

Lebanon: The tourist nation-state

Abstract

Already in the early days of the mandate, a broad consensus existed in Lebanon about the importance of tourism. While initially tourism was perceived as a major economic potential by Lebanese actors and the mandate power alike, it was increasingly understood as a vital political resource. The chapter shows not only the contradictions tourism development generated for the mandate power, but also the opposition among Lebanese lower classes against tourism development. Over time, however, tourism contributed to both an imaginary and a material consolidation of the national territory, stabilising the Lebanese borders and contributing to the acknowledgement of Lebanon in both a regional and a global context.

Keywords: tourism; Lebanese history; French Mandate; nationalism; middle class; modernity; state formation

Nature, sparing with goods of the earth and of the underground, has provided us instead with plenty of goods under its most blue coat, with its rarest beauties: climate and light, water and light, green landscapes and more light, the historical memory and still the Light! This is the true wealth of our country, the gold mine, which is not hidden in the ground, but spread all over and our eyes look at it but they do not see.¹

This call for a greater importance of the tourist industry in Lebanon was published in 1919 in the francophone magazine *Revue phénicienne*, which advocated the creation of a separate Lebanese state under French guidance. The quotation indicated that the development of the tourist sector was not only an economical affair, but a matter of national pride. Fouad al-Khoury, the author of the article, presented Lebanon's unique characteristics, thereby dissociating the country from its surrounding areas: the scarcity of agricultural lands and mineral resources was compensated by the beauty of the Lebanese landscapes, its climate, the abundance of water and light, and its history. In the following paragraphs, al-Khoury argued that similar conditions had rendered Switzerland an important tourist destination and a wealthy country. In 1919, a definition of 'Lebanese' properties and a comparison with the small yet successful Switzerland was a political statement. The future

territorial order of the post-Ottoman Arab lands was still subject to debate, and a Lebanese nation-state was a vision pursued by some inhabitants only.

From the outset, the Lebanese nation-state was defined as a tourist space. Deputies in the Chamber as well as entrepreneurs used tourism as a resource to position Lebanon both as a leisure resort for the Arab world and as a modern Mediterranean nation on an international level. Such a conception of Lebanon materialised in museums and newspaper articles, in parliamentary debates, in itineraries and advertisements, thereby reaching out to an audience well beyond the intellectual and political circles who had defended and shaped the idea in the long nineteenth century.² To the main advocates of tourism to Lebanon, tourism served as a resource to create and establish the idea of a Lebanese nation distinct from Greater Syria or *Bilad al-Sham*, acknowledged not only by an imagined national audience, but also by observers from the imperial and trans-imperial spheres.³ These spheres, however, were not merely receptive audiences. French imperial actors hoped to disseminate their own conceptions in the context of tourism, and tourists adopted and rejected, shaped and modified the Lebanese idea, ultimately helping to turn it into practised reality. The creation of the Lebanese state was a process intertwined with the creation of Lebanon as a tourist destination.

The opening section of the chapter analyses tourist brochures and guidebooks issued by Lebanese authors and institutions. The brochures, edited with the aim of promoting Lebanon as a tourist destination, contributed to the construction of an idea about a distinct Lebanese nation. The second part focuses on the actors behind such publications. For both French administrators and high-ranking Lebanese politicians, entrepreneurs and intellectuals, tourism was of major concern. The final section shows how selected places on the Lebanese tourist map were integrated into the tourist and the national landscape.

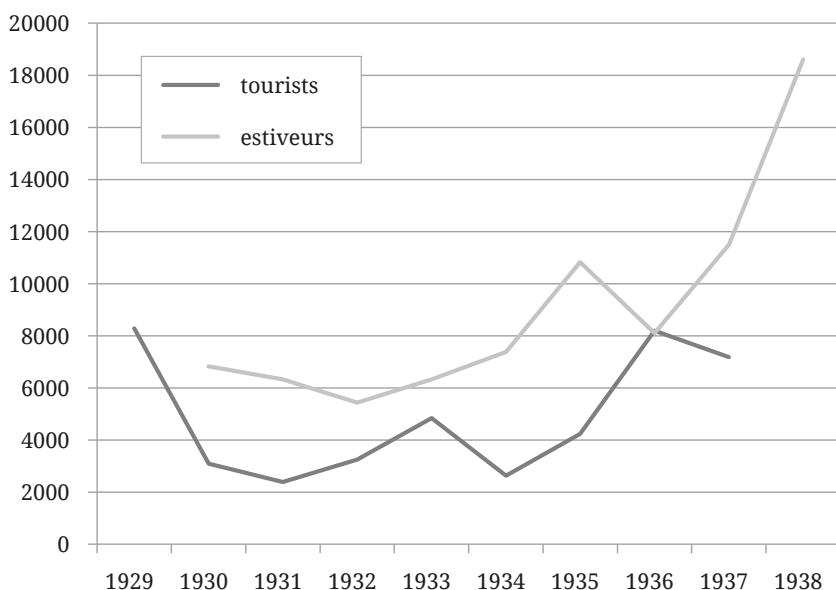
In comparison to the previous case studies, one peculiarity of Lebanon was the high amount of Arab *estiveurs* (*mustaf*, pl. *mustafun*) who had been travelling to the Lebanese mountain area for decades. Generally, the visitors returned to the same locations each summer. In these villages, Beirut's notables and their relatives stayed next to émigré families visiting their hometowns, families from Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Iraq, and European administrative or military staff, who partly adopted estivation practices.⁴

In Lebanon, the *estivage* travel was much more important than the European tourism movement, regarding both the number of people on the move and the financial benefits it generated. Its significance is illustrated by a remark of Frédéric Martin, the Beirut agent of the *Messageries Maritimes*, who stated in 1925 that the (European) tourist season had to be carefully planned, as it should not interfere with the *estiveurs*' movements and thereby impede the more profitable transregional

traffic. The otherwise ‘dead season’, he concluded, should be promoted as the tourist season: winter.⁵ The custom of wintering in Mediterranean countries, popular among the European upper class, was introduced in Lebanon, but attracted fewer numbers than the much more well-established Egypt.⁶

Compared to mass tourism after World War II, the number of visitors in the interwar period remained modest. In 1937, when the peak of visitors during the interwar period was reached, Constantin Joannidès, Martin’s successor at the *Messageries Maritimes*, counted fewer than 20,000 tourists and *estiveurs*.⁷ Still, the French Mandate can be considered the formative period of twentieth-century tourism concerning the establishment of hotel and transport infrastructures, as well as narratives of tourism promotion and nation-building. Despite various crises shaking the world economy and regional politics during the mandate period which hindered the smooth development of tourism, in total, the number of tourists was rising.

In this respect, troubles in the potential destinations had equally detrimental consequences for the tourism sector as did crises in the visitors’ countries of origin. The fact that 1925 was a bad *estivage* season,⁸ for example, was presumably due to the unstable situation in the most important country of origin of potential *estiveurs*: Egypt (and less to the outbreak of the Syrian Revolt, which occurred at a time when most *estiveurs* had already arrived in their summer resorts). As far as the Euro-American tourists were concerned, two events triggered a sharp decrease in their numbers: the Syrian Revolt in 1925/1926, and the crisis of the world economy in the aftermath of 1929.⁹ While tourism recovered quickly after the revolt had been crushed, the economic crisis had a more profound impact as it concerned European, American, and Arab visitors. Since Egypt in particular was harshly affected by the crisis, a large part of the Egyptian bourgeoisie refrained from its summering practices. On the other hand, the growing influx of *estiveurs* from Iraq and Palestine compensated for at least a part of the losses, as both countries profited from a more stable economic situation and improved railway connections.¹⁰ From the mid-1930s, when the effects of the economic crisis eased off in Egypt, the overall number of summer guests increased steadily.¹¹ A reduction of 2,000 *estiveurs* in 1936 was most likely due to the Palestinian Revolt, but thanks to the Arab *estiveurs* the overall number remained at a high level of more than 8,000. By 1938, the numbers had more than doubled before tourism experienced a collapse after the outbreak of World War II. Joannidès, the agent of the *Messageries Maritimes* reported that the Lebanese Government had adopted additional measures to maintain the *estivage* traffic between Lebanon and Iraq, Palestine and Egypt, as the state of war and the defeat of France had seriously damaged the *estivage* business and “very few” *estiveurs* had come to visit Lebanon during summer.¹²

Table 1: Tourists and estiveurs visiting Lebanon, c. 1929–1938¹³

Brochures: Outlining a nation

Despite the continued popularity of well-known European guidebooks such as the *Baedeker*, *Cook's* handbooks or the various publications of the *Guide bleu* series, Lebanese associations offered an increasing number of alternative publications for tourists during the mandate period. Barely differing from European brochures and guides in the kind of information they provided, the small guides, brochures, leaflets or magazines disseminated additional, contrasting, sometimes contradictory, views of Lebanon as a tourist destination. Mostly written in French, English or Arabic, the publications addressed either tourists or *estiveurs*, and sometimes both. The traveller would obtain these brochures for example from local travel agencies, information bureaus for tourists, or local municipalities.¹⁴ Until the mid-1920s, non-governmental groups in particular issued such brochures, notably the *Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban* (VML), an interest group addressing potential *estiveurs*, which held close relations to Lebanese politics and received subsidies from the government.¹⁵

From around 1928 onwards – that is, after the establishment of the Lebanese Republic – the VML's activities merged with governmental institutions, which became increasingly involved in tourism propaganda. By co-editing and publishing such brochures, the Lebanese Government not only supported an important business,

but also aimed to shape the perspectives of visitors. Guidebooks and brochures described, defined and thus established more firmly the recently created State of Greater Lebanon.

Mount Lebanon: Summer resort of the Arab world

In these publications, three basic narratives can be distinguished, each of which viewed Lebanon in a different spatial context. The illustrated cover pages of three brochures can serve to introduce these narratives. The first brochure, *Estivage in Lebanon*, was published in the second half of the 1920s and addressed Arab *estiveurs*.¹⁶ The cover illustration (fig. 21), a drawing printed in black on light brown paper, invited the potential *estiveur* to adopt the perspective of a man whose back was turned to the spectator. His upright posture suggested that he was contemplating the landscape in front of him. Several natural elements framing the drawing symbolised a rich variety of landscapes: a pine tree in a meadow, seaside palm trees, as well as rough cliffs, sparsely covered with bushes, stood close to each other, and thus within easy reach of the visitor. The solid stone bridge in the background was another hint at this easy accessibility, as it connected the different elements. Moreover, it directed the spectator's gaze towards the river, which flowed into the calm sea in the background. The artist, Nicholas Strekalovsky, visualised *estivage* in Lebanon as the romantic contemplation of idyllic landscapes, characterised by lush vegetation and water in abundance. These reminiscences of European Romanticism might be attributed to the painter's Russian origin; however, local literary traditions had popularised similar notions, which served as central tropes in the textual narratives of the brochure.¹⁷ The narrative visualised on this brochure identified Lebanon with the unspoilt nature of its mountains. The Mediterranean coast was discernible in the background, whereas Mount Lebanon as a distinct landscape that provided an escape from crowded, bustling cities appeared as the core of the country.

Greater Syria: Lebanon as part of an integrated *Bilad al-Sham*

In the second example, the authors presented Lebanon as an integral part of the Eastern Mediterranean region. The editors of the VML, who issued the *Tourist's Book for Egypt, Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon* in 1924, confronted the tourist with a complex cover page that combined several elements (fig. 22). A special Art Deco font highlighted the words "The Lebanon" in the title, thereby emphasising the focus of the guidebook, while a sketchy map of the region indicated that the neighbouring countries of Egypt, Palestine and Syria would be covered too. The brochure seems to have been an early example of a brochure not only targeting *estiveurs* but aiming to draw the attention of European tourists on Mediterranean

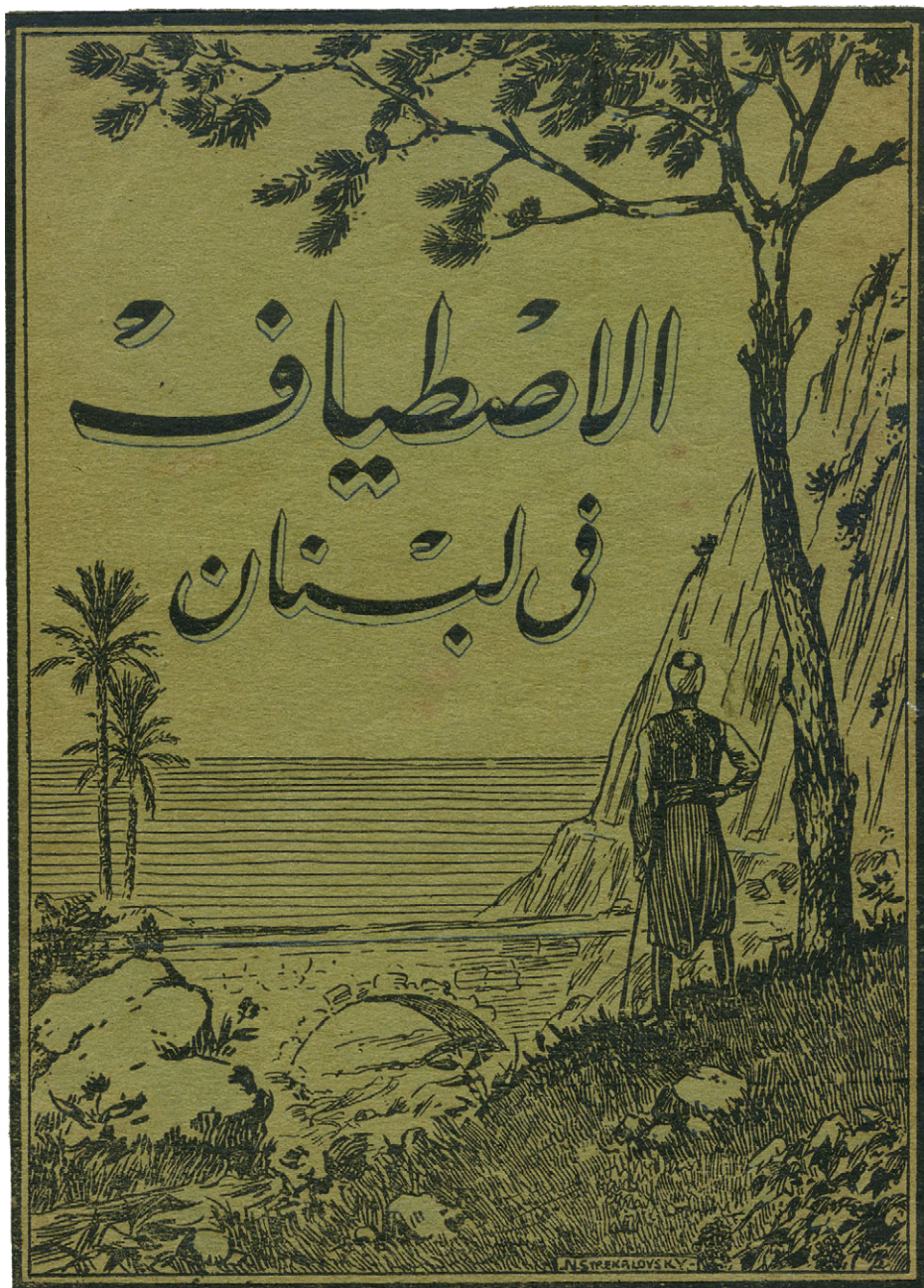


Figure 21: “Esviage in Lebanon” (Illustration: Nicholas Strekalovsky. Reproduced by kind permission of the Umam Foundation, Beirut)



Figure 22: Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *The Tourist's Book*, 1924 (Reproduced by kind permission of Harvard University Library)

round trips to the attractions of Lebanon. A circular shape at the bottom of the page presented a view of Beirut. Red-roofed buildings, resembling one another in colour, shape and height, jutting out from trees and green spaces, evoked the impression of a small and well-ordered town. In the background, a snow-capped mountain range framed the picture. The sea was light blue and calm; a few sailing boats added to the impression of a peaceful place. Although the illustration captured traces of human activity, it corresponded with the previous cover page in the absence of persons and in the overarching impression of a picturesque place, close to nature.

The presumed inhabitants appeared outside the circular frame: an elderly man in the background wearing a white turban, next to a woman in the foreground, whose head and face were partly covered by dark blue headgear and a transparent veil. Their clothing identified them as 'Orientals'. On the back cover, the editors presented Egypt to the potential visitor in a similar arrangement. A circular shape revealed a glimpse of Egypt's attractions: namely, the colossi of Memnon, situated in the Necropolis of Thebes. A seemingly tiny man in a white *galabiyya* positioned next to a colossus testified to the enormous height of the statues. The statues, rather than the person, dominated the desert landscape. Outside the circle, a second man in a *galabiyya*, this time holding a camel on the lead, represented another 'type' of the local population. The illustration thus offered the potential visitor the expected clichés of

Oriental inhabitants and Pharaonic attractions. Lebanon, visually represented on the front cover, was situated in the broader continuum of the famous Egyptian tourist space, but it emerged, according to the editors, as a place to visit in its own right.

The situation of the two countries is unique. [...] these countries [Lebanon and Syria] formed, in olden days, the link between the East and the West, and contributed considerably to the world's civilisation.

At the present day, they are trying to keep up to the old tradition, but in the reverse direction. The motor car has replaced the caravan, and western produce and passengers from Beirut and Damascus are already being transported in it across the desert to Baghdad.¹⁸

The traveller who read this introduction in the VML's aforementioned *Tourist book* was informed that Syria and Lebanon were two distinct "countries", but nonetheless constituted one cultural entity, which was characterised by its positioning at a crossroads of civilisations and had been marked by exchange and trade.¹⁹ This topos, repeated in various brochures throughout the 1920s, allowed for flexible positioning of *Bilad al-Sham* between the Mediterranean and the Orient.²⁰

The narratives, often shifting between presenting Lebanon as an integral part of Syria or rather as a Mediterranean country reflected contemporary debates surrounding the location, as well as the cultural and civilisational belonging of Lebanon.²¹ By the mid-1920s, fractures between Lebanon and Syria were visible, but not yet dominant.

Extracting Lebanon

By the 1930s, the visual representation of Lebanon in tourist brochures had changed. Brochures now pointed to a distinct and unique nation, rather than framing Lebanon as part of *Bilad al-Sham*. From now on, either cedars or the ruins of Baalbek, the two newly defined Lebanese national symbols, served as cover-page illustrations. In 1937, the Ministry of Tourism and the interest group *Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban* (Society to Encourage Touring in Lebanon; SET) opted for the ruins.²² For the cover page, the painter Sylvio Castelot had drawn an assemblage of the iconic elements of the temples of Baalbek, in reality situated across different parts of the site (fig. 23): the six freestanding pillars of the Temple of Jupiter; the lion's head (originally part of the roof decoration); the massive pillar leaning against the wall of the Temple of Bacchus; and *Hajar al-hubla* (the Stone of the Pregnant Woman), an enormous monolith situated on the outskirts of Baalbek. Visitors to the ruins of Baalbek appreciated these elements as subjects of photographs and regularly posed in front of or next to them. Castelot and the editors made sure that their target group would be able to identify the motif as

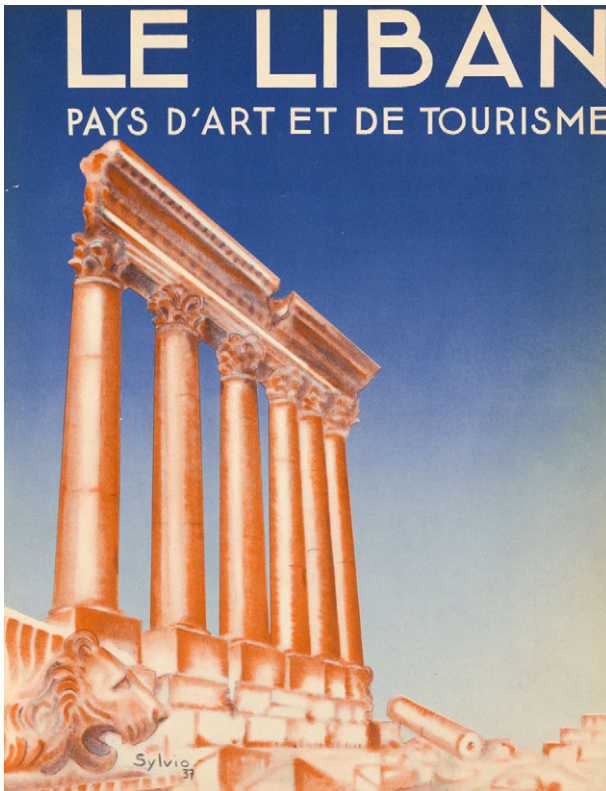


Figure 23: The pillars of Baalbek (Illustration by Sylvio Castellet for the SET. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

the temples of Baalbek. The impressive archaeological heritage of Baalbek thus symbolised Lebanon, characterised in the magazine title as “the country of art and tourism”, as a destination in its own right.²³

The detachment of a Lebanese entity from a Syrian one was expressed by guide-book authors across three dimensions: geography, history, and race. At the same time, the process comprised two movements: a dissociation from a broader Greater Syria, and an integration into the Mediterranean space. While throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s, brochures and guidebooks qualified ‘Syria and Lebanon’ as a unity, reiterating the topos that the region was the “cradle of humanity”,²⁴ from the 1930s onwards authors both implicitly and explicitly created a divide between the two parts.

