

# Historical Research and Tourism Analysis: The Case of the Tourist-Historic City of Jerusalem

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**ABSTRACT** *Studies of tourist-historic cities often rely upon evolutionary models, which chart the development of tourism in historical towns. Prominent among these models are: Ashworth and Tunbridge's model of the tourist-historic city; models outlining the development of the Central Tourist District; The Tourist Town's Functional Spaces Model; and the Accommodation Service Model. The article seeks to prove that using such models without, at the same time, examining the roots and evolution of tourism in these towns from an historical perspective, will provide only a partial and, occasionally, inaccurate picture of the birth, development and unique character the tourist-historic city. Moreover, given the fact that tourism is a widespread and dynamic phenomenon that touches upon many aspects of the human urban experience – social and political, environmental, economic and so on – probing into the roots and rise of tourism in historical towns may also shed light on various features which, idiosyncratic to historical towns, encouraged their eventual transformation into tourist-historic cities. The article will do all this by tracing the origins and flowering of tourism in Jerusalem – one of the world's most famous tourist-historic cities – during the time of the British mandate (1917–1948).*

**KEY WORDS:** Tourist-historic city, models, Jerusalem, British mandate (1917–1948).

## Introduction

During the late twentieth, early twenty-first centuries tourism emerged as one of the principal agencies of social, political, economic and cultural change – change which took place at varying levels of intensity and on a disparate scale at different points across the world. In recent years, the indisputable

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importance of tourism and its manifold ramifications produced a flood of publications, ranging over several fields. One of the key issues examined was the unique character of tourist activity in historical towns. Historical towns have always attracted tourists, both in the past and present. Yet, most contemporary studies of tourism historical towns were written from a modern perspective, with little or no attention paid to the manner in which these towns evolved into tourist–historic cities; a curious and, it would seem, in light of these towns’ history, an incongruous omission.

Studies of tourist–historic cities often rely upon evolutionary models, which chart the development of tourism in historical towns. Prominent among these models are: Tunbridge and Ashworth’s model of the tourist–historic city; models outlining the development of the Central Tourist District; the Tourist Town’s Functional Spaces Model; and the Accommodation Service Model, all of which will be described in detail further on. The following article seeks to prove that using such models without, at the same time, examining the roots and evolution of tourism in these towns from an historical perspective, will provide only a partial and, occasionally, inaccurate picture of the birth, development and unique character of the tourist–historic city. Moreover, given the fact that tourism is a widespread and dynamic phenomenon that touches upon many aspects of the human urban experience – social and political, environmental, economic and so on – probing into the roots and rise of tourism in historical towns may also shed light on various features which, idiosyncratic to historical towns, encouraged their eventual transformation into tourist–historic cities. The article will effect all this by tracing the origins and flowering of tourism in Jerusalem – one of the world’s most famous tourist–historic cities – during the time of the British mandate.

The article begins with a detailed description of the four predominant models used in the study of tourist–historic cities. It then recapitulates the appearance and development of tourism in Jerusalem under the British mandate. Following this, it examines if and to what degree the aforementioned models accord with the historical overview of the development of tourism in Jerusalem. Finally, based on its findings, the article concludes whether and how historical data and research can, by refining and illuminating hitherto hidden aspects of these important social and political, economic and cultural phenomenon, contribute to the analysis of tourism in tourist–historic cities.

