adopted in Turkey and immediately after a national education system was launched to teach the youth all across Turkey. Intellectual Turks of the Sanjak learned with their own efforts and opened courses to increase rate of literacy. This group of people also tried to legitimize the new alphabet through the authorities in order to teach it in the Turkish schools. In the decade from 1928 to 1938, most of the people lived in Hatay learned to read and write in modern Turkish alphabet (Tekin, 1988, pp.119-128). The new alphabet was gladly adopted by the Turkish community in the region.

Turkey's adoption of the new Turkish alphabet in 1928 met with great interest among the people of Antioch... Young intellectuals, crafts and the majority of people were eager to learn new letters. The new alphabet meant motherland, Atatürk... In addition, students and young people in Hatay were already familiar with this alphabet because they had intensive French lessons at school thus, they could easily learn the new Turkish alphabet (Tekin, 1988, p.119).

In the Sanjak of Alexandretta a dynamic period began in 1936 in terms of both political and cultural activities. Cultural activities catalyzed by the press, constituted an important motivating power behind the implicit passive resistance and struggle in the region. With the emergence of France's intention to bring governance of the sanjak to Syria in 1936, cultural propaganda was initiated rapidly both by Turkish state and the nationalists of the Sanjak towards independence of the region (Birsal & Özkaya-Duman, 2013, pp.49-50).

One of the important institutions was the People's House (*Halkevi*) in İskenderun founded in 1937. The intense revolutionary program implemented in Turkey on everyday life were followed closely by the Turkish community of the region thanks to the People's House. Historically, the People's Houses dated 1932 were established to disseminate nationalist consciousness and make propagation of the Kemalist principles throughout the country. As Hamdi Selçuk who was the head of İskenderun People's House pointed out when the independence of the Sanjak region came to agenda as of 1936, foundation of a People's House was required to pursue the nationalist propaganda. Rahmi Apak who was a member of the General Assembly of the RPP (Republican People's Party) (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) was appointed to found the People's House in the Sanjak. Upon the directives of Atatürk and the relationship starting with Ankara, he was sent to the Sanjak to organize this institution (Selçuk, 1972, p.66). Abdülğani Türkmen who was the head of Hatay People's Party became the parliamentary speaker of the State of Hatay later in 1938 assigned his house to People's House after having furnished it. However, before the decision taken by League of Nations in 1937, the organization conducted activities by keeping them confidential because of the fact that the French mandate did not allow foundation of the politically oriented institutions in the Sanjak (Payaslı, 2017, p.322). Payaslı made an interview with Sueda Bereket, the daughter of Abdülğani Türkmen, to talk about the historical process of the People's House and the Republican People's Party in the Sanjak.

In 1936, secret activities were started in Hatay for the establishment of RPP and People's Houses. In 1937, my father Abdülğani Türkmen assumed the establishment of RPP and People's Houses. The People's House, where the house we stayed in, were open to everyone without any difference between religion, language and race. In here, the philosophy of establishment of the Republic and the principles of Atatürk, Republicanism, Populism, Nationalism, Revolutionism, Etatism, Secularism, were taught to the people of the city. In addition, new letters were especially taught to illiterate women. However, after a short period of time, the French raid the people's house and took the weapons in the house and ended the organization's activities (taken from an interview on 14 November 2008, Payaslı. 2011, p.221).

The first People's Houses opened in Antakya and Reyhaniye (Figure 3.29) followed by the ones founded in Belen, Kırıkhan, and İskenderun (Payaslı, 2017 p.324). The Turkish Government established the People's Houses in order to ensure the election that predestinate the administration of the region by making Turkish people conscious

towards Turkish nationalism and strengthening their cultural relations with Turkey (Payaslı, 2017 pp.322-323).



Figure 3.29: The People's House in Reyhaniye (1939) (Payaslı, 2017, p.472)

People's Houses established in 1937 in Alexandretta had only three branches unlike the ones in Turkey having nine branches. These were devoted to the security, the law, and the propaganda. Turkish Government sent some people in relation to those branches so as to protect Turks' legal rights and resolve court cases. The Propaganda branch aimed to prepare the public for the election by explaining how the public could vote both in the city and villages (Konuralp, 1970, p.15). Thus, the People's Houses in the Sanjak tried to inform the Turkish community of the current situation by encouraging them. First People's Houses opened in the sanjak in 1937 did not have new and autonomous buildings because of the rules implemented in the Sanjak. As Hatipoğlu mentioned by July 24, 1937, the People's Houses were opened under the leadership of the RPP in the sanjak (Hatipoğlu, 2001, p.64). Four months after establishment of State of Hatay in 1938, the directors of People's Houses in İskenderun and Antakya announced opening nine branches just as the People's Houses in Turkey. Besides, Kırıkhan People's House was activated with having eight branches (Payaslı, 2017 p.329). In the integration of Hatay as a province to Turkey, the organization of People's Houses played a significant role in terms of political and cultural struggle and integration of Turkish community towards independence (Figure 3.30).



Figure 3.30: The People's House in İskenderun (1938-1939) (Mursaloğlu, 2017, p.445)

Upon foundation of the Turkish Consulate in October 1937 in İskenderun and Antakya, Turkey began to follow an active diplomacy in Hatay. Some of the Turks, lived in Hatay and moved to Turkey during the mandate period, returned to the region in this period. In addition, branches opened by Turkish banks during this period provided loans to merchants and villagers as of 1938. Therefore, intensive cultural and political programme had begun among the Turks (*Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, 1982, p.3407)<sup>13</sup>. In those years, the Turkish consulate building was opened on the coast of İskenderun in 1937 (Figure 3.31). The existing building was a hotel known as *Hotel Empire* which was built in the French period. Upon annexation of Hatay to Turkey, this building was transformed into a hotel again named as *Ankara Palas* for a long time. In a short period of time, as Mursaloğlu said (2015b), shortly after the consulate opened in Antakya, Turkey opened a second consulate in İskenderun in 1937 (p.146).

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<sup>13</sup> For more information please see, *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, (1982), Volume 5, pp.3369-3453.



Figure 3.31: Turkish Consulate Building in İskenderun on the Coastline dated 1938 (Mursalođlu, 2017, p.219)

In this period, the most prominent building was the People's Houses which was constructed beyond Turkey's national borders. People's Houses in İskenderun played a special role unlike the other People's Houses established at that time in Turkey. İskenderun People's House was designed in the period of Hatay State and the new building was completed in six months. The new building of the People's House in İskenderun will be explained in detail in the fourth chapter.

### 3.1.3 Turkish Period (1939-1950s)

When the Hatay State was established in 1938, it was decided to perpetuate the customs/norms in conjunction with Syria, to use the currency of Syria and to connect the post and telegraph system to Syria. After the Council of Ministers in the State of Hatay came into power in 1938, the barrier between Turkey and Hatay was removed and it was agreed to use the Turkish Lira then onwards. Turkey was allowed to open a branch of the Central Bank (*Merkez Bankası*) in İskenderun in 1938. In 1939, after the annexation of Hatay to Turkey, Turkish Government purchased all French based companies with all assets such as Syria and Lebanon Bank, Tobacco Administration, Electricity Company, the İskenderun Port Company. In the same vein, with the annexation the economy of the region revived and gradually developed. World War II also had a positive impact on development of İskenderun. During this period, the ports

of İstanbul and İzmir were under the threat of German navy, and the port of İskenderun was actively in operation. Therefore, all importation and exportation of Turkey was conducted here (Temiz, 2002, p.59).

It can be said that the second half of 1939 was the initiation of integration of Hatay with Turkey. During this period, the communities of Hatay encountered more closely with Turkish culture. There was a serious and decisive attempt to organize the system of governance and choice of statemen who would take up a position. Early 1940s marked the beginning of a new era governed by Turkish Republic. In those years, likewise the situation throughout Turkey the state decisively underlined Turkish identity and language in Hatay (Tekin, 2016, p.19) (Figures 3.32-3.33).



Figure 3.32: The Celebrations for the Annexation of Hatay to Turkey (1939) (Mursaloğlu, 2017, p.441)



Figure 3.33: The Commemoration of Atatürk Youth and Sports Day Celebrations on Republic Square in 1939 (Mursaloğlu, 2017, p.405)

The journal named *Hatay'ın Sesi* writes the historical event titling it *Türkiye'nin İncisi İskenderun* as follows: "I came to İskenderun in July of 1938. The French and Armenians were slowly retreating from the city" (Haykır, 1969,p.12). The departure of the foreigners and communities from the region brought about new problems in many aspects of life. One of those in the time of Hatay State were the difficulties appeared in terms of education system. According to Tekin, as a result of the activities of these politically motivated missionary groups in the French mandate period, nearly eighty percent of the population belonging to foreign and local community became literate. The Mandate administration gave cultural support to these people. In the time of Hatay State (September 1938) the new Government faced with important problems in education system. Throughout 1920s and 1930s all the resources from state budget were spent to meet the needs of foreign and local (Christian) communities living in the region. During the Hatay State (1938-1939) foreign schools continued their education however, they were closed down one by one after the annexation of Hatay to Turkey a year later. The last closed foreign school was the St. Therese of Latin School (*Santa Tereza Özel İtalyan*) primary school in İskenderun. (Tekin, n.d., pp.72-74).

Moreover, Tekin points out that literacy rate of the population in İskenderun always remained below the average in Turkey. The significant reasons were the participation of Hatay to Turkey after 15 years and the reforms implemented towards the change of alphabet after 11 years. Although the attempts to rise literacy started by 1928 by Turks in homeland, these activities were prevented by the mandate in Hatay. However, the literacy rate which was around 10% in 1939 showed a radical increase in the subsequent censuses (Tekin, n.d., p.82). According to Kireççi, after the annexation of Hatay to the Turkey in 1939, educational system was developed rapidly and became widespread in İskenderun (Kireççi, 1996, p.70). Then onwards, the people living in İskenderun gave great importance to cultural development as well as reforms proceeded in every aspect of life (*Hatay İl Yıllığı + 1967, 1968, p.91*).

Beyond cultural revolutions implemented in Hatay, some infrastructural and construction works were initiated in 1942 on immediate problems such as to dry the swamps against malaria. Between 1940-1946, existing roads were fixed and new roads were built. Trees were planted on the roadsides (Tekin, 2016, p.26, p.29).



Günel stated that industrialization and urbanization started in the early Republican period in İskenderun likewise the provinces in Anatolia such as İstanbul, İzmir and Adana. Urbanization and industrialization accelerated by mid-1950s (Günel, 2006, p.160). In the book *Sonsuz Aşkım Hatay*, Günel mentions about the 1940s of İskenderun:

Meanwhile, the consequences of the industrialization attacks began to be seen in the city. Fifteen factories were established. The port was full of ships arriving for the region's exportation and importation. Men, especially factory, port and railway workers, often used bicycles to travel between their homes and workplaces. The buildings on the coast were single-storey, except for a hotel. İskenderun had become the most smooth and well-formed urbanized settlement center in the region. İskenderun was a European city until 1947 (Günel, 2006, p.81) (Figure 3.34).

Güner's childhood coincides with the mid-1950s:

The city of İskenderun grew and developed with me starting from my childhood; while it was developing, it also experienced the troubles of unplanned urbanization and in addition to getting ugly as it developed, it also became beautiful at times, meanwhile it became crowded rapidly... It seemed that the development of a city and the growth of a child were similar to each other. İskenderun was developing faster than me, it was growing in width and length, its population was increasing more and more... Even the big fertilizer factory, especially after the Iron and Steel factory, shrunk and took refuge in its own shell. So are cotton weaving mills, oil mills, gin factories; they increased but I was very surprised when I realized that they almost disappeared within the dense construction... (Günel, 2006, pp.75-76) (Figures 3.35-3.36).



Figure 3.34: Bicycle Advertisement (on the left) (*İskenderun Telefon Rehberi* in 1957, p.10); Akala Textile Factory (on the right) (*İskenderun Telefon Rehberi*, 1957, p.54)

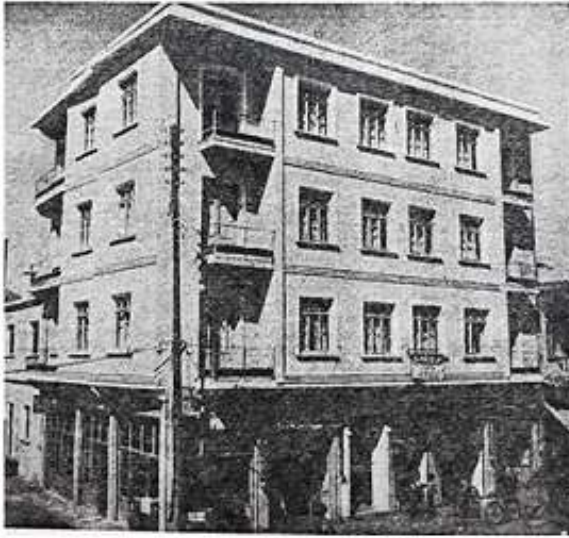


Figure 3.35: Saray Palas Hotel (on the left) (*İskenderun Telefon Rehberi*, 1957, p.32); A store in the center of the city (on the right) (*İskenderun Telefon Rehberi*, 1957, p.27)



Figure 3.36: Güney Palas Hotel and Güney Palas Restaurant in the late 1950s (Url-23)

During the Republic of Turkey, the oldest factory of the city is the *Hatay Yağları T.A.Ş* that is founded in 1938. In the following years, the other factories Bilger Flour Factory (1941), Akala Yarn and Textile Factory (1952), *Fertilizer Factory* (1954) and Ersoy Yarn and Textile Factory (1957) were opened respectively. As can be seen, the oldest industrial enterprises of İskenderun were in food and textile sectors (*İskenderun Ekonomik Raporu*, 1984, p.50). Sarıseki Superphosphate Factory which has an important place in the city was established in 1954 (*Hatay İl Yıllığı +1967, 1968*, p.136).

In the overall, the capitalist world economy and rise of commercial activities thanks to the sea connection developed at the end of the nineteenth century was decisive in development of the city. This commercial dynamism based on maritime trade and historical significance of the region as “the cradle of Christianity” brought about a diverse demographic structure. The internal and external dynamics behind social and spatial formation of the city led to a unique model. Moreover, the drastic change of ruling power four times brought various layers that were identified with its periods. As the examination of urban development and architectural formation in İskenderun indicates that each period carried its peculiar features/architectural expression and created a cultural continuity in general terms as the superimposition of various layers. The effect of each layer/period was different for the city. For instance, as Açıkgöz said (2008, p.7), the Sanjak of Alexandretta during the French mandate “remained as an incomplete program” in terms of the architectural and urban transformation. Similarly, Aslanoğlu stated that (2001) the contribution of the French in terms of building activity was limited to a few buildings (p.94). Many buildings along the coast consist of buildings that were already existed in the Ottoman period.

It can be said that some of the buildings described in detail above, such as schools, religious buildings, hospital (*Hamidiye Gureba*) and cafes, hotels etc. are the structures remained from Ottoman times. Paul Chammas in his book *Alexandrette*, dated 1931 mentions that there are “eight churches, two mosques, a temple, a synagogue, eleven schools, four convent of men and women” (p.19). These structures, as mentioned with details above, were built either by the Ottoman state or by the missionaries during the Ottoman period. Sometimes it becomes difficult to understand which buildings were built during the periods. For instance, unexpectedly not too many construction activities of churches were seen in the French era. The biggest contributions of the French were civic improvements that Ottomans could not make investments at that time. The urgent tasks of the French mandate could be listed as the establishment of infrastructure, construction of new roads, widening and repairing of existing roads, asphaltting the roads, installation of sewage system, drying up the swamps, providing electricity to the city, building new parks and a modern port for the revival of commercial life. These investments were the major important breakthroughs in the city, even today’s urban plan is the developed version of urban plan prepared during the French period.

The research has shown that the identity and functions of the buildings generally continued as the layers overlap each other. One of the rare examples built in the French mandate was the *Hotel Empire*. In 1938, the building was Turkish Consulate. After the annexation of Hatay to Turkey, this building was named *Ankara Palas*. It is seen that the typing of *Hotel Empire* on the building facade was erased in 1938 in the of Hatay State (Figure 3.37). Another example verifies the re-use of the hotels through all different periods. Jacquot mentioned the *Hotel Elian* in his book (1931) in detail (p.59). The hotel's name was different in 1919 and was called as *Grand Hotel d'Orient* (Figure 3.38).



Figure 3.37: Republic Day Ceremony in 1938 (Mursaloğlu, 2017, pp.354-355)



Figure 3.38: The *Hôtel Elian* (on the left) (Mursaloğlu, 2000, p.35); *Grand Hotel d'Orient* in 1919 (on the right) (*Şehr-i Hatay*, p.174)

There were also some cases that the ownership of a building/structure in İskenderun became very important and turned out a political and economic strife among different communities. Taking over and owning the pier and harbor which were the vital elements of the city became a matter of power between foreign states (France, England etc.) and Ottoman State in the late-nineteenth century. The occupation of İskenderun's coast by the foreigners and the economic and political insufficiency of the Ottomans in the region caused struggles exemplified by pier and the port. Due to the financial reasons the Ottoman State had accepted the pier to be built by the French, however it was built on a spot where the French had buildings extensively to obtain its advantages. Moreover, the pier was managed by the French and the taxes for the quayage were paid to French company. Although the state defends that the İskenderun pier should belong to Ottomans, the fact that the Ottoman Empire was not powerful enough to have the property of the pier in the late-nineteenth century. The control of the pier was a chronic problem between French and Ottoman State by revealing how the pier became an apparatus of political and economic power. After the World War I, İskenderun became a French mandate which deals with the matter of modernizing the port as soon as possible. Similarly, with the annexation of Hatay to Turkey in 1939, the first major work of Turkish Republic was to modernize the port immediately. The port was developed in 1942, 1954, and 1972.

Due to the sea connection, the most important and active part of the city was the coastline. The following chapter tries to understand the urban development, built environment and material culture by focusing on the coastline of İskenderun.



#### 4. A FOCUS ON THE COASTLINE OF İSKENDERUN

##### 4.1 Forepart of the Stage: Cayla Boulevard (*Atatürk Bulvarı*), Gouraud Square (*Cumhuriyet Meydanı*) and Public Park (*Millet Bahçesi*)

In the nineteenth century, port cities and towns are the cosmopolitan settlements unlike the ones far from the sea. The port cities expanding along the Mediterranean coast had special meaning due to its sea connection and its impact on formation of the city. Özveren describes exclusive features of Beirut which became a popular destination for steam ship voyages after 1830s as follows:

The plan of Beirut extending to the coastline and providing a panoramic view of the sea orientation was absolutely different from the traditional cities spread around a single center whose urban space expanded in hierarchical rings around a core filled with influential institutions such as the covered turkish bazaar, the bazaar and the great mosque (Özveren, 1994, p.77).

Like Beirut, İskenderun had a different configuration compared to the traditional cities that spread around a single center. Even though İskenderun attained its urban character/identity from the late nineteenth century onwards, the city was expanded and developed along the coast in the first half of the twentieth century (Figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1: Panoramic View of İskenderun in 1901 (Url-15)

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was the period when the port cities reached their peak in economy thanks to their power on transportation and communication network. This indicates the period when the coastline of the port cities became differ from the inner parts of the coast which became more evident than before. The financial well-being increased over time was accompanied by a growing population and massive influx of immigrants. Özveren states that this overall description fits most of the port cities in that era (Özveren, 1994, p.83). In this framework, İskenderun offers a good example of those port cities which experienced developments like the ones.<sup>14</sup>

According to Hastaoglou- Martinidis (2015), mid-nineteenth century onwards witnessed a series of port construction activities which took place on the Eastern Mediterranean coast. Essential requirement of maritime trading for a city is the construction of a modern port. All the important cities in that region had a port such as Alexandria, Beirut, İzmir, İstanbul, Patras, İskenderun, Trabzon, Varna etc. (Hastaoglou- Martinidis, 2015, p.95).

Port cities in the Eastern Mediterranean were further developed with construction of the railway since 1851. The construction of new ports together with railways and other infrastructural facilities (rationally organized urban plans, construction of required buildings) played an immense role in acceleration of the Eastern Mediterranean cities that led to radical transformation in just a few decades. The initial step of such a series of development is the construction of the port which provided modernization of the physical and social structure of the cities. The port cities of Eastern Mediterranean gained new identities and turned out to be unique cities where the new and the old neighborhoods were intertwined with each other (Hastaoglou-Martinidis, 2015, pp.96-100). The difference and indeed, disadvantage of İskenderun from those described above was construction of a modern port very lately during French Mandate and construction of the railway as late as 1913. Therefore, the absence of two vitally important structures that were built in the later periods led to the delay of development of the city.

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<sup>14</sup> The American Consul draws attention to the rapidly changing situation in İskenderun in his report by saying “in the last year, many dwellings were built and the swamp began to dry up slowly” (Özveren, 1994, p.87).



As a port city which gained its reputation with its network of connecting the coast to the inner regions was one of the primary tasks to be completed during the Ottoman period. Therefore, the route connecting the port of İskenderun to Aleppo during the Ottoman and French periods was very important. In that sense, renovating the Alexandretta-Aleppo road was crucial to increase the activity of the port (Açıkgöz, 2008, pp.120-121) (Figure 4.2). Going back to the Ottoman period it is seen that İskenderun did not even have a road on the seaside<sup>15</sup> (Figure 4.3). The road along the sea which is the important urban space of port cities, was built by the French (Figure 4.4). Aslanoğlu pointed out that French took a decisive stand to realize infrastructural requirements and routes, however this attempt was not towards developing the region, but for implementing their colonial plans (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.94).



Figure 4.2: The Entry of İskenderun from Aleppo Road in the Early Twentieth Century (Yılmaz, 2019, p.111)

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<sup>15</sup> Please see the postcards of other roads in İskenderun in Appendix 3.



Figure 4.3: The Coastline in the Ottoman Period (Yılmaz, 2019, p.104)



Figure 4.4: The Road Along the Sea Built During the French Mandate Period (Mursaloğlu, n.d., p.54)

The urgent tasks to be completed by the French mandate administration were road construction by opening up large boulevards and streets, making enlargement of the current ones to provide crossing of vehicles and air. The other important tasks to be solved urgently in the city were the installation of sewage system and drying up the swamps. Yet, the outstanding investment was the construction of a road extending along the coast in İskenderun is Cayla Boulevard<sup>16</sup> (named as *Atatürk Bulvarı* after 1939) which is 12 km long and 25 m wide (Figure 4.5). In accordance with the boulevard, other urban features constructed by French in the same area was the Gouraud Square (*Place Gouraud* later named as *Cumhuriyet Meydanı* after 1939)<sup>17</sup> (Figures 4.6-4.7), and the Public Park (*Jardin Public* later named as *Millet Bahçesi* after 1939) (Figure 4.8) which were opened in 1919 (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.91). However, Açıkgöz claims that the Public Park and the Gouraud Square were created in 1924. Açıkgöz describes developments of major urban features as follows:

The most important project carried out by the French was the filling up of the shore and creation of a large boulevard called Boulevard Cayla. It was initiated immediately after the establishment of the French rule, and the boulevard was considerably enlarged 1923. In order to protect the boulevard from the waves of the sea, a concrete wall of thirty two meters was constructed. In 1927, the boulevard was stoned and cylindered with the longitude of 1200 meters and width of ten meters. The two flanks of the boulevard from the swamps, a concrete canal of 350 meters was constructed in 1928 (Açıkgöz, 2008, pp.130-131).