First, Syrian towns and places were gradually omitted from brochures and guides. Whereas the early brochures had advertised an extensive ‘tour of the Orient’, including visits to sights and places in neighbouring countries such as Palestine, Egypt and Syria, attention was increasingly focused on the Lebanese

territory. This specialisation led to a noticeable omission of Syrian places. Ancient cities, but also *estivage* centres such as Bludan, disappeared from the suggested itineraries despite Bludan's geographical proximity to the Lebanese *estivage* region. The exclusion of locations that were now defined as Syrian corresponded to a focus on Lebanese locations in advertisements. The brochures included sights which had so far been considered secondary (at best). Consequently, travellers consulting the brochures became acquainted with a much greater number of Lebanese villages, while simultaneously losing sight of places across the borders.

Second, this spatial integration of the Lebanese territory was related to a new definition of Lebanese history. When the Lebanese *Services Economiques* introduced Lebanon in 1935 to potential tourists and *estiveurs*, the authors enumerated the names of famous cities and *estivage* villages. The list mentioned the Mediterranean coastal towns, the Beqaa Valley and the Mount Lebanon region, before emphasising the cedars of Northern Lebanon in a rhetorical climax:

At its foot [of the Mount Lebanon range], along the Western slope, the Mediterranean and its towns: Tripoli, Byblos, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre. Extending its eastern slope, there is a plateau: the Bekaa, and a city: Baalbeck.

And the ridges are dotted with villages, among the pine trees, leaning against the slopes of the vineyards among the grapes, nestled against the valleys at the banks of the springs, villages the names of which resemble musical notes: Ehden, Hasroun, Ghazir, Reifoun, Bikfaya, Dhour-Choueir, Beitmery, Broumana, Aley, Sofar, Hammana, Beiteddine, Deir-el-Kamar, Jezzine!... And above the sea, above the towns and villages, over there, in the North, so close to the perpetual snow, the Cedars!

This is Lebanon. This is ancient Phoenicia.²⁵

The concluding remarks not only redefined the accumulation of these locations as 'the Lebanon', but also assumed continuity between the Lebanese present and a presumed historical entity of ancient Phoenicia. The orthography the authors chose for the name of the capital further accentuated the Phoenician origins: whereas the reader would expect to read *Beyrouth* in a French text, the authors instead opted for a spelling that pointed out its Phoenician roots, *Béryte*.²⁶ By narrowing down the historical focus on Lebanon's Phoenician past, the authors created a narrative that explained the integrity of the territory and justified Lebanon's distinction from Syria.²⁷ References to other ancient cultures were rare in the Lebanese guidebooks of the mid-1930s, although tourists were well aware of – and sometimes more interested in – Roman history or the history of the Crusaders, more prominent in brochures and guidebooks such as the *Guide bleu* or *Cook's Handbook*.²⁸

From the perspective of Lebanese nationalists, however, these historical narratives posed two problems if history was to serve as justification for an

autonomous Lebanese national entity. The Roman and Crusade historical periods highlighted the shared Syro-Lebanese past, and they were commonly referred to in French imperialist propaganda.²⁹ If Lebanese cultural and political representatives referred to the medieval or Roman history of the region, they often added references to Phoenician origins or biblical myths and legends, as if to prove in the same breath that the civilisation of Lebanon was even more ancient than the alleged ancestors of the French Empire. Just as important, the Phoenician narrative justified the merging of the coastal districts and the Beqaa with the former Ottoman governorate of Mount Lebanon into the so-called 'Greater Lebanon'.³⁰ To the liberal Phoenicianists, the ancient reference stood for a shared pre-Christian, pre-Muslim heritage and a geographical determinism aiming at integrating the predominantly Muslim inhabitants of the coast and the Beqaa region into the Lebanese nation.³¹ While the Phoenician myth thus integrated 'Greater Lebanon', it separated Lebanon from its Syrian hinterland.

A third narrative assumed distinct racial origins of the Lebanese and Syrian populations. Such notions had been popularised by the francophone poet and intellectual Charles Corm. Corm, a central proponent of Lebanese particularism,³² and the first agent of *Ford* motorcars in the French Mandate, had a noteworthy interest in tourism.³³ In the aforementioned brochure "*Le Liban: Pays d'art et de tourisme*", edited by the Ministry of Tourism, Corm published an article in which he established a lineage from the Crusaders to the current inhabitants of the Mount Lebanon region:

[...] finally the towns of Ehden, Becharré, and Hasroun, which kept the last Crusaders in their impregnable gorges, the blue eyes and blond hair, the healthy blood and the chivalrous soul of which are still to be found among our fellow men from the region of the Cedars [...].³⁴

Corm, an ardent defender of cooperation with the French and supporter of the mandate, assumed blood ties between the Lebanese and the European Crusaders, which he claimed to be phenotypically visible, and recognisable in the special character of the Lebanese. This highly exclusivist claim of a racially distinct Lebanese nation differed widely from the liberal Phoenicianism described above.

The assumption of racial homogeneity uniting the Lebanese with their alleged European ancestors was also expressed in the brochure published by Rizkallah Gobril, an entrepreneur offering guided tours and owner of the transport company *Messageries Automobiles Beyrouth/Itinéraires Rizkallah*. It is remarkable in particular for it clearly distinguished the Lebanese population from the Syrian one along the lines of race and religion: Gobril not only identified Damascus as the "political centre of Syria's Muslim part",³⁵ thereby implying that Lebanon corresponded to

the Christian section, but according to him, religious belonging indicated racial differences:³⁶ Gobril explained to his readers that unlike the Arab populations in neighbouring countries, the Phoenicians, ancestors of the Lebanese, were not of Semitic origin. Rather, they had descended from the tribes of Canaan.³⁷ While the theory established the presumed connection of the Lebanese with the land they inhabited, it also introduced a dividing line between the Lebanese (Christian and Canaanite-Phoenician) and the Syrian (Muslim and Semitic) populations.

Positions such as those expressed by Gobril and Corm, who supported a strong French influence in Lebanon, became rare in the 1930s.³⁸ Given the widespread impression among Lebanese politicians and intellectuals that France administered the Mandate contrary to Lebanese interests, many former supporters of a Franco-Lebanese cooperation turned away from the mandatory power and demanded full independence, which often implied the idea of pragmatic, peaceful relations with the neighbouring Arab countries.³⁹ Accordingly, most of the Lebanese guidebooks and brochures published in this period developed narratives that demonstrated their autonomy as a fully developed, civilised nation – a claim manifest on most cover pages adorned with one of the two Lebanese national symbols.

To represent Lebanon, the editors showcased either the temples of Baalbek or the cedar, as in the brochure *In the country of the cedars (Au pays des cèdres)* published by the *Commission du tourisme* in 1931.⁴⁰ The significance of this choice is two-fold: first, the commission's decision to identify Lebanon as a tourist destination with its national symbol expressed a self-confident claim to nationhood. Second, the tree symbolised a Phoenicianist, nationalist concept of Lebanon. The cover page revealed that Syria was no longer included in the guidebook, and no longer part of the presented tourist space.⁴¹

In contrast to the cedar, the ruins of Baalbek were a more ambiguous national symbol. In the cedar, the idea of a distinct, unique and autonomous Lebanese nation crystallised. The six pillars of the Temple of Jupiter, by contrast, were of Roman origin, and throughout the nineteenth century, successive political visions derived legitimacy from the site, as Ussama Makdisi demonstrated: a European Orientalist, an imperial Ottoman, and a Lebanese nationalist interpretation. The imperial origin of the Roman temples also suited French narratives promoting a continued Roman-French tradition of imperial rule in the Mediterranean. Finally, the Roman tradition of the ruins also referred to a shared Syro-Lebanese history.⁴²

The aforementioned brochure *Le Liban: Pays d'art et de tourisme*, published by the Ministry of Tourism and the SET, demonstrates the ambiguity of the symbol decorating the cover page. At the same time, this very ambiguity may well have rendered the pillars a particularly popular symbol in tourism advertising, as both French imperialists and representatives of a Lebanese-nationalist reading promoted the site, albeit for different reasons. In the foreword to the brochure, the

French High Commissioner Damien de Martel interpreted the ruins as a symbol of legitimate imperial rule. From his point of view, the ruins stood for Lebanon as part of an integrated Mediterranean region shaped by various empires throughout the centuries, thereby implying the legitimacy of the French presence in the Mediterranean.⁴³ In the same magazine, the French Orientalist René Dussaud contradicted such an interpretation. He stressed that Baalbek's relevance derived not only from its Roman origin, but also from its testament to the significance of local Syrian and Phoenician traditions.⁴⁴ His contribution offered an alternative reading of the ruins, claiming that the autochthonous influence had shaped and marked the Roman buildings. Similar interpretations were spread by Michel Alouf, conservator of the ruins of Baalbek.⁴⁵ In order to turn the Roman temple into a truly national symbol, Lebanese nationalists like him had to explicate its meaning.

The various definitions of Lebanon thus reflected current political debates over the situation of the country in a regional and international framework. Early brochures aimed to establish Lebanon on the mental maps of tourists, who were primarily interested in Egypt and the 'Holy Land'. Lebanese guidebook authors posited the reasons why their country merited a visit. In the late 1920s, authors additionally attempted to provide their visitors with a positive vision of the political and civilisational position of the country. They contradicted widespread Orientalist clichés and claimed a position among the 'advanced' nations. Although the brochures communicated various nuances and competing ideas of Lebanese nationalist discourses, references to Greater Syria ceased.

The adoption of a Lebanese framework in tourist brochures was a gradual process; individuals distanced themselves at different moments from alternative conceptions framing Lebanon as part of an Arab Eastern or a French Mediterranean continuum. Still, the emergence of a Lebanese nation in tourist brochures did not just mirror political and social debates during the mandate period. Rather, it seems that Lebanese nationalists in particular consciously used such publications as a means of shaping imaginations of a sovereign Lebanese nation.

High seasons, low seasons: The Franco-Lebanese relationship in terms of tourism

In Lebanon, high-ranking politicians, prominent entrepreneurs and influential intellectuals were involved in tourism to a greater degree than was the case in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and many of these protagonists were Neo-Phoenicianists arguing in favour of a Lebanese state.⁴⁶ The extraordinary commitment to tourism development not only among ardent nationalists, but also among political and industrial leaders such as Albert Naccache, was unique to Lebanon, and it was

certainly related to the important economic role the *estivage* sector played for Mount Lebanon after the decline of the silk industry.⁴⁷ This commitment translated into powerful tourism advertisement campaigns and a vigorous realisation of measures, which allowed them to turn tourism development into a Lebanese national project and build the bases for a future sovereign state.

In contrast to Syria, the Lebanese actors did not leave the field open for the French mandate administration and French colonial circles promoting tourism to the Mandate. In some cases, French imperial and Lebanese national policies of tourism development reinforced each other, as in the promotion of Baalbek. In other cases, tensions emerged. This section traces the dynamics of the Franco-Lebanese relationship in tourism and identifies three turning points in this relationship. Around 1923, the French mandate administration started fostering tourism development, mainly for economic reasons. Around 1928, national actors gained more political autonomy in the context of the French “politics of cooperation” resulting from the Syrian Revolt, which allowed them to create Lebanese institutions for tourism development.⁴⁸ Finally, in the mid-1930s, tensions grew between the French High Commission and Lebanese actors, and the nationalist discourse began to dominate the Lebanese political sphere and its tourism policies alike.

The institutional framework of Franco-Lebanese political interaction changed at various times during the mandate period. In the early years, both the executive and the legislative power remained with the French governor, appointed by the High Commissioner, and French ‘advisors’. The first High Commissioner, General Henri Gouraud, appointed the Administrative Commission which consisted of Lebanese representatives and had merely consultative functions.⁴⁹ In March 1922, the Representative Council replaced the Administrative Commission. The council consisted of members elected by universal male suffrage, modified by a quota system in order to guarantee the representation of the most important religious communities in Lebanon. It did not include members who were fundamentally opposed to the Franco-Lebanese project – mainly Sunni Muslims – because they had boycotted the election of the council.⁵⁰ Although the members of the Representative Council discussed laws and policies, its function remained advisory.

In spring 1926, the mandatory power consented to a constitution for Lebanon, which was adopted in May. Whereas this event should not be mistaken as a starting point for a smooth way to independence, the constitution signified an important political rupture, as it marked a localisation if not of power, then of the political debate.⁵¹ The new-born Lebanese Republic resembled the French model in its institutional structure: two chambers replaced the Representative Council, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, and the president was vested with important executive powers. Notwithstanding the republican model, the French mandatory power remained in control over domains such as foreign affairs and the military;

and the president of the new Lebanese Republic was answerable to the High Commissioner.⁵² Both the President of the Republic and the Chamber of Deputies could initiate legislative projects, at least in internal Lebanese affairs. In practice, as in Syria, the French High Commissioner had extensive rights to veto legislation as well as the authority to dissolve the constitution, and later developments proved that the High Commissioner was willing to use this influence. Moreover, the French advisors ‘assisting’ Lebanese government offices retained a decisive position within the Lebanese bureaucracy. Finally, the Lebanese cabinets changed frequently, which slowed down political processes.⁵³

The real change in Lebanese politics and boost in governmental activity did not occur before 1928.⁵⁴ Leyla Dakhli showed that around this time, the French administration established a new imperial strategy based on cultural cooperation. Subsequently, cultural institutions were no longer administered directly by the High Commission, and cooperation was to replace the tight control. The result, Dakhli concluded, was ambiguous: on the one hand, the new strategy implied a more profound colonisation; on the other hand, local political representatives enjoyed some room for manoeuvre in shaping the colonial state.⁵⁵ Whereas in the Syrian part of the Mandate, tourism development was intertwined with policies of colonisation, in Lebanon, nationalist actors were the driving forces behind tourism development – pursuing their own ambitions.

Tourism and the ‘mise en valeur’ of Greater Lebanon, c. 1920–1928

From the early days of the mandate, the French administration declared tourism development to be one of its primary tasks. High Commissioner Henri Gouraud stated in his speech on 1 September 1922, the first anniversary of the foundation of Greater Lebanon: “The agricultural production of Greater Lebanon, methodically developed, will be able to guarantee its existence, but the true source of wealth, the treasure to be exploited, is the country itself.” Thanks to its landscapes and its rich history, he prophesied, Lebanon would become what Switzerland was to Europe: a peaceful mountain retreat for the Middle East: “Therefore, gentlemen, let’s open wide the doors of this country.”⁵⁶

Official declarations aside, the actual policies of the High Commissioner and the French administration with regard to tourism primarily administered and controlled existing practices rather than systematically developing the tourist industry. Building on continuities from Ottoman times, travellers and *estiveurs* from neighbouring countries were identified as the main target group in the early years of the mandate. Although the High Commission had already expressed the aim of attracting a French public in 1921, cross-Mediterranean tourism was not yet promoted on a larger scale.⁵⁷ Rather, the High Commission rejected the Lebanese demand for a

reduction in visa and passport fees as well as the creation of a special passport for tourists.⁵⁸ In the early 1920s, the main legislative measures concerning tourism regulated gambling in *estivage* villages (apparently to levy taxes more systematically) and aimed to guarantee hygienic conditions in hotels and pensions.⁵⁹ The focus on such minor projects regulating the existing business rather than aiming to expand it was unsurprising, given that the recently established French High Commission spent its first years repeatedly restructuring the administration of the territory under mandate. Moreover, limited resources and the French priority of controlling mobilities seem to have prevented several initiatives from being put into effect and as a consequence of the war years, economies in both Europe and the Middle East were recovering slowly, and were regularly hit by economic turbulences, which reduced the number of potential travellers.⁶⁰ Accordingly, entrepreneurs such as the shipping company *Messageries Maritimes* had a pessimist outlook on the touristic potential of the region.⁶¹

Yet, the Beirut agent of the *Messageries Maritimes* had the impression that the rather passive approach of the High Commission to tourism changed in 1923. According to him, the High Commission aimed to foster the business of tourism by setting incentives for the modernisation of hotels and supporting the construction of a large casino hotel. While he expected that it would take several years before the measures would take effect, he approved of the more active approach of the High Commission.⁶²

The renewed interest in tourism development was most likely inspired by the suggestions of the Minister of the Colonies, Albert Sarraut, who had published his ideas on the “*mise en valeur des colonies*” (“rendering the colonies profitable”) in that same year. Sarraut had been Governor General in French Indochina, where he had tried to introduce large-scale tourism even before World War I. In order to foster tourism development, he established a cooperation with the *Touring Club de France* and reorganised the *Services économiques* in Indochina. After the war, Sarraut served as Minister of the Colonies and propagated the idea of rendering the colonies economically profitable. From his point of view, tourism had both economic and propagandistic benefits, as it would spread knowledge about *la France outre-mer* (‘France overseas’) and raise the awareness and acceptance of the overseas empire among the French population and an international audience.⁶³

Around 1925, similar to Sarraut’s measures in Indochina, the High Commission launched its projects of tourism development by means of institution-building.⁶⁴ New institutions brought together French and Lebanese actors from various fields. Although pursuing partly diverging interests, they agreed upon the necessity of developing tourism and *estivage* for economic reasons. In March 1925, the Tourist Office (*Office du tourisme et de la villégiature*) took up activities in Lebanon, which was in charge of both advertisements and quality controls. The office would not

only publish leaflets, posters and brochures, but also guarantee the quality of tourists' experiences, for example, by providing hotel classifications. Its members reflected this double function: along with the Director of the *Services Economiques*, who presided over the office, were the Director of Public Works and the Director of Hygiene, delegates of the Syro-Lebanese *Touring Club*, as well as a member of the International Chamber of Navigation.⁶⁵

The creation of the *Office du tourisme* seems to have been a reaction of the High Commission to the complaints of *estiveurs*: although 1924 had been a good year for the Lebanese hotel industry, the guests, in particular from Iraq and Egypt, had complained that the comfort and amenities of Lebanese hotels and pensions did not meet international standards.⁶⁶ In order to remedy the shortcomings, the French Governor of Lebanon, Vandenberg, and his successor Léon Cayla adopted stricter regulations and controls on the one hand, and set incentives for the creation of new accommodation facilities on the other.⁶⁷ A *Comité du tourisme*, which united "high-ranking personalities from the political and the economic spheres" under the patronage of the High Commission, rewarded hotel owners investing in the modernisation of their establishments.⁶⁸ A decree assured tax exemptions for the first one hundred villas constructed for *estivage* purposes, and announced similar benefits for the first ten hotels to be built in Beirut.⁶⁹ The activities seem to have paid off. By 1925, several modern hotels opened for business: the *Hotel Sursock* in Souk el-Gharb, *Hotel Aouad* in Hasrout, *Hotel Kayrouz* next to the Cedars, and *Hotel Tabet* in 'Ayn Zhalta.⁷⁰ The members of the Representative Council expressed their satisfaction about the work of the *Services Economiques* and its director, Dr Alphonse Ayyub: "We have every good reason to hope that with his contribution, *estivage* will progress rapidly here."⁷¹

Besides *estivage*, Léon Cayla perceived European cultural tourism as having real potential for increasing Lebanese revenues. The project of constructing a modern and beautifully situated hotel in Beirut was designed especially to attract foreign visitors, who until then knew Beirut mainly as a transit hub:

We wish [...] to make the numerous tourists stay with us as long as possible. They disembark in Beirut for a stopover or transit at all seasons, and profit from it by visiting the picturesque sites and the magnificent vestiges of the ancient civilisations Lebanon is so rich in. Therefore, the government has invited tenders for the construction of a large hotel [...].⁷²

In addition to the "picturesque sites" attracting *estiveurs*, Cayla presented Lebanon's historical sites as economic assets that would attract tourists to Lebanon. Since briefly before Cayla's speech Syrian opponents had risen against the French mandate, the economic potential in European sightseeing tourism may be read as a justification of French imperial policies and a promise addressed to the Lebanese.

In comparison to the French authorities, the members of the Lebanese Representative Council had a more vital interest in tourism. Repeated debates concerning tourism indicate that initiatives aiming to strengthen the business in the Mandate were often launched by the members of the Representative Council and their non-governmental allies in the Lebanese economic and public spheres. Their interest in tourism was three-fold: *estivage* was considered a central pillar of the Lebanese economy, the attraction of sightseeing tourists would contribute to the international prestige of Lebanon and was hence a step towards sovereignty, and both tourism and *estivage* would contribute to defining a Lebanese state acknowledged in Lebanon, among the neighbouring Arab countries and on an international stage.

Since its constitution in 1922, the members of the Representative Council had launched various initiatives to promote travel, in particular *estivage*, to Lebanon, to contribute to the economic recovery after the war. In late 1922, debates centred on credits to strengthen the two main industries: silk production and *estivage*. The latter had the unanimous support of the deputies: there were debates about the right strategies and measures for strengthening tourism, but the representatives did not disagree on the general necessity of fostering the business.

An important interlocutor in the early to mid-1920s was the Egyptian-based *Société de villégiature au Mont Liban* (VML), who collaborated with the Representative Council, for example, in setting up (and financing) advertising measures.⁷³ The interest group united exiled Lebanese of nationalist leanings and had promoted *estivage* in the Mount Lebanon region in Cairo even before World War I.⁷⁴ It seems to have been the major forum for exchange on tourism affairs between private actors and the Representative Council in the early period and all the more important, as the Egyptian clientele was considered the most important for the Lebanese *estivage* industry.⁷⁵ Complaints about insufficient services, as mentioned above, were taken seriously and Lebanese initiatives and politicians aimed to enhance the comfort of *estiveurs*, particularly in the luxurious resorts. In Ehden, for example, a post office opened, and ‘*estivage* offices’ were created to take care of travellers in Hasroun and Beit Meri.⁷⁶ Some of the famous summer villages were officially declared *centre d’estivage* in that time: Falougha, Chouit, ^sAraya and Hammana in the Matn district, as well as ^sAbey, Beit ed-Dine and Deir al-Qamar in the Chouf region, received this status between 1926 and 1928.⁷⁷

At the same time, strengthening *estivage* became an important argument for councillors attempting to direct funds to certain areas – generally the regions of origin of their families or their political strongholds.⁷⁸ The major investments were related to the construction of roads. Tourism in Lebanon relied on the automobile and the extension and improvement of the Lebanese road network, particularly in the mountains, were a condition for the expansion of *estivage*. Plans to improve the road network regularly prompted debates over which connections should be

given priority.⁷⁹ Sufficient funds were not always available, but it is significant that the councillors did not generally object to the argument – in contrast to Egypt, where deputies occasionally rejected investments in infrastructures of tourism. Whereas they suspected that mainly international corporations would profit from tourism, in Lebanon tourism was a local business and therefore of vital interest to the members of the Representative Council.

