AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

IMAGINING LEBANON

TOURISM AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE UNDER FRENCH MANDATE (1920 – 1939)

By

JANINA SHIRIN SANTER

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AN ABSTRACT FOR THE THESIS OF

Janina Shirin Santer for Master of Arts
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Title: Imagining Lebanon – Tourism and the Production of Space under French Mandate (1920 – 1939)

This thesis is a historical study of tourism during the time of French mandate rule. Based on an analysis of various sources, including organizational papers, governmental and contemporary press records, it analyzes the efforts of several bourgeois tourism initiatives and the colonial state to develop a touristic infrastructure and promulgate a destination called Lebanon in publicity campaigns between 1920 and 1939. Using efforts of touristic development and publicity campaigns as an entry point, this thesis argues that its advocates used tourism as a means to produce a Lebanese nation within its colonial boundaries. While efforts of touristic development, including the building of roads, the making of *centres d'estivage* and the development of winter sports, consolidated a colonially delineated territory as the unit of developmentalist efforts, tourism campaigns served as a means to define a Lebanese nation as the sum of ruins, monuments, and landscapes and generate symbols of national identity.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

PAAS	Private Archive of Alfred Sursock, Beirut
LNA	Lebanese National Archive, Beirut
CCA	Private Archive of Charles Corm, Beirut

1. INTRODUCTION

"We shall look at our little country in much the same way as we look at a film in which narrative and scenery are found together, or at a property on which experiment and imagination are added to the work of nature."[1]
Michel Chiha, 1951

In 1935, Ibrahim Maklouf ventured in an automobile to the village Dhour el-Choueïr. An asphalted road meandered through the mountainous area of Metn, steadily leading the car uphill, as he recollected in an article for his periodical *Revue du Liban*. Maklouf hardly knew the area and when he stopped on a plateau overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, Maklouf found himself captivated by the panorama. "Les cheveux au vent, le visage tendu, brûlé par le soleil, nous regardons, silencieux et comme enivrés, l'étrange et magique panorama inondé de clarté, teint de couleurs tendres. (...) Tous les charmes et les mystères du Liban se cristallisent sur cette terre fascinante, tant elle diffère des autres et par sa lumière et par sa couleur, par sa rusticité et par sa majesté."[2] Extoling the view, Maklouf who, by the time, had become a dedicated advocate for the development of tourism in mandate Lebanon, arraigned "quelle aberration et quelle folie commettent chaque jour ceux qui croient que notre richesse est autre chose que la villégiature! Mais qu'ils viennent donc là, qu'ils ouvrent un peu les yeux sur les trésors, inexploités! (…) Il faut que nous crions fort au monde entier ce que notre chère Patrie cache, de splendeurs, de bienfaits."[3]

This thesis is a historical study of tourism during the time of French mandate rule, exploring how tourism opened up a possibility of defining a nation called

[1] Michel Chiha, "Lebanon in the World. Future Prospects," (Lecture, Beirut Cenacle, 1951).
[2] Ibrahim Maklouf, "Dhour el Choueïr ou les mirages de la Montagne," *Revue du Liban*, July 1935.
[3] Ibrahim Maklouf, "Dhour el Choueïr ou les mirages de la Montagne," *Revue du Liban*, July 1935.

Lebanon. The mandate era (1920-1943) was a consequential timespan for the remaking of the political and cultural topography of the region we call today the Middle East under colonial rule. Against the backdrop of competing nationalist ambitions, I argue, that members of the bourgeoisie in Beirut and the diaspora used tourism as a means to define a nation called Lebanon. It was both through the development of a touristic infrastructure and tourism campaigns that members of the bourgeoisie sought to produce a Lebanese nation within its colonial boundaries.

1.1. Towards a historical terminology of leisure

From a historical perspective, tourism as a leisure practice predates the mandate era. Historians have pointed out that modern tourism emerged as a leisure practice in the nineteenth century, interlinked with a novel capitalistic distinction of work and leisure.[4] Championed as a means to recharge the body and cure medical illnesses in a health-inspiring environment, the conception of tourism hinged on the idea of leaving urban spaces into nature to be exposed to sunlight and engage in physical leisure activities.[5] With the development of railways and automobiles, tourism was professionalized by an emerging tourism industry and expanded across the globe. Also in the Middle East, the beginning of tourism takes us back to the nineteenth century.[6] Retiring to the mountains during the summer months for reasons of health and leisure, called *estivage* or *villégiature*, became a regular practice for affluent city dwellers in Beirut and visitors from across the region.[7] Alongside the mountains, which, as Roland

4 See John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 2002), 4.

5 Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature, Landscape and bourgeois culture in nineteenth century France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

6 Waleed Hazbun, "Travel to Egypt. From the Nineteenth Century to the Second World War: Thomas Cook, the Mechanization of Travel and the Emergence of the American Era," in *Red Star Line: Cruises (1894 – 1934),* ed. Marie-Charlotte Le Bailly (Luven: Davidsfond/Infodok, 2016), 124.

7 Kirsten Scheid, "Painters, Picture-Makers, and Lebanon: Ambiguous Identities in an Unsettled State" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2005), 118. See as well Leila Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 36. On tourism and

Barthes has argued, had a long history of attraction in the bourgeois imaginary and constituted a particularly significant destination for holidays,[8] also ruins such as Baalbek and Palmyra became globally revered destinations for sightseeing.[9] Leisure practices in the mandate era owe much to the development of tourism in the nineteenth century. When tourism advocates aimed to professionalize the organization and appeal of a destination called Lebanon after World War I, they continued to distinguish in their efforts between summering tourism in the mountains and sightseeing tourism.[10] In the 1930s, another term – *hivernage,* referring to travel for winter activities – joined the lexicon of leisure practices, indicating the popularization of winter sports and the development of ski resorts.[11]

1.2. Tourism as a bourgeois project

In several ways, the development of tourism in the interwar years was a bourgeois project and class distinction forms a vital facet in its development. The economic ascendancy of Beirut in the nineteenth century propelled the rise of a new

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villégiature predating the mandate era see for example Nadra Moutran, *La Syrie de demain* (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1916), 57-58. Paul Saba, "The creation of the Lebanese economy – economic growth in the nineteenth and early twentieth century," in *Essays on the Crisis in Lebanon,* ed. Roger Owen (London: Ithaca Press, 1976), 14. For a personal account of an employee working at the American Mission Press in Beirut, about summering during World War I, see Margaret McGilvary, *The Dawn of a new era in Syria* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920).

8 Roland Barthes, "Le 'Guide Bleu,'" in *Mythologies,* ed. Roland Barthes (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1957), 113-117.

9 Several guidebooks were published or commissioned by Ottoman officials, i.e. [Th. Wiegand], *Alte Denkmäler in Syrien, Palästina, und Westarabien* (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1918). [Turkish-German, published on the command of Ahmed Djemal Pasha, minister of the marine]. Raphael C. Cervati, *Annuaire Orientale du Commerce* (Constantinople: Cervati Frères & Cie, 1891) [published with the authorization of imperial ministry of public instruction]. Nasralla Hani, *Guide de l'entrepreneur Nasralla Hani de Beyrouth (Syrie). Entreprise de voyage pour le pays du Levant* (Paris: Imprimerie Téqui, [1885]). Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria. Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1898).

10 See for example, "Estivage et Tourisme dans les Etats du Levant," *Correspondance d'Orient,* March 1932. Michel Chiha, "Problèmes de la villégiature," *Le Jour,* Mai 1, 1935.

11 I use tourism in my analysis at times as an umbrella term, given that contemporary sources typically discuss tourism, *estivage*, and *hivernage* in a conjoint manner. However, I highlight distinctions between the leisure practices when relevant. I follow here the lead of theories of leisure, which typically define tourism as a term that subsumes various leisure practices. Compare Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*.

bourgeoisie, which, acquiring significant wealth through silk trade and banking,[12] formed "an urban bourgeoisie [as] a self-conscious social class," as Elizabeth Thompson has argued.[13] Among the mercantile *haute bourgeoisie* were families like the Sursocks, Bustrus, Trad, and Tabets as well as the Da'uq, Beyhums, Salams and in the growing banking sector were families such as the Pharaons, Chihas, and Audis.[14] Many of these families not only imprinted a specific bourgeois outlook on the city through architecture, clothing, and leisure activities but also became influential figures on the political scene.[15] It was, in particular, members of the bourgeoisie who acted as tourism's most articulate advocates.[16] Historical distinctions of social classes in the region have often taken the back seat to other social stratifications, most notably confessional identities and there remain particularly few systematic historical examinations exploring conceptions of the bourgeoisie to date.[17] Certainly, this project does not attempt to elide the significance of the politicization of confessional identities at the time nor to suggest a solid typology of class in the early twentieth century.[18] Rather, I argue that the bourgeoisie came to distinguish itself as a social class, as

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12 Albert Hourani, *Political Society in Lebanon: a Historical Introduction* (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1986), 11.

13 Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens. Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 285.

14 Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009) 58-59.

15 Nada Sehnaoui, *L'Occidentalisation de la Vie Quotidienne à Beyrouth, 1860 – 1914* (Beirut: Éditions Dar An-Nahar, 2002), 21-22. Compare as well Stephen Sheehi, "A Social History of Early Arab Photography or a Prolegomenon to an Archeology of the Lebanese Imago" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39 (2002): 177-208. McDougall, "The Emergence of Nationalism," in *Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Middle-Eastern and North African Studies*, ed. Amal Ghazal and Jens Hanssen, (Oxford University Press, 2015), 5, accessed December 8, 2018.

16 McDougall, "The Emergence of Nationalism," 5.

17 Keith David Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 17-18. Exceptions include: Jacques Berque, "L'idée des classes dans l'histoire contemporaine des Arabes," *Cahiers Internationales de Sociologie* 38 (1965): 169-184. For a discussion of class distinction in the early twentieth century see Claude Dubar, "Structure Confessionelle et Classes Sociales au Liban," *Revue française de sociologie* (1974): 305-306. On the cultural outlook of the bourgeoisie at the turn of the century, see Sehnaoui, *L'Occidentalisation de la Vie Quotidienne*. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 179. Toufoul Abou Houdeib, *A Taste for Home. The Modern Middle Class in Ottoman Beirut* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).

18 As scholarship on sectarianism has pointed out, the category of sect and in particular its political significance was consequentially remade in the mandate era. See for example, Max Weiss, *In the Shadow of Sectarianism. Law, Shi'ism, and the Making of Modern Lebanon* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

Thompson has pointed out.[19] Class distinction is performed, as Keith David Watenpaugh has argued, through a variety of social practices, including leisure activities.[20] But also beyond social practices, the bourgeoisie claimed ideas concerning citizenship and the nation, which undergirded political developments.[21] Tourism, as I argue in reference to Watenpaugh, served as a means to perform class distinction, nurturing cultural and socioeconomic repertoires of leisure, the perception of nature and recreation. Put differently, tourism itself was conceived as a bourgeois leisure activity and in extension, its development was underpinned by the bourgeoisie's negotiation of what it meant to be modern and by extension citizen of a nation.[22] Ultimately, I argue that the development of tourism constituted a field in which the bourgeoisie claimed and defined conceptions of a Lebanese nation.

There are several reasons for which tourism constituted a significant dimension in the bourgeoisie's efforts of nation-building. First, tourism advocates stressed the economic potentials of tourism in particular for the mountain areas.[23] The economic developments of the nineteenth century – the transformation of the economic sphere towards sericulture in Mount Lebanon and its subsequent economic decline – did not to provide the economic basis for an expanding population in the mountain, resulting in widespread emigration abroad as well as to the city, and thus leading many to believe there was a need to reorient the economic sphere.[24] In particular, Lebanese nationalists shared the belief that touristic development ranged among the most promising sectors to

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19 This was not limited to the bourgeoisie in Beirut. See for example T.J. Clark, *The Paintings of Modern Life. Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984). Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 14.

20 Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East.*

21 Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East*, 3.

22 Rudy Koshar, "Seeing, Travelling, and Consuming: An Introduction," in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 4-6. Urry, *Tourist Gaze.* Green, *The Spectacle of Nature.*

23 Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 92.

24 Roger Owen, "The political economy of the Grand Liban, 1920-1970," in *Essays on the Crisis in Lebanon*, ed. Roger Owen (London: Ithaca Press, 1976), 26. Paul Saba, "The creation of the Lebanese economy – economic growth in the nineteenth and early twentieth century," in *Essays on the Crisis in Lebanon*, ed. Roger Owen (London: Ithaca Press, 1976), 21.

ensure economic viability of Lebanon as a nation-building project. Furthermore, some tourism advocates spoke from a vested position – as hotel-owners or investors in what would be touted as one of Beirut's major tourist attractions, the Hippodrome. Second, advocates of tourism came to identify tourism as a "national cause" – a means to make a nation called Lebanon known on a global plane and tourism's allusion of "authenticity" corresponded well with their ambitions of making a Lebanese nation.[25] In this context, tourism served as a cause into which larger demands of national developmental were channeled.

1.3. Theoretical Framework: Tourism, Space, and Nation-building

Proceeding from the assumption that nations are historical products, this thesis draws on Benedict Anderson's conceptualization of the nation as an imagined community and Manu Goswami's considerations of nation-building processes. In the 1980s, Benedict Anderson's conceptualization of the nation as an "imagined community" constituted a paradigmatic shift in the theoretical literature on the nation.[26] Grounded in theoretical as well as historical considerations, Anderson conceptualized the nation as a cultural construct, which, imagined as a bounded entity, stretches over a delineated territory.[27] Distinguishing itself culturally from other nations, every nation is marked by the invention of a shared history – the perennial projection of its ancestry back into the past and forward into the future. "If nation-states are widely conceded to be 'new' and 'historical', the nation to which they give political expression always

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[25] Patrick Young, "The Consumer as National Subject: Bourgeois Tourism in the French Third Republic, 1880-1914" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2000), abstract. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist. A new theory of the leisure class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[26] Anderson's work signaled a paradigmatic shift in the literature on nationalism. For a succinct discussion of his work against the backdrop of other theories in the field see Manu Goswami, "Rethinking the Modular Nation Form: Towards a Sociohistorical Conception of Nationalism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4 (2002): 773-776.

[27] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991 [1983]) 6.

looms out of an immemorial past, and still more important, glides into a limitless future."[28] Based on a conjured sense of identity, the nation is marked by an affective bond among its members. Despite the continuation of structural inequalities, the nation instills its members with a sense of "deep, horizontal comradeship."[29] For Anderson, it was in particular the rise of modern modes of writing, most notably novels and newspapers, that provided people with the possibility "to think about themselves, and to relate to others, in profoundly new ways."[30] With colonialism, the nation-form was gradually expanded across the globe. Born out of a historical rupture with the "divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm," the state, in Anderson's view, played a central role in solidifying this comradeship through the legal institution of citizenship, replacing the dynastic conception of the subject.[31] In particular state institutions such as the map, the census, and the museum undergirded the nation-building process, as the state employed these institutions to "[imagine] its dominion – the nature of human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry."[32] While Anderson's conceptualization of the nation as an imagined community has been widely acclaimed, his failure to conceptualize of nation as a modular form and the "transplantation" of the nation across the globe has drawn criticism.[33] In her discussion of Anderson's work, Manu Goswami stresses the sociohistorical making of the nation, which she identifies as hinging on interconnected processes. Goswami identifies four processes, which shaped the making of the nation form. While she broadens the role of capitalism beyond a discussion of print-media, she also nuances the role of the colonial state beyond the key institutions identified by Anderson and argues for a sociohistorical

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28 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 11.
29 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6-7.
30 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44.
31 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 19.
32 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 164.
33 See for example Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Post-Colonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

examination of how categories such as national space are produced. Particularly instructive for this thesis is how Goswami defines the role of the colonial state as the central agent in nation-building processes for its role in claiming to control and develop a demarcated territory as its domain. Through the building of infrastructure, cultural and military institutions, as well as the regulation of natural resources, the colonial state molds a stretch of land into a bounded entity and establishes itself as the "spatial framework of power," as she argues referencing Henri Lefebvre.[34] The state's making of a bounded entity is central to efforts of rescaling economic, political, and cultural spheres along national lines. Culturally, for example, "the creation of a nationalized built environment in the form of capital cities, monuments, official cemeteries, museums and parks," Goswami argues, "[served] as places of state-mediated collective memory and [made] visible the affective liaisons between territory, history, and collective identity."[35] Put differently, the colonial state conditions collective identities, weaving together selective historical narratives with a vision of territory. While Goswami mainly focuses on the colonial state, I supplement the role of the colonial state in this thesis with a consideration of non-state initiatives, some of which assumed, in the context of tourism, similar tasks to those Goswami identifies as crucial to nation-building. For instance, non-state initiatives sought to complement state institutions in building roads, embellishing public spaces, protecting natural resources, and lobbying for the designation of ruins as national heritage. Further extending the idea that the nation is constructed to an epistemological level, Goswami argues that rather than presuming categories such as national economy, culture, society, and space, one needs to trace their very production. The process of "nationalizing and naturalizing social categories of practice and analysis," happens both in "everyday life" as well as through

[34] Goswami, "Rethinking the Modular Nation Form," 789.
[35] Goswami, "Rethinking the Modular Nation Form," 790.

knowledge production.[36] This includes aligning local and regional conceptions of identity with a national framework, making the nation a conventional point of reference in daily life and "the forging of an interiorized relation between a particular national people, space, economy and state."[37] She posits that epistemological shifts in the production of knowledge are central to the very process of both "nationalizing and naturalizing" these categories. This dynamic continues until today, as scholarship presumes units of analysis such as national economy, space, and history, rather than tracing their very (re)production.[38] Both Anderson and Goswami pinpoint space as a constitutive dimension of nation-building resonating with the theoretical impulses given by the spatial turn in the humanities.[39] "Social spaces – colonial and national, political and economic, material and imagined – do not emerge from self-evident geographies," as Goswami formulates it. Rather, they are produced through various means including the practices of the state.[40] The basic line of reasoning behind the "spatial turn" lies in the cautioning to consider space as both socially produced and constitutive of societal change, rather than treating space as a blank canvas upon which social and political dynamics play out. For historians, as Edward Soja points out, this means in particular to consider space alongside time.[41]

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36 Goswami, "Rethinking the Modular Nation Form," 793.

37 Goswami, "Rethinking the Modular Nation Form," 793.

38 Goswami, "Rethinking the Modular Nation Form," 793-794.

39 See Paul Reuber, "Writing History – Writing Geography. Zum Verhältnis von Zeit und Raum in Geschichte und Geographie," *Geographische Zeitschrift* 93 (2005): 5-16. David Harvey, "Space as a Keyword," (Paper for Marx and Philosophy Conference at the Institute of Education, London on May 29, 2004). Benedict Anderson discusses the significance of considering space as a dimension of nation-building in the foreword to the revised edition of *Imagined Communities* in reference to the work Thongchai Winichakul on space and nation-building. See Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped. A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994).

40 Manu Goswami, *Producing India, – From Colonial Encounter to National Space* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 5.

41 Edward Soja, *Thirdspace Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Malden: Blackwell, 1996), 169.

1.4. Sources and Methods

Based on organizational papers and public records concerning the involvement of the colonial state and non-state initiatives in the development of tourism, this thesis pivots on two interconnected dimensions: the development of tourism infrastructure and the representation of a destination called Lebanon in publicity campaigns. While the development of a tourism infrastructure served as a means of enhancing the appeal and accessibility of a tourist destination called Lebanon, tourism campaigns sought to promulgate and market its appeal. Infrastructural projects as well publicity campaigns were launched both at the hands of the colonial state and non-state initiatives, consequentially transforming conceptions of space.

The development of a tourism infrastructure encompassed a range of dimensions such as the building of roads, the development of *centres d'estivage*, efforts of turning Beirut into a representative touristic site, and the making of tourist attractions more largely. As Goswami has argued, the colonial state "performed its rule over space and society through a (…) display of its authoritative presence, from the staging of elaborate political rituals and events to the construction of a vast network of dazzling 'state works,' the visible, material embodiments of its authority and 'civilizing' modernity."[42] It was through infrastructural projects that "the relationship between the colonial state and space" was transformed.[43]

The second analytical focus of this thesis concerns the question of how a destination called Lebanon was represented in tourism campaigns. Based on an exploration of a range of media promoting tourism, such as guidebooks, posters, newspaper advertisements, maps, and films, I interrogate how tourism campaigns functioned as a medium to claim the conception of a Lebanese nation, concretizing an

[42] Goswami, *Producing India*, 46.
[43] Goswami, *Producing India*, 104.

epistemological rupture with prior spatial imaginations. As Benedict Anderson has argued, modern modes of writing played a central role in conjuring a sense of national identification, and the media of tourism campaigns, I argue, performed a similar role. For example, claiming to conceptualize a destination for its reader, guidebooks construct cultural geographies. As Karl Schlögel has argued with regard to the iconic Baedeker guidebooks of the late-nineteenth century: "the Baedeker is a document *sui generis*. It displays cultural spaces, and contributes to the production and constitution of cultural spaces."[44] As guidebooks conceptualize and construct destinations for their audience, J.B. Harley's argument that a map *constructs* rather than mirrors geography can be extended to a guidebook.[45] In a more anthropological vein, also Kirsten Scheid's analytical approach to landscape paintings during the mandate years not as mere illustrations "but as social agents, specifying and enabling particular ways of relating to the 'natural surroundings'" holds much value for a study of tourism campaigns.[46] Although tourism campaigns were geared towards a particular audience, they were designed as a means of "propaganda" – a term that tourism advocates used at the time, reaching a large audience.[47] Not only numbered output figures of promotional materials

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44 Karl Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit, Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik* (Berlin: Fischer, 2006) 372. [Der Baedeker ist ein Dokument sui generis. Er bildet kulturelle Räume ab, und er wirkt selbst bei der Produktion und Konstitution von kulturellen Räumen mit.]

45 J.B. Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," in *The New Nature of Maps. Essays on the history of cartography*, ed. J.B. Harley and Paul Laxton (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2002).

46 Scheid, "Painters, Picture-Makers, and Lebanon," 107.

47 Often, tourism campaigns were geared distinctively at a bourgeois clientele as an audience, invoked in the campaign's iconography as well as places where campaigns were displayed. For several years, the department of economics rented a vitrine in the bourgeois Café Groppi, which a contemporary newspaper described as the place in Cairo "où se donne rendez-vous le high-life," displaying an illuminated and wood-engraved map of Lebanon. Furthermore, campaigns depicted status symbols such as the automobile as common motifs in campaigns and also depictions of tourists in the campaigns implied the conception of the ideal tourist as being bourgeois. The cover of the V.M.L.'s tourist guidebook from 1924, for example, portrayed the etching of a woman, wearing a translucent face veil, opulent jewelry, and short hair under a blue hat, in front of a grey-bearded man with white headgear, towering over a rotund panoramic view of the port of Beirut. Sailing boats and steamships leave the shore, where white houses with red tiled roofs in the midst of green vegetation are set against snow-capped mountains in the background, conveying a halcyon impression of a coastal town. The imagery alluded to a regional tourist and more specifically a bourgeois regional tourist, whose social status is symbolized by clothing and jewelry. Additionally, tourism companies emphasized the provision and availability of class-based means of transportation and accomodation as selling points

often in the ten thousands,[48] but tourism campaigns were designed for public display. Tourism posters, billboards, and advertisements were displayed in newspapers[49] and the streets of Alexandria, Cairo, Baghdad and Paris,[50] international exhibitions served as venues for tourism publicity, and tourism commercials were shown in cinemas. Furthermore, guidebooks were not only a tool in the pockets of the travellers, but also used in classrooms,[51] and even postal services and currency bills constituted mediums to promulgate tourism.[52]

In the campaigns, an important distinction in tourism was between summering and sightseeing tourists. While the former was typically conceived as coming from

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in their campaigns. The same guidebook propagandized that "last but not least, 1st class guides and 1st class cabs and cars are put at [the tourist's] disposal." The conceived bourgeois profile of the tourist that not only ties in with the conception of tourism as a bourgeois project in the mandate era but significantly shaped the representation of a destination called Lebanon in the tourism campaigns. Compare "Le tourisme et l'estivage au Liban," *Correspondance d'Orient*, February 1933. "Estivage," *Correspondance d'Orient*, June 1934. Société de Villégiature, *The Tourist's Book* [1924], 3.

48 For example, the Cairo-based tourist company *Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban*'s (V.M.L.) guidebook in 1923 went 40.000 times into print The colonial state's guidebook of 1935 went into print 13.700 times. In 1937, the *Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme* (S.E.T.) provided photographs and promotional material to international tourism companies. Compiling a look-book of what they conceived as the "principal views of Lebanon," the association provided photographs and travel itineraries for journalistic articles in French, British and US-American newspapers as well as the Cook Tourist Agency's guidebooks, whose publication numbers amounted to 25.000 in English and 10.000 in French. PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937*, February 1938. Whereabouts of the list unknown. Compare PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des travaux du bureau du comité de direction de la S.E.T. pendant la saison d'été*, October 1937. Société de Villégiature, *Guide…pour l'année 1923*. "Estivage," *Correspondance d'Orient*, June 1934.

49 Advertisements read, for example, "Passez l'été au Liban. Santé, Comfort, Économie." See the Egyptian newspaper *Images*, June 15, 1930.

50 In 1932, the colonial state commissioned the printing of 2.000 posters "reproducing Lebanese landscapes," each of which had the remarkable dimensions of two meters, for display in the streets of the "principle cities (…) in Egypt, Iraq, and Palestine" alongside the production and distribution of 20.000 postcards, showing the "principle views of the country." Two years later, the government launched an even more expansive campaign, including a series of photographic clichés depicting "the most beautiful sites of Lebanon" to be published in Egyptian, Iraqi, and Palestinian press, the display of 300 posters in the streets of Baghdad, Mosul, and Basra, four billboards (6x2 meters) for six months in the streets of Cairo and Alexandria, as well as a series of posters to be hung in "all the regions of Egypt." Furthermore the colonial state commissioned the printing of 20.000 postcards as well as nine different models of leaflets, amounting to 90.000 copies, for distribution in Palestine and Iraq. "L'estivage au Liban," *Correspondance d'Orient*, April 1932. "Estivage," *Correspondance d'Orient*, June 1934.

51 In 1927, William Hadwen for instance published an article in the US arguing that guidebooks of the V.M.L. could be used to teach geography. William Hadwen, "Travel Booklets and the Teaching of Geography," *Journal of Geography* 26:9 (1927): 350-356.

52 Alongside postcards and stamps displaying touristic images, postal services imprinted slogans such as and French: "Visitez la Syrie et le Liban," "Utilisez le Service rapide Beyrouth Bagdad," "Visitez Palmyra," "Visitez le Liban," "Le Liban c'est la santé," "Visitez Damas" on envelopes. Courtesy of Fadi Maasarani.

across the region, sightseeing tourists were deemed to come from beyond the region. The distinction between summering and sightseeing tourists affected how Lebanon as a destination was represented and what kind of information was featured. Publications for summering portrayed in majority *centres d'estivage* and devoted fewer pages on ruins and monuments to visit. Campaigns directed at sightseeing tourists, in turn, foregrounded what might be called Orientalist motifs such as camels, desert landscapes, and exoticized depictions of local populations, while publicity for the summering clientele accentuated attractions such as the availability of sanitary comforts, casinos, American bars, and theater performances.[53] Although the distinction between sightseeing and summering tourists was significant in tourism campaigns, it does not necessarily constitute a neat distinction for how tourists, in fact, travelled.[54] The distinction between summering and sightseeing tourists was further refined through an often-invoked categorization along national lines. Addressing American, Austrian, Egyptian, Iraqi and Palestinian tourists discretely, the discursive invocation of national distinctions signaled a momentum of reordering geographies along national lines. While European and American tourists travelled in the region, in particular to Egypt and Palestine, many tourism advocates vowed to market Syria and Lebanon as additional destinations for this sightseeing clientele.[55] Summering visitors, in turn, were considered to come overwhelmingly from across the region. Egyptian tourists, for example, were deemed such an important audience that hotels would ran advertisements

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53 See for example Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *The Tourist's Book for Egypt, Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon* (Cairo: M. Menkidis & Co, 1924).

54 American missionaries and French mandate authorities, for instance, also summered in the mountains and also summering tourists toured ruins.

55 The V.M.L. published a guidebook in 1924 entitled "The Tourist's Book for Egypt, Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon," promulgating package tours for American tourists The guidebook presented tourist itineraries such as "extended tours from Egypt: Palestine, Syria, and the Libanon" in thirteen days. Listing as references letters of gratitude from the "American Minister in Cairo" Morton Howell, and the president of a college in Ohio who had travelled with the services of the company, the guidebooks assumed as its audience in particular North American tourists sightseeing across the region. Société de Villégiature, *The Tourist's Book* [1924], 3.

in Egyptian newspapers, promoting "dans tous les milieux cairotes et alexandrins on ne parle que du Part Hôtel de Broumana qui sera cette année le rendez-vous de l'élite égyptienne" and "car c'est la que vous rencontrerez tous vos amis du Caire et d'Alexandrie."[56] Tourism companies such as the V.M.L. even provided services to send Egyptian newspapers to mountain resorts.[57] Alongside Egyptian tourists, also visitors from Iraq were directly targeted. In 1925, the government of Greater Lebanon published a guidebook, whose opening page read:

> To the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, seeking relief from the torrid heat of the summer months, the hillside station resorts of India have been so far the only possible place to go. But it would take 7 to 8 days travelling to reach these resorts, so that a busy man, whishing to spend a week with his family, had to apply for a leave of at least 20 days, and even then, he would be staying only 4 or 5 days with them. With the advent of the motorcar services across the desert, a hitherto undreamt of summer station is put within easy reach of the inhabitants of Iraq (…) [and] a busy man can spend a week with his family and yet absent himself only ten days from work in Iraq.[58]

In the 1930s, Palestinians, and in particular Jewish immigrants to Palestine, joined Egyptian and Iraqi tourists as an audience. "L'ère égyptienne de la villégiature est révolue ; l'ère iraquienne est sur le point de l'être ; l'ère palestinienne s'ouvre," Michel Chiha wrote in an editorial for the newspaper *le Jour* in 1935, contending furthermore that "à chacune de ces trois ères correspondent des efforts et des moyens d'attraction et de distraction différents."[59] In order to accommodate Jewish tourists, hotels began to offer kosher food and in 1935, the colonial state even printed a tourist guide in Hebrew.[60]

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56 Advertisement in *Images*, June 8, 1930, Advertisement in *Images* Mai 25, 1930.

57 Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Ste. de Villégiature au Mont Liban pour l'année 1923* (Cairo: Al-Mokattam Press, 1923), 43.

58 Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort* (Beirut: Imprimerie Tabbara, 1925), 9-10.

59 Michel Chiha, "La villégiature au Liban et Hitler," *Le Jour*, September 11, 1934.

60 Les Services Économiques du Gouvernement Libanais, *Halevanon: eretz hatayarut vehakitanot* [The Lebanon: land of tourism and resorts] (Paris: La Déesse, 1935).

As with any historical analysis, the methodological approach of this thesis does have limitations, specifically in terms of sources. For instance, future research could extend the scope of tourism advocates and actors beyond those examined in this thesis.[61] Also, I do not analyze, for instance, how travel accounts and the tourist's perception of the places they visited.[62]

1.5. Contribution to the Literature

As a historical examination of tourism and the production of national space, this thesis contributes to the social and cultural history of the mandate era. Historical studies of tourism have become *en vogue* over the last two decades and also with regard to Middle Eastern studies, tourism has entered into historical debates.[63] In the historiography of modern Lebanon, however, tourism remains a comparatively unexplored topic. The pioneering studies of the subject are Andrea Stanton's analysis of tourism advertisements in Palestinian newspapers in the 1930s, based on which she

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61 I focus my analysis to promotional material published by a selected range of tourism initiatives. Additional material, that could be used in future examinations and more detailed examinations are: Guide commercial illustré, Nouveaux Horizons, Illustrées, Abdallah Zehlil, the Gédéons, al-Mourched, Almanach, French guidebooks, Cooper sisters, Guidebooks by Messageries Maritimes, PLM, Baedeker, Guide Bleus. For instance, while tourism as a mechanism of empire has been explored in detail for different parts of the French colonial orbit, its workings in the Levantine mandates remain largely unexamined to date. Also, many histories of tourism prior and after the mandate era remain yet to be written.

62 A range of tourism accounts can be found in the historical record. For example: A.U.B.'s student newspaper *al-Kulliyah* chronicled regularly where its alumni spent their holidays, as well as featuring travel accounts of faculty members or students. Travel accounts by European and American tourists can be found in: Abbé E. Wetterlé, *En Syrie avec le général Gouraud* (Paris: Imprimerie de Lagny, 1924). Monica and Vera Cooper, *Impressions of Syria, Lebanon, Alaouite State and Djebel Druze* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1932).

