

Tourism and the Emergence of Nation- States in the Arab Eastern Mediterranean, 1920s-1930s



JASMIN DAAM

LEIDEN
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Tourism and the Emergence of Nation-States in the Arab Eastern Mediterranean,
1920s-1930s

Critical, Connected Histories

Critical, Connected Histories is a series of works that explore unfamiliar social, cultural, and political issues that connect people of Asia, the Middle-East, Africa, America and Europe in the modern age. Building on trends in historiography that look at transnational flows and networks and foreground themes of circulation and connection, the series aims to break down artificial boundaries between regions that have long dominated traditional area studies and the discipline of history. It aims to build new ways of mapping these networks and journeys of people, ideas, and goods without omitting dynamics of power and the resilience of the state. The works in this series seek to sharpen the edges of such inquiries and challenge legal and imagined boundaries while examining the durability of their structures of power. In addition, the series cautions against the potential universalization of histories, and situates queries within different vantage points.

Multi-disciplinary in their approach, the books in this series draw from sources in multiple languages and media. They seek to expand our understanding and historical knowledge of events, processes, and movements. In denaturalizing the practices of historical writing, this series offers a forum for scholarship that is both theorised and empirically rich, and one that in particular addresses the violence and inequality of the modern ages as well as its promises.

Series Editors

Nira Wickramasinghe, Leiden University

Tsolin Nalbantian, Leiden University

Editorial Board

Fred Cooper, New York University

Engseng Ho, Duke University

Ilham Khuri-Makdissi, Northeastern University

Susan Pennybacker, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Bhavani Raman, Toronto University

Willem van Schendel, Amsterdam University

Other titles in this series:

Myra Ann Houser, *Bureaucrats of Liberation. Southern African and American Lawyers and Clients During the Apartheid Era*, 2020

Nadine Willems, *Ishikawa Sanshirō's Geographical Imagination. Transnational Anarchism and the Reconfiguration of Everyday Life in Early Twentieth-Century Japan*, 2020

Alicia Schrikker and Nira Wickramasinghe (eds), *Being a Slave. Histories and Legacies of European Slavery in the Indian Ocean*, 2020

David Henley and Nira Wickramasinghe (eds), *Monsoon Asia. A reader on South and Southeast Asia*, 2022

TOURISM AND
THE EMERGENCE OF
NATION-STATES IN THE ARAB
EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN,
1920s-1930s

Jasmin Daam

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Open Access edition was made possible by a grant from Kassel University Library.

This book is based on the dissertation *Tourist Spaces: The Arab East as a Tourist Destination in the 1920s and 1930s* submitted by Jasmin Daam for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Kassel, and defended on 30 October 2020.

Critical, Connected Histories, volume 5

Cover design: Andre Klijsen

Cover illustration: The swimming pool of the Saint Georges Hotel, Beirut, in the mid-1930s (Photographer: René Zuber. Reproduced by kind permission of the Fonds photographique René Zuber and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

Lay-out: Crius Group

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

ISBN 978 90 8728 391 9

e-ISBN 978 94 0060 437 7

<https://doi.org/10.10.24415/9789087283919>

NUR 692

© Jasmin Daam / Leiden University Press, 2023



Creative Commons License CC BY-NC-ND (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-d/4.0/>)

To Jinan, Assem, Shadi, El Paco, Ali and Hussein

Table of Contents

List of illustrations	9
Acknowledgements	11
Note on Transliteration	15
Abbreviations	17
Chapter 1. Introduction	21
Notes	38
References	41
Chapter 2. Space of sovereignty: Abolishing the colonial order of tourism in Egypt?	49
Turning away: Photographing authenticity in times of transformation	52
Negotiating tourism: Ambitions and limits of Egyptian tourism development	63
Recreating Egyptian tourist spaces	74
Conclusion	99
Notes	102
References	110
Chapter 3. New tourists, new attractions, 'New Palestine': Implementing a new tourist space in Mandate Palestine	123
Relegating the 'Holy Land' to the past: New mediators for the present	127
The 'conquest of tourism': Reaching out to tourists	133
Creating 'New Palestine': Tourism development as a territorial claim	151
Conclusion	172
Notes	174
References	183
Chapter 4. Contested rule and fragmented space in French Mandate Syria	193
The two sides of the same postcard	196
Urban pride and the imperial politics of tourism	206