The idea to address European tourists on sightseeing tours as another target group alongside *estiveurs* was being promoted by Lebanese actors since the early 1920s and already in this time, Lebanese politicians argued that international tourism was not only of economic relevance, but also a matter of international prestige. In a meeting of the Representative Council, Emir Fu'ad Arslan, a member of a family of Ottoman bureaucrats from Mount Lebanon,⁸⁰ brought up the “question of antiquities”, referring to the excavations undertaken by the French Egyptologist Pierre Montet in Byblos, who had discovered Phoenician tombs in 1922. Afraid that these and other excavated treasures would be transferred to French museums, Arslan insisted on keeping them inside the country, so they could be presented to the public in the projected archaeological museum. Touristic exploitation had to be combined with the preservation of the identified national heritage: “if not, our independence would remain fiction.”⁸¹ Thus, from Arslan's point of view, the exploration and exhibition of the historical heritage were directly related to the acknowledgement of Lebanese sovereignty.

An even more immediate relation between tourism and state-building was assumed by Michel Chiha, who identified tourism and *estivage* not only as the pillars of the Lebanese economy but as a *raison d'être* of the Lebanese nation. In most studies on the history of Lebanon, Chiha is considered as a sort of *eminence grise*, involved in basically all state affairs of Lebanon and yet a barely visible actor, who exercised power by influencing or controlling networks, rather than by direct authority. His actual influence is therefore hard to establish; however, his impact on shaping the economic policies of Lebanon – as an intermediary economy based on trade and services, profiting from its position between East and West – is somewhat uncontested.⁸² Chiha identified Lebanon's landscapes and cultural monuments as its major economic resources:

[...] in a country like ours, where we aim to sell among other products fresh air and charming places, pleasurable stays and feasts for the eyes, the “superfluous” in the words of Voltaire “is an absolute necessity”. All countries addressing the traveller and the tourist, inviting them to *estivage* and recreation, are forced to make such arguments and to speak of comfort and luxury without implying prodigality. We offer freshness and beauty, admirable ancient memories, views of Baalbek and Byblos for example, just like other countries offer coal and cotton.⁸³

In these lines, the idea of the Lebanese service economy was declared to be a quasi-natural choice. The landscapes and monuments of Lebanon were not only the country's heritage, but also its destiny.

There was a model Chiha and his group of economically liberal nationalists referred to: Switzerland. While they built on the topos of Lebanon as a 'Lebanese Switzerland', coined by nineteenth-century travellers referring to the mountainous landscape, its implications shifted in the brochures and guidebooks during the 1920s. Again, the attraction of Egyptian visitors seems to have played a role in the adoption of this metaphor: In 1919, Albert Naccache described the growing numbers of Egyptians spending their summer holidays in Europe, especially Switzerland. The aim for Lebanon, he concluded, was to reach a Swiss standard and attract this Egyptian clientele.⁸⁴ In this sense, deputies referred to the Swiss model in order to justify investments in infrastructures associated with tourism, for example asphalted roads, transport services and the improvement of accommodation facilities.⁸⁵ The circle around Chiha applied the metaphor to the economic sphere more generally, inspired by the Swiss reputation of great natural beauty and a service-oriented economy based on banking and tourism.⁸⁶ Over time, advocates of tourism development gradually emancipated themselves from the Swiss model: whereas tourism development in Switzerland and Lebanon had been conceived of as a teacher-and-disciple relationship, from the late 1920s on, guidebook authors proclaimed the Lebanese superiority over its Alpine model, emphasising, for example, the healthier Mediterranean climate.⁸⁷

The policies of tourism thus aimed to achieve recognition from the French mandatory and the League of Nations as well as from the neighbouring Arab states. Throughout the period, the press remained an important forum for contact and exchange across *Bilad al-Sham*.⁸⁸ Debates between and within the inhabitants of the newly established states took form through articles and letters to the editors.⁸⁹ In some Lebanese newspapers, the local news sections regularly reported on numbers and origins of visitors. Thereby, they situated the respective towns in the larger spatial framework of a *Shami* tourist space and presented Lebanon as profoundly embedded in the wider region.⁹⁰ Such articles suggested that Lebanon was not isolated and cut off from its neighbours, as opponents to the formation of Greater Lebanon might have feared, but continued to be profoundly embedded in the wider region – by means of communication and tourist movements.⁹¹

Maintaining these connections in times of crisis was vital for the Lebanese advocates of tourism development. Again, the newspapers had a vital function. During the Syrian Revolt, articles intended to reassure potential visitors abroad about the security in the *estivage* villages. On 17 June 1926, at the beginning of the *estivage* season, the illustrated daily newspaper *al-Ma'rid* published a letter to the editor, written by the Egyptian efendi Ernesto Na^ṣmatullah. In his letter, published

under the headline *Testimony of an Egyptian estiveur*, Na^ʿmatullah described his initial doubts about spending the summer in a potentially dangerous and unstable Lebanon. However, he explained that when he finally made his way to Bikfaya with his family, he felt perfectly secure during his entire stay and invited his readers to join him.⁹² The publication of the letter was an obvious statement addressed to potential *estiveurs* afraid of the violent clashes between French forces and pro-Syrian insurrectionists during the revolt.⁹³ It is not certain that the letter was authentic. It may have been an invented or commissioned testimony as an attempt to deny reports on the problematic situation of security within the Mandate. After all, the Lebanese *Commission du tourisme et de la villégiature* complained in February 1927 about the negative press coverage in Egypt and Palestine and expressed their intention to react by launching a press campaign to rebut the allegations.⁹⁴ Other than the notables in the previous chapter, gathering in the summer resorts as a centre of *Shami* sociability, the journalists and editors thus drafted another idea of Lebanon: as a transnationally connected, yet distinct spatial entity.

Moreover, there seems to have been a second, domestic dimension to the press campaign. In August 1926, *al-Maʿrid* covered the journey of a delegation of journalists to the *estivage* villages of northern Lebanon. A series of articles and black-and-white photographs documented their trip via ʿAley to places such as Hasroun, Ehden, the Qadisha valley, Bsharri and the Cedars.⁹⁵ Journalists and editors of the most important Lebanese newspapers, *al-Ahrrar*, *L'Orient*, *al-Jawāʿib* and *al-Maʿrid*, but also representatives of the famous Egyptian daily *al-Ahram*, participated in the journey and covered the attractions of northern Lebanon. In addition, the delegation comprised high-ranking personalities from Beirut's political sphere, such as Muhammad bik Hamid, the Egyptian consul, the deputy Michel Zaccour, and Dr Ayoub Tabet, the new director of the *Services économiques*. Both the articles and the photographs in the richly illustrated *al-Maʿrid*, edited by the Lebanese nationalist Zaccour, showed refreshing water currents and lush green hills, as well as modern hotels guaranteeing the comfort of travellers.⁹⁶ Although it regularly published entertaining content on pages four to six, this report was printed as a serial report on the cover pages of the paper, thus presented as a contribution to the political section of the paper.

Two reasons explain this categorisation. First, the tour obviously sought to restore the reputation of the *estivage* centres during the Syrian Revolt. Just like Ernesto Na^ʿmatullah's contribution, they demonstrated that security and comfort reigned throughout these locations. Second, the advertisement tour not only strengthened the *estivage* villages located in the more remote areas in the province of Tripoli; it also tied the province more closely to the narratives of the emerging state. While the debate whether Tripoli should remain a part of the Lebanese Republic or be attached to the Syrian part of the Mandate went on even

after the adoption of the constitution, the tour presented the region as a core part of Lebanon.⁹⁷ The expansion of the tourism business and narratives of a unique mountain range characterising the country strengthened the economic and symbolic ties between the state of Greater Lebanon and the district of Tripoli.

Cooperation, c. 1928–1934

The resistance of local elites to colonial rule in both the French Levant and North Africa, particularly pronounced in the case of the Syrian Revolt and the Moroccan Rif War, necessitated a change in French imperial policies. The so-called “politics of cooperation” combined military control with opportunities for participation. Leyla Dakhli argued that these opportunities granted to local actors existed especially in the field of cultural politics, and identified Philippe Berthelot as a key figure behind this policy, who was at the time general secretary of the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris. Berthelot took initial steps in the immediate aftermath of the Syrian Revolt, whereas the major change of direction occurred in 1927/1928: cultural institutions were removed from the High Commissioner’s direct control; instead, French and local institutions were to cooperate. As Dakhli has argued, this shift aimed to affect the construction of identities in the region.⁹⁸ The new framework had noticeable effects on tourism development, which also profited from an increasing number of visitors and additional stops in Beirut the shipping lines introduced.⁹⁹ Lebanese actors, in particular, attributing economic and political significance to the sector, founded new associations and launched measures to foster travel.

First and foremost, however, the policy was a French imperial initiative and the topic of tourism development in the Mandate started to resonate in the colonial networks of the French metropole. On 13 February 1928, Georges Philippar, president of the *Messageries Maritimes*, delivered a speech, accompanied by a set of slides, on *Tourism to Syria* at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales*. Philippar, who had climbed the career ladder within the *Messageries Maritimes* since he joined the company in 1912, was well-connected in French colonial circles. He was fond of travel literature and interested in tourism, and had published on tourism to Indochina before.¹⁰⁰ His speech on tourism to the French Mandate of Syria was covered by the newspaper *Cahiers du sud* from Marseille, and the text was subsequently published in *Panorama*, a monthly magazine for “education and colonial vulgarisation”.¹⁰¹ Philippar compared the situation of tourism in Syria and Greece, the ancient sites of which he considered equally attractive from the perspective of visitors. He observed that while Greece had become a well-established and highly frequented tourist destination, Lebanon and Syria were much less popular among European tourists. According to him, four main reasons accounted for this difference: a lack of publicity; the well-organised tourism to neighbouring and

competing Palestine; the mediocre state of Syrian hotels; and, most importantly, the preference of the travelling Frenchman for places he knew, particularly if they were related to classical antiquity and French cultural tradition. Consequently, Philippar concluded that a better promotion of Syria was necessary, in particular by visual means.¹⁰² Moreover, he outlined a narrative that incorporated Syria in a French history of conquest and domination (the Crusades), but also in the French literary tradition (from Chateaubriand and Renan to Maurice Barrès). Such a narrative would demonstrate the bonds between France and Syria, he argued, and might attract a greater number of French travellers.¹⁰³

Similar opinions about the necessity and adequate means of strengthening tourism circulated widely in the French pro-colonial press. Even though travel did not dominate the debates and publications in the imperial circles, it was continuously addressed.¹⁰⁴ The lavishly illustrated magazine *Le monde colonial illustré*, for example, regularly published articles on tourism to various parts of the French Empire. The destinations of Syria and Lebanon were covered in the years 1933 and 1935.¹⁰⁵ A closer look at the editors and authors of the publication sheds light on the connection between business interests, colonial circles and tourism. Georges Philippar, for example, was not only a member of its *comité de patronage* (the honorary editorial board); the president of the *Messageries Maritimes* had already been presented as an eminent and important pro-colonialist in 1929.¹⁰⁶ Numerous other high-ranking personalities from pro-colonial economic, political and intellectual spheres served as members of the magazine's *comité de patronage*: Henri Gouraud, former High Commissioner of the Levant; Albert Sarraut, the former Minister of the Colonies who had promoted the concept of "*mise en valeur*"; and Théodore Steeg, who had served as resident general in Morocco. Some of the members performed functions that were directly linked to tourism: in this respect, Georges Philippar was joined by Edmond Chaix, president of the *Touring Club de France*, and an early advocate of travel to Indochina. Moreover, Marcel Olivier figured on the list, at the time president of the shipping company *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique*, the former president of which, John dal Piaz, had been one of the most prolific pioneers in organising tourism to French North Africa.¹⁰⁷

The *Monde colonial illustré* thus brought together pro-colonial actors from various fields, and it spread their ideas and experiences among a larger audience. The editorial board of the magazine demonstrated the tight connection between politics, tourism and the public, and it showed how tourism development policies and strategies for harnessing tourism circulated in the French Empire. In French Algeria, for example, the colonial authorities introduced measures to foster tourism that strikingly resembled strategies adopted later in Lebanon. Already in 1919, a council named *Congrès général du tourisme d'Afrique du Nord* was established in Algeria, intending to foster tourism in the country and thereby strengthen

the economic development. It comprised representatives of different economic branches, local representatives and government officials under the patronage of the *Gouverneur Général d'Algérie*, a position comparable to the High Commissioner in the mandates. Not only the institution, but also the measures applied in Lebanon and Algeria seem familiar: first, the tourist destinations in Algeria obtained the special status of "tourist station", corresponding to the Lebanese *centres d'estivage*, as both enjoyed relief from resort taxes. Second, the *Crédit hôtelier* provided financial loans for the renovation or construction of tourist hotels in both countries, which was perceived by Constantin Joannidès as a key instrument contributing to the rise in *estiveurs* in the late 1920s.¹⁰⁸ Third, both in Algeria and in Lebanon tourist organisations promoted new tourist practices such as winter tourism and skiing.¹⁰⁹

Taking into account that tourism development was perceived as a contribution to monitoring space and was therefore part of the French 'pacification' strategies, such parallels are hardly surprising. As argued in the previous chapter, French colonial administrations had a vital interest in setting incentives for tourist movements. From this angle, the French colonial empire constituted a coherent space of colonial tourism, where tourists served as civilian allies of the French strategies of counterinsurgency. However, to perceive tourism as a colonial enterprise, or even a "tool of colonial domination",¹¹⁰ covers only a part of the Lebanese reality.

After all, the various committees and commissions consisted mainly of Lebanese actors who pursued their own agendas, some of which differed largely from the colonial vision of both tourism and Lebanon. For example, the *Commission consultative du tourisme et de la villégiature*, established in December 1929, gathered various high-ranking actors from the Lebanese public sphere. In contrast to the *Comité du tourisme* which was controlled by the High Commission, it was associated with the Lebanese Government. Initially, Under-Secretary of State of Economic Affairs Gabriel Menassa presided over the *Commission*, but a few months later the presidency shifted to the Minister of Finance.¹¹¹ In Lebanon, the economic relevance of tourism had been uncontested. The French politics of cooperation now offered Lebanese actors room for manoeuvre which they used to institutionalise tourism development. In contrast to the Tourist Development Associations in the neighbouring countries, the *Commission du tourisme* was the direct concern of an important ministry. From now on, Lebanese actors from various fields pursued a relatively consistent policy of stimulating both international and *estivage* tourism, which in the long run turned into a policy of strengthening the Lebanese nation-state.

For the time being, the *Commission du tourisme* examined and proposed measures to support the tourism sector, gave advice on the use of credits, established hotel classifications and conferred the status of *estivage* centres. Its members, supposed to meet once a month, made recommendations concerning the budget

of *estivage* municipalities, regulations of gambling, public spectacles and public health, as well as the improvement of the *estivage* towns. The 17 members of the *Commission* represented various interests in tourism. Some were owners or employees of transport companies and travel agencies, for example Constantin Joannidès, agent of the *Messageries Maritimes*; Norman Nairn, who had founded the motor transport company *Nairn Transport* together with his brother Gerald; ⁵Abdallah Zehil, agent of the shipping company *Fabre Lines* and author of a tourist guidebook; and Antoine Kettaneh, entrepreneur in the transport business since 1923, who had close ties to *Cook's* travel agency.¹¹² Writers or intellectuals were also among the members, for example Gebran Tuéni, journalist and founder of the newspapers *al-Ahrrar* and *al-Nahar*, who was nominated for Minister of Education in 1931; Georges Vayssié, editor of the francophone journal *La Syrie* and president of the *Touring Club du Liban*, who had already been a member of the earlier *Comité du tourisme* established in 1923;¹¹³ Jacques Tabet, an influential Phoenicianist, former publisher of *La Syrie*, as well as the first treasurer and director of the Lebanese National Museum. As Director of the National Museum, Tabet had crucially contributed to establishing a national narrative that circumvented the role of Islamic civilisations, focusing on the pre-Islamic past and the Christian tradition instead.¹¹⁴ Another member, the pan-Arabist Khayr al-Din al-Ahdab from Tripoli, was a political opponent of Tabet. He edited the newspaper *al-Ahl al-Jadid*, served as deputy and became prime minister in the 1930s.¹¹⁵

Just like the French colonialist networks, national bodies such as the *Commission du tourisme* contributed to the circulation of ideas. Moreover, the institutionalised exchange seemed to strengthen the position of tourism and turn it into a general priority for the commission members. The agent of the *Messageries Maritimes* is a good example in this regard. From the moment Constantin Joannidès joined the *Commission consultative du tourisme et de la villégiature*, he changed the structure of his annual reports to the head office of the *Messageries Maritimes*, dedicating much more space to the topic of tourism. His elaborations on tourism in the report on 1929 fall somewhere between the content of a tourist brochure and a tourism development plan. Joannidès regretted that most tourists limited their trip to Beirut and just a few excursions, for “it would be inexcusable to leave the Levant without having seen Damascus, Aleppo, Palmyra, the Krak des Chevaliers, Baalbek, and the Lebanon” – all the more so as the excursions could be easily combined with a trip to Egypt and some stops in Palestine.¹¹⁶ Joannidès wrote this report in January 1930, thus shortly after the creation of the *Commission consultative du tourisme*. The concurrence of events seems to have been more than mere coincidence. As the agent of a shipping company, the omission of sights in the Syro-Lebanese hinterland should not have been of great interest to him, yet in this regard, the reports presumably reflected overarching debates about tourism development led in the context of his

work for the *Commission du tourisme*.¹¹⁷ The suggestions Joannidès presented to the head office to advertise the region would not only serve the economic targets of the company, but they were in the interest of tourism development more generally.

The activities of the *Commission du tourisme* came to an end in the spring of 1932, when High Commissioner Henri Ponsot suspended the constitution and declared the dissolution of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies. During the following period of non-constitutional government, no further projects to foster tourism were launched by the Government, which was then installed by the High Commissioner.¹¹⁸ Moreover, around the same time, the repercussions of the economic crisis hit the tourism sector. While the number of European and American tourists had plunged from almost 8,300 in 1929 to a mere 2,400 in 1931 (cf. also table 1), the major downturn in *estivage* movements occurred in 1932: while in 1931, more than 6,300 *estiveurs* had visited Lebanon (compared to 6,800 in 1929), only 5,400 summer guests visited Lebanon in 1932. Joannidès considered the 1931 season of tourism and *estivage* rather satisfying given the circumstances,¹¹⁹ whereas the decreasing number of summer guests in 1932 concerned him to a greater extent. Due to the crisis, Egyptian *estiveurs* in particular refrained from taking their summer holidays, and the growing numbers of *estiveurs* from Iraq and Palestine could not compensate for the losses of the *Messageries Maritimes*: those summer guests arrived by rail or motorcar rather than by the sea.¹²⁰ After 1932, the Lebanese *estivage* sector gradually recovered, and, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the immigration of central European, bourgeois Jews to Palestine played a significant role here.¹²¹

Confrontation, c. 1935–1939

Despite a slow yet steady growth in *estiveurs*, Joannidès started to openly criticise the new High Commissioner, Damien de Martel, whom he accused of ignorance with regard to local society and of neglecting the mandate economy.¹²² In his report on 1936, he held the French mismanagement responsible for the difficult economic situation of Lebanon:

Lebanon could be rich thanks to its *estivage* and its historical sites, but the Authorities would have had to take care of the two main resources that might bring considerable revenues, if the mountain hotels were properly equipped and the means of transport less expensive.¹²³

He followed with a list of proposals, identifying restrictions and harsh controls imposed on travellers as the major fault of the French mandate authorities. Accordingly, most of his suggestions aimed at facilitating administrative procedures and making visas more accessible. Moreover, in order to attract a greater number

of middle-class tourists, the agent requested more modest accommodation facilities rather than luxurious hotels ("*grands palaces*").¹²⁴

Joannidès' critical stance on the High Commissioner de Martel and French mandate policies reflected the increasingly strained relations between the mandate authorities and their Lebanese subjects during the mid-1930s. By that time, even actors who had initially supported French mandate rule complained about the French mandatory power and called for an independent Lebanon.¹²⁵ The political debates echoed in the sphere of tourism development and the national paradigm increasingly shaped respective policies.