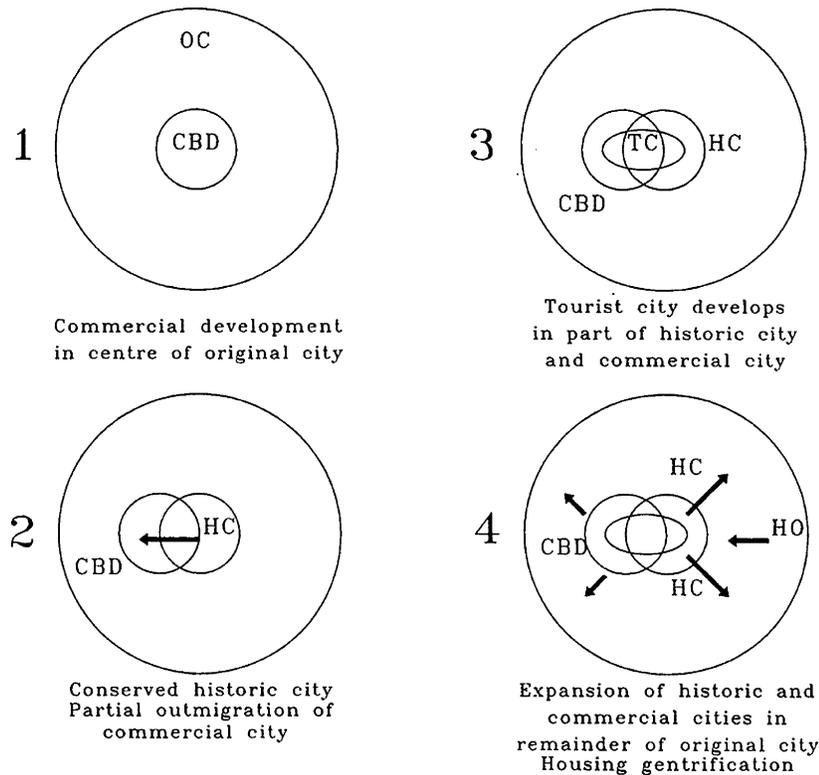
### **Evolutionary Models of Tourist–Historic Cities**

Over the past couple of decades the subject of tourism in historical towns formed the focus of a large number of lengthy, assorted studies. Duncan *et al.* (1998), Shackley (1998), Van der Borg and Russo (1999) and Graham *et al.* (2000) raised the question of tourism management in historical towns; Orbaşlı (2000) discussed the subject of tourists in historical towns; while

Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) explored the relationship between tourism, preservation and municipal heritage in contemporary historical towns – they were also the authors of what is, perhaps, the most important of the evolutionary tourist–historic city models.

*The Model of the Tourist–Historic City*

G. J. Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge’s (2000) book *The Tourist–Historic City*, soon became a milestone in the study of tourist–historic cities. In the book, the two offered an evolutionary model, which charted the birth and evolution of the tourist–historic city. Having reviewed and examined a large number of medium-sized historical towns in Europe, Ashworth and Tunbridge, identified four stages in the development of tourist–historic cities (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** The Tourist–Historic City Model. OC, original city; CBD, Central Business District; TC, tourist city; HC, historic city; HO, housing. *Source:* reprinted from *The Tourist–Historic City: Restrospect and Prospect of Managing the Heritage City*, by G. J. Ashworth & J. E. Tunbridge (2000: 86), with permission of Elsevier.

According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), in the first stage of development, all municipal activities took place within the boundaries of the original historical town. The town's residents lived, worked and played within the perimeters of the original town, which was, more often than not, surrounded by a wall. The town's Central Business District (CBD), which is where all municipal functions, such as trade, administration etc., are concentrated, was also located within the original historic town. During the second stage, the historical town underwent a process of urban expansion. The town's residents began to leave the original town and settle in newly built neighbourhoods outside the town walls. This, in turn, prompted the emergence of embryonic secondary business centres in the more recently inhabited parts of the town.

During the third stage, migration from the original to the newer parts of town gathered pace. The rudimentary business districts expanded, one of which became a viable alternative to the town's original CBD. At the same time, the original historical town revived, having benefited from a process of urban rejuvenation. On the one hand, entrepreneurs, anxious to profit from the newly vacated land, moved in, while, on the other, local conservation organizations fought to preserve the old town's historical sites, by among other things restricting construction in the area. Naturally, these two groups quickly came into conflict. It was the appearance of local conservation groups that marked the birth of the tourist town. The conservation movement had its roots in the growing importance attached, in modern times, to all matters cultural-historical and especially those pertaining to urban cultural-historical heritage. The labours of local conservation activists prompted a reassessment of the intrinsic value of the original historical town's historical and architectural legacy, soon to become one of the town's principal economic resources. Growing emphasis on the conservation of sites within the original historical district, coupled with the consolidation of the new CBD outside the original town's boundaries, transformed the town into a tourist-historic city. Its epicentre was in the area where the original town overlapped the new. Acting as the town's service centre, it contained a variety of tourist-orientated enterprises and business, including hotels, travel agencies, coffee-shops, etc.