No common ground: The divided landscapes of tourism in Syria	217
Conclusion	235
Notes	238
References	245
Chapter 5. Lebanon: The tourist nation-state	255
Brochures: Outlining a nation	258
High seasons, low seasons: The Franco-Lebanese relationship in terms of tourism	267
Topography of a tourist nation-state	283
Conclusion	308
Notes	311
References	321
Conclusion: Tourist transformations	335
A middle-class project	335
Tourism as a transformative resource	339
The tourist's age	345
Notes	348
References	349
Notes on persons, associations and enterprises	353
Index of persons, associations and enterprises	371
Index of places	375

List of illustrations

Figure 1:	Album page depicting the excursion to the hydroelectrical power plant, 1931	22
Figure 2:	The terrace of the <i>Mena House Hotel</i>	51
Figure 3:	“You are then an authority for the rest of your life on the Sphinx” – George H. Williams	52
Figure 4:	Egypt ‘ancient and modern’	58
Figure 5:	A smile for the camera	60
Figure 6:	Mahmud guiding tourists	61
Figure 7:	Street traffic in Cairo as seen by the <i>Tourist Development Association of Egypt</i> , 1939	79
Figure 8:	Guidebook page showing the Pyramids, from Khoori’s <i>Cairo – How to see it</i>	81
Figure 9:	The Sudan represented in the magazine of the <i>Tourist Development Association of Egypt</i>	88
Figure 10:	On the beach	95
Figure 11:	Memories of a visit to the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem	155
Figure 12:	The bathing establishment at Tiberias, around 1900 and in the 1930s	161
Figure 13:	The <i>Kallia Hotel</i> on the Dead Sea	171
Figure 14:	Clovis Thévenet’s panoramic view of Hama	197
Figure 15:	Wattar Frères, Panoramic view of Hama	197
Figure 16:	Portrait rather than type photograph: <i>Wattar Frères</i> , Aleppo	203
Figure 17:	Views of ‘Aley	205
Figure 18:	Greetings from the Jabal al-Druze	207
Figure 19:	Postcard showing the destruction in Damascus	219
Figure 20:	The ruins of Palmyra	232
Figure 21:	“ <i>Estivage</i> in Lebanon”	260
Figure 22:	Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, <i>The Tourist’s Book</i> , 1924	261
Figure 23:	The pillars of Baalbek – illustration by Sylvio Castelot for the SET	263
Figure 24:	Skiing in Lebanon – Title page of the brochure <i>Liban. Tourism – Estivage – Winter Sports</i> , edited by the SET	282
Figure 25:	Album page showing impressions from Beirut	287
Figure 26:	Modern Lebanon – the swimming pool of the <i>Saint Georges Hotel</i> , Beirut	289

Acknowledgements

As this book is nearing completion, I look back on seven years of precious experiences, during which so many persons supported me and my research that it is impossible to name them all. The project took shape at the University of Konstanz. As a student assistant, I benefited from the inspiring environment of the Leibniz Prize Research Group *Global Processes: Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries*, directed by Jürgen Osterhammel, to whom I owe my greatest thanks. From the outset, he encouraged me to venture into this project and all of our conversations guided me towards new levels of reflection. It was a fortunate privilege to be able to learn from him and from the members of staff at the Chair of Modern History.

Julia Hauser granted me the opportunity to realise the project at her Chair of Global History and the History of Globalisation Processes at the University of Kassel. I am deeply grateful for her encouragement and support, not least with regard to the numerous research leaves the project required, as well as for the atmosphere of critical debate, mutual trust and appreciation she created at the university. I also owe my positive memories at both universities to Heidi Engelmann, Petra Klein and Silke Stoklossa-Metz.

The project could not have been realised without the generous help of a number of additional institutions. Scholarships from the *Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes*, the German Historical Institute in London and the German Historical Institute in Paris, as well as the graduate centre of the University of Kassel (KIGG) funded the essential research leaves during which the project took shape. The library of the University of Kassel generously funded the major part of the open access publication.

Moreover, I profited immensely from membership in the research network *The Modern Mediterranean: Dynamics of a World Region, 1800–2000* funded by the German Research Foundation DFG and directed by Manuel Borutta. The regular meetings and the inspiring exchange since 2016 have raised stimulating questions and confronted me with new lines of thought.

During those past years and many travels, I presented and discussed parts of the book with colleagues and audiences in various contexts and countries that are too numerous to be named individually. I am grateful for the tips, advice, questions and thoughts they generously shared. Particularly precious, at various stages of the project, were conversations with Alexandra Bechtum, Malte Fuhrmann, Agnes Gehbald, Jens Hanssen, Elke Shogig Hartmann, Waleed Hazbun, Valeska Huber, Andreas Hübner, Sarah Irving, Nora Lafi, Simon Jackson, Jan C. Jansen, Meike

Knittel, Judith Madgalena Kolmeigner, Lisa Korge, Esther Möller, Christine Pflüger, Jörg Requate, Karène Sanchez-Summerer, Cyrus Schayegh and Nadya Sbaiti. With Janina Santer, I shared the most inspiring lunchbreaks during these years, and I am greatly indebted to her for the knowledge she shared, archive materials she pointed out to me, doors she opened and for many discussions that helped me clarify my thoughts.