The main institution that stood for such a Lebanese nationalist approach to tourism development during the late 1930s was the *Société d'encouragement au tourisme* (SET), which was founded in 1935 and declared to be of general benefit in June 1936.¹²⁶ The SET was not an official government institution, yet it received subsidies from the Lebanese state and cooperated with political bodies on a regular basis.¹²⁷ Among its first projects, for example, was the issuing of a special Lebanese postal stamp. Part of the revenues from the airmail stamp which advertised travelling to Lebanon, were to be redirected to the SET.¹²⁸ Even though a causality cannot be proven, it is an interesting coincidence that the decision to issue the stamp was signed a few days before the Government of the Popular Front in France introduced paid vacations. After all, airmail from the Mandate would be addressed to destinations overseas in general, and to France in particular. Since the stamp would reach a large European audience, its authors might have hoped to compensate for losses of visitors from the surrounding countries: in 1936, the outbreak of the Palestinian Revolt had resulted in a decrease in the number of summer guests by around 2,600 (cf. table 1).¹²⁹

Lebanese political support for the tourism sector also manifested itself institutionally. Khayr al-Din al-Ahdab, formerly a member of the *Commission du tourisme*, established the first Lebanese Ministry of Tourism and *Estivage* in early 1937. The Minister of Tourism, Habib Abu Shahla, closely collaborated with the SET.¹³⁰ Although the ministry was abolished in the following cabinet, Constantin Joannidès described a growing activity of the Lebanese Government in the field of tourism. Many of the measures he mentioned resembled strategies adopted in the 1920s and were focused on accommodation and transport. The Lebanese Government aimed to improve roads; it regulated the transportation sector and provided financial incentives for entrepreneurs to invest in apartments and modern hotels.¹³¹

A new initiative intended to consolidate winter tourism. Already in 1922, Emir Fu'ad Arslan had suggested the advertisement of winter tourism. Inspired by a winter sports society from Beirut's wealthy suburb of Bir Hasan, he had argued in the Representative Council that promotion of winter sports would allow Lebanon to target European winter guests, thereby reaching out beyond the *estivage*



Figure 24: Skiing in Lebanon. Title page of the brochure *Liban. Tourism – Estivage – Winter Sports*, edited by the SET

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clientele.¹³² Reverting to such discussions, the SET and its associates now promoted skiing in Lebanon; the intended target group, however, had now shifted from European winter guests to a regional clientele from neighbouring countries.¹³³ The idea resonated in the Chamber of Deputies in June 1939, when the deputies adopted legislation aiming to develop not only tourism and *estivage*, but also *hivernage*, winter holidays. Accordingly, the trilingual illustrated magazine “*Liban – Tourisme, estivage, sports d’hiver*”, published by the SET around 1938/39 with texts in French, English and Arabic, dedicated eight entire pages to the Lebanese ski resorts. Moreover, the cover page for Arabic readers showed a picture of a young woman, cross-country skiing against a background of snow-laden cedars and hill slopes (fig. 24).¹³⁴ Whereas in 1922 Fu’ad Arslan had mostly European visitors in mind, in the 1930s the advertisements for winter tourism seemed to target the Arab bourgeoisie – and Yishuvi tourists, as the following section will show.

The fact that the woman on the cover illustration was skiing between the snowy cedar trees might have remained a footnote, had there not been another piece of legislation adopted around the same time which aimed to protect Lebanese monuments and sights. The text explicated that the formula “monuments and sights” included natural sights of artistic, urbanist, tourist or public interest, and stated that high age, special beauty or historical interest also justified the protection of trees. This sentence obviously referred to the Lebanese cedar, the official national symbol since 1926. In addition, the law stipulated that a list of all protected places should be drawn up.¹³⁵ Thus, the law not only demonstrated a political decision to develop tourism; it also indicated that a Lebanese space was to be defined. The classification of places within a given framework would outline a nation-state and prioritise certain places and ‘typical’ sights. By listing what rendered its national space specific and specifically interesting, the resulting inventory for tourists would correspond to an inventory of the nation.

These new impulses, which bound together tourism and the national idea, as well as the resulting efforts, were seriously hampered after 1939. In the summer of that year – before the outbreak of World War II – the Government further encouraged *estivage* and, during the first winter season that was statistically recorded, a certain amount of tourist traffic persisted. However, the French defeat in June 1940 brought the business to a standstill.¹³⁶

Topography of a tourist nation-state

If we imagined the Lebanese territory of tourism as a topographical map on which height represents a highly frequented tourism or *estivage* area, Baalbek would appear as a major, solitary peak. Already in the nineteenth century, the ruins of

Baalbek had become an excursion site attracting numerous visitors, many of whom recorded their own presence on the site by carving their names and the year of their visit on the walls of the ancient temples. (Even Michel Alouf, inhabitant and historian of Baalbek and later official conservator of the ruins, did so.) The resulting ‘graffiti’, written both in Latin and Arabic letters, fascinated later tourists, and the inscriptions became a typical motif captured in photographs.¹³⁷ Both by taking photographs of the traces of former visitors and by visually documenting their own presence, the tourists situated themselves within a long series of admirers of ancient beauty.

Whether this attraction was situated on Lebanese or Syrian territory, however, did not matter to most European tourists whose diaries and reports confirmed the complaint of the agent of the *Messageries maritimes* Constantin Joannidès: most travellers visiting the French Mandates restricted their visit to the best-known places like Beirut, Baalbek and Damascus.¹³⁸ In this context, ‘Lebanon’ was a minor stop on their long Oriental journey and they described it as an integral, though special, part of Syria. Even in 1935, the former marine officer Chardon, author of the French *Guide bleu* on the Eastern Mediterranean and above suspicion of any pan-Arab sympathies, judged the administrative division of Syria and Palestine an “artificial separation”, and subsumed Lebanon under the heading of “Syria” without further notice.¹³⁹

Such a perceived unity corresponded to the travelling practices of tourists following itineraries from Damascus to Baalbek and then further on to Aleppo, or from Beirut via Byblos to the Krak des Chevaliers (Qal‘at al-Husn).¹⁴⁰ The border between Lebanon and Syria did not represent a barrier and it could be crossed easily by most visitors; in this respect it differed from trans-imperial border crossings between British Mandate Palestine and the French Mandate of Syria.¹⁴¹

Lebanese tourist brochures therefore attempted to introduce new “standard” sights to the checklists of visitors: “The standard roundtrip, the one of travellers in a hurry, comprises Beirut, Byblos, the Cedars, Tripoli, the Krak des Chevaliers, Baalbek, and Damascus.”¹⁴² This section seeks for the dynamics leading to the establishment of such tourist places. While many of the secondary tourist sites would not have become mandatory stops by the end of the mandate, Lebanese promoters of tourism achieved another goal: the shaping of the Lebanese national space.

Beirut: A tradition of modernity

In the touristic landscape of Lebanon, Beirut was a city of transit, rather than a place to stay. From the point of view of most European visitors Beirut lacked authenticity: it was too Mediterranean to be Oriental; too modern to be Eastern. In a conscious shaping of narratives reminiscent of the Zionist efforts in Palestine, the Beirut middle classes declared their modernity to be of interest to the tourist.

Moreover, they projected such a self-conception onto the territory of Lebanon – where it encountered resistance, as the following case studies will show.

European tourists passed the port city of Beirut on their way to the ruins of Baalbek or the heartland of Syria; *estiveurs* from Egypt or Palestine arriving by ship or train crossed it before heading to the summer resorts. These groups, as well as businessmen traversing the city, had profited from the city's hospitality sector since the nineteenth century. In 1893, 25 hotels were counted by a traveller, and guests reported that Beirut was the first city in the Near East where pensions met European standards. Already at that time, travellers described Beirut as a transit zone between an allegedly strange and inscrutable Orient and the well-ordered and familiar Occident.¹⁴³

From the point of view of tourists, however, the good reputation of the hotels in Beirut and the comfort they offered did not compensate for the absence of sights. When George H. Williams reached the capital of the French Mandate in March 1925, the first impression he recorded in his diary reflected an opinion widely shared in travel reports: "Beyrouth does not seem an interesting place." Even his local guide gave up: "My guide practically told me that there was nothing to see in the town, and suggested that I should go to Acre."¹⁴⁴ Before Williams left for Palestine ahead of time, he visited the National Museum, recommended by most guidebooks because it exhibited sarcophagi and excavation findings from Byblos and Nahr al-Kalb.

It had become commonplace to state that Beirut was not of much interest as there were "very few relics of antiquity [...] that are of consequence".¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the authors of guidebooks and diaries regretted the absence of '*couleur locale*'. *Cook's Handbook*, for example, warned readers that the bazaar had nothing in common with what they would imagine being Arab markets, that the houses looked European rather than Oriental, and that streets and places were orderly, broad and properly illuminated.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, at the turn of the century, the joint efforts of Beirut notables and Ottoman imperial elites had led to a change in the urban structure of the new provincial capital. After the war, the old city and the coastline in particular were transformed according to French architectural models.¹⁴⁷ On the one hand, such familiar urban structures disappointed many visitors; on the other, *Cook's Handbook* stated that on the return trip, the traveller would appreciate the quasi-Occidental character of Beirut "after narrow ill-lighted alleys in other parts of Syria, for that very reason."¹⁴⁸

The frustration of travellers is captured best in the idea of a double transition that was frequently expressed in both visual and textual narratives. Most travellers considered Beirut as a city of transit in a spatio-temporal sense, as a gate leading them towards an authentic, somewhat backward Orient visualised in scenes of entering the harbour and an almost mythical scenery.¹⁴⁹ Yet, they discovered a city

in plain transition, expressed in the topos of modernity. In the photograph album of the aforementioned French traveller who had visited the Qadisha Valley, the two photographs representing Beirut exemplified these topoi. She took the first snapshot, showing the port of Beirut, as her ship was about to enter the harbour. The second one captured the *Avenue des Français* (fig. 25).¹⁵⁰ The author seems to have taken both photographs hurriedly, as neither of them seemed carefully structured. The first one, *Le Port de Beyrouth*, showed her arrival at the port in landscape format, with small wooden boats, some of them sailing boats, lying at anchor. The sky dominated around three-quarters of the picture. Whereas the authors of travelogues typically described the situation of Beirut between the Mediterranean Sea and the snow-capped mountains, this image instead stressed the maritime character of the city.

Mediterranean modernity was represented in the second snapshot, which had been taken on land, presumably from a balcony. The promenade of Beirut, the *Avenue des Français*, dominated the photograph. Not only did the promenade and its rows of palm trees resemble its famous cousin in Nice, the *Avenue des Anglais*; the entire street view could just as well have been a scene from the French Riviera. The photographer presented a broad pavement, populated by *flâneurs*; a street on which cars (and not carriages) signalled the arrival of modernity (as did the accidentally captured electricity cables across the picture).¹⁵¹ Only the faint contours of the mountain range in the background provided a subtle hint at the Lebanese locality.

These two impressions of Beirut as a port city and a bourgeois society of *flâneurs*, dated 20 March 1931, remained the only comment of the traveller on the character of the city. The photographs on the following album page, taken in the Mount Lebanon region, were dated 22nd. Although the tourist seems to have spent at least one more day in Beirut, she did not discover any other places worth being preserved on paper. In contrast, she kept eight photographs of the rough landscape of the Mount Lebanon mountain range in her album. Either she shared Williams' point of view that there was nothing much to see in the capital or she felt that by representing the themes of her own transit and the modernity of the place, she had sufficiently grasped its character. She had crossed boundaries, but instead of accessing the past the boundary turned out to be spatial rather than temporal, signalling a variety of quite familiar modernity.

Both the French High Commission and the Lebanese political representatives of Beirut exhibited and cultivated the modernity of Beirut. Particularly for the latter, similar to their Egyptian counterparts, claiming equality with European countries was a politically vital issue. As the mandate treaties promised self-government once a sufficient level of civilisational maturity had been achieved, members of Parliament regularly put forward arguments that demonstrated the country's civilisation.¹⁵² These debates resonated in brochures and guides. Bodies associated



Figure 25: Album page showing impressions from Beirut (Photographer: anonymous. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

with the Lebanese Government in particular insisted on the contemporary local culture, contradicting clichés of a timeless Orient.¹⁵³ Such arguments were put forward, among others, by the *Commission du tourisme* established by the Lebanese Government, as well as by its successor organisation, the *Société d'encouragement au tourisme* (SET).¹⁵⁴ The authors claimed the country's modernity, refuting Orientalist assumptions about immobile and backward Eastern societies.

The intermediary position between East and West, tradition and modernity, was claimed by authors both for Beirut and for Lebanon as a whole. In the brochure *Syria and Lebanon: Holidays off the beaten track* the authors presented the city as follows:

Spread out in terrace-fashion on the hills of a cape from which it dominates the maritime horizon [...] lies Beirut, one of the gates to Asia, which has made great strides during the last twelve years. It is Mahometan and Christian, this political and intellectual metropolis, which is the port for Damascus and Southern Syria. It plays today the same role as Tyre and Sidon did in the past. It brilliantly renews the ties with the civilisatory traditions of Phenicia.¹⁵⁵

Referring to topoi from the late nineteenth century, the introduction situated Beirut in a crossroads position, both from a cultural and an economic perspective; a place combining the advantageous properties of the regions it connected.¹⁵⁶ The passage is reflective of the nationalism of Michel Chiha, the three core ideas of which it summarised. First, the economic potential of Lebanon resounded in the conception of the region as “gate to Asia” and the progress achieved since the last war. Second, the reference to the multireligious population of Beirut demonstrated its integrative potential and the peaceful interreligious cohabitation. Third, as the most important element of the rhetorical climax, the authors accentuated the Phoenician ancestry. The ancient, pre-Islamic and maritime Phoenician culture played an important role in the invented tradition of the nationalists and the economic liberalists that would later be called the *Cénacle Libanais*.¹⁵⁷ Thus, the brochures promoted a vision of the nation as a modern, liberal and multireligious society, the core of which was the trading centre of Beirut.

Unlike in other colonial cities around the Mediterranean, the French mandatory power did not apply its urban politics of conservation and orientalisation in the Levantine capital, a consequence of the history of Beirut rather than the choice of the French.¹⁵⁸ As the city had gained its significance only in the late Ottoman Empire, an ancient or medieval centre as in Aleppo or Marrakech did not exist, and war-time damage had required the reconstruction of the centre.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, by the late Ottoman period, Beirut had already been deliberately shaped as an emblem of modernity by its own inhabitants and by the Ottoman administration.¹⁶⁰ The Ottoman modernity of the city, manifest for example in the *Serail*, the clock tower, or public places such as the *Place des Canons/Place des Martyrs*, was preserved and replenished under the French administration. Additional emblematic buildings communicated the belonging of Beirut to a modern, secular, republican – and French – world, in particular the Parliament and the National Museum.¹⁶¹ The modernity of the capital, vital for the self-conception of its inhabitants, continued to define its development. For prestigious hotel buildings, the Orientalist style was not an option, even though it was popular and widespread in other parts of the world, not least in Egypt. Instead, the famous and prestigious *Hôtel Saint-Georges*, designed by the French and Lebanese architects Auguste Perret and Antoine Tabet, which opened in 1932, was not only a modern hotel with regard to the amenities it offered, but also in its modernist architecture. Thanks to its prominent location on the coast of Beirut, its modernist façade defined the impressions of travellers who approached the city from the sea.¹⁶²

In the 1930s, the hotel embodied the modernity the inhabitants of Beirut claimed for themselves.¹⁶³ In the brochure *Le Liban: Pays d'art et de tourisme*, edited by the SET in collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism in 1937, a large photograph of the *Hôtel Saint-Georges* figured as an illustration of the article on sports (fig. 26). The



Figure 26: Modern Lebanon. The swimming pool of the *Saint Georges Hotel*, Beirut (Photographer: René Zuber. Reproduced by kind permission of the Fonds photographique René Zuber and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

black-and-white photograph showed a young ‘modern’ woman with a bob haircut in a white swimming costume, who posed on a diving board in front of the hotel. The position of the camera seemed to be just above the surface of the water, so the gentle waves in the foreground conveyed the impression that the observer was in the pool, waiting for the woman to jump. On the same page, the photograph of a young male model complemented the first picture. In the posture of an ancient athlete and holding a discus, the muscular young man was presented as a *Lebanese athlete*, thus styled as a representative of his nation.¹⁶⁴

Similar to iconographies of beach tourism in Egypt, the young and well-trained bodies of a male and a female athlete celebrated the youth of the sitters, following contemporary fashions of interwar modernism. The bright modernist hotel in the background emphasised this effect, while the pose of the man, reminiscent of Olympic athletes, and the vivid visualisation of the seawater rooted the protagonists in a Mediterranean setting. Framing Lebanon as a Mediterranean country, as in Egypt, implied presenting it as a modern society. At the same time, this turn towards a Mediterranean modernity already paved the way for post-World War II tourism development, in which beaches and clubs on the coast played an important role.¹⁶⁵ Different from other Mediterranean countries such as Italy, Spain or

Tunisia, however, Lebanon did not adopt the path towards low-cost Mediterranean mass tourism, but continued to use tourism as a resource to position itself as a destination for the Arab world as well as for an international audience.¹⁶⁶

That the Beirutis' self-proclaimed modernity stood for the Lebanese society as a whole was a claim put forward in the Chamber of Deputies throughout the mandate. The self-conception as 'gate to the Orient' in an active sense, mediating between two worlds, was cherished and widely referred to in the advertisement brochures. Unlike the Egyptian *Tourist Development Association*, the Lebanese organisations did not explicitly redirect the tourists' Oriental gaze. Claiming Mediterranean modernity, the brochures did not identify any supposed backward Other. However, the local narrative promoted a particular vision of a Lebanese-Beirut modernity inhabitants in other parts of the country did not necessarily identify with.

The coastal towns: Excavating a nation

Although the ancient coastal towns of Lebanon – namely Tripoli, Byblos, Tyre and Sidon – had important roots in antiquity, and despite their familiarity to travellers from biblical stories and the excavations of Phoenician sites, they remained marginal on tourist maps until the mandate period. Already in the early 1860s, French archaeologist Ernest Renan had published the findings of his expedition to the coastal towns in his work *Mission de Phénicie*.¹⁶⁷ Only after Pierre Montet discovered the Ahirom sarcophagus in 1923, famous for its Phoenician inscription, Byblos became a point of reference in tourist guidebooks. However, although many tourists admired the excavated objects in the new National Museum in Beirut, only a minority actually went to see the ancient cities on the Lebanese coast. Of the travellers whose accounts I analysed, only George H. Williams had visited Sidon; Norah Rowan-Hamilton, on her tour with the *British Archaeological Association* in 1928, visited Tripoli as well as Byblos and its necropolis.¹⁶⁸ The cities and their sights were only gradually established as stations on tourist itineraries.

In contrast to the ruins of Baalbek, seeing the coastal towns was by no means considered mandatory by the travellers; they were perfectly satisfied to head home without any souvenir photograph. Some of the smaller guidebooks even discouraged travellers from exploring the towns. In the *Guide Sam: Le livre d'or de l'Orient*, published in 1930, a subsection on tourism in the chapter on Syria briefly mentioned Sidon and Tyre. According to the authors there was "little to see" though, as the towns had allegedly lost their ancient splendour. Byblos at least was mentioned in a brief list of "other places" that might be worth visiting. Similarly, other guides and tour operators classified Tripoli, Sidon and Tyre as less important: *Thomas Cook & Son* did not have agents in any of the towns, and the *Cook Handbook* of 1934 dedicated only a brief historical overview to them.¹⁶⁹

A comparison with the Palace of Beit ed-Dine indicates that the coastal cities lacked first and foremost a powerful lobby; neither the French nor the Lebanese Government backed their tourist development in the beginning. Even when efforts to present the Lebanese heritage increased after 1928 and the scope widened beyond the acropolis of Baalbek, the Government gave priority to other projects.¹⁷⁰ Among them was the Palace of Beit ed-Dine in the southern Mount Lebanon area, which the Lebanese Government under Charles Debbas granted the status of historical monument in 1930.¹⁷¹ In the decree declaring the palace a historical monument, Minister of Education Gebran Tuéni suggested establishing a museum inside the building, to exhibit ancient furnishings and allegedly traditional costumes of Lebanon.¹⁷²

The Palace of Beit ed-Dine, evocative of Christian rule in the Mount Lebanon area and therefore a constitutive *lieu de mémoire* of the Lebanese nation-state, was hence to be associated with the presentation of Lebanese 'national' traditions.¹⁷³ In April 1935, thus after the end of the period of non-constitutional government, the deputies decided to grant additional credit for the restoration of the palace as well as the palace of the nearby Maronite village Deir al-Qamar, although the picturesque villages had hardly attracted the attention of European tourists until then – all the more so as the mountain roads “obviously have not been constructed for automobiles”.¹⁷⁴

The choice to invest in Beit ed-Dine and Deir al-Qamar was a political one. First, an important lobby of hotel owners and transport entrepreneurs based in the Mount Lebanon region generated political support for tourism development and the creation of infrastructures in the Chamber to the degree that deputies from other regions started complaining about the funds being directed almost exclusively to the mountain area.¹⁷⁵ Second, it seems that the deputies and the French High Commission supported these demands because they substantiated a certain Lebanese-Christian nationalist narrative.¹⁷⁶ The coastal cities, by contrast, did not have such influential advocates.