A major square was created at the intersection of Boulevard Cayla and Rue Hamidiye, 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 (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.132) (Figure 4.9).

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<sup>16</sup> Leon Cayla “who served as the Counselor to the government in Alexandretta in the early 1920s” was the French colonial administrator (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.131).

<sup>17</sup> This square was also called as İnönü Square for a while. For more information please see the link (Url-24).



Figure 4.5: Cayla Boulevard (named as *Atatürk Bulvarı* after 1939) (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1938)



Figure 4.6: Gouraud Square (*Place Gouraud*, named as *Cumhuriyet Meydanı* after 1939) in the 1930s (Url-25)



Figure 4.7: Gouraud Square (*Place Gouraud*, named as *Cumhuriyet Meydanı* after 1939) in 1939 (Url-26)



Figure 4.8: Public Park (*Jardin Public*, renamed as *Millet Bahçesi* after 1939) in the 1930s (Url-27)

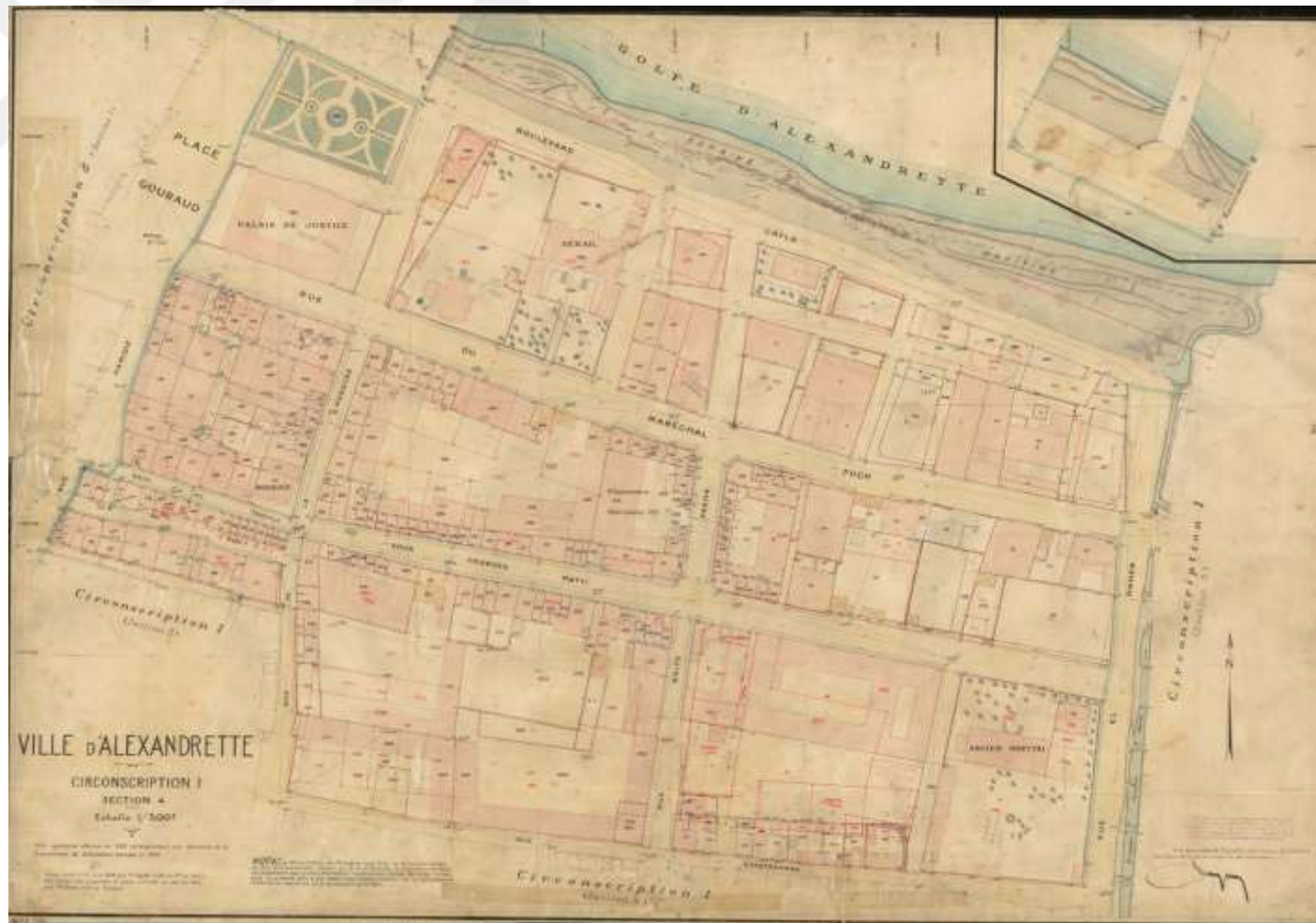


Figure 4.9: Cayla Boulevard, Public Park (*Jardin Public*), Gouraud Square (*Place Gouraud*) on the French Cadastral Map (1928) (the Archive of ITM)

In the book *Antioche Centre de Tourisme*, Paul Jacquot describes the city in 1931 as follows:

The modern city is built on a cordon of sand. It is separated from the last foothills of the Amanus by marshes.

The city does not offer a comprehensive plan. By the sea, the recently created Cayla Boulevard is the only town promenade. Parallel to Boulevard Cayla is Rue Beauregard, extended by Rue du Marechal Foch. The Konak, utilities, shipping agencies and all wholesale trade are found in this district. The houses are comfortable and elegant.

A whole town improvement plan is in progress. It includes the opening of a circular boulevard of 25 m. width, including 1200 m. the construction of *Palais de Justice*, on the edge of P.T.T., a gendarmerie, a prison, a quarantine service office. An important Hospital has just been completed. We can also mention the Residence, the Electrical factory, the Public Works workshop, the Port and Customs services, the Standard Oil reservoirs, the concrete pipes that lead the mountain waters to the sea... (Jacquot, 1931, p.67) (Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10: Cayla Boulevard in the late 1920s (named as *Atatürk Bulvarı* after 1939) (Url-28)

Although Aslanoğlu (2001) says that Rue Beauregard (also known as *Rue de la Caserne*, *Route conduisant au Phare* or *Rue du Phare*) and Rue Marechal Foch also known as the Road of Government in Ottoman period which laid parallel to Cayla

Boulevard were the secondary roads built during the French period<sup>18</sup> (p.91) (Figures 4.11-4.12). However, as the postcards show these roads already existed during the Ottoman period<sup>19</sup>. Açıkgöz comments that the most of roads were enlarged and completed around 1929, even some buildings like the houses and shops had to be demolished (2008, p.131).

Parallel to Boulevard Cayla were Rue Marechal Foch and Rue Beauregard, which separated by Rue Hamidie<sup>20</sup>, the main artery that lead to the sea...Rue Hamidiye was one of the swamp laden streets in Alexandretta, which required an immense work for the installation of canals and sewage network (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.131).



Figure 4.11: Rue Beauregard (also known as *Rue du Phare*) in the Ottoman Period (Yılmaz, 2019, p.108)

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<sup>18</sup> The fact that French names were given to Rue Marechal Foch and Rue Beauregard was a reflection of the implementation in the cities of Algeria (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.91). Beauregard is the commander of the French torpedo boat in 1918 (Tekin, 2000, p.211). On a postcard sent in 1922, it can be seen that the street that already existed during the Ottoman period was named as Rue Marechal Foch in Appendix 3.

<sup>19</sup> On some websites for auctions and informative websites, it can be seen that the names of these streets appear on certain photographs. These pictures/postcards should be dated to Ottoman period. It is understood that the editors who wrote on the front or back of these postcards worked as postcard editors during the Ottoman period. In this regard, Gökhan Yılmaz's book titled *Osmanlı Dönemi Kartpostal Editörleri 1895-1923: Anadolu, Trakya, İstanbul (Ottoman Era Postcards Editors, 1895-1923 Anatolia, Thrace, Istanbul)* gives detailed information about the postcards and their editors of the period. In the book *Ottoman Era Postcards Editors 1895-1923 Anatolia, Thrace, Istanbul*, the postcard editors of the city of İskenderun are: Hussein Husseini & Co. who was a glassware shop owner in İskenderun, Hussein İkbâl & Freres who was a glassware shop owner in İskenderun, B&C who is a bookseller, G. Stamboulie & Fils, H. Abadjian who is a bookseller, Joseph Caraly, Penco, Gh & S. Boghikian Freres, A. Jean Palouljian & Fils who was a glassware shop owner in İskenderun (Yılmaz, 2019, pp.104-115) (Appendix 4).

<sup>20</sup> Hamidiye street named as the İnönü Road during the Republic of Turkey. Later, the name of the street was changed to Şehit Pamir Road (in memory of Colonel Nuri Pamir martyred in the Korean War in 1952) during Menderes Government.





Figure 4.12: Rue Marechal Foch also known as the Road of Government in the 1920s (Erol Makzume's Official Web Site, Url 23)

The fact that the coastal road which was built in the French period became possible with drying of the swamps. It was a chronic problem since ancient times. It is most likely that all economic and political impossibilities in the late Ottoman period became an obstacle for constructing new buildings and renovation of the existing ones, however there was a great effort to dry the swamps in that period (Ürkmez, 2012, p.455) (Figure 4.13). But, the problem was not completely solved until the French Mandate period.

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 (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.122).



Figure 4.13: İskenderun and the Swampy Areas (1896) (Ürkmez, 2012, p.95).

It was underlined by the western travelers that if İskenderun is removed from the swampy areas it could be an important trade center (Açıkgoz, 2008, p.121). The malaria which was a deadly disease was identified with the city's name. It was often remembered as "Frank Cemetery" among European merchants for a while. That's why, the Swamp Drying Administration was founded and some materials such as wagons and iron rails were imported from Europe to be used in construction of a decovil line to dry up the swamps in 1894 (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.89-90). However, there was not much progress seen in this regard. Ahmet Şerif, a journalist, made an investigation tour of Anatolia in 1909 by stopping over İskenderun and published his observations by emphasizing swamp-induced problems in the newspaper named *Tanin*.

The surrounding is swamp, the weather is unhealthy. Humidity is high and even in the swamp there are huts. The life of the city and the swamp are almost identical. There is also the Swamp Drying Administration (*Bataklık Kurutma İdaresi*) here (Tekin, 2000, p.167).

In 1910 the work was stopped and equipment used in decovil construction were abandoned since there was no more budget to be allocated for this issue<sup>21</sup> (Ürkmez, 2012, p.106). Nevertheless, beside its use for many years to dry swampy areas the decovil line was also used to carry filling materials from the neighborhood (outside of center) called *Pınarbaşı* to the coast. The main line starting from *Pınarbaşı* was divided into four branches; Fener Street, Prison, Station, and Hamidiye quarters. Wagons were designed to carry loads such as stones, mines, coal, and rock salt. The stones were generally used as a solid filling material of the ground. In any street whenever a construction would be made, a new line was established together with detachable rails thus, the solid material could easily be transported to the construction area. In other words, the railway line sometimes passed through a park and sometimes extended from the side streets to the coast (Figure 4.14). There were also some wagons devoted to a small number of passengers. Mikail Havran who worked as the last machinist on the decovil line said that he worked in decovil until 1935-1936 and then

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<sup>21</sup>After Aleppo-Beirut highway was repaired and reopened, İskenderun started to lose importance rapidly. This reflected to decrease of incomes paid for swamp drying and thus, the work was stopped due to financial difficulties. Existing tools and equipment were left uncovered scattered, and many materials were left under the ground and left to rot. However, the following year, in a report written to the Ottoman state, it was stated that all the tools and equipment used in the swamp drying works were well protected (Sandalcı, 2013, p.14).

the decovil machine was removed from the service. Life on the decovil line continued until 1939 with a horse and two wagons behind it (Sandalcı, 2013, pp.17-21) (Figures 4.15-4.16). The decovil line became a playground for children in the 1930s. Regarding this:

Mişel Filipoğlu came from a well-established family of eighty years old. Playing on the decovil line with his friends was the biggest fun of his childhood years. In turn, one of them would sit on the wagon and the others would enjoy traveling on the rails while pushing the wagon. Mişel Bey remembered the locomotives indistinctly. It was the first time we heard about the use of decovil in stone transportation (Sandalcı, 2013, pp.16-17).



Figure 4.14: Decovil Line on the Coast in 1921 (Sandalcı, 2013, p.69)



Figure 4.15: Decovil Line and the Wagons Passing Through the City (Sandalcı, 2013, pp.71-73)



Figure 4.16: Decovil Lines and Wagons passing in and around the City (Sandalcı, 2013, pp.31-67)

When the French came into power they immediately started to solve the existing problems of the city. The urgent issues that were mostly considered were the planning of the lands, connecting roads, construction of a modern port, providing health service and fixing the unesthetical look of the city. Probably the most important advancements made by French in urban scale was the preparation of a city plan. This attempt was also related to their claim of controlling the region they occupied. Modern planning began in 1925 with the establishment of *Service d'Urbanism*. Working under the supervision of the High Commissioner, *Regie du Cadastre* prepared the cadastral plans of the cities and villages during the French mandate between 1928-1937<sup>22</sup>. Aslanoğlu reminds of an important point that the regions under the Mandate became the testing ground for French planning. Through the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Freres et Fils Dange* agreed with the municipality of İskenderun for making the city plan in 1931 (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.90).

According to Aslanoğlu, public works (*imar faaliyetleri*) were critical for inhabitation of French delegates and the Governor (*Mutasarrıf*) in İskenderun. The preparations for urban development and building activity seen in İskenderun was different from Antakya and Kırıkhan. In addition to administration buildings, hospitals, schools, there were also mansions, new consulates, shipping agencies, commercial buildings, cafes/restaurants built on Cayla Boulevard in French period. Some existing buildings were adapted to a number of functions (Aslanoğlu, 2001, pp.90-92). As in all the Eastern Mediterranean cities under the French Mandate, the architecture of the Sanjak of Alexandretta had the buildings mostly in eclectic style, neo-classical style using the historical styles of Europe with the use of vernacular architectural features and decorative elements (Temiz, 2002, p.123).

It would be appropriate to describe the prominent buildings located on and near the coastline starting from the oldest, the ones built during the Ottoman period. Life cycle of the buildings are tried to presented in order to explain this complex context more clearly.

One of the pivotal buildings located on the coastline is the Customs Office (*Gümrük İdaresi*). With the transfer of Aleppo Customs to İskenderun in 1866, a series of structures and buildings were constructed such as the port, roads, quarantine, and the warehouse where the incoming

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<sup>22</sup> According to the verbal information received from *İskenderun Tapu Müdürlüğü*, these maps were still in use for the matters related to cadastral operations.

goods would be kept. In 1867, the construction of the building began and it was renewed over the years until a new building was constructed in 1890. The building had administrative offices and warehouses. To facilitate transportation a decovil line was constructed from the building laying towards the pier. Some modifications were made by taking Vallauray's opinion,<sup>23</sup> the architect of İstanbul Customs Minister, at that time (Ürkmez, 2012, pp. 138-142) (Figure 4.17).

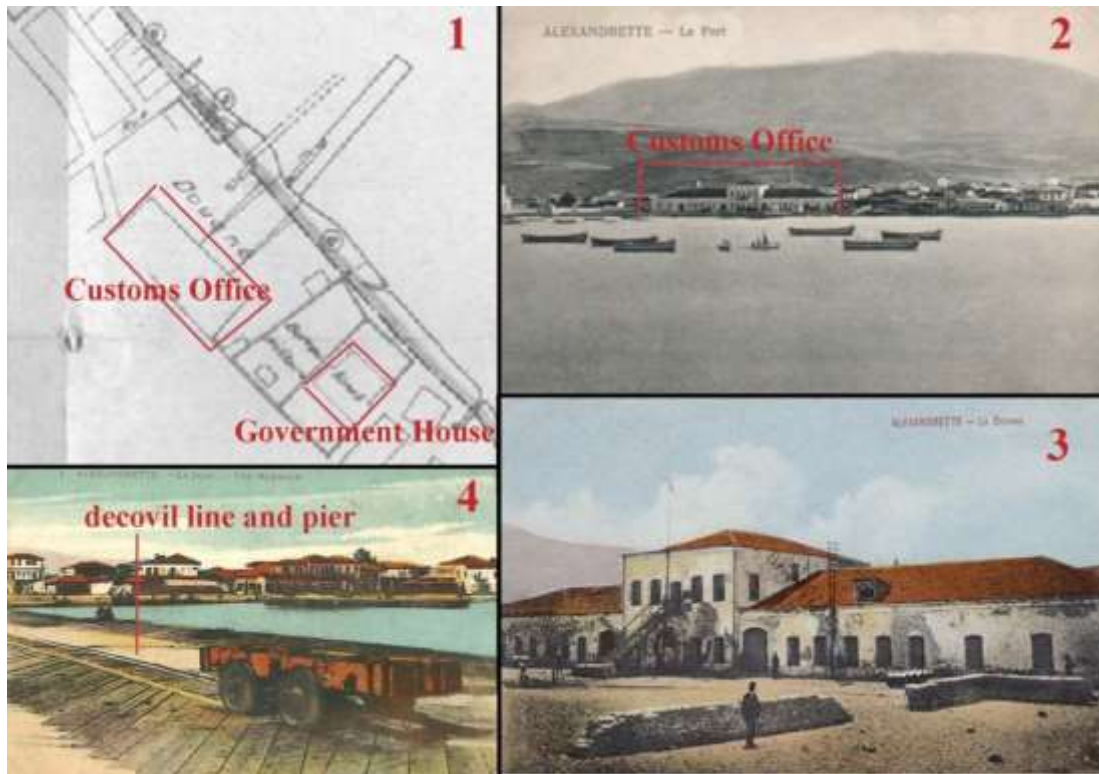


Figure 4.17: Customs Office and the Pier in the Ottoman Period (Image 1, State Archives; Image 2 & Image 4, Url-23; Image 3, Url-29)

During the French Mandate this building was demolished and the Court Building/ Palace of Justice (*Palais de Justice*) was built on this site. According to Aslanoğlu, the Court Building was designed in 1927 by an Armenian architect named Ayvazyan. This building with a rectangular plan is the most magnificent official building of the region. It is such an imposing structure seen from the sea. The building is a component of the triple; the Public Park (*Jardin Public*) adorned with a beautiful landscape and the primary component of a city, the Gouraud

<sup>23</sup> Alexandre Vallauray who lived between 1850 and 1921 was a Levantine architect. Beside teaching at the School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) between 1883-1908 he also worked as the architect of the Customs Administration for many years (Çilli, 2009, p.49-51).

Square (*Cumhuriyet Meydanı*). The building has an inner garden with a pool, semi-open porch corridors overlooking this garden and providing access to the study rooms, façade decorations with colorful tiles and floors covered with mosaic tiles (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.92). Açıkgöz states that the Court Building was designed in 1928 by M. Kowalsky yet, it was completed in 1930-1931. One of the confusing detail is that the building was named as the New Palace (*Nouveau Sérail*) on a photograph taken in 1930. Another important point that should be expressed is that even though the building was named as Court Building, it also hold various offices which also served as P.T.T. for some time (Açıkgöz, 2008, pp.133-134). This building kept its dual function until 1970s. It is one of the finest and surviving examples remained from the French period (Figure 4.18).



Figure 4.18: The Court Building/ Palace of Justice Under Construction in 1930 (Jacquot, 1931, p.33)

The Court Building/ Palace of Justice (*Palais de Justice*) was the most magnificent building in the city (Figure 4.19). In front of this building is the park built by French and located on the coast which is still there today.



Figure 4.19: The Court Building/ Palace of Justice (1931-1932) (*Messageries Maritimes*, 1932)

Another important building having constructed before the formation of Cayla Boulevard is the Governmental Office (*Hükümet Konağı*) in İskenderun. The Government office was built on the coastline aligned with the Customs Office (Figure 4.20). In the nineteenth century, a number of buildings were appropriated to this programme since there was no governmental building in İskenderun. Moreover there was a need of a telegraph office which did not found in İskenderun. Therefore, it was considered to build a governmental office and a telegraph house in 1866, however this attempt was not implemented due to the economic reasons. It is striking that there was not an administration building owned by the Ottoman State. The governmental office was built as late as 1888 (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.143-148) (Figure 4.21).



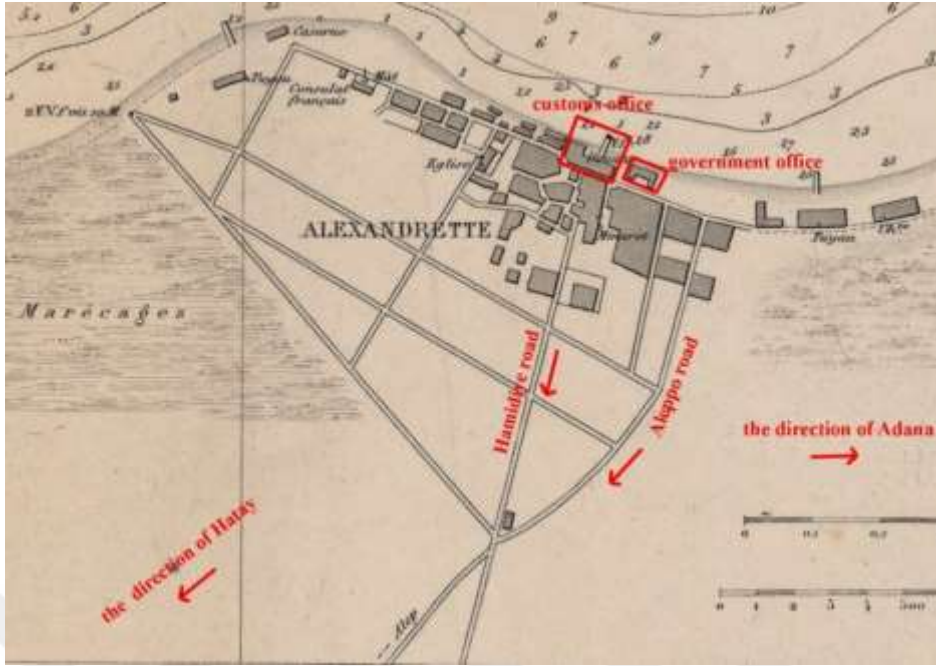


Figure 4.20: İskenderun Governmental Office (*Hükümet Konağı*), Customs Office (*Gümrük İdaresi*) With Huge Area of Swamps (*Marecages*) on the Map of İskenderun dated 1910 (BNF, Url-30)



Figure 4.21: The Governmental Office Shown on a Postcard of İskenderun (1903) (Url-31)

Aslanoğlu states that this building, formerly called as *Konak* or *Serail*, was built in 1928 as the administration building for Syrian officials, French delegates, and the governor (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.92). According to Açıkgöz who did research in the French archives, there is no information that the building was built during the French mandate. However, it is stated that

the building that served as a *Konak* or *Serail* had a radical transformation in 1926. It is most likely that the *Konak* is an Ottoman building but renovated in the French period. The dramatic difference of this facade from the others supports this idea. According to Açıkgöz “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” (Açıkgöz, 2008, pp.134-135). In the same vein, Ürkmez stated that the building was built as the administrative building of the Ottoman period, yet it underwent radical changes in the French and Turkish period.<sup>24</sup> The building is still in use serving as İskenderun District Governorship (*Kaymakamlık*) (Figure 4.22).