The fourth and final stage in the development of the tourist-historic city saw a growing demand for more tourist services, which, in turn, led to mounting pressure to exploit land adjacent and beyond the town centre. This had a direct impact on the development of the tourist-historic city. During this stage, new historical sites, notably in areas which, until then, had not been a part of the town's principal urban expansion process – that is areas in which so far there had been little demand for land for construction purposes – were uncovered. As a result, various tourist services also appeared in these areas, as did smaller secondary business districts. Together these processes led to the diffusion of tourist sites and services throughout the town, so that there was less pressure on the original tourist sites. With more sites to

visit and new and improved services on offer, an ever-growing number of tourists were drawn to the town. This, in turn, engendered a further rise in the number of tourist sites and the introduction of more and better tourist services. Thus, the fully-fledged tourist–historic city was born.

#### *The Central Tourist–District Model*

The subject of the development of tourist–historic cities was also broached from the more functionally specific perspective of urban spaces, according to which, by locating and identifying the various tourism concentrations within a town, it is possible to measure and determine the type and intensity of tourist activity in said town. The Central Tourist District Model, which belongs to this school of thought, holds that, despite the fact that not all tourists visit a town for the same reason, there are nevertheless areas in which the activities of the different groups of tourists overlap. A study of the development of holiday resorts along the coast labelled this area the Recreational Business District (Stansfeld and Rickert 1970). Burtenshaw *et al.* (1981), focusing on tourist towns in general, proposed the name Central Tourist District (CTD), instead. The CTD, they claimed, was usually found alongside or within the town’s CBD and was where most of the town’s tourist attractions and services were concentrated. Identifying the location of and probing into the nature and business of this area, which forms the focal point of most urban tourist activity, reveals, they maintained, the degree to which the town in question is a tourist town.

#### *Functional Urban Spaces Models*

Ten years later, Burtenshaw *et al.* (1991) took the notion of the CTD and theory of functionally specific urban spaces a step further. Underlying their approach was the assumption that the tourist town was, at bottom, the end product of the crystallization of several different activity spaces. While, in principle, numerous factors contributed towards the consolidation of urban spaces, in essence, urban activity spaces were, they argued, ultimately the result of the interaction between a town’s various user groups and its municipal resources. By municipal resources they meant: historical resources – stately homes, monuments etc.; cultural resources – museums, galleries and theatres; recreational and entertainment resources – night-clubs and cinemas; catering resources – coffee shops, restaurants; and commercial and business resources. The urban user groups in question ranged from local and regional residents, congress and conference participants, foreign workers to, of course, tourists, all of whom exploited the town’s multiple resources to varying degrees. The nature of the various spaces is determined chiefly by the behaviour patterns of the different user groups, which, it should be noted, differ significantly one from the other (Figure 2). An analysis focusing