Certainly, the Lebanese deputies were aware of both the touristic and nationalist potential of the coastal cities. Already in April 1930, during a debate in the Chamber of Deputies over providing additional credit for excavations in Byblos, Yusuf al-Sawda supported investments in further archaeological excavations, which he considered investments in Lebanon's future.¹⁷⁷ Al-Sawda, originally from the Mount Lebanon village of Bikfaya, had studied at the francophone Jesuit University of Saint Joseph (USJ), and promoted a strictly Phoenician national identity.¹⁷⁸ In the debate, he explicitly connected archaeological excavations with tourism development, considering both vital to the nation's future. Apparently impressed by the consequences of the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in Egypt in 1922, al-Sawda emphasised: “We are talking about archaeological discoveries. The future of the country depends on them. Egypt offers a good example [...] In

this way we could exactly like Egypt profit from the visits of millions of tourists and visitors.”¹⁷⁹

Despite such initiatives, governmental efforts to capitalise on the heritage of the coastal cities remained limited. They were hardly promoted as tourist attractions, even though their ancient history was likely to attract European visitors, and the Phoenician heritage qualified them for a central position within Lebanese nationalist narratives – at least they exemplified the Phoenicianist narrative much better than the more frequented Baalbek or the Mount Lebanon hinterland. However, in comparison with the Mount Lebanon area or Beirut, the coastal cities lacked a comparable hospitality sector, so tourism development presumably lacked proponents. The *Guide bleu* listed three hotels in Sidon: *Hôtel de Phénicie*, *Hotel de Moutrân* and *Manzar el Djemil*, but commented that all three of them were “mediocre”. In Tyre, the authors recommended only one hotel, *El Ouatan*, though still classifying it as “rather rudimentary”. No hints at hotels or pensions were given to potential travellers to Byblos, and apart from Beirut, only the port city of Tripoli seemed to be a place where visitors could stay in acceptable conditions: *Hotel Royal* was considered “rather comfortable” and *Hôtel Piazza* was not only clean but also offered “respectable cooking”.¹⁸⁰ The coastal towns were lacking interested entrepreneurs advocating tourism and under-represented in the *Commission du tourisme*, as their sole representative was Khayr al-Din al-Ahdab from Tripoli. The lack of influential supporters might thus account for the marginality of the coastal towns in brochures and guidebooks.¹⁸¹

From the mid-1930s onwards, however, the cities began to be advertised more prominently. In 1936, the SET issued a special brochure on Byblos; and in the 1937 brochure *Le Liban: Pays d'art et de tourisme*, the Ministry of Tourism dedicated an article to *Byblos – A Phoenician town* and a second one to the monuments of the Crusaders in Lebanon, among other places in Byblos, Sidon and Tyre.¹⁸² This incorporation of the coastal towns into the brochures and advertising campaigns was more than a mere realisation of earlier strategies or a sign of economic necessity. It was part of a political campaign aiming at the solidification of the Greater Lebanon nation-state.

In 1936, the status of “historical monument” was granted to the Crusader castle Qal'at al-Bahr in Sidon, and to three mosques in Beirut: the 'Umari Mosque, the Bab al-Saray Mosque, and the Amir Mundhur Mosque. In Tripoli, the castle, the Taynal Mosque and the Lions' Tower were added to the list of historical monuments.¹⁸³ The decrees issued between February and July 1936 were largely attributable to political considerations. During the early months of 1936, a general strike of 50 days and large demonstrations had shaken neighbouring Syria. The following concession of the High Commissioner to negotiate a treaty that would ultimately lead to Syrian independence also generated unrest in Lebanon. Demonstrations

were held in particular in the coastal towns of Tripoli and Sidon. From March onwards, especially Lebanese Sunni Muslims raised their voices after a meeting they held in Beirut, the so-called 'Conference of the Coast', and expressed their desire to unite with Syria. The 'unionists' demanded that at least the predominantly Muslim coastal towns, as well as the Beqaa Valley, join the Syrian state. By contrast, the predominantly Christian 'protectionists', such as President Emile Eddé, feared an imminent annexation of Lebanon to Syria in the case of Lebanese independence from the French, whom he perceived as protector of the Lebanese. A third group opted for independence from France and an economic orientation towards Syria, without backing political unity. These various demands and activities led to a tense political atmosphere in Lebanon during the spring and summer of 1936.¹⁸⁴ The fact that in such a context, Emile Eddé declared the Qal'at al-Bahr in Sidon, several mosques in Beirut, and various monuments in Tripoli to be part of the Lebanese historical heritage expressed a political claim. The coastal towns had been added to the Lebanese territory against the will of most of their inhabitants in order to guarantee the economic viability of the newly created Lebanese state. Since the Lebanese Government feared the secession of these territories, it was vital that they be culturally integrated into the state.¹⁸⁵

The signatories of the decrees taken into account, such an assumption becomes all the more plausible: it had been signed by President Emile Eddé and Secretary of State Dr Ayoub Tabet, both of whom were ardent Lebanese Christian nationalists.¹⁸⁶ That the third signatory, Subhi Haydar, was a Shiite minister from the Beqaa, testifies to Traboulsi's remark that by late 1936 the conflict was no longer fought along religious or sectarian lines with regard to Lebanese external relations; rather, it was the internal balance of power which was at stake.¹⁸⁷

The three members of government had a vital interest in preserving the Lebanese state in its present condition, and cultural politics offered them a way to emphasise the legitimacy of their claims. Similar to the brochures published around 1935/1936 by the SET, the inclusion of the Muslim mosques as part of the Lebanese national heritage was not intended as a message to the French mandatory power, but it addressed parts of the population. The tourism development committees, dominated by the third group advocating political independence from France, mainly presented the Phoenician heritage to the French mandatory power as a means of demonstrating Lebanese civilisation and claiming sovereignty. The pro-French president Emile Eddé and his Government, by contrast, had a different focus. As new dynamics framed the political conflict, they incorporated the coastal towns into the Lebanese tourist landscape. This occurred not only later than in other regions, but also involuntarily. The business related to tourism and *estivage* had been marginal along the coast, but more importantly, the integration was imposed. Neither the inhabitants nor their representatives pushed for the

inscription of the towns on tourist maps. The driving force was rather the representatives of the nation-state, who were trying to incorporate – by tourist mobilities and by a narrative – the insurgent towns into its territory.

Mount Lebanon: Classifying movements

If the coastal towns, in particular Sidon and Tyre, were the lowlands of the Lebanese topography of tourism, its highest peaks (next to Baalbek) were to be found in the villages of Mount Lebanon. Besides its economic significance, the mountain range of Mount Lebanon played a pivotal role in the imagination of the Lebanese nation.¹⁸⁸ National myths such as the myth of Adonis associated with Nahr Ibrahim (Adonis River) were positioned here, but also the traumatic experience of the civil war in 1860, which marked the origin of a Lebanese national state in many narratives. Moreover, the region was the home of the national symbol, the cedar, connecting claims of ancient origins with notions of recreation.

At the same time, in the 1920s and 1930s, the mountain villages were, besides Beirut and Baalbek, the national and international centres of Lebanon. In the formation of the Lebanese national space, tourism and *estivage* thus suspended the categories of town and hinterland – at least from a Lebanese perspective. This was also due to the deliberate actions of advocates of international exchange and mobility. Many of these advocates chose the international outlook, often guaranteeing their existence, out of pragmatic reasoning rather than ideological conviction. Although questions about access to, participation in, and profits from the tourist national space were barely debated openly, their choice did not remain undisputed.

The French mandatory in particular perceived the mobilities and connectivity shaping the Mount Lebanon area with suspicion. The growing integration of Lebanon into imperial structures, world markets, a globalised culture and a global public sphere caused inner contradictions and outer conflicts for the French High Commission.¹⁸⁹ Due to the specific spatial configuration of Mount Lebanon, these contradictions came to the fore in a particularly pronounced manner. The example of the Mount Lebanon area suggests that these frictions also divided the colonial society along the lines of class and gender, which I will examine more closely by confronting two sorts of movements towards the *estivage* centres: while the first section traces the movements of ‘undesirables’, the second section considers the mountain villages as a bourgeois space of leisure.

The new borders, established after the end of the Ottoman Empire, were among the most significant changes the end of World War I brought to the region. Although Cyrus Schayegh demonstrated that the mere drawing of borders did not necessarily imply a reduction of mobility, the issue was subject to negotiation and an important source of conflict between the French mandate authorities, the French institutions

in the metropole, different groups of travellers and Lebanese actors.¹⁹⁰ Throughout the mandate period, the French authorities had to constantly redefine, readjust and balance their interest in winning over the mandated populations and international observers by creating an economically self-sufficient mandate on the one hand, and of securing access to the territories on the other.

From a French perspective, the borders needed to be controlled in order to prevent 'undesirables' from reaching the country.¹⁹¹ Two main categories of 'undesirables' can be distinguished: persons who posed a political threat to the mandate, such as opponents to French rule, and persons who posed a moral threat, in particular solitary female travellers from the lower classes. While attempting to protect the Mandate from such intruders, the French High Commission had to make sure that the French regulation of passports, visas and entry to the Mandate did not hinder the *estivage* business. After all, the mandate government was under pressure from the League of Nations to justify its actions and regularly present reports on the economic situation to the Permanent Mandates Commission.¹⁹²

Public complaints were therefore taken very seriously. In spring 1924, the Egyptian press denounced the difficulties foreigners encountered when they wanted to enter Syria and Lebanon for a stay during the summer months. Given the importance of the *estivage* business, the news caused immediate unrest in Lebanon and multiple complaints were addressed to the mandate authorities, forcing the High Commissioner to react. To avoid protests, he suggested a reduction of visa costs for travellers from Egypt and Palestine, at least for round trips of limited duration, as well as for families.¹⁹³ His explanation addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris revealed the contradictions which the French mandate administration faced:

A general protest is now rising in Lebanon against this demand, and this movement is growing every day, the closer the summer season comes. – Whereas the High Commission has done its best to encourage this movement, and advises the inhabitants to improve the *estivage* stations in order to generate profit, on the other hand, the protesters say, France is putting up barriers in order to keep *estiveurs* from coming to Lebanon.¹⁹⁴

The French mandatory thus perceived themselves in a dilemma: On the one hand, the Lebanese mountain resorts were an important economic sector of the country and, from the perspective of the Lebanese bourgeoisie, well-integrated into a regional *estivage* space. On the other, these summer practices had a subversive potential from a French point of view. As discussed in the section on Bludan, the mountain villages were perceived as being difficult to survey and French security officers feared that they might turn into gathering points for criminals, rebels and prostitutes.

Since the activities in the resorts could not be monitored systematically, the French tried to control mobilities to the *estivage* centres. This was evident, for example, during the Syrian Revolt in 1925/26, when the High Commissioner was clearly in a dilemma about how to facilitate mobility while monitoring the movements of potential insurgents. Very shortly after the outbreak of the revolt in September 1925, High Commissioner Maurice Sarrail informed the Minister of France in Cairo and the Consul in Jerusalem that until further notice, the facilitated access to the French Mandates for *estiveurs* was suspended.¹⁹⁵ After the revolt had been crushed, the authorities eased the controls and travel restrictions. Moreover, they facilitated the formal requirements for entering the country, a measure which might have contributed to the increase in travellers in the late 1920s.¹⁹⁶

Other than Arab middle-class tourists and *estiveurs*, political suspects in times of crisis, the staff catering to the summer guests, often lower-class and female, seemed to constitute a permanent threat from the point of view of intelligence officers. Their desire to control, as well as ideas about the gendered foundations of French authority in the Arab world, clashed with self-conceptions of French *libertinage*, Lebanese conceptions of Mount Lebanon as the leisure centre of the Arab East, and the demands of citizens claiming their right to empire-wide mobility. Frictions around these competing notions were not unique to the field of tourism, but the example of the singing and dancing female artists demonstrates that the specific geographical properties of Mount Lebanon were at the basis of different imaginations that proved irreconcilable.

Between at least 1928 and 1938, the mobility of female musical, theatrical and variété artists caused an extensive correspondence between the French High Commission and police inspectors, the Foreign Office in Paris and French consuls around the Mediterranean. The authorities suspected the individuals, who came from various European countries – France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Russia and others – of presenting themselves as artists, while actually intending to prostitute themselves on the territory of the Mandate.¹⁹⁷ Although prostitution was not illicit in the Mandate, the mobilities of these women were assumed to potentially cause trouble in the territory under mandate and therefore needed to be carefully monitored.

French authorities feared in particular the moral threat that European, notably French, prostitutes posed to the mandatory. In January 1928, at a time when hotel owners were hoping for a good *estivage* season after the end of the Syrian Revolt, Maugras, the Secretary General of the High Commissioner, alerted the Foreign Office. Maugras inferred that the presence of French women in dancing clubs and similar establishments created a bad impression among the local populations and undermined the “respectability of the French woman”.¹⁹⁸ He argued that, ultimately, French prostitutes damaged the reputation of the mandatory power and that, inspired by the British model, the French should deny access to their female

citizens aiming to work as artists in cafés, dancing clubs or similar establishments in the Mandates. While Maugras highlighted that such regulations did not imply adopting British prudery, he justified the measure as a matter of respect with regard to local customs.¹⁹⁹ Maugras' idea that in the local Arab society a female prostitute dishonoured the mandatory produced a contradiction identified by Camila Pastor, namely that the mandate administration reproduced a discourse that was considered no longer legitimate in the French metropole.²⁰⁰ This created disputes – not only with metropolitan citizens, as we will see, but also with the Lebanese, whose customs Maugras claimed to respect.

Some months later, just before the start of the *estivage* season, the Minister of Foreign Affairs informed High Commissioner Ponsot that the suggestions would be put into effect and that visas must be denied to French female dancers, singers and other artists. As it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between artists and women “to whom the lyrical profession is not more than an accessory”, he asked the police forces to execute controls with a certain vigour. “Dubious women”, he concluded, had to be excluded if their behaviour was disadvantageous to the interests of France.²⁰¹

For the owners of the Lebanese grand hotels, by contrast, concerts and artistic performances were an integral part of *estivage* holidaying and part of their business model.²⁰² Since the turn of the century, cultural life, particularly in Egypt, had profoundly influenced the entire region and names such as Asmahan, Umm Kulthum and Munira al-Mahdiyya resounded throughout the region and found their audience not least in the *estivage* resorts. Therefore, in May 1932, at the beginning of the *estivage* season, the brothers Nicolas and Elie Gebeili, owners of the *Grand Hôtel d'Aley*, sent a letter to the High Commissioner. Reporters of the paper *al-Ma'rid* had presented the *Grand Hôtel d'Aley* as one of the finest hotels in Lebanon, rivalling European and Egyptian grand hotels. They praised, among others, the splendid soirées its owners organised for their summer guests.²⁰³ The Gebeilis complained that the attempts of the High Commission to more strictly regulate the entries of musicians on mandate territory threatened the basis of their business: after having invested five million francs into the construction of the hotel, they argued, the *estiveurs* increasingly abandoned the Lebanese *estivage* stations which they perceived as “big sanatoria”; that is, boring. According to the Gebeilis, this resulted from the French policy of refusing visas to many of the performing artists on the grounds that a sufficient number of artists already existed in the Mandate.²⁰⁴

From the perspective of the General Security, a major problem was that the potential performances of the women would take place in the *estivage* villages and thus at places that were considered difficult to survey. Bouchède, the Director of the General Security, reacted reluctantly. Other than in Beirut, Damascus or Aleppo, he objected, it was impossible to maintain a proper surveillance of artists

in the mountain villages. To avoid clandestine prostitution and a “severe risk to public health”, he refused to create a precedent with the Gebeili brothers.²⁰⁵ Special permissions would be granted though to hotels which were able to prove that they would hire “morally impeccable” artists only. Otherwise, he feared that locals would gather in the resorts “to engage in all sorts of vices that were forbidden and strictly controlled in Beirut”, and that the summer resorts would lose their bourgeois character.²⁰⁶ Bouchède, as he saw it, was thus in charge of surveying a confined territory, and in particular mobilities across the Mount Lebanese hinterlands were met with suspicion. His argument that the hotel owners could find a sufficient pool of artists within the French Mandate not only ignored the trajectories characterising the biographies of many artists, but also the fact that for both *estiveurs* and the Lebanese entrepreneurs, an integrated *Bilad al-Sham* in terms of tourism remained an important frame of reference and a centre of exchange, leisure and sociability.

The tension between the French authorities and the owners of hotels and clubs persisted throughout the mandate, as numerous correspondences demonstrate. Regulations seem to have become all the more complex: the potential artists had to prove their artistic impeccability to obtain a visa, but also the respective establishment needed to inform the French officials about the projected event. Even internationally acclaimed stars experienced difficulties in entering the country and performing on stage. When Badi'a Masabni, a belly dancer originally from Damascus who had achieved fame in Cairo during the 1920s, received an offer to appear on stage in Beirut in 1938 and applied for a visa, the French Consul in Egypt did not have any objections: Masabni was a well-known artist, and she had been performing multiple times with the same troupe of girls.²⁰⁷ Yet when the news reached the General Security, they immediately intervened: they reasoned that as the General Security had not been notified beforehand, Masabni might enter the country as a tourist without being allowed to perform on stage, yet her troupe would not be able to join her.²⁰⁸ In the end the case was solved thanks to the support of the French Consulate in Egypt, yet the example shows the tensions resulting from the very different approaches to mobilities among the French High Commission and the Lebanese entrepreneurs in tourism. While both nominally agreed on the necessity of supporting *estivage* practices, its concrete implications – the increasing mobility of women, also of potentially lower-class women, and of travellers to the hinterlands – were met with suspicion and sometimes impeded by the French mandatory.

The debate surrounding the meaning of imperial borders not only divided the mandate authorities and the Lebanese advocates of tourism development, however, but also caused tensions within the French Empire. For the French citizens to whom the authorities had refused entry, the intra-imperial barriers erected by the High Commission seemed at best incomprehensible, if not unacceptable. They expected French citizens to be in a position to profit from the empire, and

Bouchède's restrictive visa policy regarding female travellers was therefore harshly criticised in June 1931 by the secretary general of a syndicate of artists, the *Union artistique de France*. He asserted that while unemployment raged among French artists as a result of the economic crisis, foreigners performed in French overseas territories, whereas the required visas were denied to French citizens.²⁰⁹ The artist Mathy Chandon, supported by the *Union artistique* and the French deputy Jean Fabry, put forward a similar argument in November 1938, when she requested a visa to perform at the *Parisiana* in Beirut.²¹⁰

Whereas the High Commission repudiated the assumptions, insisting on the necessity to protect the French national prestige, Other mobilities of French citizens across the French Empire thus turned out to be a problem for the authorities.²¹¹ Ideologies of civilisational superiority were increasingly difficult to sustain in a world in which allegedly inferior social classes had started circulating. While the artists and their advocates hoped to profit from the opportunities an imperial labour market offered, the imperial administrations tried to prevent politically suspect as well as morally dubious groups from harnessing these. Accessibility and inaccessibility, restricted and promoted mobilities between the metropole, the mandated territories and their neighbouring countries, had to be constantly renegotiated by a multiplicity of actors, while the empire was caught up in its inner contradictions.

Unaffected by conflicts over the legitimacy of Other mobilities, the Lebanese mountain resorts remained a congregating spot for a global bourgeoisie, who shared practices and codes of conduct regardless of their origins. These guests were not only encouraged by the Lebanese accommodation industry and the Lebanese Government, but also supported by the High Commission. The Arab bourgeoisie who had frequented the Lebanese *estivage* villages since the nineteenth century was now joined by staff members of the imperial administrations and European businesspeople living in the Arab East, as well as by Yishuvi immigrants from neighbouring Palestine.

The descriptions of the hotel amenities and programmes suggest that these visitors enjoyed similar leisure time activities and diversions, regardless of their national backgrounds. In 1938, the SET issued recommendations advising *estivage* villages as to how to attract visitors.²¹² Although the authors of the SET claimed a lack of innovative distractions in most villages, in fact the mountain resorts were far less desolate than the SET's plan implied.²¹³ The *Grand Hôtel d'Aley* of the Gebeili brothers, for example, had an orchestra at its disposal, and offered amenities like a garden, tennis courts, a banqueting hall and a casino to its guests.²¹⁴ This standard was met by all the grand hotels in the famous resorts: the *Hôtel Kadri* in Zahlé, the *New Hôtel* and *Hôtel Hajjar* in Souk al-Gharb, the *Grand Hotel Casino* in Sawfar, *Hôtel Abchi* in Ehden, *Grand Hôtel Kassouf* in Dhour el-Choueir, the *Grand Hôtel Beit Méry*, and *Villa Khaouam* in Baalbek. *Hôtel Mon Repos*, next to the Cedars, even had a swimming pool.²¹⁵ In general, the *estivage* hotels were better equipped with

regard to such facilities than the hotels attracting European tourists, most likely because tourists stayed for shorter periods than the *estiveurs* and would rather spend their days outside sightseeing. This explains at least why the *estivage* hotel *Villa Khaouam* in Baalbek offered a park, tennis courts and an orchestra, whereas the first choice of European tourists, the *Hotel Palmyra*, did not. Similarly, the hotels in Beirut were generally much less equipped with regard to leisure activities.²¹⁶

Whereas Arab bourgeois families from Beirut and the neighbouring countries continued to be the main target group within the *estivage* business, entrepreneurs and interest groups launched various attempts at attracting new groups of potential summer guests. Already in 1927, the VML addressed businessmen working in Egypt, particularly the European and American communities of expatriates. Letters of recommendation written by European or American travellers sought to persuade novices of the *estivage* practice.²¹⁷

Moreover, the idea of developing winter sports was revived in the mid-1930s. The SET promoted skiing as an activity that justified the reputation of Lebanon as the 'Switzerland of the Near East'. As a side effect, winter tourism extended the tourist season. One name was especially connected with the advertisement of winter sports in Lebanon: Philippe Bériel. Bériel, who had served in Tunisia before he joined the High Commission in Beirut in 1922, served as Director of the *Office de Protection de la propriété industrielle et commerciale en Syrie et au Liban* and stayed in this position until at least 1938.²¹⁸ From around 1935, he presided over the Section of the Levant of the *Club Alpin Français* (CAF), which numbered approximately 60 members in 1933, and more than 250 in 1937/38, according to him. Throughout the 1930s, Bériel, originally from Lyon, published articles on skiing in various newspapers and magazines, and contacted the French Legation in Egypt to advertise Mount Lebanon as a winter sports destination among the French expatriate community.²¹⁹

His articles not only suggested that throughout the 1930s, skiing turned from a leisure activity of mainly French expatriates to a sport popular among Europeans and Arabs alike, but also that Bériel's perspective on the Mandate changed.²²⁰ Bériel's first article, published in 1932, played with the presumed Orientalist expectations of his readers. Appealing to the curiosity of the reader, he stated that whereas most French associated the country with deserts, palm trees and camels, a mountain range of a height of 3,000 metres defined the Lebanese geography. He suggested in a paternalistic stance that, introduced by the CAF, skiing would allow the local population to better appreciate their own country: "[...] this initiative, meant to [...] demonstrate to the populations, too much used to indolence, the benefit they could, with a little effort, gain from the natural beauties of their country."²²¹

Given such a cliché-packed style, it is astounding that in the second article published for the same audience in the very same magazine only three years later,

Bériel's rhetoric changed – and it would remain in his ensuing articles. Refraining from any Orientalist stereotypes, as well as from his condescending tone, he described scenes of Lebanese, Egyptian and Palestinian skiers enjoying winter sports together.²²² His articles, published in the magazine of the *French Alpine Club* as well as in the magazine of the Lebanese Ministry of Tourism, rather focused on giving practical advice and advertised the easy accessibility of the region as well as the modern amenities available in the Lebanese mountain hotels.²²³

Bériel's change of approach in his presentation of winter sports in Lebanon in 1935 might be attributable to the foundation of the SET or, more generally, the renewed Lebanese activity with regard to tourism development. Given Bériel's position and the fact that he contributed to the magazine edited by the Ministry of Tourism, he was certainly in contact with the *Services Economiques*, and was familiar with both its protagonists and their efforts to strengthen tourism. Such networks and the exchange of ideas among Lebanese interest groups seem to have influenced Bériel's presentation of the country. Skiing in Lebanon became – even in his publications targeting a French metropolitan audience – an activity that united an international bourgeoisie.