Figure 4.22: İskenderun Governmental Office (*Hükümet Konağı*) Shown on a Postcard dated 1913 (Yılmaz, 2019, p.108)

One of the prominent buildings on Cayla Boulevard remained from the Ottoman period is the Military Barracks (also known as *La Caserne* / named as *Şükrü Kanatlı Kışlası* after 1939). Before the construction of existing building there was a military barrack remained from the

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<sup>24</sup> Building history of the Governmental Office has been elaborated by Garbioğlu. According to her (2017), the first building was built in the late-nineteenth century. The building has gone through many changes from the date of its construction to the present day. She claims that in the first period, the building was built as a single-storey and four-room building in the 1864 and was used as a warehouse where the grain was collected from the villagers as tax. In the second period of 1890-1910, this single-storey building was enlarged and an upper floor was added to it. She says that during the French period, the side blocks of the building were expanded and the exterior facades were also arranged according to the structure. In the last period, the building has undergone radical changes from 1940s to the present. The upper floor of the building was completely removed and rearranged. The stairs towards the middle axis on the upper floor and the entrance in this place to the building were removed in this period. The roof was completely removed and a terrace roof was applied. However, the building is still used as İskenderun District Governorship Building today (Garbioğlu, 2017, pp 33-35).

time of İbrahim Pasha.<sup>25</sup> It is most likely a small military mansion like his resident, not for the soldiers. İskenderun was the center of the soldiers battalion, and there was a need of barracks in suitable size, yet the soldiers were trying to get by somehow. The inns were rented for soldiers to stay during their stay in İskenderun. When soldiers could not find a place there, they stayed either in the shops or stables, or moved to the inner parts of the city for overnight. The construction of the barracks started as late as 1897. After a series of problems in this period the barracks were partly finished in 1904 and the soldiers had to stay before the fine construction started (Ürkmez, 2012, pp. 148-153) (Figure 4.23).



Figure 4.23: The Military Barracks of İskenderun (*la Caserne*) in the Ottoman period<sup>26</sup> (Ürkmez, 2012, p.488)

The single floor building was increased to two floors according to the photographs taken during the French period. There is no clear information about whether the second floor was built in the Ottoman period or in the French period. However, it is thought that the second floor of this building might have been built in Ottoman period. The building which was built and used as a barrack in the Ottoman period was used as the military hospital and barrack in the French period (Figure 4.24). After the region joined Turkey it continued to be used as military barracks. It is still in use and named as *Şükrü Kanatlı Kışlası*.

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<sup>25</sup> Tekin says that İbrahim Pasha had military barracks built in İskenderun in 1832 for the soldiers who came to the city (Tekin, 2000, p.96). But these barracks might be called as the mansion, is not the barracks mentioned above. The location of the military mansion of İbrahim Pasha can be seen clearly in 1851 (Ürkmez, 2012, p.66).

<sup>26</sup> This figure most likely belongs to Ottoman Period. The barracks are having a single floor here. In the postcard edited by Hussein Ikbali, a glassware shop owner maker in İskenderun and one of the postcard editors of the Ottoman period, the barracks is seen as a single storey in Appendix 5.



Figure 4.24: The Military Barracks and the Hospital (*la Caserne*) in the French period (Mursaloğlu, 2000, p.26)

Another important building of the coastline is the British Consulate (at the same time used as Joseph Catoni & Company).<sup>27</sup> Consuls in İskenderun mostly served the merchants who came to region. In other words, their existence was mostly for fulfilling the commercial duties. Ürkmez mentions that Augustine Catoni was the consul of England as well as of Sweden, Norway, Greece, and the Netherlands between 1881-1915 (2012, p.355). Today, the building is used Catoni Groups of Company.

The Consulars which were established in the region were so powerful. Beyond diplomatic missions they acted as commercial agents and started to get involved in all kinds of public facilities in the region such as drying of the swamps, the road construction etc. Until twentieth century, the coastal part of İskenderun was almost dominated by the foreigners (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.458) who had bases through the Consulates of France, Italy, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Austria-Hungary, Iran, England, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, United States and Greek Community Affairs Office (*Yunan Tebası İşleri Memurluğu*) (Tekin, 2000, p.157).

The British Consulate is located at the center on the coastline (Figure 4.25). According to Garbioğlu, the building was built in 1846 (2017, p.85). The building belonging to the Catoni

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<sup>27</sup> Since 1846, “Joseph Catoni & Company starts its operations within the region, the family represents the crown as consuls and operates as an agency for British shipping interests” (Url-32).

family<sup>28</sup> who settled in İskenderun in the mid-nineteenth century to represent England and perform the consular duties. The building was used as the consulate building and the residence of the Catoni family. According to Ürkmez, British merchants who came to İskenderun would be even hosted in the residence of Consul which was well furnished and quite comfortable. It is important to note that according to a document dated 1851 the British Consul Covanni<sup>29</sup> built a mansion on the coastline which was converted into a consulate residence later on (Ürkmez, 2012, pp.351-353). It can be thought that this building which was built in 1846 might have been built first as a mansion then turned into a consulate building. Ürkmez states that the mansion of Catoni had become a stopover for British travelers and diplomats who came to İskenderun. Thus, the gorgeous and well known building owned by Catoni family was identified with commercial power of the family (Ürkmez, 2020, p.1381) (Figure 4.26). Today, this building continues its existence as Catoni Groups of Company in İskenderun.

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<sup>28</sup> Catoni family of Italian origin came to İskenderun in the middle of the nineteenth century and started commercial activities (such as shipping agency). This family which became the agency of many European companies in İskenderun in a short time also hold a diplomatic mission after Augustin Catoni was appointed as the deputy consul in İskenderun of the Netherlands after 1875. Augustin Catoni was legally a French citizen. Catoni would be considered British after his appointment as British consul. Between 1903-1915, the deputy consul in İskenderun of Belgium was Joseph Catoni, a French citizen from the same family. The Catoni family, a diplomatic representative dealing with trade, could use their influence in different areas. However, the beginning of the First World War had a great impact on the family's life. The Ottoman Empire controlled the stores of Belfante-Catoni company during the war. So much so that the German consul was able to receive even the goods that he had brought to İskenderun to put in Belfante-Catoni store after the permission taken from Talat Pasha, the grand vizier of the period. On November 25, 1919, Joseph Augustine Catoni and his son Augustus Catoni applied for British citizenship from French citizenship and their application was accepted. Catoni family was defined as a banker, shipping agency, and registrar. On June 3, 1931, Joseph Augustine Catoni was appointed to İskenderun as the deputy British consul. On June 8, 1944, Joseph Catoni was again appointed as the British consul of İskenderun. Great powers were closely interested in İskenderun because of its strategic importance. This interest was initially not at the state level but through commercial representatives. Catoni and Belfante families have become an important source of information in their future planning of the region by acting as diplomatic and commercial representatives of great states such as England, Italy, France and Germany. At the same time, they ensured the development of trade in the region in favor of European States. These families also made positive contributions to increase the commercial activities in the region. In addition, they mostly contributed positively to the development of the city (Ürkmez, 2020, pp.1380-1390).

<sup>29</sup> Ürkmez also mentioned that Edward Neale was the British Consul of İskenderun between 1841-1847. Covanni was appointed as the Consul in İskenderun of England after Neale (2012, pp. 352-353). When Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt dominated the region, Edward Neale obtained the title and built a mansion here. When Ibrahim Pasha withdrew from the region, the British consul left the city. Meanwhile, Ibrahim Pasha had the mansion built by the British Consul burned while he was withdrawing. When the region was again captured by the Ottoman Empire, Covanni who was the British Consul built a new building and transformed this mansion into a Consulate house (2012, p.111).



Figure 4.25: The British Consulate (Joseph Catoni & Company) on the French Cadastral Map Dated 1928 (Url-21)



Figure 4.26: Front Facade of the British Consulate on Cayla Boulevard (Şehri- Hatay, p.188)

Banking was very important sector for İskenderun due to its potential of trading and exchange. There were seven banks in İskenderun as it was stated in the book of *Alexandrette* (1931) which were two of them *Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban* and *Banque Agricole*, and five of them belong to the family of Belfante & Catoni<sup>30</sup> *Banque Française de Syrie, Banco Di Roma, Banco Italo Egiziano, Credit Foncier d'Algerie et de Tunisie* and *Deutsche Orient Bank*, and *Banque Agricole* (Chammas, 1931, p.85).

A commercial building located just behind the Cayla Boulevard is the Bank of Syria and Lebanon of İskenderun (*Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban*).<sup>31</sup> Bank of Syria and Lebanon was established in 1919 as the subsidiary of the Ottoman Bank which started to lose its power in accordance with economical situation of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War.

The Bank of Syria and Lebanon was a strategic point of support for French economic interests in the region. It was born out of France's desire to create a French bank in Syria, to which could subsequently be entrusted the issuance of banknotes in Syria and Lebanon, countries under French influence via a mandate granted by the League of Nations in 1920 (BNP PARibas, n.d., Url-34).

The Bank of Syria and Lebanon (Figure 4.27) can be seen on the French cadastral map dated 1928 which is located on the *Rue Bauregard* (after 1939 named as *Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak Street*) which is the name of French commander. Açıkgöz stated that the building "might have well been constructed before the French mandate, since there is no difference to the construction of such buildings in the first decade of the mandate" (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.137). He also claims that this bank building was used as the French Consulate during the French mandate even though it appears as Syria Lebanese Bank on the French map.<sup>32</sup> However, it can't be possible to assert this since the French Consulate<sup>33</sup> appears in another location on Cayla Boulevard at that time. Similarly, it is thought that this building was most likely built in the Ottoman period.

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<sup>30</sup> Ürkmez says that Belfante and Catoni families were two wealthy families that came and settled in İskenderun in mid-nineteenth century and left many traces. Along with their commercial activities, the two families also carried the identity of diplomatic representatives. The two families through marriage had kinship bonds with each other (2020, p.1371). For detailed information on the subject please see the article titled *İskenderun'da İki Levanten Aile: Belfante ve Catoni Aileleri*.

<sup>31</sup> The bank was initially named as *Banque de Syrie et du Liban*, then named as *Banque de Syrie et Grand-Liban* (The British Museum, n.d, Url-33).

<sup>32</sup>The location of this building which was used as the Syria Lebanese Bank until the new building was built in the French mandate period.

<sup>33</sup> The building used as the French Consulate in 1928 can be seen on the photographs showing the panorama of İskenderun. The postcards dated 1910 and 1919 verify that these photographs were taken during the Ottoman period (Appendices 6-8).



Figure 4.27: The Bank of Syria and Lebanon located on the *Rue Beauregard* (after 1939 named as *Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak Street*) (Photo was taken by the author)

In Jacquot's book (1931) he drew the plan of İskenderun in 1930. It is seen that the Bank of Syria and Lebanon was located on the *Rue Beauregard* (after 1939 named as *Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak Street*) (Figures 4.28).

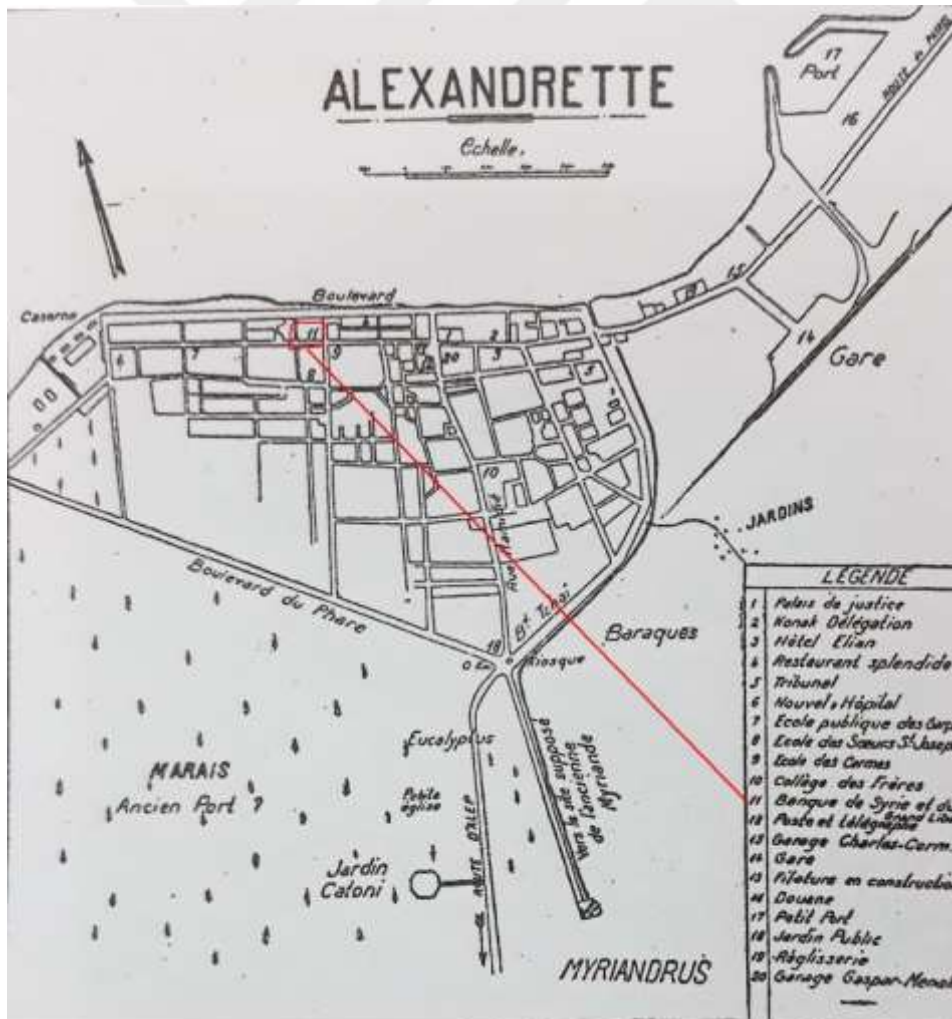


Figure 4.28: The Plan of İskenderun in 1930 (Jacquot, 1931, p.63)



On the other hand, the Bank of Syria and Lebanon was moved to its new location on a corner plot facing to Public Park (*Millet Bahçesi*) and Cayla Boulevard (*Atatürk Boulevard*). The bank was designed in 1929 by a French architect E. Chenille (Aslanoğlu, 2001, p.93). According to Açıkgöz, the bank which was built in 1929-1930 had a “colonial touch”. Likewise the other branches of the bank established in Aleppo and Damascus it had similar architectural outlook (Açıkgöz, 2008, p.134). It is seen that the building has an eclectic manner peculiar to its period. In Jacquot’s book (1931) he drew the plan of İskenderun. Based on visual information provided by this map the new building of the bank should have been built after 1930 (Figures 4.29-4.32). Garbioğlu claims that the bank was opened on March 17, 1939 in the time of when Hatay joined to Turkey, but was closed again in 1940. The building was renovated in 1951 and was opened again (Garbioğlu, 2017, pp 81-82). Today, the bank serves as the İskenderun Central Bank (*Merkez Bankası*).

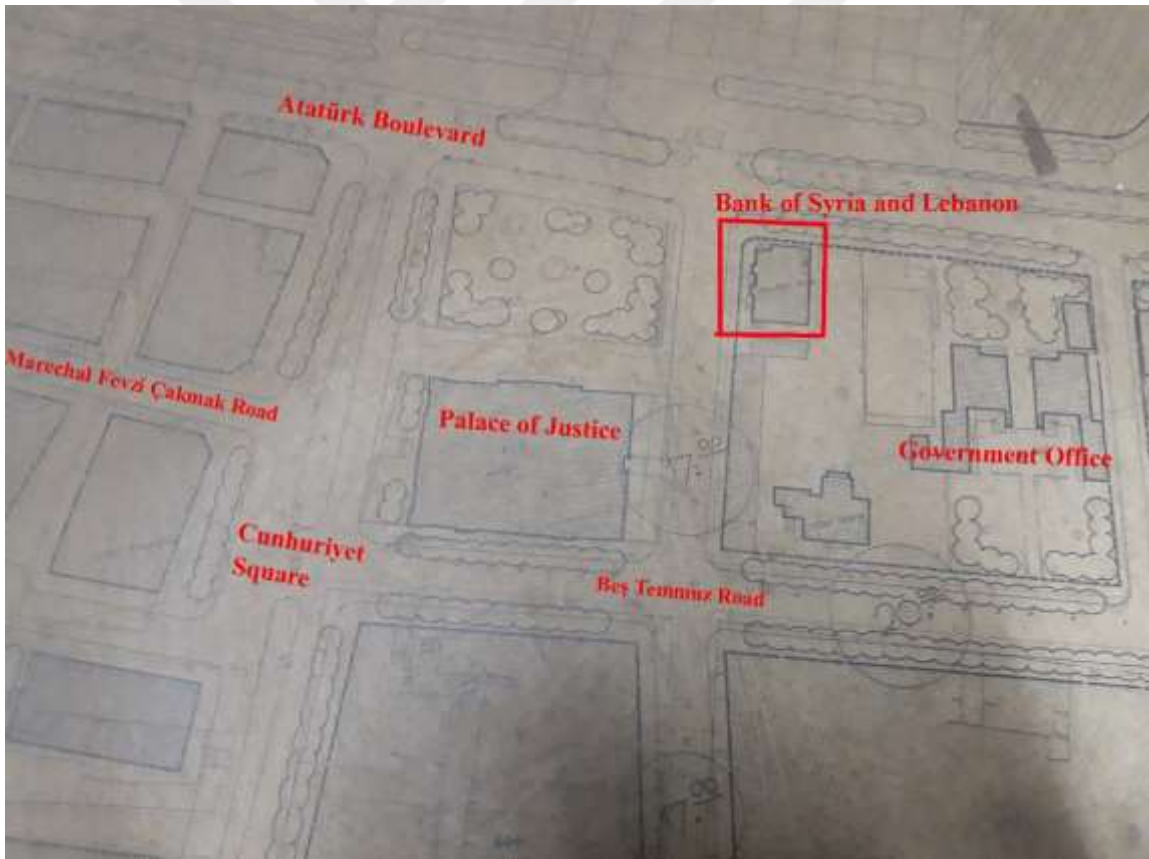


Figure 4.29: New Building of the Bank of Syria and Lebanon (*Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban*) on Atatürk Boulevard (the Archive of İB)<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> It is not known the date of the maps obtained from İskenderun municipality. As a result of the research made, it is thought to be the development map dates to 1970s since the stadium of İskenderun is seen on this map which was opened in 1967.

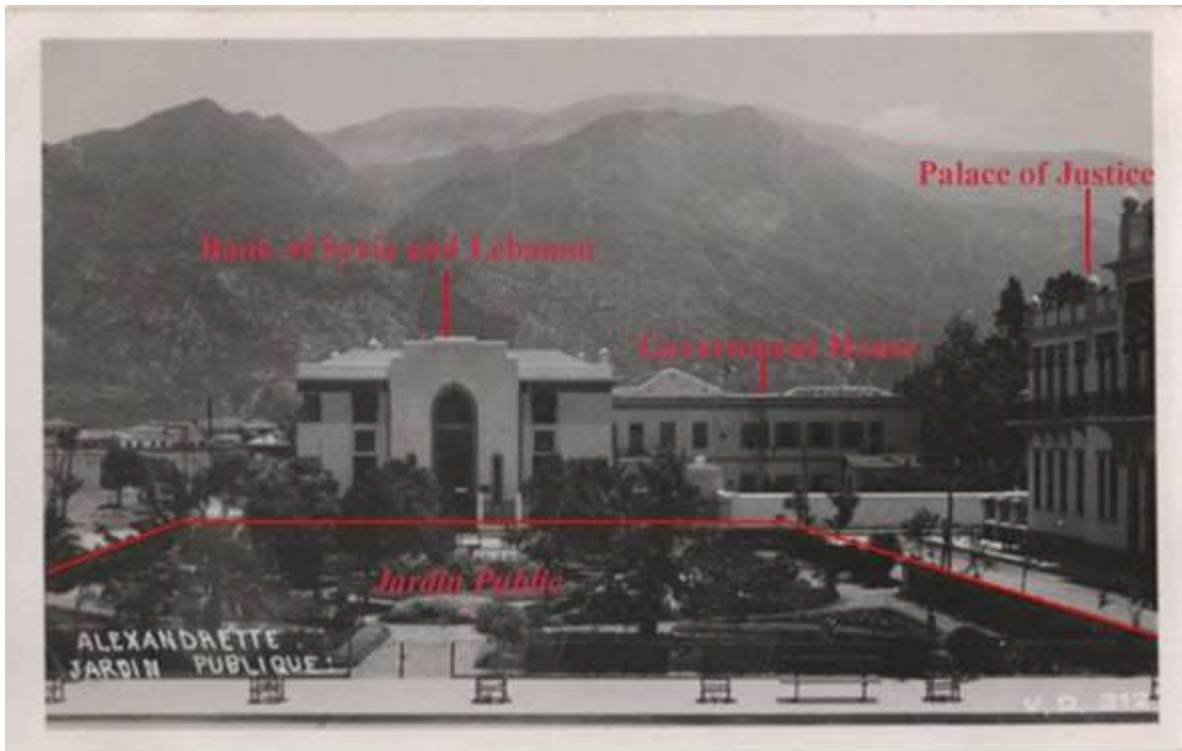


Figure 4.30 New Building of the Bank of Syria and Lebanon (*Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban*) in 1934 (Url-35)



Figure 4.31: New Building of the Bank of Syria and Lebanon (*Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban*) on Cayla Boulevard (Mursaloğlu, 2000, p.15)

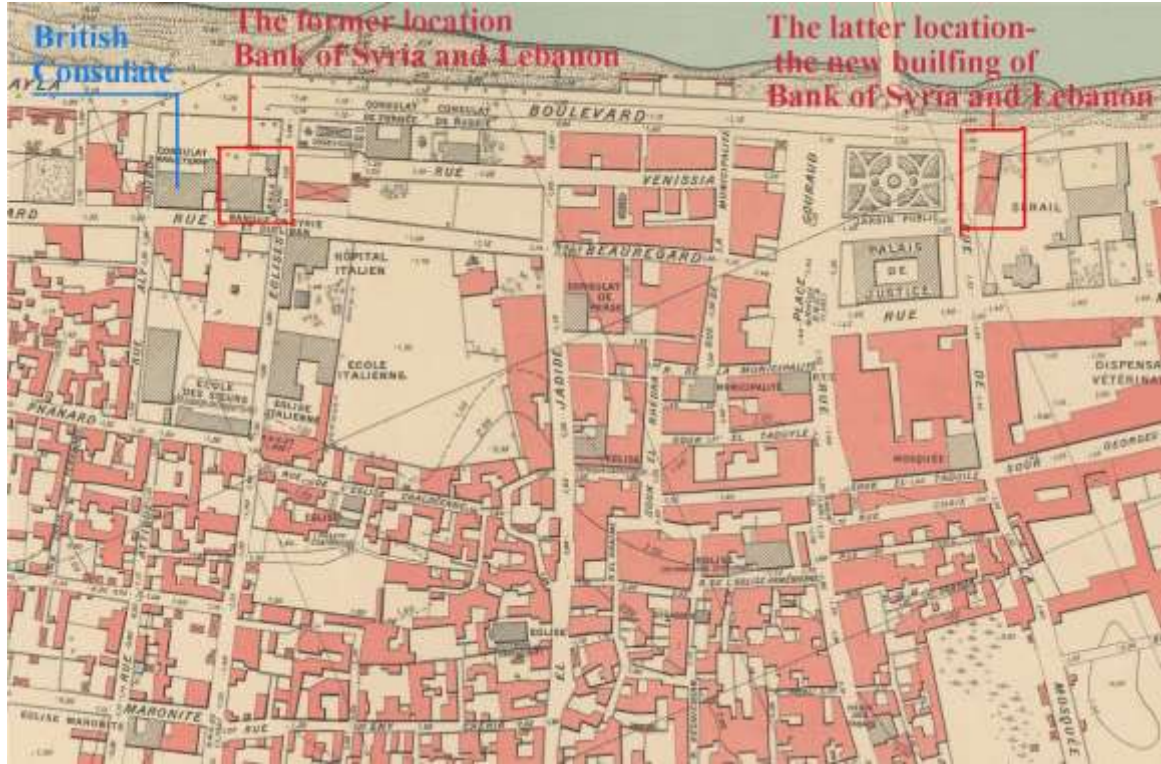


Figure 4.32: The former and the Latter Location the Bank of Syria and Lebanon (Url-21)

The other important building on Cayla Boulevard is the Chamber of Commerce remained from French Mandate period (Figure 4.33). The first building of the Chamber of Commerce was established in 1920 as an independent chamber on an unknown place. According to the book titled *Alexandrette* (1931), the President of the Chamber of Commerce was Emile Makzoume who built the building covering its expenses from his budget in 1933<sup>35</sup> (Figure 4.34). The building was used as the Chamber of Commerce and Industry right after the annexation until Sümerbank purchased it from Makzume family in the 1950s.<sup>36</sup> In the 1950s, İskenderun Chamber of Commerce and Industry moved to its new building on Atatürk Boulevard. The drawings of the new building of İskenderun Chamber of Commerce and Industry were designed by Associate Professor Dr. Leman Tomsu from İstanbul Technical University (*İskenderun Newspaper*, 1953)<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Erol Makzume said that their surname was Makzuomé in French, but later it came to called as Makzume (from the interview made in 2018)

<sup>36</sup> Erol Makzume said that his father Antuvan Makzume and his aunt Polet Levante sold this building in 1950s (from the interview made in 2018). In addition, since the plans of the original building were drawn in 1956 by Sümerbank employees, the building must have been purchased before 1956. The first drawings were made on the original building and they added 2 more floors in addition to the building consisting of 3 floors. However, it is understood that the building was decided to be demolished later, a new building was designed.