63 Recent works have demonstrated how tourism can provide a window into questions of gender, including women's histories and class, as well as nation-building and imperialism. Raoul V. Bianchi, "The 'Critical Turn' in Tourism Studies: A Radical Critique," *Tourism Geographies* 11 (2009), 487. Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "A Theory of Tourism," *New German Critique* 68 (Spring-Summer, 1996). On the important, yet comparatively unexplored intersection between the making of national identity and leisure practices Rudy Koshar, "Seeing, Travelling, and Consuming: An Introduction," in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002). Marguerite Shaffer, *See America First. Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 4-5.See for example Kobi Cohn-Hattab and Noam Shoval, *Tourism, Religion, and Pilgrimage in Jerusalem* (London: Routledge, 2015). Hazbun, "Travel to Egypt." Young, "The Consumer as National Subject," Chapter 6.

argues that tourism was closely entangled with political dynamics and the making of national identities.[64] Kirsten Scheid analyzes tourism as a localizing practice, which, like landscape paintings, provided "a space to rethink the terms of identity and to rework the premises of the culture."[65] Marwan Buheiry discusses how the Francophile bourgeoisie in Beirut championed the development of a tourism economy in the early 1920s and Samir Kassir's largely descriptive account has examined the development of tourism in light of forging what he has called a "cosmopolitan" profile of Beirut.[66] This thesis aims to contribute to this literature on tourism by examining various hitherto unexplored initiatives as well as the role of the state in its development. Also beyond tourism, this thesis hopes to address and engage with larger questions regarding space and nation-building in the mandate era, which, to date, remains a comparatively underrepresented timespan in the historiography of Lebanon.[67] While historians trace the beginnings of Lebanese nationalism to the nineteenth century, many agree that the mandate era constituted a consequential period for the making of the Lebanese national identity.[68] When the French declared Greater Lebanon, conceptions of a Lebanese nation-state project gained traction, however, remaining fundamentally disputed among parts of its population, as for example Carla Eddé's detailed work on the making of Beirut as the capital of Greater Lebanon discusses. Her nuanced study of political conflicts among the urban bourgeoisie in the first years of mandate rule (1918-1924) explores how a wide range of actors competed for the city to become a part of their respective national projects. It was against the very contestation of the making of a

64 Andrea Stanton, "Palestinians Invade the Lebanon: Mandate-Era Tourism in the Local Press." Conference paper, MESA 2009.

65 Scheid, "Painters, Picture-Makers, and Lebanon," 108.

66 Samir Kassir, *Histoire de Beyrouth* (Paris: Fayard, 2003).

67 Historical accounts of the mandate era have largely centered on political histories.

68 Carol Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea, 1840 – 1920* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2013). Also Engin Akarli echoes this argument in his examinations of the politics of the Administrative Council of the Ottoman mutasarrifiya after 1864. Engin Akarli, *The long peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861 – 1920* (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1993).

Lebanese nation-state, that Lebanese nationalists sought to define a Lebanese nation as for example Raghid al-Solh and Kais Firro argue.[69] How proponents of a Lebanese nation-building project sought to define a Lebanese nation has been the subject of works such as Asher Kaufman's, who has traced how a historical discourse of "Phoenicianism" underpinned the making of a Lebanese national identity.[70] In addition, several studies have examined the role and conceptions of a Lebanese national idea of members of Beirut's bourgeoisie in the mandate era. This includes works on Michel Chiha,[71] Emile Eddé,[72] as well as Charles Corm.[73] In addition to this body of literature on Lebanese nationalism in the mandate era, a recent surge in studies has furthermore examined the role of the diaspora.[74] Works by Andrew Arsan, Stacy Farenthold, and Thomas Philip shed light, respectively, on how various political committees and clubs formed in the early twentieth century formulated national aspirations and negotiated

69 Raghid Al-Solh, *Lebanon and Arabism. National Identity and State-Formation* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004). Kais Firro, *Inventing Lebanon. Nationalism and the State under the Mandate* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002).

70 Asher Kaufmann, *Reviving Phoenicia. The Search for Identity in Lebanon* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004).

71 See for example Michelle Hartman, and Alessandro Olsaretti, "'The First Boat and the First Oar': Inventions of Lebanon in the Writings of Michel Chiha," *Radical History Review* 86 (2003): 37-65. Fawwaz Traboulsi, *Imagining Lebanon. A Critical Essay On the Thought Of Michel Chiha*, Manuscript, 2000.

72 Michel Van Leuwen, *Emile Eddé (1884-1949): Aux sources de la république libanaise* (Paris: Geuthner, 2018).

73 Franck Salameh, *Charles Corm. An Intellectual Biography of a Twentieth-Century Lebanese 'Young Phoenician'* (London: Lexington Book, 2015). Although hagiographical and endorsing a nationalist narrative, Salameh's work shows the significance of bourgeois philanthropic initiatives in the mandate era.

74 Here it is important to stress that not only the bourgeoisie was involved in the nation-building project and analysis of nationalism among other social groups such as workers movements can be found with But also beyond the role of the bourgeoisie as, what some theoretical accounts have often considered as the "natural bearers of nationalist ideology," other accounts that have examined the formulation of national identities among cross-cutting social groups, including Elizabeth Thompson's encompassing cultural and social study of the mandate era, examining the interplay of the colonial state and several societal groups through a gender perspective. Jacques Couland, writing in the Marxist spirit of the 1970s, has argued that there was a growing nationalization of workers' movements. McDougall, "The Emergence of Nationalism," 5. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens.* Jacques Couland, *Le mouvement syndical au Liban: 1919-1946* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1970).

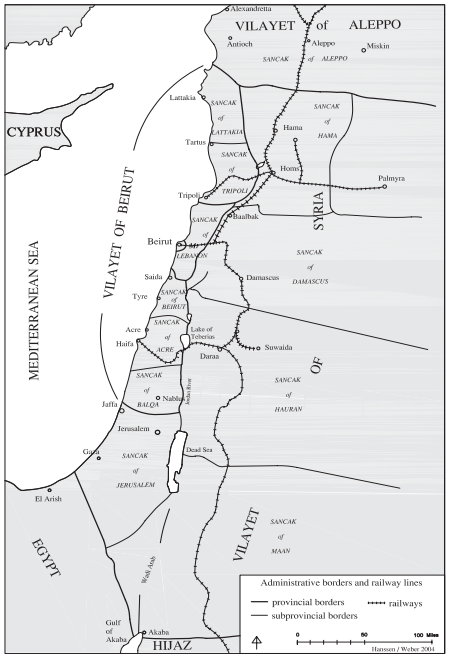
questions of identity as a diaspora.[75] These examinations have however not been probed against the backdrop of tourism.

The subsequent chapters aim to do so, by exploring how tourism advocates employed tourism as a means to produce a national space called Lebanon. Chapter 2 provides a historical contextualization of the different nationalist ambitions during World War I. Chapter 3 examines the development of tourism in the 1920s by first mapping the field of tourism advocates, including a discussion of the institutional architecture of the colonial state as well as different non-state initiatives, efforts of touristic development as well as tourism campaigns. Examining these different dimensions sheds light on representatives of the colonial state and non-state initiatives understood tourism as a "national cause," as well as how touristic development and tourism campaigns tied in with efforts of nation-building. Towards the late 1920s, ambitions grew from consolidating Greater Lebanon as a space towards nationalizing colonial boundaries. Chapter 4 examines how new tourism initiatives emerged in the early- and mid-1930s, the continuation of touristic development as a means of producing a national space called Lebanon and the representation in tourism campaigns.

[75] Andrew Arsan, "'This is the Age of Associations': committees, petitions, and the roots of interwar Middle Eastern internationalism," *Journal of Global History* 7 (2012): 166-188. Stacy Farenthold, "Transnational modes and media: the Syrian press in the mahjar and emigrant activism during World War I" *Mashriq & Mahjar* 1 (2013): 30-54. Stacy Farenthold, "Making Nations, in the *Mahjar*: Syrian and Lebanese long-distance nationalisms in New York City, Sao Paulo, and Buenos Aires, 1913–1929" (PhD diss., Northeastern University, 2014). Thomas Philipp, *The Syrians in Egypt 1725–1975* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985). See as well Kohei Hashimoto, "Lebanese Population Movement 1920 – 1939: Towards a Study," in *The Lebanese in the World. A Century of Emigration,* edited by Albert and Nadim Shehadi (London: The Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1992), 65-109, Akram Khater, *Inventing Home. Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon 1870 – 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Before 1920, the territory that would be delineated as Greater Lebanon was part of the Ottoman provinces in the Levant. Imperially ruled, the Ottomans divided the provinces expanding eastwards of the Mediterranean coast along separate administrative lines: the *vilayets* Beirut and Syria as well as the *mutasarrifiya* Mount Lebanon (*Jabal Lubnan*).[76]



trative Divisions and Railway network of Bilad al-Sham, *c.*1910

Fig. 1

In 1914, the Ottoman Empire entered World War I on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary, against Russia, France and Britain. In Beirut and Mount Lebanon, the toll of the war was devastating. The Ottoman army conscripted large segments of the male population and a horrendous famine decimated the local population. Also, European imperial powers advanced their plans of partitioning the territory of the Ottoman Empire among each other through the Sykes-Picot Agreement in 1915. While the French initially laid claim to *la Syrie française* (envisioned as including Palestine), they settled on roughly defined zones of influence

[76] The *vilayet* Beirut comprised the towns of Tyr, Sidon, and Tripoli along the Mediterranean shore and stretched from Acre in the south up to Latakia in the north. The *mutasarrifiya,* which had a semi-autonomous status since 1861, included the town of Zahle in the east, parts of the Hermel region in the north, and sections of the coastline in the west, such as the town of Jounieh. The *vilayet* of Syria stretched from Akaba in the South to Homs in the North, including the Beqaa plain in the West. Compare Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 53. Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut, The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 57. Fig. 1.

with the British.[77] French aspirations to expand their colonial empire to the Levant rhetorically invoked the ambition of protecting the Christians – in particular in Mount Lebanon – alleging a centuries-old special relationship.[78] The anticipated ruptures brought about by the war were not only echoed in clandestine European plans for colonization. Also among the populations in the Ottoman provinces as well as the diaspora, the beginning of World War I marked the beginning of new political ambitions and "opened a new phase in the maturation of nationalist ideals."[79] In the Ottoman provinces, the tolls of the war fueled anti-Ottoman sentiments among the local population, in consequence giving rise to demands of national self-determination. These claims pitted various political stakeholders against each other as competing nationalist demands ranged from demands to a Lebanese, Syrian as well as Arab nation, based on "historical imaginaries, [which] intersected variously with territory, culture, and ethnicity."[80] Arab nationalists claimed the making of an Arab nation ruled from Damascus, based on a shared Arab language and roots. Other political figures advocated in turn for the making of a Syrian national entity, based on a non-Arab foundation.

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77 French ambitions to colonize Palestine before the outbreak of the war were nurtured by economic and cultural considerations: railways and the ports in Haifa, Jaffa as well as the symbolic significance of holy sites in Palestine. Jacques Thobie, "Les Intérêts Francais en Palestine à la Veille de la Première Guerre Mondiale," in *The Third International Conference on Bilad al-Sham: Palestine*, April 19-24, 1980, Vol. 2 (Amman: University of Jordan, 1984), 208.

78 Daniel Neep, *Occupying Syria under the French mandate : insurgency, space and state formation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 25.

79 Historians trace the emergence of nationalism back to the transformations that engulfed economic, political, and societal spheres across the globe in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century. In the course of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was gradually incorporated into the market of global capitalism – a development, which significantly altered socioeconomic, political, and cultural practices across the empire. In particular as European powers simultaneously forged imperial encroachments into Ottoman lands. Against the backdrop of the political and economic developments, efforts and ideas of encompassing reform emerged in Istanbul as well as among intellectual circles in the provinces. Among the cultural developments of the nineteenth century was the formulation of novel subjectivities based on history and territory. This included the "nationalization" of Syria (*Bilad al-Sham*) as a cultural and geographic framework as well claims to a Lebanese national identity. Carol Hakim, "Shifting identities and representations of the nation among the Maronite secular elite in the late Ottoman Empire," in *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon* ed. Thomas Philipp and Christoph Schumann (Beirut: Beiruter Studien und Texte, 2004), 248. Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea*, 5. McDougall, "The Emergence of Nationalism," 4.

80 McDougall, "The Emergence of Nationalism," 10.

Lebanese nationalists in turn claimed the making of a Lebanese nation, envisioned as a "Christian" entity.[81]

In 1918, French and British troops entered Beirut, formalizing the end of Ottoman rule in the Levant. In September the same year, Emir Faysal triumphed in Damascus and Arab nationalists subsequently claimed the establishment of a Syrian kingdom including Mount Lebanon, alarming the Maronite Patriarch in Mount Lebanon as well as parts of Beirut's urban bourgeoisie.[82] The popularity of Emir Faysal in Damascus reverberated in Beirut and found proponents in particular among the city's Muslim populations. Advocates like the Arab Bureau propagated ideas for the establishment of Syria as a political entity including Beirut and Mount Lebanon under the vanguard of local dignitaries such as Omar Daouk, Ahmed Beyhum, and Salim Salam.[83] Opposing Arab nationalist demands, a range of members of Beirut's bourgeoisie formed the *Association Nationale de la Jeunesse Syrienne*, presided by Charles Corm (1894-1963) in October 1918, demanding the establishment of a Syrian nation under French mandate.[84] Also among diaspora communities, the idea of a Syrian national entity found proponents.[85] For instance, the writer and journalist Dr. Georges

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81 The beginnings of many of these political associations claiming particular national idea can be traced back to 1908 and the aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution.

82 Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea*, 232.

83 Eddé, *Beyrouth. Naissance d'une Capitale*, 54. See as well Roger Gontaut-Biron, *Comment la France s'est installé en Syrie (1918 – 1919)* (Paris: Plon, 1922), 255.

84 CCA, Box 0078, Statutes Comité Central de Beyrouth, no date.

85 In Beirut, it was in particular Butrus al-Bustani and Henri Lammens, professor at the Université Saint-Joseph, who, in their writings, developed conceptions of Syria (*Bilad al-Sham*) as a geographic and cultural entity – a cultural development that Cyrus Schayegh has called the "nationalization and globalization of the concept of Bilad al-Sham." Also denoted *Suriya*, these intellectual figures claimed Syria as *watan* (homeland) in their writings. Despite the fact that *Bilad al-Sham* had not formed a political entity since the conquest of the region by the Ottomans, newspapers, historical accounts, and also tourist guidebooks published in the late nineteenth century pivoted around the imagination of Syria as a distinct cultural and geographic entity, although its extent remained fluctuating as sometimes including Palestine and sometimes not. Although the geographic extent of this Syria remained fluctuating, it served as a *Leitbild* for the political visions developed among their disciples and students, which included for example Jacques Tabet and Georges Samné. Cyrus Schayegh, *The Middle East and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 42. See as well Albert Hourani, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 162. Thomas Philipp, "Identities and loyalties in Bilad al-Sham at the beginning of the early modern period," in *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon,*

Samné (1877-1938) and the composer Chukri Ghanem (1861-1929) – both prominent members of the diaspora community in Paris – founded a *Comité Central Syrien*.[86] An ardent advocate for the establishment of a Syrian entity, the *Comité Central Syrien* demanded the making of a Syrian nation, which, placed under French tutelage, should stretch "from the Taurus to the Sinai, and from the Mediterranean to the Desert."[87] They envisioned Syria as a political federation, within which Lebanon – referring to the territory of the *mutasarrifiya* – would assume a provincial status.[88] Other political societies as well as the Maronite Church opted, in contrast, for the complete independence of a Lebanese political entity.[89] The Cairo-based association *Al-Ittihad Al-Lubnani*, for example, claimed an independent Lebanese nation, whose territory included the Bekaa plain.[90] In these years, a spectrum of political and national ambitions pitted various political stakeholders against each other, ranging from supporters of the Arab nationalist cause, to Syrian nationalists opposing Faysal, as well as Lebanese nationalists.

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ed. Thomas Philipp and Christoph Schumann (Beirut: Beiruter Studien und Texte, 2004), 9. McDougall, "The Emergence of Nationalism," 5.

86 Arsan, "'This is the Age of Associations'," 168.

87 Comité de l'Orient, *La question syrienne* (Paris: n.p., 1918), 6, in Arsan, "Age of Associations," 168.

88 Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1789-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 286. Samné recognized the economically dire situation of a Lebanon restricted to the mountain area. However, he considered an "enlarged" Lebanon as being to the detriment of its "neighbors." Rather, a Greater Syrian federation would remedy the economic ills. Georges Samné, *Le Liban Autonome (de 1861 à nos jours* (Paris: Imprimerie des Arts et Manufactures, 1919), 22-24.

89 Spearheaded in the beginning by members of the Maronite church, writers developed the conception of Lebanon as a cultural entity, with the aim to define it as a "Christian" entity. Although early conceptions of national identity, these claims were not coterminous with demands to national independance. Rather, they existed alongside, and at times overlapping forms with Ottoman rule. See Hakim, *Origins of the Lebanese national idea*.

90 Most prominent among its members were Iskandar 'Ammoun, Yusuf al-Sauda, August Adib Pasha, and Dawud Barakat (editor of the Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahram*). Philipp, *The Syrians in Egypt*, 115, Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 83. Albert Hourani, "Lebanese and Syrians in Egypt," in *The Lebanese in the World. A Century of Emigration*, ed. by Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi (London: The Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1992), 505. Kaufmann, *Reviving Phoenicia*, 61. Compare as well Adib Pasha, *Le Liban après la Guerre* (Cairo: Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1919), 128-129. Note as well the map, which indicates the borders described as delineating the 'natural' territory of Greater Lebanon, including the Bekaa plain.

In 1919, and with the beginning negotiations of the Paris Peace Conference, debates concerning the geographic-political reorganization of the former Ottoman provinces shifted into a global spotlight and several delegations travelled to France, lobbying for their respective visions of establishing separate political entities in the former Ottoman provinces.[91] Ultimately, the League of Nations granted France and Britain mandate authority over most of the former Ottoman provinces following the conference of San Remo in 1920, devised "to guide [the] nascent states towards independence until they were mature enough to take full responsibility for their own affairs."[92] The establishment of an Arab Kingdom in Syria as well as the Lebanese declaration of independence by the Administrative Council of Mount Lebanon under the leadership of Dawud 'Ammun in 1919, contradicted colonial objectives, and were consequently manipulated by the European powers.[93] While King Faysal was expelled from Damascus following the battle of Mayssaloun in July 1920, the Administrative Council was exiled to Corsica under charges of corruption and support of the Arab revolt.[94] The violent crushing of these political movements paved the way for France to fully impose mandate rule. In line with their divide-and-rule policy to quell anticolonial uprisings, French authorities divided the territory under mandate rule into different states, declaring the establishment of Greater Lebanon in September 1920.[95] The French hoped to create in Greater Lebanon a benevolent and pro-French base serving as an

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91 Gérard Khoury, *La France et l'Orient arabe: naissance du Liban moderne 1914-1920* (Paris: Amand Collin, 1993). Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt. Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: C.H. Beck, 2010), 172.

92 Jennifer Dueck, *The Claims of Culture at Empire's End. Syria and Lebanon under French Rule* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2010), 15.

93 Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 76-77.

94 Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 79.

95 In addition to the state of Greater Lebanon, the French declared in 1920 the establishment of the states Aleppo, Damascus, Djebel Druze, the autonomous Sandjak of Alexandretta, and the Alaouite State. In the course of the mandate era, this administrative-political organization of territory was subject to changes. The Sandjak of Alexandretta was ceded to Turkey in 1939.

anchor to control the rest of the Syrian hinterland.[96] The territorial extent of Greater Lebanon – including the Bekaa and other territories – was configured mainly out of economic considerations. Political figures deemed that the territory of Mount Lebanon alone did not provide the basis for a state-building project, given the economic dependence of Mount Lebanon on Beirut and the Syrian hinterland.[97]

The proclamation of Greater Lebanon, however, neither halted debates on the legitimacy and desirability of Greater Lebanon as a political entity nor were the colonial authorities able to win over support for their mandate rule among large sections of the populations under its sway. Apart from sections of the Christian communities, which, led by the Maronite Patriarch, aspired for the creation of "Christian homeland" under French mandate, most of the inhabitants of the Bekaa, *Jabal 'Amil*, and Beirut opposed to the formation of a Greater Lebanon, which was not an expression of their patterns of commercial, education, and social relations across the territory.[98] The imposition of the borders of Greater Lebanon further implicated consequences for the socio-political

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96 Meir Zamir, *The Formation of Greater Lebanon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 97.

97 Al-Solh, *Lebanon and Arabism*, 5. The economic transformation brought about affected Mount Lebanon and urban Beirut in dissimilar ways. At the expense of diversified agricultural cultivation, the economy of the mountain was reoriented towards producing and exporting raw silk for European markets. The shift towards monoculture, however, failed to provide for the livelihood of an expanding population in Mount Lebanon, forcing large numbers of the local population to emigrate. While the emigrant communities forming abroad contributed remittances to the economy back "home," the mountain area developed an economic dependency on its surrounding areas: Beirut as a harbor to export raw silk towards Europe and the hinterland expanding eastwards for the import of grain. This economic dependency would come to play a major role in the making of Greater Lebanon after World War I. Beirut, in turn, witnessed what some historians have described as a "meteoric" ascendency during the nineteenth century, becoming a cultural and economic center of gravity in the region. The concomitant growth and urbanization of the city was propelled by the continuing influx of the rural population into the city, attracted by the prospects of work. Well interconnected through its port to the Mediterranean Sea and the Beirut-Damascus road to the Syrian hinterland, Beirut emerged as a conjuncture for trade in the Levant. Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 41, 47. Hakim, *The Origins of the Lebanese National Idea*, 158. The numbers of émigrés were significant, amounting to almost a third of Mount Lebanon's population between 1860 and 1914. Buheiry, *Beirut's Role in the Political Economy of the French Mandate 1919 – 39*, 1.

98 Andrew Arsan and Cyrus Schayegh, "Introduction," in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*, edited by in Andrew Arsan and Cyrus Schayegh (Routledge: New York, 2015), 1. Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 75. The opposition of the Lebanese population towards the establishment of Greater Lebanon and the role of France as a mandatory power had found its expression already during the survey of the King-Crane Commission in 1919, which found that, "most Syrian and Muslim Lebanese – and significant portions of Lebanon's Greek Orthodox and Druze communities – opposed a French mandate." Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 40.

configuration of the state. The demarcated territory included apart from the territory of the Ottoman *mutasarrifiya* the coastal cities of Beirut, Saida, Tripoli, the agrarian Bekaa plain and *Jabal 'Amil*, which were in majority inhabited by Muslim communities, thus establishing a demographic equilibrium, which contradicted the idea of a Lebanese "Christian homeland."[99] Consequently, the establishment of Greater Lebanon as a state remained highly disputed among large segments of its population throughout the mandate years. For instance, with state institutions such as a *service des passports* being organized just months after the proclamation of Greater Lebanon, following a protest to Henri Gouraud from among the ranks of Beiruti notables like Omar Daouk, Salim Salam, and Mohammad Fakhoury, identity cards issued for residents of Beirut described them in 1921 as "Beirutis" – not "Lebanese."[100] Also, from within sections of the press as well as the representative counsel, inhabitants of Greater Lebanon regularly emphasized their opposition of a Greater Lebanon.[101] To further complicate matters, the French mandate authorities remained conflicted about the ideal political organization of the territory for implementing mandate rule. Imbued with sectarian and strategic considerations, debates on the inclusion of Tripoli, the Bekaa, and parts of 'Akkar in the entity of Greater Lebanon surfaced in political circles in Paris as well as among the ranks of the colonial administration in Beirut.[102] The negotiations were not only limited to the elitist circles of Beiruti notables but also occurred within French colonial

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99 The enlargement of the original territory of the *Mutasarrifiyya* was decided primarily due to economic reasons. During the years 1900 and 1914 almost a quarter of the population left the Mountain Range due to harsh economic circumstances. By enlarging the borders and particularly including the coastal cities like Beirut, as well as the Beqaa, mandate authorities hoped to enhance the economic capacities of a Lebanese state. Compare Zamir *The Formation of Modern Lebanon*, 15. The Southern border of Greater Lebanon to Palestine was finally defined in 1923 in a French-British agreement.

100 Eddé, *Beyrouth. Naissance d'une Capitale*, 250.

101 Eddé, *Beyrouth. Naissance d'une Capitale*, 276.

102 Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 85-86. In 1921, Henri Gouraud considered the administrative formation of a Syrian Federation incorporating Greater Lebanon, officially with the aim of reorganizing the bureaucratic colonial apparatus more effectively, but rather to alleviate anti-French opinions among advocates of a Syria comprising Greater Lebanon. Eddé, *Beyrouth. Naissance d'une Capitale*, 276.

circles.[103] French authorities wavered in figuring out which political set up in the Levant would fit their own imperial aspirations best – considering different options of a geographic configuration in the Levant.[104] Although the formation of Greater Lebanon as a state-building project was not a foregone political conclusion and the administrative topography underwent significant changes throughout the mandate era, mandate authorities established the foundations of an institutional state structure.[105]

[103] Gérard Khoury, "Robert de Caix et Louis Massignon: Deux Visions de la Politique Française au Levant en 1920," in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Nadine Méouchy (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 165.

[104] Eddé, *Beyrouth. Naissance d'une Capitale*, 72-73. Compare as well Khoury, "Robert de Caix et Louis Massignon," 165.

[105] On the debates among French mandate officials regarding the status of Greater Lebanon as a political entity and its relationship to the Syrian hinterland in the early mandate years see Zamir, *The Formation of Modern Lebanon*, 107-116.

3. CONSOLIDATING GREATER LEBANON 1920-1929

3.1. Tourism actors and advocates

3.1.1. The making of a colonial state called "Greater Lebanon"

French mandate authorities effectuated their colonial rule in the Levant by relying apart from its military force on collaboration with local notables and the establishment of a bureaucratic apparatus.[106] Colonial rule was orchestrated through the High Commission based in Beirut, which, employing a range of military officers and civil personnel effectively oversaw and controlled the different administrative-political entities, into which the territory under mandate rule was divided.[107] Endowed with vast executive powers, the High Commissioner had the right to veto any governmental decision and his central position in the colonial state consequentially shaped political structures of rule. The mandate system took the form of colonial domination and "contrary to the spirit of mandatory tutelage, French bureaucrats actually controlled the local governments; no significant action could be taken without their approval."[108] The High Commission's decisions concerned all states under mandate rule, remaining

[106] Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 42.

[107] See Alphonse Joffre, *Le Mandat de la France sur la Syrie et le Grand Liban* (Lyon: Imprimerie Bascou, 1924), 82-83. Jean-David Mizrahi, *La Genèse de l'État mandataire. Services des Renseignements et bandes armées en Syrie et au Liban dans les années 1920* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2003), 81-85.

[108] Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 64. See as well Leila Canaan, "The Position of the High Commissioner in the Administration of Lebanon under the Mandate" (MA Thesis, American University of Beirut, 1959), 68. Contemporaries, such as Edmond Rabbath and Gabriel Menassa, who lived and worked politically during the mandate era, have critically echoed the colonial domination over state institutions in writings published after 1946. Gabriel Menassa, under-secretary at the department of economics, described the mandate retrospectively as a "super-état," an administrative and political hegemon intervening in and, at times, stymieing governmental decision-making processes. Edmond Rabbath considered that "l'Etat était l'oeuvre de la France." Gabriel Menassa, *Plan de Reconstruction de l'Économie Libanaise et de Réforme de l'Etat* (Beirut: Editions de la Société Libanaise d'Économie Politique, 1948), 51, 72. Edmond Rabbath, *La Formation Historique du Liban Politique et Constitutionnel*, (Beirut: Publications de l'Université Libanaise, 1973), 330.

therefore, in the words of Elizabeth Thompson, "joined at the head."[109] Nonetheless, mandate authorities established the institutional cornerstones of a colonial state called Greater Lebanon after 1920. Forming the colonial state's institutional backbone, mandate authorities devised several ministries entrusted with the coordination of "public affairs:" a department of interior and police, finance, justice, public works, public instruction and the arts, economics including agriculture, commerce, and industry as well as a department of health, hygiene, and medical assistance.[110] Initially managed by employees of the High Commission, directorship of the respective ministries was handed over to local bureaucrats in 1922-23, remaining, however, overseen by French "advisors," which ensured colonial control of the politics of the state.[111] In their efforts of state-building, French colonial authorities forged close contacts with the local bourgeoisie.[112] It was, in particular, proponents of Greater Lebanon that cooperated willingly with French colonial authorities, deeming mandate rule either as a necessity to secure Greater Lebanon as a political entity against continuing Arab nationalists claims to its territory or being outright favorable of a French tutelage, alleging a cordial bond to France.[113] For France, in turn, the local bourgeoisie constituted an important pillar in enacting colonial rule. French mandate authorities not only socialized regularly with members of the local bourgeoisie, but directly involved some in the newly-founded institutions of the colonial state, including as elected members of the representative council, ministries, and consultative

[109] Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 59.

[110] Compare for example, *Le Mandat de la France*, 106. René de Fériet, *L'application d'un mandat. La France puissance mandataire en Syrie et au Liban. Comment elle a compris son rôle* (Paris: Jouve et Cie, 1926), 30, 65.

[111] Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*. 64. Al-Solh, *Lebanon and Arabism*, 3

[112] Members of Beirut's bourgeoisie for example collaborated with mandate authorities in organizing the Foire Exhibition in 1921. Haut-Commissariat de la République Française, *La Syrie et le Liban en 1921. La Foire-Exposition de Beyrouth. Conférences. Liste des Récompenses* (Paris: Emile Larose, 1922).

[113] Zamir, *The Formation of Greater Lebanon*, 133.

commissions to state departments.[114] Although mandate authorities effectively controlled the colonial state, involvement in its institutions did allow a degree of participation in political processes. For instance, the representative council, established in 1922, despite disposing over limited political power and hardly a representative body of the population, served as a forum to voice grievances and dissent with colonial policies.[115] However, large parts of the population of Greater Lebanon remained opposed to Greater Lebanon under French colonial rule and even members of the representative council availed themselves regularly to critiquing the very declaration of Greater Lebanon.[116]

Dissent among the population was further aggravated due to the dire economic situation after the war. Despite France's self-proclaimed civilizing mission, infrastructural and economic development remained limited in the early years of mandate rule. The French government, raddled by the debts of the war, was adamant to reduce the budget for its colonies. Insisting that the colonies paid for themselves, the government in Paris effectuated a *mise en valeur* policy, favoring concessionary politics that benefited French companies.[117] In 1922, French unwillingness to invest in the mandate territories even led the High Commissioner Henri Gouraud – a staunch believer in the French civilizing mission – to resign in dismay over budgetary cuts.[118] Gouraud's successor, Maxime Weygand (1923-1924), increased investments in public

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[114] Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 93. The representative council included thirty members, selected along confessional lines. For a complete list see Elie and George Gédéon, *L' Indicateur Syrien. Annuaire de la Syrie et du Liban, de la Palestine, et de l'Egpyte* (Beirut: Imprimerie Gédéon, [1923]) 10, 155.

[115] Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 128. Elections for the representative council were boycotted by notables of the Muslim communities. It was dissolved in 1925. Zamir, *The Formation of Greater Lebanon*, 146.

[116] See Eddé, *Naissance d'une capitale*.

[117] Philip Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate. The Politics of Arab Nationalism, 1920-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 87. For a discussion of French economic policies and in particular the politics of concessions, see Simon Jackson, "Mandatory Development: The Political Economy of the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon, 1915-1939" (PhD diss., New York University, 2009).

[118] Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 63. Zamir, *The Formation of Greater Lebanon*, 147.

works and industrial development, believing that economic development was a necessary condition to win over the local population for French mandate rule.[119]

Tourism as a cause for the bourgeoisie

Against the backdrop of French disinclination of monetary investments, proponents Greater Lebanon turned into ardent lobbyists for its economic and infrastructural development, perceiving a need to alleviate the dire economic situation after the war.[120] In these developmentalist demands, tourism played a prominent role, as its advocates saw it as key to the making of a Lebanese nation-state. Having been won over to the idea of Greater Lebanon, members of Beirut's bourgeoisie such as Alfred Sursock and Jacques Tabet considered tourism as among the most promising economic sectors. Although in their claims, articulated in private reports to the High Commissioner as well as in newspapers articles and publications, Syria as a cultural and geographical framework continued to loom large in the early 1920s, their championing of tourism as economic development was in particular for ensuring the success of the Lebanese state-building project.[121]

In 1921, Alfred Sursock, presented a report to Henri Gouraud, urging him to consider the economic potentials of tourism in Syria and Lebanon.[122] Defining tourism as the exploitation of what he described as the natural resources and unique features of the land, Sursock argued, that "Lebanon's eden-like climate," its fresh sources and "marvelous" sites of the mountain easily rivaled Switzerland or Northern Italy as summering destinations and being, furthermore, attractive to tourists from the region,

[119] Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 64. Zamir, *The Formation of Greater Lebanon*, 149.