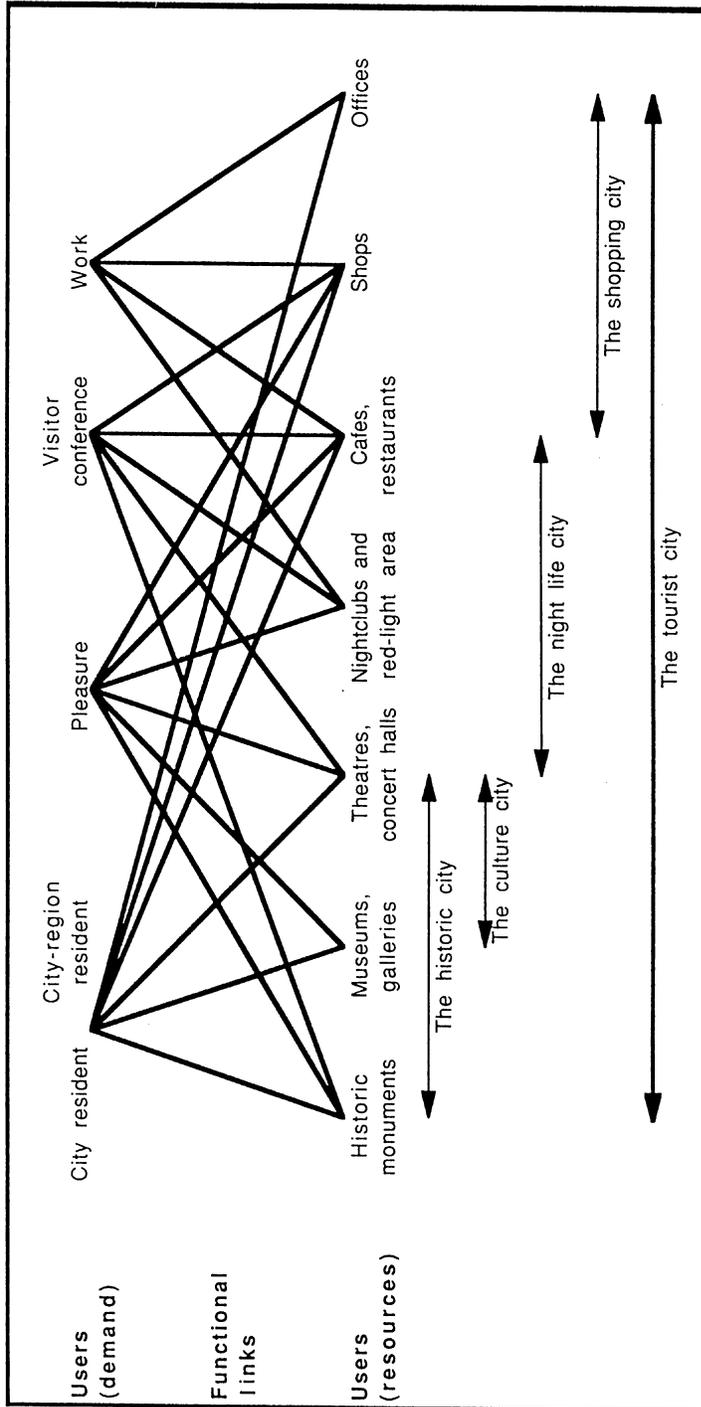


Figure 2. Functional areas in the tourist city. *Source:* reproduced from Burtenshaw *et al.* (1991: 165), with permission from David Fulton Publishers ([www.fultonpublishers.com](http://www.fultonpublishers.com) and [www.granadalearning.com](http://www.granadalearning.com)).

specifically on the functional space dimension proves, Burtenshaw *et al.* (1991) concluded, that tourist town's urban space includes several areas that are of direct interest and relevance to tourism: a historical space, cultural space, nightlife space, and shopping space, to name but a few.

#### *Accommodation Services Model*

There have been several extensive studies on the links between urban tourism and the accommodation service sector. There were two reasons for this. First, hotels<sup>1</sup> are the most obvious and visible manifestation of tourism on the urban landscape. Second, among the various tourist services available, accommodation is perhaps the only one that caters almost exclusively to tourists. Ashworth (1989) developed a model, which described the distribution of hotels in medium-sized cities. He based his work, in part, upon Ritter's model (1986), according to which the location of urban hotels was dependent upon the dominant form of transport at the time. To this key factor Ashworth added a variety of other elements, including land values, environmental concerns, access, historical continuity and land policies. Taking all these factors together, Ashworth identified six principal accommodation concentrations (Figure 3).

1. Concentration A: Emerged prior to the advent of mechanised forms of transport. During this time most accommodation was concentrated in the town's market place and alongside the city gates. The hotels were usually small and offered only the most basic services.
2. Concentration B: In the mid- and late nineteenth century the advent of the railway led to the establishment of hotels near the town's railway station.
3. Concentration C: In the twentieth century the motor car encouraged the construction of hotels alongside the main access routes to the city centre.
4. Concentration D: The appearance of more flexible forms of transportation, coupled with a growing emphasis on environmental matters, led to the established of small and medium-sized, but high quality, hotels in green and more peaceful areas.
5. Concentration E: An increasing interest in cultural affairs and historical heritage produced a concentration of large modern hotels in the area where the historical town adjoins the CBD.
6. Concentration F: Restrictions imposed by the town's planning authorities on the construction of hotels in the town's centre and the availability of free, relatively cheap land in the town's periphery, prompted the construction – with the blessing of the municipal authorities – of hotels in the town's outlying districts. At the same time, a surge in motor traffic and advent of mass air travel encouraged the construction large modern hotels near the town's highways and airports, again in the town's outskirts.