<sup>37</sup> “İskenderun ticaret ve sanayi odasının temel atma merasimi dün yapıldı” (*İskenderun Gazetesi*, 1953, December 10, 1785).

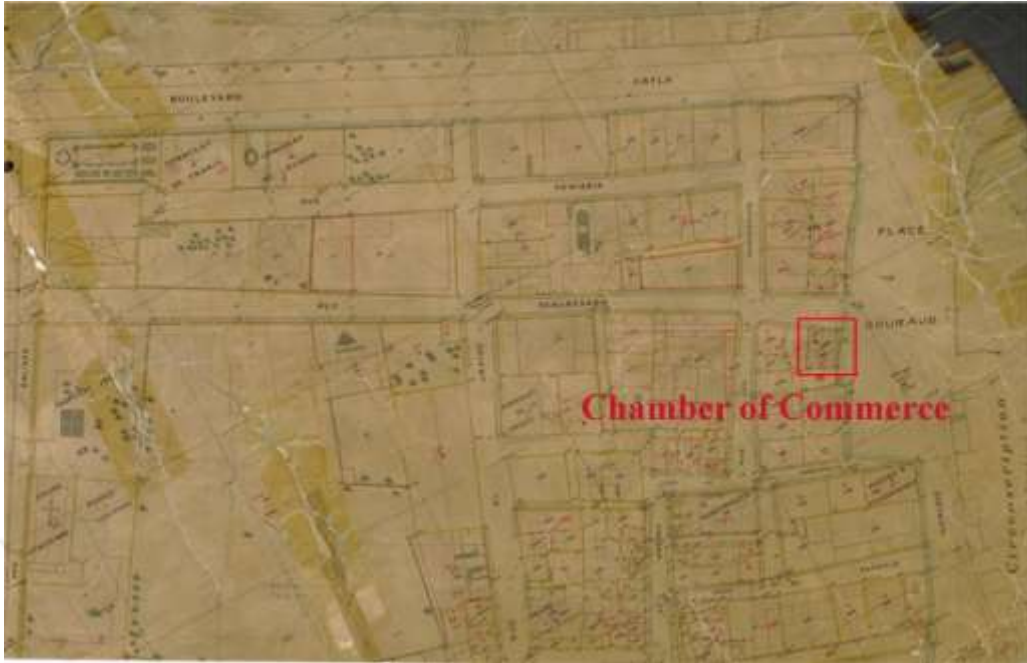


Figure 4.33: The Location of Chamber of Commerce on the French Cadastral Map (the Archive of İTM)

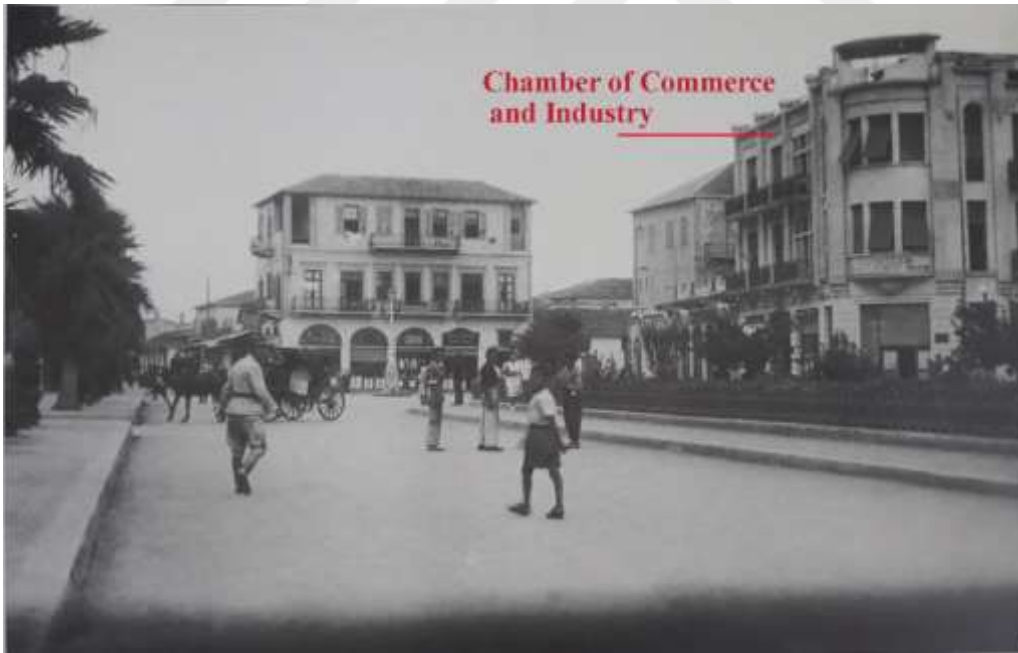


Figure 4.34: The Chamber of Commerce and Industry (1939-1940) (Mursaloğlu, n.d, p.53)

Thus, the land which the Chamber of Commerce and Industry was located was sold to Sümerbank. After that a building with a completely different facade was built with modern lines (Figure 4.35). The initial step for foundation of Sümerbank in İskenderun was taken upon the

decree issued in 1943. However, it is not known whether the building opened a branch in the city until the construction of the building completed in 1961<sup>38</sup>. As mentioned above, this building on Cumhuriyet Square was purchased by Sümerbank:

For a while, preparations for the opening of a Sümerbank sales store and a bank branch in our city have been completed, and the handover and delivery transaction of the *Eski Konak Otel* which was purchased by the Sümerbank General Directorate was completed (*İskenderun Gazetesi*, 1958)<sup>39</sup>.

The demolition of the Eski Konak Hotel on Cumhuriyet Square which was purchased by the Sümerbank General Directorate ended. According to the information given, a large building will be built again in the meantime. The ground floor of the new building will be allocated to Sümerbank sales stores, the second floor will be allocated to the bank section, and the third floor will be allocated to the housing of civil servants (*Kuvvet Gazetesi*, 1959)<sup>40</sup>.



Figure 4.35: The Sümerbank Building in the 1960s (Url-36)

<sup>38</sup> The construction of the Sümerbank building was completed in 1961. For more information please See, *İskenderun Gazetesi*, July 29, 1961. Please see the drawings of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry building, and the Sümerbank building in Appendix 9.

<sup>39</sup> “Sümerbank şhrimizde bir satış mağazası açıyor” (*İskenderun Gazetesi*, 1958, January 18, 3047).

<sup>40</sup> “Sümerbankın satın aldığı bina” (*Kuvvet Gazetesi*, 1959, January 3, 1(62)).

According to those newspapers, before Sümerbank bought this building there was a hotel named as Eski Konak Hotel. According to research made, the building was used as a Chamber of Commerce and Industry in the 1940s until it was sold to Sümerbank in the 1950s. There is no information on hand, if this statement was correct then after its sale the building might have been converted into a hotel named as Eski Konak. It is also known that İş Bank was found on the first floor for a while.

It is thought that the building next to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry was built during the Ottoman period. In the French period this building might have been modified to be used as a coffee house.<sup>41</sup> This might have continued with the same function until it was appropriated to *Yapı ve Kredi Bankası*. In 1947, a decree was signed regarding the opening of Yapı ve Kredi Bank Branch in İskenderun (*Sicilli Ticaret ve Kanuni İlanlar Gazetesi*, 1947)<sup>42</sup> (Figure 4.36). There is still a branch office there which is a multi-storey building which seems quite different from its old situation.



Figure 4.36: Yapı ve Kredi Bank in the late 1940s-1950s on Cumhuriyet Square (the Archive of Mine Temiz)

<sup>41</sup> A coffee house was written on the ground floor of the plans copied from Emile Makzume's plans of Sümerbank (1933).

<sup>42</sup> “İskenderun ticaret ve sanayi odasından (sicil no.778)” (*Sicilli Ticaret ve Kanuni İlanlar Gazetesi*, 1947, November 1, 7(169-170). Please see the decree in Appendix 10.

Another bank building located on Atatürk Bulvarı is the Ottoman Bank. The date of its construction is unknown. Garbioğlu stated that the Ottoman Bank existed in İskenderun in 1913. It was one of the earliest buildings of twentieth century that was not survived today (Garbioğlu, 2017, p.101). In the report written by the British Consul to Aleppo Province in 1914 before the First World War, the Imperial Ottoman Bank opened a sub-branch in İskenderun to be affiliated with its branch in Aleppo. This branch remained open for several years. It provided great service for the traders during their stay (Kalaycı, 2020, p.116).<sup>43</sup>

According to *Sicilli Ticaret ve Kanuni İlanlar Gazetesi* ( 1948, July 1), the Ottoman Bank reported that they opened a branch in İskenderun in 1948 on the parallel road of Cayla Boulevard named as *5 Temmuz Caddesi* after 1939 (named as Marechal Foch in French period) built in 1948. Apparently, they built a new building on Atatürk Boulevard later on (Figure 4.37). Today, this building is still there named as Garanti Bank.



Figure 4.37: The Ottoman Bank in the Late 1940s-1950s in Atatürk Boulevard (the Archive of SALT Research, Url 37-40)

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<sup>43</sup> In addition to Imperial Ottoman Bank, a branch of Deutsche Palestina Bank was opened in İskenderun in 1913 (Kalaycı, 2020, p.116).

Another relatively new bank building constructed on Atatürk Boulevard just further of the Ottoman Bank is Etibank. It was written in İskenderun newspaper that the bank which played a major role in terms of banking for many years started its operations in its new building on the coastline after a ceremony held in 1954 (*İskenderun Gazetesi*, 1954).<sup>44</sup>

Much newer bank building on Atatürk Boulevard is the Ziraat Bank. In 1946 they opened a branch on *Mareşal Çakmak Caddesi* numbered 55 (*Sicilli Ticaret ve Kanuni İlanlar Gazetesi*, 1946) and moved to its new building on Atatürk Boulevard in 1950 (*Sicilli Ticaret ve Kanuni İlanlar Gazetesi*, 1950). Indeed, *Mareşal Çakmak Caddesi* numbered 55 was the first place where the Central Bank was opened in İskenderun. It is thought that Ziraat Bank moved here after the move of Central Bank from its previous location (Figure 4.38).



Figure 4.38: The Ottoman Bank, Ziraat Bank and Etibank in the 1960s-1970s on Atatürk Boulevard (Image 1, *Şehr-i Hatay*, p.262; Image 2, Url-41; Image 3, *Şehr-i Hatay*, p.254; Image 4, The Archive of İB)

<sup>44</sup>“Etibank İskenderun şubesi yeni binasında faaliyete geçti” (*İskenderun Gazetesi*, 1954, November 19, (2061).



Among the buildings located on Cayla Bouvelard there is one exceptional building constructed right before the annexation is worthy of attention. That is the People's House building which is loaded with symbolic meanings. The People's Houses were the ideological, educational and cultural institutions of the 1930s which not only aimed to create a new society and new way of life through Kemalism but also acted as a vehicle in awakening nationalist consciousness among the Turkish inhabitants of the city. The buildings of People's Houses were generally located on *Cumhuriyet Meydanları* which presents a new kind of square developed in early Republican cities. Buildings of People's Houses (likewise Governmental House and Municipality Buildings) acted as the landmark of the state and visual representation of the modern and national state.

People's Houses took an active role in dissemination and internalization of such reforms in Hatay. In the 1930s there was a chaotic period in the Sanjak of Alexandretta in terms of activities conducted by ethnic communities. Cultural propaganda became a common attempt not only for Turkish nationalists but also for other communities living in the sanjak. Cultural activities implemented by those communities were announced society through the power of press. It became a model for passive resistance and struggle in the region.

People's Houses in Hatay which was built beyond the borders of Turkey were opened under French mandate in 1937. People's Houses in Hatay had a special position unlike the other People's Houses established at that time in Turkey. People's Houses in Hatay have two periods; first one is the propaganda period which can be regarded as a call to Turkish community living in the Sanjak of Alexandretta to awake their nationalist sentiments. The organization of People's House began directly with the nationalist propaganda. Second one is the period which People's Houses became a tool for creating national identity among the multi-ethnic communities and adapting/transferring all revolutions implemented in Turkey to Hatay.

In the period of State of Hatay, new consulate buildings were planned to build in İskenderun and Antakya. However, instead of building new ones which was impossible to achieve under ruling authority, consulate buildings were converted into People's Houses in İskenderun and Antakya. In a document dated 27 April 1939 mentioned about this issue. The Prime Minister pointed out that new consulate building projects planned to be built in İskenderun and Antakya would be appropriated to the People's Houses since there was no need for a consulate

building.<sup>45</sup> In 29 June 1939, the Parliament declared that Hatay is united with Turkey. As Payaslı said (2017, pp.331-332), the new building of Antakya People's House was built next to the Governor's house in December 1939.<sup>46</sup> In addition, a new building for People's House was simultaneously built in İskenderun (Figure 4.39). It can be seen on the contemporary journal named *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* that these two new buildings went out to tender and thus, built at the same time.<sup>47</sup> It is seen that People's Houses which is one of the important structures to present Turkish identity was also built in Hatay so fast. The projects of the People's Houses in Antakya and İskenderun were designed in the period of Hatay State and the constructions were completed in six months as a province participating to Turkey with 16 years delay.

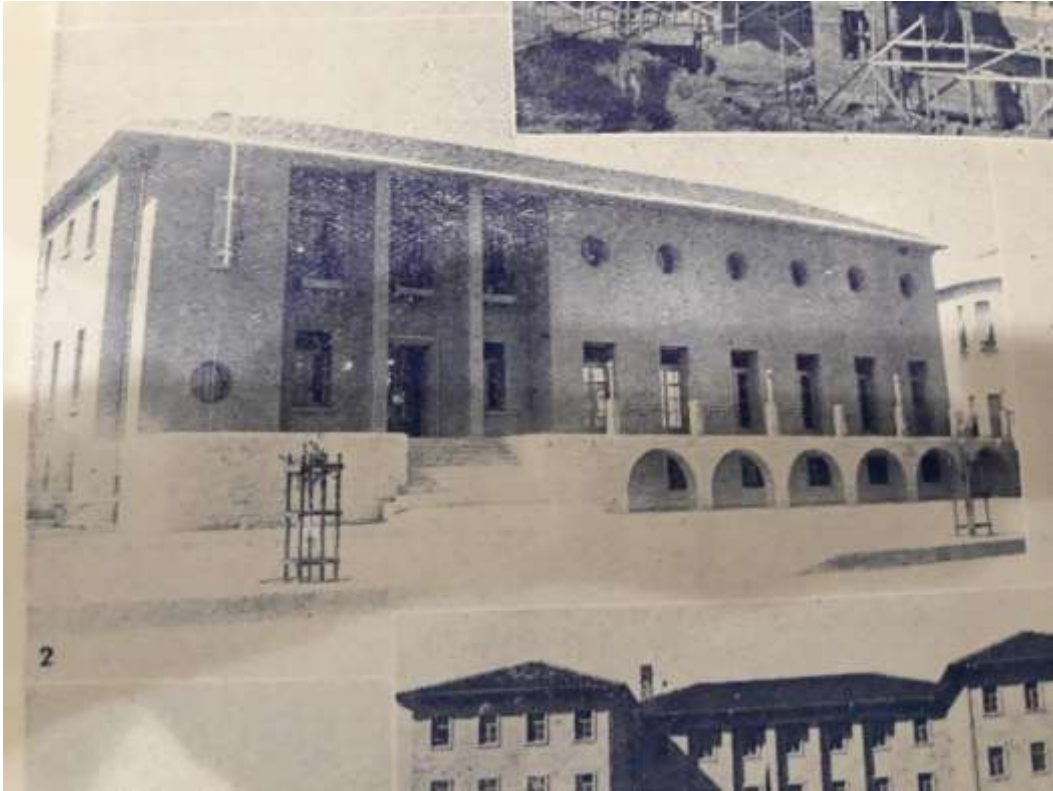


Figure 4.39: The People's House in İskenderun (*Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi*, October, 1940, p.5)

The political power at that time aimed to make nationalist ideology more apparent and visible on *Cumhuriyet Meydanları*. People's Houses, as the representation of the regime by including

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<sup>45</sup> This document was obtained from *Devlet Arşivleri* (Appendix 11).

<sup>46</sup> *Yeniğün*, 8 İlkânun 1939, "the new building of the People's House is being completed." (Appendix 12).

<sup>47</sup> *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi*, November, 1940,7(6) p.66. In the section of provisional acceptance documents approved by Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reisliği; it is seen that the People's Houses in Antakya and İskenderun had provisional acceptance. The estimated cost for that was 9650 Sterling.

other official structures were established domination to the road, the square and the city. (Gurallar-Yeşilkaya, 1999, pp.140-143). İskenderun People's House located on the coastline which was opened on the main boulevard during the French period was renamed as Atatürk Boulevard as of 1939 (Figure 4.40).

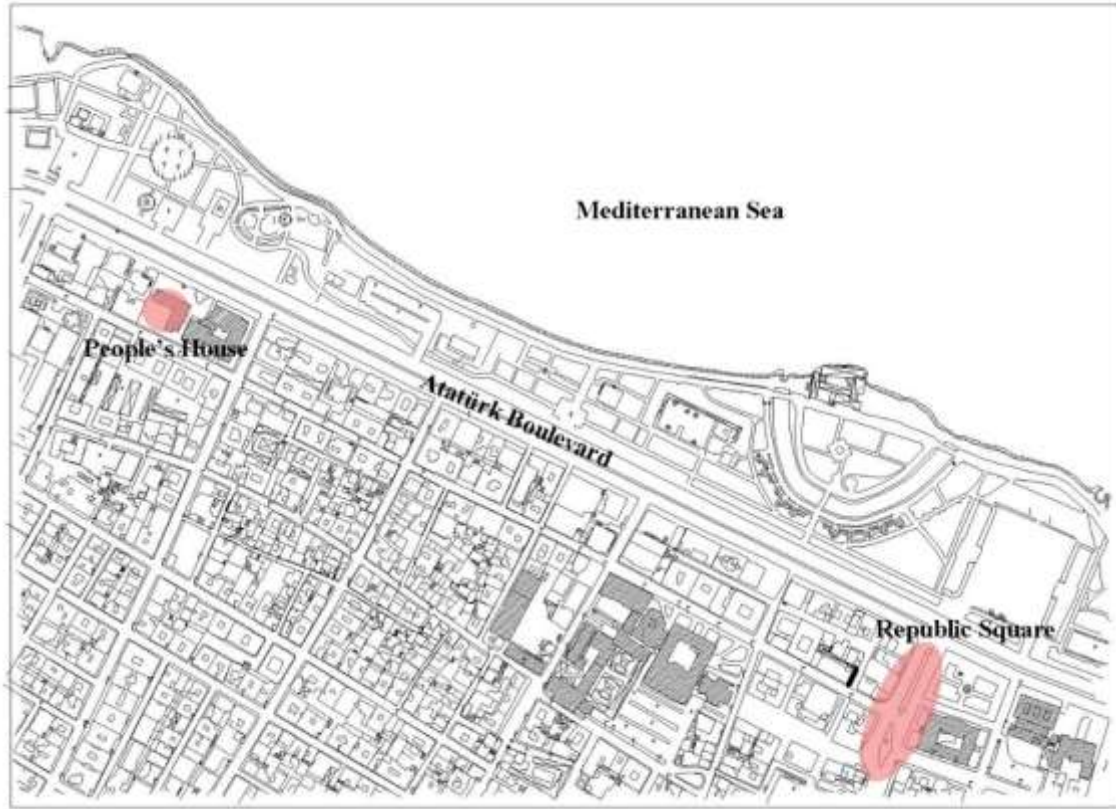


Figure 4.40: The People's House of İskenderun (The Archive of İB)

Although the building of People's House in İskenderun is not found exactly on square, it is very similar to the ones found in Turkey in terms of its location in the city and architectural planning. The People's House has simple forms and has square plan scheme with three floors<sup>48</sup> (Figure 4.41). The building contains the basic and most recognizable features of the 1930s and 1940s. It is seen that the buildings have plain surfaces and windows or continuous window sills, and the use of high colonnades for entrances and modernist formal elements such as circular windows. The feature of the People's House in İskenderun is quite suitable for how modern architecture has been described in that period. However, it is also possible to assert that this building has classical features like colonnades or pitched roofs instead of flat roofs.

