

## Introduction

On 1 April 1931, the Lebanese engineer Albert Naccache guided a group of tourists to the Qadisha Valley in Northern Lebanon. Nowadays, the Qadisha Valley figures in the World Heritage List of UNESCO, owing to its age-old cedars and monasteries dating back to the early days of Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Naccache, however, drew the attention of his visitors to a more recent attraction: the hydro-electrical power plant on the Abu ʿAli River.

Albert Naccache's guided tour to the power plant was depicted in the photograph album of one such French tourist (fig. 1). On the album pages, the black-and-white memories of this excursion appeared between photographs of pharaonic statues, the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and the Roman ruins of Baalbek. Since these renowned sights show that the tourist had followed the beaten tracks of numerous European travellers to the Arab East, it can be assumed that the visit to the electrical power plant did not indicate some eccentric hobby of hers. Instead, I suggest that the visit was initiated by Albert Naccache, the man wearing a Western suit and necktie in photograph no. 97.

In this way, the engineer-cum-tour guide Naccache questions our intuitive understanding of tourist attractions. If sights are commonly understood to be of historical or cultural relevance, remarkable due to their curious difference or seeming authenticity, Naccache's choice of presenting the local power plant to the group of tourists requires an explanation.<sup>2</sup> This excursion suggests that, for actors during the 1920s and 1930s, tourism was not a clearly defined business model they implemented, but rather a resource, the deployment of which remained to be identified.

It seems that in the Qadisha Valley, Naccache was on a political mission. The owner of the *Société de Kadisha* advocated the industrial development of Lebanon, and he perceived tourism as an opportunity to develop the Lebanese hinterland, an idea for which he had already lobbied in 1919. According to Naccache, a better road network and the electrification of Lebanon were necessary to achieve the economic independence of Lebanon, and only a viable economy would guarantee its political independence.<sup>3</sup> The scene at the Abu ʿAli power plant thus suggests that Naccache wished to showcase Lebanese technological progress and economic potential – but also its political ambitions – to the tourist party.



Figure 1: Album page depicting the excursion to the hydro-electrical power plant, 1931  
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Such an approach to tourism must be understood in the context of the international post-war order. At the end of World War I, claims for sovereignty gained ground in the territories under foreign rule and among those who feared being colonised.<sup>4</sup> After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, the European colonial powers, at the height of their spatial expansion, intensified their presence in the Arab East in the framework of a modified colonial order: the mandates system. Although the system first and foremost served the legitimisation of prolonged foreign rule, according to Susan Pedersen, it irreversibly changed the modalities of colonial governance.<sup>5</sup> The mandates system suggested that the capacity of populations for self-government would be assessed according to internationally applicable criteria. Assuming that the inhabitants of the conquered territories were “not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world”, the mandate agreement classified these territories according to their “stage of development” and stipulated that the formerly Ottoman Arab provinces should be assisted “by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone”. This implied that the ‘modernity’ and the civilisational progress of those territories would be monitored and evaluated – once a sufficient degree of ‘civilisation’ was obtained, they would achieve full sovereignty.<sup>6</sup> Under these conditions, the presence of tourists from “advanced nations”<sup>7</sup> was a chance to negotiate the achieved rank of the states striving for independence. When Albert Naccache led the group of French tourists

to the hydro-electrical power plant, he demonstrated the advanced level of progress and civilisation achieved by the Lebanese, justifying their claims for sovereignty.

Tourism therefore entered into the process of defining a new spatio-political order in the post-Ottoman Arab East. The question as to whether the formerly Ottoman territories would be administered by European colonial empires, gain independence as nation-states, or as a sovereign pan-Arab entity, stirred conflicts that were not only fought at the peace conferences and by means of violent protest and uprisings, but also by cultural means. One of these arenas was tourism. Actors in tourism presented historical bonds and mapped sites of symbolic relevance, thereby negotiating spheres of belonging. Moreover, as tourist movements produced centres and peripheries, created presence and justified the expansion of infrastructures, directing these movements became a method of implementing spatial visions. Analytically, tourism may thus serve as a lens through which we can trace the transition from a post-Ottoman spatial order to the emergence of nation-states. The combination of several spatial levels of analysis allows us to grasp both Ottoman continuities and new connections linked to imperial penetration and processes of globalisation as suggested by Cyrus Schayegh.<sup>8</sup> In this way, the analysis of tourism might complement our understanding of the formation of nation-states in the Arab East.

The book approaches tourism during the interwar period from a new angle as it examines tourism as a political resource in both its national and its imperial contexts. Whereas historical research on tourism analysed the phenomenon mainly in terms of mobilities, leisure culture, and perceptions of the Other – and thus from the perspective of travellers – in addition I address perspectives from societies in the tourist destinations, the active participation of which has been largely omitted in existing studies.<sup>9</sup> Even if the expectations and world views of tourists had been shaped in the imperial metropolises, they could be approached by local populations in different ways than colonial officials or military staff. Tourism in imperial contexts was more than an opportunity to disseminate imperial propaganda.<sup>10</sup> The presence of French and British tourists, informal representatives of the respective imperial power, created a forum for debate that potentially included the imperial metropole. While imperial power relations were not suspended, tourists depended on local assistants and interpreters due to their temporally limited presence and their lack of local knowledge. This book therefore focuses on tourists from Great Britain and France, even if tourists from other nationalities will occasionally cross our paths.

The attempts of colonial administrators, as well as associations and political representatives in the Arab East to communicate visions, shape perceptions, and define access and movements – creating spaces, that is – testified to their aims of shaping the future political order of the region.<sup>11</sup> Since these techniques were accessible to different actors, the analysis has to take into account processes of communication, negotiation, and shaping movements beyond the binary paradigm

of coloniser and colonised, visitor and visited. In the ‘visited’ societies, tourism was a promising opportunity for some – both in economic and political terms – while it was a menace to others. Regarding the intercultural encounter, imperial propaganda, racial stereotypes and Orientalist thinking undoubtedly characterised Eastern Mediterranean tourism, but the relocation of tourists to the overseas possessions created an arena accessible to actors rejecting those narratives and presenting alternative views.<sup>12</sup> Such encounters allowed local tour guides, intellectuals, authors, politicians and entrepreneurs to address their messages directly to ‘imperial amateurs’ from the colonial metropolises, and their local expertise, on which tourists depended, questioned colonial configurations of power. The focus on these actors, their ambitions, achievements and failures in tourism development not only sheds light on an often-underestimated connection, but also demonstrates the agency of nationalist actors, who actively grasped tourism as a resource to shape sovereign nation-states.