The efforts of Bériel, the *Club Alpin Français* and the SET met with success. Lebanon became a skiing destination for adherents from the entire region, but in particular Yishuvi immigrants from neighbouring Palestine contributed to the firm establishment of winter tourism. The members of the *Skiing Club of Tel Aviv* organised excursions to Lebanon each winter weekend. The club had been founded, as Bériel put it, “on the burning sands of Tel Aviv” by Jewish immigrants to Palestine. In northern Lebanon, in the region of the Cedars, its members held annual ski races. The use of German terms for racing categories (“Langlaufrennen”, “Abfahrtslauf”, “Slalomrennen”) and the names of the victorious participants, including the chairman of the club, Dr Hermann Badt, indicate the German-speaking origins of the skiers.²²⁴ In the hotels of the ski resorts, they met Egyptians, Lebanese and Syrians, as well as British and French members of the mandate administrations. The CAF and the *Palestine Ski Club*, which counted 200 members in 1938, actively participated in the popularisation of winter sports, and Hebrew was “heard in the dining rooms and echoing over the mountains”.²²⁵ Furthermore, since the mid-1930s, the *Palestine Post* regularly reported on the club's activities and its excursions to Lebanon and gave advice on locations and routes to the ski resorts.²²⁶

The members of the Yishuv were not only fervent adherents of winter sports; they also participated in the *estivage* practices of their Arab neighbours. Although neither the *estivage* brochures nor the Lebanese governmental statistics commented on this fact explicitly, using the neutral and all-encompassing term “*estiveurs* from Palestine”, the advertisements of hotels suggested that the Jewish immigrants were an important target group for the *estivage* business. Their significance for

the tourist industry was certainly increased further when the Yishuvi sector of the Palestinian economy proved much more stable during the mandate period than in the European or neighbouring Arab countries.²²⁷

Consequently, attracting Yishuvi *estiveurs* was vital to the Lebanese *estivage* business and contributed to its development in the 1930s, even after the outbreak of the Palestinian Revolt in 1936. In the SET's hotel guides from 1936 and 1937, a number of hoteliers indicated that they served kosher food and that languages such as German, Russian or Hebrew were spoken in their hotels, an obvious acknowledgement to their Jewish clientele.²²⁸ The following table (table 2) is based on these guidebooks and summarises which hotels and pensions offered either kosher food or advertised language skills associated with the Palestinian immigrant community. In some cases, languages such as German and Hebrew were added to a general expression such as "foreign languages"; these other languages probably referred to foreign languages more commonly spoken in the region, such as French, Ottoman Turkish or Greek.

Table 2: Hotels and pensions targeting Yishuvi guests
Hotels (H) and pensions (P) advertising kosher food and/or Hebrew, German or Russian language skills

Place	Name	class	
ʿAley	Grand Hôtel d'Aley	H 1	kosher food, foreign languages [not specified]
	Hôtel Continental	H 3	kosher food, German and Hebrew spoken
	Hôtel Traboulsi	H 3	kosher food, foreign languages and German and Hebrew spoken
	Windsor Hotel	H 2	kosher food, foreign languages and Hebrew spoken
Bécharré	Pension du Liban Nord	P 2	foreign languages and Hebrew
Beitméry	Pension al-Raoudah	P 2	kosher food, French, Turkish, and Hebrew spoken
	Pension Ain-Saadé	P 3	kosher food
Bhamdoun Gare	New Pension	P 1	kosher food
Bhamdoun Village	Hôtel Belle Vue	H 3	kosher food, foreign languages
Deir el-Qamar	Hôtel Henoud	H 3	kosher food, foreign languages, German and Hebrew spoken
Dhour el-Choueir	Grand Hôtel Kassouf	H 1	kosher food, French, English, German spoken

Place	Name	class	
	Hôtel al-Raouda	H 3	kosher food, foreign languages, Hebrew, German spoken
	New Hotel Central	H 3	kosher food, Hebrew spoken
	Pension Khédiviale	P 2	kosher food, foreign languages
	Pension al-Ahram	P 2	foreign languages, Hebrew, German spoken
Jezzine	Pension d'Egypte	P 2	kosher food, foreign languages, German, Hebrew spoken
Ehden	Hôtel Abchi	H 1	kosher food, foreign languages [not specified]
Falougha	Park Hôtel	H 3	kosher food, foreign languages [not specified]
Kleyat	Pension Globus	P 3	kosher food if required, foreign languages
Meyrouba	Hôtel Aïn-Souan	H 3	kosher food, German and Hebrew spoken
Meknine	Pension Achou	P 2	kosher food, foreign languages [not specified]
Mrouje	Pension Mrouje	P 3	kosher food, foreign languages, German spoken
Nabeh el-Safa	Pension el-Safa	P 3	kosher food, foreign languages [not specified]
Rayfoun	Hôtel Nabeh el-Assal	H 3	kosher food, foreign languages [not specified]
Sawfar	Hôtel d'Egypte	H 3	kosher food, foreign languages, German and Turkish spoken
Souk al-Gharb	Hôtel Hajjar	H 2	kosher food, French, English, German spoken
Zahlé	Hôtel Traboulsi	H 3	kosher food, foreign languages, German and Hebrew spoken
	Hôtel Kadri	H 1	kosher food, Hebrew, German, Russian spoken
	Pension Saadé	P 2	kosher food, Hebrew spoken

Hotels and pensions which added kosher food to their list of commodities in 1937.

Place	Name	Class	
Jezzine	Pension el-Ahram	P 1	kosher food
	Hôtel Kanaan	H 3	kosher food
Meyrouba	Pension des Meyrouba	P 2	kosher food

Due to their special dietary requirements, Jewish visitors to Lebanon were particularly visible in the advertisements; however, they should not be singled out from a large group of *estiveurs* comprising Arab and European nationals. Even though summer guests voiced complaints about the high cost of passports and visas, and about the difficulties they encountered when crossing the borders of the mandates, the number of *estiveurs* was relatively stable during the 1920s and grew from the mid-1930s onwards. An increasing number of new hotels and pensions reflected this growth, and owners invested in the comfort and commodities of the hotels. The new borders fracturing the formerly Ottoman *Bilad al-Sham* did not hinder the mobility of bourgeois *estiveurs* as they were still easily permeable, at least for them. While movements to Lebanon increased despite the newly created borders, mobility was subject to reservations. In times of crisis, borders restricted the movements of bourgeois travellers from neighbouring countries for political reasons; and at all times, potentially suspect travellers of lower classes were easily excluded. For them, the post-Ottoman spatial order materialised even before the highly mobile bourgeoisies experienced its effects.

Baalbek: Appropriations of a place

Tensions related to the question of accessibility not only concerned cross-border mobilities; they also resonated on a local level. Whereas in the case of mobilities, resistance was sparked by a denial of participation, opponents rejected tourist movements and their implications in some localities. Baalbek, the most famous touristic site in Lebanon, was one of these contested places. Its enormous Roman temples had been well known in Europe since the eighteenth century, and a number of nineteenth-century travel writers had popularised the site. German Emperor William II visited the ruins during his journey across the Ottoman Empire in 1898 (organised mainly by *Thomas Cook & Son*), and postcards and photographs show that already at the time, the ruins attracted a number of more ordinary European visitors.²²⁹ During the mandate period, further improved infrastructures increased the accessibility for international tourists, a fact commented upon by various travellers.²³⁰ In 1932, the Scottish tourist Mary Steele-Maitland and her husband arrived by car from Beirut after two and a half hours, her only concern now being the cold:

We returned to the hotel and got into our car after about 2 ½ hours arrived at Baalbeck. Went to Palmyra Hotel – very cold at Baalbek an icy wind off Lebanon and a slight sprinkling of snow

We were pleased to see a good stove but I was less pleased to feel the sheets damp and beds very cold. I tried to convince Arthur about this. He was far more interested in the ruins

seen from our window. However we did strip the beds and aired the heavy quilts removing the sheets entirely. With our own Jaeger blankets we were not too badly off.²³¹

Her comment not only testifies to the facilitated conditions for accessing Baalbek, but also to new expectations of travellers and tourists with regard to comfort. Such expectations were not restricted to the travelling European aristocracy. All guidebooks, including the ones addressing *estiveurs*, advertised the availability of electricity and running water in the well-equipped hotels and summerhouses.²³² Investments in modern roads, running water, sewage systems and electricity were both a condition for tourism and its consequence. In the centres of *estivage* and tourism, the necessity of attracting visitors often justified spending money on such infrastructures. During a debate in the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies on additional credits for the budget of 1928, the governmental report argued that it was essential to repair the streets, sewage systems and lighting in “this historical town so much frequented by tourists”.²³³ An objection was raised by Yusuf Salim, scion of a merchant family from Sidon and Member of Parliament since 1925, who reminded the Chamber that it was the municipality, not the state, that was in charge of the aforementioned measures. He argued that tourists rather required further facilitation of access and advocated for the construction of a road which would lead directly to the ruins of Baalbek.²³⁴

This road, however, did not receive unanimous approval in the town itself. In January 1929, two groups of inhabitants petitioned the French High Commissioner in Beirut. The first group of residents explained that the municipality had planned the construction of a large road linking the ruins of Baalbek to Ra’s al-‘Ayn, an idyllic picnic place next to a source much appreciated by *estiveurs*. In order to realise the project, the plaintiffs would be dispossessed of their houses, which had to be pulled down; the same fate had been decided for the Shiite mosque. Moreover, the petitioners accused the municipality of refusing the payment of indemnities and demanded that a French commission estimate the values of their houses, as they did not trust the municipality.²³⁵

This road project was not the only case in which the interests of residents conflicted with the embellishment of an *estivage* or tourist centre. In spring 1928, a debate over the improvement of Sawfar in the Chamber of Deputies had touched on the social consequences of the *estivage* development. The plan intended to turn the village into an *estivage* centre that would be able to compete with the most modern European resorts and attract “classy foreigners” (*[des] étrangers de marque*).²³⁶ The proposed legislation comprised regulations with regard to construction works, stipulating that the height and façades of new buildings had to be approved by the municipality, and that each of the new houses should be surrounded by green spaces. Whereas its supporters put forward that the entire country would profit

from such an embellishment, others, in particular Jamil Talhuq, originally from the *estivage* centre of ʿAley known for its luxurious hotels, fervently opposed the project. He argued that if the Chamber passed the law, Sawfar would become “an *estivage* centre for the rich of the earth excluding the prosperous classes and the poor”. The lower and even the upper middle classes, he explained, could not afford to build houses corresponding to the regulations, and with the small plots they possessed, they could not afford to leave huge spaces for parks and gardens as required in the project.²³⁷ Whether Talhuq opposed the project due to empathy with the poor or because he feared the competition of Sawfar for his own constituency in ʿAley is impossible to discern, but in both Talhuq’s intervention and the petition of the inhabitants of Baalbek, the authors outlined a competition between a rich and highly mobile international class of tourists and the immobile local residents. To these residents, the growing numbers of international tourists and *estiveurs* posed a threat, rather than an opportunity.

However, not only the “rich of the earth” and the investors in tourism had an interest in tourism and *estivage*, as Jamil Talhuq suggested. In contrast to the Egyptian case, the Lebanese tourism sector was organised by mostly Lebanese entrepreneurs who had a vital interest in investments and measures destined for the attraction of national and international visitors. From their point of view, tourism was a chance for Lebanon that should not be missed. Such a group of inhabitants of Baalbek addressed another petition to the High Commissioner, expressing their support for the road construction project. One of the petitioners was Michel Alouf, who had already assisted the German archaeologists in the excavation of the ruins and became a member of the *Services des Antiquités* and of the *Institut Français d’Archéologie* under French rule. From 1931 onwards, he was officially in charge of the ruins of Baalbek, where he worked as a tourist guide and served as the local agent of the SET. Among the visitors he had an excellent reputation which he owed in particular to his book on the history of Baalbek. The book had been translated into numerous languages; the French version was published in its fifth edition in 1928.²³⁸ His sons managed the famous *Hotel Palmyra*, which offered a direct view of the ruins and attracted numerous visitors such as the Steele-Maitlands. Moreover, it seems that another member of the family, Nicolas Selim Alouf, opened a cinema (*Empire*) in Baalbek, thus offering modern recreational activities to visitors and inhabitants of the town.²³⁹ Other signatories of the petition were the brothers Khaouam, who owned hotels in various important cities such as Beirut, Damascus, Homs and Hama. In Baalbek they were in charge of *Villa Khaouam*, later *Hôtel de la Source* in Ra’s al-ʿAyn, a hotel frequented by *estiveurs* as opposed to European tourists.²⁴⁰

The existence of two camps with contradictory conceptions of the character of Baalbek manifested itself in the dispute over the road project. On one side the Baalbek inhabitants gathered for whom the advent of tourism was a potential.

They were looking forward to the enhancement of the town with electricity and water infrastructures, a good connection to the rest of the country and cultural infrastructures, and they hoped for economic gain. The adherents of the second camp did not expect profits from these investments; on the contrary, some even feared the expropriation of their homes and lands, or rising costs for houses and estates. To them, the change was a challenge or even a threat, rather than a promise.

In their petitions, both sides turned the conflict into a moral problem. Opponents of the road argued in terms of the local community: widows would be dispossessed of their properties, and the municipality apparently planned to tear down a holy place, the local Shiite mosque.²⁴¹ Proponents of the project, by contrast, created a universal framework for their argument. First, they rebuffed the argument of their opponents by denouncing their purely selfish (and thereby illegitimate) motivation. Second, they argued that Baalbek's exceptional historical heritage obliged its inhabitants to make the beauty of the site accessible to an outside world. Persons acting out of mere self-interest, they reasoned, should not be able to sabotage the development of Baalbek or the showcasing of the universal heritage of the ruins.²⁴²

While the supporters of the road obviously pursued their own interests just as the opponents did, their reference to the idea of a universal heritage is significant. We have seen in the case of Palmyra that the accessibility and the alleged protection of universal heritage justified imperial intervention, often in a paternalist stance, as the interests of the local population were considered subordinate to the interests of a global community of visitors. Also in Baalbek, from a French imperial point of view, the ruins testified to the presence of the Roman Empire and thus were interpreted as a monument of imperial grandeur, as we have seen in Damien de Martel's foreword to the SET's tourist brochure (cf. p. 266-267). Policies of heritage preservation demonstrated the fulfilment of the French educational mission in the mandates.²⁴³

Alouf and the other advocates of Baalbek's tourism development, however, put forward similar arguments of the universal meaning of the site, thereby rejecting both the demands of the opponents of the road project and claims of the mandatory that the protection of heritage required the imperial presence.²⁴⁴ As for the Lebanese deputies, the acropolis of Baalbek served as a symbol identifying the Lebanese nation-state.²⁴⁵ The ruins played a significant role anytime the country was presented to an international audience, for example at the colonial exposition in Paris in 1931. While a number of deputies raised doubts about participating in the exposition at all, because they refused to label Lebanon as a colony, a majority voted in favour of the project. Its supporters argued that the exposition was an occasion to "provide proof in France of our political and economic existence".²⁴⁶ To deliver such proof, the Minister of Education, Gebran Tuéni, decided that among other objects, a model of the temples of Baalbek would be presented to the French audience.²⁴⁷ Tuéni stressed the significance of the object: "the moral gain is priceless.

[The artist who had shaped the model] has once again proven that the Lebanese can reach the peak of all intellectual and artistic expression".²⁴⁸ Tuéni expected that greater international awareness about the Lebanese cultural heritage would enhance the prestige of Lebanon and the reputation of the Lebanese people among an international audience.²⁴⁹ The accessibility of the heritage was therefore vital to the national interest.

The group of petitioners around Michel Alouf could hope for the backing of both the High Commission and the Lebanese Government. The local conflict between a number of house owners and the Shiite community on the one side and the Alouf circle on the other entered into a larger political debate. A global, an imperial and a national frame of reference interfered with the local question as to whether houses should give way to a bypass road. Baalbek appeared on an imagined map of universal heritage sites, which implied the right of an international public to visit it. Indeed, the governing institutions gave this right precedence over that of individual local inhabitants to stay in their homes. Both the imperial power and the national government backed this interest, hoping that the symbol of Baalbek would demonstrate the legitimacy of their claims to the territory. The integration of the place into a new imperial and simultaneously into a new national space after 1920 thus created opportunities for some, who backed and contributed to the process. Unlike the groups opposing the national integration of the coastal towns, the petitioners in Baalbek resisting the process were not motivated by other allegiances. They perceived the conflict to be a local issue of coexistence and responsibility and failed to grasp its national and international dimensions – interests to which their aims were finally subordinated.

Conclusion

Although the new borders introduced on paper after World War I separated a tiny Greater Lebanon from the other parts of *Bilad al-Sham*, movements of tourism and *estivage* to Lebanon increased during the 1920s and 1930s. The closer integration of Lebanon into imperial transportation circuits (both British and French), facilitated the journeys of European tourists and reduced the costs, while the members of the European administrative and military staff in the region created a new reservoir of potential tourists. Other than in Egypt, tourism also enjoyed the strong support of a large part of local society, as the tourism business was mainly organised by Lebanese entrepreneurs and a major economic factor in many regions. In this regard, the Arab *estivage* movements generated higher revenues than European tourism, and administrative hindrances to the trade provoked protests among the population. Difficulties in the *estivage* business, as after the economic depressions affecting Egypt, were partly compensated by tourists from the Yishuv from the 1930s onwards.

From the perspective of the French High Commission, tourism and *estivage* were ambiguous phenomena. As in Syria, the mandate administration backed the movement in principle, notably because of its economic potential, which promised to ease the financial burden of administering the newly acquired territories while it did not menace the French industry. On the other hand, the General Security specifically cautioned against the threats which mobilities posed to the authority of the mandate power. Actual or supposed prostitutes travelling to the Mandates were suspected of spreading not only diseases, but, especially in the case of French women, bore the potential of undermining the reputation of the mandatory. Similar to the mobility of politically suspect individuals in Syria, mobilities of lower-class female travellers required strict control from the point of view of the authorities. Protests against such policies were raised by hotel owners whose business model was partly based on the staging of singers and dancers, but also by French performers who claimed access to the potential professional opportunities of the Empire.

At a national level, in particular those parts of the population who did not profit from the mobility of the regional and transnational bourgeoisies were opposed to further investments in tourism and *estivage*. Some of them, like the residents of Baalbek, feared that the integration of their town into national, transnational and imperial circuits of mobilities and exchange would put them in a disadvantageous position or threaten their way of life and their possessions. Others, for example in the coastal towns, rejected the economic liberalist Beiruti model based on trade and tourism, as they rather imagined a closer economic integration with Syria. However, as both the economic liberalists among the Lebanese nationalists and the French imperialists shared and fostered a Mediterranean outlook, pursuing the same goals for different reasons, it became difficult for pan-Syrian opponents to find allies – both with regard to tourism policies and beyond.

The most committed actors pursuing tourism development in Lebanon belonged to an economically liberal, and politically Lebanese nationalist bourgeoisie. From the outset, they perceived tourism as a resource for implementing their vision of a Lebanese state, even though the focus of their political struggle shifted: whereas in the 1920s they focused on shaping a unique imaginary of Lebanon in contrast to Syria, in the politically heated atmosphere of the mid- and late 1930s the supporters of tourism claimed their independence from the French mandate power and advanced internal coherence, while trying to guard their business model by forging ties of tourism with all surrounding countries.

In contrast to neighbouring Syria and Arab Palestine, the Lebanese middle classes were in a stronger political position. Although the mandate framework applied to Lebanon as well, the French authorities created legislative institutions and government offices that allowed the Lebanese to participate in political decision-making. As in Syria, French advisors existed, yet it appears that in the field of

tourism development the Lebanese actors enjoyed a larger room for manoeuvre than their neighbours did.