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<sup>48</sup> For İskenderun, please see also *Hatay Kültür Envanteri Cilt II İlçeler*, p.311; for further information on Antakya, please see *Hatay Kültür Envanteri Cilt I Antakya*, p.562.

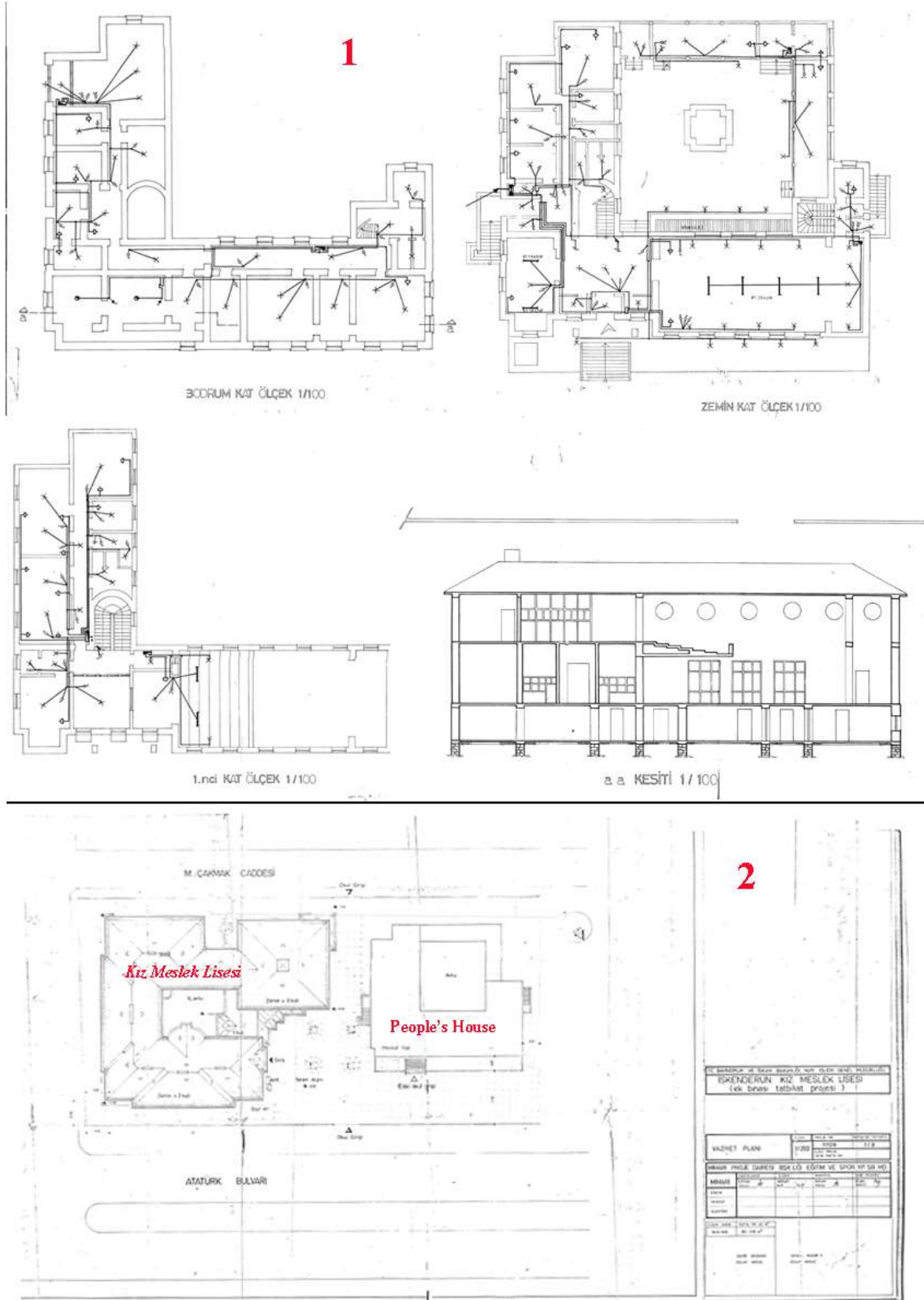


Figure 4.41: The People's House of İskenderun (The Archive of İKML)

On the other hand, architectural style of the People's House in İskenderun is distinguished from the rest of the buildings in its vicinity. Because the architectural style of the Sanjak of Alexandretta under the French Mandate was mostly eclectic style that is the adaptation of historical styles to modern architectural principles or vernacular architecture with the use of decorative elements. Therefore, People's House in İskenderun can be regarded as an extension and reflection of the early Republican architecture in the 1930s. Moreover, they were the symbols of the existence and power of the new regime and the state. According to Gurallar Yeşilkaya, People's Houses are integrated with the "image" of official buildings, leaves a mark on "public memory (Gurallar-Yeşilkaya, 1999, p.142). People's Houses in İskenderun and Antakya can be called as the landmark of modern and national Turkish ideology with its aim, meaning and building in a multi-ethnic/cultural/lingual city.

People's Houses carried out its activities in 9 branches until it was closed by the Democratic Party in 1951. After it was closed, this building was used as İskenderun Girls' Institute (*İskenderun Kız Enstitüsü*). The building has come to be used today as an educational building named as *Kız Meslek Lisesi*.

The architectural features of the houses built on Cayla Bouelvard were mostly villa type residences with gardens in the early 1930s. These residences are quite peculiar to İskenderun, not fits to the models found in other regions of Hatay. With their two-storey, double-column verandas, asymmetrical masses, the beveled corners of some rooms, the towering corner extensions, the roofs being hidden behind the raised walls, tiled mosaic flooring and the window shapes and partitions, these residential buildings seem to have been created by the same architect. As a matter of fact, it is known that the architect of at least two of the villa type residences were Italian architect Alfred Benuni of Jewish origin. Apart from some details, foreign influences are seen on these houses rather than traditional forms. Its asymmetrical plan and masses can be attributed to the picturesque flow, the towering heights of the Italian villa with towers, the verandas of Indian origin and seen in colonial house architecture (Aslanoğlu, 2001, pp.93-94) (Figures 4.42-4.43).

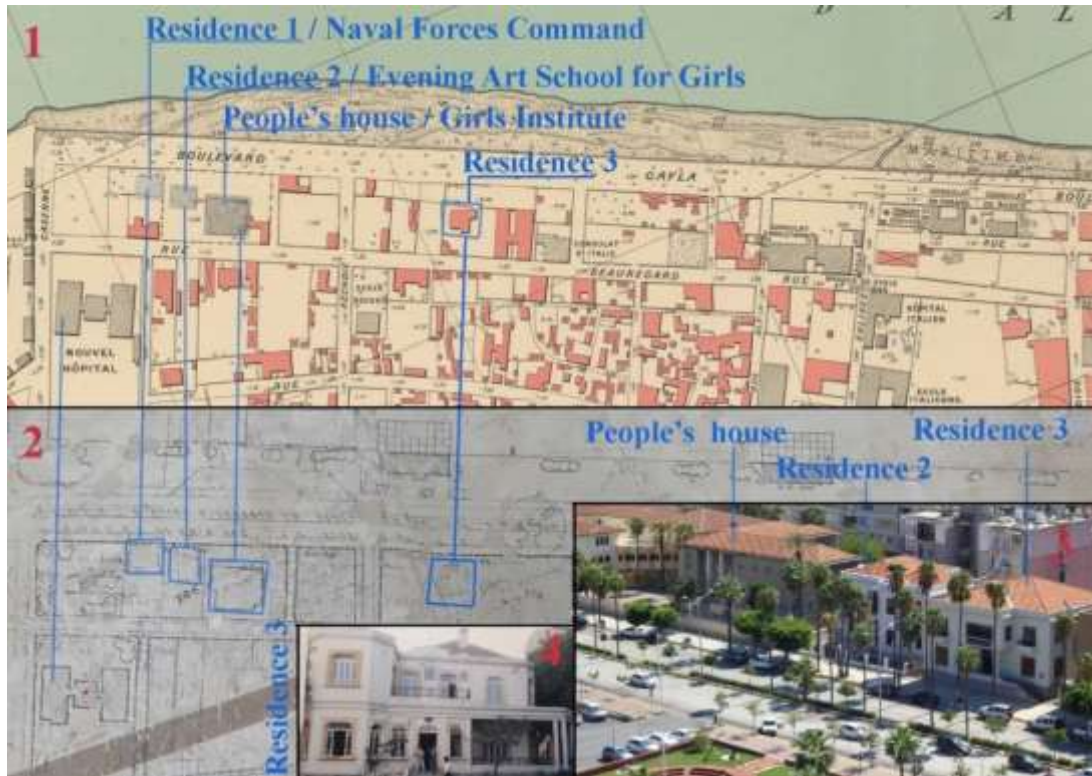


Figure 4.42: Residences on Atatürk Boulevard (Image 1, Url 21; Image 2 & Image 3, the Archive of İB; Image 4, the Archive of Mine Temiz)

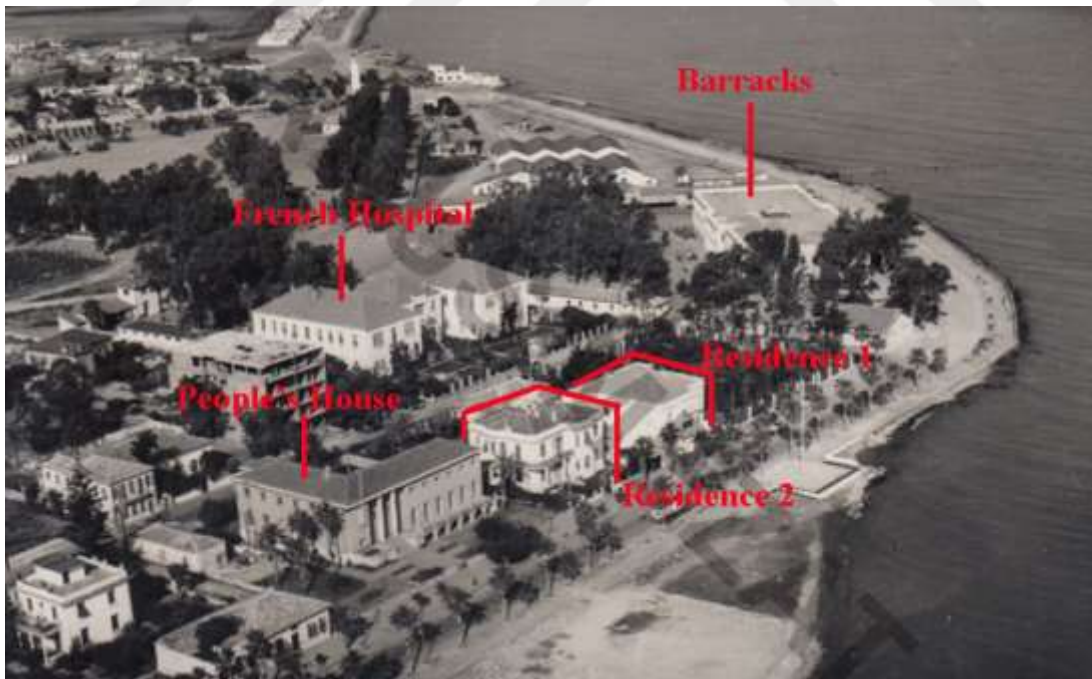


Figure 4.43: Residences on Atatürk Boulevard (Url-42)

#### 4.2. Urban Narratives: Blend of Cultures and Witness Memory

İskenderun has been the subject of many travel writings over the centuries. By alluding the places near the sea an officer described the cute and humble town with a beautiful landscape in 1890:

İskenderun is a district of Aleppo, and is a beautiful and cute town, 1500 of which have houses, shops and stores. It is surrounded by gardens, most of which are full of lemon, orange and other fruit trees. 5-10 ships arrive in front of the city in a week and they transport goods and grain. Since the port is not suitable, the ships anchor a little away from the shore (Tekin, 2000, p.118).

After his travel in 1909, a journalist Ahmet Şerif shared his observations on İskenderun in the Tanin Newspaper.

The seaside, where mostly foreigners live, is prosperous and beautiful. There is a view of misery in the inner neighborhoods where the people live. Most of them live in huts called hug, which are made of reed. Moral corruption and misery are common. Both the poor and the rich are addicted to gambling. There is nothing in the name of peace and order (Figure 4.44).

İskenderun where a hybrid lifestyle is lived, has a polished face and is covered with tulle. When you lift the curtain, you meet with sadness and disgust (Tekin, 2000, p.167).



Figure 4.44: Huts in the Inner Neighborhoods of İskenderun (1921) (Url-43)

Şerif makes a contrast between the unfavourable conditions of the inner parts of the city filled with problems and the seaside that offers a pleasant life (Figure 4.45). It is striking that he called the city “a hybrid of lifestyle”.



Figure 4.45: İskenderun in Ottoman Period in the early 1900s (Sandalcı, 2013, p.13)

İskenderun has been also the subject of many novels. One is the book titled *Sen de Gitme Triyandafilis* written by Ayla Kutlu who expresses that İskenderun was positioned in a region which is sacred for all religions. Ottoman Empire had multi cultural society that host various races, religions and sects on its lands. In addition, the city was also attractive to the people from distant countries. She claims that the society have learned how to live together. Thus, it became a a different world with its multi cultural structure ie. food, clothing, family institution, and taste. Most importantly, she says that there is a belief in the society that all the people must be friends with each other (Kutlu, 2009, pp.211-212) (Figure 4.46). Another book describing İskenderun was titled *Tammura: İskenderun Zeybek Sokak Hikayeleri* and written by Recep Yıldırım. He points out that the people of *Zeybek Sokak* consisted of many nations and sects such as Arab, Greek, Armenian, Turkish, Syriac; Jew, Alawite, Sunni, Orthodox, Catholic, Maronite, Chaldean (2016, p.5). It is clearly seen that, as both authors Ayla Kutlu and Recep Yıldırım said, there is cultural diversity in the city. The city has multi-cultural, multi-ethnicity, multi-religion and multi-language structure since the ancient times.





Figure 4.46: The People of İskenderun (Sandalcı, 2013, p.53)

The novel titled *Acı Deniz* written by Ziya Ünsel pointed out that the French did the asphalt, as they did in all of its colonies. As soon as the French took Hatay, their first task was to connect important centers to each other. Thus, they connected their major inland cities such as Aleppo and Damascus to İskenderun which is considered to be the best of the Mediterranean ports. Especially in colonialism, roads are of great importance in military and economic terms. They also received the sympathy of the locals providing a service of asphalt roads to the city dwellers (Ünsel, 2017, p.75) (Figure 4.47).

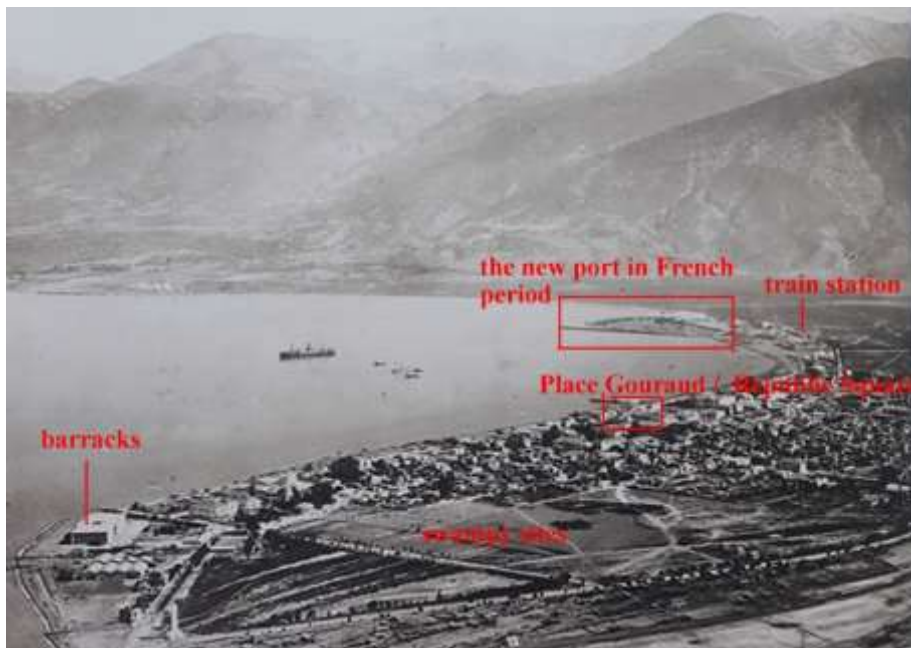


Figure 4.47: İskenderun in 1938 (Mursaloğlu, 2017, p.314)

Burhan Günel claims in his book titled *Sonsuz Aşkım Hatay* that the colonizer has a tendency of bringing a style which is reminiscent of their culture. The attempt is to establish structures deliberately reminiscent of the French style but rather different from those in France since colonialism requires a kind of sensitivity. It means to remark an architectural stamp on where the colonizer goes. For this reason, the French used local characteristics in the buildings as the way they acted in other colonies (Günel, 2006, p.149). Considering the attitude of colonial policy towards education, in the article by Ali Enver Toksoy titled *Hatay ve Şehirleri* (1941-1942), he says that Turkish education was undermined after French occupation in 1918. One of the main goals of the colonial policy of the Mandate Administration was to ruin the Turkish education life. French brought foreign teachers to Turkish elementary schools, as well as established more than a dozen minority schools in various areas in the sanjak (p. 48).

In a daily newspaper *Yeniğün* dated 15 October 1939, the article titled “*Hatay’ı Gezerken*” claims that today's İskenderun consists of a few poor and dirty neighborhoods behind a neat dock of more than one kilometer. Beside this, the streets are straight and open to each other, they are suitable for all kinds of public improvements. Another important news about the city in *Yeniğün* dated 27 November 1939, was about the change of the streets and roads. The article titled “*Cadde ve sokak adları yeni adlarla değiştiriliyor*” wrote that Antakya Municipality would change the street names. It is most likely that the street names were also changed in İskenderun at the same time. For example, Hamidiye Road was renamed as İnönü Road and Marechal Foch Road was renamed as 5 Temmuz Road immediately after the annexation of Hatay to Turkey. Similarly, the names of the streets and roads were replaced by the French names immediately after the occupation of İskenderun by the French.

Another book of Ünsel titled *Mutlu Güney* defines the coast as “exotic” when he went to İskenderun for the first time a year after the annexation:

I went to İskenderun for the first time a year after the annexation. At that time, there were buildings of the embassies at the seaside, expensive hotels, houses with window shutters, derelict lands, one or two clubs with seats that are made of reed of corn and a luxurious garden restaurant. The seats under the palm trees, even in the evening would be very desolate. Arabic songs from radios would spread around. Anyone passing by would speak Arabic. Men wearing baggy trousers woven white cocoon silk would sit here and there. This coastline which was completely exotic at that time is now completely ours. (Ünsel, 1963, p.14) (Figure 4.48).



Figure 4.48: The People of İskenderun in 1938-1939 (Mursaloğlu, n.d., p.55)

Ali Enver Toksoy (1941), in his article *İskenderun* dated 9 May 1941, states that the education and cultural life in İskenderun is *en avant*.

The Mandate Administration showed a superior interest in terms of zoning compared to other cities in the region, as İskenderun was the center of the Sanjak. For example, they installed underground installations such as water, electricity and sewerage, opened wide streets and paved asphalt, planted trees on both sides of these two streets, established a slaughterhouse, a marketplace, a public toilet, a park, and a modern cemetery. The municipality carries out a continuous activity to provide the remaining public needs of the city which was adorned with many official and private large buildings, restaurants, casinos, hotels, cinemas and shops (Toksoy, 1941, p.53) (Figure 4.49).



Figure 4.49: Cayla Boulevard in the 1930s (*Şehr-i Hatay*, p.202)

Toksoy mentions in the article about the Memleket Hospital which was the barracks of the Ottoman period and later used as the barracks and military hospital in the French period (Figure 4.50).

The Government of the Republic took the sanitary precautions required in the town and transformed the Memleket Hospital into a modern one with new materials and equipment. The marshes on the side of the town make worse of the city air and for this reason, malaria- infected people become an important amount. These marshes are the only reason why İskenderun which has a population of eleven thousand today cannot become crowded (Toksoy, 1941, p.53).



Figure 4.50: The Memkelet Hospital in 1941 (Toksoy, 1941-1942, p.46)

Ali Enver Toksoy (1941), in his article *İskenderun* dated 9 May 1941, mentions that “the newly built People’s House is a very beautiful and magnificent building which is becoming more and more beneficial to the neighborhood” (p.53). In his other book titled *Hatay ve Şehirleri* (1941-1942), he says that despite the delay of the People’s House in Hatay it played a big role in participation to Turkey. Despite being under foreign occupation and authority, they did valuable work not only in the field of culture but also in the political area to achieve their mission. These institutions gradually increased its effectiveness. The halls were not only for representations, but also for frequent meetings and regular meetings for various occasions such as concerts, conferences, exhibitions, national days, holidays, balls, and family nights that played an important role in social development. Reading and writing, cutting, sewing and embroidery, nursing, foreign languages and other vocational courses indeed provided great benefits to people. The magazines of those institutions were published, libraries and reading rooms were made available to the public. All kinds of sports were introduced to society, village tours were organized and exhibitions were held (pp.50-52) (Figure 4.51).



Figure 4.51: Swimming Competitions in 1939 (Mursaloğlu, 2000, p.8)

Toksoy pointed out that after the annexation, a program was made including reconstruction of all kinds of modern installations of İskenderun port, an asphalt road between İskenderun and Gaziantep, drying of Amik swamps, the establishment for production of fish, wine, fruit and vegetables, and construction of flour factories would be implemented quickly, yet the emergence of World War II prevented this (p.64). He says that İskenderun is cute and modern. There are two hotels named *Ankara Palas* and *Şehir Palas* which are located in the center and coast of the city. He says that the coachman who understands that you have come with the purpose of traveling would either take you to the *Ankara Palas* or to the *Şehir Palas*<sup>49</sup> (1941-1942, p.70) (Figures 4.52-4.54).

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<sup>49</sup> The real name of *Ankara Palas* in the French period was *Hotel Empire*. This building was built in the French period. It was named as *Ankara Palas* during the Turkish Republic. During the Republic of Hatay, the building was used as Turkish Consulate. *Ankara Palas* was there until the 1970s.



Figure 4.52: *Ankara Palas* on Atatürk Boulevard in the 1940s (*Şehr-i Hatay*, p.218)



Figure 4.53: *Ankara Palas* (the Archive of Tefvik Sayek)



Figure 4.54: *Şehir Palas* on Republic Square in 1947 (The Archive of Mine Temiz)

In addition, *Şehir Palas* was a hotel named *Latif El Manzar* in the Ottoman period and became the building of *Poste et Télégraphe* in French period. In Turkish period, the building was transformed into a hotel renamed as *Şehir Palas* (Figure 4.55).