### Tourism

The relevance of tourists to the formation of spaces stemmed from their collective appearance and their organised, foreseeable itineraries. Naccache cared about the French tourist *because* she was a tourist like many others. ‘Tourism’ often has negative connotations and is contrasted with the more positive term ‘travel’, both by researchers and in popular imagination. Whereas travellers are reputed to be well-informed and open-minded explorers of foreign places and cultures, ignorance characterises the tourist: tourists allegedly follow the guide of the party rather than exploring unknown terrain; they are supposed to expect Western amenities, misbehave out of a lack of understanding, and mistake staged exotic performances for authentic expressions of local culture. Such attributions of ignorance and inadequate behaviour turned into clichés, and ‘tourist’ became a derogatory attribute mostly used by other tourists for self-distinction.<sup>13</sup>

To grasp the allegedly neutral core of the term, sociologists and historians have described tourism as travelling for the purpose of leisure. Travelling “for reasons basically unconnected with work”<sup>14</sup> defined tourism as a distinct category according to these authors, and as a distinctly modern phenomenon in comparison with varieties of travel motivated by trade or business, professional mobility (soldiers and sailors), or religious pilgrimage.<sup>15</sup> Yet authors referring to an inherent modernity of tourism often had to downplay evidence for pre-modern leisure travel.<sup>16</sup> In addition, the motivation behind a journey is difficult to assess. Reasons for travel overlapped more often than not and claims of travellers as to the purpose of their journey tell us much more about socially acceptable forms of mobility than about

travellers' intentions. Empirical findings show that the practices associated with different types of travel often intersected. I came across soldiers based in Syria who travelled to Baalbek and Jerusalem for sightseeing, and businessmen who profited from the occasion to undertake excursions of a recreational nature. Religious Christians spending their Easter holidays in Jerusalem often embedded this pilgrimage in a larger journey, including visits to the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus or the Pyramids of Giza. In many cases sources such as photographs or postcards did not reveal the intention of travellers regarding their journey.

I therefore adopt an approach that focuses on structures of organised travel rather than aiming to define the individual intentions of travellers. In his paper on tourism to the Dutch Indies, Robert Cribb added a second feature to the definition of tourism that circumvents the problem of focusing on the self-perception of tourists, avoiding both the negative moral connotations of the term and the notoriously ambiguous and unstable individual statements of travel purposes. Instead, Cribb argued that a peculiarity of tourism was the high degree of organisation:

Tourism [...] is perhaps best characterized not just by the element of pleasure, but also by a loss of independence. In exchange for access, the tourist surrenders autonomy whether by joining a tour group or simply by following a guidebook which maps out one or more beaten paths. If we can take guidebooks and tour groups as the key signs of modern tourism, then we can date international tourism in the Indies to around the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>17</sup>

While the Dutch Indies were a relative latecomer in international tourism, Cribb's definition of tourism as a highly organised form of travelling is instructive as it shifts attention from the mere tourists to infrastructures and services related to tourism. The modernity of tourism is ascribed to the material conditions of travelling: innovations in transport and the organisation of labour contributed to the emergence of the organised 'package' tour as a new form of travel, which made excursions and voyages more broadly accessible. Simultaneously, these new forms of group travel implied a scheduling of the journey and necessitated careful planning before departure. In these processes, tourists were assisted not only by travel agents, but also by guidebooks issued by various publishing houses such as *Baedeker*, *Hachette* or *Murray*.<sup>18</sup> These developments of the late nineteenth century fundamentally altered the way of travelling for everybody – regardless of the intended travel purpose. As a result, 'tourism' was no longer a conscious choice but the default option. Based on Cribb's definition, the terms 'traveller' and 'tourist' (resp. 'travel' and 'tourism') will be used synonymously throughout this book.

By the 1920s, organised travel was well-established in several countries around the Mediterranean. The British tour operator *Thomas Cook & Son* led a first tour

to Egypt in 1869 and the business quickly expanded.<sup>19</sup> In French North Africa, the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique* (CGT) offered tickets for circular tours from 1882 onwards.<sup>20</sup> When European tourists on packaged tours started to visit the Eastern Mediterranean, they merged with other leisure-seekers. Since the 1860s, ‘wintering’ stays had become popular among wealthy Europeans who escaped the cold European winter season, seeking refuge in the mild Mediterranean climate of the French Riviera, Algeria and Egypt.<sup>21</sup> Around the same time, Lebanese and Syrian mountain villages started to attract summer guests from the Arab East. Among them were emigrant families visiting their places of origin as well as summer guests from the administrative centres of the Ottoman Empire. Quite similar to the *hiverneurs* seeking refuge from the European winter, the latter escaped the heat and humidity of Beirut, Baghdad, Cairo and Damascus and spent the summer months in the cooler Mount Lebanon area.<sup>22</sup> *Estivage* (*al-istiyaf*) or *villégiature* were the terms used both in British and French sources to describe this practice.<sup>23</sup> It was characterised mainly by practices of sociability, but photographs suggest that it also included sightseeing excursions, for example to the ruins of Baalbek.<sup>24</sup>

The proponents of tourism development had to face several setbacks caused by the political and economic crises of the interwar period, which will be discussed in the following chapters. Protests and revolts against the imperial overlords such as in Egypt in 1925 or in Syria in 1925–27 caused downturns, and in Palestine violent uprisings against the effects of the Jewish immigration movement hampered tourism development and led to a noticeable decline in the number of visitors in 1929 and 1936–39. On a global level, the Great Depression from 1929 onwards led to a cancellation of bookings and brought several hotels in the region into turmoil. As a reaction to these difficulties, advocates of tourism development attempted to reach out to new customers.

The general expansion of organised tourism attracted new social groups to the Mediterranean shores. In the 1930s, proponents of tourism development advertised excursions to the seaside among the local urban working classes. Moreover, an increasing number of members of the European middle classes, unmarried women, and even workers were able to afford journeys to the Arab East at least “once in a lifetime”.<sup>25</sup> Some tour operators consciously targeted travellers on a low budget. The shipping line *Fabre Lines* or associations such as the *British Workers’ Travel Association*, for example, offered comparatively inexpensive tickets or tour packages.<sup>26</sup>

The tour operators also targeted female travellers like the aforementioned author of the photograph album. By 1925, she had already undertaken a long voyage to East Asia, where she visited Japan, China, Cambodia and Indonesia, among other places. Both on this voyage and on her journey to the Arab East in the spring of 1931, she appears to have travelled alone.<sup>27</sup> In particular *Cook & Son* had advertised

organised tours as a possibility for ‘respectable women’ to travel without their husbands or other relatives, and contributed to rendering the solitary travel of bourgeois women socially acceptable by the interwar period.<sup>28</sup> Not all tour agents would go as far as the 1934 guidebook “*Sur les routes du Levant*” though, which recommended a journey to the Eastern Mediterranean to solitary female travellers as a (last) adventure before marriage.<sup>29</sup>

Whereas organised tourism facilitated travelling for some social groups, other travellers faced new restrictions. Valeska Huber argued that we should consider ‘mobility’ in the plural. Having demonstrated that the general growth in mobility triggered increasing controls and restrictions for certain groups, she coined the term “other mobilities” to grasp the restrictions and sometimes refusals of mobilities which lower-class travellers in particular were confronted with.<sup>30</sup> While we will encounter a number of solitary female tourists, for example, women intending to work in the tourism sector, often as performers, experienced far greater difficulties in obtaining visas.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, British and French authorities critically observed and sometimes impeded the movements of politically or morally suspect travellers.