Agnes Gehbald, Meike Knittel, and Lisa Korge as well as Janina Santer read chapters and drafts at various stages of the writing process, and Judith Magdalena Kolmeigner thoroughly read the entire work. Hussein Al Sultan proofread my translations of Arabic sources. Rosemary Maxton carefully corrected and polished the language and style of a non-native English speaker. Obviously, all remaining mistakes, misunderstandings, mistranslations and shortcomings are my own responsibility.

Searching for documents on tourism has been a challenge as the often ephemeral sources are not necessarily catalogued in the major archives and libraries. The fact that I found many more needles in the haystack than I ever expected is due to the generous assistance and precious advice of colleagues, friends, librarians and archivists who shared their knowledge and admitted me to their collections. Ibrahim Assi and his staff welcomed me to the Lebanese National Archives, where I worked in the most pleasurable atmosphere. Monika Borgmann and Lokman Slim from the *Umam Foundation* in Beirut shared a brochure with me that proved to be particularly important. Rowina Bou Harb and Yasmine Chemali allowed me to delve into the treasures of the *Fouad Debbas Collection* at Sursock Museum and provided me with a charming workplace, especially on the late-opening Thursdays. Isabelle Chassin helped me in my research at the archives of the *Fédération française des clubs alpins et de montagne* in Paris. Clémence Ducroix and Hélène ten Hove guided me through the collections of the French Lines Association in Le Havre. Wolf Dieter Lemke introduced me to his stunning postcard collection and shared his vast inside knowledge. Magda Nammour unearthed treasures from the uncatalogued holdings of the *Bibliothèque Orientale* at the Université Saint-Joseph. Rachel Rowe, in charge of the *Royal Commonwealth Society Archives* at the University Library Cambridge, Stefan Seeger at the OIB Library in Beirut and Debbie Usher at the *Middle East Centre Archive* in Oxford assisted me in working with their collections. Charbel Saad from the *Arab Image Foundation* opened the library and archives for me. The library of the *Institute for Palestine Studies* in Beirut hosted me at the very beginning and at the very end of my research in Lebanon, where I was warmly welcomed and kindly assisted by Jeanette Sarouphim and the staff.

The exceptionally kind assistance of the staff at the *Centre des Archives Diplomatiques* in Nantes has to be highlighted, and the librarians at the *Jafet Library* (American University of Beirut) admitted me as a permanent resident in

the microfilm reading room during the summer of 2017. In addition, I profited greatly from my research in the *Archives nationales* in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, the *British Library* in London, the *Institut français du Proche-Orient* (Ifpo) in Beirut, the National Archives in Kew, the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh, the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich as well as the SOAS Archives and Special Collections.

I am grateful to Tsolin Nalbantian and Nira Wickramasinghe that this book has found its place in the *Critical, Connected Histories* series. Romy Uijen and Saskia Gieling from Leiden University Press kindly assisted me during the process of preparing the manuscript for publication. I owe infinite thanks to the two anonymous reviewers and their attentive and critical reading of the initial version of this manuscript. Their comments and questions were incredibly helpful and helped me clarify my thinking. Of course, any remaining shortcomings are my own responsibility.

During these past years, travels and library retreats were indispensable to find answers to my questions, and they offered me insights I never dared to ask for. Friends and family, in particular Siegfried and Ines Daam as well as Siegfried and Edith Leinmüller, understood what this journey meant to me, accepting occasional phone calls and skype conversations as replacements for personal interaction. I am sure they are aware of my gratitude.

This book is dedicated to Shadi Ayyoubi, Ali Bassal, Hassan Nouri, Jinan Slim, Hussein Al Sultan and Assem Tarhini for thanks to them, Beirut has become home.

Note on Transliteration

I transliterated Arabic terms according to a simplified version of the system suggested by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES), omitting all diacritics except *ayn* (ع) and *hamza* (أ, except at the beginning of the word). My guiding principle in transliterating was to make places and names identifiable for the non-specialist, therefore I used common English spellings for proper nouns and geographic terms as far as they existed (e.g. Cairo instead of al-Qahira; Aleppo instead of Halab). If authors had published works in European languages, I opted for the transliteration they chose (e.g. George Antonius, rather than Jurj Antunius; Alexander Khoori, rather than Iskandar Khuri). If place names are well-established in French transliteration, which is the case with the Lebanese summer resorts in particular, I opted for this spelling (e.g. Dhour el-Choueir instead of Dhuhur al-Shuwayr), accepting inconsistencies where necessary. I tried to make sure that the interested reader can identify names and places easily by looking up these terms online.

All translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

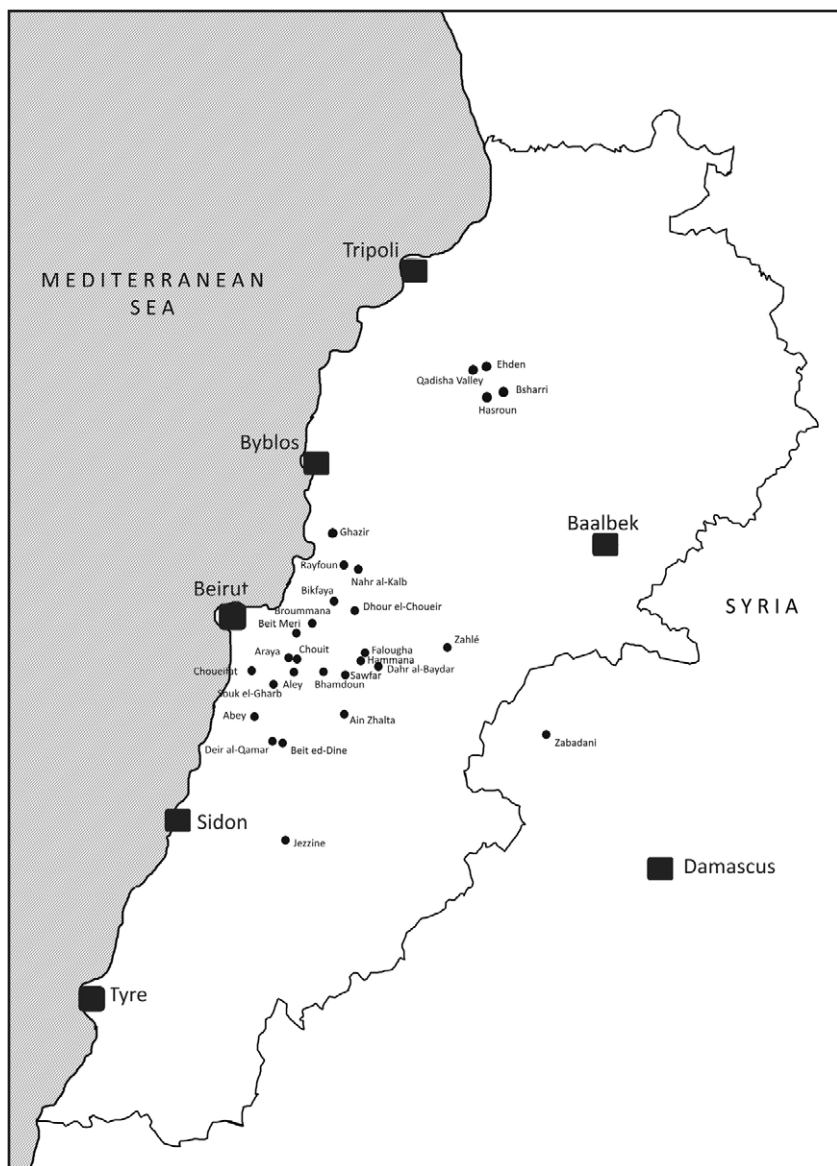
Abbreviations

ANF	Archives Nationales (de France), Pierrefitte-sur-Seine
ANL	Archives Nationales du Liban, Beirut
AUB	Jafet Library, American University of Beirut
BL	British Library, London
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BO	Bibliothèque Orientale, Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut
CADC	Centre des Archives diplomatiques de La Courneuve
CADN	Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes
FDC	Fouad Debbas Collection, Sursock Museum, Beirut
FFCAM	Fédération française des clubs alpins et de montagne, Paris
French Lines	Association French Lines, Le Havre
IfP	Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut
Ifpo	Institut français du Proche-Orient, Beirut
LoC	Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC
MECA	Middle East Centre Archive, St Antony's College, University of Oxford
NA Kew	National Archives, Kew
NLI	National Library of Israel, Jerusalem
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NMM	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich
RCSA	Royal Commonwealth Society Archives, Cambridge University Library
SOAS	Archives of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London





Map 1: Major places mentioned in the book



Map 2: Lebanese *estivage* villages mentioned in the book