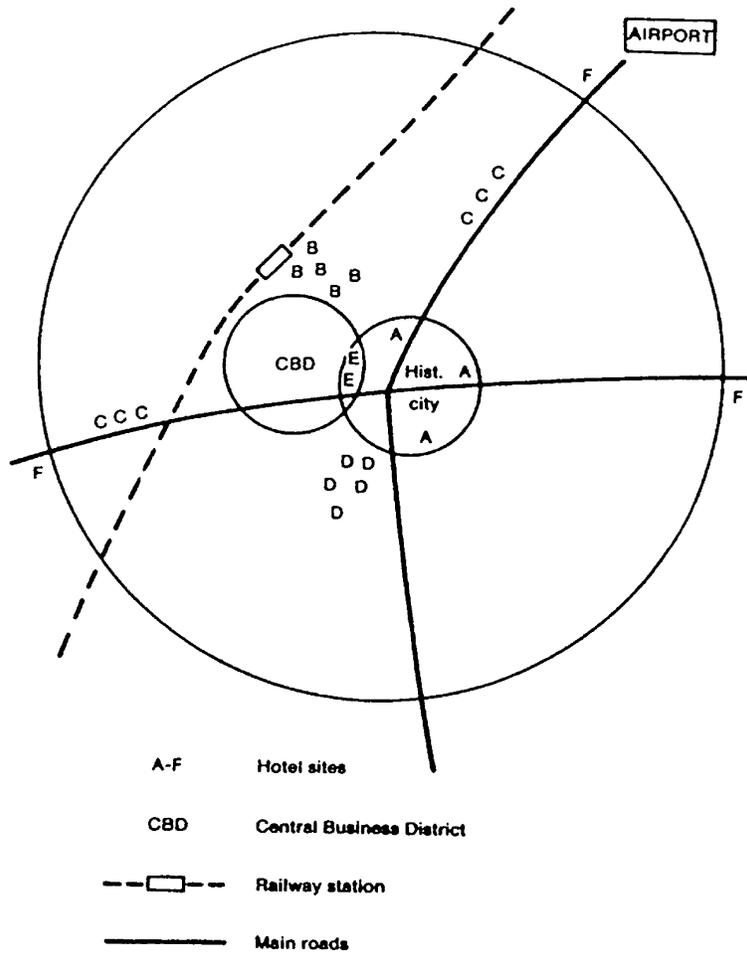


Figure 3. Typology of urban hotel locations (see text for full explanation of A-F).  
 Source: reprinted from *The Tourist-Historic City: Restrospect and Prospect of Managing the Heritage City*, by G. J. Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge (2000: 74), with permission of Elsevier.

### Tourism in Jerusalem Under the Mandate

In 1917 Great Britain conquered Palestine, ousting its erstwhile Ottoman rulers. Britain remained in Palestine until 1948. Commonly known as the Mandatory era, the years 1917–48 constituted a revolutionary period in the history of Palestine. After 400 years of lackadaisical, backward, often corrupt Ottoman rule, Palestine was now governed by a modern, Western democracy, one of the great, if not the greatest industrial and imperial powers of the time.

The British authorities set to work immediately. In an attempt to remedy hundreds of years of neglect as well as repair the immense damage wrought by the First World War, they launched a massive reconstruction program, modernising and updating Palestine's archaic economic, social and physical infrastructures. Under the British mandate, Palestine, increasingly Westernized, became a much more agreeable and attractive place both to live in and to visit. The conditions were, thus, ripe for the birth of modern tourism (Cohen-Hattab and Katz 2001).

All this was particularly evident in Jerusalem. The British authorities acknowledged and themselves appreciated Jerusalem's unique historical heritage. Above all, they were aware of the city's singular spiritual significance to the world's three major monotheistic religions; perhaps, because they too were a deeply religious people who, brought up on the Bible, harboured a love of and yearning for the Holy City. Hence, they decided to designate Jerusalem the capital of Mandatory Palestine; a step, which engendered a great many other changes in the city. For one thing it forced the British to rebuild Jerusalem's administrative infrastructure virtually from scratch. For another, and no less significantly, it meant that they had to draw up an urban master plan for Jerusalem. One of the principles underlying the plan, the first of its kind, was the need to maintain Jerusalem's unique character. Hence, the plan's emphasis on preserving the city's religious and historical sites. The plan also laid down various guidelines designed to govern Jerusalem's future development in accordance with this key principle (Kendall 1948).