This allowed deputies and governmental institutions to make use of tourism as a resource for integrating the Lebanese nation-state over time. First, in brochures and information sheets, the mainly Beirut middle classes envisioned a modern Lebanon, revolving around an allegedly Phoenician economic liberalism, the modernity of Mediterranean Beirut and the landscapes of Mount Lebanon. Such visions shaped the promotion of the country not only at a national level, but also among a regional and an international audience. Similar to Egypt, narratives of modernity were put forward to argue in favour of Lebanese sovereignty. Although the Lebanese middle classes resorted to European vocabularies of nation-building, such as the Phoenician heritage on display in the National Museum, or the assumption of national traditions, they displayed a rather pragmatic use of such narratives. Although widely advertised in tourism propaganda, the Phoenician heritage, for example, remained a somewhat theoretical framework: the core sites of the Lebanese Phoenician past were not developed as tourist destinations before the mid-1930s.

Second, the Lebanese middle classes were perfectly aware of the fact that the national narratives were of relevance not merely in ideological or symbolic debates, but also had serious material repercussions. This potential, of which also Egyptian, Yishuvi and French actors in Syria made use of, was used as a resource for territorially integrating Lebanon in particular during the 1930s.

Tourism development justified the creation of material structures supporting the nation-state: roads connecting the Lebanese 'heartland', Beirut and the Mount Lebanon area, while remote sites such as the temples of Baalbek and the Cedars integrated the periphery. Moreover, it helped to win over a part of the population by offering financial reward and instilling a narrative. Those who benefited materially were more likely to identify with the new state: in this regard, it is significant that the major resistance in Baalbek against mandate rule and in favour of Syrian unity occurred in 1926 and, less violently, in 1929 in the context of the road project. Later on, after increased accessibility had been achieved and tourism began to flourish, the protests dissipated and they did not regain momentum in 1936, although claims for Syrian unity were raised again along the Lebanese coastline. In the centres of protest, particularly Sidon and Tyre, the integration into the tourist space had not yet occurred by 1936, and the overall identification with the nation-state remained unstable.

Thus, in Lebanon, as in Egypt or Yishuvi Palestine, advocates of tourism development focused on the integration of the national territory in the 1930s. Unlike in these cases, however, it was not domestic tourism that helped create infrastructures and bonds between the centres and the former peripheries, but rather the *estivage* movement, attracting summer guests from the neighbouring countries. Again, the approach of the Lebanese tourism sector seemed pragmatic rather than ideological:

in contrast to Egypt, there was no Orientalising of outside Others – after all, outside Lebanon resided the potential clientele. This included the Jewish immigrants to Palestine, of major importance as the rather positive economic development of the Yishuv during the 1930s helped the Lebanese tourism sector to quickly overcome the effects of the Depression.

In terms of both inside and outside relations, tourism in Lebanon was a vital resource in creating a bourgeois nation-state, as it enabled the processes of claiming, defending and establishing access over territory. By firmly anchoring Lebanon in its regional context, the middle classes also secured its political and economic existence: as the *estivage* centre of both its Yishuvi and its Arab neighbours. While none of the advocates of tourism development anticipated the rupture that would separate Mount Lebanese hotel owners from their Yishuvi customers after 1948, ambitions to use tourism as a resource for maintaining ties with both Europe, the Americas, and the Arab world persisted after World War II.²⁵⁰

Notes

- ¹ al-Khoury, 'L'Industrie hôtelière au Liban', p. 37.
- ² Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea*, pp. 262–264. Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 55–56. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, pp. 274–279, 285–291 et pass. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, p. 110.
- ³ Jürgen Osterhammel pointed out that the notion of a 'public sphere' implies a process, as it needs to be created and maintained: Osterhammel, 'Die Weltöffentlichkeit im 20. Jahrhundert', p. 69.
- ⁴ Barakat-Buccianti, 'Beyrouth sous le Mandat français', p. 75.
- ⁵ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1925*, Secrétariat, p. 17.
- ⁶ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1928*, Secrétariat.
- ⁷ In contrast, Carolyn Gates estimates the number of travellers at 216,000 in 1952 and at more than 544,000 in 1957: Gates, 'The Historical Role of Political Economy', p. 16. For 1937, Gates estimates their number at "less than 30,000". Travellers from the neighbouring countries who did not stay more than ten days in Lebanon, were not counted in the official statistics: FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1934*, Trafic, p. 5. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1935*, Secrétariat, pp. 2–3.
- ⁸ AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 27/10/1925, p. 4.
- ⁹ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1927*, Secrétariat. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1930*, Trafic, p. 6. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1932*, Secrétariat, pp. 3–5.
- ¹⁰ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1932*, Secrétariat, pp. 3–5. Vecchia Vaglieri, 'La villeggiatura nel Libano'. Vecchia Vaglieri, 'Decadenza della villeggiatura estiva'. N.N., 'Aspetti della crisi', p. 523.
- ¹¹ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1935*, Secrétariat, pp. 2–3; Trafic, pp. 5–6.

- ¹² FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1937*, Secrétariat, p. 6; Trafic, pp. 4–5. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1938*, Secrétariat, p. 5. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1940*, Secrétariat, pp. 2–3; Trafic, p. 5. Vecchia Vaglieri, 'Decadenza della villeggiatura nel Libano'.
- ¹³ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Rapports d'Agence, Exercices 1927–1940.
- ¹⁴ BO, Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Société de Villégiature, 1927*, p. 5. AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif, 01/05/1923*, pp. 5–6.
- ¹⁵ AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif, 01/05/1923*, pp. 5–6. LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Société de Villégiature, 1925*, title page. I am grateful to Janina Santer, who spotted this brochure and shared it with me. BO, Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Société de Villégiature, 1927*, title page. Janina Santer has provided a detailed analysis of the VML's members and activities in her M.A. thesis: Santer, 'Imagining Lebanon', pp. 44–46.
- ¹⁶ UMAM FOUNDATION, *al-Istiyaf fi Lubnan*. The Umam Foundation estimates the date of publication to be 1926. As it was printed during the presidency of Charles Debbas, the date range is 01/09/1926–02/01/1934.
- ¹⁷ The Russian origin of Nicholas Strelakovsky is mentioned in the description of a box of watercolor paintings from the 1930s, archived at the Smithsonian Institution (Collection ID: SIA.FARU7468). Strelakovsky also authored two advertisement posters for *Misr* airlines, dated 1934 and 1935 (cf. <https://www.artothek.de/de/bilder-fotos/strelakovsky.html>, last accessed on May 30, 2022). The anti-urban romanticism as well as the focus on the mountain landscape are significant elements in the work of Gibran Khalil Gibran (1882–1931), considered a preeminent representative of Lebanese poetry. Jens Hanssen identified this 'mountain romanticism' as a key element of the post-war 'neo-phoenicianist' nationalism: Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 231–232.
- ¹⁸ HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *The Tourist's Book, 1924*, pp. 47–48.
- ¹⁹ Cf. HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *The Tourist's Book, 1924*, pp. 4–6. FDC, Services économiques, *Le tourisme en Syrie, 1928*, pp. 4–5.
- ²⁰ Similar in: FDC, Services économiques, *Le tourisme en Syrie, 1928*, pp. 4–7.
- ²¹ Alexis Wick convincingly argued that Mediterraneanism served its proponents as an argument to de-orientalise themselves: Wick, 'History, Geography, and the Sea', p. 745.
- ²² BNF RICHELIEU, Maklout and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d'art*. The SET received subsidies from Syria as well: AUB, *Décret no. 447, 15/06/1936*.
- ²³ For the role of Baalbek in Lebanese-Phoenicianist nationalism see Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, pp. 148–151.
- ²⁴ BO, Gobril, *Visitez le Levant*. BO, Zehil, *Petit Guide historique de la Syrie, 1929*. BNF RICHELIEU, Samné and Bureau syrien et libanais d'informations et de tourisme, *Syrie et Liban, 1932*. BO, Commission du Tourisme des Etats sous Mandat, *Le tourisme en Syrie*. FDC, Commission du tourisme et de villégiature du gouvernement libanais, *Au pays des cèdres*. BNF RICHELIEU, *Syrie – Liban, 1935*. BO, Services économiques du gouvernement libanais, *Le Liban: Pays de tourisme*. BO, Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Beyrouth*. BNF RICHELIEU, Maklout and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d'art*.
- ²⁵ BO, Services économiques du gouvernement libanais, *Le Liban: Pays de tourisme*.
- ²⁶ The French spelling "Béryte" is derived from the Phoenician "Be'erot", called "Berytos" by Greeks and the Roman conquerors. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, p. 240. Elisséeff, 'Bayrūt'.

- ²⁷ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, p. 46. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, p. 169. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction', pp. 7–8.
- ²⁸ Monmarché, *Syrie – Palestine – Iraq – Transjordanie*, pp. XLVII, LIV–LVIII. Thomas Cook & Son, Lumby and Garstang, *Cook's Traveller's Handbook to Palestine, Syria & Iraq, 1934*, pp. 23–35.
- ²⁹ Jansen, *Erobern und Erinnern*, pp. 285–286. Jansen, 'Die Erfindung des Mittelmeerraums'. Furlough, 'Une leçon des choses', p. 455. A similar attempt was undertaken by Mussolini's imperial propaganda machinery, similarly claiming the succession of the Roman Empire and thus openly competing with the French in the Levant, however, remaining more ambiguous with regard to his approach to the local Muslim populations. Dueck, *Claims of Culture*, pp. 119–120.
- ³⁰ Kaufman, 'Phoenicianism'. Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea*, pp. 219–222.
- ³¹ Hartman and Olsaretti, 'The First Boat'.
- ³² Ippolito, 'Naissance d'une nation'. Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, p. 24.
- ³³ In the four issues of the *Revue* that appeared in 1919, two articles dealt with tourism and *estivage*. al-Khoury, 'L'Industrie hôtelière au Liban'. Naccache, 'L'industrie de la villégiature'. Moreover, the guide by the *Services Economiques* quoted verses of Corm's nationalist poem *La montagne inspirée*: BO, Services économiques du gouvernement libanais, *Le Liban: Pays de tourisme*, p. 16.
- ³⁴ Charles Corm, *Terre de souvenirs*, in: BNF RICHELIEU, Maklout and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d'art*.
- ³⁵ BO, Gobril, *Visitez le Levant*, pp. 53–55. Similar arguments were put forward by Jacques Tabet: Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, pp. 26–28.
- ³⁶ 'Frankish' in Arabic also used to be a common designation for European foreigners. BO, Gobril, *Visitez le Levant*, pp. 18–20.
- ³⁷ BO, Gobril, *Visitez le Levant*, p. 13.
- ³⁸ Besides Corm, there was a second exception to this tendency: Georges Samné, a francophone author, who lived in Paris, where he edited the journal *Correspondance d'Orient*. The co-founder and director of the *Bureau syrien et libanais d'informations et du tourisme* had been an long-standing adherent to "une Syrie française", that is, a united Greater Syria governed by the French colonial power, which was hoped to guarantee both security and influence of the Lebanese Maronite population. In the guide he wrote for the *Bureau syrien*, Samné stressed the beneficial role of the French Mandate with regard to economic and political development. BNF RICHELIEU, Samné and Bureau syrien et libanais d'informations et de tourisme, *Syrie et Liban, 1932*. On Georges Samné cf. Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, pp. 18–19, 24–25. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, pp. 79–84.
- ³⁹ Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 96–100.
- ⁴⁰ FDC, Commission du tourisme et de villégiature du gouvernement libanais, *Au pays des cèdres*. On the cedar as a symbol of Lebanese separatism cf. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, p. 236.
- ⁴¹ According to the authors, the cedar had become the national symbol because it represented the both ancient and young Lebanese nation: FDC, Commission du tourisme et de villégiature du gouvernement libanais, *Au pays des cèdres*, p. 19.
- ⁴² Makdisi, 'The "Rediscovery" of Baalbek', pp. 140–142, 153–156.
- ⁴³ Damien de Martel, "L'éternelle Méditerranée", in BNF RICHELIEU, Maklout and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d'art*.
- ⁴⁴ René Dussaud, "Baalbeck", in BNF RICHELIEU, Maklout and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d'art*.
- ⁴⁵ Le Gras, *Le Lac Méditerranéen*, p. 138. Makdisi, 'The "Rediscovery" of Baalbek', pp. 154–155.
- ⁴⁶ Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, pp. 97–98. Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, p. 93. Hanssen has demonstrated for Ottoman Beirut that the institutional participation was perceived as a means of socio-political ascendancy among the local notables. Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 161–162.

- ⁴⁷ In 1917, Albert Naccache published an analysis on the economic potential of Mount Lebanon. At the time, he hoped for a revival of the silk industry, benefitting from hydropower plants, but perceived the *estivage* business as the second major pillar of its economy: Naccache, 'Aperçu sur la situation économique', pp. 152–153. Cf. also al-Khoury, 'L'Industrie hôtelière au Liban'.
- ⁴⁸ Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 247–248. Dakhli, 'L'expertise en terrain colonial'. On the French bureaucratic infrastructure in contrast to that of the Ottoman rulers cf. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, pp. 58–59. el-Solh, *Lebanon and Arabism*, pp. 2–3.
- ⁴⁹ Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, p. 88.
- ⁵⁰ Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, p. 165. Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, pp. 83–84.
- ⁵¹ On the notion of "localization of power" cf. Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, p. 9.
- ⁵² Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 89–90. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, pp. 165–168.
- ⁵³ Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, pp. 167–168. AUB, *Constitution Libanaise*, p. 1. Titre II, Art. 18.
- ⁵⁴ Dakhli, 'L'expertise en terrain colonial', p. 23.
- ⁵⁵ Dakhli, 'L'expertise en terrain colonial', pp. 25–27.
- ⁵⁶ AUB, Gouraud, *Discours du 1er Septembre 1922*, p. 5.
- ⁵⁷ ANL, Gouraud, *Arrêté No. 885 du 05/06/1921*.
- ⁵⁸ AUB, de Sercey, *Lettre du Haut Commissaire, 05/1923*, p. 4.
- ⁵⁹ AUB, *Décision No. 1667, 23/05/1923*, p. 3. On imperial fears of mobilities and contagion cf. Huber, *Channelling Mobilities*, pp. 241–271. Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj*, pp. 78–81. Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 125–127, 130–132. A legislative project on the taxation of gambling led to an extensive debate in the Representative Council, opposing supporters arguing in favour of the *estivage* industry and opponents rejecting any permission of gambling for moral reasons: AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif du 07/12/1922*, p. 4. AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif du 07/12/1923*, p. 4. AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif du 11/12/1923*, pp. 2–3. AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif du 24/04/1923*, pp. 3–4.
- ⁶⁰ Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 96–98. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 85–86.
- ⁶¹ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1921*. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1922*.
- ⁶² FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1923*.
- ⁶³ Demay, *Tourism and Colonization in Indochina*, pp. 87–91. Furlough, 'Une leçon des choses'.
- ⁶⁴ This impression was shared by contemporary observer Frédéric Martin, agent of the *Messageries Maritimes*: FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1924*, Secrétariat, p. 4.
- ⁶⁵ AUB, *Arrêté No. 3041, 17/03/1925*, p. 2.
- ⁶⁶ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1924*, pp. 3–4.
- ⁶⁷ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1924*, pp. 3–4. ANL, *Arrêté No 3042, 17/03/1925*.
- ⁶⁸ FRENCH LINES, Philippar, *Le tourisme en Syrie, 13/02/1929*, pp. 56–57.
- ⁶⁹ ANL, *Arrêté No. 3013, 04/03/1925*.
- ⁷⁰ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1925*, Secrétariat, pp. 8–9.
- ⁷¹ AUB, *Conseil Représentatif du 04/11/1924, Journal officiel No. 1821*, p. 4. AUB, *Conseil Représentatif du 04/11/1924, Journal officiel No. 1822*, p. 3.
- ⁷² AUB, Cayla, *Discours, 09/1925*, p. 5. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1924*, p. 4.

- ⁷³ AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 31/10/1922, pp. 5–7. AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 30/04/1923, pp. 3–4.
- ⁷⁴ Santer, 'Imagining Lebanon', pp. 44–46. Janina Santer also identified the directors of the company – among them Haidar Maalouf who had served as secretary of the *Alliance Libanaise* in Cairo. AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 01/05/1923, pp. 5–6.
- ⁷⁵ al-Khoury, 'L'Industrie hôtelière au Liban'. Naccache, 'L'industrie de la villégiature'.
- ⁷⁶ AUB, Arrêté No. 2537, 26/06/1924, p. 3. AUB, Arrêté No. 2538, 26/06/1924, p. 3. AUB, Arrêté No. 2599, 02/08/1924, p. 2.
- ⁷⁷ ANL, *Marsum Raqm 955, Majmu'at Qawanin*. ANL, *Marsum Raqm 1955, Majmu'at Qawanin*. ANL, *Marsum Raqm 2203, Majmu'at Qawanin*. ANL, *Marsum Raqm 2515, Majmu'at Qawanin*. ANL, *Marsum Raqm 2713, Majmu'at Qawanin*. ANL, *Marsum Raqm 2912, Majmu'at Qawanin*. ANL, *Marsum Raqm 3494, Majmu'at Qawanin*.
- ⁷⁸ For example in Dhour el-Choueir: AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 23/03/1926, pp. 19–20. On the necessity of developing the road network: Naccache, 'L'industrie de la villégiature', pp. 210–212. Kristin Monroe pointed out the importance of the automobile (and therefore, the necessity to improve the road network) to tourism traffic in Lebanon already during the mandate period: Monroe, *The Insecure City*, p. 30, footnote 39.
- ⁷⁹ E.g. AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 21/11/1925, pp. 3–4.
- ⁸⁰ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, p. 61.
- ⁸¹ AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 18/11/1922, p. 4. AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 18/11/1922, p. 4. AUB, *Conseil Représentatif*, 20/03/1923, p. 4. AUB, *Conseil Représentatif*, 26/03/1923. AUB, *Conseil Représentatif*, 26/03/1923. BNF GALICA, Montet, *L'Art phénicien au XVIIIe*, p. 1.
- ⁸² Shehadi, 'The Idea of Lebanon', pp. 8–11. Hartman and Olsaretti, 'The First Boat'. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, p. 167. Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 93–96.
- ⁸³ AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 03/11/1925, p. 4.
- ⁸⁴ Naccache, 'L'industrie de la villégiature', pp. 211–213.
- ⁸⁵ E.g. AUB, *Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 18/04/1930, pp. 5–6. AUB, *Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 04/12/1930, p. 44.
- ⁸⁶ Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, p. 93. Hartman and Olsaretti, 'The First Boat', p. 56. Shehadi, 'The Idea of Lebanon'.
- ⁸⁷ In 1919, Fouad al-Khoury pointed out the enormous benefits tourism had brought to the previously poor country, similar to Switzerland: al-Khoury, 'L'Industrie hôtelière au Liban', p. 39. In contrast, in 1931 the Lebanese Government's *Commission du tourisme* distanced themselves clearly from the comparison: FDC, *Commission du tourisme et de villégiature du gouvernement Libanais, Au pays des cèdres*, pp. 1–3.
- ⁸⁸ Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, pp. 74–75.
- ⁸⁹ As noted as well by Vecchia Vaglieri: Vecchia Vaglieri, 'Dichiarazioni politiche, 07/1927', p. 598.
- ⁹⁰ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, p. 214. Cf. for example AUB, *Mada fi Baalbek*. AUB, *Harak al-Istiyaf*. With regard to Palestinian tourists, Andrea Stanton has argued that the self-conception of Lebanon was a relational one: Stanton, 'Locating Palestine's Summer Residence'. This is convincing, and characterises Lebanon's self-positioning with regard to other countries from the region as well. However, I would not consider it a mutual relationality as Palestine was able to draw on a larger reservoir of international tourists (and pilgrims) as well as the domestic Yishuvi tourism sector, as we have seen in Chapter 4, and the groups were attracted by different imaginaries.
- ⁹¹ Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 80–82.
- ⁹² ANL, *Shahada Mustaf Misri*, 17/06/1926, p. 6.
- ⁹³ ANL, *al-Jiniral Falih [?] fi Baalbek*, 23/05/1926.