[120] Jackson, "Mandatory Development," 252.

[121] In particular in the early 1920s, there remained considerable ambiguity with regard to political-geographical terminology. But it was in distinction to political demands of a united Syria that tourism advocates lobbied for the economic viability of a Lebanon and the role of a state.

[122] PAAS, Carton 4938-6204, 5530-20, "Le Tourisme au Liban et en Syrie," presented to the High Commissioners Henri Gouraud (1921) and Maxime Weygand (1923).

given the geographic proximity and virtues of shared language and cultural customs (*mœurs*).[123] In addition, Syria's historical sites, Sursock proclaimed, attracted tourists from around the globe to gaze at the glorious remnants of the past.[124] Although Sursock continued to employ Syria as a cultural and geographic framework, revered for its historical sites, he was writing as a proponent of a state-building project within the confines of Greater Lebanon. Tourism, he argued, constituted an ideal means to remedy the economic difficulties that Lebanon faced after the war.[125]

In his plea for the development of tourism, Sursock embraced a largely liberal vision of economy, which considered a service-oriented tourism industry as among the most promising economic sectors for a Lebanese economy.[126] Sursock went on to explain that the tourism industry was of particular significance to ensuring the economic viability and by extension the satisfaction of its population, given the specific geographic features of the Lebanese state. With too little "cultivable land" available in the "narrow" and impoverished state, he argued, the population "legitimately" craved "prosperity" and work.[127] Tourism, he proclaimed, could remedy these hardships and indeed serve as a means against the "failure" of the Lebanese state-building project.

> L'Etat libanais est bien pauvre. Et les qualités industrieuses et intellectuelles de sa population souffrent de ne pas trouver dans un pays étroit et insuffisamment cultivable de quoi satisfaire leurs ambitions légitimes. Le gouvernement ne pourra donc avant d'avoir assuré à la population une certaine prospérité ou source de revenue, multiplier taxes et impôts. Or le tourisme par les trainées d'or

[123] PAAS, Carton 4938-6204, 5530-20, Sursock, "Le Tourisme au Liban et en Syrie."

[124] Sursock used a varying geographic nomenclature, illustrating how geographic imaginations were overlapping at the time. "La Syrie, cette terre des souvenirs, cette vieille contrée qui vit passer tour à tour les sages et les conquérants de l'histoire, emprunta à chacun d'eux les qualités de son génie, et vit s'édifier sur son sol des monuments, des œuvres d'art, fruit de leurs efforts et de leurs civilisations. Ces vestiges magnifiques et rares attirent depuis longtemps et surtout depuis une cinquantaine d'années des touristes curieux et pèlerins mystiques, tous amateurs de l'étranger et du merveilleux. Américains, Anglais, Français, Russes et Autrichiens savaient supporter les difficultés d'un long voyage pour venir contempler chez nous les merveilleuses choses qui ont marquée le passage des peuples et des dieux." PAAS, Carton 4938-6204, 5530-20, Sursock, "Le Tourisme au Liban et en Syrie."

[125] While Sursock pivoted around a geographic conception of Lebanon that was mountain-centric, he wrote as a proponent of Greater Lebanon, propagating Beirut as its capital.

[126] See for example *La Revue Phénicienne*, 1919.

[127] PAAS, Carton 4938-6204, 5530-20, Sursock, "Le Tourisme au Liban et en Syrie."

> qu'il laisse après lui, est un correctif excellent des déficits, tant de caisses de l'État que des particuliers. (…) La balance commerciale de l'état libanais se chiffre par un gros excédent d'importation sur les exportations. Mais il y a pour le Liban un moyen préventif contre la faillite, c'est l'industrie, c'est le tourisme. Or l'industrie la meilleure, qui présente le minimum de risques, et est en rapport directs avec le tourisme, c'est l'industrie hotelière.[128]

According to Sursock the key to economic viability, indeed the very "success" of Lebanon, lay in tourism. Also another tourism advocate – Jacques Tabet – argued in a similar vein during the early years of mandate rule. Born into a wealthy Beiruti family, Tabet had spent the years of World War I in Egypt, returning to the Levantine coast only in the early 1920s.[129] Like Sursock, he was a well-received guest in bourgeois cultural circles. Among other involvements, he was a founding member of the philanthropic circle *amis du musée*, which devised plans for the building of the Lebanese national museum in Beirut in 1923.[130] Tabet who himself travelled in a cosmopolitan fashion regularly to Europe, became a vocal advocate for the development of tourism and was, in the course of the mandate years, implicated in several commissions and projects coordinated by the state concerning tourism.[131] While Tabet had been an outspoken proponent of Syria as a political entity during World War I – publishing poems and books on its geography and history – he turned into a staunch supporter of a Lebanese national project within its colonial boundaries at the onset of French mandate rule.[132] In 1924, Jacques Tabet published a treatise discussing the

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[128] PAAS, Carton 4938-6204, 5530-20, Sursock, "Le Tourisme au Liban et en Syrie."

[129] Kaufmann, *Reviving Phoenicia*, 60.

[130] The *amis du musée* included among other members Alfred Sursock, Georges Vayssié, and Marios Hanimoglo. Kaufmann, *Reviving Phoenicia*, 124.

[131] See Fig 28.

[132] Apart from poetic evocations of his ideas of Syria written in Alexandria during World War I ("De la terre d'exile mon âme te salue (…) mon coeur vers toi s'envole, ô Syrie immortelle. O mon pays bien-aimé!"), Jacques Tabet dedicated a whole book discussing the geography, history, and economy of Syria. Tabet had been a student of Henri Lammens and modeled his work largely, sometimes even *ad verbatim*, on his former teacher's line of thought. According to his own account, he wrote the book in 1915, but only published it in 1920 to avoid censorship by the Ottoman state as it was dedicated to the Syrian people "pour ouvrir [son] esprit sur leur situation et leur avenir." Already therein Tabet discussed tourism, asserting that Syria constituted an ideal touristic destination. The climatic

adequacy of describing "Lebanon as the Switzerland of the Levant."[133] Drawing on a comparison of political, economic, and geographic characteristics between Lebanon and Switzerland, he maintained that Switzerland could serve both as a point of comparison and a model for the making of Lebanon as a nation-state. Tourism played a prominent role in this regard, as he argued that it could serve as both an economic panacea and a means of representation, through which patriotic pride could be felt and national unity inspired.[134]

To spur tourism, he argued, various urban and infrastructural dimensions needed to be developed. "Pour faire réellement du Liban la Suisse du Levant," Jacques Tabet wrote in 1924, "il est nécessaire d'y introduire des réformes importantes, politiques et administratives ; car le tourisme n'est pas une fleur qu'on peut cultivar miraculeusement parmi les ronces d'un champ en friche, il ne peut se développer que dans un pays qui progresse tout entier comme un jardin bien entretenu."[135] The likening of Lebanon as a tourist destination to an "underused land" was a conviction shared by many tourism advocates at the time. The development of Lebanon as a tourist destination required according to Tabet the embellishment of urban and rural spaces, as well as the designation and protection of ruins and landscapes, and the modernization of touristic infrastructure, including roads, leisure activities, and accommodation. Beirut, the capital, required modernization in accordance with its envisioned role as "the door of

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conditions, which availed themselves for the tourist to spend the winter in Palestine or Beirut, could venture out to the mountains of Lebanon, escaping the summer heat into cooler climates. Visiting Syria, the tourist could not only enjoy its climatic conditions, and engage in sportive activities, but also gaze at its ruins and monuments, testaments of its ancient history and civilization. Baalbek, Palmyra, Petra, and recently discovered sites dating back to the stone-age in Palestine could be admired. Tabet delineated Syria as a space of which Lebanon and Palestine formed a part. Compare Jacques Tabet, *La Syrie* (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1920) and Jacques Tabet, "A la Syrie, " *Correspondance d'Orient,* March 1919.

[133] Jacques Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant. Aperçu sur les conditions politiques, économiques, et touristiques des deux pays* (Paris: Imprimerie Ramlot, 1924).

[134] Tabet's political positions were very elitist as he outlined a bifurcated electoral process based on criteria of literacy and financial capital.

[135] Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant,* 3.

the Orient."[136] Furthermore, the city's Roman heritage needed to be displayed, tying in with a larger consideration of the antique foundations of history. But also villages had to be embellished and modernized, equipped with public gardens, sidewalks, and casinos and as the village population was not aware of the benefits of these changes, the government needed to take responsibility.[137] Landscapes needed to be well maintained and more generally made accessible through the building of roads. In sum, the development of Lebanon as a tourist destination required the modernization and development of an adequate infrastructure alongside the development of leisure activities.

Claiming the state

In their lobbying for tourism, both Jacques Tabet and Alfred Sursock channeled ideas about the role of a state as indispensible for the development of an adequate tourism infrastructure and nation-building more largely. Sursock argued that if the state took adequate measures to enhance the development of tourism, it could serve as a "gold mine" for enhancing "national prosperity."[138] "The Lebanese state cannot do without [tourism] and in consequence needs to encourage it through multiple reforms. The government's intervention is required to encourage the hotel industry or to attract foreign capitalists."[139] Its development, as he argued, could only be achieved with adequate state works, ensuring security, encouraging investment and bettering the "disastrous" state of the local infrastructure.

> A l'heure actuelle, l'hygiène publique, les moyens modernes de communication, et de transport, les logements ne se trouvent-ils pas en Syrie à l'état le plus précaire ? Y-a-t-il à Beyrouth, capitale du Grand-Liban, un hôtel digne de ce nom ? Le vieux régime nous a classés parmi les retardataires du monde. (…)

[136] Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant*, 48.
[137] Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant*, 53-54.
[138] PAAS, Carton 4938-6204, 5530-20, Sursock, "Le Tourisme au Liban et en Syrie."
[139] PAAS, Carton 4938-6204, 5530-20, Sursock, "Le Tourisme au Liban et en Syrie."

> Peut-on dire que le touriste débarquée à Beyrouth aussi tranquillement que possible, dans être molesté par les employés de la douane, vole par le bateliers et portefaix et toute cette engeance du quai ? (…) Trouve-t-il le bureau de renseignements désintéressé, établissement indispensable dans le pays de tourisme ? Les routes sont-elles entretenus, y-a-t-il enfin une organisation sérieuse de transports ? (…) Alors, les mesures urgentes s'imposent. Ces mesures, qui les édictera, si ce n'est pas l'état dont il chargera de leur application les édilités publiques, comme c'est le cas en Égypte ?[140]

Palestine and Egypt should serve as role models for the "national exploitation" of tourism. He drew on Palestine and Egypt as role models, not only because efforts there to develop their tourism industry at the time, but also because the comparison with British-ruled territories allowed Sursock to play on imperial rivalries. Sursock addressed his report, urging the involvement of the state, twice to French High Commissioners – Henri Gouraud in 1921 and Maxim Weygand in 1923 – given their central role in the colonial state and political decision-making process. Yet, Sursock espoused the notion of a state, which could and should act to ensure security and coordinate public policies. Also Jacques Tabet argued that it was upon a state, to ensure the development of tourism. "It is time that the Lebanese state passes from an embryonic state to a viable body, with a complete organization. France, who has conceived [the state], needs to finalize this project."[141] For the Lebanese nation to "succeed" and earn "a place at the sun among other nations," it was necessary to develop a republican state apparatus.[142] Thus, their claims were undergirded with the

[140] PAAS, Carton 4938-6204, 5530-20, Sursock, "Le Tourisme au Liban et en Syrie."

[141] Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant*, 35.

[142] Tabet's vision of a Lebanese nation rested on shared language and Semitic origins. Therein, he argued, lay the means for reconciling sectarian-political differences, which he maintained were a modern product, instrumentalised to political ends by European powers in the nineteenth century. The Lebanese nation in turn, had a much longer genealogy, dating back to the Phoenicians. Tapping into historiographical debates at the time whether being Arab and of Phoenician decent was compatible, he argued that there was no such contradiction. "On peut dire qu'il n'existe pas de races différentes parmi le Peuple Libanais. Les thèses phéniciennes et arabes qui, seules, semblent pouvoir s'opposer l'une à l'autre, se rejoignent dans la même origine sémitique qui confond les deux groupes dans la même langue." For Tabet, a Lebanese national identity lay beyond of sectarian-political differences and could or should ultimately supersede them under the banner of love for the nation (*patrie*). Tabet embraced the colonial boundaries of 1920 – which at the time, were disputed among other aspects out

conception that there needed to be a state in order to create a nation; a state in accordance with the republican ideals that French mandate authorities promised in their colonial rhetoric.[143] Their claims to a state were shaped by a conception of public interest and civic virtue, deemed necessary for the nation-building project to succeed, while simultaneously stressing the importance of rule of the law.

French mandate authorities were generally supportive of efforts to develop tourism, and more so than heeding the claims to political self-determination. Harboring themselves a special interest in its development as a propagandistic tool to display the benefits of the French empire, the High Commission launched discrete efforts to attract tourists to the mandate territories.[144] In 1923, then-High Commissioner Maxime

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of sectarian concerns – and spoke readily of Tripoli and Baalbek as part of a Lebanese nation. Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant*, 13, 28.

142 Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant*, 62.

143 Compare Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 43.

144 The reasons for French interest in the development of tourism were various: Tourism not only offered a field for putting the colonial '*mise en valeur'* policy into practice – tourism and transport companies such as the French company *Messageries Maritimes* profited from the development of the tourism industry on their regular lines to Beirut – but more generally, mandate authorities deemed tourism a means to showcase the "empire." In fact, intersections between tourism and French colonialism predate the mandate era in the Levant. As Patrick Young has argued, "tourism certainly jibed with the agenda of the colonial movement" since the turn of the century, when the French tourist industry increasingly 'discovered' the colonies in North Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Caribbean as touristic destinations. The subsequently developing tourism to French colonies catered to propagandistic, educational, and nationalizing objectives. Colonial tourism was intertwined with the larger realm of the cultural representation of the colonies in the metropole and for the French public. Unsurprisingly, the production of the colony as a tourist destination hence built on a tradition of portraying the French colonial enterprise and empire, as in colonial exhibitions, advertisements, and literature. The novel impulse of colonial tourism was to promote visiting French colonies in person to display the capacities of empire on site. Traveling to the colonies, as Ellen Furlough has argued, "would [hereby] provide *une leçon des choses*, an object lesson of the range of mutual benefits afforded by colonialism for metropolitan and colonial subjects, cultures, and economies." By tailoring this *leçon* to the French citizen, colonial tourism furthermore exhibited a distinct national dimension, reinforcing colonialism as a "project of the French imperial nation-state." As Henri Gouraud proclaimed at a presentation for French students, who were embarking on a tour across the colonies, that thanks to the victorious French military campaigns, Syria was now a safe destination for tourism, an ideal means for "les Français à mieux connaître leur incomparable empire colonial." Furthermore, an inter-imperial rivalry was at play. The French mandate authorities' stated aim to make Syria and Lebanon a destination on equal par with Egypt and Palestine resonates some inter-imperial competition with the British. Concomitantly, the colonial administration in Beirut put forth various efforts to promote tourism in the territories under its sway: the promotion of tourism to Syria and Lebanon was part and parcel of various colonial exhibitions, mandate authorities commissioned the production of tourist posters which were displayed in train stations in the metropole, guidebooks as well as maps and financed tourist offices. Although this thesis does not examine how tourism constituted a tool of empire it is

Weygand founded a commission for tourism and *villégiature*, which coordinated tourism related development for the whole territory under mandate rule.[145] Leading efforts to construct roads, support the hotel industry, and launch publicity campaigns until the late 1920s, the commission included state representatives from all territories under French mandate rule as well as members of the local bourgeoisie such as Georges Vayssié.[146] While mandate authorities channeled their efforts through the institutions of the colonial state alongside an involvement in non-state initiatives, the development of tourism always concerned the whole territory under French mandate rule.

Caesura – The Syrian Revolt (1925-1927)

Although Weygand was more successful in balancing the budget of Greater Lebanon, he was unsuccessful in alleviating the dire economic situation and political dissatisfaction in all mandate territories, ultimately leading a widespread revolt in 1925 against French colonial rule.[147] The Syrian Revolt, lasting from 1925-1927, marked a watershed moment for the French mandate authorities. Provoked by political as well as economic reasons, the Syrian revolt was a large-scale upheaval against French colonial rule.[148] Reaching into the territory of Greater Lebanon as far as Rachaya and Hasbaya, the revolt alarmed not only proponents of Greater Lebanon but also French mandate authorities, which feared that the incidents of armed resistance, particularly among

important to point out that French support – financially and politically – for the development of tourism underpinned the practices of the colonial state. Compare Young, "The Consumer as National Subject," 280. Ellen Furlough, "Une leçon des choses: Tourism, Empire, and the Nation in Interwar France," *French Historical Studies* 25 (2002): 443. "Le Général Gouraud parle de la Syrie," *Correspondance d'Orient*, July 1924.

145 [Haut-Commissariat], *La Syrie et le Liban sous l'Occupation*, 273-286. In 1926, the High Commission decreed the creation of an "Office économique et touristique des Etats de Syrie, du Grand-Liban, et des Alaouites" in Cairo. The office showcased produces from the mandate territories for export to Egypt, as well as providing information and publicity to attract tourism and villégiature. See *Bulletin Officiel du Haut Commissariat*, Mai 15, 1926, Decision 198.

146 [Haut-Commissariat], *La Syrie et le Liban sous l'Occupation*, 273-286.

147 Zamir, *The Formation of Greater Lebanon*, 149.

148 Alongside the political opposition of Arab nationalists, also the dire economic situation and French economic policies led to a rise in unemployment, fueling grievances towards colonial rule. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, 93-94.

Shi'a and Druze populations in *Jabal 'Amil*, could transform from "a basically anti-French struggle into a civil war."[149] Although mandate authorities managed to crush the revolt violently, it marked a watershed moment for French colonial rule, leading in its aftermath to the granting of a constitution in Greater Lebanon, which proclaimed the boundaries of Greater Lebanon as unalterable and declared the Republic of Lebanon.[150] Entailing not only an important epistemological shift from a colonial creation of Greater Lebanon, which always implied the conception of something "annexed" to Lebanon, towards the conception of the Republic of Lebanon as a unified entity, but after the codification of the constitution, Greater Lebanon entered a new phase of political life under the new High Commissioner Henri Ponsot (1926-1933).[151] In this new stage of governmental politics, the local bourgeoisie was able to further cement their role in institutional and administrative functions of the colonial state.[152]

The declaration of the constitution further specified the responsibilities of the colonial state's institutions. Upon the constitutional codification of the Republic of Lebanon in 1926, responsibilities of state departments were further specified and legally defined. The ministry of economics' responsibilities officially included "the encouragement and facilitation of tourism."[153] In addition to state departments, successive governments devised an array of commissions, which were specifically entrusted with tourism related matters. These commissions, whose work comprised the drafting of legal stipulations and the planning of infrastructural projects, included elected parliamentarians alongside members of the bourgeoisie and businessmen

[149] Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*,181.

[150] Zamir, *The Formation of Greater Lebanon*, 184-185.

[151] Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate*, 199-207.

[152] Meir Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest, The Road to Statehood 1926-1939* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), 33. Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 55.

[153] Also other departments were concerned with matters related to tourism. The ministry for public instruction was overseeing the conservation of ruins, the ministry of public works was in charge of planning and executing the building of roads, and the ministry of public hygiene was responsible for the control of sanitary standards in touristic and all other "spaces (*lieux*) of public reunion." "Les Ministères Libanaises," *Correspondance d'Orient*, August 1926.

involved in the tourism industry, illustrating not only the central role of the bourgeoisie in the colonial state but also suggesting that private interests wielded influence over the politics of the colonial state with regard to tourism.[154]

3.1.2. Non-state initiatives

Despite that tourism advocates claimed the state to play a central role in developing tourism, their constant demands towards the state also illustrated a degree of dissatisfaction with a lack of initiative on behalf of the state to develop tourism. In consequence, members of the bourgeoisie organized themselves in initiatives to spur its development. Although their involvement in tourism was informed by different objectives, efforts were infused with ambitions of nation-building. Throughout the mandate era, several initiatives formed in Beirut as well as in Cairo and Paris with the aim of promoting and developing tourism. Tourism's popularity impelled a growing number of private entrepreneurs to enter the market of selling commercially organized vacations. Companies, such as the V.M.L. Tourist Company organized tourism as a business-model in particular for tourists from Egypt, proclaiming a destination called Lebanon to enjoy the virtues of geographic proximity, as well as the advantages of shared language and cultural values. Other initiatives such as the Touring Club of Syria and Lebanon, turned to the development of tourism in a philanthropic vein by forming non-profit associations.

3.1.2.1. The Touring Club of Syria and Lebanon

Among the first organizations founded in the mandate years to promote tourism was the Touring Club of Syria and Lebanon (T.C.S.L.). Following two constitutive

[154] For a more detailed list, see Fig 28.

sessions in Baabda and at the *l'Union française* in Beirut, the T.C.S.L. proclaimed its establishment in Mai 1920.[155] Associated with the *Touring Club de France* and modeled on its French precursor, the T.C.S.L. rounded up a number of French mandate authorities alongside the high echelons of Beirut's society, epitomizing the interconnections between the bourgeoisie and mandate authorities.[156] Presided by the Beiruti landowner Jean de Freige (1874-1951), the Club assembled among the illustrious members of its directory board Charles Corm, Alfred Sursock, Michel Chiha, Jacques Tabet, and Georges Vayssié.[157] Henri Gouraud, with whom members the T.C.S.L. socialized regularly, served as honorary president.[158] Many members of the T.C.S.L. had vested economic interests in the promotion of tourism. Apart from Alfred Sursock, members such as Hassan Cadi, Abdallah Beyhum, Jean Bustros, and Elie Sabbagh, were shareholders of the Hippodrome – the racecourses in Beirut, which were touted as major tourist attraction at the time – showing how private interests and the development of tourism intersected on multiple levels.

With an annual membership fee of 40 francs, access to the Club was largely restricted to a wealthy clientele. Yet, the Touring Club's mission declared its activities

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155 "Le T.C.S.L.," *Correspondance d'Orient*, June 1920.

156 Georges Vayssié detailed, "pour coordonner les efforts, les unifier, faciliter à tous l'accès de nos pays de mandat, il s'est créé à Beyrouth un Touring-Club de Syrie et du Liban qui, placé sous les auspices du T.C.F., s'inspire de l'expérience du grand ancêtre." Georges Vayssié, "Le Tourisme en Syrie," in *La Syrie et le Liban en 1922*, ed. Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban (Paris: Emile Larose, 1922), 371.

157 Additional members were Marios Hanimoglo, Emile Hacho, Aref Naamani, Abdallah Beyhum, Habib Trad [Member of the Comité de Bourse, 1923], Elie Sabbagh, Moussa Benjamin [Treasurer of the Comité de Bourse de Beirut 1923], Antoine Eddé, Hassan Cadi, Selim Karam, Habib Pharaon [Owner of a spinning factory in Machta], Dr. de Brun [Professor at the French Faculty of Medicine], Martin [Inspector of the Post and Telegraph Services in 1923, Member of the Comité de Bourse of Beirut], Michel Tuéni [Member of the Representative Council, Government Greater Lebanon in 1923], Gilly [Director of the Services Économiques in 1922], Commandant Perrin, Anis Hani, Albert Naccache [Director of the Administration for Public Work in 1922], Brané, Wadiah Dumani [Member of the delegation of Mount Lebanon to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919], Chamonnard, Alfred Nasser, Marteau, Gabriel an Jean Boustros, Matouk. As listed in "Le T.C.S.L.," *Correspondance d'Orient*, June 1920. See as well Nicolas de Bustros, *Je me souviens* (Librairie Antoine: Beirut, 1983), 15.

158 According to a declaration retrieved from among the private documents of Charles Corm, Henri Gouraud declared "with enthusiasm" to serve as honorary president in 1920. See CCA unknown, untitled note, Mai 13, 1920.

to be serving a larger public good.[159] The T.C.S.L. formed several committees concerned with the touristic development of sites and monuments, roads and transportation, the hotel industry, as well as reforestation and ecology.[160] Although, unfortunately, the activities of the T.C.S.L. in the early 1920s remain largely unknown, the different subcommittees suggest that the club was concerned with a variety of tasks.[161] Additionally, the Touring Club's bureau, which was located in the same office as Vayssié's newspaper *La Syrie*, sought to provide all necessary travel information for the advice-seeking tourist.[162] Although the T.C.S.L. included a variety of members, among the leading members in committees were in particular proponents of a Lebanese nation-building project. Emile Hacho, a Beirut-based engineer and former student of the Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut, who was a members of the T.C.S.L., asserted in 1923, how central tourism was for the economic development of Lebanon. "L'industrie encore fort rudimentaire du tourisme dans le Liban (Suisse du Levant par ses sites, et prolongement de la Côte d'Azur par sa douceur de son climat) (…) Je ne m'attarderai pas sur le premier point [développement du tourisme], sinon pour remercier le Touring-Club de France qui nous a aidé dans cette voie par la création d'une section filiale à

159 "Le T.C.S.L.," *Correspondance d'Orient*, June 1920.

160 According to a handwritten note, the following personalities are identifiable to have served in the T.C.S.L.'s committees. "Sites and monuments": Michel Chiha, Joseph Hoyek, Khalil Sohaba, Brosset, Prost, Visolot. "Reforestation and protection of fauna": Assad Younes, Albert Achard, Flaminoud. "Propaganda:" Comité. "Hotel industry": Jacques Tabet, Alfred Sursock, Abdallah Beyhum. "Roads": Emile Hacho, Ch. Sursock, Ch. Corm, Naccache, Soubret. And unreadable committee ("cout en lieux"?) included Alfred Naccache, Emile Achou, Emile Eddé. CCA unknown, handwritten note on committees and election of positions in the T.C.S.L., no date.

161 A line of work of the T.C.S.L. concerned reforms regarding taxes on cars, in particular those used by tourists. CCA unknown, Letter by Georges Vayssié to Commandant Labrue, administrator of the autonomous territory of Liban, no date.

162 Vayssié, "Le Tourisme en Syrie," 363, 371. Georges Vayssié, a French citizen and the press agency Havas' correspondent in the Levant prior to the mandate era, assumed the role of general secretary in the T.C.S.L.. Already before the end of World War I, Vayssié had been a lobbyist for French colonial efforts in Syria. "Il faut que pour Marseille reste sans contestation la Reine de la Méditerranée, pour que France demeure la Reine intellectuelle du monde," to consider French colonial efforts in Syria. Detailing the economic and allegedly affective bonds between France and Syria he deliberated at the geographic society in 1915 "la Syrie doit être française dans sa plénitude, dans son intégralité. Le vilayet d'Adana doit être français; Alexandrette doit être française. La Palestine doit être française." In Georges Vayssié, "La Syrie et la France," *Bulletin de la Société Géographique et d'Études Coloniales de Marseille* (Marseille: Secreteriat de la Société Géographique, 1916): 49-69.

Beyrouth et nous aidera encore bien plus, nous l'espérons, dans l'avenir en nous envoyant des touristes visiter nos montagnes, nos ruines de Baalbek, Palmyre, etc. les plus belles monde."[163] Also, the club organized excursions, such as to the Crusader's Castle in Tripoli in the context of the Foire-Exhibition in 1921.[164]

[163] Emile Hacho, "La Syrie et son avenir économique, un appel à la France," *Correspondance d'Orient*, March 1924.

[164] In Mai 1921, the colonial administration organized the Beirut Foire Exhibition, which, arguably, marked one of the earliest opportunities seized by the mandate authorities to promote visits to Beirut and tourism to the surrounding regions administered under French rule. In line with the politics of *la mise en valeur*, the imperative of generating profit for the metropole through the colonial enterprise, the primary objective of the exhibition was to improve economic relations between France and the territories under mandate rule. As announced by the mandate authorities in charge, the exhibition pursued "un double but: d'une part, faire connaître et apprécier nos produits; mettre en vedette, d'autre part, les industries syriennes et leur assurer une impulsion nouvelle." Set up at the Place des Canons in the center of Beirut, columns of stands presented products overwhelmingly from France and the territories under mandate rule. Notably grouped under the label of "participation syrienne" merchants from Aleppo, Damascus, as well as Beirut exposed their produces. Enlisting the engagement of several local notables, professionals, and political representatives in the organizing committees, the mandate authorities proclaimed enthusiasm about the exhibition as an opportunity for economic revival of the region and the potentials "de renouer les relations que nous entretenions depuis des siècles avec la Syrie;" Relations, which not only concerned an economic sphere but also encompassed propagandistic efforts. Alongside the economic objective of opening the Syrian market for French products, the mandate authorities turned the exhibition into an imposing spectacle, seeking to epitomize the French empire's grandeur. In a paternalistic gesture, collaborating locals received a "diplôme de mérite," which emblematically depicted a sun-rayed Marianne lifting a veil off a panoramic view over Beirut. An adjunct cultural program praised the "historical" relations between France and the mandate territories, while displaying the establishment of colonial authority. With political representatives and business delegations from France and across the globe arriving in Beirut, the administration organized an elaborate infrastructure for visitors arriving in Beirut by sea, with guides, cars, and boats all sailing under an emblem of the imperial French nation – the tricolor. In addition, the program of the Foire Exhibition included festivities such as horse races, a tombola, gala dinners, theater plays, a parade on the esplanade in Beirut, as well as several tourist activities. Henri Gouraud embarked on a parade to several villages, described as located in South Lebanon: Saida, Djezzin, Moukhtara, Beiteddine, Hammana. The Touring Club of Syria and Lebanon organized a trip to the crusader's castle in Tripoli, which, the mandate authorities promulgated as to be known for its role in a late-nineteenth century French opera and even an excursion to Jerusalem was scheduled. The prominence of the crusader's castle in Tripoli as a destination in the exhibition's program was by no means coincidental but rather blended in with efforts of interlacing ruins with French history and cultural production as well as tourism as a practice. Furthermore, a conference was held in the context of the Foire Exhibition. Among the several speakers lecturing on education, economy, and history of Syria at the *Cercle de l'Union française* in Beirut to the exhibition's visitors, the French counselor of beaux-arts delivered a speech on "Le Tourisme en Syrie et au Liban." Encouraging visitors to tour the mandated territories, Mr. Prost, who was likewise a members of the T.C.S.L., presented and described various cities, villages, and monuments worthwhile visiting. Grouped as potential tour itineraries, the places recommended to the visitors of the exhibition stretched across the lands under French mandate rule. Damascus, "la plus belle ville de la Syrie," provided the tourist a glance at the glorious past of Roman and Islamic civilization, still harboring the mysteriousness of the desert. Baalbek's temples exposed the splendor and artistic finesse of the Romans. The Cedars, located by Bescharre, inspired with their grandeur as they already had for the French poet Lamartine; And close to Tripoli, the ruins of the famous "Krak des Chevaliers" displayed the military strength and wit of the Crusaders. The Foire Exhibition was a spectacle, designed to last for a limited timespan, but the basic idea of promoting tourism as a cultural activity – an appealing facet of business trips to the mandates foreshadowed the colonial administration's concerns and interests in promoting tourism throughout the coming years. See Haut-Commissariat de la République Française, *La Syrie et le Liban en 1921.*

3.1.2.2. The Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban

In addition to the T.C.S.L., a private business specializing in the promotion of tourism in the 1920s was the *Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban,* also operating under the Anglophone acronym V.M.L. Tourist Company. While the company, founded in Cairo in 1913, initially suspended its services at the onset of World War I, it resumed business in 1922.[165] As suggested by the company's name as well as contemporary accounts, the main business revolved around the organization of tourism, in particular *villégiature,* for citizens and visitors of Egypt. "Organized companies are found in Lebanon which help people coming here; the most important of them is the Villegiature du Mont Liban Tourist Company, whose work is chiefly concerned in carrying passengers between Egypt and Lebanon and supplying them with the information necessary," Farid Fuleihan, a graduate student at the American University of Beirut proclaimed in his final year thesis discussing the economic prospects and prerequisites of "Lebanon as a summer resort" in 1929.[166] The company, he argued, stood out as a prime example of successful tourism promotion, annually issuing informative guidebooks and so effectively "propagandizing Lebanon" as a destination, that it "persuade[d] people to come and spend the summer season here instead of going to Europe."[167] Alongside arranging stays in furnished houses, apartments, and hotels for the summering clientele, the company offered organized sightseeing tours. Advertised as package deals, travellers interested in visiting "historical sites, monuments, ruins, and

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La Foire-Exposition de Beyrouth. Conférences. Liste des Récompenses (Paris: Emile Larose, 1922). PAAS, Carton 73, 53749, "Diplôme de Bon Mérite décerné à Jacques Tabet." Haut-Commissariat de la République Française, *Guide-catalogue de la Foire-Exposition de Beyrouth* (Beirut: Imprimerie du Haut Commissariat, 1921).

165 Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban. Année 1925* (Cairo: J. Parladin, 1925).