Thanks to these and other British initiatives, Jerusalem underwent a metamorphosis, reflected, among other things, by the advent of modern tourism. Under the Mandate, tourism in Jerusalem acquired a new, unprecedented position. True, the Holy City had long been Palestine's principal historical and religious attraction and, over the centuries, tens, if not hundreds of thousands of pilgrims – Christian, Jewish and Moslem – had come to worship at the city's holy sites. Moreover, in the course of the nineteenth century, Jerusalem had been increasingly exposed to Western influences. But, it was during the British Mandate that the great leap forward took place, with Jerusalem transformed, in more ways than one, into a modern, even fashionable tourist centre, a well-established and well-respected part of the international tourist circuit. Under British rule, new urban spatial models emerged and crystallized in various areas throughout the city. Jerusalem also acquired a host of urban physical, administrative and economic infrastructures as well as numerous cultural landmarks. Finally, it offered its visitors more and more varied tourist services. All of this, widening the city's appeal, played a key role in the development of tourism in the city and in Jerusalem's evolution into a tourist–historic city (Cohen-Hattab 2001).

The Mandatory period saw a dramatic rise in the number of people visiting Jerusalem. Under the Ottomans some 15,000 to 25,000 pilgrims had travelled to Palestine each year. According to the Mandatory government's Department of Statistics, close to 1,600,000 people had entered the country

between the 1926 and 1945, an average of some 80,000 per annum. Though there are no figures relating directly to Jerusalem it is reasonable to assume that the vast majority of these visited Jerusalem. To wit, 1935, the only year in which there are figures pertaining to Jerusalem, the city boasted an impressive 98,949 visitors (Department of Statistics 1946; Ben-Arieh 1984).

But it was not simply a question of more people travelling to Jerusalem. Under the Mandate, Jerusalem played host to, in light of its past history, a bewildering variety of visitors. Owing to the geo-political changes brought about by the First World War, Eastern European pilgrims had virtually vanished from the streets of Jerusalem. Admittedly, the tradition of calling upon Palestine's holy sites remained and there were Protestant pilgrims aplenty, but pilgrims were no longer the only people to visit Palestine. Thus, while religion and the desire to worship at the holy sites remained the primary reason for travelling to Palestine and Jerusalem, it soon became apparent that people had embarked upon the journey for other than purely religious reasons. According to the British Mandate's Immigration Office records, people visited Palestine for a variety of reasons, the two most common being: business and pleasure. The records also reveal that, over the years, visitors stayed in the country for ever-shorter periods of time. Thus, Mandatory Jerusalem welcomed not only an increasing number of visitors, but also an increasingly varied type of visitor, clearly deserving of the name tourist. The growing number of assorted visitors to the city was to prove instrumental in the development and transformation of Jerusalem's tourist infrastructure.

#### *Tourist Infrastructure Under British Rule*

Under the British Mandate, Jerusalem's tourist infrastructure underwent a radical transformation. So much so that any description of the process may easily degenerate into a tedious, overly detailed survey, in which the wood cannot be seen for the trees. Luckily, Jansen-Verbeke, by providing a method of ordering the mass of material into a comprehensive but easily assimilated form, offers a way out of the problem. According to Jansen-Verbeke (1986), tourism is a combination of primary and secondary elements, with several infrastructure factors thrown into the mix.

The primary elements are those which, for one reason or another, draw the tourist to town in the first place. They are divided into two groups. The first, embracing what Jensen-Verbeke calls the passive tourist environment, constitute the primary reason for the tourist's journey. They include, on the one hand, the town's tourist sites – i.e. historical sites, monuments, parks, harbours etc. – and, on the other, its cultural–social features, that is its atmosphere, language, local customs, national costumes, folklore, etc. The second group is comprised of activity-orientated sites. These are sites in which the tourist may, if he or she wishes, take an active rather than passive part.

Including features such as cultural events, recreational activities, festivals and exhibitions, they form the subsidiary motive for the tourist's visit.

The secondary elements are the various services that tourists use in the course of their visit. They include: accommodation services, hotels, pensions, B&Bs etc.; catering services, including restaurants, coffee-houses and pubs and commercial services, such as shopping centres and markets. The secondary elements help make the visitor's stay in town at once more comfortable and entertaining. The infrastructure factors consist of the various intermediary services that help facilitate the tourist's visit to the town. They include transportation and parking facilities, local information bureaux, guide services, etc. These intermediary services not only allow the tourist to travel with ease both to and within the town, but also to exploit in full all that the town has to offer.

#### **Primary Elements: the Key Attractions of Mandatory Jerusalem**

Under the British Mandate, Jerusalem's holy and historical sites remained the city's principal attraction. The various new sites that dotted the city's urban landscape during the Mandatory era, never became a real alternative to its original historical and religious sites. While these latest additions to Jerusalem's urban environment, such as museums, public exhibitions, the YMCA, cinemas, the Hebrew University in Mount Scopus, to name but a few, contributed greatly to the growth of urban tourism, they were not in themselves sufficient to attract tourists to the city.