Such restrictions notwithstanding, the expansion of organised travel to the Eastern Mediterranean was the condition for the political implications that characterised tourism after World War I, and the overall number of tourists reached peaks in the late 1920s and the mid-1930s. The growing numbers of European and American tourists in Egypt and the mandate states turned these visitors not only into a target group for entrepreneurs in the transport and accommodation sectors, but also into an audience accessible to politicians, entrepreneurs, and intellectuals. Viewed from such an angle, tourism has to be understood as an essentially transnational phenomenon, not because European travellers crossed national borders, but because it established occasions that allowed, for example, an Arab entrepreneur like Naccache to communicate with a French tourist.<sup>32</sup> Since Great Britain and France were the imperial powers in control in the countries under scrutiny, I focus on the British and French tourists to whom these messages were mainly addressed.

That said, the connection between tourism and empire is, according to Eric G. E. Zuelow, still among the major understudied aspects in the history of tourism.<sup>33</sup> Only in recent years have historians begun analysing tourism in this context, often as an element of imperial culture. Ellen Furlough was among the pioneers, convincingly arguing that French imperial administrators exploited tourism in order to disseminate propagandistic messages. This was consolidated by subsequent studies of tourism in the French and Italian imperial contexts, for example by Colette Zytznicki in her research on tourism to French Algeria, Brian McLaren’s work on Italian colonial Libya, and Aline Demay’s study on French Indochina.<sup>34</sup> As far as British imperial tourism is concerned, research often focused on travel literature and self-conceptions of travellers. Few studies analysed the

role of the British Empire in the expansion of travel infrastructures or the institutionalisation of tourist practices.<sup>35</sup> Studies on nineteenth-century travel to Egypt often demonstrated in a Saidian tradition of research how the exhibition of local culture and the “tourist gaze” at the Other were linked to imperial ambitions and a colonial mindset.<sup>36</sup>

In the Mediterranean, the propagandistic side of tourism was particularly pronounced in the French imperial possessions, presumably due to the important role the Mediterranean played in French imperial self-conceptions. The claim to restore the grandeur of the ancient Roman Empire resulted in policies of archaeological discovery, preservation and exhibition of monuments that were promoted as tourist attractions. The reference to ancient Roman history implied that imperial rule was the ‘natural’ condition of the Mediterranean and its proponents stipulated a parallel between the French colonisers and the ancient Romans, who had allegedly brought knowledge, science, and culture to the region.<sup>37</sup> A second strand of French preservationist policies was dedicated to ‘traditional’ local culture, prominently developed under Hubert Lyautey in the French protectorate of Morocco, and later applied in Mandate Syria. Its proponents argued that local traditions, conceived of as expressions of an allegedly authentic local culture, had to be protected against the spoiling influence of contemporary inventions and technologies. Accordingly, efforts to maintain the production of local crafts paralleled measures of conservation and exhibition, while preserving an allegedly ‘primitive state’ and demonstrating that these peoples were not ready for self-rule.<sup>38</sup>

Forms of creating heritage, as well as the implications of tourism for both travelling and accommodating societies, have been studied by sociologists, anthropologists, and geographers who dominated research on tourism until recently.<sup>39</sup> In these contexts, tourism as a variety of cultural contact has been judged rather critically. Authors argued that most tourist practices at best confirmed pre-travel stereotypes of tourists and at worst destroyed local culture. The authenticity tourists requested, sought “in other historical periods and other cultures”,<sup>40</sup> seemed to impede encounters on equal terms. In the last decade, however, authors have nuanced such negative views of tourism.<sup>41</sup> Among others, historical perspectives contributed to a new understanding of the phenomenon. Shelley Baranowski argued in her work on the German national socialist travel organisation *Kraft durch Freude* that tourists should not be mistaken for victims of political propaganda. She reminded her readers that even if travel might have been intended as an occasion to spread propagandistic messages, such intentions could be subverted by tourists, who often pursued their own interests and agendas.<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, contrary to what is generally assumed, tourism was not a one-way movement of Westerners to the colonised world. French tourism advertisements in Egypt, for example, aimed at attracting Egyptian visitors to France, rather than



vice-versa. The Egyptian bourgeoisie was such an important target group that in 1935, the French commercial attaché in Alexandria, Grandguillot, did not have any reservations about a tax-free exchange of tourist brochures, stating that “in return for one French tourist who spends a week in Egypt in winter without spending much money, we receive in summer one hundred Egyptian tourists, who stay for three months and spend at least 25,000 francs per person.”<sup>43</sup> Tourism was thus a shared practice among a “global bourgeoisie”.<sup>44</sup> The social and geographical range of such middle-class tourists widened considerably in the interwar period and we have to assume that European tourists encountered the inhabitants of their destinations not only in subordinate positions such as cameleers or waiters, but also as middle-class Arab travellers on ships or in grand hotels. At the same time, European tourists were a socially heterogeneous group. Elite circles existed, such as the touring clubs and automobile associations spreading across the globe. They constituted transnational elitist networks for the exchange of advice, recommendations and experiences.<sup>45</sup> The more significant development in terms of numbers, however, was the emergence of package tours and organised excursions attracting travellers from a broader social range.

Indeed, members of the middle classes appeared to be the dominant actors shaping tourist practices during the 1920s and 1930s. Regardless of their national backgrounds, they used the same media to document their journeys, they founded similar institutions and businesses catering to the needs of travellers, and they seemed to have a vital interest in drafting narratives to market their hometowns or countries as tourist destinations. In referring to these actors as members of a global middle class, I am drawing on recent reflections of Christof Dejung, David Motadel and Jürgen Osterhammel. They analysed the “global bourgeoisie” from a global historical perspective as a social group having emerged across the globe at a similar historical moment. Its often interconnected members were identified as the “most effective proponents” of processes of globalisation.<sup>46</sup> At the same time, the authors described the ambitions of the middle classes to shape their states and societies.<sup>47</sup> These ambitions were intertwined with claims for modernity, thoroughly analysed by Keith Watenpugh, which were not perceived as an adoption of ‘Western’ modernity but rather understood as the participation in a universal standard.<sup>48</sup> I argue in this book that these claims for modernity, globalisation, mobility and access to shaping politics were intertwined with their ambitions to promote tourism in the Arab East.