Figure 4.55: Hotel *Latif El Manzar* in the 1910s (*Şehr-i Hatay*, p.177)

Nuri Tezcan (1941) describes the city of İskenderun in 1940 in his booklet named *İskenderun Kılavuzu* making a kind of inventory of buildings:

There are 2687 houses, 664 shops, 20 inns, 93 business offices, 143 warehouses, 13 restaurants, 12 hotels, 43 coffee shops, 31 bakeries, 8 workshops, 3 baths (one sea bath), 2 printing houses, 1 meat and fish market, 1 slaughterhouse, 6 garages, 2 cinemas, 1 military barracks, 2 pensions, 3 Banks (Ziraat, İş, Merkez), 2 sewing and embroidery dormitories (p.3).

Apart from these, a very modern People's House was built with a cost of 110.000 lira and a military court was established before (p.3)

There are British, French, Greek, Iranian and Italian Consulates in the city (p.4).

There are three public parks in the city. The most elegant of these is the park with a pool around (Atatürk Boulevard) and opposite the pier (p.4).

The municipality endeavors to the general cleaning of the city, to watering the city and to take care of the trees along the streets and flowers in the parks (p.4).

There is also a regular sewerage system in the city (p.4).

There are total road 17 km in the city. 10.5 kilometers of these are asphalt. The avenues and streets are 8-22 meters wide. Both sides of the public streets are paved with cement plates. The city is the product of a regular sketch, consisting of streets that intersect each other, and houses built in modern style (p.6).

The current electricity factory was established in 1926 (p.6).

In his book titled *Mutlu Güney*, Ziya Ünsel who went to İskenderun twice, a year after the annexation in 1940 and in early 1960s, describes the city in detail. He says that coastline in İskenderun means İskenderun. He mentions the palm trees of İskenderun, its coastline full of coffee shops, cafes and restaurants. Planted eucalypts are on the sides of the roads. Coastline which is very quiet during the day is very crowded in the evenings. So, it overflows from the coastal cafes, coastline sideways and palm trees to the sea. He says that people would walk in the middle of the road, but not from the sidewalks (Figure 4.56). He says that coastline in İskenderun sparkles with its asphalt, coffees, casinos and restaurants, yet its back streets and slums had the opposite impact (Figure 4.57). Comparing it to other port cities (Genova and Marseille), he mentions that the back streets of the city is another world inhabited by sailors, crewmen, dockers, slang-speaking adventurers and fond vagrants. In the back streets, there are fishermen's taverns where wine is made, kebab shops selling open wine and basic cook shops. The whole harbor used to eat and have fun there. He says that the streets a little further ahead are like the streets of Arab cities, with huge curved stone pavements and their paths like riddles. Most of the houses are single-storey, louvered, and all had high-walled courtyards. Most of the houses had a garden pond and a beautiful landscape with a palm, banana tree, or other tropic plants springing from inside of these courtyards over the walls. He says that there were also primitive huts found in the remote districts of the city (Ünsel, 1963, pp.13-21).





Figure 4.56: People Walking along the Atatürk Boulevard (Url-44)



Figure 4.57: A Tea Garden on the Atatürk Boulevard in the 1950s (*Şehr-i Hatay*, p.241)

Ünsel says that when he came after the annexation, he saw a building on Atatürk Boulevard which was one of the consulates, most likely the French consulate. This structure has existed since the Ottoman times. After his second visit of İskenderun he mentions that this building was reused as the Officer's Club in the 1960s. The building shown further on the image is one of the new apartments. Ünsel says that this boulevard, famous for its palm trees, is a promenade in the evening (1963, pp.35-36) (Figure 4.58).

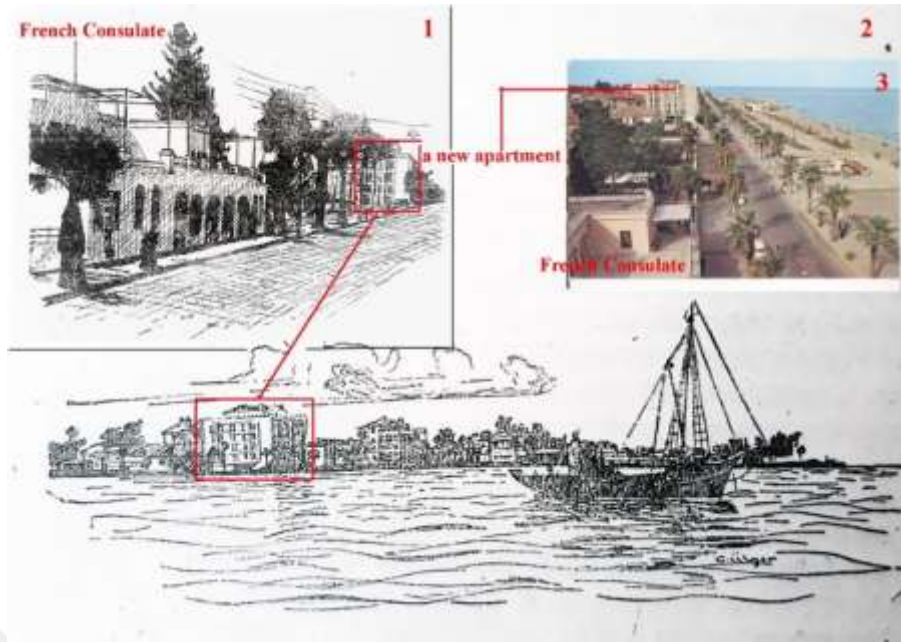


Figure 4.58: A View from the Coast along the Boulevard in early 1960s (Image 1, Ünsel, 1963, p.35; Image 2, Ünsel, 1963, p.132; Atatürk Boulevard (Image 3, Url-45)

Ünsel says that the French left their mark on İskenderun for many years in İskenderun. Ünsel mentions the building which was built as a Courthouse in the time of the French used as the governmental office. The spaces facing the asphalt of this building is used as the Post Office. He describes that every city has a square, the most famous of which is the Ulus square, yet the square in İskenderun is quite obscure (Ünsel, 1963, pp. 126-130) (Figure 4.59).

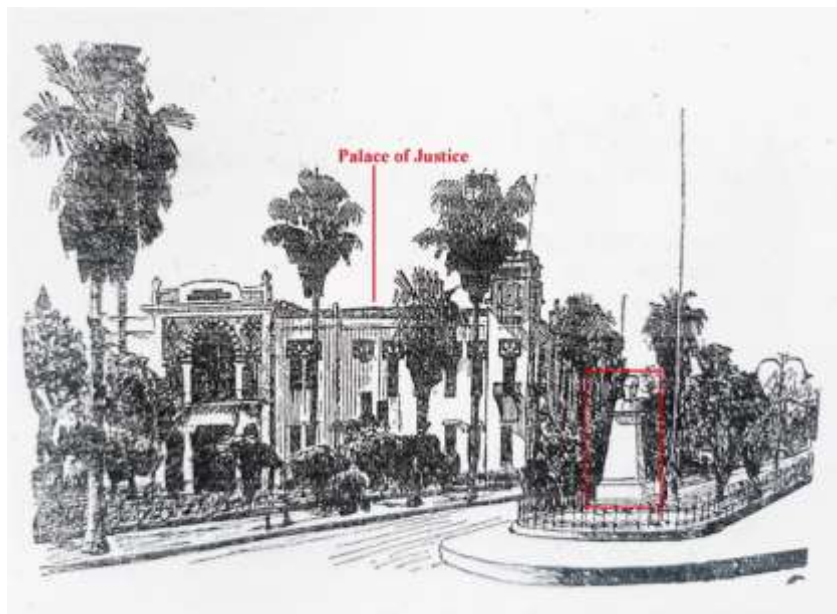


Figure 4.59: Court Building & PTT (*Palace de Justice*) on Republic Square in the early 1960s (Ünsel, 1963)

Another novel of Ünsel titled *Acı Deniz* he describes the city in the 1954-1955. He tells about the night life of Atatürk Boulevard in detail. Ünsel says that this boulevard was in light and people wandered on the asphalt. The crowd of pavement coffees (*kaldırım kahvesi*) spread out to the coast. The illuminated advertisements of clubs, restaurants, nightclubs and bars revealed the existence of people who took pleasure from social life. Arabic conversations were heard from the surrounding area. In this state, İskenderun looked like a foreign, distant, overseas colony. The situation of the city has been resembled by the author as mysterious like the other port cities in the Mediterranean. At midnight, the sounds of music played with guitar and accompanied by the girls singing songs came from the cordon, and the young people in groups were having fun on the streets at midnight (Ünsel, 2017, pp.22-23) (Figures 4.60- 4.61).



Figure 4.60: The Advertisement of an Entertainment in 1956 (Mursaloğlu, n.d., p.84)



Figure 4.61: Beach Club on Atatürk Boulevard in 1954 (*Şehr-i Hatay*, p.227)

Ünsel claims that in the south, there are two faces of large port cities and small coastal towns. One looks to the coastline, the other looks to the back. İskenderun is like that. The coastline with palm trees is together with the sea and is the urban space of strangers and distinguished people. There are offices of prominent business merchants, offices of importers, customs brokers, restaurants, merchant clubs, luxury apartments. In between, an arched-columned, large balcony, shuttered, flat roofed Iran consulate building of a foreign state is seen, and that magnificent lion of the Iranian flag is waved on the balcony with its simple sword. The back streets are a different world. Fisheries taverns, wineries, coffees of the working team, meatball restaurants, kebabs, cooks sheltered the miserable people (Ünsel, 2017, pp.23-24).

Describing the summer of İskenderun, everyone who cannot go to the plateau or stay in the city would go to inner parts of the city at noon and take shelter in the courtyards with pools in the middle, decorated with flower pots and newly washed stones or secluded rooms with doors opening to the courtyards. In general, these houses are the ones with shutters on the asphalt streets that cut the coast perpendicularly and go to the sea. In the afternoons, all city life becomes paralyzed. Towards the evening, the city gradually starts to come alive. The asphalt roads are watered, and the coffees moved their tables and chairs back to the pavements. People flows to the downtown and the coast. Men and women are well dressed in the evenings and fill the coast casinos and coffees (Ünsel, 2017, pp.32-33).

Saray Restaurant<sup>50</sup> which was a famous place in İskenderun at that time was the coast restaurant with alcohol:

*Saray*, on the Cordon asphalt, is filled with businessmen, oil workers, tourists, distinguished guests, top families and men and women every night. Eat and drink in there. They talk about work and love and have a good time until late. The hall stretches across like schools' theater halls. It is blurred with secret lovers, wall lamps and porcelain chandeliers. Windows open to the sea take the breeze of the night... It gave the characteristics of taverns in Mediterranean port cities... Playing a piece of western music on the radio (Ünsel, 2017, pp. 33-34) (Figure 4.62).

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<sup>50</sup> The name of Saray Restaurant in the 1940s was named Çiçek Restaurant. Please see the book titled *Zaman İçerisinde İskenderun*, p.4.



Figure 4.62: Çiçek Restaurant (later named as Saray Restaurant) in 1938-1940 on Atatürk Boulevard (Mursaloğlu, 2000, pp.4-5)

Burhan Günel who tells about İskenderun in his book titled *Sonsuz Aşkım Hatay* was born in 1947 and lived in Iskenderun until the age of 11-12. The years in which he describes his childhood in the book are between 1953-1958. Günel (2006) says that Hatay's lands, like all Anatolian lands, were attacked by invaders, tyrants and apparently religious wars, and that the people living on these lands had to pay a heavy price. The writer who writes that the colonists were plunderers, looters, thieves. He is disappointed that there is not enough research conducted on Hatay which contains various cultural and historical documents of every period from the beginning of civilization to the present. He mentions that a significant part of the archaeological finds obtained from the researches during the French occupation was smuggled to France, England, America, and Tunisia (pp. 49-50). He says that they are trying to disturb the peace of the region through those communities. The colonizers provoked some minority communities like Armenians, Kurds, and Greeks in the region. These groups were mostly provoked primarily by French, Germans before the First World War and by the British for the same purpose. The method of using have been applied not only through minorities and communities of the region, but also through religions and sects throughout history. The clash of religions and sects are the two very important elements have been always used for the colonizers to exploit (p.56).

The Christian mayor of İskenderun where experienced a rapid urbanization process during the French mandate put forward the urbanization plan. First of all, the palm saplings used in the arrangement along the coastline were brought from France (Figure 4.63). Clubs were at the forefront of the coast arrangement. All the clubs were single-storey buildings. For example, places such as Zafer Club<sup>51</sup> (Figure 4.64) and *Akdeniz Lokali* attracted the people of the city. The Marmara Club which is in use as *İş Bankası*, was run by a Greek named Nikola Saba and the place was full of elites coming to the city (Figures 4.65-4.67). In the early twentieth century there were various people from different cultures and religions (Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Alevi, Sunni, Armenian, Greek etc.) living in İskenderun who adopted French style in urban life. Gramophones, accordions and radios would be sold in the shop which is located next to the current Yapı Kredi Bank and operated by Artin Bağcıyan. The name of Şehit Pamir Street which was formerly known as Hamidiye Street in Ottoman times was renamed as İnönü Street in the 1940s. With the urbanization, trading started to develop in İskenderun. Hotels, *döner* and kebab restaurants, toy shops, musical instruments shops, haberdashery, bookshop and fabric stores were opening one after another. Besides, the bars were the popular entertainment spaces. Kanatlı Cinema on *Sinemalar Caddesi* (today named as *5 Temmuz Caddesi*) and Halk Cinema were built during the French mandate. The French called them *Empir Raksi*. The buildings on the coastline were single-storey, except for a hotel. İskenderun had become the most developed center in the region. İskenderun had the appearance of a European city until 1947. As a result of the economic policies implemented in the 1950s, single storey buildings were demolished and the banks started to be built for high income (Figure 4.68). In the same period, the state of Israel was on the agenda and many Jewish citizens immigrated to Israel afterwards. In the later period, as a result of fanatic demonstrations with the Cyprus after 1950, Christians became anxious. Most of them went to Lebanon which led to disappearance of urban culture (Günel, 2006, pp.80-82). Besides, slums started to be built and expand in the early 1950s (Günel, 2006, p.88).

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<sup>51</sup> It was located on the ground floor of *Ankara Palas*.



Figure 4.63: The Postcard Showing the PTT Building on the *Place Gouraud* and newly Planted Palm Trees in 1930 (Url-46)



Figure 4.64: Zafer Club in the 1940s (the Archive of Mine Temiz)



Figure 4.65: Marmara Club & Restaurant (later converted to İş Bank) on the intersection of Atatürk Boulevard and Republic Square (*Şehr-i Hatay*)



Figure 4.66: İş Bank on the intersection of Atatürk Boulevard and Republic Square (Url-23)





**Republic Square in 1940**



**Republic Square in 1960s**

Figure 4.67: Marmara Club & Restaurant (later converted to İş Bank) (Image1, Url-47; Image, Url-48)



Figure 4.68: The Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Banks in İskenderun (1952-1958) (*Şehr-i Hatay*, p.259)

In her book, Kutlu says that during the Second World War the city became more crowded. The newcomers were enlarging the city towards the outer rings (Kutlu, 2009, p.118). Later, she mentions that during the Korean War, some soldiers from İskenderun were sent to Korea (Kutlu, 2009, p.60).

Journalist Kazım Kanat, in his column entitled “*Hayat Böyledir*” in *Sabah Gazetesi*, draws the image of İskenderun in the years when he lived under French occupation. He stated that the social life and urbanization in İskenderun was dominated by the French culture. However, the journalist emphasized that cultural life of the city was destroyed in an irreversible way with opening of the Iron and Steel Factory in 1974. He explained his thoughts by saying “a life style of thousands of years was destroyed by an iron and steel factory” (Günel, 2006, pp.163-164). In that time, İskenderun was described as “Paris of Turkey” (Günel, 2006, p.173). However, according to Mehmet Gür, born in İskenderun in 1952, İskenderun was a pretty little town from 1939 to 1974. The iron and steel factory opened 1974 brought a great vitality to cultural life (2019, p.26). Gür (2019) mentions the cultural life in İskenderun as follows:

The most important factor that ensured the beauty and attractiveness of İskenderun was that the population of the city consisted of people from very different origins in terms of

religion and language. Muslim Arabs, Christian Arabs, Levantines, Greeks and Armenians, as well as Sunni and Alevi Turks, were the components of a beautiful mosaic. It was natural to hear conversations in Turkish, Arabic, French, Greek and Armenian while wandering the streets of İskenderun. There were Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Protestant, Syrian Catholic and Italian Catholic churches in İskenderun. Whenever a Muslim corpse passed in front of the Orthodox church, which is 100 meters from our house, the church bells would ring as a sign of respect. Whenever a Christian burial came to this church, those who passed by would take off their hats, if any, and pray with open hands. This was such a harmonious mixture that everyone respected each other's customs and traditions with utmost respect and no discrimination was made. Those who attempted to do this out of ignorance would be excluded (pp.26-27).

The fact that İskenderun is a port city and the increase in industrial investments in recent years, the development and modernization of production factors have led acceleration of the population (*Hatay İl Yıllığı*, 1973, p.170). With palm and eucalyptus trees, modern apartments and slums, cleanliness and pollution, swamp and mosquitoes for this colorful southern land of İskenderun (*Hatay İl Yıllığı+1967*, 1968, p.46). *Hatay İl Yıllığı* describes the urban life in the mid 1950s and early 1960s as follows:

Urban dwellers have cultural manners that are not at all odd in our big cities. Another feature of İskenderun, which has almost all the qualities of big cities, appears on the top surface is the abundance of entertainment places. Frequent family gatherings are found here and places like these are not found odd by the society. *Deniz Kulübü, Tüccarlar Kulübü, Öğretmenler Derneği, Petrol Ofisi Lokali, Askeri Lokal ve Gazinolar, Liman Lokali* respond to this purpose. These places are established in the most beautiful places of the city, where ladies and gentlemen can always go, have fun and relax. In addition, it provides the entertainment needs of foreigners coming to the city with its clubs, bars and cinemas... These happy families live the apartments along the coast, modern mansion houses, single-storey garden houses in the interior, in addition to in slums in the back. İskenderun's housewife has all the civilized needs in her house. Mothers and fathers who do not read very rarely try to educate their children in the best way suitable for the conditions of the day. İskenderun woman and man always appear at home, in clothes that respond to the fashion of the day at work, on the street, at night and at an entertainment place (*Hatay İl Yıllığı+1967*, 1968, p.47).

The social life in İskenderun that was so joyful described by Mehmet Gür referring to an important place in social life of city, Deniz Club on the coast which remains on his childhood memories as follows:

There was a Deniz Club in İskenderun. The clubhouse was located on the coast, opposite the Güney Saha Deniz Komutanlığı. Access to the club and use of the events was open to members, their families and guests. We kids used to go to the Deniz Club on Sunday mornings. Here, entertainment was organized for children, the most interesting game would be the "musical chairs" contest. I had won several times and took the gifts home. Actually, the club was a social facility for the adults and it was a place of entertainment. It was also served as a beach during the sea season. There was live music and dancing

every Saturday evening. Bringing children to those dance nights was not welcome, so entertainment would be organized for the children the next day (2019, p.41).

The city is like an organism that has been constantly changing. But some periods are mostly remembered by the communities as the sparkling years of the city. It is better to consider Tacettin Sakarya's expressions by calling the city as colorful.

İskenderun is a really colorful city. You will ask why? For many reasons, not one, not two, many...

... The eucalypts that never fade in summer and winter, the modern apartments and slums ... the swamp and its mosquito ... the taste of the addict bubbling his hookah under the palm trees on the coast ... these are the first things that come to mind ...

...His/her master dressed in civilized clothes and his coachman with handlebar moustache in baggy clothes...

...the sheming under the name of the club, the whirligig on the curtain of the society, the association, the restaurant...

... With those who read and write, those who are angry with those who say speak our own language, and many more points that we cannot remember, İskenderun is a city that we live in, which becomes more colorful as we live (1962, p.38).

According to Kireççi (1984), after the annexation of Hatay to the Turkey, İskenderun could not maintain its urban and cultural features very much. The reason is that most of the people migrated to various places and new groups of people came to settle here. Today, local people are very few in İskenderun and its surroundings (Kireççi, 1984, p.45).

Consequently, the pluralism that have continued in the city over the centuries creates intercultural harmony in the long term. Urban memory of the communities were shaped by the layers superimposed on each other. References given to the physical structure, area and/or elements in the city in the narratives of the people indicate that the spatial development and landmarks of the city, social life and relations are important traces in the memory of the communities. It is seen that the urban spaces of the coast line have similar meanings for the inhabitants of the city. The spatial components that are taken as reference are sometimes an urban element, sometimes a building, sometimes a public space, and sometimes a street. The coastline independent of time interval/period with the daily life experienced there stuck in the minds of urban dwellers. As Mayol said, the city is the chosen territory of "daily life staging" (Mayol, 2015, p.30). Urban memory is associated with the past, symbols, language, values of the society and thus, forms the image and becomes meaningful. Therefore, collective memory is in close relation to architecture and all kinds of material culture that make up the city. Collective memory carries and conveys the values of the past to the future through material and

also immaterial culture like dialogs, practices, experiences. The non-transmission of culture and spatial disruption cause the erasure of collective memories and damage the sense of belonging.





## 5. CONCLUSION

İskenderun, a district of Hatay, which is included in 1939 at its sixteenth anniversary of the Republic of Turkey presents a unique case for Turkish political history. After having ruled by the Ottoman Empire for centuries, the city officially became a French Mandate of Syria from 1921-1936, an autonomous state in 1938, and finally participated to Turkish Republic in 1939. The change of ruling states/authorities was experienced 4 times in almost 20 years. This led to the increase and decrease in the number of populations of different communities over time. The communities fostered mobility i.e Armenians left Hatay in 1915, came back in the French period and left again in 1939, reciprocally the Turks who had to leave İskenderun during the French period are exemplary on this respect. Thus, the city always had liveliness and a cosmopolitan structure with the arrival of inhabitants/traders/consulates/travelers since it was the port city of eastern Mediterranean. From this aspect the city offers a fairly unique position not only for Turkish political history but also its special feature where cross cultural interaction/communication/negotiation/conflict has taken place over the centuries particularly in the first half of the twentieth century.

This thesis by taking İskenderun as worthy of study analyzes the significant dynamics/relations/practices that reflected to urban spaces, built environment and material culture focusing on the coastline by examining how this cosmopolitan region and cultural continuity was developed from 1920s to 1950s.

The city with all its entities continuously changes. They have life cycle which are created, reshaped, adapted, transformed or destructed in time. The boulevards, streets, parks, neighborhoods, government buildings, schools, churches, mosques, synagogues, consulates, restaurants, cafes, banks, and private residences become both vehicles and results of countless dynamics in urban life.