166 Fuleihan, "Lebanon as a Summer Resort", 37. This was likewise echoed by the Gédéons, *L' Indicateur Syrien* [1923], 123. It appears that Alfred Sursock has been in touch with the Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban. Lorenzo Trombetta "The Private Archive of the Sursuqs, A Beirut Family of Christian Notables: An Early Investigation." *Rivista degli studi orientali* 82 (2009). 197-228.

167 Fuleihan, "Lebanon as a Summer Resort", 37.

vestiges," could embark on guided trips across the region ranging from daytrips to multi-week excursions.[168] Operating through a network of tourist agents and offices across the region, the company maintained offices in Alexandria, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Haifa, Jerusalem, Kantara, Port Said and employed more than forty tourist agents in various localities.[169] The majority of which was working in the villages and towns of what the company denoted in 1925 as Greater Lebanon.[170] Fuleihan was not alone in considering the V.M.L. as one of the most prominent tourist organizations in the 1920s. Also other contemporary accounts suggest that the company's work was particularly prominent at the time. The business guide *Indicateur Syrien* vaunted the company, which was directed by Haidar Maalouf, Michel Andalaft, Alexandre Yared and the AUB graduate Wadi el-Saad, as an organization founded by "Lebanese."[171] While the historical record on the company's founding figures is sparse, the cultural reference suggests that they were part of the emigrant community in Cairo and Haidar Maalouf had served as treasurer to the Cairene branch of *Al-Ittihad Al-Lubnani* during World War I.[172] This interconnection between the V.M.L. and the diaspora sheds light

[168] Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide du Tourisme et de la Villégiature au Liban et en Syrie* (Unknown, 1930). See as well Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *The Tourist's Book for Egypt, Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon* (Cairo: M. Menkidis & Co, 1924).

[169] Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Année 1925*, 75. In 1930, the V.M.L. maintained two offices in Beirut, one in the Rue Allenby and one at the Place des Canons. Compare Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide du Tourisme et de la Villégiature au Liban et en Syrie* (Unknown, 1930).

[170] Listed as agents in Greater Lebanon are: Georges Maalouf, Beirut; Ibrahim Karaa, Baalbeck; Negib Aziz Diab Maalouf, Zahle; Nejib Istiphan Neema, Deir el Kamar; Chakib Naifa, Saida; Nejib Wahbe, Jedeidet Marjeyoun; Charles Assouad, Djezzine; Abdo Moubarak, Ain Sofar; Soleiman Mahboub Moughabghab, Ain Zhalta; Abdo Assaad, Hammana; Youssef el Rami, Falougha; Cheikh Khalil el Khouri, Beit Meri; Georges Abi Rehal, Bikfaya; Cheikh Khalil Majaes, Zouhour el Choueir; Dr. Gouad Semeha, Khinchara; Tanios Kertas, Biskinta; Nemr Ishak Maalouf, Kafr Akab; Boulos el Kortabaoui, Kafr Salouan; Père Youssef Maatouk, Behnès; Hanna Sayegh, Ehden; Cheikh Jabour Awad and Youssef el Armalli, Hasroun; Père Antonios Jaajah, Bescharre; Hanna Tanios Massaad, Faitroun; Mansour Ibrahim el-Khouri, Salima; Cheikh Tannous Hegeili, Koulaiat. As the list illustrates, most agents were concentrated in the mountain area of Greater Lebanon. For the remainder of the list including agents in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, see Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Année 1925*, 73-75. Geographical categories correspond with the original text.

[171] Gédéon, *L' Indicateur Syrien* [1923], 123. Compare as well Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Pour l'Année 1923*, I. "Alumni Notes," *Al-Kulliyah*, February 1924.

[172] Compare Philipp, *The Syrians in Egypt*, 115.

on the role of emigrants as the producers of national propaganda through tourism more largely.

From the early 1920s onwards, the V.M.L. used their tourism campaigns as a means to promote Greater Lebanon.[173] In 1922, Habib Saad, president of the representative council, vaunted the V.M.L.'s tourism guidebook as an "ouvrage [qui] dénote un patriotisme sincère et un dévouement au service de la chère patrie (…) j'espère que votre zèle continu et votre abnégation seront une forte garantie pour l'avancement et le progrès du pays."[174] Saad saw the efforts of the V.M.L, as guided by a sentiment (*zèle*) of devotion to the development of Greater Lebanon. In 1927, also the periodical *Al-Mashriq,* edited by the Jesuit priest Louis Cheikho, congratulated the V.M.L. for its felicitous propaganda campaign, claiming the company's campaign as being literally "for" Lebanon. The mention appeared in an article alongside a historicist rebuke of a book, which propagated the political realization of a Syrian monarchical entity that included the territory of Greater Lebanon.[175]

3.2. Touristic Development

Following the declaration of Greater Lebanon in 1920 spatial consolidation loomed large on the minds of its proponents and tourism constituted a dimension in it. Spatial consolidation happened through various state works, aiming to establish the colonial state as the "spatial framework of power" and involved alongside the building

[173] Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Ste. de Villégiature au Mont Liban pour l'année 1923* (Cairo: Al-Mokattam Press, 1923), 48.

[174] It is worth mentioning that, despite that the V.M.L. likewise promulgated tourist destinations in Syria and also Hakki Bey el-Azm, governor of Damascus, argued that "les habitants des pays Syriens apprécient hautement vos travaux qui procureront aux voyageurs bien plus de commodité que par le passé et les attrireront d'avantage dans nos régions." Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide de la Ste. de Villégiature au Mont Liban pour l'année 1923* (Cairo: Al-Mokattam Press, 1923), 48.

[175] [Per la propaganda intensa da essa svolta in pro del Libano cui avvia ogni e migliaia di facoltosi egiziani]. *Al-Mashriq*, 1927, in "Rassegna di Periodici Scientifici," *Oriente Moderno*, February 1928.

of a road network, the making of touristic attractions and *centres d'estivage*. I argue that these efforts of development were underpinned by an epistemological shift that made the territory of Greater Lebanon the unit and extent of developmentalist efforts. Put differently, tourism was a part of larger developmentalist efforts, aiming to produce a national space. However, in the 1920s, there remained a clear epistemological distinction between Greater Lebanon and Lebanon. Furthermore, while the colonial state of Greater Lebanon *de jure* claimed the whole territory delineated in 1920, the main focus of touristic development pivoted around enhancing the mountain as a tourist destination and integrating it with Beirut. This was largely due to specific imaginations of what Lebanon was. The developmentalist efforts illustrate how the conception of a Lebanese nation was largely concentrated on integrating the city and the mountain, marginalizing other "annexed" territories.

3.2.1. Building a "Lebanese" road network

French stinginess in terms of economic and infrastructural developments aside, one of the most proficient dimensions of colonial developments concerned the building of roads. Serving economic as well as military objectives, French mandate authorities attached great importance to the development of roads.[176] As one contemporary account put it: "The French have a reputation to be road builders and their colonial administration everywhere bears witness to the fact."[177] While French mandate authorities coordinated the development of a road network across the whole territory under mandate rule, their objective being to interconnect the main cities of the interior with coastal cities within the mandate territory, in Greater Lebanon the building of

[176] Mari Oiry, "Transports et Société au Liban sous Mandat français" (Mémoire de master, ENS/LHS 2004), 66. Monicault, *Le Port de Beyrouth et l'économie des pays du Levant*, 69. [Haut-Commissariat], *La Syrie et le Liban sous l'Occupation*, 170.

[177] Edward F. Nickoley, "Transportation and Communication," in *Economic Organization of Syria*, ed. Sa'id B. Himadeh (Beirut: American Press, 1936), 178.

roads was intimately linked to the consolidation of Greater Lebanon as a space and the development of tourism. While it is beyond the scope and significance of this project, to retrace the building of roads in an encompassing manner, two things are important to point out: the emergence of a notion of a "Lebanese road network," that undergirded efforts of building roads and roads for tourism as a part of it.[178] From the mid-1920s on, state institutions and representatives invoked the conception of a "Lebanese road network," signaling a novel, epistemological conception of developing an interconnected system of roads within the territorial confines of Greater Lebanon. For tourism advocates, this conception was of a particular premium, hinging on the significance of the car and the accessibility of what was deemed to be touristic sites in the development of a destination called Lebanon more largely.

With the car assuming growing significance in the interwar years, it was, to be more precise, in particular the building, reparation, and maintenance of drivable roads that were the focus of colonial developmentalist efforts.[179] While the area was interconnected through a number of roads built prior to the war, the High Commission was financially supportive of political efforts to build roads, considering the development of infrastructure as a "proof" of the developmentalist impact of mandate rule.[180] (French sources regularly proclaimed that the state of roads had been in a

[178] For a more detailed account, see Euleuthère Eleftériades, *Les Chemins de Fer en Syrie et au Liban. Étude historique, financière, et économique* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1944).

[179] By the late 1930s, airports and planes became a novel focus for touristic development. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon under French Mandate*, 279.

[180] Prior to 1920, the Ottoman government as well as private initiators established a number of roads. According to French accounts, the pre-mandate road network amounted to 650 kilometers within the territory administered under French rule. According to a map devised by the French mandate authorities, the road network in 1919 comprised four main road axes, which were drivable in all seasons, alongside several tranches and interconnecting roads that were only accessible in the dry season. These included the road from Tyr to Tripoli, stretching along the Mediterranean coast, the road interconnecting Beirut and Damascus, with branches to, among other places, Bhamdoun and Baalbek, the road from Alexandretta to Aleppo as well as Tripoli to Homs, as well as there was a road between Saida, Marjeyoun, and Safed. Additionally, several roads in the mountains interconnected for example Beirut and Beiteddine. French accounts, however, did not discuss them in detail, deemed as "smaller" roads. Compare Arthur Ruppin, *Syria: An Economic Survey*, ed. and transl. Nelli Straus (New York: The Provisional Zionist Committee, 1918), 73-80. Monicault, *Le Port de Beyrouth et*

"deprecate" state before their arrival.[181]) From the beginning of mandate rule onwards, also representatives of the colonial state began to invoke the importance of building a road network that interconnected the territory of the colonial state Greater Lebanon already in the early 1920s. In 1924, a consultative report by or for the department of public work invoked Greater Lebanon as a territorial unit on which roads needed to be built in a coherent fashion. Citing among other reasons tourism, the report critiqued that not enough efforts were taken to establish a program for the development of a coherent developmentalist plan for the country.[182]

> Le Grand Liban possède actuellement environ 1600 km de routes. Comparativement au nombre des habitants, il entretient dans son territoire un réseau de routes égal en longueur au double de n'importe quel Etat Européen. (…) Le Liban étant un pays où le tourisme doit être développée plus que partout ailleurs à cause des stations estivales, dont il n'est pas nécessaire de faire ici l'apologie, le devoir de l'Etat est d'entretenir ses voies de communications et principalement ses routes carrossables. (…) Il est regrettable que par manque d'unité de vie et d'action on n'ait pas établi précédemment un programme définie pour les travaux dont le pays avait besoin.[183]

Also, Leon Cayla, the French governor of Greater Lebanon, proclaimed in 1925 that the building of roads constituted an important means of "consolidation."[184] Arguing that the "new state" formed a "dangerously" incoherent ensemble, the building of a road-network that interconnected the various regions, as one dimension of state-led reform, was crucial.

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l'économie des pays du Levant, 30-31. See as well Oiry, "Transports et Société au Liban," 80. [Haut-Commissariat], *Dix ans de Mandat*, 31. [Haut-Commissariat], *La Syrie et le Liban sous l'Occupation*, 172. On public works in Mount Lebanon prior to World War I, see for example Said Shoucair Pacha, *Rapport sur les Finances du Liban* (n.p., 1913), 15.

181 Compare Joffre, *Le Mandat de la France*, 27. Monicault, *Le Port de Beyrouth et l'économie des pays du Levant*, 30-31.

182 CCA 0095, "Etudes d'Entreprises de Travaux Publics," Report, [1924].

183 CCA 0095, "Etudes d'Entreprises de Travaux Publics," Report, [1924].

184 Leon Cayla, *Anniversaire de la proclamation du Grand-Liban: discours prononcés le 1er Septembre 1925 par le gouverneur de l'Etat et par le président du conseil représentatif* (Beirut: Imprimerie des Lettres, 1925), 3. The building of roads was one dimension of reform proposed by Cayla. Other fields, discussed in his speech included the development of tourism and *villégiature*, juridical reform, tax reform, administrative reorganization, and public instruction.

> Entre l'ancienne province autonome du Mont Liban et celles des terres de vilayet qui s'y étaient ajoutées dès le début de l'occupation pour former le nouvel État, des différences multiples subsistaient qui soulevaient bien des critiques. Le seul fait qu'on eût maintenu les territoires des deux catégories dans des limites administratives distinctes était une cause permanente de malaise. Des réformes s'imposaient si l'on ne voulait pas qu'à longue l'équivoque sur laquelle on vivait devînt dangereuse. (…) La nécessité de réduire la longueur du réseau praticable eût d'ailleurs été doublement désastreuse dans un pays qui doit souhaiter voir s'établir des relations de plus en plus fréquentes entre les divers éléments de la population et qui d'autre part, vit en grande partie du tourisme et de villégiature. (…) tout le réseau serait refait suivant ces procédés nouveaux (…) elle serait d'ailleurs productive par le développement qu'elle permettrait de donner au tourisme et à la villégiature.[185]

Efforts to build roads were significant and the ministry of public works claimed that this network amounted to approximately 2000 kilometers of roads in 1927.[186] In the context of building this "Lebanese road-network," considerations of tourism and *estivage* were central. Not only tourism advocates identified the building and maintenance of roads as a cornerstone to encourage tourism, but also governmental pledges frequently proclaimed the building of roads as an aspect of their efforts to develop tourism.[187] For example, in 1927, the ministry of public works calculated a distinct budget for road works deemed of significance to tourism and *estivage*.[188] According to Bescharra al-Khoury's declaration of government particular consideration with regard to the maintenance of roads interconnecting *centres d'estivage*, as they constituted the "arteries" through which people moved across the country to see "regions, famous for their marvelous sites," thereby serving a larger goal of ensuring economic prosperity.

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[185] Cayla, *Anniversaire de la proclamation du Grand-Liban*, 3, 11-12.

[186] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise. *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés,* December 5, 1927.

[187] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés,* December 25, 1927.

[188] The budget amounted to 3.300 lira according to *La Syrie*, October 22-24, 1926 in "Dichiarazione del Ministero libanese sulla sua attività nei primi quattro mesi di vita," *Oriente Moderno,* October 1926.

> Sans vouloir méconnaitre la légitimité des demandes provenant de nombreuses petites localités en vue de développer les voies de communications, nous ne pouvons pas perdre de vue que toute route nouvellement crée augmente les charges de l'Etat, car le ministère des Travaux publics supporte les frais des travaux d'art, de rechargement et de cylindrage qu'elle nécessite; a quoi faut ajouter les frais d'entretien qui lui incombent ensuite. Bref nous serions amenés à reculer devant des charges aussi onéreuses sans cette considérations que le Liban est un pays d'estivage et que les routes sont les artères au moyen desquelles le mouvement vital est communiqué à des régions merveilleuses par leurs sites et par la salubrité de leur climat et que la défectuosité des voies laisse dans l'oubli.[189]

Also Ahmed Husseini, the minister of public works in 1927 echoed this point of view :

> Le Liban jouit d'un climat que lui envient de nombreux pays. Doué de sites pittoresques et d'un air vivifiant et pur il est visité annuellement par des milliers de personnes en quête de santé et de tranquillité. C'est donc un crime que de laisser ces trésor de la nature sans exploitation, Les moyens d'y arriver a tirer profit de ces dons de la nature doivent être assures par le gouvernement. Aussi, l'administration des travaux publics s'est elle trace à cet effet une ligne de conduit qui pourra aboutir au but propose. Elle débuta par la réfection des routes surtout celles conduisant aux centres d'estivage dans le but de faciliter les voies de communication aux estiveurs et a encourager la villégiature. (…) Le Ministère s'occupe encore de l'état des ports et de l'exploitation de mines, de l'alignement des bâtiments dans les villes et les villages, de la délimitation du domaine de l'état, de la construction des bâtiments, de la réglementation de la circulation et de la perception des taxes sur les véhicules, etc…etc… Vous pouvez être certains, Messieurs, qu'une fois ces projets réalisés, la prospérité du Liban sera assure. (…) n'hésiterez pas à lui accorder des crédits suffisants à l'effet de faciliter sa tache et de mériter de ce chef la gratitude la Nation. (…) Les réparations des routes consistent dans le rechargement de 565 kilomètres sur l'étendue du territoire libanais suivant l'intensité de la circulation et l'importance des routes, considération faite toute fois de la réparation équitable des profits sur touts les régions." [190]

In particular the mountain roads, which have not been built for automobiles, representatives of the colonial state argued, needed maintenance, with one of the objectives being to make them "moins fatiguants pour les voyageurs, estiveurs, et les

[189] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés.* December 5, 1927.

[190] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés,* December 12, 1927.

tourists."[191] In 1929, the ministry of public works planned the renovation of the main roads frequented for reasons of *estivage*.[192]

> Avec infiniment de raison le gouvernement du Grand Liban se préoccupe de la parfait viabilités des routes d'estivage. Parmi celles qui on été l'objet de soins tout spéciaux figurant celles d'Aley – Souk el Gharb, Bhamdoun-gare-village, Beirut-Beit Meri, Antelias –Dhour el-Choeuir de la traverse de Zahle du circuit de Reyfoun de celui de la Kadischa.[193]

The continuing rhetoric of building a coherent road network for the development of tourism was poised with the significance of developing *centres d'estivage* as perhaps the most significant dimension of touristic development in the 1920s.

3.2.2. Developing the mountain: making of centres d'estivage

A central focus in the development of tourism concerned summering destinations – called *centres d'estivage* – in the mountain area. While the rise of summering in the mountain area goes back to the nineteenth century, it was with the onset of the mandate era, that tourism advocates increasingly aimed to professionalize the organization and market the appeal of summering as a hallmark of a destination called Lebanon at the hands of the colonial state. From the early 1920s onwards, tourism advocates such as Jacques Tabet proclaimed a need of modernizing *centres d'estivage:*

> The tourist or summerer who goes to Jbeil, to Baalbek, to Aley, to Broumana or to Ehden, cannot spend all his day confined in a hotel, as well situated and modern it may be: he needs to move around by foot, by horse or in an automobile, to promenade in public gardens, to sit close to springs and artistically arranged water fountains, and in modern casinos. But all our villagers

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[191] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, December 12, 1927.

[192] These were Antoura-Mameltein, Pont de Bahsas, Tripoli-bifurcation Zgorta, Antoura-Zouk, Antelias Ain Ar, Jisr-Beirut-Aley-Souk el-Gharb, Bhamdoun gare-Bhamdoun village, Sofar Wadi el-Harir Chtaura-Zahle, Douri Baalbek-Choufeiat-Damour, also included are roads in Baalbek, Djezzine, Dhour el-Choueir, Besharre, Ehden, Hasroun. "Asphaltage de routes et voies urbaines," *Bulletin d'Union Économique de Syrie*, March 31, 1929.

[193] "Le reseau routier libanais," *Bulletin de l'Union Économique de Syrie*, March 31, 1930.

> will tell you with pride that their village has sidewalks and roads, gardens, unparalleled springs, and modern casinos! What to do with such naivety? And how to make those decent people understand that the village they love, and of which they are proud is far from fulfilling the conditions of a modern [summering] destination? Theory hardly suffices. One cannot make one understand what light is who has never seen it, nor what sound is, who has never heard anything.[194]

Rather than relying on the municipal councils in the villages, Tabet argued that an official organ needed to be created in Beirut, with "benevolent" and "competent" members to carry out the modernizational tasks to enhance *centres d'estivage*, and that once the "hygienic and esthetic regulations" were established, even small shop owners, butchers, and bakers would dedicate themselves to a more modern display of their own shops, contributing individually to "generate a delightful (*heureuse*) transformation in Lebanon."[195] Tabet alleged transformations of *centres d'estivage* in the context of efforts of nation-building; a bourgeois vision of what a Lebanese nation was supposed to look like.

In the mid-1920s, the state devised a distinct category, which officially classified villages in the mountain area as "centres d'estivage" and the ministry of economy sent its functionaries on site to evaluate the suitability of villages to carry the title.[196] It was thus the colonial state, who decided what places would be officially classified as summering destinations. Although the criteria applied remain unclear, the state listed for example Abey, Falougha, Chouit, Klayate, Araya, Hammana, Beiteddine, Deir el-

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[194] [Le touriste ou l'estiveur qui va à Jbeyl, à Baalbek, à Aley, à Broumana ou à Ehden, ne peut pas passer toute sa journée enfermé dans un hôtel, si bien situé et si moderne qu'il soit; il a besoin de circuler à pied, à cheval ou en automobile, de se promener dans des jardins publics, de s'asseoir près de sources et de cours d'eau artistiquement arranges, et dans des casions modernes. Mais tous nos villageois vous diront avec orgueil que leur village possède des trottoirs et de routes, des jardins, des sources sans pareils, et des casinos modernes! Que faire devant tant de candeur! et comment faire comprendre à tous ces braves gens que le village qu'ils aiment, et dont ils sont fiers est très loin de remplir les conditions d'une station moderne? La théorie ne suffit guère. On ne peut faire comprendre ce que c'est la lumière à qui ne l'a jamais vue ni ce que c'est que le son à qui n'a jamais rien entendu.] Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant*, 53-54.

[195] Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant*, 55.

[196] LNA, 1919-1943, Carton 2, "Intérieur, Centres d'Estivage," 1926-1929. "Pour l'estivage," *La Syrie*, April 6, 1932.

Kamar, Bhannès, Roum, Khonchara, Kfour, Bhamdoun-Gare, and Ainab as having earned the title *centre d'estivage* between 1926 and 1929 – all of which were located in Mount Lebanon.[197] For the villages, classification was of political and financial significance, as the colonial state channeled additional public funds into their development as tourist destinations, including for the construction of public gardens and sidewalks, the provision of electricity and running water, as well as the construction of hotels. Also in legal matters, the colonial state stipulated a range of laws specifically regulating public matters in *centres d'estivage,* including at times special exemptions such as with regard to gambling regulations.[198] While it was now the colonial state that coordinated public funding as well as legal regulations within the extent of its territory, *centres d'estivage* had a special political status – one that signaled a particular symbolism.

The creation of a special status for *centres d'estivage* and the provision of additional funds towards their development hinged on the idea that *centres d'estivage* were flagship-places – representative spaces for a destination called Lebanon. Classification as a *centre d'estivage* hinged on a specific ideal of tourism as recuperation in a natural environment and the enjoyment of leisurely pleasures, modeled on summer resorts in Europe and in particular Switzerland. "Sofar un lieu de villégiature réunissant tous les agréments et tout le confort des meilleures stations modernes d'Europe et aura conséquence d'attirer au Liban toute une catégorie d'estiveurs, qui à l'heure actuelle, préfèrent se rendre dans les autres pays," a member of the parliament argued in 1928.[199] Claiming that villages such as Ain Sofar offered natural virtues similar to the most famous summering places in Europe, the aim was to

[197] LNA, 1919-1943, Carton 2, "Intérieur, Centres d'Estivage," 1926-1929.

[198] Décret N. 6042, December 24, 1929, in *Receuil des Lois et Décrets du Gouvernment de la République Libanaise. Année 1929-1930*, Volume III (Beirut: Imprimerie Ad-Dabbour, n.d.), 856-860.

[199] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, March 20, 1928.

cultivate and develop these in order to rival destinations in Europe. Deeming the desired summering clientele to be the wealthy middle and upper class from across the region, the colonial state and non-state initiatives launched a range of efforts to "modernize" *centres d'estivage* to enhance the appeal of summering destinations and correspond with what they considered the desires of this leisure class. These political efforts to develop tourism were typically denoted as "modernization" and hinged on a specific bourgeois conception of what was deemed "modern."

An important dimension in the "modernization" of *centres d'estivage* at the hands of the colonial state was the provision of electricity. Although the establishment of power plants predates the mandate era, the extension of electricity lines to *centres d'estivage* began only in 1926.[200] While a range of companies generated electricity, most of which came to be controlled through French holdings by the 1930s, concessions to provide electricity locally were granted through the colonial state.[201] Throughout the mandate era, the parliament received regular requests from villages demanding the provision of electricity. In granting these, the state set a particular focus on providing electricity for *centres d'estivage*, invoking the argumentation that the provision of electricity formed an important aspect in the development of tourism.[202] Still in the mid-1930s, a large part of places outside of urban spaces with access to electricity were *centres d'estivage* and, in these villages, according to a study conducted by the AUB professor Basim Faris, hotels and private summerhouses composed the main customers

[200] The municipality of Beirut powered streetlights since 1908. Basim A. Faris, *Electric Power in Syria and Palestine* (Beirut, American Press, 1936), 78, 82. For a more detailed account of the history of power plants in the territory under French mandate rule and Palestine see *ibid*.

[201] Compare Faris, *Electric Power in Syria and Palestine,* 78. For parliamentary debates regarding the granting of concessions to *centres d'estivage* see, for example: Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires*, *Chambre des Députés*, Mai 14, 1929. Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires*, *Chambre des Députés,* Mai 22, 1930.

[202] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires*, *Chambre des Députés,* April 23, 1929.

of electricity.[203] The preferential treatment given to *centres d'estivage* was undergirded by the symbolism with which these villages were imbued – as representative spaces of a nation.

The provision of electricity was particularly important to provide what tourism advocates deemed "modern comforts" in hotels and guesthouses in *centres d'estivage*. Hotels, as Hans Magnus Enzensberger has argued, were the "castles of the bourgeoisie," and their standards a constant concern for tourism advocates.[204] Throughout the 1920s tourism advocates regularly demanded the government to control the standards of hotels and support the hotel industry financially. Having not only the aim to increase the number of guesthouses in *centres d'estivage*, tourism advocates claimed the state to ensure adequately trained service personnel and control sanitary standards by providing licenses only to hotels with adequately "modern" sanitary equipment.[205] Again, the concern was that the representation of Lebanon as a tourist destination tied in with the renommée of a nascent nation called Lebanon.

Tourism advocates were particularly wary of tourists' complaints of their accomodation and the Touring Club distributed as early as in 1924 badges, which distinguished "good hotels."[206] The colonial state in turn acted on the concern of encouraging the hotel industry through tax exemptions, primes, and governmental control. In 1927, the French *commission de tourisme* claimed that it was largely due to

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[203] Faris, *Electric Power in Syria and Palestine*, 181. According to a list compiled by the French advisor for public works in 1936, these included Jditah, Falougha, Saline, Jounieh, Nahr el-Kalb, Ghazir, Zouk, Chtaura, Zubdol, Mreijatt, Hammana, Cornayel, Bzedine, Chebanieh, Roumieh, Beit-Chebab, Antelias, Mameltein, Antoura, Besharre, in addition to 25 villages, towns, and suburban neighborhoods, where both electricity and drinking water was either already or in the process of being provided: Beirut, Tyr, Zahle, Maallaka, Cab Elias, Sofar, Aley, Ras el-Metn, Beit-Meri, Baabda, Bhannes, Choueir, Bhorsaf, Sakiet el-Misk, Furn el-Chebbak and suburbs of Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli, Rayak, Bhamdoun, Souk el-Gharb, Broumana, Dhour-Choueir, Bikfaya, Mouhaite. Out of the 38 villages listed, towns like Jounieh, Zahle, and the suburbs of Beirut subtracted, almost half were either listed as official *centres d'estivage* or featured in the colonial state's tourist guidebooks in the early 1930s. Babikian, "Civilisation and Education in Syria and Lebanon," 57.

[204] Compare Enzensberger, "A Theory of Tourism," 133.

[205] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 33.

[206] Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant*.

their efforts of ensuring tax exemptions for the import of construction materials, that three new hotels had been built in Aley, Djezzine, and Bescharre, which offered amenities such as running hot water in bathrooms.[207] The government also aimed at encouraging the development of a hotel industry by decorating selected hotels with primes or tax exemptions.[208] According to one contemporary account, *centres d'estivage* witnessed in turn a surge in what the newspaper *al-Bashir* classified as "modern accommodation," from 670 in 1925 to 3500 in the early 1930s.[209]

Alongside the building of "modern hotels," *centres d'estivage* were equipped with a range of what tourism advocates claimed to be divertissement establishments, such as casinos, cinemas, and bars as hallmarks of touristic desires and experience.[210] In tourist guidebooks, the availability of leisurely establishments formed a central aspect in the description of *centres d'estivage*.[211] Tourism advocates considered in particular gambling an important desideratum of tourists. In 1925, Emile Hacho, argued in an article in *l'Orient* that casinos needed to be built for those people "who had the means to lose [money]," while restricting gambling for those who were not considered as "well-to-do" – exhibiting a paternalistic approach towards what the bourgeois tourism advocates considered to be part of a lower income strata of society.[212] In terms of gambling sites, such as in coffee shops, the colonial state took a rather restrictive approach. Public gambling-houses were prohibited since 1922, often resulting in the

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[207] [Haut-Commissariat], *La Syrie et le Liban sous l'Occupation*, 278-281. See as well advertisements in *Guide Commercial Illustré des Pays du Levant sous mandat français 1935-1936*, ed. J. Adjemian (unknown, [1934-1936]). Courtesy of Fadi Ghazzaoui.

[208] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés,* December 19, 1929. Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, April 18, 1930. Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Chambre des Députés,* April 26, 1935.

[209] *Al-Bashir*, October 9, 1934, in "La villeggiatura nel Libano nella scorsa estate," *Oriente Moderno,* November 1934.

[210] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 5.

[211] See for example Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide du Tourisme* [1930].

[212] Emile Hacho, "Un Programme pour le Tourisme VI," *L'Orient*, April 18, 1925.

state to force the closing of coffee shops for allowing "illegal" gambling.[213] The government deployed by the late 1920s inspectors to control the casinos in *centres d'estivage*.[214] However, exceptions were made on two grounds. As a contemporary researcher noted, "in some so-called high-class families, elite Messieurs and Mesdames, and even sometimes Mesdemoiselles, gamble in private till very late hours at night while enjoying their beverages and cigarettes."[215] While in 1927, the Lebanese parliament "after long and vivid discussions" allowed gambling in the principal *centres d'estivage*, it remained prohibited in other places.[216]

The colonial state's efforts of "modernization," which included encouraging the building of "modern" hotels and exempting *centres d'estivage* from restrictions on gambling, suggests that these villages were considered flagships – places of representative significance for a Lebanese nation-building project. The infrastructural developments launched by the colonial state were undergirded in turn by what can be called a bourgeois vision of modernity: the provision of "modern" sanitary standards and electricity as well as the availability of divertissements, such as gambling sites. The regime of morality and hygiene undergirding these developmentalist efforts was nurtured by the idea that tourists were part of a bourgeois class and hence demanded adequate accomodation and services. Thus infrastructural developments such as the making of electricity lines were part of a national project. Tourism advocates heralded the infrastructural developments of the villages to turn them into touristic sites and one

[213] See for example LNA, Carton 78, 2332, "Fermant un café à Chtaura," 1935.

[214] *Al-Muqattam* August 7-9, 1929, in "Libano et le spese di amministrazione dei vari Stati siriani," *Oriente Moderno*, September 1929.

[215] Babikian, "Civilisation and Education in Syria and Lebanon," 62.

[216] *La Syrie*, August 6, 1927, in "Progetto di legge libanese sui giuochi d'azzardo e duo ritiro," *Oriente Moderno*, September 1927.

French mandate source for instance claimed in 1928 that "Djezzine has been completely transformed."[217]

3.2.3. Developing Beirut: Making of the capital and attractions

The ambition of touristic development and modernization was not only limited to *centres d'estivage* but also concerned Beirut. For tourists travelling by sea, Beirut was an important landing destination – functioning as one of the main ports on the Eastern Mediterranean coastline. It was, however, not necessarily a touristic destination *per se*, as contemporary tourism advocates queried. In the Baedeker guidebook, they argued, Beirut was only considered a staging post and even summerers used Beirut mainly as a point of arrival on the way to the mountain, a place to seek further information in one of the several tourism offices located at the *Place des Canons*, rent a car or take a taxi. Turning Beirut into a touristic destination thus became a new focus of developmentalist efforts. This included efforts to spur the building of what was deemed modern hotels, embellish urban spaces, as well as the construction of tourist attractions such as the Hippodrome.

Beirut underwent a range of urban transformations throughout the mandate era, as French mandate authorities sought to use the city as means to showcase the benefits of empire.[218] It is not within the scope of this thesis to delve into these transformations in detail. Rather, I want to highlight how considerations of tourism shaped efforts of urban planning. In 1926, Leon Cayla, French governor of Greater Lebanon, asserted that he and then-High Commissioner Henri de Jouvenel shared the belief of governmental intervention in "modernizing" Beirut for reasons of tourism. "Pour attirer

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[217] [Haut-Commissariat], *La Syrie et le Liban sous l'Occupation*, 279.