The hopes members of the middle class placed in tourism were thus of political rather than economic character, and they were related to their aims to foster the emergence of viable nation-states. Tourism addressed two major requirements of nation-building: it contributed to the attribution of sense to an imagined national community as described by Benedict Anderson, and it contributed to the integration

of a given, bounded, territorial entity as described by Charles Maier.<sup>49</sup> As a specific asset, tourism made a global audience participate in these processes.

## Spaces

Tourism was an asset to actors aiming to shape the future nation-states in the region, and this potential explains the relevance middle-class actors attributed to tourism. ‘Space’ was defined as “to discern an order” (“*das Erkennen einer Ordnung*”) by the geographer Judith Miggelbrink.<sup>50</sup> I adopt her definition because her emphasis on the verb ‘to discern’ has two advantages. First, the wording excludes the idea that ‘space’ was some sort of a quasi-natural container. Instead, it frames space as a process, which implies that spatial formations are subject to change. Second, the verb underscores the active participation of individuals in producing space. Spaces result from activities: persons identify an order in their surroundings and attribute meaning to it. These properties imply that “a plurality of different spaces” of various scales coexist, overlap, and are interconnected – and that these connections are similarly subject to change.<sup>51</sup> From such a spatial perspective, tourism, that is the organised movement of people, matters in two regards: First, in the minds of tourists and their guides emerge imagined abstract world orders, a hierarchy of sites and places, based on experiences made and explanations given, that remain even after the travellers have left the destination. Second, regular tourist movements create a concrete order on the ground because the mobilities tourism generates are intertwined with the creation of infrastructural connections.<sup>52</sup>

With regard to imaginaries, two major arguments about the relationship of tourism and nationalism have been put forward, both of which draw on the notion of journeys as a “meaning-creating experience”.<sup>53</sup> First, it has been argued that the experience of encountering the Other when travelling abroad allowed tourists to grasp the specific properties of their ‘own’ communities.<sup>54</sup> Second, national governments promoted domestic tourism with the intention that tourists would get to know ‘their’ country.<sup>55</sup> Such experiences of travellers visiting national museums or outstanding cultural or natural sights of their respective nation may be likened to the experience of educational or administrative “pilgrimages” described by Benedict Anderson. He argued that the emergence of educational or bureaucratic centres attracting students or functionaries from all corners of the state allowed them to discover their belonging to a shared, imagined community.<sup>56</sup> My main interest in this book, however, lies in the perspective of those who organised travel rather than those who travelled. I wonder how the mobilities of others, namely mobilities of distinction rather than mobilities of belonging, contributed to the

creation of meaning from the point of view of the ‘visited’ societies, in particular in imperial contexts.

I suggest that transnational tourism allowed nationalist middle-class actors to present their nations as distinct yet equal to those of their visitors. The imaginaries of the nation were based on established categories. For South East Asia, Anderson argued that the nationalist imaginaries drew on colonial predecessors, defining the nation in terms of “the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry.”<sup>57</sup> The concrete narratives nationalist tour guides presented often differed from imperial descriptions of the territory though, sometimes actively contesting the interpretations applied by European researchers and colonial officials. The idea of what tourists considered an attraction was not yet canonised as the example of Albert Naccache reminds us; apparently, he imagined a different tourist space than that of the authors of the UNESCO World Heritage List in the second half of the twentieth century.

Moreover, tourism helps us to understand that after the Arab nationalisms of the late-nineteenth century, which were framed mainly in historical terms, a second, territorial nationalism attributed sense to both an Egyptian nation-state and the newly shaped political entities of the mandates.<sup>58</sup> Beyond representing the nation on tourist maps, actors in tourism development aimed to exhibit – and create – a coherent territory to be experienced by citizens and foreign visitors alike. Yet, we will see that in Arab Palestine and Syria, such a territorial nationalism did not emerge.

Although spaces are tied to cognitive processes on an individual and a collective level, they cannot be reduced to mere imagination as the established order features material elements. Geographical places and their specific material properties shape the discernible order.<sup>59</sup> In addition, movements, access and the denial of access contribute to the perception of space. A ‘tourist space’ is a mental construct in the sense that actual and potential travellers identify the space as a possible destination, yet its recognition presupposes material elements such as infrastructures and sights enabling and stimulating organised travel.<sup>60</sup>

The contemporaneous formation of tourist spaces and a new spatio-political order led to an intertwining of tourism development policies and the spheres of local and emerging national, as well as imperial, politics. Actors and activities overlapped, and contributions to shaping tourist spaces were often attempts to shape political entities. This connection was no coincidence, as directing tourist movements helped create a spatial order. The importance of space in historical analysis has been pointed out by the proponents of the ‘spatial turn’, who identified time and space as interconnected principles of ordering society.<sup>61</sup> The connection between space and rule, space and politics, and space and society established by

these thinkers explains why tourism may serve as a lens in tracing the emergence of nation-states as the dominant political order in the Arab Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>62</sup>

I aim to assess the role of tourism in creating an order of nation-states in the Eastern Arab Mediterranean by examining which actors used tourism, and to what extent they pursued political agendas by means of tourism. The spatial approach to state-formation facilitates the inclusion of various groups of actors and their different, often contradictory, spatial visions. It leaves room for the blurriness, the mutual dependence and the reshaping of spaces, taking into account that the outcome of the process was not obvious to contemporary actors.<sup>63</sup> It allows us to consider the circulation of competing spatial visions for the region, and the range of actors advancing these notions. This study thus analyses the contribution of tourism to the process of the formation of Middle Eastern nation-states without taking the outcome (the nation-state) for granted.

### Tourism in the 1920s and 1930s

In the Arab Eastern Mediterranean during the 1920s and 1930s, the three elements with which I am concerned – space, tourism and politics – collided in a historical moment that is interesting for three reasons. First, after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, different actors in both the Arab East and in Europe advanced a multiplicity of spatial visions for a future order. These decades witnessed another extension of European colonial empires, while subjects contested imperial rule on the ground, in international diplomacy and in the imperial metropolises.<sup>64</sup> Second, the interwar period witnessed a significant growth in tourist movements to the area as well as the emergence of new forms of tourism. While in Egypt organised tourism was already set in motion in the nineteenth century, in neighbouring *Bilad al-Sham*<sup>65</sup> European tourism became a prominent feature in the 1920s. In the 1930s, attempts to foster domestic tourism were discernible in several parts of the region. Hence, tourism exemplifies Sönke Kunkel's and Christoph Meyer's description of the interwar period as an "experimental stage". In this time, they argued, major elements that would come to characterise the twentieth century were discernible, but not yet fully implemented.<sup>66</sup> Third, the emergence of tourism took place at a time of heated debates about the political and economic future of the various states. The mandates in Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon, but also the not-quite-concealed imperial rule in Egypt, rendered cultural policies a particularly relevant tool from both an imperial and a nationalist point of view. Urban notables, who had dominated the public administration in late-Ottoman times, but also members of the mercantile bourgeoisies, had to realise that their hopes of taking over the state administration would not immediately come into being. At the same time, they

prepared themselves for the time when they would definitely take over. In the context of quasi-colonial rule, the domain of cultural policies provided nationalist actors with a greater room for manoeuvre than others.<sup>67</sup> Tourism was thus inter-linked with debates about how the emerging states would position themselves in an international and regional context.