According to the extensive research on İskenderun particularly by focusing on the coastline and around, there is no evidence found to assert that the existing buildings/structures/landscapes as the symbols of a different power belonged to a former state was destroyed or demolished deliberately by the ruling state. Rather, the tendency of preserving physical materiality of the urban spaces and buildings could be clearly seen. The primary urban features of İskenderun; Cayla Boulevard, Gouraud Square (*Place Gouraud*) and Public Park (*Jardin Public*) were opened in 1920s during the French Mandate period and kept its features after the annexation of the city to Turkish Republic. The major change was not related to its physical existence, but related to the change of their names due to the nationalist or colonialist tendencies. Cayla Boulevard was renamed as *Atatürk Bulvarı*, the Gouraud Square was called as *Cumhuriyet Meydanı* and the Public Park was renamed as *Millet Bahçesi* after 1939. The French names are replaced with highly popular and acceptable Turkish names, referring to important people and events of Turkish history, during the early Republican period. A similar attitude in the change of names were experienced during the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the French Mandate period. The names of the roads and streets were replaced by the well accepted French names. It is a common way of domination for the colonizers over the colonized. There is an important point that should be discussed is that the sequence of the names during this critical time period: the name of the street is called *Rue de la Caserne*, *Route conduisant au Phare* or *Rue du Phare* in the Ottoman period, was renamed as *Rue Beauregard* during the French Mandate period, was replaced with *Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak Caddesi* during the Republic of Turkey. And the name of the Road of Government in Ottoman period, was renamed as *Rue Marechal Foch* during the French Mandate period, was replaced with *5 Temmuz Caddesi* during the Republic of Turkey. This reveals that how the names of urban spaces are interrelated to the power of ruling authority as a kind of demonstration and legalization of its political power.

Nationalistic ideology was vividly appeared in the city between 1936-1939. This ideological strategy was a powerful tool to be used in determining who would rule the city. Turkish nationalism comes into play at this point which was strictly adopted to stimulate the communities to be a part of Turkish Republic. In that sense, the the People's Houses as the powerful political/cultural and social institutions in the 1930s were opened in areas previously planned to prepare the region for elections. While



these buildings were opened in existing buildings, immediately after the annexation new buildings of People Houses were built in İskenderun and Antakya. As the inevitable components of early Republican cities, the People's House in İskenderun was built on the main axis of the city, Atatürk Boulevard. Until its close in 1951 the building with its facilities was the symbol of Turkish nationalism and modernism for urban memory. The People's House remains as the unique example and the only new building constructed to make propagation of Turkish nationalism. Apart from it, there is no visible symbol of Turkish nationalism in the field of architecture. However, after the annexation the celebrations of national holidays (*milli bayram*) and enthusiastic ceremonies were held in squares and streets of İskenderun. Where the soldiers were parade and the people saluted the soldiers with their flags and song the national anthems became ritualized in İskenderun.

There were also some cases that the ownership of a building/structure in İskenderun became very important and turned out a political and economic strife among different communities. Taking over and owning the pier and harbor which were the vital elements of the city became a matter of power between foreign states (France, England) and Ottoman State in the late nineteenth century. The occupation of İskenderun's coast by the foreigners and the economic and political insufficiency of the Ottomans at that time caused struggles exemplified by pier and the port. Due to the financial reasons the Ottoman State had accepted the pier to be built by the French, however it was built on a spot where the French had buildings extensively to obtain its advantages. Moreover, the pier was managed by the French and the taxes for the quayage were paid to French company. Although the state defends that the İskenderun pier should belong to Ottomans, the fact that the Ottoman Empire was not powerful enough to have the property of the pier in the late-nineteenth century. The control of the pier and port was a chronic problem between French and Ottoman State by revealing how those structures became an apparatus of political and economic power in the city.

The French played a very important role in development of the city and even partially today. The French made investments that the Ottoman could not make in the city at that time. The urgent tasks to be completed by the French mandate administration were road construction both opening up large boulevards and streets, enlargement of the

current ones, provided installation of sewage system and drying up the swamps. These investments were the major important breakthroughs in the city. However, Aslanoğlu evaluates that French investments was limited to a few buildings during the French Mandate in accordance to colonizing policy. She expresses that “erasing the traces of Turkish Architecture and reflections of Turkish Culture in architecture as in every field has been the starting point of the occupiers”. However, there is no evidence found in this research to indicate such erasure of the traces in architecture between 1921-1939. Instead there was a tendency of preserving what existed and using them after making minor revisions rather than demolishing the existing ones. The basic and urgent needs of the city was met by the French mandate to turn it into a modern city. What is seen in İskenderun that the functions or names of the buildings are changed according to the ideological/cultural and sometimes practical needs of the society. For example the Hotel Empire built during the French Mandate Period, adapted to a Turkish Consulate in the late 1930s and after the annexation the building was again turned into a hotel named *Ankara Palas*. The hospital and school buildings were used having the same functions after the annexation.

In İskenderun there are some cases verifying the effectiveness of the investments for the sake of İskenderun. Probably the most important advancements made by French in urban scale was the preparation of a city plan. Modern planning began in 1925 and the cadastral plans of the cities and villages were prepared and used as a city plan as of 1931. It is noteworthy to mention that this city plan was used in later periods and still keeping its general lines even today. For instance, after the 1930s, important settlements in Anatolia were modernized in accordance with the model developed for the cities. For this reason, new development plans of cities and town were implemented in the late 1930s and early 1940s such as Tatvan (1937) and Akşehir (1940). The 1/2000 scale Antakya’s plan was also regulated by the experts in 1942. Similarly, one of the most consistent and large-scale initiative in the modernization of cities (except the capital Ankara) was the development of İzmir. Half of the population declined and this port city devastated by the great fire became the priority. İskenderun has never gained such a priority in the eye of Turkish state like İzmir after the annexation. Since the city plans made by the French are used without much change even today, there was probably no need for a new masterplan.

It is hardly to see that immense building activity right after 1939. There might be some reasons behind it. Annexation to Turkey in 1939 coincided with a critical period of time. The death of Atatürk in the fifteenth year of the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1938 indeed marks the end of an important period in Turkish history. The new period acquired different economic and ideological dimensions with the start of the World War II, a year later in 1939. Turkish Republic stayed out of the war, but experienced the negative effects of the war in an extent. Initial construction investments and projects were cancelled or slowed down to an extent throughout the country. A period of recession began to last in the 1950s (Batur, 1998, 228). The urban and architectural reflection of this situation led adoption of existing buildings by either keeping its original program or changing its program after minor revisions. On the other hand, the first major work of Turkish Republic was to modernize the port immediately. The port became larger in the following years in 1942, 1954, and 1972. This commercial dynamism based on maritime trade by means of a modern port has brought about opening new banks (in addition to the existing ones) in the late 1940s but especially 1950s.

Trading was always the most important sector for İskenderun that led to formation of a diverse demography in the city. Despite the political/cultural thresholds that might pose problems about perpetuation of existed orders/regulations/traditions/values of the society; cultural pluralism has turned into a situation that also enriches the existing culture. Even it carries a potential in a positive way which means the emergence of new cultures and their hybridization with old ones. Fernand Braudel elaborates this by saying “for a culture to survive, it must also be capable of receiving and giving, borrowing and lending” (Braudel, as cited in Burke, 2011, p.67). In other words, as Said asserted “the history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowings” (Said, as cited in Burke, 2011, p.68).

Taking into account all political, cultural and social conditions, it would be possible to evaluate İskenderun by denominating to “intercultural” which refers to the mixing of cultures who shares a common space. The communities by not having to leave their own culture find various ways to live together. Urban structure, built environment, material culture and daily life in İskenderun shows indications of an intercultural

society that “no one is left unchanged because everyone learns from one another and grows together” (Spring Institute, n.d., Url 5).

Ayla Kutlu highlights harmonious coexistence despite cultural diversity. She expresses that İskenderun is sacred for all religions and attractive to a variety of people from distant countries. She claims that the society have learned how to live together. It is possible to state that cultural pluralism in İskenderun created intercultural harmony in the long term. The population of İskenderun consisted of a variety of religions (Gregorian, Orthodox, Catholic, Sunni, Alawite etc.), ethnics (Turks, French, Arabs, Armenian, Greek, Syriac, Maronite etc.) and languages (French, Ottoman Turkish, Arabic etc.) are harmoniously blended in İskenderun. Evidences of traces that the old layer (with all material culture) were deliberately and systematically erased is not available, except for the changed names of the boulevards, streets, and parks.

According to urban narratives, Iskenderun is a place where gramophone sounds mingle with Arabic music, where people come together in western-style bars, restaurants or Turkish kebab shops and Mediterranean-style taverns.

In Walter Benjamin's words, memory is not only a tool we use to remember the past, but memory is also a scene on the past and a showroom in which the subject feels himself as a spectator who monitors his life story during his recall (Sayın, 2006, pp.39-40).

Benjamin puts forward himself as the spectator of a scene, then the city with all its layers become the reminders of urban memories. Material culture like urban structure, architectural forms, public monuments and immaterial culture are like pieces that make up the memory. İskenderun as an ancient city identified with cultural mosaic and diversity offers urban dwellers a rich content and a memory based on differences.

While the city in 1940s are remembered though some scenes in urban memory; the palm and eucalypts trees planted on both sides of the coastline aligned with coffee shops and restaurants that became full of people in the evenings; some others remembered the city in 1930s as a place of where no spatial borders/seggregations between different ethnic communities are strictly drawn, and where people even chose sharing the life together with other communities in the same neighborhood exemplified as *Kilise Mahallesi*.

There was a high permeability observed between communities. The multi-layered, multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-ethnic state of the city is also evident in the use of the buildings. A hybrid situation, that is, "third space" as Bhabha refers emerges. It is an "exotic city" as well as charming and dynamic city, similar to European cities as well as Arabian cities. While the coastline in İskenderun sparkles with its asphalt, coffees, casinos and restaurants like Genova and Marseille, yet its back streets and slums had the opposite impact inhabited by sailors, crewmen, dockers, slang-speaking adventurers and fond vagrants. Şerif makes a contrast between the unfavourable conditions of the inner parts of the city filled with problems and the seaside that offers a pleasant life. It is striking that he called the city as "a hybrid of lifestyle". As Bhabha states while referring the colonial societies "the identities created cannot be originally Muslim or British, but can be both and none at the same time" (Hubbard & Kitchin, 2018, p.138). Iskenderun is a place that does not have typical Ottoman buildings like an Ottoman city as Evliya Çelebi said, and it is a place where its mosque is even called as "Turkish church". The city carries the traces of Ottoman, French, Turkish and foreigners and harmoniously blends all. Iskenderun is a city which was named as *Scanderone* (İskenderun) by the Turks but as *Alexandretta* by the Christians.

Urban and architectural formation should be evaluated with reference to the multicultural context of İskenderun that was formed somewhere in between dualities; practical/ideological, eastern/western, traditional/modern, but in some ways as an original model that was hybridized in result of cultural encounter. Ünsel reveals the differences in the city between two periods by saying the coastline which was completely exotic in the annexation period is completely Turkish in 1950s. As Toksoy claims İskenderun is cute and modern, similiarly as Ünsel points out there are modern houses and primitive huts at the same time in the city. Urban life in the mid 1950s and early 1960s are described with palm and eucalyptus trees, modern apartments and slums, cleanliness and pollution, swamp and mosquitoes for this colorful southern land of İskenderun which clearly demonstrates the dualities and bybridity of urban life.

In this unique panaroma, the coastline is the main element of communication and network in the city of İskenderun which has carried urban memory from the past to the future. The coastline is the place where all the buildings, lifestyles, memories,

traditions constitute such peerless layerization that belong to different historical times overlaying each other. Instead of generating only one structural form for the city, it rather culminates with the experience of diversity in all the aspects. “The port city is the place where contemporary thought and practices become visible and tangible, and contradictions with traditional ways of thinking and behavior are most evident” (Keyder, Özveren & Quatert, 1994, p.123). Each city produces its own urban culture. The situation in İskenderun is also completely unique. As Ziya Ünsel says “the coastline in İskenderun means İskenderun” and it is the place where the people would walk in the middle of the road, but not from the sidewalks.



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- Url-19** <[http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/\\_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001\\_\\_files/284732\\_168513919888638\\_830862\\_n.jpg](http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001__files/284732_168513919888638_830862_n.jpg)>, accessed on 18.02.2021.
- Url-20** <<http://www.levantineheritage.com/alexandretta.htm#0>>, accessed on 17.02.2021.
- Url-21** <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531728653>>, accessed on 17.02.2021
- Url-22** <<https://editorial01.shutterstock.com/wm-preview-1500/7665061ht/a16ea2ac/historical-collection-162-shutterstock-editorial-7665061ht.jpg>>, accessed on 20.02.2021.
- Url-23** <[http://www.erolmakzume.com/wp/?page\\_id=3055](http://www.erolmakzume.com/wp/?page_id=3055)>, accessed on 17.02.2021.
- Url-24** <[http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/\\_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001\\_\\_files/249356\\_168491183224245\\_3731052\\_n.jpg](http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001__files/249356_168491183224245_3731052_n.jpg)>, accessed on 22.03.2021.
- Url-25** <[http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/\\_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001\\_\\_files/197766\\_168491533224210\\_5591114\\_n.jpg](http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001__files/197766_168491533224210_5591114_n.jpg)>, accessed on 22.03.2021.
- Url-26** <<https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/panoramic-view-of-the-port-of-alexandretta-turkey-the-news-photo/104410074?adppopup=true>>, accessed on 22.03.2021.

- Url-27** <[http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/\\_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001\\_\\_files/205850\\_168478156558881\\_7316651\\_n.jpg](http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001__files/205850_168478156558881_7316651_n.jpg)>, accessed on 22.03.2021.
- Url-28** <[https://www.peramezat.com/urun/iskenderun-sahil-ve-hapishane-abadjian-\\_2\\_>](https://www.peramezat.com/urun/iskenderun-sahil-ve-hapishane-abadjian-_2_>), accessed on 17.02.2021.
- Url-29**<<https://www.bitmezat.com/urun/3165592/iskenderun-gumruk-editor-chouha-freres-no-47>>, accessed on 16.02.2021
- Url-30** <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53076327j?rk=21459;2&lang=EN>>, accessed on 18.02.2021.
- Url-31** <<https://www.bitmezat.com/urun/2872968/iskenderun-parcali-kart-sahil-liman-editor-joseph-caraly-onden-pullu-1903>>, accessed on 02.03.2021.
- Url-32** <<https://www.catoni.com.tr/catoni-group/timeline>>, accessed on 18.02.2021.
- Url-33** <<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG103723>>, accessed on 02.03.2021.
- Url-34** <<https://history.bnpparibas/dossier/banque-de-syrie-et-du-liban/>>, accessed on 02.03.2021.
- Url-35** <[http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/\\_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001\\_\\_files/57049063\\_2690392501034088\\_4223376788245446656\\_o.jpg>](http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001__files/57049063_2690392501034088_4223376788245446656_o.jpg>), accessed on 22.03.2021.
- Url-36** <[http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/\\_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001\\_\\_files/282790\\_168476769892353\\_2630796\\_n.jpg>](http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001__files/282790_168476769892353_2630796_n.jpg>), accessed on 24.03.2021.
- Url-37** <<https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/2979>>, accessed on 02.03.2021.
- Url-38** <<https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/3374>>, accessed on 02.03.2021.
- Url-39** <<https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/3177>>, accessed on 02.03.2021.
- Url-40** <<https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/2980>>, accessed on 02.03.2021.
- Url-41** <<https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/200982>>, accessed on 02.03.2021.
- Url-42** <<https://www.janusmezat.com/urun/1304974/iskenderun>>, accessed on 02.07.2019.

**Url-43** <<https://www.pingudumuzayede.com/urun/943438/ermeni-kulturu-alexandrette-iskenderun-cabanes-des-fellahs-ed-armenian>>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

**Url-44** <[http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/\\_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001\\_\\_files/224521\\_168492233224140\\_759480\\_n.jpg](http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001__files/224521_168492233224140_759480_n.jpg)>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

**Url-45** <[https://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/1598/15989162\\_0.jpg?1615555](https://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/1598/15989162_0.jpg?1615555)>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

**Url-46** <[https://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/61841/618412056\\_0.jpg?1615555](https://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/61841/618412056_0.jpg?1615555)>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

**Url-47** <[https://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/24149/241498561\\_0.jpg?1615555](https://mcdn01.gittigidiyor.net/24149/241498561_0.jpg?1615555)>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

**Url-48** <[http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/\\_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001\\_\\_files/282429\\_168508849889145\\_7586471\\_n.jpg](http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001__files/282429_168508849889145_7586471_n.jpg)>, accessed on 02.03.2021

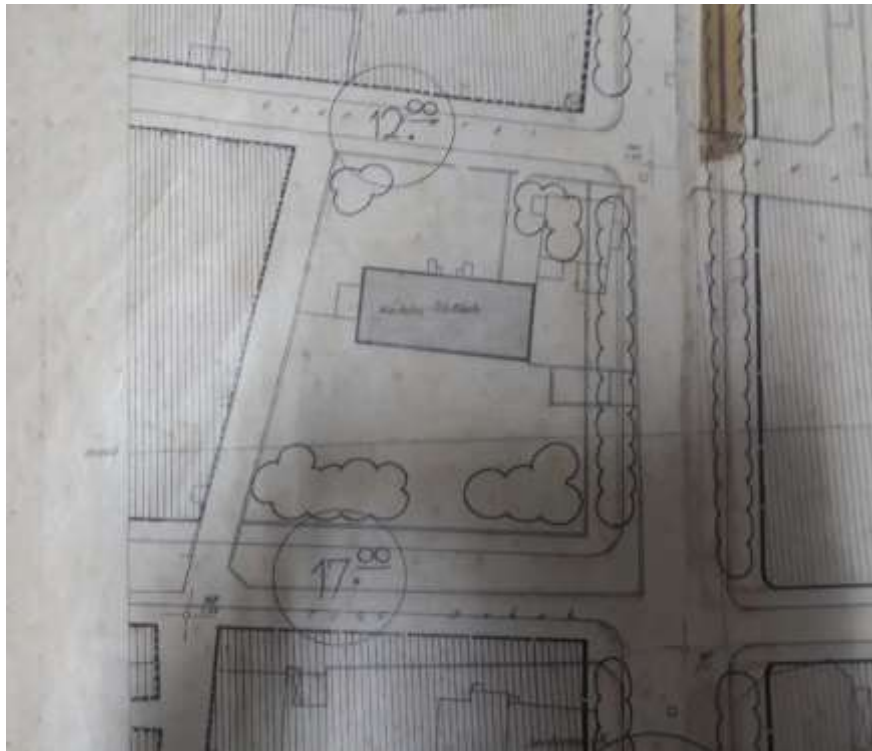


## APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Italian School for Girls (*École Italienne filles*) on the French Cadastral Map (1929) (the Archive of İTM)



Appendix 2: Kurtuluş Primary School on the city map of 1960s-1970s (the Archive of İB)

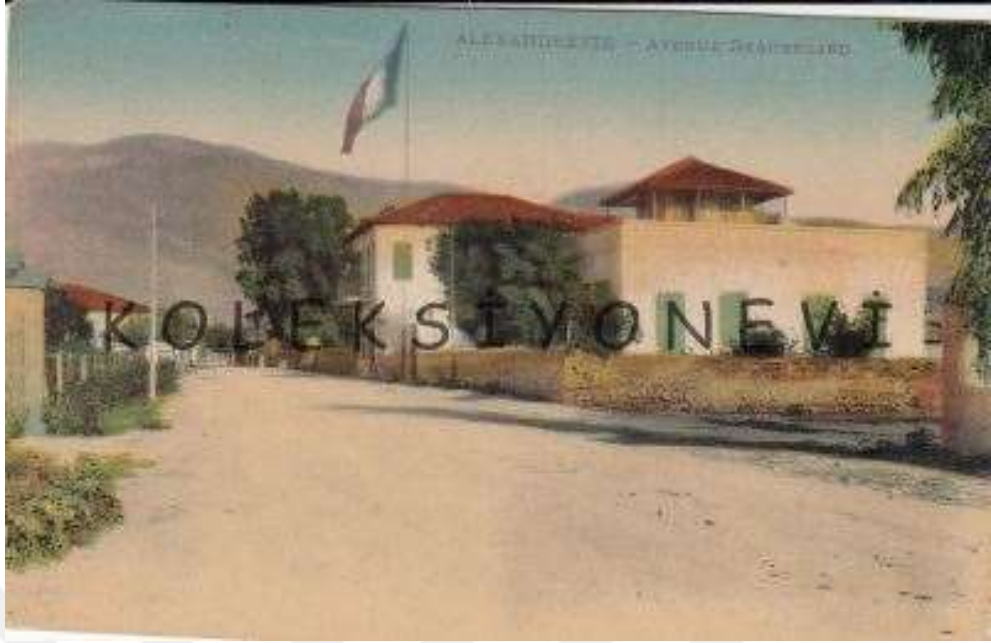


Appendix 3: The Postcards Showing Other Roads of İskenderun



The postcard of Rue Marechal Foch in 1922<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.pingudumuzayede.com/urun/3061609/iskenderun-alexandrette-rue-marechal-fort>, accessed on 02.03.2021



The Postcard of Avenue Beaugard<sup>53</sup>



The Postcard of Hamidiye Road and St. Nicola Orthodox Church (*Grecque Orthodoxe*)<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.koleksiyonevi.net/en/product/553036/alexandrette>, accessed on 02.03.2021

<sup>54</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.pingudumuzayede.com/urun/315496/alexandrette-iskenderun-yunan-kilisesi-greek-church-yolu> accessed on 02.03.2021

Appendix 4: The Postcards in Ottoman Period in İskenderun



The Store of Hussein Hussein & Co. and its Employees (Yılmaz, 2019, p.105)



The Store of Hussein İkbal & Freres and its employees (Yılmaz, 2019, p.107)



The Store of A. Jean Paloulian & Fils (Yılmaz, 2019, p.115)

Appendix 5: The Barracks on the Postcard of İskenderun by editör Hussein İkbâl & frères<sup>55</sup>



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<sup>55</sup> Retrieved from <https://www.pingudumuzayede.com/urun/636049/alexandrette-iskenderun-vue-du-debarcadere-almanca-yazili>, accessed on 12.03.2021

Appendix 6: The French Consulate on the Postcard of İskenderun<sup>56</sup>



<sup>56</sup> Image 1, retrieved from [http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/\\_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001\\_\\_files/283234\\_168513293222034\\_8137819\\_n.jpg](http://kdogan.amida.info/galeri/_ETF%20HATAY%20ALB%C3%9CM%2001__files/283234_168513293222034_8137819_n.jpg), accessed on 02.03.2021

Image 2, retrieved from <https://www.pingudumuzayede.com/urun/518556/alexandrette-iskenderun-panorama-almanca-yazili>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

Appendix 7: The Location of French Consulate on the Maps Dated 1910 and 1928<sup>57</sup>



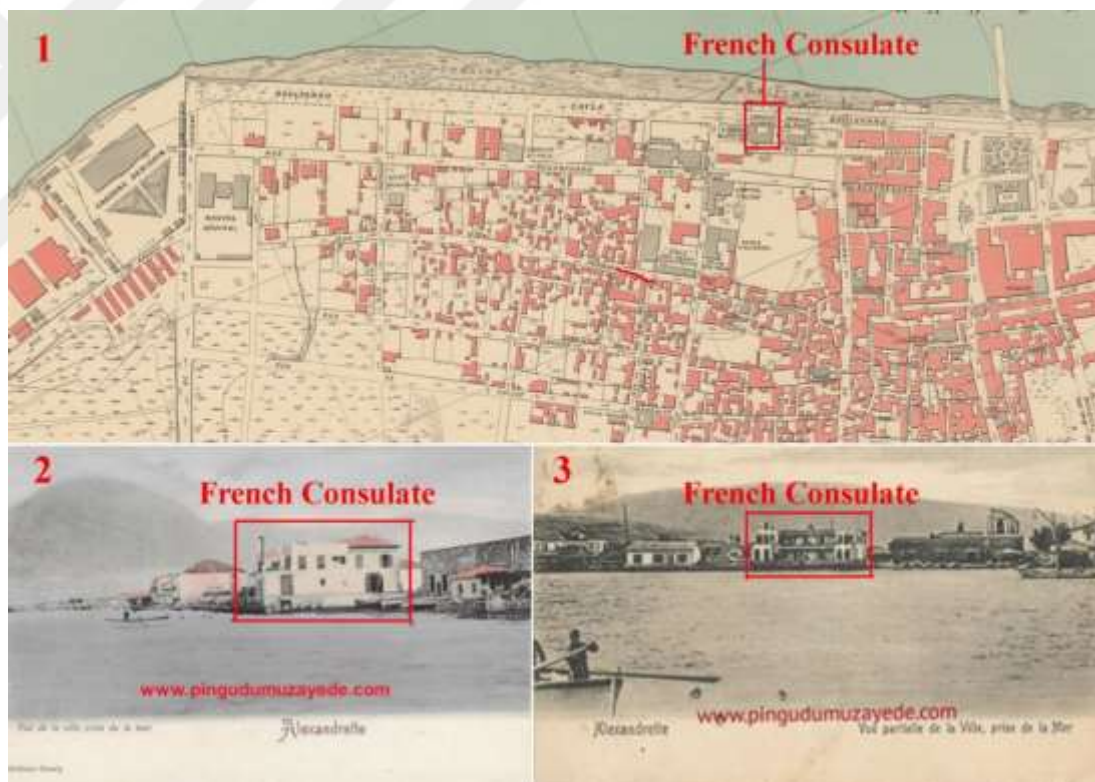
<sup>57</sup> Image 1, retrieved from <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531728653.r=Plan%20d%27Alexandrette?rk=21459;2> accessed on 17.02.2021

Image 2, retrieved from <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53076327j?rk=21459;2>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

Image 3, retrieved from <https://www.koleksiyonevi.net/en/product/553036/alexandrette>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

Image 4, retrieved from [https://www.peramezat.com/urun/alexandrette-iskenderun-panoramik-gorunum-yahudi-edt-levy-fils\\_2](https://www.peramezat.com/urun/alexandrette-iskenderun-panoramik-gorunum-yahudi-edt-levy-fils_2), accessed on 02.03.2021.