[218] See for example Maya Yahya, "Unnamed Modernisms: National Ideologies and Historical Imaginaries in Beirut's Urban Architecture" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005).

les étrangers, il faut une ville présentable, il faut des artères spacieuses, des magasins, des égouts, des trottoirs…toutes ces questions ressortissent à l'urbanisme que pour aujourd'hui nous laisserons de côté."[219] Rhetorically, these efforts were entwined with the claim of making Beirut a capital. In 1929, M. Aboussouan proclaimed in a ministerial declaration the pledge to provide further governmental funds for the "*aménagement*" and "embellishment" of Beirut to develop tourism.

> Le Liban peut prétendre à faire de sa capitale l'un des centres les plus attrayants de la Méditerranée orientale. Le tourisme qui est l'une des ses principales ressources ne peut être développée dans toute son ampleur qu'a condition de transformer la ville de Beyrouth. Un grand pas a déjà été fait dans ce sens, mais l'oeuvre qui reste à accomplir est encore trop disproportionnée aux ressources budgétaires ordinaires dont la Municipalité de cette ville dispose. Or, il faut notamment qu'elles puisse être en mesure de prolonger sa place publique jusqu'au port de réaliser son réseau d'égouts, de construire des nouvelles halles et de nouvelles abattoirs, d'élargir ses artères principales, d'asphalter ou de couvrir d'un revêtement solite (sic!) et propre toutes ses rues, de terminer le boulevard circulaire déjà amorcé au bord de la mer, de créer des jardins publics, d'aider l'industrie hotelière, enfin de procéder à tous les travaux d'aménagement et d'embellissement qui achèveront de lui donner la physionomie d'une cite moderne.[220]

Parliamentarians had a particular focus on Beirut, by arguing it to be "the capital" and therefore of concern to every "Lebanese "– the idea that a modern nation required a modern capital: "Tout libanais où qu'il se trouve doit s'intéresser à la capitale du Liban et s'efforcer d'en faire l'un des centres les plus attrayants de la Méditerranée orientale."[221]

Enhancing the touristic appeal of Beirut was likewise entangled with the perceived need to build and promote tourist attractions, "worthy of a capital." One of the flagship projects for tourism advocates were the racecourses located in east

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[219] "Le tourisme au Grand Liban," *Correspondance d'Orient*, February 1926.

[220] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires*, *Chambre des Députés*, November 22, 1929.

[221] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires*, *Chambre des Députés*, November 22, 1929. Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires*, *Chambre des Députés*, December 16, 1929.

Beirut.[222] The making of the Hippodrome, which was rhetorically deemed as being of national symbolism, was conceived in public-private partnerships, envisioned and promoted by members of the urban bourgeoisie with financial support of the colonial state. Founded in 1916 as the *Société Anonyme du Club et Casino de Beirut Ottomane,* the Hippodrome's weekly horseraces were touted as touristic attractions throughout the mandate era.[223] The building of the racecourses was however finalized after the war in 1922, organized by the renamed *Société du Parc*. The project was financed by its main shareholders, which included the Beirut municipality as well as members of Beirut's bourgeoisie from across the political spectrum.[224] Throughout the mandate era, the Hippodrome, which included a musical kiosk and a casino, regularly hosted events, which included weekly horse races, as well as parades. Promoted as societal events, in particular the horseraces attracted a number of spectators. The horses were owned by many of the Hippodrome's shareholders themselves, but also coming from across the region.[225] As photographs infer, spectators could buy standing ranks or be seating on the tribune during the racecourses and gamble on the outcome of races.[226] Tourism advocates, many of whom were shareholders of the Hippodrome, regularly touted the racecourses as a tourist attraction – one that contributed to the renommée of the nation. In particular in correspondence with the colonial state – be it in the context of debates

[222] Other projects were for example the national museum,. In 1923, a philanthropic group called *amis du musée* formed under the lead of Jacques Tabet, whose committee included Alfred Sursock and Henri Pharaon. As Heghnar Watenpaugh has argued these plans were devised to provide spaces where national history could be consumed by "citizen-spectators." The national museum, despite not being opened until the early 1930's, "was inserted into the larger network of international tourism and its commodification of historic and artistic objects. Firmly entrenched in the tourist economy of the republic, it constituted the necessary first stop for any visitor to the country." Heghnar Watenpaugh, "Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon," in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives,* ed. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 187, 198. See as well Kaufmann, *Reviving Phoenicia*, 123.

[223] PAAS, Carton 36, *Rapport du Conseil d'Administration à l'assemblée générale ordinaire de la Société du Parc de Beyrouth,* March 26, 1942.

[224] Among the shareholders of the Hippodrome were for example Sami al-Fakhouri, Ahmed Beyhum, Omar Daouk, Philipp Pharaon. PAAS, Carton 36 Assemblé Générale Extraordinaire, July 1921.

[225] Hippodrome du Parc de Beyrouth, *Annuaire des Courses de la Saison 1933-1934* (Beirut: Imprimérie Anghélil, [1933]).

[226] See photographs in the private archive of the Sursock family.

over taxes levied against the racecourses, or with regard to state initiatives to prohibit gambling – the shareholders emphasized the value of the Hippodrome for Beirut as a national capital and the nation more broadly. From the early 1920 onwards, shareholders of the Hippodrome, requesting tax exemptions, proclaimed the racecourses as an enterprise of "public interest" conceived in in the spirit of "pure patriotism;"[227] an institution that enhanced the appeal of Beirut as a "modern" capital while likewise providing employment for numerous workers.

3.2.4. Claiming ruins and landscapes

Beyond the development of *centres d'estivage* and Beirut, the making of a tourist destination called Lebanon likewise hinged on heightened efforts to protect its natural landscapes and what was deemed "historical" ruins. Tourism advocates and representatives of the colonial state alike spearheaded preservationist efforts, invoking a shared rhetoric of national interest. The principle idea undergirding these preservationist efforts built on an understanding that natural landscapes and historical ruins formed "national treasures" – unique features of the land and remnants of a shared past, deemed to inspire future generations with allegiance for the nation. Therefore ruins and landscapes needed adequate designation and devotion as symbols of the nation. "Nos ruines et nos sites historiques forment des buts admirables aux promenades et aux excursions," Jacques Tabet wrote in 1924, "Mais sont-ils catalogués ? Le touriste qui débarque chez nous, a-t-il un manuel pour se renseigner brièvement sur leur histoire et les lieux où ils se trouvent ? Les connaissons-nous nous-mêmes ? Le Gouvernement a-t-il dressé un inventaire de ces biens si précieux de la Nation ?"[228] Preservationist efforts

[227] PAAS, Carton 36, Letter by the President of the Société du Parc de Beyrouth to the Governor of Greater Lebanon, November 10, 1922.
[228] Tabet, *Pour faire du Liban la Suisse du Levant*, 59.

found expression in particular in legal efforts of protection, but also efforts to enhance accessibility.

From the early 1920s onwards, tourism advocates publicly lamented for example the deprecate state of Baalbek, urging the state to invest in its preservation.[229] For proponents of Greater Lebanon, such as Michel Chiha, Baalbek constituted an important feature to a Lebanese space and identity.[230] In particular as a Roman-heritage site, it was claimed as a proof of the antique foundations of a Lebanese nation. The question of whether it was a part of Lebanese national history or Syrian history remained highly disputed throughout the mandate era, indeed the question of whether it was supposed to be a part of Greater Lebanon was however disputed.[231]

Also the palace of Beiteddine was considered a "national treasure" that needed funding to be preserved. Rhetorically, these demands ripe with national symbolism: the idea that ruins and monuments were proof of the historical ancestry. The colonial state acknowledged a necessity of preserving ruins. In 1927, for example, the parliament of the Republic of Lebanon decided on contributing funds to preserve the building of Beiteddine for its "historical value."[232]

In general, touristic development in the 1920s sought to consolidate Greater Lebanon as a space. Roads as part of a larger framework of infrastructure constituted an integral part in the production of national space as the "modalities of spatialization included the institution and workings of a massive web of transportation (…) structures that integrated and demarcated (…) a unit of state governance."[233] However, the infrastructural *aménagement* in the context of tourism was ripe with a structural

[229] See for example Kanawaty "Baalbek menacée. L'Appel des Ruines" *Revue du Liban*, October 1928.
[230] Michel Chiha,"Résurrection," *Le Réveil*, September 1, 1920.
[231] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 27.
[232] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Sénat,* December 5, 1927.
[233] Goswami, *Producing India*, 8.

unevenness, despite the claims to a consolidate Greater Lebanon.[234] It was only the building of specific roads – those interconnecting ruins and *centres d'estivage* – that became the focus of state work. The development of a road infrastructure interconnecting Beirut as the capital with the places deemed tourist sights was closely linked with the idea of making specific places accessible in general. (Scouts for example would pride themselves to explore destinations that were 'off the beaten track' of the developmentalist ambitions of tourism.[235]) This uneven development of tourism in spatial terms was strongly critiqued by representatives of the marginalized territories – or at least those that had come to accept Greater Lebanon and the colonial state as a framework. In spatial terms, touristic development was concentrated largely in the mountain and in Beirut. Most of the *centres d'estivage* were located in Mount Lebanon, while none were in *Jabal 'Amil* or Akkar, something that both inhabitants in the South as well as their representatives critiqued. For example, the parliamentarian Youssef al-Zein argued in 1927:

> Je ne vois pas que l'ancien Liban et les autres régions qui y ont été rattachés soient plus doués au point de vue de leur situation et de leur climat que les régions du Liban Sud. Je ne vois pas non plus que cette préférence avec laquelle le gouvernement traite les autres contrées du pays notamment l'ancien Liban soit conforme à l'égalité. Le gouvernement aurait dû au moins une fois, faire preuve d'une juste répartition des bénéfices et de prévoir au budget des crédits qui seront affectés a la création d'une seule route au moins au Liban sud qui est l'unique région du Liban dépourvue de moyens de communications. (…) Messieurs, vous étiez au courant des efforts déployés en vue de l'amélioration des stations d'estivage. La propagande menée à cet effet a été très couteuse. Les sociétés de villégiature ont été encouragées par tous les moyens, tout cela pour procurer au pays un bénéfice moral et économique. Est-il juste que certains contrées soient seules admises à profiter de ces efforts ? Pourquoi le Liban sud aurait-il pas encore sa part ? Il n'est pas moins doué que les autres parties du Liban à tous les points de vue, pourquoi ne le traite-t-on pas sur le même pied d'égalité que les autres régions ? Je n'y vois d'autre cause que l'indifférence du gouvernement qui ne veut pas se donner la peine de s'occuper de ses intérêts en y créant des routes conduisant aux stations d'estivage qui sont sans pareil au Liban. Les monuments historiques et les emplacements des découvertes archéologiques ne peuvent être visités qu'à cheval ou à dos d'âne ou de mulet.

[234] Goswami, *Producing India*, 9.
[235] I owe this insight to Joseph Leidy.

> Comment donc interpréter l'attitude du gouvernement à ce sujet ? Les libanais du sud n'ont-ils donc pas raison de dire que le gouvernement a supprimé le mot « égalité »de la constitution ? que dire encore de l'opinion des ulémas : et de l'élite du sud qui commencent à avoir des soupçons sur la conduite du gouvernement ?[236]

The focus on integrating in particular the city and the mountain, rather than the "annexed" territories of Greater Lebanon in the 1920s tied in with a specific conception of a Lebanese nation, as will be discussed in the following.

3.3. Tourism campaigns

Efforts of touristic development in the 1920s were matched by the launching of tourism campaigns. These tourism campaigns, I argue, served as claim-making to a Lebanese nation within its colonial boundaries. The following chapter analyses tourism campaigns with regard to how a destination called Lebanon was conceptualized, arguing that tourism advocates claimed a specific conception of Lebanon as a territorially bounded and historically rooted national entity through touristic representation, forging a "novel liaison of history, territory, and identity."[237] Tourism campaigns sought to display the virtues of a destination called Lebanon, epitomized through what was claimed as its natural beauties and historic significance. In general terms, tourism campaigns revolved around key themes such as natural features, historical sites, and the affordance of modern leisure activities, all of which were of particular significance in the context of tourism. Natural landscapes and views were considered hallmarks of summering and what was deemed as "historical" ruins of particular attraction to sightseeing. But what constituted a "historical" site and a

[236] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, December 6, 1927.
[237] Goswami, *Producing India*, 166.

"natural feature" became a matter of national identity. Tourism advocates claimed natural features – in particular the mountain – as symbols of the uniqueness of a Lebanese nation. Ruins in turn were turned into symbols of a national historical narrative.

Tourism campaigns as propaganda

Contemporary observers referred to tourism campaigns as "propaganda" – conceiving of them as a matter of national significance and the production of tourism propaganda as a patriotic act. It was the idea that promoting a tourist destination called Lebanon was an act of working towards the good of a nation. In particular the V.M.L. Tourist Company's campaigns were heralded in the contemporary press. Considering the making of tourism campaigns as a patriotic act owes to the development that going on holidays was made a growingly national matter and the V.M.L. used their campaigns as a means to promulgate a Lebanon as a tourist destination, in particular for its Egyptian audience: "Allons au Liban, il nous rend notre argent," the company's guidebook proclaimed in 1927, "Le Liban rend à L'Égypte l'argent de ses éstiveurs. C'est donc à faire oeuvre patriotique que de le préférer à tout autre lieu d'estivage. Et n'oubliez pas qu'en vous rendant votre argent, il vous donne aussi la santé et la vigeur qui permettra de doubler votre activité dans tous les domaines de la production."[238] Praising tourism as an integral part of modern, national life and productivity, an understanding of national economy and spaces, the question of "where to go on holidays" became a national matter and the V.M.L. acted as a promoter of Lebanon as a tourist destination, while simultaneously claiming authenticity of their campaigns. Although there was a propagandistic dimension to tourism campaigns, tourism advocates did push back against too politicized a framing of their work, wishing tourism

[238] Société de Villégiature, *Guide...pour 1927*, 10.

promotion to be rather understood as scientifically grounded. “Ce guide, déstiné à favoriser l’estivage au Liban,” a guidebook from V.M.L. in 1925 read on its introductory pages, “n’est nullement une oeuvre simple de propagande, mais plutôt un recueil d’Etudes sur l’ancienne terre phénicienne au point de vue climatérique, archéologique et sanitaire.”[239] It was the aim to present tourism propaganda not as much as publicity but rather as the claim to an authenticity and there remained a constant tension between acknowledging the necessity for tourism propaganda and arguing over the “right” representation, yet presenting it as an authentic appraisal.

In general, tourism campaigns in the 1920s pivoted around two themes: summering in the mountain and historical sightseeing. Although guidebooks continued to feature places beyond Greater Lebanon, they served as a means to claim a conception of Lebanon as nation within its colonial boundaries. The main motto of tourism campaigns was the presentation of “Lebanon as the Switzerland of the East” – a maxim that invoked simultaneously the natural features of the mountain and the contemporary reputation of Switzerland as a famed destination for tourism. Switzerland enjoyed a reputation akin to a touristic mecca since the nineteenth century – an acclaimed destination a bourgeoisie from all over Europe and beyond in search of the health benefits towards its mountains and it was not only Lebanon that sought to promote itself as the next Switzerland.[240]

The mondaine mountain: Lebanon as the mountain

Attendant to the notion of “Lebanon as the Switzerland of the East” was the promulgation of summer resorts in the mountain. Contemporary guidebooks touted

[239] Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Année 1925*, 3.
[240] Shaffer, *See America First*, 71.

centres d'estivage such as Aley, Bhamdoun, Dhour el-Choueïr, and Ain Sofar for their affordances of natural surroundings and views, alongside the availing of *mondaine* amusements and pastime activities. Guidebooks' covers regularly featured stylized mountain landscapes, greened with flowers and trees overlooking the Mediterranean and text passages poetically presented a destination consisting of valleys, waterfalls, and forests, alluding to a conception of Lebanon as a "natural resort."[241]

The guidebook "Lebanon – the ideal summer resort" for example argued that "to those seeking rest and tranquility, the mountains offer delightful little hamlets, nestling high up on the hill-side, surrounded by forests of pine trees, where crystalline cascades of ice-cold water sing a continual lullaby of peace. The visitor can fancy himself miles away from civilization and the teeming life of cities."[242] The defining principle being the notion that the modern tourist, and in particular summerers, sought the soothing climates and natural features of the mountain as a restorative surrounding. Bhamdoun, for example, was advertised in the guidebook as "surrounded by vineyards, it is an ideal spot for persons seeking relaxation and rest after a strenuous period of work."[243] It likewise became a significant feature of the bourgeois imagery since the nineteenth century, which considered nature as the authentic antipode to modern life and shaping in return a specific bourgeois cultural

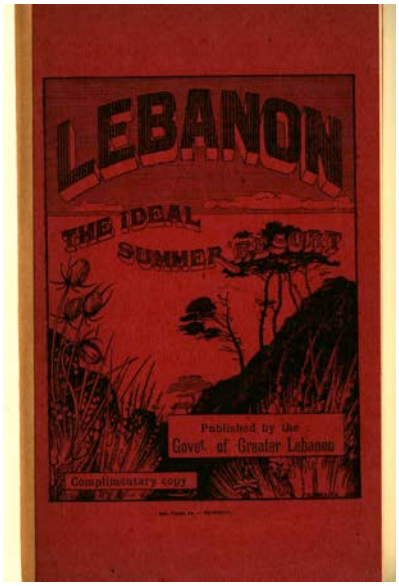


Fig. 2

[241] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort,* cover. Fig. 2.
[242] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort,* 9-10.
[243] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort,* 21-22.

outlook.[244] Guidebooks listed natural features, as well as altitude as the defining virtues of *centres d'estivage* and the mountains became the main object of tourism campaigns for attracting the summering clientele. The V.M.L.'s envelope featured a romanticized scenery of the mountain with sun rays, village and a cedar.[245]

Fig. 3

The focus on natural features of the mountain was likewise of national symbolism: the idea that the mountain was the kernel of a destination called Lebanon. It was the assertion that a destination called Lebanon was rooted in the natural features of the mountain and available to the tourist to experience. Presenting *estivage* as a reinvigorating activity for the middle classes for which the mountains provided the ideal surrounding, a central dimension to holidays were leisure activities and in particular guidebooks praised the possibility of going on promenades, picnics under pine trees and venture in the automobile on scenic excursions.[246] "The Lebanon Mountains are covered by roads in all directions," the same guidebook argued, "and nearly every little hamlet can be reached by car. Therefore, touring possibilities are greatly extended, and intending visitors can roam at will, visiting all sorts of out of the way, picturesque

[244] Green, *The Spectacle of Nature*. The affordance of nature was closely entangled with the development of health resorts, and throughout the 1920s, a range of sanatoriums such as in Bhannes were built. And guidebooks regularly featured the "virtues" of certain places for their healing impact on heart, urinary, liver, lung, and stomach problems, amnesias. One of the postal services' imprints on envelopes for example read: "Le Liban c'est la santé." Emblematically, tourism campaigns featured an emphasis of mountain panoramas and scenic views, alongside indications of altitude and springs. Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Année 1925*, 27.

[245] Courtesy of Fadi Maasarani. Fig. 3.

[246] Société de Villégiature, *Guide...pour l'année 1923*.

hamlets and sites."[247] One photograph, published in a guidebook by the V.M.L. in 1923, for example, depicted a group of fifteen summerers picnicking in Kafr Akab. The group, which included men, women, and children, posing for the photograph, performatively pouring drinks into a glass and idly laying on the ground.[248]

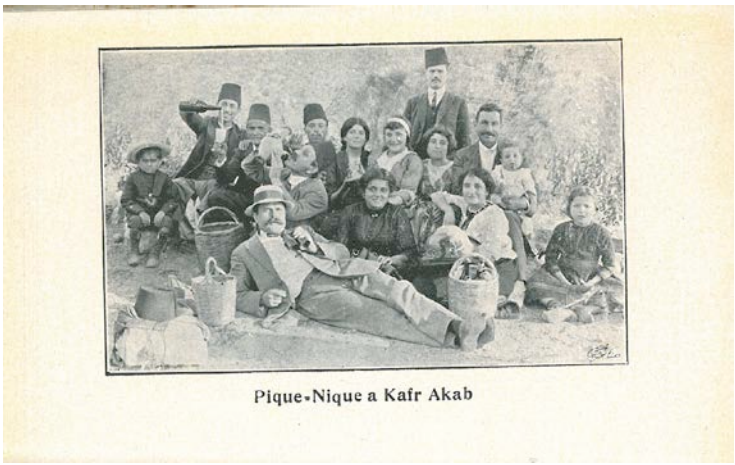


Fig. 4

Simultaneously, guidebooks proclaimed *centres d'estivage* to offer leisure activities that provided the profits of societal life and festivities.

> Those who have been stationed in some dull place, and who long for a life of gaiety and of movement, can choose ideal summer resorts, where life is a continual round of pleasures, where music and dancing alternate with picnic parties, where casinos and gaming saloons are to the fore. Finally those people blessed with the "Wanderlust" can spend an ideal holiday, roaming from place to place, spending a few days in one spot, and just through another, tied down to no special program, or schedule, but taking the days as they come and obeying solely their whims and inclinations. [249]

Beyond the virtues of nature and the restorative affordance of summering, festivities and what was deemed *mondaine* pastime activities formed the second hallmark of *centres d'estivage*, which were regular sites of festivities and beauty pageants. Guidebooks listed the availability of casinos, cinemas, and bars, the

[247] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort*, 29.
[248] Société de Villégiature, *Guide...pour l'année 1923*. Fig. 4.
[249] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort*, 9-10.

availability of "the best Egyptian comedies," soap operas and *variété* theaters.[250] Advertising for example Ain Sofar as the place where the "aristocracy" socialized. The main focus lay on *centres d'estivage* and Beirut was mainly featured as "a modern, bustling city" and "within easy reach" of the summer resorts the tourist could easily venture in an automobile to make all necessary "purchases" in the markets.[251] The conception of summering was constituted as a "societal" activity and a defining practice for the middle and upper classes. Indeed, the very conception of *being bourgeois* rested significantly on practicing tourism.

History and historical sites: Sightseeing

Alongside nature and natural virtues, tourism campaigns placed an emphasis on what was deemed "historical" sites and ruins as tourist attractions. History constituted a contested terrain throughout the mandate era and beyond, and tourism guides in the 1920s oscillated between various narratives, which framed their evocations of what was deemed a "historical site."[252] Certainly, most tourism campaigns did not provide encompassing "histories" but rather framed ruins in certain ways. Put differently, as Marguerite Shaffer has argued, guidebooks "do not simply celebrate a generic ideal of history, they defined a very particular narrative of (…) history by deliberately selecting and presenting certain historical facts."[253] In general, sightseeing tourism as it was advertised in the 1920s, spanned the whole territory under French mandate rule. The V.M.L.'s "Tourist Book" (1924), catering more discretely to a sightseeing clientele aiming to venture on package tours, devised an encompassing program for tourists

[250] Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Année 1925,* 5.
[251] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort,* 28.
[252] See for example Axel Havemann, *Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung im Libanon des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Formen und Funktionen des historischen Selbstverständnisses* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2002).
[253] Shaffer, *See America First,* 194.

embarking on sightseeing tours. And in the historical section they provided a narrative that was about "aggrandization" of space versus "division" of space, reading about the current delineation of Syria and Lebanon as products of World War I: "After the victory of the Allies in the Great War, Syria and the Labanon [sic!] were put under French influence. The Labanon [sic!] was aggrandized and formed into what is said to be an independent state, with Beirut as its capital. The state is now known as the 'Grand Liban'."[254] Syria, in contrast, was described as partitioned into different states: "Syria was divided into four states, forming the Syrian federation, with Damascus as the capital."[255] Their history, however, was presented as a "shared" one.

> The situation of the two countries is unique. On the one hand, the Labanon stretches along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, with Beirut as an excellent harbor, and, on the other, Damascus which borders the Syrian Desert, across which latter caravans loaded with Mesopotamian, Persian, Indian, and Chinese produce used to make their way to the time honored city, there to have the goods transported to the Phoenician coast and distributed in Phoenician ships to all the countries bordering the Mediterranean. They were even carried as far as England. In this way these countries formed, in olden days the link between the East and the West, and contributed considerably to the world's civilization. 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 Bagdad. [256]

Also the guidebook published by the colonial state in 1925, emphasized World War I as a rupture of political and cultural spaces, invoking Beiteddine as the "old capital of Lebanon," in contrast to Beirut "the capital of Greater Lebanon."[257] And likewise similar to the guidebook of the VML, a limited notice on historical sites to visit for summerers was included, featuring Damascus, Palmyra, and Baalbek as places for excursions: Palmyra and Baalbek were listed as worthwhile sightseeing destinations to

[254] Société de Villégiature, *The Tourist's Book* [1924], 47.
[255] Société de Villégiature, *The Tourist's Book* [1924], 47.
[256] Société de Villégiature, *The Tourist's Book* [1924], 48.
[257] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort*, 9-10.

visit the “exquisite” and “world famous” ruins.[258] Damascus “the city of the Ommiads” was proclaimed as an ideal destination to visit its “Oriental bazaars,” “mosques” and “beautiful orchards.”[259] A city that “silent and dreaming, always dreaming through many moods, ever dreaming (…) retains its oriental hall-mark and civilization.”[260] Although tourism campaigns often placed a greater import on Damascus as a city of Islamic tradition, they did not necessarily represent Lebanon as a “Christian” country. For example, the guidebook of 1927 likewise included a photograph of Deir el-Kamar with a mosque.[261]

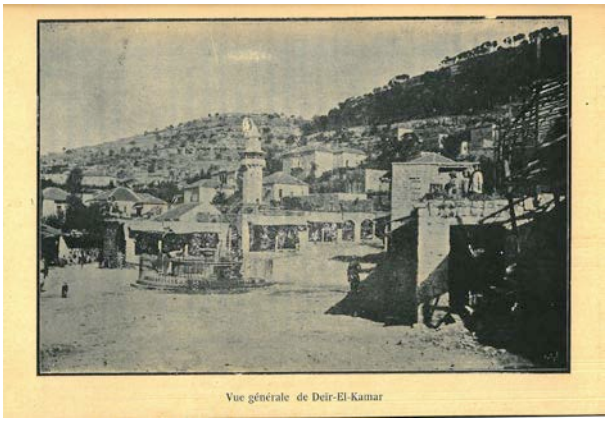


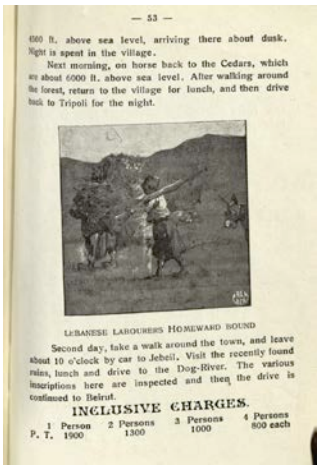
Fig. 5

Claiming a Lebanese subjectivity

While there remained until the mid-1920s an epistemological distinction between Lebanon and Greater Lebanon, tourism campaigns claimed the conception of a Lebanese subjectivity. For instance, the V.M.L. featured the scene of peasants and a donkey carrying wood and hay through a hilly area, captioned “Lebanese labourers homeward bound,” in one of its guidebooks (1924).[262] Inserted alongside the

[258] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort,* 11-12, 15.
[259] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort,* 13.
[260] Government of Greater Lebanon, *Lebanon the Ideal Summer Resort,* 12-13.
[261] *Guide de l’estivage au Liban 1927,* ed. Les services économiques Libanais. (Beirut : Imprimerie Catholique, 1927). Fig. 5.
[262] Société de Villégiature, *The Tourist’s Book* [1924], 53. Fig. 6.

promulgation of horseback tours to the Cedars and the village Bescharre, the image was pictorially juxtaposed with etchings of "a beduin woman," "a beduin of the Beka'a" and sketches of ruins as well as castles.[263]


— 53 —

1000 ft. above sea level, arriving there about dusk. Night is spent in the village.

Next morning, on horse back to the Cedars, which are about 6000 ft. above sea level. After walking around the forest, return to the village for lunch, and then drive back to Tripoli for the night.

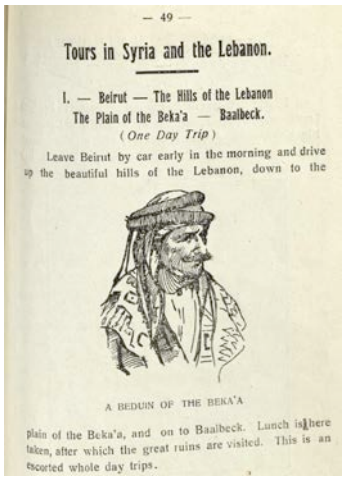
LEBANESE LABOURERS HOMEWARD BOUND

Second day, take a walk around the town, and leave about 10 o'clock by car to Jebeil. Visit the recently found ruins, lunch and drive to the Dog-River. The various inscriptions here are inspected and then the drive is continued to Beirut.

INCLUSIVE CHARGES.

	1 Person	2 Persons	3 Persons	4 Persons
P. T.	1900	1300	1000	800 each

Fig. 6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Tours in Syria and the Lebanon.

I. — Beirut — The Hills of the Lebanon
The Plain of the Beka'a — Baalbeck.
(*One Day Trip*)

Leave Beirut by car early in the morning and drive up the beautiful hills of the Lebanon, down to the

A BEDUIN OF THE BEKA'A

plain of the Beka'a, and on to Baalbeck. Lunch is there taken, after which the great ruins are visited. This is an escorted whole day trips.

Fig. 7

The V.M.L. featured in their tourism campaigns in the 1920s stylized symbols of Lebanon: the Cedar and mountain village at the board of the Mediterranean in relation to Egypt: represented through a sphinx and pyramids.[264]

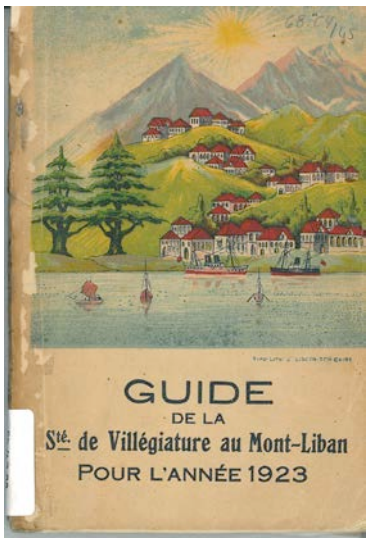

Fig. 8

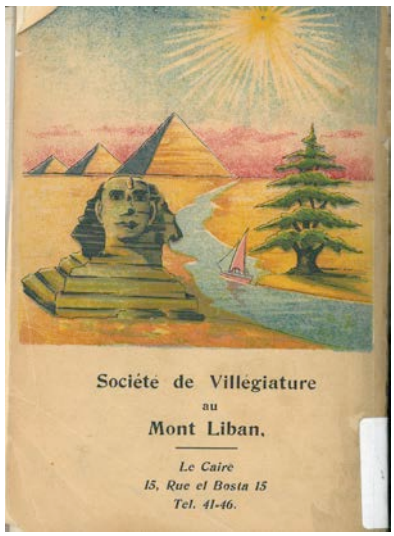

Fig. 9

263 Société de Villégiature, *The Tourist's Book* [1924], 53. Fig. 7.
264 Société de Villégiature, *Guide...pour l'année 1923*. Fig. 8 and Fig. 9.

Another guidebook's back of the brochure depicted a map of the Mediterranean basin stretching from Egypt to the North of Lebanon.[265] Sea routes and railway lines being imprinted on the map, the cartographic depiction of the lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea shored up the geography of the Levant. "Syria", "Lebanon," "Palestine," and "Egypt" were delineated by means of borders, which sinuously defined the cartographic space as respectively. Below the map, three small etchings depicted, the Sphinx and the pyramids, a ship and a train in motion, as well as a Cedar. Egypt being associated with the pyramids, the Cedars symbolized Lebanon. But in terms of space, the conception of Lebanon remained mountain-centric.