### Approach of the book

These observations reveal that in order to fully grasp the historical relevance of tourism, it is essential to consider its transnational dimensions. National histories of tourism and its socio-economic implications, or histories of national cultures of leisure, overlook the significance of tourism in the early twentieth century: it provided local actors with the capacity to address an international audience.<sup>68</sup> From the point of view of its proponents, this capacity turned tourism into an important political resource – even if their attempts to place their messages were not always successful.

The relevance of the continuous transnational dialogue is discernible from a global historical perspective, which focuses – in the words of Sebastian Conrad – on transnational and transcultural interactions in the framework of a politically, economically and culturally integrated world.<sup>69</sup> Such an integrated world persisted from a tourist perspective, despite tendencies of disentanglement during the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>70</sup> Politically, the mandates system established a mechanism for the international oversight of governance in the post-Ottoman Arab provinces, creating dialogue (and dispute) between Arab representatives, the Yishuv,<sup>71</sup> European mandate powers and the Council of the League of Nations. In Egypt, the British had secured imperial influence after the nominal Egyptian independence by the so-called ‘Four Reserved Points’ that limited Egyptian sovereignty and allowed Great Britain to interfere in the Egyptian economy, jurisdiction, foreign and military affairs.<sup>72</sup> Economically, visa controls and toll barriers between the mandate states were introduced only successively during the period.<sup>73</sup> Capital from all over the world financed economic projects in the Yishuv, among them ventures in tourism. Culturally, national culture was defined in the same categories, a global standard for the structure of guidebooks had emerged, hotels offered a standardised set of amenities, and leisure practices in the Middle East reminded visitors of the French Riviera.

The category of the ‘nation’ (and thus the ‘transnational’) is both important and problematic in this context. It is important because for contemporary observers, the nation denoted the modern, sovereign state, independent from imperial rule. The mandate treaties stipulated that such sovereignty would be granted to

nations. Whereas in the former provinces of the Ottoman Empire, national senses of belonging were far from established, tourism and sightseeing contributed to the emergence of national orders. As Dean MacCannell explained, sightseeing was a way of ordering the world, a process by which “entire cities and regions, decades and cultures have become aware of themselves as tourist attractions.” Hence, presentations of the “national self” in national symbols, national histories, or national culture and traditions intended to attract tourists, had repercussions for local society and often justified its restructuring.<sup>74</sup> The international framework of the mandates and the targeting of European tourists thus enhanced the relevance of the national idea in tourism to the region.

At the same time, the application of the category is problematic because we cannot take its existence for granted from the outset.<sup>75</sup> During recent years, researchers of Middle Eastern nation-building turned away from histories of nationalism understood as histories of independence movements. Instead, they focused on the larger socio-political transformations of Arab societies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Often, a focus on selected cities allowed them to trace the spatial shifts occurring in the wider region in which the cities were embedded. In these works, the constant shifting of notions of belonging and the instability in perceiving such notions have come to the fore.<sup>76</sup> Inspired by these works, I adopt a flexible framework. Both inner rifts and borders, as well as outer connections, are considered, in line with the processual understanding of space described above.

Another indispensable yet problematic category is ‘modernity’. The term has been criticised for its Eurocentric implications, yet studies on the transformation processes in the Arab East during the nineteenth century demonstrated its relevance to local self-conceptions, reflection, and debate since the *Nahda* period.<sup>77</sup> The claim for modernity characterised the ambitions of certain Arab actors from the largely urban middle classes to participate in the economic, scientific, and cultural transformations at the basis of Europe’s global dominance.<sup>78</sup> Despite local particularities in the social composition and ambitions of these advocates of modernity, they were united by their striving for what they perceived as a modern society. In all countries under scrutiny, their claims addressed both their own societies, advocating sociopolitical transformations, and an international audience, justifying demands for sovereignty. Therefore, I understand ‘modernity’ as an ambition, a claim and a self-conception, rather than as a heuristic category.<sup>79</sup>

In the selection of the case studies, I followed the trajectories of many British and French tourists on the Arab part of their round trips from Egypt via Palestine and the French Mandate of Syria and Lebanon to Turkey, Italy and then back to France or Britain. Thereby I attempted to trace structures of organised tourism that existed or were about to emerge. While Egypt differed from the three mandate

states in its institutional and political history, tourism in Egypt was an important reference for both travellers and advocates of tourism development. Already in 1912, a *Tourist Development Association* was founded in Egypt, probably the model of several similar associations emerging across the region in the following years.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, actors from Syria to the Yishuv mentioned Egypt as a model in tourism development.<sup>81</sup> While the business of tourism in Egypt was largely in the hands of European tour operators, in political terms, the Egyptian Government and deputies had greater room for manoeuvre in shaping tourism policies and the case of Egypt thus offers an interesting example in contrast to the mandates.<sup>82</sup>

However, Iraq and Transjordan, two mandates under British tutelage, are not included in this study. Although Petra became a major attraction for tourists during the interwar period, and regular bus services between Beirut, Damascus and Baghdad facilitated travelling for both European tourists and Iraqi summer guests, hints at and references to visits to these places were so scarce in the diaries, notes and photograph albums of my sample of travellers that I decided to stay on the “beaten tracks” around the Mediterranean coast.

In order to assess the relevance of tourism in the context of shifting spatial orders, a broad range of sources had to be consulted. Documents from state archives and libraries were combined with sources obtained by what Lucie Ryzova termed the “*Ezbekiyya* methodology” (referring to Cairo’s famous book market), i.e. looking for “what there is” beyond curated collections of historical documents and objects.<sup>83</sup> From central state archives to those of sporting clubs as well as beyond archival structures, I searched for sources that would reflect the perspectives of different actors within tourism – such as tourists, entrepreneurs and guides – but also of members of interest groups and of relevant political and administrative bodies. I consulted, for example, diplomatic correspondence as well as state legislation, official reports and development plans, published and unpublished travelogues and diaries, tourist brochures, guidebooks and newspaper articles, and postcards and photographs. In order to avoid a lengthy reflection on these very heterogeneous documents, reflections on some sources particular to the history of tourism will be part of the introductory sections in chapters 2–5: photographs, travel diaries, postcards and tourist brochures.