Appendix 8: The Location of French Consulate on the Map of 1928<sup>58</sup>



<sup>58</sup> Image 1, retrieved from

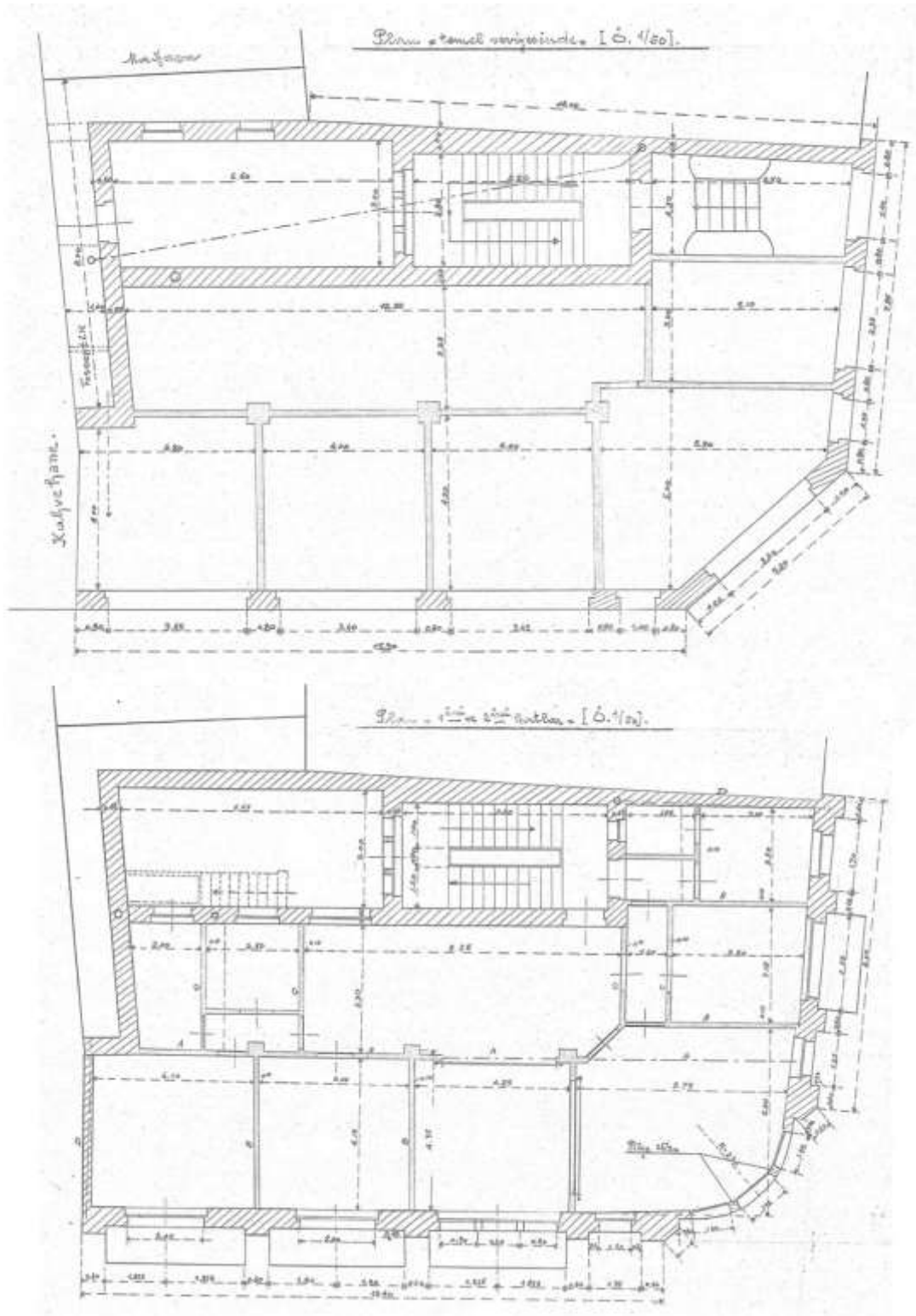
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531728653.r=Plan%20d%27Alexandrette?rk=21459;2>, accessed on 17.02.2021

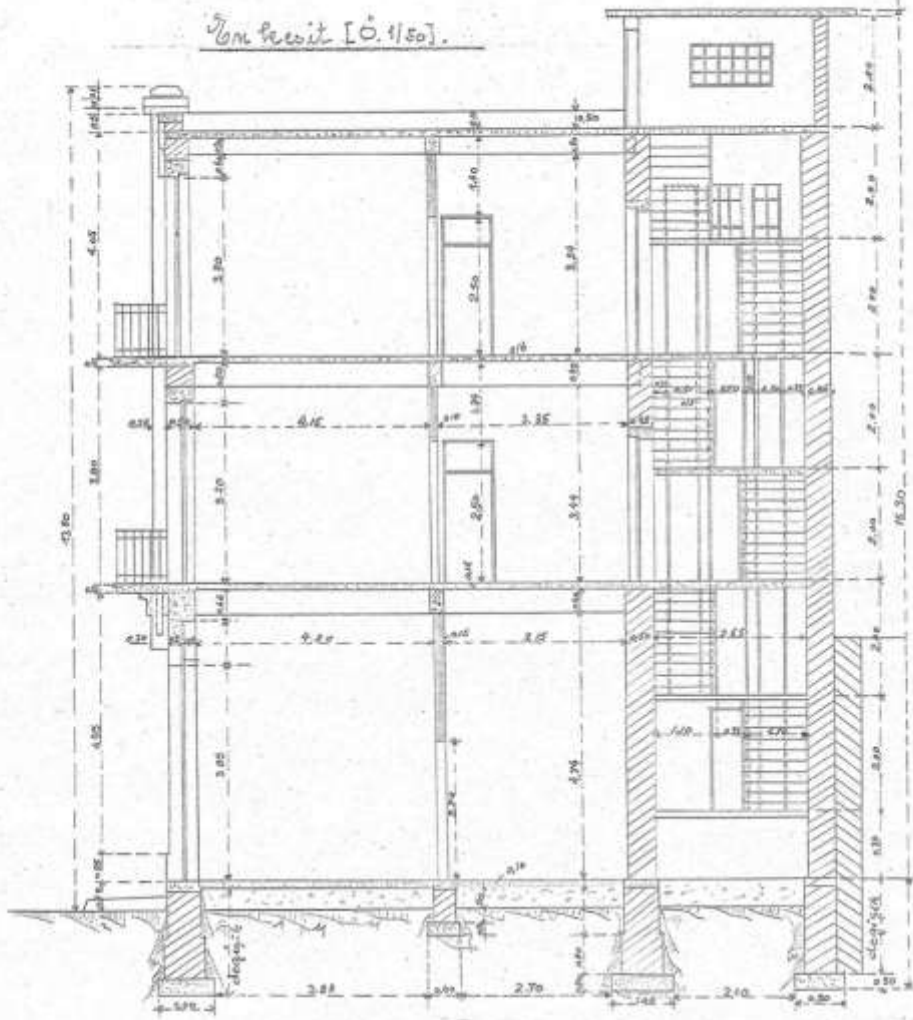
Image 2, retrieved from <https://www.pingudumuzayede.com/urun/416826/alexandrette-iskenderun-vue-de-la-ville-ed-joseph-caraly>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

Image 3, retrieved from <https://www.pingudumuzayede.com/urun/1140359/alexandrette-iskenderun-vue-partielle-de-la-ville-ed-abadjian>, accessed on 02.03.2021.

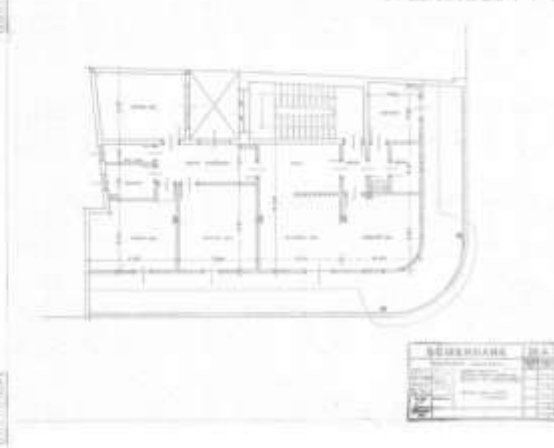
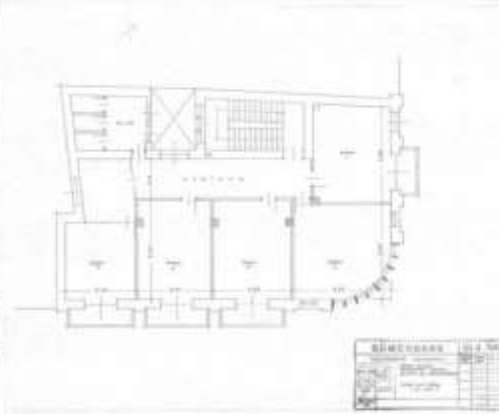
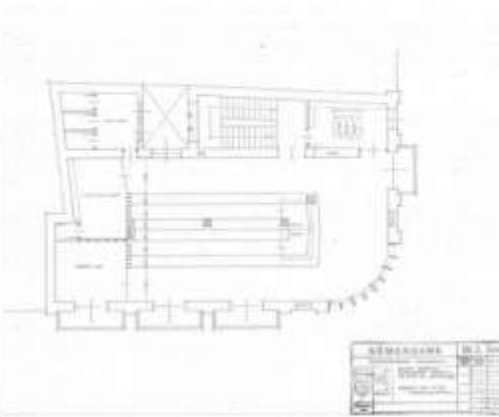
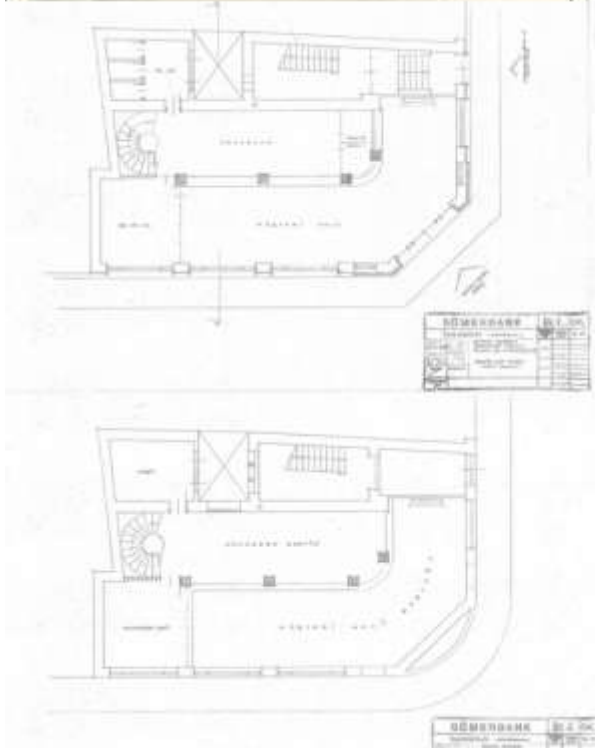


Appendix 9: The Plans of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (State Archives)



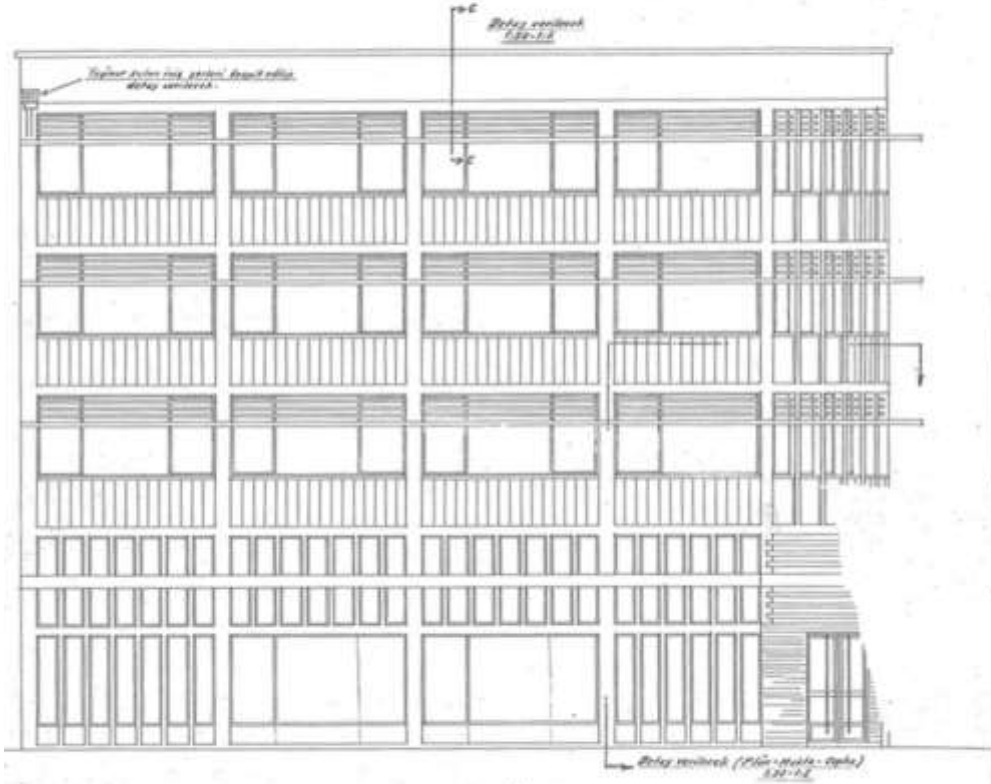


„Ömür Mektebi - İskenderiye” firmasının  
 „1.6.1933” tarihli projesinden kopya edil-  
 mistir. Ankara, 24.3.58 *Özdemir*



**the first drawings made on the original building**

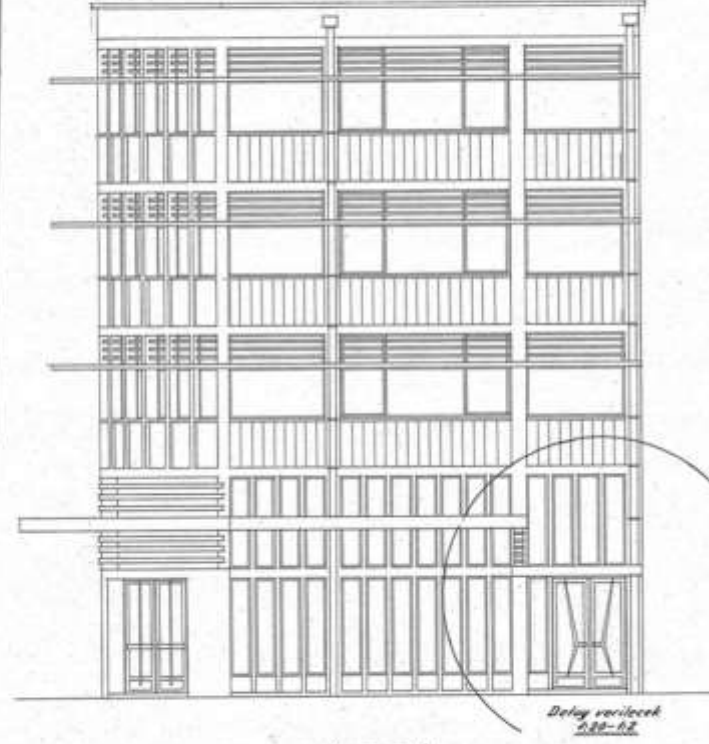
İSKENDERUN SÜMERBANK BANKA  
SUBESİ PARAKENDE MAĞAZA VE  
İŞ HANI



MEYDAN CEPHESİ

| İnşaat        |        | NO: 7  |        |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|
| MARUFA        | İnşaat | İnşaat | İnşaat |
| İş            | İş     | İş     | İş     |
| İş            | İş     | İş     | İş     |
| <b>İnşaat</b> |        |        |        |
| Mühür (İmza)  |        |        |        |

İSKENDERUN SÜMERBANK BANKA  
SUBESİ PARAKENDE MAĞAZA VE  
İŞ HANI

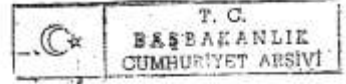


MAREŞAL ÇAKMAK CADESİ CEPHESİ

| İnşaat           |        | NO: 7  |        |
|------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| MARUFA           | İnşaat | İnşaat | İnşaat |
| İş               | İş     | İş     | İş     |
| İş               | İş     | İş     | İş     |
| <b>Yan Cephe</b> |        |        |        |
| Mühür (İmza)     |        |        |        |

T. C.  
BAŞBAKANLIK  
MUAMELÂT UMUM MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ  
Kararlar Müdürlüğü  
Karar sayıs  
5  
5859

KARAR



Yapı ve Kredi Bankası Anonim Ortaklığı tarafından Bursa ve İskenderun'da birer şube açılmasına izin verilmesi; Ticaret Bakanlığının muvafakatine dayanan, Maliye Bakanlığının 24/4/1947 tarihli ve 5263-3/II6I6 sayılı yazısıyla yapılan teklifi üzerine, 2999 sayılı kanunun 4 üncü maddesine göre, Bakanlar Kurulunca 24/5/1947 tarihinde kararlaştırılmıştır.

CUMHURBAŞKANI

*İsmet İnönü*

|  |   |   |   |  |
|--|---|---|---|--|
| Başbakan<br><i>P. İnönü</i>                  | Devlet Bakanı<br>Bağ. Yardımcısı<br><i>M. Özalp</i> | Devlet Bakanı<br><i>M. Kandıracak</i>     | Adalet Bakanı<br><i>S. Nispetzade</i>         | Millî Savunma Bakanı<br><i>K. Köksal</i> |
| İçişleri Bakanı<br><i>A. Ş. Köksal</i>       | Dışişleri Bakanı<br><i>M. Ş. Sakay</i>              | Maliye Bakanı<br><i>M. Özalp</i>          | Millî Eğitim Bakanı<br><i>F. Ş. Köksal</i>    |  |
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080 18 01 02 113 34 15

|   |           |  |                                |
|---|-----------|--|--------------------------------|
| <b>T. C.</b><br><b>BAŞVEKÂLET</b><br>Yazı İşleri Dairesi<br>Müdürlüğü<br>Sayı : ..... |           | No.<br>7643  | Dosya işaretleri<br>402<br>117 |
| <b>T. C.</b><br><b>BARBAROS</b><br><b>UMURİYE ARSIZI</b>                              |           |  |                                |
| Ölen  | Tarhi     | Sayın Şükrü Saracoğlu<br>Hariciye Vekili<br><br>Hatay'da Iskenderun ve Antakya'da yapılmasına karar verilmiş olan Konsolosluk binalarının atiyen Halkevi olarak kullanılmasını muvafık görüyorum . Ancak şimdiki projeleri Konsolosluk ihtiyacına göre tanzim edilmiş olduğundan ileride Halkevi olarak istifade edilebilmesi için bazı tadilat yapmak icab etmektedir . Nafia Vekâletinde bulunduğu anlaşılan bu bina projeleri üzerinde bu bakımdan gereken değişikliklerin yapılabilmesi için bu Vekâlete malûmat verilerek neticenin bildirilmesini rica ederim .<br><br>Başvekil<br><br>27 Nisan 1939 |                                |
| Evrakın   | Numarası  |  |                                |
| Mücevvid  |           |  |                                |
| Tesvid tarihi   | 26/4/1939 |  |                                |
| Mühbeyiz  |           |  |                                |
| Tebviz tarihi   | 26        |  |                                |
| Mukabele edenler  |           |  |                                |
| Sadına  | Umumi     |  |                                |
| No.   | Hususi    |  |                                |
| Mürşutah  | 6<br>2130 |  |                                |
| Sevk tarihi   | 27-4-39   |  |                                |
| Mukayyidin imzası   |           |  |                                |

- 2 -

|     |    |  |  |     |     |     |
|-----|----|--|--|-----|-----|-----|
| 030 | 10 |  |  | 225 | 515 | 121 |
|-----|----|--|--|-----|-----|-----|

Appendix 12: People's House in Antakya (*Sancak'tan Vilayete Hatay 1921-1960*, 2017, p.473)