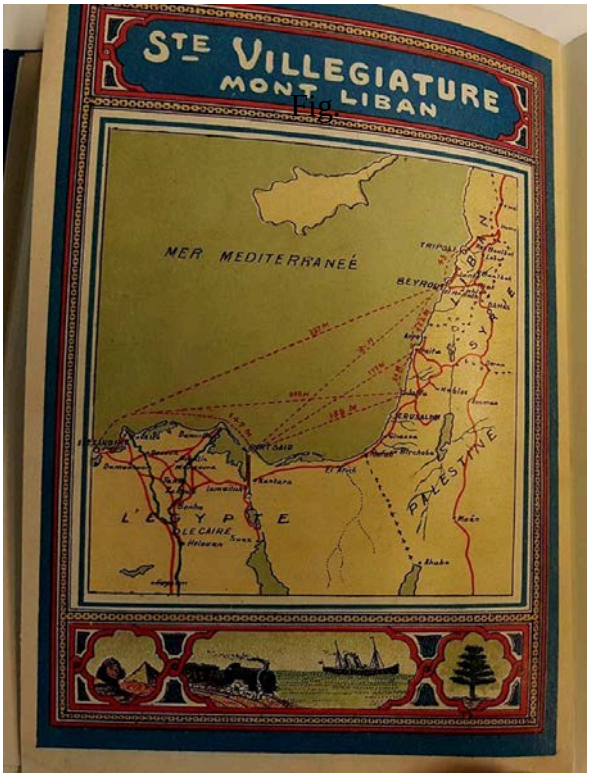

Fig. 10

Striking about tourism campaigns in the 1920s was the continuing distinction in nomenclature as well as imagined spaces, between "Lebanon" and "Greater Lebanon." Greater Lebanon as a political entity as the territorial basis for building a nation-state gained growing traction in the 1920s and one guidebook even printed the definition of the French mandate authorities about the limits of the state as "natural."[266] However, in

[265] Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Année 1925*. Fig. 10.

[266] Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Année 1925*, 7-8. "En vertu de l'arrêté No. 318 du 31 Août 1920, l'Etat du Grand Liban a été fixé dans ses limites naturelles : Au nord de l'embouchure du Nahr el Kébir, une ligne suivant le cours de ce fleuve jusqu'à son point de jonction avec son affluent le Ouade

the 1920s the imagination of overlapping spaces remained powerful. Greater Lebanon was conceived as a political entity, while Lebanon meant the mountain. Also Syria remained confined to what was deemed historic Syria. The tourist geography outlined in the guidebooks constituted *la Syrie française*, as some maps invoked.[267] Not only advertisements in the guidebooks invoked regularly Beirut as being located in Syria, but also some maps continued to feature Syria as one space.[268] And also the ruins of Baalbek were sometimes deemed as the "les plus importantes et les plus grandioses de la Syrie."[269] And hotels featured photographs with "Hotel Casino-Ain Sofar, Mont Liban, Syrie."[270]

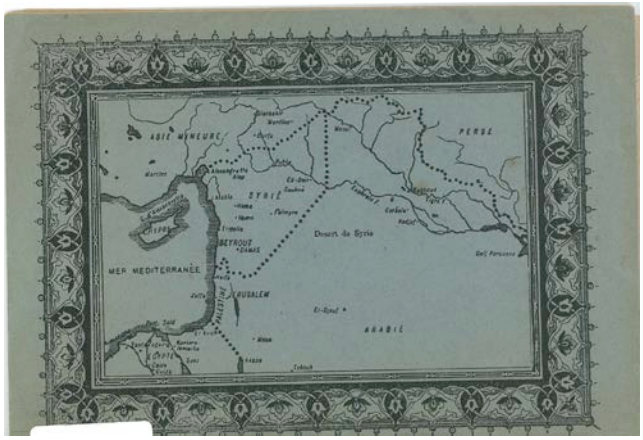

Fig. 11

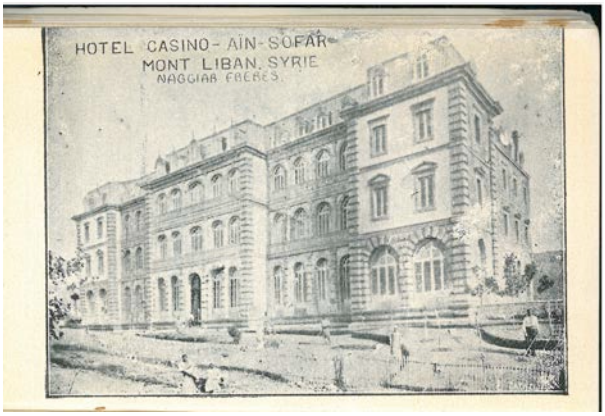

Fig. 12

el Khalid à hauteur de Djisr el Kamar. A l'Est la ligne de faîte séparant les vallées du Ouade Khaled et de l'Oronte (Nahr el Assi) et passant par les villages de Alesra et Harbaana Hait Ebbidj-Faissen, à hauteur des villages de Brifa et Matrebeh ; cette ligne suit la limite nord du caza de Baalbeck, en direction nord-ouest, sud et puis les limites Est des cazas de Baalbeck Beckaa, Rachaya, Hasbaya. Au Sud, la frontière Palestine (Ras el Nakoura). A l'ouest, la Méditerranée."

267 Société de Villégiature, *Guide...pour 1927*. Fig. 11.

268 Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Année 1925*.

269 Société de Villégiature, *Guide…Année 1925*, 26.

270 Société de Villégiature, *Guide...pour l'année 1923*. Fig. 12.

Put differently, the tourism campaigns of the 1920s provide a window into how spaces were conceptualized. While the tourism campaigns accommodated new political constructs carved out under colonial rule the socio-spatial imaginations of the nineteenth century "echoed loudly."[271] Guidebooks reiterated the conception of Syria as a cultural space of historical imagination, however rescaled growingly along the lines of the French mandate territory, excluding Palestine. The multitude of overlapping spaces – cultural and political – is perhaps best illustrated in the distinction between Greater Lebanon as a political construct and Lebanon as a culturally imagined space. There remained a difference between what Manu Goswami has called the "colonial state-space" and the imagination of a "national space."

[271] Schayegh, *The Middle East and the Making of the Modern World*.

4. NATIONALIZING COLONIAL BOUNDARIES 1930-1939

While the 1920s saw efforts of consolidating Greater Lebanon, the 1930s saw a growing move towards nationalization of space. After the constitution of 1926, the distinction between the colonial boundaries of Greater Lebanon and the Republic of Lebanon withered away and gave way to the conception of a nation called Lebanon within its colonial boundaries. As Cyrus Schayegh has argued, the early 1930s more generally propelled a maturation of nationalist movements, including the increasing mobilization of the masses.[272] The national mobilization of the masses also affected tourism. Tourism advocates growingly concerned themselves with festivals and spectacles as rituals of nationalism and "the youth" as an audience. For some tourism advocates like Charles Corm and Emile Eddé, the nationalization entailed a recourse towards a "Christian" Lebanon. While another faction of Lebanese nationalists such as Michel Chiha embraced a vision of Lebanon as a "haven for minorities."[273] This is reflected in Lebanese nationalists push towards nationalizing colonial boundaries as tourism campaigns began to feature the Bekaa and Tripoli as a part of Lebanon and also embraced representations of Muslim sites. However, the mountain remained the kernel of Lebanon as a hierarchy of places continued to exist. The nationalization of Lebanon also played out among other political groups, when representatives of *Jabal 'Amil* began to accept the republican state as the political framework to lobby for their respective demands.

4.1. Tourism advocates and actors

[272] Schayegh, *The Middle East and the Making of the Modern World*, 200-202.
[273] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 37.

4.1.1. The colonial state

In the course of the 1920s, the Lebanese colonial state matured significantly. By the mid-1930s, the institutions of the colonial state employed around 13.000 local functionaries in all territories under French rule; Yet, colonial politics remained controlling.[274] In 1929, the French mandate authorities granted Greater Lebanon a parliament, only to take it away again in 1932.[275] Additionally, the French suspended the constitutions several times. In general, the political scene of the republic remained complicated, as the political bickering and nepotism among different political factions paralyzed the colonial state.[276] In particular the political rivalry between Emile Eddé and Bescharra al-Khoury drew much of the political scene into its fold. These fights were ultimately fights over what a Lebanese nation was supposed to be. Although the bourgeoisie was at the heart of these conflicts, its members were growingly frustrated with the paralysis of the state institutions, as with French colonial policies, which favored concessions to French businesses over local investments.[277]

In 1929, furthermore, the Great Depression hit the mandate territories, affecting all social classes.[278] As the import and export of goods plummeted, and the clash-flow from emigrants into the country sunk, unemployment rose.[279] On the streets, anger about soaring costs of living led to protests and collective boycotts. Public outcry growingly targeted both French mandate rule and the Lebanese government.[280] Also the tourist industry was hit by the economic crisis and the number of tourists dropped

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274 Thompson, *Colonial Citizens*, 64. It was, however, only in the late 1930s, that the Republic of Lebanon earned a ministry of tourism and villégiature. Compare Ibrahim Maklouf, ed., *Le Liban Pays d'art et de Tourisme* (Paris: Imprimerie la technique du livre, [1937-38]).

275 Arsan, Schayegh, "Introduction."

276 Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 31.

277 See for example Jackson, "Mandatory Development."

278 Jackson, "Mandatory Development," 289.

279 Schayegh, *The Middle East and the Making of the Modern World*, 204.

280 Carla Eddé, "La Mobilisation Populaire à Beyrouth à l'époque du Mandat (1918–1943): L'apprentissage progressif de la participation," in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 623.

noticeably between 1929-32.[281] Conservative voices in the press were quick to blame public protests for the decline in tourism and *villégiature*, Lebanon's alleged economic panacea.[282] Although the department of economics tried to lobby with steamship companies to reduce travel costs; there efforts remained without much success.[283] As tariffs for travelling from Egypt to Beirut remained higher than for example to Cyprus, the Francophone press bemoaned Lebanon's backsliding as a tourist destination in the international competition with neighboring countries.[284]

The frustration with the colonial state institutions led a range of tourism advocates to seek private initiatives to promote what they continued to deem the most promising sector of a Lebanese economy. Also, employees of the High Commission spearheaded initiatives to develop tourism, often in coordination with associations in the metropole. In 1932, Philippe Bériel, advisor to the department of economics, spearheaded the foundation of a Levantine Section of the *Club Alpine de France* (CAFLS).[285]

4.1.2. Non-state initiatives

While the Touring Club of Syria and Lebanon continued to exist, as did the V.M.L. Tourist Company until the mid-1930s, a range of new non-state initiatives formed in the 1930s in Paris as well as Beirut.[286]

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[281] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 85.

[282] Compare "L'estivage et boycott," *La Syrie*, Mai 29, 1931. See as well "L'Estivage au Liban. Tuera-t-on la poule aux oeufs d'or?" *La Syrie*, June 19, 1932.

[283] Gabriel Menassa, *Plan de Reconstruction de l'Économie Libanaise et de Reforme de l'Etat* (Beirut: Editions de la Société Libanaise d'Économie Politique 1948), 382.

[284] See as well "L'Estivage au Liban. Tuera-t-on la poule aux oeufs d'or?" *La Syrie* (June 19, 1932).

[285] Bériel came to Beirut in the late 1920s, after having served as director of the *services économiques indigènes* in Tunis. Emile Lacroix, "M. Philippe Bériel," *La Petite Tunisie*, February 21, 1927.

[286] The V.M.L. operated until, at least, the mid-1930s, continuing to maintain a phone box in Beirut in 1934. Service des Transmissions de l'Armée, *Annuaire Téléphonique du Levant, Liste des Abonnés Civils au Réseau Téléphonique des Etats sous Mandat Français, 1er Octobre 1934* (Unknown: Imprimerie La Syrie, 1934), 66. Courtesy of Fadi Ghazzaoui.

4.1.2.1. Bureau Syrien et Libanais d'Informations et de Tourisme

Towards the early 1930s, emigrants in Paris became increasingly active in promoting tourism. Among them was Georges Samné, who spearheaded the foundation of the *Bureau Syrien et Libanais d'Informations et de Tourisme*. Born in Mansourah, Samné received his education in Antourah and at the medical school in Beirut, before immigrating to Paris in the late nineteenth century.[287] Residing in the French capital until his untimely death in 1938, Samné not only obtained French citizenship but also became a convinced advocate of French colonialism.[288] Remembered best as a foundational figure of the *Comité Central Syrian* and an advocate for a united Syrian nation during World War I, Samné remained a regular and well-received guest in French colonial circles after 1920, deepening his contacts to the political establishment Samné's writings and continued lobbying efforts suggest that he remained a proponent in Paris through his engagement in various political-cultural associations.[289] Although

[287] The secondary literature often argues that Samné was originally from Damascus as a means to explain his political viewpoints. In his obituary, Christian Samné states that Georges Samné was born in "Mansourah, d'une famille libanaise." While the making of a Lebanese national identity is precisely the topic of this thesis and it is difficult to evaluate whether Samné considered himself "Lebanese" in the late 1930s, it is significant to refute the reductionist line of argumentation that Samné's alleged Damascene origins were to explain his political positions. Compare "Le Docteur Georges Samné" *Correspondance d'Orient*, November-December 1938. Albert Hourani refers to Georges Samné as "Lebanese." Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, 286.

[288] According to his obituary developed patriotic feelings towards France, his "Patrie d'élection," while simultaneously maintaining patriotic inclinations towards what is described as his "petite Patrie." It was this double patriotism, which shaped his political positions. Compare "Le Docteur Georges Samné" *Correspondance d'Orient*, November-December 1938.

[289] In the years bookending World War I, Samné developed in his writings and political activities a vision of a Syria as a political entity, which stretched from "the Taurus to the Sinai, and from the Mediterranean to the Desert." This nation, according to Samné was rooted in a distinct Syrian, non-Arab identity. Samné developed his political vision in his *magnus opum* "La Syrie." Compare Georges Samné, *La Syrie* (Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1921). During his lifetime, Samné was widely recited in France as well as in Beirut, exemplifying his status as a public figure. See for example, Coze, *La Syrie et le Liban*, 17. For further discussions of Samné's political positions see Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, 286. Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 82. Kaufmann, *Reviving Phoenicia*, 82-84. Gérard Khoury, *La France et l'Orient Arabe* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1993), 181-184. Georges Labaki, *Chekri Ghanem. Écrits Politiques* (Beirut: Éditions Dar An-Nahar, 1994), xxv. Tauber, *The Emergence of Arab Movements*, 81-82. Kais Firro, "Lebanese Nationalism versus Arabism: From Bulus Nujaym to Michel Chiha," *Middle Eastern Studies* 6 (2004): 4. In 1908, he established together with a fellow emigrant in Paris, the Francophile composer Chukri Ghanem (1861-1929), the *Comité de l'Orient* (formerly *Amis de l'Orient*), an association, which brought together French colonialists and later also counted Michel Chiha among its members. For a more detailed account of the *Comité de l'Orient* and Samné's ties with French colonial circles see Christopher

Samné remained an advocate of a united Syrian nation under French mandate until the late 1920s, he came to accept the colonial boundaries of Greater Lebanon with Beirut as its capital.[290]

In addition to Samné's political work, tourism constituted a topic of special interest for Samné. His periodical *Correspondance d'Orient* (1905-1945), which covered in particular political and economic affairs for audiences in Paris, Beirut and beyond, regularly covered matters related to tourism in Lebanon and Syria. Furthermore, Samné published articles related to tourism in francophone journals such as the *Revue du Liban* and *La Syrie*.[291] Deemed a central topic, the *Correspondance d'Orient* even ran under the sub-header "Questions Diplomatiques, Coloniales, et Touristiques" in the early 1930s, coinciding with Samné's foundation of his own tourism initiative. The *Bureau Syrien et Libanais d'Informations et de Tourisme* was subsidized by a range of associations and individuals, including several French associations with business ties to the mandates and fostered close contacts with the French government.[292] Initially located close to the *Maison de France* – an institution

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Andrew and A.S. Kanya-Forstner, *France Overseas. The Great War and the Climax of French Imperial Expansion* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 47-52.

290 At the end of World War I and despite his disappointment about the placing of Palestine under British rule, Samné retained a pro-French stance. While initially critiquing the declaration of Greater Lebanon – arguing that Beirut as its capital "cannot logically belong to anyone. Capital of Lebanon is too large a head (*une tête démesurée*) on a small body. Beirut must be a common city and port for everyone in the entirety of Syria" – he conceded that even without Palestine, the mandate territory was sufficiently equipped to form a prosperous nation. For Samné, the ideal national-political entity remained Syria in what he deemed its historical boundaries. Until 1925, the *Comité Central Syrien* ran advertisements proclaiming that the ideal "l'unité nationale par le remembrement de la Syrie intégrale dans ses frontières naturelles qui vont du Sinaï au Taurus, tout en respectant l'indépendance politique du Liban." Georges Samné, "Beyrouth. Ville libre et Port franc," *Correspondance d'Orient,* September 1922. Georges Samné, "L'organisation politique de la Syrie," *L'Europe Nouvelle,* September 12, 1920. Asher Kaufmann has suggested that the *Comité Central Syrien* dissolved in 1920. However, it continued to run advertisements at least until 1925. In Comité Franco-Syrien de propagande pour l'exposition des arts décoratifs, *Syrie et Liban* (Paris: Imprimerie Graphique, 1925).

291 See for example Georges Samné, "Le Tourisme en Syrie et au Liban," *Revue du Liban,* Mai 1929.

292 It is unclear in which year the *Bureau* was founded. The earliest reference in Samné's periodical dates to 1931. The "fondateurs" (engl. founders, sponsors) included: French High Commission, Chambre de Commerce de Paris, Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban, Banque Française de Syrie, Société du Chemin de fer de Damas-Hamah, Compagnie du Port de Beyrouth, Compagnie Messageries Maritimes, Régie Générale de Chemins de fer et Travaux publics, Société des Tramways et Eclairage de Beyrouth, Société d'exploitation du Chemin de fer de Bozanti, Alep, Nissibine et prolongements,

created by the French government in 1931 to centralize tourism across France, which was symbolically situated at the illustrious Champs-Elysées – it was later moved to *Office des Etats du Levant,* where Samné served some time as a director.[293] It was these institutional interconnections as well as Samné's political and ideological convictions that place the *Bureau* at a curious intersection between tourism, emigrant politics, and the colonial politics in the metropole.

For Samné, tourism was both of economic as well as colonial importance – two topics, which he framed as interconnected. Against the backdrop of the continuing fights over the budget for the colonies in 1932, for example, Samné argued the development of tourism and the work of the *Bureau* as a means to further colonial objectives for a French audience. Praising the development of tourism as means of economic development, Samné proclaimed that it would likewise ensure political stability in the mandates and create benevolence towards the French empire.[294] Samné proclaimed that *estivage* not only constituted the ideal means to replace sericulture, ensuring prosperity in particular in Lebanon, but that the development of tourism would quell political unrest, because the population of tourist destinations would refrain from endangering the coming of tourists through political instability.[295] "Nature," Samné argued, "seems to have created Lebanon to correct its injustice vis-à-vis the neighboring

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Société d'Electricité d'Alep, Compagnie Air-Orient, Société Radio-Orient, Société des Tramways et Electricité de Damas, Compagnie Française des Pétroles, Compagnie Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée, Société des Grands Hôtels du Levant, Société des Ciments Libanais, Société industrielle des Asphaltes et Pétroles de Lattaquié, Société des Glacières et Entrepôts frigorifiques du Levant, Compagnie Algérienne, Société de Navigation à vapeur Daher, Derviche Haddad, Aziz Nader, Joseph Edde, Naja Frères à Marseille. As listed in Bureau Syrien et Libanais d'Informations et de Tourisme, *Syrie et Liban. Guide du Touriste* (Paris: Bureau Syrien et Libanais d'Informations et de Tourisme, [1933]), 2. Compare also [Haut-Commissariat de la République française], *Dix ans de Mandat. L'oeuvre française en Syrie et au Liban* (Paris: CGP Éditions, 1931), 49. Jacques de Monicault, *Le Port de Beyrouth et l'économie des pays du Levant sous le mandat français* (Paris: Librairie Technique et Économique, thèse pour le doctorat, Université de Paris, 1936), 179.

293 "Tourisme. La Maison de France," *Correspondance d'Orient,* February 1933. "Tourisme. La Maison de France," *Correspondance d'Orient,* October 1931. Bureau Syrien et Libanais d'Informations et de Tourisme, *Syrie et Liban. Guide du Touriste.*

294 "Estivage et Tourisme dans les Etats du Levant," *Correspondance d'Orient,* March 1932.

295 "Estivage et Tourisme dans les Etats du Levant," *Correspondance d'Orient,* March 1932.

countries." Lebanon's exceptionalism and future, according to Samné, were rooted in the natural features of the mountain. "Lebanon can live happily if he adapts to his natural conditions. (…) [Lebanon's] destiny is to be an immense hotel."[296] Although the main purpose of the *Bureau* was to propagandize Lebanon and Syria as tourist destinations, he also welcomed visitors from the mandates travelling to Paris, thus serving at a conspicuous intersection between the metropole and the mandates.[297] In 1932, Georges Samné recounted welcoming a group of students to guide them through the Colonial Exhibition showing at the time in the French capital. His stated aim was "[to put] young Syrians and Lebanese in contact with the French, in a serene atmosphere, so that the pacific spirit of France can progress orderly."[298]

4.1.2.2. Ibrahim and Emile Maklouf

In the early 1930s, also another group of emigrants in Paris became active and concerned with the development of tourism: Ibrahim and Emile Maklouf. Like Samné, the Makloufs were part of an active and interconnected emigrant community through a variety of political and cultural activities, residing in Paris until 1939.[299]

Particularly significant with regard to tourism was their involvement in the *Comité de Propagande Libano-Syrienne* in Paris, which, established in 1931, encompassed a section devoted to economy and tourism.[300] Also the *Revue du Liban*, their francophone periodical, which, founded in 1928 covered cultural, economic, and

296 "La Constitution Libanaise suspendue," *Correspondance d'Orient,* Mai 1932.

297 "Tourisme. La Maison de France," *Correspondance d'Orient*, October 1931.

298 "Étudiants Syriens et Libanais de Passage en France," *Correspondance d'Orient,* August 1931.

299 Other engagements of the Maklouf brothers included the foundation of the *Cercle Nova Phoenicia* in 1928. In 1936, Ibrahim Maklouf worked as secretary for propaganda in the *Parti d'Unité Libanaise*. According to Kaufmann the Makloufs moved to Beirut in 1939.

300 Emile Maklouf, "Pour le tourisme libano-syrien. La réunion du comité libano-syrienne," *Revue du Liban,* January 1932. An advertisement for the committee read "Syriens, Libanais adhérez vous au Comité de Propagande Libano-Syrienne. a) section touristique et economique b) artistique et litteraire. Boulevard Saint-Germain – Paris." Compare for example brochette *Revue du Liban,* December 1931.

political affairs with a focus on the region, regularly featured articles on tourism. For the Makloufs, tourism constituted a particular cause for emigrants to champion. "Tout moyen de prévenir et d'attirer l'Etranger vers les régions libanaises doit être encouragé et développé," Emile Maklouf argued in 1932, "s'il est du devoir des gouvernements locaux, des particuliers, d'améliorer l'industrie hotelière, la voirie, il incombe aussi à nous, émigrés, de recruter par une propagande intense une bonne clientèle pour le tourisme libano-syrien."[301] Attending to this self-proclaimed plea, which rhetorically invoked national duty, the *Comité de Propagande* collaborated with a travel agency called *Globetrotter* to facilitate voyages and propagandized tourism during events that it organized. For example, during its first reunion, the committee aired a documentary featuring places like Beirut, the Cedars, the Kadisha-valley, Baalbek, Aley, Sofar, Tyr, and Saida, wedding it to the proclamation that one had "go there" in order to marvel at the "astounding beauty" of the land and recollect "unforgettable impressions."[302]

Furthermore, the Makloufs organized touristic excursions in the 1930s. In 1933, the Makloufs arranged a "Centenaire du voyage en Orient de Lamartine" in collaboration with *Société Artistique de Beyrouth*, directed by Mrs. Debbas and Gabriel Bounoure, the French counselor for the ministry of public instruction. [303] Its honorary committee included among others the French mandate authorities as well as Georges Samné.[304] The centenary was an eulogy for the French poet and served as a reenactment

[301] Emile Makhlouf, "Pour le tourisme libano-syrien. La réunion du comité libano-syrienne," *Revue du Liban*, January 1932, 16-17.

[302] Attendees included Alphonse Ayoub, "Délégué du Liban à Paris", Emir Ali Abdul-Aziz, "Délégué de la Syrie", Rene Francois, "Inspecteur des étudiants Libanais et Syriens", R. Chaia, "Foyer Maronite", directors of the "Banque de Syrie et du Grand-Liban", Docteur Salem, "spécialiste Libanais"; Sironi, Director of "l'Agence Globe-Trotter"; A. Gargour, "Directeur artistique des Films Panthé-Natan"; the director of the "Librairie Orientaliste", Mourani, peinter, Biaggi, scultpur, the director of the "Villes de France Illustrées"; journalists of "Al-Ahram", "Al-Bairak", "al-Ahwal". Emile Makhlouf, "Pour le tourisme libano-syrien. La réunion du comité libano-syrienne," *Revue du Liban*, January 1932.

[303] Ibrahim Maklouf, "Ce que que fut notre randonné à travers le Liban," *Revue du Liban*, July 1933. Mrs. Debbas was the wife of Charles Debbas, whom the French appointed President of Greater Lebanon in 1926.

[304] Henry Bordeaux (Académie Francaise), General Weygand, Henry de Jouvenel, Pierre Alype (Director of the Office des Pays du Levant in Paris), René Doumic (Académie Francaise), Emir Ali Abdul-Aziz

of Lamartine's travels.[305] The tour culminated in the celebratory spectacle of placing an insignia with the counterfeit of Lamartine at the palace of Beiteddine. Not only an architecturally meaningful move, which underscored a particular aspect history, alleging a special bond between France and Lebanon, but for Maklouf the expression of a "spectacle of the nation." He wished someone would have explained to the crowd the reasons for placing the insignia at Beiteddine, the display flags and Cedars depicted everywhere. Rather, Maklouf lamented, it had been demanded that the crowd to remained silent – something he disapproved of, having preferred a cheering crowd.

In 1938, the colonial state publicly esteemed Emile Maklouf by awarding him the *médaille d'honneur,* among other things for his encouragement of tourism in 1938.[306]

4.1.2.3. The Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme

In 1935, Beirut's bourgeoisie founded another tourism initiative, named *Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme* (engl. society for the encouragement of tourism, S.E.T.). At a time, when the political landscape of the republic was growingly divided along the lines of political parties, the society's members included, alongside mandate authorities,

(Attaché Syrien in Paris), Alphonse Ayoub (Attaché Libanais in Paris), Jerome and Jean Tharaud, André Geiger, Gabriel Boissy, Albéric Cahuet, Jean Michel Renaitour, Charles Henry, Mme Myriam Harry, Mme Paule Henry-Bordeaux, Mme la Baronne de Brimont, Mme Marie-Louise Pailleron, Mme Michaud-Lapeyre (President of "Amis Savoyards de Lamartine"), Rose Malhamé (Journalist at the *Revue du Liban*), Dr. Georges Samné, Odette Pascaud, René Francois, Joseph Hoyek (artist), Auguste Biaggi, Robert Vaucher, Dr. Salem, Académie de Macon, Georges Philippar (President Messageries Maritimes), Comte Cressati, (President de la Société Foncière de Syrie), Yves Dartois (Intransigeant), René Castelot (journalist), Abdon-Boisson (Fondateur Comité France-Orient). "La celebration du Centenaire du voyage de Lamartine en Orient," *Revue du Liban*, March 1933.

[305] The *Centenaire* led the group first to Alexandria, where they were welcomed by "Syrian bourgeoisie:" poets, "hommes des lettres," – "des hommes qui recoivent comme on recoit dans les meilleurs salons de Paris," before leaving to Beirut. The idea behind the cruise was a reenactment of Lamartine's "Voyage en Orient," revered by the Makloufs. They visited Hector and Camille Klat in Tripoli, listening to poetry about travelling to Lebanon. They also visited Damascus, which Maklouf described not only in Orientalist terms as a place where even the most cultured hosts did not speak French. "La celebration du Centenaire du voyage de Lamartine en Orient," *Revue du Liban*, March 1933. Hector Klat published a book of poetry in 1935. Hector Klat, Le Cèdre et les Lys (Beirut: Revue Phéniciennes, 1935).

[306] "Le Centres des Amitiés au Levant," *Phoenicia*, March 1938.

public figures from across the political spectrum such as Michel Chiha, Negib Bey Aboussouan, Baron Lassus Saint-Genies, Donna Maria Sursock, Moustapha Izzedine, Charles Corm, Gabriel Menassa, Georges Vayssié, Emile Eddé, and Gabriel Khabbaz.[307] Registered as a "society of Lebanese nationality" based in Beirut, the S.E.T. defined its goal as "the development of tourism in all its forms in the territory of the Lebanese Republic and surrounding countries, tourism properly meaning estivage and villégiature, hivernage and winter sports, etc."[308] The society portrayed itself as an association whose work was impartially concerned with the progress of a nation that lay beyond political and sectarian difference. "Excluding all considerations of origin, of belief, or party affiliation," the S.E.T. defined its ethos as dedicated to the development of tourism as "a private, national, non-profit organization."[309] In the context of the 1930s, were political bickering between different factions – crosscutting communal factions – formed a significant facet of the political landscape of the republic, the S.E.T. presented itself as above these conflicts and identified a national good that lay beyond political differences.[310]

Tourism as a cause

While established as a private initiative, the S.E.T. claimed its mission as serving public interest. In their 1938 pamphlet "plan général pour le développement de

[307] For a more encompassing list of the members see Appendix, Fig 1.

[308] CCA 0096, Statutes Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, 1935. ["société de nationalionalité libanaise; le developpement du Tourisme sous toutes ses formes sur le territoire de la Republique Libanaises et des pays environants: Tourisme proprement dit, estivage et villégiature, hivernage et sports d'hiver etc."] At times the S.E.T. continued to refer to Syria in its organizational papers and tourist itineraries, the society featured destinations beyond the territory of the Lebanese Republic, showing how entangled Syria and Lebanon continued to be in the interwar years.

[309] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement de la villégiature et du tourisme au Liban* (Unknown, 1938), préambule. [Fondé en 1935 sur l'initiative de personnalités Franco-Libano-Syriennes, à l'exclusion absolue de toutes considérations d'origine, de croyance ou de parti (…) développer l'estivage, l'hivernage et le tourisme au Liban et en Syrie, au moyen d'un organisme privé, national, entièrement désintéressé.] It is also uncertain whom the S.E.T. defined as its "Syrian" in contrast to "Lebanese" members, nor what they meant by Syria in this specific context. Negib Aboussouan for example was born in Jerusalem.

[310] Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, 31.

la villégiature et du tourisme au Liban," which elaborated a range of directives deemed necessary for the development of tourism, the society argued tourism to be the most important "national industry of Lebanon," which had the potential to ensure "prosperity for all regions and all classes of the population."[311] Its work spanned a variety of dimensions, coordinated through the organization's subcommittees pertaining to roads and transportation, accommodation and tariffs, events, gambling, and excursions, propaganda, sites, and monuments, as well as winter sports.[312] The society defined its goals as to attract visitors from neighboring countries as well as "Lebanese emigrants" through various means of tourism propaganda "propre a faire connaitre les beautés et les qualités climateriques du Liban et de ses environs, les vestiges de passé et les avantages qu'il presente pour le tourisme et la villégiature"[313] and launched tourism campaigns that included the production of guidebooks, posters, and brochures.[314] In these efforts, the S.E.T. collaborated with institutions of the colonial state as well as non-state initiatives such as the Maklouf brothers and Samné's tourism office, which, renamed "Office Syrie-Liban Tourisme" in the late 1930s, represented the S.E.T. in Paris.[315] Furthermore, the S.E.T. proclaimed as its goal the amelioration of means of touristic transportation through private efforts and state institutions (*pouvoirs public*), including the renovation of roads, reduction of travel formalities (visa, passports, tickets), creation of regular airborne services, and more generally the making of Beirut a destination for

311 Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 3-4.

312 "Pour la villégiature et le tourisme au Liban," *Revue du Liban*, July 1935. See as well Monicault, *Le Port de Beyrouth et l'économie des pays du Levant.*

313 CCA 0096, Statutes Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, 1935.

314 Ministère de l'économie nationale du gouvernement Libanais, *Liban, Tourisme, Estivage, Sports d'Hiver,* in collaboration with the S.E.T. (Cairo: Al-Hilal, [1937-41]). PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937*, February 1938. See as well Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*.