The structure of this book reflects its spatial approach to tourism. Each of the four chapters focuses on a national entity – Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon<sup>84</sup> – and their order mirrors the trajectories of many travellers on their tours around the Eastern Mediterranean. Although the nation-state as an integrated spatial entity only emerged during the period under investigation, legislation was organised on a national level, justifying a national approach. Already in the 1920s, both opponents and adversaries of tourism development addressed their desires and complaints to national governments or to the mandate powers. Differences between the four

spatio-political entities, in terms of both their socio-structural properties and their approaches to tourism, justify their separate examination. In order to circumvent the trap of circular reasoning, however, the study pays attention to connections and exchanges between the countries, transnational activities and interest groups, cross-border movements, as well as alternative spatial visions, resistances, and counter-movements to the formation of nation-states. At times, the book rather narrates the stories of failed projects of nation-building, or argues that processes of transformation occurred unevenly within a national entity.

The individual chapters are organised according to a similar structure: the opening section of each chapter draws on a specific category of sources to approach tourism in the respective country, like photographs, travel diaries, postcards and tourist brochures. These often ephemeral and fragmented sources offer a glimpse at some topics of the chapter and shed light on often-overlooked actors shaping tourism. The second sections of the chapters suggest a periodisation of tourism in the respective context and introduce the main groups of actors promoting tourism. The third sections consist of case studies from selected places on the tourist map. These 16 miniatures add up to a kaleidoscopic picture of tourism in the Arab East, allowing us to grasp the implications of tourism development for different groups of actors. Notwithstanding its parallel structure, this is not a comparative study. The transformative processes of the spatio-political entities under scrutiny, the manifold entanglements between the regions and the great variety in sources do not provide the conditions for an insightful comparison.<sup>85</sup> The chapters analyse different facets of tourism development, aiming to grasp the particularities of each case, thereby adding up to a more comprehensive picture of tourism in the Arab Eastern Mediterranean.

Chapter 2 shows how Egyptian actors struggled with the legacy of organised European tourism, which had turned Egypt into the first large-scale destination in the region to attract organised tours in the late nineteenth century. The early emergence of travel on the Nile implied that during the 1920s and 1930s, tourists built on well-established routes, patterns and imaginations when visiting the country. After the country obtained partial independence in 1922, new ambitions, actors, and aims in tourism competed with existing structures. To the Egyptian *efendiyya*, tourism was a means of contesting established Orientalist visions of Egypt and presenting alternative national self-conceptions to an international audience. In the 1930s, they addressed Egyptians as a second group of potential tourists: excursions to the Egyptian sites of leisure should contribute to turning both lower middle classes and the allegedly cosmopolitan upper classes into better Egyptian citizens.

Chapter 3 studies the competition of Yishuvi and Palestinian actors in tourism to the British Mandate of Palestine. Although the Bible remained an important reference for most European tourists, the idea of visiting the 'Holy Land' faded



into the background when, from the late 1920s, conflict narratives began to define tourists' perceptions of mandatory Palestine. Both Arab Palestinian proponents of tourism development and Yishuvi, in particular Zionist, actors, aimed to present their vision of Palestine to visitors. Other than Arab intellectuals presenting Jerusalem as a symbol of a historically rooted Arab Palestine, Zionist institutions pursued a territorial approach to tourism development. The Zionist's access to processes of political decision-making, capital, British support as well as a large reservoir of potential Jewish tourists allowed them not only to shape a coherent Yishuvi tourist space, but also to use it as a foundation for the envisioned future state.

Chapter 4 focuses on the French mandate administration in Syria as a major actor in tourism development. To the French High Commission, tourism development was part of their strategies of 'pacification', as it was considered a contribution to both economic development and territorial control. The implementation of tourism development plans remained limited though, among other reasons because cooperation with advocates of tourism development among the Syrian urban middle classes did not occur. The latter, by contrast, lacked the political support to realise their ambitions, and neither a coherent national narrative nor an integrated tourist space emerged in Syria.

Chapter 5 examines the broad consensus about the importance of tourism that existed in Lebanon since the early days of the mandate. For the supporters of an independent Lebanese state, tourism was a vital resource. Although the borders of 'Greater Lebanon' were by no means uncontested in the early 1920s, tourism contributed to both an imaginary and a material integration of the nation, while achieving the acknowledgement of Lebanese sovereignty by international observers and its regional neighbours. The access of the Lebanese middle-class nationalists to processes of political decision-making was vital to the successful establishment of both tourism and a nation-state.