- ⁹⁴ CADN, *Lettre du Secrétariat général*, 11/03/1927.
- ⁹⁵ ANL, *al-Sihafiyun fi Masayif al-Shamal*. ANL, *Wafd Niqabat al-Sihafa fi Shamal*.
- ⁹⁶ In 1934, the newspaper had dedicated a whole issue to Corm's Lebanese nationalist poem *La montagne inspirée*: Kaufman, "Tell Us Our History", pp. 18–19.
- ⁹⁷ Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, p. 91.
- ⁹⁸ Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 247–248. Dakhli, 'L'expertise en terrain colonial', pp. 20, 25–26. World Biographical Information System Online, 's.v. Berthelot, Philippe'.
- ⁹⁹ CADN, *Le tourisme au Liban*, 03/03/1928.
- ¹⁰⁰ He sat for example on the Administrative Council of the *Compagnie Française du Tourisme* founded in September 1919 to foster tourism to France: CADN, *Compagnie Française du Tourisme, Note sur l'établissement d'un Office de Tourisme*. 's.v. Philippar, Georges'.
- ¹⁰¹ FRENCH LINES, Philippar, *Le tourisme en Syrie*, 13/02/1929. CADN, *Le tourisme en Syrie*, 01/03/1929.
- ¹⁰² FRENCH LINES, Philippar, *Le tourisme en Syrie*, 13/02/1929, pp. 5–6.
- ¹⁰³ CADN, *Le tourisme en Syrie*, 01/03/1929. On similar attempts of linking French and Lebanese history cf. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, pp. 85–86.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ageron, 'Le "parti" colonial'. Brunschwig, 'Le parti colonial français'.
- ¹⁰⁵ BNF GALLICA, *Syrie-Liban*, 07/1935. BNF GALLICA, *Le tourisme au Liban*, 02/1935. BNF GALLICA, Marchand, *Lamartine, chantre des Cèdres*. BNF GALLICA, Reizler, *Syrie et Liban – Porte de l'Orient*, 1933.
- ¹⁰⁶ BNF GALLICA, *Comité de patronage*. BNF GALLICA, *Le Mois colonial*, 07/1929.
- ¹⁰⁷ Furlough, 'Une leçon des choses', p. 451.
- ¹⁰⁸ Zytnecki, *L'Algérie, terre de tourisme*, pp. 120–121. FRENCH LINES, *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1928*, Secrétariat.
- ¹⁰⁹ Zytnecki, *L'Algérie, terre de tourisme*, p. 135.
- ¹¹⁰ Zytnecki, *L'Algérie, terre de tourisme*, p. 9.
- ¹¹¹ Menassa's Office for Economic Affairs had been assigned to the Ministry of Finance in October: AUB, *Decret No. 5742*, 12/10/1929, p. 2.
- ¹¹² BO, *Zehil, Petit Guide historique de la Syrie*, 1929. FRENCH LINES, *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1923*. FRENCH LINES, *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1924*, pp. 4–5. FRENCH LINES, *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1926*, Secrétariat, p. 3. ANL, *Décret No. 8330*, 06/08/1931.
- ¹¹³ BNF GALLICA, *Décision No. 2142 du 19/11/1923*. BNF GALLICA, *La Correspondence d'Orient 1927*.
- ¹¹⁴ Kaufman, 'Henri Lammens and Syrian Nationalism', p. 119. Kaufman, 'Phoenicianism', p. 182. Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, pp. 26–28.
- ¹¹⁵ Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, pp. 104–105. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, pp. 174, 183.
- ¹¹⁶ FRENCH LINES, *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1929*, Trafic, pp. 5–6.
- ¹¹⁷ FRENCH LINES, *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1932*, Trafic, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁸ The background was Muhammad al-Jisr's candidacy for the presidential election: cf. Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 91–92. Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, pp. 123–124. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, pp. 78, 100–101, 174.
- ¹¹⁹ FRENCH LINES, *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1929*, Trafic, pp. 5–6. FRENCH LINES, *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1931*, Secrétariat, pp. 4–6.
- ¹²⁰ FRENCH LINES, *Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1932*, Secrétariat, pp. 3–5. On the relevance of attracting in particular Egyptian summer guests as they were the wealthiest among the *estiveurs*: Naccache, 'L'industrie de la villégiature', p. 213.

- ¹²¹ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1934*, Trafic, p. 5.
- ¹²² FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1934*, Secrétariat, pp. 2–3.
- ¹²³ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1936*, Secrétariat, p. 4.
- ¹²⁴ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1936*, Secrétariat, pp. 4–5; Trafic, p. 4.
- ¹²⁵ Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, pp. 136–138. Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 97–98.
- ¹²⁶ BO, Services économiques du gouvernement libanais, *Le Liban: Pays de tourisme*. AUB, Décret 564/E, 06/06/1936.
- ¹²⁷ AUB, *Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 29/11/1935, pp. 80–81. AUB, Décret 4028/EC, 24/03/1939.
- ¹²⁸ AUB, Arrêté 97/LR, 04/06/1936.
- ¹²⁹ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1936*, Trafic, p. 5.
- ¹³⁰ For example, they jointly issued a brochure addressing a francophone public: BNF RICHELIEU, Maklouf and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d'art*.
- ¹³¹ AUB, Décret 784/EC, 02/06/1937, p. 428. AUB, Décret 2891/EC, 10/08/1938.
- ¹³² AUB, *Séance du Conseil Représentatif*, 18/11/1922, p. 4.
- ¹³³ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1938*, Secrétariat, p. 2. BNF RICHELIEU, Maklouf and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d'art*. BO, Ministère de l'économie nationale du gouvernement libanais and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Liban, Tourisme – Estivage – Sports d'hiver*.
- ¹³⁴ AUB, *Loi du 27/06/1939*. BO, Ministère de l'économie nationale du gouvernement libanais and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Liban, Tourisme – Estivage – Sports d'hiver*.
- ¹³⁵ AUB, *Loi du 08/07/1939*.
- ¹³⁶ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1940*, Secrétariat, p. 6.
- ¹³⁷ cf. BNF RICHELIEU, TOPO 3263 Liban Généralités et Baalbek.
- ¹³⁸ FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Agence de Beyrouth, Exercice 1929*, Trafic, p. 5–6.
- ¹³⁹ JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Chardon, *Méditerranée Orientale – Egypte*, p. 136.
- ¹⁴⁰ NLS, Steele-Maitland, *Diary of Visit to Egypt*. Rowan-Hamilton, *Both Sides of the Jordan*.
- ¹⁴¹ Cf. Rowan-Hamilton, *Both Sides of the Jordan*, pp. 153–164.
- ¹⁴² BNF RICHELIEU, *Syrie – Liban*, 1935.
- ¹⁴³ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 195–196. Borgi, 'Hôtels et hôteliers de Beyrouth', pp. 57–59, 74–75, 79–81.
- ¹⁴⁴ RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 45.
- ¹⁴⁵ Thomas Cook & Son, Luke and Garstang, *The Traveller's Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, 1924, p. 378.
- ¹⁴⁶ The descriptions grasped the urban transformations of Beirut in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, driven by the Ottoman administration and local notables: Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 4–8.
- ¹⁴⁷ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 18–19, 262–263. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, pp. 177–178.
- ¹⁴⁸ Thomas Cook & Son, Luke and Garstang, *The Traveller's Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, 1924, p. 379.

- ¹⁴⁹ Groebner has observed that the fabrication is inherent in the notion of the “authentic”; distinct from the “original” as it may (and should be) reproduced: Groebner, *Retroland*, pp. 180–183.
- ¹⁵⁰ BNF RICHELIEU, *Album de photographies, 1931*, images nos. 26, 27. On the enlargement of the port of Beirut cf. Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 87–91.
- ¹⁵¹ The ‘corniche’, the *Avenue des Français*, was constructed in 1926 and among the places where the French mandate authorities most visibly inscribed their influence in the urban space. Saliba, *Beyrouth*, p. 13. Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 18–19.
- ¹⁵² Pedersen, ‘Meaning of the Mandates System’, pp. 570, 581.
- ¹⁵³ Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 230–234. Fabian, *Time and the Other*.
- ¹⁵⁴ BNF RICHELIEU, Maklout and Société d’encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d’art*. BO, Société d’encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Villas et logements d’été*. FDC, Commission du tourisme et de villégiature du gouvernement libanais, *Au pays des cèdres*, p. 4. BO, Services économiques du gouvernement libanais, *Le Liban: Pays de tourisme*, Introduction.
- ¹⁵⁵ JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Commission du Tourisme des Etats sous Mandat, *Holidays Off the Beaten Track*, p. 13.
- ¹⁵⁶ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 228–230.
- ¹⁵⁷ Hartman and Olsaretti, ‘The First Boat’, pp. 43, 45–46. Shehadi, ‘The Idea of Lebanon’, pp. 8–10. The *Cénacle libanais* came into being in 1946, a predecessor group existed since 1936: Shehadi, ‘The Idea of Lebanon’, pp. 13–14.
- ¹⁵⁸ Cf. Holden, ‘Constructiong an Archival Cityscape’. Wright, ‘Tradition in the Service of Modernity’.
- ¹⁵⁹ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 220–221.
- ¹⁶⁰ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 225–227.
- ¹⁶¹ Barakat-Buccianti, ‘Beyrouth sous le Mandat français’, p. 75. Ghorayeb, ‘L’urbanisme de la ville de Beyrouth’.
- ¹⁶² Barakat-Buccianti, ‘Beyrouth sous le Mandat français’, p. 76, dated the inauguration of the hotel to 1934, Chenet, ‘Un Sanctuaire de Saint-Georges’, p. 7, reported that the hotel was opened in 1933. Yet, contemporary reports dated the inauguration to 1932, among them Shukri Ghanem’s *Correspondance d’Orient*: BNF GALLICA, Achard, *Syrie et Liban*, p. 276, and BNF GALLICA, Reizler, *Syrie et Liban – Porte de l’Orient, 1933*, p. 150. Ching, Jarzombek and Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture*, p. 712.
- ¹⁶³ Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*.
- ¹⁶⁴ BNF RICHELIEU, Maklout and Société d’encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d’art*, p. 31.
- ¹⁶⁵ This turn towards the sea after the Lebanese independence has been described by Zeina Maasri, although her conclusion that both the notion of the “Switzerland of the Middle East” and the “Mediterranean Universalism” were attempts at a Westernisation overlooked the importance of attracting an Arab audience, both before and after World War II: Maasri, ‘Troubled Geography’, pp. 137–138.
- ¹⁶⁶ Cf. Segreto, Manera and Pohl, *Europe at the Seaside*. Hazbun, *Beaches, Ruins, Resorts*.
- ¹⁶⁷ Renan, *Misson de Phénicie*. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, p. 22.
- ¹⁶⁸ Rowan-Hamilton, *Both Sides of the Jordan*. RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*.
- ¹⁶⁹ BNF GALLICA, Lévy, *Le Guide Sam*, pp. 693–695. BNF TOLBIAC, Roux-Servine, *Sur les routes du Levant*, pp. 60, 70–71. JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Chardon, *Méditerranée Orientale – Egypte*, pp. 169–171. Thomas Cook & Son, Lumby and Garstang, *Cook’s Traveller’s Handbook to Palestine, Syria & Iraq, 1934*, p. 6.
- ¹⁷⁰ AUB, *Décret No. 1658, 06/03/1933*, pp. 2–4.
- ¹⁷¹ ANL, *Décret No. 7424, 10/11/1930*.
- ¹⁷² ANL, *Décret No. 7424, 10/11/1930*.

- ¹⁷³ "A lieu de mémoire is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community". Nora, 'From lieux de mémoire', p. xvii.
- ¹⁷⁴ AUB, *Décret No. 1712, 15/04/1935*. JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Chardon, *Méditerranée Orientale – Egypte*, p. 142. Monmarché, *Syrie – Palestine – Iraq – Transjordanie*, pp. 30–31.
- ¹⁷⁵ AUB, *Chambre des Députés, Séance publique, 07/12/1927*, p. 13.
- ¹⁷⁶ JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Chardon, *Méditerranée Orientale – Egypte*, p. 142. Monmarché, *Syrie – Palestine – Iraq – Transjordanie*, pp. 30–31.
- ¹⁷⁷ AUB, *Séance de la Chambre des Députés, 18/04/1930*, p. 15.
- ¹⁷⁸ Veccia Vaglieri, 's.v. es-Sawdā (Yūsuf)'. Abu Khalil, 's.v. Sawdā, Yusuf as-'. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, p. 61.
- ¹⁷⁹ AUB, *Séance de la Chambre des Députés, 18/04/1930*, p. 15. The deputies A. al-Khoury and Jamil al-Khazin argued in favour of the preservation and exhibition of monuments of the Crusaders in Byblos.
- ¹⁸⁰ Monmarché, *Syrie – Palestine – Iraq – Transjordanie*, pp. 401, 422, 455.
- ¹⁸¹ ANL, *Décret No. 6042, 24/12/1929*.
- ¹⁸² BO, Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Byblos*. BNF RICHELIEU, Maklout and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d'art*, pp. 27–29.
- ¹⁸³ AUB, *Décret 145/E, 26/02/1936*. AUB, *Décret 612/E, 16/06/1936*. AUB, *Décret 770/E, 22/07/1936*.
- ¹⁸⁴ Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 98–100. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, pp. 179–180. Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, p. 168.
- ¹⁸⁵ For a brief, systematising overview over debates about the geographical shape of Lebanon cf. Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 75, 80–85.
- ¹⁸⁶ Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, pp. 162, 179. Kaufman, *Reviving Phoenicia*, p. 80. Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea*, p. 214.
- ¹⁸⁷ Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 102–103.
- ¹⁸⁸ It gained particular relevance after World War I, and replaced Beirut in imagination: Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, p. 233, footnote 66. Cf. also Hourani, 'Ideologies of the Mountain'. Maasri, 'Troubled Geography', p. 134.
- ¹⁸⁹ This research paradigm has been defined by Stoler and Cooper, 'Between Metropole and Colony'.
- ¹⁹⁰ Schayegh, 'The Many Worlds of 'Abud Yasin'', pp. 278–280.
- ¹⁹¹ CADN, *Le Lieutenant-Colonel Bucheton, 26/12/1923*. CADN, *Note de Weygand, 12/12/1923*.
- ¹⁹² Pedersen, 'Meaning of the Mandates System', pp. 568–572.
- ¹⁹³ CADN, *Lettre Du Haut-Commissaire p.i., 24/05/1924*.
- ¹⁹⁴ CADN, *Le ministre plénipotentiaire, 04/1924*.
- ¹⁹⁵ CADN, *Général Sarrail à M. Le Ministre de France au Caire, 1925*.
- ¹⁹⁶ CADN, *L'inspecteur général des polices, 27/02/1928*.
- ¹⁹⁷ On the blurry distinction between artists and prostitutes in the French Mandate: Pastor, 'Performers or Prostitutes?'. Znaïen, 'La prostitution à Beyrouth', paragr. 21. That migrations of prostitutes coincided with the tourist season has been shown for Egypt by Francesca Biancani: Biancani, 'International Migration and Sex Work', pp. 118–119.
- ¹⁹⁸ CADN, *Le Secrétaire général du HC, 28/01/1928*. Cf. also Znaïen, 'La prostitution à Beyrouth', paragr. 11, 23. I am indebted to the anonymous reviewer for having pointed out Znaïen's article to me.
- ¹⁹⁹ CADN, *Le Secrétaire général du HC, 28/01/1928*.
- ²⁰⁰ Pastor, 'Suspect Service', pp. 184–186.
- ²⁰¹ CADN, *Le Ministre des Affaires étrangères, 02/04/1928*.
- ²⁰² Cf. the memoir of Jawhariyyeh, *The Storyteller of Jerusalem*, pp. 158–160.

- ²⁰³ ANL, *Fi Sabil al-Masayif*.
- ²⁰⁴ CADN, *Lettre de Nicolas et Elie Gebeili*, 17/05/1932.
- ²⁰⁵ CADN, *Le Directeur de la Sûreté générale*, 09/06/1932. On prostitution and disease, and the necessity of controlling circulation: Znaïen, 'La prostitution à Beyrouth', paragr. 23. Huber, *Channelling Mobilities*, pp. 299–305. Huber, 'Multiple Mobilities', pp. 319, 325, 330. Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, pp. 124–129. Pastor, 'Suspect Service', pp. 189–190.
- ²⁰⁶ CADN, *Note des Relations extérieures*, 03/06/1932. CADN, *Le Directeur de la Sûreté générale*, 09/06/1932. CADN, *Département des Relations extérieures à M. Elie Gebaili*, 25/06/1932.
- ²⁰⁷ The performance was part of a larger tour of the Levant Masabni undertook at a difficult moment of her career: Cormack, *Midnight in Cairo*, p. 291.
- ²⁰⁸ CADN, *Le consul général de France au Haut-Commissariat*, 18/02/1938. CADN, *Lettre du Directeur de la Sûreté générale*, 25/02/1938. CADN, *Télégramme du HC au Consulat du Caire*, 26/02/1938.
- ²⁰⁹ CADN, *Le Secrétaire général de l'Union Artistique*, 22/06/1931.
- ²¹⁰ CADN, *Lettre de Jean Fabry, député*, 09/11/1931.
- ²¹¹ CADN, *Le directeur de la Sûreté générale*, 31/07/1931. CADN, *Le Délégué général du Haut-Commissaire*, 10/08/1931. Valeska Huber has coined the term of 'Other mobilities': Huber, *Channelling Mobilities*, pp. 306, 318–319.
- ²¹² BO, Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Plan général pour le développement*, p. 7.
- ²¹³ BO, Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Plan général pour le développement*, p. 35.
- ²¹⁴ BO, Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Guide hôtelier pour 1936*.
- ²¹⁵ BO, Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Guide hôtelier pour 1936*.
- ²¹⁶ BO, Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Guide hôtelier pour 1936*.
- ²¹⁷ LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Société de Villégiature*, 1925. BO, Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Société de Villégiature*, 1927, p. 9.
- ²¹⁸ BNF GALLICA, *Tunisie*, 16/02/1922. BNF GALLICA, *Echos & Nouvelles*, 05/05/1934. BNF GALLICA, *Echos & Nouvelles*, 20/10/1936. BNF GALLICA, *Le Ski au Liban*, 03/1933. BNF GALLICA, *Déclaration No. 58*, 15/01/1932. BNF GALLICA, *Office pour la protection*, 15/09/1937.
- ²¹⁹ CADN, *Lettre de Philippe Bériel*, 10/12/1937.
- ²²⁰ In 1933, he suggested that skiing in Lebanon was an activity mainly practised by French officials: BNF GALLICA, *Le Ski au Liban*, 03/1933.
- ²²¹ FFCAM, Bériel, Philippe, *Le Ski au Liban*, p. 364.
- ²²² Bériel, Philippe, "Sports d'hiver", in: BNF RICHELIEU, Maklouf and Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Le Liban: Pays d'art*, pp. 32–34, 33.
- ²²³ FFCAM, Bériel, Philippe, *Le Ski au Liban*, pp. 114–115.
- ²²⁴ NLI, *Winter Sport in Lebanon*, 02/1937.
- ²²⁵ NLI, Hoffman, *Ski-time at the Cedars*, 18/03/1938.
- ²²⁶ NLI, *Skiing in the Lebanon*, 01/1936. NLI, *Skiers off to the Lebanon*, 02/1938.
- ²²⁷ Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 278–279. On Arab *estiveurs* from Palestine and their travels as an indicator of Palestinian-Lebanese relations cf. Stanton, 'Locating Palestine's Summer Residence'.
- ²²⁸ BO, Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Guide hôtelier pour 1936*. BO, Société d'encouragement au tourisme au Liban and Ministère de l'économie nationale du gouvernement libanais, *Guide hôtelier du Liban 1937*. Andrea Stanton found mention of a travel guidebook to Lebanon, published in Hebrew in 1937: Stanton, 'Locating Palestine's Summer Residence', p. 57.
- ²²⁹ Scheffler, 'The Kaiser in Baalbek', p. 14.
- ²³⁰ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, I*, 08/11/1929.
- ²³¹ NLS, Steele-Maitland, *Diary of Visit to Egypt*, 21/01/1932.
- ²³² UMAM FOUNDATION, *al-Istiyaf fi Lubnan*, pp. 2–4.

- ²³³ AUB, *2ème Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 17/10/1928, pp. 2–3.
- ²³⁴ Firro, *Inventing Lebanon*, p. 78. AUB, *2ème Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 17/10/1928, pp. 4–5.
- ²³⁵ CADN, *Dossier 5: Habitants de Baalbek*, 1929–1930.
- ²³⁶ AUB, *1ère Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 20/03/1928, pp. 2–3. However, from the minutes it is difficult whether the term of “expropriation” referred literally to an expropriation, or whether it was a rhetorical means. In another debate on Sawfar, the deputy Zayn spoke of “expropriation” when he was talking about rules how houses’ facades should be constructed. He implied that not the entire terrain could be used freely in this case.
- ²³⁷ AUB, *1ère Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 20/03/1928, p. 3.
- ²³⁸ ANL, *Décret No. 8203*, 30/06/1931. JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Alouf, *Histoire de Baalbek*. BNF TOLBIAC, Roux-Servine, *Sur les routes du Levant*, p. 46. SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, I*, 09/11/1929. BO, Société d’encouragement au tourisme au Liban, *Villas et logements d’été*. Le Gras, *Le Lac Méditerranéen*, p. 135.
- ²³⁹ JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Alouf, *Histoire de Baalbek*, pp. 9–10. AUB, *Décret No. 1387/EC*.
- ²⁴⁰ HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *The Tourist’s Book*, 1924, p. 63. LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Société de Villégiature*, 1925, p. 45. UMAM FOUNDATION, *al-Istiyaf fi Lubnan*, p. 22.
- ²⁴¹ CADN, *Requête d’un groupe de propriétaires*, 01/01/1929. CADN, *Requête adressée au Haut-Commissaire*, 01/01/1929.
- ²⁴² CADN, *Télégramme d’un groupe d’habitants*, 02/01/1929. CADN, *Sollicitation d’un groupe d’habitants*, 11/1929.
- ²⁴³ Makdisi, ‘The “Rediscovery” of Baalbek’. Osterhammel, ‘“The Great Work of Uplifting Mankind”’, pp. 372–373. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 181–182.
- ²⁴⁴ On universal heritage in the context of decolonisation: Rehling, ‘Universalismen und Partikularismen im Widerstreit’, pp. 417–422.
- ²⁴⁵ This trope (“In America, they don’t know where Lebanon is, but they have heard about Baalbek”) is advanced by inhabitants of Baalbek up to the present day, cf. the interviews projected in Vali Mahlouji’s exhibition: Vali Mahlouji, Baalbek: Archives of an Eternity, Sursock Museum Beirut, 28/06/2019–22/09/2019.
- ²⁴⁶ Quote by Mohamed Djissr. AUB, *11ème Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 12/11/1930, p. 10.
- ²⁴⁷ AUB, *11ème Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 12/11/1930, p. 9.
- ²⁴⁸ AUB, *23e Séance de la Chambre des Députés*, 28/12/1931, p. 11.
- ²⁴⁹ Interesting in this regard is the importance of the Baalbek International Festival for the promotion of tourism after independence, which Zeina Maasri interpreted as an actualisation and animation of the ruins: Maasri, ‘Troubled Geography’, pp. 136–137.
- ²⁵⁰ Buccianti, ‘Tourisme et villégiature’, pp. 26–27.

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