315 Ministère de l'économie nationale du gouvernement Libanais, *Liban, Tourisme, Estivage, Sports d'Hiver,* in collaboration with the S.E.T. (Cairo: Al-Hilal, [1937-41]). PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937*, February 1938. See as well Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*.

touristic cruises in the Near East (*Proche-Orient*).[316] Alongside the operation of a tourist office in the center of Beirut, the society's work included lobbying the government on tourism related matters including the reduction of travel costs and the protection of ruins and landscapes.[317] Furthermore, to enhance the comfort and economize stays in "modern" hotels, villas, furnished houses and pensions of the country, ameliorate telephone services and the reduction of postal and telephone service-prices, and multiply and vary the attractions: encourage the building of hotels, casinos, cafés, gardens.[318] By the late 1930s, the S.E.T. even operated own guesthouses.[319]

Members of the S.E.T. understood their efforts to develop tourism as a means of nation-building. In 1935, Chiha argued with regard to a guidebook published by the department of economics, that, while hoping a large number of guidebooks would be distributed in large quantities, "qu'il en restera quand même quelques-unes au Liban, pour que certains Libanais n'aient plus de doute possible sur la beauté, le rayonnement et le prestige de leur pays, pour qu'ils sachent à quelle communauté nationale ils appartiennent et qu'ils trouvent dans la connaissance plus profonde de la beauté et des ressources de leur pays, quelques raisons nouvelles de croire et d'espérer en lui."[320] In addition to assigning a pedagogical function to tourism guidebooks – as a means for Lebanese to learn about their nation – Chiha saw tourism not only as a practice on which visitors from abroad embarked but likewise considered it a "ritual of citizenship," a means to build national identity.[321] For Chiha, tourism was a means for the youth, whom he deemed the future leaders of the nation, to discover Lebanon and identify with

[316] PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937*, February 1938.
[317] The S.E.T. planned to open additional branches in Cairo, Alexandria, Bagdad, and Palestine. PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937*, February 1938.
[318] CCA 0095, Statutes Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, [1935], partial document.
[319] Philippe Bériel, *Les Sports d'Hiver au Liban* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1942).
[320] Michel Chiha "Propagande extérieur et intérieur," *Le Jour*, July 6, 1935.
[321] Compare Shaffer, *See America First.*

an imagined Lebanese community.[322] "Notre jeunesse scolaire est éparpillé aux quatre coins du Liban, après avoir (…) énergiquement combattu pour des licences, des doctorats, des diplômes," Chiha wrote in an editorial for *Le Jour* 1935, "les futures médecins, les futurs avocats et les futurs ingénieurs détendent leurs corps, reposent leurs esprits à Ehden ou à Deir el-Kamar, à Djezzine ou à Raifoun. Ils reprennent un contact direct et salutaire avec *la veille terre libanaise.* Et ils en ont besoin."[323] Students in Beirut, according to Chiha, were subjected to a standardized education, not learning enough about Lebanese history, and thereby standing to lose touch with the very foundations of their identity.[324] It was the learning about "history, the history of their country, their history," Chiha argued, which provided the premises of identity, the means to localize oneself "sur un point précis de la terre." Learning about the country's history constituted a cornerstone of one's identity, of finding one's place in the world, and holidays served as a period in which to nourish an affective liaison with the nation. "Les vacances ont-elles l'immense avantage de les solidariser avec leur sol, de les retremper dans leur milieu. Sans elles, la masse de nos étudiants serait, au point de vue spiritual et national, une masse de déracinés."[325] Even more so, holidays were designated to "une étude régionale," a time during which students could prepare for their role as future leaders of the nation by nourishing bonds with the land, re-rooting their identity in "the soil of Lebanon," as well as getting in touch with other members of national society "paysans, petits commerçants, peut-être même des ouvriers."[326]

Relationship with the colonial state

[322] Kirsten Scheid makes a similar argument with regard to the scouting movement in the interwar years. Compare Scheid, "Painters, Picture-Makers, and Lebanon."

[323] Michel Chiha, "La jeunesse Libanaise et les vacances. La reprise de contact avec la terre et l'action individuelle," *Le Jour*, August 9, 1935. Emphasis added.

[324] Chiha, "La jeunesse Libanaise et les vacances."

[325] Chiha, "La jeunesse Libanaise et les vacances."

[326] Chiha, "La jeunesse Libanaise et les vacances."

In 1936, the S.E.T. was ratified as an organization of "public utility" – a designation of financial and symbolic significance. For one, the classification of "public utility" rendered the society eligible for governmental subventions as well as tax exemptions, but perhaps more importantly, it constituted a cornerstone in the society's conception of its mission and work.[327] By the 1930s, members of the S.E.T. expressed privately and publicly their frustration with the workings of state institutions in what they perceived to be necessary reforms to encourage tourism. Their work to encourage the development of tourism, the society argued, should have done already in the past fifteen years, to ensure the "prosperity" of Lebanon.[328] Criticizing the government as raddled by corruption and inefficiency, Chiha and Georges Vayssié publicly lambasted the government's workings as deficient in developing tourism and ensuring the progress of the country more largely.[329] They polemically criticized the government's "insufficiency" to preserve and promote ruins as tourist attractions, launch "adequate" publicity campaigns and ensure Lebanon's competitiveness with destinations like Egypt, Cyprus, and Greece.[330] For Chiha, the engagement of associations like the S.E.T. was developed against the backdrop of the perceived inadequacy of the state to act on behalf of the country and it was a civic duty for the citizen to organize and work towards the good of the nation.

> Il fallait s'y attendre : devant les hésitations et les lenteurs – certes involontaires – des services officiels pour tout ce qui concerne les ressources agricoles, industrielles, commerciales et touristiques du Liban, des initiatives privées se sont organisées et manifestées. Voilà donc, substitués au gouvernement, des

[327] The S.E.T. received funding from several institutions: the colonial state, the Société du Port, the Société des Chemins de fer (D.H.P.). Initially the society also received a loan from the French High Commission of 50.000 francs. This sum was requested to be restituted in 1937, to the chagrin of the S.E.T.. It is unknown why the sum was retracted. Compare PAAS, Carton 27, 40962, Letter sent by M. Izzedine to Donna Maria Sursock, January 17, 1937. See also PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937*, February 1938.

[328] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 17.

[329] Georges Vayssié, "La Commission de Tourisme. Une mauvaise plaisanterie," *La Syrie*, December 16, 1931.

[330] Michel Chiha, "Tourisme et Villégiature," *Le Jour*, Mai 9, 1935. See as well Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 2.

> groupements d'hommes – et de femmes – désintéressés et qualifiés, qui agissent aujourd'hui comme s'ils étaient vraiment les seuls à pouvoir le faire. En fait, n'ont-ils pas raison ? Tout Libanais ne doit-il pas se sentir normalement responsable de la défense des intérêts de son pays, surtout quand cette défense s'avère insuffisante à la tâche ? Remarquons que le Comité de redressement économique et la S.E.T.V. n'ont jamais songé à agir contre l'Etat si même en opposition d'idées avec lui. Au contraire : *Ils agissent à sa place*.[331]

By identifying its work as guided by a public-spirited ethos, members of the S.E.T. framed their efforts as a civic service, one that was disinterestedly concerned with the development of Lebanon as a tourist destination. It was likewise the invocation of republican ideals that, for Chiha, guided the ethos of the society – the responsibility and duty of every Lebanese to work towards the "good of nation."

Collaboration with the amis des arbres

The associational basis of the society was not singular in the mandate era and members of Beirut's bourgeoisie had a predilection of organizing themselves in philanthropic organizations, many of which shared an overlap in membership and collaborated with each other. Members of the S.E.T. for example were likewise active in the ecological-philanthropic society *Amis des Arbres* (founded in 1934), which, like the S.E.T., embraced a discretely nationalist agenda, channeled through efforts of preservation of nature.[332] The philanthropic society *amis des arbres* shared with the S.E.T. a belief in what they deemed the ineffectiveness and neglect of the government of the natural resources of the country, arguing it to be depleted of its "natural beauties" – the "heritage of the ancestors."[333] They deemed their initiative as guided by a civic

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[331] Michel Chiha, "Initiatives Individuelles," *Le Jour*, Mai 22, 1935.

[332] *Les Amis des Arbres* members included Charles Corm, Emile Eddé, Moustafa Abu Izzeddin, Evelyn Bustros, Jamil Beyhum, Gabriel Tabet, Amin Gemayel, Jean Debbaneh, Gabriel Dahdouh, Badr Demashkieh, Baron Lassus, Donna Maria Sursock, Fouad Saadeh, Fouad Ghosn, Georges Vayssié, Lauen Martin, Antoine Mazas, Gabriel Menassa, Assad Younes. CCA 0074, *Qānūn jamʿiyat aṣdaqāʾ al-ashjār* (Jounieh, 1934).

[333] CCA 0074, Amis des Arbres, *Ilā ibnāʾ al-waṭan al-ḥabīb, man kānū wa ayna kānū*, leaflet (Beirut: Al-Sabil, 1934).

duty, the "sacred duty of every Lebanese" to protect the nation's natural features;[334] A duty, which again lay beyond political and sectarian difference.[335] "Le titre d''Amis des Arbres,' est à lui seul, le programme," the association defined its mission, "Mais être 'ami des arbres' c'est aussi être ami de l'eau, des sources, des oiseaux et de la salubrité: de la vie en un mot. C'est donc être ami du Liban célèbre jadis par ses forêts, ses cèdres, ses pins, sa magnifique faune, ses sources et ses cascades glorifiés par la Bible même. (…) Poursuivre les moyens de reconstituer [ces richesses], associer tous les Libanais à cette oeuvre de salut national est notre tâche immédiate."[336] Addressing their pamphlets to patriots, the *amis des arbres* argued that the natural features of Lebanon were unique in having inspired for centuries the works of poets and writers, and that it was in the interest of national self-preservation that these features were protected.[337] "From the times of Suleiman until now in the eyes of writers, poets and tourists, from Meitanaby, Volney, Maurice Barrès, Ahmed Shouky, and those who have seen the uniqueness of the country (…), From the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Romans and all ancestors saw it as an investment in this beauty."[338]

With the slogan to "plant and don't cut," the society appealed to "all students, peasants, men and women, whoever and wherever you are, protect all the plants you have and add beauty to the beauty."[339] The main dimension of the society's work pivoted on lobbying the government for the protection of natural features, plant trees, and raise awareness through publicity campaigns as well as "educating" in particular students, and by extension their parents and family, about Lebanon's natural resources.

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[334] CCA 0074, Amis des Arbres, *Ilā ibnāʾ al-waṭan al-ḥabīb, man kānū wa ayna kānū*, leaflet (Beirut: Al-Sabil, 1934). Membership in the association was for 1 lira per year, requiring recommendation by a members, and 10 lira for a membership for life. CCA 0074, *Qānūn jamʿiyat aṣdaqāʾ al-ashjār* (Jounieh, 1934).

[335] CCA 0074, Amis des Arbres, *Ilā ibnāʾ al-waṭan al-ḥabīb, man kānū wa ayna kānū*, leaflet (Beirut: Al-Sabil, 1934).

[336] CCA 0074, *Les Amis des Arbres*, Programme, no date.

[337] CCA 0074, *Qānūn jamʿiyat aṣdaqāʾ al-ashjār* (Jounieh, 1934).

[338] CCA 0074, *Qānūn jamʿiyat aṣdaqāʾ al-ashjār* (Jounieh, 1934).

[339] CCA 0074, *Qānūn jamʿiyat aṣdaqāʾ al-ashjār* (Jounieh, 1934).

"We want to plant the love for trees in every student" by encouraging an addition to school curricula – even in the "smallest villages." Every student was supposed to plant five plants and see them grow until the national day of the tree comes and they should plant them in the earth. It was a ritual of citizenship; a metaphor for planting and growing love for the nation through the planting to trees.[340]

In 1937, the S.E.T. collaborated with the *Amis des Arbres* on organizing "la fête de l'arbre" in Bescharre and "la fête des fleurs" in Bikfaya;[341] Ritualized festivities that were presented in "national" terms.[342]

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

In 1935, the brochure for the "fête de l'arbre" in the *centre d'estivage* Bhamdoun for example read:

> A nos compatriotes libanaises: Combien de textes de la Bible, combien de relations d'histoire, combine de pages de poésie ne proclament-ils pas que le Liban est le pays des arbres et des forêts, des fleurs et des fruits, du miel et des

340 CCA 0074, Amis des Arbres, *Ilā ibnāʾ al-waṭan al-ḥabīb, man kānū wa ayna kānū*, leaflet (Beirut: Al-Sabil, 1934).

341 PAAS, Carton 27, 40967, Draft Laudation for Donna Maria Sursock, July 1937. See also Franck Salameh, *Charles Corm. An Intellectual Biography of a Twentieth-Century Lebanese 'Young Phoenician'"* (London: Lexington Book, 2015), 97. An association *amis des arbres*, concerned with the preservation of nature, existed in France since the nineteenth century.

342 "La journée de l'arbre à Beyrouth," *Actualités*, December 10, 1938. Fig. 14. "La fête des Fleurs à Beirouth (sic!)," *Images*, May 25, 1930.

> parfums, des sources et des cascades dans l'ombre et la fraicheur d'un éternel printemps! A nous donc, compatriotes Libanais, de rendre le présent et l'avenir de notre pays, dignes de son passé! Plantons et défendons les arbres! Joignons tous nos efforts pour faire du Liban le paradis de l'Orient![343]

These festivals were among several that the S.E.T. outlined in their *plan général,* additionally proclaiming the intention to organize an artistic event in the ruins of Baalbek, a wine festival in Zahle, a "fantasia des chevaux arabes" in the Bekaa, a Venetian water festival in Djounieh, a theater play about Emir Bashir Shihab II in Beiteddine, a competition of *dabka* – described as "the national dance" – and several sports events.[344] Envisioned as spectacles that encouraged tourists as well as the local population to move around the country for specific occasions, these festivals resonated a national impetus, aiming to celebrate re-enactments of what was deemed a national history and claimed as folkloristic traditions. Michel Chiha for instance argued that commercialized performances of *dabka* and folkloristic songs would showcase the traditional foundations of the modern Lebanese nation and prove an entertaining spectacle in particular for Jewish immigrants coming from Palestine to summer in the mountains. (The local and regional bourgeoisie, he maintained, preferred pageant dances, plays, and beauty pageants over such "traditional" performances when on holidays).[345]

> Pourquoi n'essayeront-nous pas de ressusciter nos vieilles chansons et nos vieilles danses locales? Le Liban si petit qu'il soit, a une extraordinaire diversité d'aspects. Dans chaque petit village, une fois par semaine, les paysans pourront danser nos vieilles danses et chanter nos vieux refrains du terroir flairant la bonne terre et sa solide honnête. Nous sommes peut—être blasés sur le spectacle. Les étranger ne le sont certainement pas. Les carnets s'ouvriront vite pour noter ces créations de folklore, et surtout le spectacle inédit.[346]

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[343] CCA 0074, Société des Amis des Arbres du Liban, *Fête de l'arbre Bhamdoun*, Brochure, Mai 5, 1935 (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1935).

[344] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement de la villégiature et du tourisme au Liban* (n.p., 1938), 35. In the 1960s, members of the S.E.T. such as Donna Maria Sursock were involved in the organization of the Baalbek festival.

[345] Michel Chiha, "La villégiature au Liban et Hitler," *Le Jour*, September 11, 1934.

[346] Chiha, "La villégiature au Liban et Hitler."

Most of the S.E.T.'s members were part of Beirut's bourgeoisie, some of which socialized in similar clubs and societies at the time.[347] While it is unclear whether there was a formal admission process for joining the society, its work confirms a shared ambition of public-spirited engagement. For its bourgeois members, the potentials of identification with associations like the S.E.T. were important as they not only reinforced class distinction but also functioned as a site to enact national allegiance. When Donna Maria Sursock resettled to England in 1937, Moustapha Izzedine regularly corresponded to keep her informed about the S.E.T. as well as the association *Amis des Arbres*.[348] And just as these emotional bonds to the societies were kept on a personal level, they were also recognized officially. In 1937, Donna Maria Sursock received one of the highest honors of the Lebanese Republic, the *médaille d'honneur*, for her work in the S.E.T. and *Amis des Arbres.* An honor awarded, as Dr. Gemayel's laudation maintained, in recognition of her "patriotic" work in these two organizations.[349] Donna Maria Sursock, he proclaimed, was not only a prime example of patriotism, but likewise of humanity and virtue, a "model de bonté, de régularité, de dévouement, de noble amitié, et de bonne camaraderie."[350] Accolades, which tapped into a larger conception of a societal role model exercised through her public engagement and aligned it with national allegiance ("camaraderie"). In return, also the colonial state symbolically recognized her civic engagement by awarding her a national honor.[351]

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[347] PAAS, Carton 27, 40964, Letter M. Izzedine to Donna Maria Sursock, September 9, 1937.

[348] PAAS, Carton 27, 40964, Letter M. Izzedine to Donna Maria Sursock, September 9, 1937.

[349] PAAS, Carton 27, 40963, Laudation for Donna Maria Sursock by Dr. A. Gemayel, July 1937. The *médaille de mérite* was a colorful certificate in both French and Arabic, adorned with arabesques centering around the depiction of a cedar under the lettering République Libanaise. The original in PAAS, Carton 27, 40779.

[350] PAAS, Carton 27, 40963, Laudation for Donna Maria Sursock by Dr. A. Gemayel, July 1937.

[351] Ad verbatim: "Que la grande France ne vous fera jamais perdre vue de la petite France: le Liban! Que chaque fois, Madame, que le soleil dorera le dôme des Invalides ou se miroiterait dans la Seine, dites-vous: il m'apporte de mon pays le bonjour! Oui, votre pays, plus que jamais, vous réclame sienne. (…) Fasse le Ciel que le Cèdre, symbole de cet insigne, soit pour vous Madame." PAAS, Carton 27, 40963, Laudation for Donna Maria Sursock by Dr. A. Gemayel, July 1937.

4.2. Touristic Development

Alongside the colonial state, in particular the S.E.T. and the *amis des arbres* were engaged in touristic development in the 1930s.

4.2.1. Centres d'estivage

Similar to its efforts in the 1920s, the colonial state continued to invest in the development of *centres d'estivage*, funding in 1932 for example the construction of public gardens, sidewalks, a landfill ("place to burn trash") and canalization, as well as electricity supply in Tannourine, Kernagel, Baabda, Dhour el-Choueïr, Araya, Ehden, and Barja with the stated aim to encourage tourism.[352]

While these measures reflect the ways in which the colonial state aimed to assert its control over places within a delineated territory, state works drew criticism for different reasons. Advocates of tourism in Beirut contended that the state, riddled by corruption and idleness, was not asserting its control over the territory efficiently enough.[353] Also the S.E.T. involved itself in the development of *centres d'estivage,* in particular, with regard to question of modern hotels. Similar to the rhetoric in the 1920s concerns about the modernization of hotels dovetailed larger considerations on hygiene as constituting an important aspect in the making of *centres d'estivage*. Questions of hygiene were closely interlinked with class distinction as well as the concept of the state. Although advocates presented tourism as a retreat and solace from work, and excursions into nature, "modern" hygienic standards were deemed central to cater to the

[352] According to the *Correspondance d'Orient*, 4000 *livres* were allocated to Tannourine for the construction of a public garden and a waste incinerator, 1500 *livres* to Kernagel for the improvement of water supply, 1500 *livres* to Baabda for the bitumization of roads, 3000 *livres* to Dhour el Choueïr to build sidewalks and a public garden, 1500 *livres* to Araya for the reparation of the canalization system and roads, 11000 *livres* to the municipality of Ehden for the provision of electricity, and 4000 *livres* to Barja for the building of a canalization system. "Tourisme. Liban pour ameliorer la saison d'estivage," *Correspondance d'Orient*, November 1932.

[353] Georges Vayssié, "Une mauvaise plaisanterie – La Commission de Tourisme," *La Syrie*, December 16, 1931.

desires of the bourgeois tourist and more importantly a question of national prestige and much of the writing on the necessity of developing tourism resonated an anxious outlook on how Lebanon was represented as a nation to the larger outside world.[354] Invoking a conception of *centres d'estivage* as flagships of the nation, the S.E.T. argued that the promotion of Lebanon as a tourist destination was connected to its reputation as a nation on a global plane. This way of reasoning spurred bourgeois anxiety about the perception of Lebanon by tourists and more largely undergirded the society's efforts of touristic development.[355] Members of the S.E.T. regularly lamented the "insufficiency" of Lebanon as a tourist destination to meet bourgeois standards of leisure and comfort. In an article in 1935, Michel Chiha mused at length about the hardships tourists visiting Lebanon had to endure. Invoking an imagined tourist moving across the country, Chiha lambasted insufficient roads, missing phone lines, and road signs concluding that "on a l'impression (…) que le Liban ne s'est pas encore habitué à son destin de pays de tourisme."[356] Similarly in 1938, word was passed on that the water in one of the *centres d'estivage* was polluted, alarming the S.E.T., which feared negative repercussions for Lebanon as a destination. "Cette situation est préjudiciable au plus haut point à la renommé de nos stations et de notre pays," the association maintained "car, si par [m]alheur, une épidémie se déclarait dans l'eau de nos centres le fruit de tous nos efforts et de notre propagande sera perdu."[357] Constantly reassessing the perception and appeal of Lebanon as a tourist destination, the S.E.T. even invited the representative of a travel agency with branches in Egypt and Palestine, Mr. Fargeallah, to inspect the *centres*

[354] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 33.

[355] For a similar argument, see Kevin Martin "Presenting the 'True Face of Syria' to the world : urban disorder and civilizational anxieties at the first Damascus International Exhibition," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 42 (2010): 391-411.

[356] Michel Chiha, "Le Tourisme difficile," *Le Jour*, July 29, 1935.

[357] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développent de la villégiature et du tourisme au Liban* (Unknown, 1938), 30.

d'estivage and propose recommendations for improving the tourist experience.[358] Fearing that Egyptian summerers would ultimately choose others destinations over Lebanon, the S.E.T. painstakingly noted Fargeallah's critique of lacking hygiene, swarms of mosquitos and flies, which according to his report posed potential risks of malaria and typhoid, the lack price indications and rip-offs in hotels, as well as a general deficiency in the promotion of Lebanon as a destination abroad.[359] In conclusion, the S.E.T. identified the need to eradicate smells and insects in Beirut as well as the *centres d'estivage*, demanding the government to appoint in every municipality an employee responsible for the monitoring of hygienic conditions.[360] Furthermore, standing waters in the summer required treatment they maintained and they demanded the state to authorize a special commission to carry out the instantaneous demolishment of what they classified as outside bathrooms, war ruins, wooden shacks or the reparation of leaking dumps in touristic places.[361] While it remains unknown to what extent the government acted on these concerns, the continuous anxiety about the perception of *centres d'estivage* that undergirded considerations of touristic development in the 1930s continued to align with a specific bourgeois imaginary of summering destinations and the role of *centres d'estivage* as flagships of a Lebanese nation more largely.

4.2.2. Sights, sites, and monuments: Transformation, Preservation, and Display

In connection to the development of *centres d'estivage*, tourism advocates concerned themselves with the preservation of landscapes and ruins, claimed to

[358] PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, "Comment encourager l'estivage au Liban. Suggestions de Monsieur Fargeallah," Report by Moustapha Izzedine, November 1937.
[359] PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, "Comment encourager l'estivage au Liban. Suggestions de Monsieur Fargeallah," Report by Moustapha Izzedine, November 1937.
[360] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 31.
[361] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 32.

constitute unique features of Lebanon as a destination. In particular the appeal of *centres d'estivage*, they argued, rested on the availability of its natural virtues: forests, waterfalls, and panoramic landscapes. In touristic advertisements the availability of nature was promulgated as one of the most attractive features of the mountain and the colonial state regularly financed the floristic embellishment of *centres d'estivage*. These efforts included the plantation of trees as a "bordure" along the roads interconnecting *centres d'estivage*, with the aim to make them correspond with the images distributed in publicity campaigns.[362] Also, the S.E.T. argued, that landscapers should be deployed to optimize natural beauty for tourists and to embellish *centres d'estivage* floristically.[363]

But beyond efforts of floristic embellishment to make landscapes correspond with a particular conception of Lebanon as a destination, preservationist efforts launched in the 1930s endowed landscapes and ruins with a more meaning than just a background to the tourist experience. Wed onto a conception of "Lebanese" views, landscapes were elevated to the status of national monuments, which had to be protected, maintained, and arranged as icons of the Lebanese nation – most poignantly epitomized in the cedar tree. In collaboration with the *Amis des Arbres*, the S.E.T. for instance deemed the preservation of landscapes as "*vues paysagistes"* a particular premium of their work. Like conducting a floristic census of the nation, the association lobbied to inventory and protect natural sites such as cedar trees and mountain lakes in Yamouneh, Laklouk, and Afka.[364] Furthermore, the society threw their weight behind the protection of *vues paysagistes* by drafting legal stipulations to prevent construction works from ruining the natural panorama as well as the local population from infringing

[362] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, December 29, 1929.
[363] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 7.
[364] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 7.

on “historical” sites.[365] The local population in Baalbek, the S.E.T. for instance argued, ignorantly used the remnants of Roman ruins as material for building their houses, wherefore the colonial state needed to act in order to protect the ruins as sites of national significance.[366]

Similarly, the S.E.T. collaborated with the *Amis des Arbres* in their efforts to preserve and replant forests. The societies lobbied for legal reforms demanding greater governmental control of the forests and the creation of “national reserves.”[367] Imbuing natural features of the land with national significance, preservationist efforts built on the conception of natural landscapes as national treasures, which had to be protected as a part of national identity. To this end, the *Amis des Arbres* even framed landscapes as historical and antique features of the Lebanese nation – natural virtues, which were mentioned in the bible, had inspired Homer in his lyrical work, and deemed valuable by King Salomon.[368] Thus, the protection of “public and national treasures” should loom larger than commercial interests, which the *Amis des Arbres* for instance denounced as “sacrificing” the natural heritage of the nation.[369]

The preservationist rhetoric not only invoked a republican understanding of the state as the central institution to control and protect sites of “national heritage” but likewise the assignment of a pedagogical mission – a necessity to educate citizens towards an appreciation of national heritage. Considering national heritage sites as mediums to activate patriotic feelings among citizens, both the S.E.T. and the *Amis des Arbres* put forward the idea that heritage sites – both ruins and nature – imbued Lebanese citizens with a sense of national pride and that the protection of national heritage was part of the citizen’s patriotic duty. For example, the S.E.T. critiqued entry

[365] PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937,* February 1938.
[366] PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937*, February 1938.
[367] CCA 0074, *Les Amis des Arbres*, Programme, no date.
[368] CCA0074, Société des Amis des Arbres du Liban, *Fête de l’arbre Bhamdoun*, Brochure, Mai 5, 1935.
[369] CCA0074, *Les Amis des Arbres*, Programme, no date.

prices to historical ruins given their perceived pedagogical function for the citizen and in 1935 the society petitioned the parliament to make the entrance to Baalbek "for free" to all "Lebanese."[370]

4.2.3. Making of centres d'hivernage

In the 1930s, tourism advocates turned towards the development of winter resorts as a new focus of their efforts. One of the main advocates for the development of skiing, Philippe Bériel, argued in 1934, that the winter sport was growingly *en vogue* in Europe and even the "stars of Hollywood leave their studios to practice ski in St. Moritz."[371] It was thus on the Lebanese to become aware of the potentials of skiing for the country as a tourist destination.[372] Although an early interest in skiing probably predates the 1930s, it was around this time that tourism advocates began to organize winter sports more systematically.[373] Again, tourism advocates imbued the development of winter resorts and skiing with a particular national symbolism. Winter in the mountains and snow more specifically fit in well with the motif of a Lebanese exceptionalism, grounded in the conception that the "eternal" snow of the mountain range was set against the summer heat and desert of neighboring regions; A motif, that was perpetuated in tourism campaigns and itself served as a motivic extension of the mountain's cool climates so central to the summering experience. As the *Correspondance d'Orient* wrote in 1933, the development of winter resorts in Lebanon was so important, because "pouvoir à la fois au mois de janvier se chauffer au soleil méditerranéen et goûter les charmes du ski est assurément un privilège que ne possèdent

[370] Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, December 11, 1935.
[371] "Tourisme et Estivage," *Correspondance d'Orient*, January 1934.
[372] "Tourisme et Estivage," *Correspondance d'Orient*, January 1934.
[373] Compare Bériel, *Les Sports d'Hiver au Liban*.

aucune des régions voisines, ni l'Egypte, ni la Palestine, ni l'Irak, ni la Turquie."[374] While tourism campaigns marketed skiing and snow as a unique feature of Lebanon, skiing enthusiasts drew an immediate connection to skiing under the Cedars as a unique experience of Lebanon. In addition to the symbolism of skiing in between cedars, some ski enthusiasts even claimed that skiing as a physical activity itself was rooted in antiquity.[375]

Similar to the touristic development of *centres d'estivages*, tourism advocates turned to Europe as a paragon for the development of winter tourism in the mountains, modeling them on *mondaine* winter resorts such as Kitzbühl, St. Moritz or the Arlberg. Lebanon, the S.E.T. argued, could and should equal the best winter resort towns in Europe.[376] "La situation si remarquable du Liban, dont les neiges peuvent offrir toutes les possibilités des meilleurs stations européennes avec, toute à côté, en contraste, le privilège de côtés ensoleillées et riantes," the S.E.T. wrote, "doivent faire de notre pays le rendez-vous d'hiver des sportifs et hiverneurs de tout le Proche-Orient."[377] In 1935, newly formed ski clubs even hired ski instructors from the Arlberg.[378]

Prominent lobbyists for the development of winter resorts and skiing were the S.E.T. as well as Alpine Clubs forming from the early 1930s onwards. In 1932, Philippe Bériel founded a Levantine Section of the *Club Alpine de France* (CAFSL).[379] Speaking to a growing popularity of practicing ski its numbers of members grew steadily from 40 members in 1932[380] to 385 in 1939.[381] In addition to the CAFSL, other ski clubs

374 "Le Ski," *Correspondance d'Orient*, March 1933.
375 "Le Ski," *Correspondance d'Orient*, March 1933. Bériel, *Les Sports d'Hiver au Liban.*
376 Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 13-14.
377 Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 13.
378 Philippe Bériel, "Le Ski au Liban," *La Montagne, Revue Officielle du Club Alpine Français*, March 1935, 115. See as well "Les Sports d'hiver au Liban," *Revue du Liban*, Mai 1935, 16-17.
379 Bériel served as the director of the High Commission's department of economics in the late 1920s. Compare "Extrait Sommaire des deliberations du Conseil d'Administration et du Bureau de 'l'Union Économique de Syrie," *Bulletin de l'Union Économique de Syrie*, March 31, 1928.
380 Philippe Bériel, "Le Ski au Liban," *La Montagne, Revue Officielle du Club Alpine Français*, October 1932, 364.

included the *Ski Club Libanais,* which was directed by Ibrahim Sursock and had 40 members in 1935 as well as ski clubs in Palestine.[382] In the late 1930s, Ibrahim Maklouf recounted, that a ski club in Tel Aviv was travelling "every weekend to Bescharre" to practice skiing.[383] Also the "French-Lebanese" youth came to have "snow-promenades."[384] While ski enthusiasts like Bériel presented skiing as a physical activity that not only hardened the body but shaped morals and was somewhat removed from the amenities of bourgeois pastime, the S.E.T. aimed to develop winter resorts to meet more bourgeois standards of leisure.[385] Bériel argued that skiers should abstain from smoking, drinking alcohol or engaging in festive balls and flirtations at night and the first photograph in his book *Sports d'Hiver au Liban* featured a rather serious looking member of the CAFSL with salve on his face to protect him against the cold;[386] An epitome that skiing was a physically challenging activity, hardening the body and mind of the skier also other photographs featured the concept of skiers "meditating" over a descent, which would be "difficult" but they are "humdingers."[387]

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

[381] Un Groupe de Skiieurs, *Technique et Pratique du Ski au Liban* (Beirut: Lettres Orientales, 1950), 49. The foundation of sections of French clubs in the colonies was not a novel phenomenon. The *Club Alpine de France*, counting in total 19,000 members in 1934, had three sections "outre-mer": in Morocco, Algeria, and Lebanon. J. de Monferrand, "Le nouveau Siege Social du CAF," *La Montagne Revue Officielle du Club Alpine Français*, January 1934, 112.

[382] "Les Sports d'hiver au Liban," *Revue du Liban*, Mai 1935, 16-17.

[383] "Les Sports d'hiver au Liban," *Revue du Liban*, Mai 1935, 16-17. Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*

[384] "Les Sports d'hiver au Liban," *Revue du Liban*, Mai 1935, 16-17. Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 13-14.

[385] Bériel, *Les Sports d'Hiver au Liban.*

[386] Bériel, *Les Sports d'Hiver au Liban,* 83. Photo Number 46, Fig. 15.

[387] Bériel, *Les Sports d'Hiver au Liban,* Photo Number 46. Fig. 16.

The S.E.T. in turn argued that places like Faraya, Sannine, Hermon, Leben, Laklouk, and the Cirque des Cèdres, selected as future winter resorts, needed to be developed into full-fledged tourist destinations by establishing hotels, villas, shops, and building an adequate tourist infrastructure.[388] This infrastructure included apart from the establishment of hotels with heating, electricity, and equipped with telephone lines, the building of chairlifts, ski schools, and the provision of security on the slopes. Therefore, the society undertook steps to lobby for the training of policemen on skis, which they demanded to be stationed in the developing winter resorts.[389] In 1938, the society even paid for the skiing equipment of policemen to participate in ski classes.[390]

In order to build the touristic infrastructure of winter resorts, the S.E.T. constructed several refuges in the mountain in collaboration with the CAFSL in Djebel Keneisseh, Zahrour, Sannine, Laklouk, Ain Ata and Kornet Saouda above the Cirque des Cèdres.[391] While these refuges were rather small mountain huts, furnished with bunk beds and the most basic facilities to host sportive skiers à la Bériel (including families), the society also subsidized a hotel owner in Faraya modernize his hotel in addition to continuing its lobbying work with the government for subventions for more luxurious hotels.[392] Although the extent of the society's success in developing winter resorts according to bourgeois standards is difficult to retrace, at least by the early 1940s, photographs illustrate that some winter hotels disposed of electricity lines.[393]

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[388] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 13-14, 38.