The conclusion traces the spatio-political transformations of the region from the perspective of tourism. The case studies show that the members of the middle classes were the driving forces in shaping both tourism and the emerging nation-states. The Arab middle classes in Palestine and Syria, largely excluded from political processes, were not able to implement strategies of reaching out to tourists. In Lebanon, Egypt and in the Yishuv by contrast, where these middle classes had access to political decision-making, either by a sufficient degree of autonomy or by cooperation with the colonial state, they put well-thought-out tourism development policies into practice. The desire of tourists for information and guidance, as well as the steadiness of tourists' mobilities allowed them to use tourism as a resource of attributing meaning to the national entities and of consolidating territory, thereby creating viable nation-states.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Heritage Centre, 'Ouadi Qadisha'.
- <sup>2</sup> John Urry stipulates the variability of the "tourist gaze", yet stresses that its core is a perceived "difference": Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, pp. 1–3. Zuelow mentions that also in the Netherlands and the United States in the late nineteenth century, innovative technologies or institutions such as modern prisons and hospitals were promoted as tourist attractions: Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, pp. 36, 106.
- <sup>3</sup> Naccache, 'L'industrie de la villégiature'. Naccache, *Un autre Liban*, pp. 61–63, 243–245. He also guided journalists of the newspaper *L'Orient* around the power plant, explaining his ambitions to a Lebanese audience: Naccache, *Un autre Liban*, p. 245.
- <sup>4</sup> Manela, 'Dawn of a New Era'.
- <sup>5</sup> Pedersen, 'Meaning of the Mandates System', pp. 578–579, 581. Pedersen, *The Guardians*, pp. 402–406.
- <sup>6</sup> Yale Law School, 'The Covenant of the League', Art. 22. Pedersen, *The Guardians*, pp. 29, 148–149.
- <sup>7</sup> Yale Law School, 'The Covenant of the League', Art. 22.
- <sup>8</sup> Schayegh, *The Middle East and the Making of the Modern World*, pp. 15–21.
- <sup>9</sup> Wonderful exceptions are Mairs and Muratov, *Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters*, and Mairs, *From Khartoum to Jerusalem*. I am indebted to Jens Hanssen who pointed out these works to me.
- <sup>10</sup> Tourism has been interpreted as a form of colonial propaganda by: Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', pp. 63–65. McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya*, pp. 43–45. Furlough, 'Une leçon des choses', pp. 472–473. Zytnicki considered it a tool of colonial domination: Zytnicki, "'Faire l'Algérie agréable'", p. 9.
- <sup>11</sup> Rau, *Räume*, pp. 135–142, esp. pp. 140–141.
- <sup>12</sup> In similar contexts, authors have referred to the term "contact zone" coined by Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p. 8. As Pratt defines the "contact zone" as a space of encounter for cultures between the members of which there had not been interaction before, I do not use the term in this book.
- <sup>13</sup> Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, pp. 1–5. Löfgren, *On Holiday*, pp. 260–267. Enzensberger, 'Eine Theorie des Tourismus'.
- <sup>14</sup> Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, p. 6.
- <sup>15</sup> Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, pp. 4–6.
- <sup>16</sup> E.g. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, pp. 5–9. On overlaps between pilgrimage and tourism cf. also: Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, p. 1277.
- <sup>17</sup> Cribb, 'International Tourism in Java', p. 193.
- <sup>18</sup> Rosenberg, *Weltmärkte und Weltkriege*, Geschichte der Welt, pp. 985–987. Chabaud et al., *Les guides imprimés*. Rauch, 'Du Joanne au Routard'. Morlier, *Les Guides-Joanne*. On the difference between travel reports and guidebooks: Behdad, 'Orientalist Tourism'.
- <sup>19</sup> Hunter, 'Tourism and Empire'. Hazbun, 'The East as an Exhibit', pp. 5–6.
- <sup>20</sup> Zytnicki, *L'Algérie, terre de tourisme*, p. 19. On the particular role of the CGT in North African Tourism: Kazdaghli, 'L'entrée du Maghreb'. Perkins, 'The Compagnie Générale Transatlantique'.
- <sup>21</sup> Nash, 'The Rise and Fall'. Zytnicki, *L'Algérie, terre de tourisme*, pp. 36–41. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, p. 71.
- <sup>22</sup> Although Dewailly and Ouvazza, 'Le tourisme au Liban', dated estivage practices to the mandate period, there is evidence that estivage movements were taken up already in the late Ottoman period: for Bikfaya: Chébli, 'Evolution d'un centre d'estivage', p. 23. For Dhour el-Choueir: Sawaya, 'Un centre d'estivage libanais', pp. 45–46. Cf. also Barakat-Buccianti, 'Beyrouth sous le Mandat

- français', p. 75. On the visits of émigrés cf. Naccache, 'L'industrie de la villégiature', pp. 210–211. As the visits of Lebanese émigrés presumably had their own, specific dynamics, revolving around familiarity rather than Otherness, I did not include these journeys in the analysis.
- <sup>23</sup> I will stick to this terminology and use the French terms of "estivage", and "estiveur (pl. estiveurs)".
- <sup>24</sup> AIF, *Norma Jabbour Collection*. AIF, *Azar-Chouceir Collection*. AIF, *Mohsen Yammine Collection*. AIF, *Hamdan Chafic Collection*.
- <sup>25</sup> BL, Workers' Travel Association, *Notes on Summer Programme*.
- <sup>26</sup> On the *Workers' Travel Association* cf. Barton, *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism*. On the prices of Fabre Lines cf. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1921*, Trafic, p. 5. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1925*, Trafic, p. 4.
- <sup>27</sup> Two photographs in the album from 1925 show a young woman labeled "adopted niece", yet it seems to have been rather a nickname for a travel acquaintance.
- <sup>28</sup> Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, pp. 65–66. Rosenberg, 'Transnationale Strömungen', pp. 986–987.
- <sup>29</sup> BNF TOLBIAC, Roux-Servine, *Sur les routes du Levant*.
- <sup>30</sup> Huber, 'Multiple Mobilities'. Huber, *Channelling Mobilities*, pp. 304–307.
- <sup>31</sup> NA, *Theatrical artists in M. E. CADN, Le Ministre des Affaires étrangères, 02/04/1928*.
- <sup>32</sup> Conrad, *Globalgeschichte*, pp. 16–18. Osterhammel, 'Transnationale Gesellschaftsgeschichte'.
- <sup>33</sup> Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, pp. 95–96.
- <sup>34</sup> Furlough, 'Une leçon des choses'. Zytnicki, '«Faire l'Algérie agréable»'. McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya*. Zytnicki, *L'Algérie, terre de tourisme*. Zytnicki and Kazdaghli, *Le Tourisme dans l'Empire français*. Demay, *Tourism and Colonization in Indochina*. Baranowski et al., 'Tourism and Empire'.
- <sup>35</sup> Hunter, 'Tourism and Empire'. Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains*. Sacareau, 'Tourisme et colonisation'.
- <sup>36</sup> Urry differentiates "gazing" from "looking at", stating that the gaze "orders, shapes, and classifies" the world, rather than merely reflecting it: Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, pp. 1–2. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, p. 24. Gregory, 'Scripting Egypt', p. 146. Gregory, 'Emperors of the Gaze', pp. 224–225.
- <sup>37</sup> Jansen, *Erobern und Erinnern*, pp. 284–297. On archaeology and imperial culture in British contexts: Cobbing, 'Thomas Cook and the Palestine Exploration Fund'. Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*.
- <sup>38</sup> Burke III, 'French Native Policy'. Arrif, 'Le paradoxe de la construction du fait patrimonial'. Notions of „traditional“ and „authentic“, as I understand them throughout this book, have been fabricated in the context and for the purpose of tourism: Groebner, *Retroland*, pp. 180–183.
- <sup>39</sup> Lew, Hall and Williams, *A Companion to Tourism*. Smith, Waterton and Watson, *The Cultural Moment in Tourism*.
- <sup>40</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p. 3. MacCannell, 'Staged Authenticity'. Cf. also footnote 38.
- <sup>41</sup> Eg Watson, Waterton and Smith, 'Moments, Instances and Experiences'.
- <sup>42</sup> Baranowski, 'Strength through Joy', pp. 225–226. From an anthropological perspective, Laurajane Smith has argued in favour of a new understanding of tourism: Smith, 'The Cultural "Work" of Tourism'.
- <sup>43</sup> CADN, *G. Grandguillot, 04/12/1935*.
- <sup>44</sup> Dejung, Motadel and Osterhammel, 'Worlds of the Bourgeoisie', pp. 2–4.
- <sup>45</sup> In 1920, the reports of the Royal Automobile Club on "touring abroad" referred to France, Switzerland, Belgium. In 1924, the RAC had established cooperations with clubs in the Maghreb, South America, and other places: BL, Royal Automobile Club, *Royal Automobile Club Year Book*.
- <sup>46</sup> Dejung, Motadel and Osterhammel, 'Worlds of the Bourgeoisie', p. 2.

- <sup>47</sup> Dejung, Motadel and Osterhammel, 'Worlds of the Bourgeoisie', pp. 20–21.
- <sup>48</sup> Watenpaugh, *Being Modern*. Dejung, Motadel and Osterhammel, 'Worlds of the Bourgeoisie', p. 16. For Palestine, Sherene Seikaly has described this social group: Seikaly, *Men of Capital*. For Egypt: Ryzova, *The Age of the Efendiyya*.
- <sup>49</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 6–7. Maier, *Once within Borders*, pp. 238–243. Maier, 'Consigning the Twentieth Century', p. 808.
- <sup>50</sup> Miggelbrink, 'Räume und Regionen der Geographie', p. 92. This is a main argument of Doreen Massey, yet in her definition of space as a "product of interrelations, constituted through interactions" the term "product" suggests a stability Massey does not intend. Therefore I referred to Miggelbrink's definition. Massey, *For Space*, p. 9. Rau, *Räume*, pp. 143, 170.
- <sup>51</sup> Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit*, pp. 68–69. Rau, *Räume*, pp. 164–171.
- <sup>52</sup> Rau, *Räume*, p. 143.
- <sup>53</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 53.
- <sup>54</sup> Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, p. 92. Anderson made the point that nations were imagined as inherently limited: Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 6–7.
- <sup>55</sup> Löfgren, 'Know Your Country'. Shaffer, *See America First*. Cf. Zuelow on the Niagara falls, drawing on John F. Sears: Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, pp. 103–107.
- <sup>56</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 53–58, 114–140.
- <sup>57</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 163–164, 175, 184–185.
- <sup>58</sup> Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*.
- <sup>59</sup> Doreen Massey: "By 'place' we mean any part of the earth's surface, however large or small." Massey and Jess, 'Introduction', p. 3. On the materiality of space cf. Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, p. 130.
- <sup>60</sup> Yet, in contrast to Remy Knafou, I do not assume that tourist spaces were identified as tourist spaces due to inherent qualities but rather because of attributions overlapping with other interpretations and uses. Knafou, 'L'invention du lieu touristique', p. 17.
- <sup>61</sup> Already in 1998: Osterhammel, 'Die Wiederkehr des Raumes'. Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit*, pp. 11–12, 61–71.
- <sup>62</sup> Massey, 'Politics and Space/Time', pp. 154–159. Massey, *For Space*, pp. 11–12.
- <sup>63</sup> Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit*, p. 64.
- <sup>64</sup> Kunkel and Meyer, 'Dimensionen des Aufbruchs', pp. 20–26. Osterhammel and Jansen, *Dekolonisation*, pp. 28–32. Schayegh, *The Middle East and the Making of the Modern World*, pp. 330–334.
- <sup>65</sup> *Bilad al-Sham*: usually translated as 'Greater Syria', the common term for the region of today's Syria, Lebanon, Israel/Palestine, and Jordan that were considered a cultural entity by most inhabitants of the region until at least the mandate period. The adjective is *Shami*.
- <sup>66</sup> Kunkel and Meyer, 'Dimensionen des Aufbruchs', pp. 8–9.
- <sup>67</sup> Dueck, *Claims of Culture*, pp. 229–233.
- <sup>68</sup> Eg Tissot, *Construction d'une industrie touristique*. Cross and Walton, *The Playful Crowd*. Barakat-Buccianti, 'Beyrouth sous le Mandat français'.
- <sup>69</sup> Conrad, *Globalgeschichte*, pp. 11–12.
- <sup>70</sup> Christof Dejung's balanced article on the world economy demonstrates that a characterisation of the 1920s and 1930s as a phase of 'deglobalisation' has to be nuanced: Dejung, 'Deglobalisierung?'.
- <sup>71</sup> *Yishuv*: The Jewish settler community in Palestine. Reich and Goldberg, 's.v. Yishuv'.
- <sup>72</sup> Goldschmidt Jr, *Modern Egypt*, pp. 71–77.
- <sup>73</sup> Schayegh, 'The Many Worlds of 'Abud Yasin', pp. 278–280.
- <sup>74</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p. 16.

- <sup>75</sup> Alternative spatial frameworks persisted long into the 1920s: Schayegh, *The Middle East and the Making of the Modern World*, pp. 8–14. Provence, ‘Ottoman Modernity, Colonialism, and Insurgency’, pp. 21–22.
- <sup>76</sup> E.g. Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*. Watenpaugh, *Being Modern*. Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine*.
- <sup>77</sup> *Nahda*: Initially coined to describe mainly literary reform movements, the term has come to describe more generally the cultural and political period in the Arab world. Cf. Hanssen and Weiss, ‘Introduction’, p. 1.
- <sup>78</sup> Watenpaugh, *Being Modern*, pp. 8–9, 28–30. Such an approach to modernity was not specific to the Arab world: Cooper, ‘Modernity’, p. 149.
- <sup>79</sup> Cooper, ‘Modernity’, pp. 131–132. Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, pp. 1093–1095.
- <sup>80</sup> The Lebanese *Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban*, for example, was founded in Egypt: Santer, ‘Imagining Lebanon’, pp. 45–46.
- <sup>81</sup> CADN, al-Ghazzi, *al-Muqaddima [Preface]*. NLI, Settel, *Selling Egypt, 04/1937*.
- <sup>82</sup> Hunter, ‘Tourism and Empire’. Hazbun, ‘The East as an Exhibit’.
- <sup>83</sup> Ryzova, *The Age of the Efendiyya*, pp. 29–31.
- <sup>84</sup> Throughout this study, the term ‘Syria’ refers to the territory under the government of Damascus the French named ‘*Etat de Syrie*’, as well as the temporarily detached entities of the Governorate of the ‘Alawites (of Lattaquieh), the Sanjak of Alexandretta and the Jabal al-Druze. The concept of ‘Greater Syria’ including the Mandates of Palestine, Transjordan, Syria and Lebanon is distinguished from this term by referring to the contemporary Arabic designation of *Bilad al-Sham*. The entity of the French Mandate (Syria and Lebanon) contemporary authors sometimes referred to as ‘Syria’ or ‘Syrian Mandate’, cf. Burns, *The Tariff of Syria*, p. 1, will not be treated as an entity because the patterns of governance as well as cultural representations of Syria and Lebanon differed to an extent that the separate analysis of both cases seemed necessary.
- <sup>85</sup> Osterhammel, ‘Transferanalyse und Vergleich im Fernverhältnis’, pp. 465–466.

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