[389] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 13-14, 38, 42-43.

[390] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 14.

[391] P.B., "Section du Levant," *La Montagne, Revue Officielle du Club Alpine Français*, Volume 5, 1937, 88. Compare also PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des travaux du bureau du comité de direction de la S.E.T. pendant la saison d'été*, October 1937.

[392] Compare PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des travaux du bureau du comité de direction de la S.E.T. pendant la saison d'été*, October 1937. See Bériel, *Les Sports d'Hiver au Liban*. Fig. 18.

[393] Bériel, *Les Sports d'Hiver au Liban*, Photo Number 17. Fig. 17.

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

Another significant dimension of touristic development of winter resorts concerned the building and maintenance of roads and the S.E.T. continuously lobbied the Lebanese government to this end. In 1938, the S.E.T. outlined several roads interconnecting Faraya, the Roman ruins of Faqra, Leben and the Pont Naturel; Mrouge, Bekelles, and Zahle; Beirut, Mansourieh and Ras el-Metn; Aley, Douhour, and Abadie, as necessary road developments for the ministry to public works.[394] The development of roads also included the placing of road signs on what the society deemed to be central intersections, a task on which the S.E.T. collaborated with the CAFSL, as well as their maintenance during the winter.[395] In 1937, the S.E.T. organized the reparation and de-icing of the roads interconnecting the Cedars and Ain Ata, urging the government to acquire snow ploughs.[396] In 1938, the S.E.T. outlined the places that were of particular significance to the development of winter sports and which required governmental surveillance and state intervention of their state-of-the-arts, such as the road interconnecting Besharre and the Cedars, Batroun and Beitminder, the Chekka-Amioun

[394] Kleyat–Beskinta, Bamdoun–Ain Zehalta, Djezzine–Jdeidé–Merdjayoun, Route des gorges Nahr Ibrahim, du Chien (Gehita) etc., Route de Kartabe–Afka; Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement*, 8.

[395] Compare PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des travaux du bureau du comité de direction de la S.E.T. pendant la saison d'été*, October 1937

[396] Compare PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des travaux du bureau du comité de direction de la S.E.T. pendant la saison d'été*, October 1937. PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937*.

road, Rachaya to Hermon, and the road from Mrouge to Bkelle via Zahle. Furthermore, the society maintained, the road from Faraya needed to be extended to the Pont Naturel.[397] In 1938, the SET outlined the necessity for *deneigment* of "relevant skiing place" like Bescharre, Hasroun, Hadeth, Ehmège, Meiroube, Faraya, Beskinta during the winter – levying fines against the local municipalities if these measures were not adequately taken in the interest of developing winter sports.[398]

In their efforts of building roads to render winter resorts accessible, the S.E.T. and the CAFSL, directed by an employee of the High Commission, also collaborated directly with French mandate authorities, which, in turn, harbored a distinct interest in the development of skiing out of military considerations. For example, military officers trained with the CAFSL to form a mountain infantry in Bescharre under the command of General Huntziger and the army more largely supported tourism advocates efforts to build roads to render winter resorts accessible.[399] In 1937, the S.E.T. successfully lobbied the army of the Levant to build a road between the Cedars and Baalbek, which was named in recognition of the efforts after General Huntziger, whose wife was a member of the association.[400] Also in 1939, when a road was built between Tripoli and Baalbek which passed through the Cedars, the CAFSL planned to place a bronze insignia to commemorate the special relationship between the club, the French military, and the Lebanese government: "A l'armee française et au gouvernment libanais auteurs

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397 Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement.*

398 Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Plan général pour le développement,* 42-43.

399 "Section du Levant," *La Montagne, Revue Officielle du Club Alpine Français,* Mai 1935, 194-195. P. Nove-Josserand, "Le Ski au Liban," *La Montage, Revue Officielle du Club Alpine Français,* Volume 6, 1938, 252.

400 PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des activités de la S.E.T. en 1937,* February 1938. PAAS, Carton 27, 40968, M. Izzedine, *Résumé des travaux du bureau du comité de direction de la S.E.T. pendant la saison d'été,* October 1937.

de cette route de montagne une des plus hautes du monde. Le Club Alpin français reconnaissant les liens qui unissent le Club Alpine à l'Armee."[401]

Beyond the development of winter resorts as a part of the touristic *aménagement* of Lebanon as a destination, skiing competitions constituted venues for the enactment of nationalism as "national competitions," organized by Ski Clubs as well as the army in the late 1930s. In 1938 and 1939, the S.E.T. and the CAFSL organized "international skiing competitions" in the Cirque des Cèdres, which was monitored by the International Ski Federation and included participants from the "Palestinian Ski-Club," the "Lebanese Ski-Club," and the CAFSL.[402] In 1948, Lebanon for the first time took part in the Winter Olympics in Sankt Moritz, Switzerland. Munir Itani, "Champion of Lebanon in Slalom and Descent of 1938," entered as a member of the Lebanese national team and recollected that the participation was "more symbolic than real" because they didn't have the money to pay for insurance against injuries.[403]

In spatial terms, the touristic development of the 1930s remained largely concentrated on the mountain and Beirut, drawing a range of criticisms throughout the mandate years. Critiques voiced both publicly in newspapers and in letters sent to the parliament included protestations by local inhabitants against processes of expropriation[404] as well as the burden of financing roads, which seems to have been partially placed on local municipalities. In 1933, the notable Yusuf Bey al-Zein held a meeting with numerous "notables, 'ulama, and religious leaders" to formulate a petition, which argued that there were no proper roads in their territory, except for the road Saida-Sur-el-Badayah, the coast road to Palestine and the road via Saida-Nabatieh-

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401 "Chronique du C.A.F.," *La Montagne, Revue Officielle du Club Alpine Français,* November 1939, 268. It was however not placed because of the war.

402 "Chronique du C.A.F.," *La Montagne, Revue Officielle du Club Alpine Français,* Volume 6, 1938, 302.

403 Un Groupe de Skiieurs, *Technique et Pratique du Ski au Liban*, 13-16.

404 See for example Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, *Débats Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, November 9, 1927.

Marjeyoun, dating to the Ottoman times. Even though their area represented 20% of the "Lebanese population" they "didn't enjoy an advantage proportionally to their importance in the country."[405] Arguing furthermore that although the construction of some roads had been initiated, they remained unfinished to date – despite all the money spent to construct, maintain, and asphalt roads in Lebanon "in the interest of tourism and villégiature." Demanding the building of several new roads, against the backdrop of "the excessive taxes paid by Jabal 'Amil, and continues to pay like all the other territories annexed to Lebanon in 1920, taxes, which the population of the old Lebanon has never paid. It is necessary that the government thinks instantly about abolishing or reducing these excessive taxes, equalizing the fiscal system across all of the territory of the Republic."[406]

4.3. Tourism Campaigns

By late 1920s, tourism campaigns underwent a significant shift, as guidebooks invoked the notion of Lebanon as a bounded and historically unique entity within its colonial boundaries. The nomenclature in guidebooks, films, and posters shifted from distinguishing the state space of "Greater Lebanon" and "Lebanon" as the mountain towards evoking a destination called Lebanon, which included Tripoli, Baalbek, and the Bekaa. By means of this shift, tourism campaigns naturalized colonial boundaries as national ones and claimed a colonially delineated territory as a national space. Concomitantly, guidebooks defined not only a national history, but also national

[405] ["non godere vantaggi proporzionati alla loro importanza nel paese"] *Al-Istiqlal*, March 1, 1933 in "Aspirazioni degli Sciiti Libanesi," *Oriente Moderno*, April 1933.

[406] ["quanto alle imposte, il Gebel Amil ne è gravato oltre misura, e paga, con gli altri territori annessi al Libano nel 1920, imposte che la popolazione del vecchio Libano non ha mai pagato. Occorre che il Governo pensi subito ad abolire o a ridurre le imposte eccessive, parificando il sistema fiscal su tutto il territorio della Repubblica."] *Al-Istiqlal*, March 1, 1933 in "Aspirazioni degli Sciiti Libanesi," *Oriente Moderno*, April 1933.

symbols, heritage, tradition, and people, "rendering," as Goswami has argued the "the historically produced as historically received."[407] Although tourism campaigns continued to advertise places like Damascus, Homs and Palmyra as touristic sites, the 1930s witnessed a tentative shift towards portraying "Lebanon" as a destination that could be visited on "its own terms" – independent of the Syrian hinterland.[408]

1930s – Nationalizing colonial boundaries

In the late-1920s to early-1930s, the colonial state produced a touristic commercial entitled "Les circuits touristiques du Liban."[409] The film's opening sequence showed a cartographic visualization of the territory of the Republic of Lebanon, a pointer moving across the map, visualizing a touristic circuit. Followed by a range of shots, which, as superimposed blackboards informed the spectator, displayed Beirut and several *centres d'estivage* in the mountain such as Barouk, Djezzine, Deir al-Kamar, Ain Zhalta, Safa, Sofar, Bhamdoun, Aley, Souk el Gharb, Damour. Taking the spectator on a tour of views, landscapes, hotels, and even on train ride, the film conveyed an image of a tourist destination called Lebanon. Although remaining largely mountain-centric, the map displayed as the opening sequence conceptualized the promulgated destination called Lebanon within its colonial boundaries. The film signaled an epistemological shift to the 1920s: the conception of Greater Lebanon withered away towards the conception of a nation called Lebanon within its colonial boundaries. However, the conception of Lebanon as a nation remained mountain-centric in addition to Beirut, its capital. It was only in the course of the 1930s, that other places such as the Bekaa were more distinctly included in the conception of Lebanon as a

[407] Goswami, *Producing India*, 166.
[408] See for example the itinerary of the S.E.T. in Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*
[409] "Les circuits touristiques du Liban," (film) [1926-1930] http://www.medmem.eu/en/notice/INA00554 accessed December 8, 2018.

national space. The mountain remained a hallmark of tourism promotion, but it now became a part of a larger ensemble: a Lebanese nation within its republican extent. Or, in the words of a guidebooks published in 1935 by the colonial state:

> Au point extrême de jonction des deux Continents : l'Asie et l'Afrique, des terres s'étendent où face à l'Europe, entre les 33°22 et 34°40 de latitude Nord et les 33° et 34° de longitude Est au méridien de Paris, se dresse une chaîne de montagnes dont le plus haut sommet dépasse à peine 3.000 mètres.
>
> A ses pieds, le long de son versant occidental, la Méditerranée et ces villes : Tripoli, Byblos, Béryte, Sidon, Tyr.
>
> Prolongeant son versant oriental, une plaine : la Békaa, et une ville : Baalbeck.
>
> Et, juchés sur les crêtes parmi les pins, appuyés aux flancs des coteaux parmi les vignes, blottis dans les vallées au bord des sources, des villages aux noms semblables à des notes de musique : Ehden, Hasroun, Ghazir, Reifoun, Bikfaya, Dhour-Choueir, Beitméry, Broumana, Aley, Sofar, Hammana, Beiteddine, Deir-el-Kamar, Jezzine !...
>
> Et par dessus la mer, par dessus les Villes et les Villages, là-bas, vers le Nord, tout près des neiges éternelles, les Cèdres !
>
> C'est le Liban.
> C'est l'ancienne Phénicie.[410]

Merging claims to antiquity ("Lebanon as the ancient Phoenicia"), with the mountain as well as the coastal cities and the Bekaa including Baalbek, the notion of "Lebanon" began to match the extent of its colonial boundaries. Furthermore, in the 1930s there was a move towards including Tripoli into tourist guidebooks, as well as showcasing Beirut's Muslim heritage.[411] This tied in with a conception of Lebanon as a "haven for minorities" rather than the idea of a "Christian" Lebanon.

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[410] Les Services Économiques du Gouvernement Libanais, *Le Liban. Pays de tourisme et de villégiature* (Paris: La Déesse, 1935).

[411] Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme, *Beyrouth* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, [1937]). Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*

Nature as national exceptionalism: The mountain as the essence of a Lebanese nation

In the 1930s, tourism campaigns continued featuring the dominant themes of the 1920s such as the conception of Lebanon as the "Switzerland of the Orient" and invoking a national symbolism of nature. Emphasizing the "uniqueness" and "incomparability" of Lebanon rooted in its natural features. A guidebook from 1931 for instance argued that the notion of Lebanon as the Switzerland of the Orient, which although "an honor" was too simplistic. "Le considérer simplement comme une réplique, même d'une tres belle chose, c'est mal le comprendre. Il est le Liban est cela suffit. Rien ne saurait remplacer ses sites pour les yeux qui ont enfin apercu sa grandeur et sa beauté dépouillée."[412] Furthermore, the text continued that the uniqueness could be discovered by visiting the country, as Lebanon revealed its "personality to the tourist."[413] The assertion of an exceptionalism primarily hinged on the natural features of the mountain, the place where people "fled to escape the torrid heat" and the "vastness of the desert." Lebanon, the guidebooks asserted, was grounded in its incomparable views: "It is magical, the mysterious alchemy of history and geography has created this magic places since the first days."[414] The uniqueness of Lebanon, so the claim, was rooted in the natural features of the mountain, which gave Lebanon a distinct identity from surrounding territories. A claim that was further rooted in claims to the antique foundations of "Lebanon." For instance, tourism guidebooks prominently featured the cedar as a motif, arguing "the Lebanese have made [the cedar] the emblem of their antique and young nation."[415] By 1939, the photograph on the cover page of one guidebook was even reprinted on a currency bill.[416]

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[412] La Commission du Tourisme, *Au pays des Cèdres,* 1.
[413] La Commission du Tourisme, *Au pays des Cèdres,* 1.
[414] Services Économiques, *Le Liban. Pays de tourisme et de villégiature.*
[415] La Commission du Tourisme, *Au pays des Cèdres,* 4.
[416] La Commission du Tourisme, *Au pays des Cèdres.* Fig. 19 and Fig. 20.

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

Antique foundations of the nation « Vieux pays et pourtant si neuf. »

As Timothy Mitchell has pointed out in reference to Benedict Anderson, "for a state to prove it was modern, it helped if it could also prove that it was ancient."[417] Certainly, the question of antique foundations was as contested as historical narratives at the time, but as a bottom line among tourism advocates, the classical period and the Phoenicians were of a particular premium. For example, the colonial state's guidebooks in the 1930s cited the Song of Songs as well as the Homerian poem of Skylla and Charybdis, two monsters in Greek mythology, as literary evocations, which proved the antiquity of "Lebanon:"

> Quel plus beau et plus réconfortant spectacle en effet pouvait rêver le navigateur venant d'échapper aux dangers de Charybde et de Scylla, ou le caravanier, soustrait enfin aux mirages cruels du désert, que le Liban dressé à l'horizon comme un phare énorme de marbre étincelant ou comme une montage d'où ruisselait le lait. Comme l'on comprend alors qu'il soit devenu une source intarrissable [sic!] de poésie et que sa fascination venue du plus profond des âges s'exerce encore sur nous.[418]

As Michel Chiha witfully argued: "Le Liban est un petit pays ; mais, pour ne rien dire de son histoire, sa géographie est plus vaste que celle d'Homère."[419] The V.M.L. claimed in 1930 that the "border delineating 'Lebanon' and 'Syria' was rooted in

[417] Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts. Egypt, Techno-politics, Modernity* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2002), 179.
[418] La Commission du Tourisme, *Au pays des Cèdres.*
[419] Michel Chiha, "Entretiens de Patrice," *Le Jour*, March 23, 1938.

antiquity."[420] Also the Maklouf's printed in their guidebook a lengthy article on the Phoenicians as well as the Crusaders.[421] The Phoenicians were described in the guidebook as the inventors of the alphabet, and proclaiming their role in contributing to the civilizational development. Even arguing that "ses payages n'ont rien perdu de leur antique splendeur ni de leur charme Romanesque."[422]

National heroes and tradition

Alongside claiming the antique foundations of a destination called Lebanon, tourism campaigns likewise sought to coin "national heroes" – turning historical figures into revered figures of a nationalized narrative of history – and defining "national traditions." Particularly revered figures among tourism advocates were Youssef Karam, a Maronite mountaineer as well as what was deemed "Lebanese" emirs such as Emir Bashir Shihab. In 1931, the guidebook published by the colonial state listed the Karam's mausoleum in Ehden as a "tourist attraction."[423] Around the same time, emigrants in Paris commissioned the artist Hoyek with the production of an effigy of Karam, which was erected in 1932 in Ehden.[424] This statute subsequently became a tourist attraction, visited for example during the Maklouf's Centenaire de Lamartine in 1933 and featured in guidebooks.[425]

[420] Société de Villégiature au Mont Liban, *Guide du Tourisme et de la Villégiature au Liban et en Syrie* in collaboration with the Office for Tourism and Villégiature of the Lebanese Government (Unknown, 1930).
[421] Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*
[422] Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*
[423] La Commission du Tourisme, *Au pays des Cèdres.*
[424] "Le Monument de Youssef bey Karam avant son transport au Liban," *Revue du Liban* Mai 1932, 21. Fig. 21.
[425] Ibrahim Maklouf "Ce que fut notre randonée à travers le Liban. Sur la trace de l'esprit français," *Revue du Liban*, July 1933. Fig. 22. Ministère de l'économie nationale du gouvernement libanais, *Liban, tourisme, estivage, sports d'hiver* (Cairo: Al-Hilal, [1937-1940]). Fig. 23.

Fig. 21

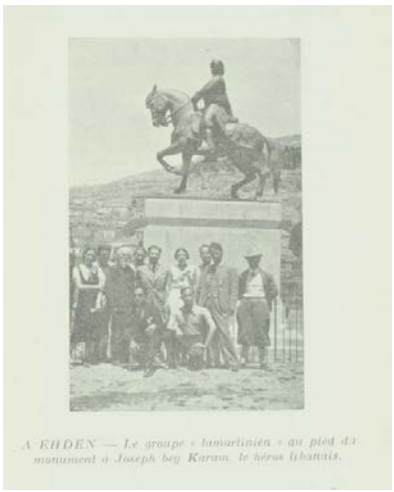

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

Also Emir Bashir Shihab and his palace in Beiteddine were regularly featured as historical monuments worthwhile visiting, described in one guidebook even as the "Lebanese Versailles."[426]

Alongside the making of "national heroes," something that Eric Hobsbawm has called the invention of tradition became likewise pertinent in the guidebooks. The conception of artisanal works "as the repositories of historical continuity and tradition."[427] It was in particular peasants and artisanal labor that became the object of the invention of tradition.[428] Also the guidebooks published by Ibrahim and Emile Maklouf began to feature on the "artisanat," penned by Leon Mourad, which he claimed had not disappeared in the wake of "modern factories" and "automobiles."[429] The village, formerly the object of desire for the summerer, also as the traditional and idyllic kernel of a "Lebanese culture," alongside the making of the peasant as a romanticized icon of tradition. One guidebook, for example, featured the photograph of a barefoot, young child in a homespun, white garment buoyantly crossing a lithic bridge, followed

426 Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*

427 Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Traditions*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 7.

428 Compare Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions."

429 Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*

by a sheep it walks on the leash. The sun sparkles in the water basin, a dog strays at its brink, provided shade by a foliage tree. Dimly in the background, two men sit in front of a stone house, the doors wide open, shatters closed.[430] The photograph, framed by an aquarelle sketch of a mountain panorama and the picture of a mondaine, multistoried building with an adorned facade, constructed such a romanticized village scene. With its homespun garment and the sheep the reference is a peasant child, timelessly untouched, or uncorrupted, by modern developments – a symbol of tradition.

Fig. 24

But more than that, the guidebook began to define the mountain as pittoresque.[431] The tourist will be captivated by the beautiful panoramas and views, the "archaic" villages, with their churches and "churchtowers of the ancesters" where "people still dress like their grandparents," the guidebook of the Maklouf's for example argued.[432]

The Modern Nation : Class and Modernity

The conception of "tradition" and "antiquity" was particularly powerful in its juxtaposition to a conception of "modern" nation, which was further refined in the 1930s. Considerations of a "modern" nation had played a significant role in the development of tourism in general, such as in the availability of modern accomodation, roads and automobiles. Guidebooks were full of photographs of – in particular women –

[430] Ministère de l'économie nationale du gouvernement libanais, *Liban, tourisme, estivage, sports d'hiver.* Fig. 24.
[431] Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*
[432] Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*

dressed *en vogue* on skis, on yachts, and on the golf course.[433] The figure of the tourist in the guidebook is in fact the figure of the middle-class, young woman, skiing, posing next to a waterfall, posing in a bikini on board of a sailboat, a springboard, or as part of a collage-beach scene and as a painted portrait.[434]

Fig. 25

In many ways the image of the tourist as it was proclaimed corresponded with the way in which many tourism advocates put themselves in scene at the time; emphasizing class as an important marker, furthermore refined with the idea of being "cultured." (French or Francophone) poetry and the cloying descriptions of landscapes tied in with a specific conception of the bourgeoisie. French writers, used as biographers of Lebanon, therefore further fulfilled another function: underscoring a specific class dimension. The image of the cultured-bourgeois tourist made even more sense in being juxtaposed with the "traditional" artisanal and idyllic peasant laborer, which served as templates or icons of a nascent nation – a prism through which also class identity was reworked. Of particular importance to the "modern" tourist and by extension a "modern" tourist destination was the development of sports as a leisure activity and beyond the emphasis on sightseeing ruins and summering the mountains, tourism campaigns placed a new emphasis on physical activity as a part of holidays. Historians of the 1930s have highlighted the focus on the

[433] Ministère de l'économie nationale du gouvernement libanais. *Liban, tourisme, estivage, sports d'hiver.* Fig. 25. See also Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*

[434] The painting was by César Gémayel. Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*

body and physical activities as a part of national politics. The making of a healthy body was deemed congruent with a "healthy body polity" and a strong nation. Alongside featuring photographs of canoeing, golf courts, yachting, swimming, and so forth in particular skiing became the novel focus of tourism campaigns.[435] The sports were not just any sports but part of a bourgeois pastime exercise. Also the S.E.T. published a poster in 1936, depicting a group of young hikers, gazing at a stylized village nestling in the midst of a valley.[436] Seemingly pausing from a walk in the mountains, equipped with a hiking backpack and walking stick, the group marvels at the view, which the poster's slogan details as epitomizing the purity and beauty of Lebanon: "Nothing equals the beauty of Lebanon. Light, purity, charms, Lebanon is the spring, the sun and the snow."[437] Like the young 'discoverers' of the nation that Michel Chiha envisioned, the iconography resonates a nationalistic impetus of a strong and healthy youth rooted in the pure nature of mountain and the nation.

Fig. 26

Do it all in one day – integrating the mountain and the coast

The contribution of the S.E.T. to the 1939 World Fair in New York was a banner that depicted four images arranged under a clock under the appeal "In the same day –

435 Maklouf, *Le Liban, pays d'art et de tourisme.*

436 Published in Ibrahim Maklouf, *L'Independence du Liban. Documents 1919-1936* (Beirut: Dar al-Ahad). Fig. 27.

437 [Rien n'égale la beauté du Liban. Lumière, pureté, charme, le liban c'est la printemps, le Soleil et la neige].

visits to places of great interest and antiquities."[438] The "Lebanese Pavilion" at the time was curated by Charles Corm, a member of the S.E.T., and like its brochure featured tourism promotion. The photographs were the same as featured in the guidebook published together with the colonial state.[439] The motif of "do it all in one day" became an important motto in the tourism campaigns of the 1930s, echoed likewise by Ibrahim Maklouf. Maklouf argued that the pleasures of the mountain could be ideally complemented with a day at the beach. For Maklouf proposed an ideal 'holiday-day' as: play golf or tennis in the morning in the pine forests, go to the beach on mid-day, drink a tea in one of the many casinos at the Corniche, then at night, take one of the asphalted roads up to the mountains, have dinner under the beautifully smelling pine trees and water fountains and then wake up the next morning 1000 meters above the sea. The idea was that this idealized schedule was something that was deemed unique to "Lebanon." But also in spatial terms, this was an attempt to incorporate the mountain and the coast, showing its closeness in time, symbolically for national coherence of space.

Fig. 27

[438] CCA folder unknown, photograph of the Lebanese Pavilion New York's World Fair 1939. Fig. 27.
[439] "Republic of Lebanon at the New York's World Fair 1939," Brochure for the World Fair, 1939.

5. CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the development of tourism as a window into efforts of nation-building, in particular the production of national space. Through an exploration of the involvement of a range of tourism initiatives in the development of tourism, governmental and non-state alike, I have argued that touristic *aménagement* as well as the representation of a destination called Lebanon in tourism campaigns served as means of making a nation called Lebanon within its colonial boundaries. The development of tourism was a bourgeois project, and it was thus in particular a bourgeoisie that used it as a means of nation-building; a project that tapped into class specific concepts of modernity and the role of the state. While the bourgeoisie claimed tourism as a ritual of citizenship – a means to nurture patriotism and national identification – they expanded their efforts to conjuring a specific image of Lebanon as a modern nation, one that rested on projects such as the asphalted roads, representative tourist attractions and "modern" accomodation.

Theoretical considerations on nationalism give the colonial state a central role in nation-building processes. Benedict Anderson argues "the immediate genealogy [of nation-building policies] should be traced to the imaginings of the colonial state."[440] Also Manu Goswami considers the colonial state a central actor in the making of the nation and the production of national space.[441] In the sociohistorical production of national space, the state's claim to a delineated territory as the extent of its dominion and the concomitant naturalization of this claim are paramount, hinging on several, interconnected processes. The state's claim to a territory as its dominion manifests itself through regulative and coercive mechanisms, i.e. exercised by the military, the police as

[440] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 163-164.
[441] Compare Goswami "Rethinking the Modular Nation Form."

well as through bureaucracy, while processes of naturalizing a delineated territory as the realm of the state hinge on the construction of a cultural imagination of a bounded entity and the attendant shaping of collective identities.[442] As I have argued, the historical development of tourism encompassed some of the interconnected structures in the production of space that Goswami identifies. In the context of tourism, questions of the *aménagement* of a delineated territory (the building of roads, post offices, electricity lines, sewage system) and the designation and preservation of ruins, monuments, and landscapes as "national heritage" were vital. But also efforts to promote tourism, through the launching of tourism campaigns functioned as tools to construct the cultural imagination of a colonially delineated territory as a bounded national entity. In addition to the developmentalist dimension of turning a colonially delineated territory into a nation, tourism campaigns functioned as tools to claim and define the conception of an integral national space on the cornerstones of a shared history and natural features. While in the 1920s, tourism campaigns invoked a distinction between the Greater Lebanon and Lebanon, pointing to a distinction between political and cultural space, the 1930s marked a shift towards a nationalization of colonial state-space and the definition of a nation called Lebanon within its colonial boundaries.

However, the making of a Lebanese nation in tourism was hierarchical. It was mainly concentrated on the mountain as well as Beirut. Only in the 1930s, places like the Bekaa were included into the national fold. This speaks to the conception of a Lebanese nation that was contingent on a topography of citizenship, which marginalized some regions and its inhabitants from the kernel of the Lebanese nation such as Jabal ʻAmil and Akkar. Ultimately, the making of Greater Lebanon into a Lebanese nation-was a hierarchical endeavor, marginalizing certain regions. It was only in 1998 during the Israeli occupation of Jabal ʻAmil, that the Lebanese government published a tourist

[442] Compare Goswami "Rethinking the Modular Nation Form."

guide that presented Roman and Phoenician ruins in the South – including in regions such as Nabataieh.

Fig. 28 List of members in several tourism initiatives

Touring Club of Syria and Lebanon (est. 1920)	**Commission de tourisme et de villégiature** (est. 1923)	**Commission consultative du tourisme et de la villégiature** (est. 1929)	**Commission de tourisme** (est. 1932)	**Société des Amis des Arbres** (est. 1934)	**Société d'Encouragement au Tourisme** (est. 1935)
					Abi Chahla, Mlle Michel
					Aboussouan, Negib Bey
					Aboussouan, Mlle
Achard, Albert					
Achou, Emile		Achou, Emile			
					Achou, Selim
					Achou, Mlle.
		Ahdab, Kheireddine			
					Akl, Assad
					Al-Saad, Mlle. Wadad
					Amatoury, MM.
					Anghelopoulo, Georges
					Arene, Mme.
					Atie, MM. Dr.
Benjamin, Moussa					
				Baron Lassus de Saint Génies	Baron Lassus de Saint Génies, MM.
					Berari, MM.
					Beriel, MM.
				Beyhum, Jemil	Beyhum, Jemil
Beyhum, Abdallah					
					Bombacari, MM.
					Bouchede, MM.
					Bouzereau, Mme.
Brané					
					Bressoies, Mme.
de Brun, Dr.					
Brosset					
				Bustros, Evelyn	Bustros, Evelyne
					Bustros, Nicolas
Bustros, Jean					
Bustros, Gabriel					
Cadi, Hassan					
					Catoni, MM.
					Chamoun, Camille
			Chamoun, Joseph		
Chammonard					
					Chehab, Emir Maurice
			Chehab, Emir Jemil		
					Chiha, Michel Mme.
Chiha, Michel					Chiha, Michel
					Chehayeb, Ahmoud Bey
					Claris, MM.
Corm, Charles				Corm, Charles	Corm, Charles
				Dahdouh, Gabriel	
				Debbane, Jean	Debbane, Jean
				Demashkieh, Badr	
					Demashkie, Mlle
					Demorgny, Mme.
Dumani, Wadiah					
				Dodge, Bayard	Dodge, Bayard
Eddé, Antoine					
Eddé, Emile				Eddé, Emile	Eddé, Emile
					Eddé, Mlle
					Eddé, Raymond
					El-Omari, MM.
					Fares, René Mme.
					Farhi, Joseph
					Faugeras, MM.
Flaminoud					
de Freige, Jean					
					Gebaille, MM.
		Gemayel, Dr. Amin		Gemayel, Dr. Amin	Gemayel, Dr. A.
					Gemayel, MM. P.
		Ghosn, Dr. Fouad		Ghosn, Dr. Fouad	Ghosn, Dr. Fouad
Gilly					
					Goldeberg, MM.
					Goldeberg, Mme.
Gouraud, Henri					
					Habeich, Cheikh Fouad
					Haddad, Mlle.
Hacho, Emile					
		Hamadeh, Toufic			
Hani, Anis					
Hanimoglo, Marios	Hanimoglo, Marios				
					Helou, Charles
					Helou, Mlle Charles
Hoyek, Joseph					
					Huntziger, Mme Generale
				Izzeddine, Moustafa	Izzeddine, Moustafa
		Joannidès, Constant			
					Karam, Karam
Karam, Selim					
		Ketaneh, Antoine			

		Khabbaz, Gabriel			Khabbaz, Gabriel
					Majdalani, MM.
Marteau					
Martin				Martin, Lauen	
Matouk					
				Mazas, Antoine	
				Menassa, Gabriel	
					Metailler, MM.
		Michaca, Henri			Michaca, MM.
Naamani, Aref					
					Naccache, Alexandre
Naccache, Albert					Naccache, Albert
Nacchache, Alfred					
					Naccache, Georges
		Nairn, Norman			
Nasser, Alfred					
		Nasr, Michel			
		Nidelet, Louis			
Perrin, Commandant					
Pharaon, Habib					
					Pharaon, Henri
Prost					
	de Reyffe, Verchère				
					Rihani, J.
					Rivet, Mme l'Amirale
					Roux, MM.
				Saadeh, Fouad	
Sabbagh, Elie					
					Sabbagh, Mme. R.
		Sahmarani, Abdul-Rahman			
					Safi, Safi
					Sarkis, Ramez
					Seif, Simon
					Sejean, MM.
					Seyrig, MM.
					Solh, Takieddine
Soubret					Soubret
Sohaba, Khalil					
Sursock, Alfred					
Sursock, Ch.					
				Sursock, Donna Maria	Sursock, Donna Maria
					Sursock, Ibrahim
Tabet, Jacques		Tabet, Jacques			
				Tabet, Gabriel	
					Tabet, Mme Georges
			Tabet, Georges		
					Tabet, Mme Joy
					Tabet, Michel
Trad, Habib					Trad, Habib
Tuéni, Michel					
		Tuéni, Gabriel			
Vayssié, Georges	Vayssié, Georges	Vayssié, Georges		Vayssié, Georges	Vayssié, Georges
Visolot					
Younes, Assad				Younes, Assad	
					Watteau, MM.
			Zakkour, Michel		
					Zeba
		Zehlil, Abdallah			Zeidan, MM.

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