Having conquered Jerusalem, one of the first decisions taken by the British authorities was to preserve the city's religious and historical sites both within and on the outskirts of the Old City. The self-appointed guardians of the Holy City, a – by any standards – huge responsibility, the British regarded the preservation of Jerusalem's ancient sites as an almost sacred duty. (Ashbee 1921; 1924; Cust 1929; Bentwich 1932) The task of protecting and developing these sites was entrusted to the newly formed Department of Antiquities. In order to help the department discharge its duties the Mandatory government passed an Antiquities Law designed to safeguard these sites. Armed with the Antiquities Law, the Antiquities Department set about its task with gusto. It restored existing and funded the discovery of new, sites. Its activities also helped increase public awareness of the city's magnificent and unique religious and historical heritage. More than that, by adding to Jerusalem's already rich and varied store of religious and archaeological sites, the department helped attract more and more visitors to the city. (Government of Palestine 1925; Makover, 1988 Cohen-Hattab 2001).

The growing number of tourists to the city; encouraged the British authorities, seeking to maintain law and order, to station more police officers in and around the city's more celebrated sites. To this end they also introduced several laws aimed at reducing friction between Jerusalem's ever-bickering

religious sects. Finally, the British formulated various rules and regulations laying down, among other things, the way people should behave when visiting Jerusalem's historical sites (Storrs 1937; Farmer 1945; Biger 1994).

One of the by-products of the British authorities' desire to maintain Jerusalem's religious and cultural heritage, was their determination to preserve a significant number of green, open-air spaces throughout the city. Admittedly, growing environmental interests also played a part in this process. However, the fact that many of Jerusalem's historical and holy sites were located in open fields encouraged and accelerated this trend. Seeking to preserve these sites in their original form, the British laboured to retain their natural setting (Kendall 1948). The western slopes of Mount Olives, home of a great many holy sites, was one, notable area where the British authorities' aim of preserving the city's historical sites' natural landscape meshed with more general environmental concerns (Cohen-Hattab forthcoming). The British also pushed for the preservation of a small green belt around the Old City, in order to, on the one hand, ensure that the Old City's skyline would be free of ungainly high rises and, on the other, provide the town's residents and visitors alike with a natural, and unencumbered view of the Old City, in all its ancient glory (Shapiro 1973). Similarly, the YMCA, built in 1933 and soon to become one of the city's more impressive architectural landmarks, became the first observation point in west Jerusalem, its tower offering visitors a clear view of both the Old City and, for the first time, west Jerusalem (Hopkins 1951). And there was much to see, as the British authorities did not ignore Jerusalem's new western neighbourhoods, making sure, among other things that these areas too enjoyed sufficient open air spaces and public parks. All this activity was carried within the framework of several urban development plans, which plotted the direction in which the city was to expand and whose guiding principle was the ambition to preserve Jerusalem's unique character (Hyman 1941).

The Mandatory period saw the advent of several new, mostly cultural institutions. The vast majority of these establishments were located in areas close to the Old City, which meant that they could exploit – as indeed they were meant to – their proximity to the city's original holy and historical sites in order to attract visitors. Moreover, a great many of these establishments themselves touched in some way or another upon Jerusalem's historical heritage, which also helped them pull in visitors. Among these new attractions was the newly inaugurated museum situated in the town's Citadel, adjacent to Jaffa Gate (The Tower of David Days 1991). The Palestine Archaeological Museum – popularly known as the Rockefeller museum (Zusman and Reich 1987), was another prominent example of this new trend. Founded in 1938 by the Department of Antiquities, the museum was apiece with the then universal fashion of establishing of archaeological museums in historical towns. The museum rapidly became one of Jerusalem's chief tourist attractions – during its first ten years of operation, some 284,000 visitors

passed through its doors – and contributed greatly to its evolution into a tourist–historic city (Cohen-Hattab, 2001). An archaeological and cultural landmark it became an important part of the city’s, indeed country’s, tourist milieu. More than that, proving that visitors of all kinds were willing to pay good money to view archaeological artefacts, the museum prompted the Department of Antiquities to excavate and develop more archaeological sites on the assumption that these too could be turned into profitable money spinners.

The Rockefeller museum and other cultural centres established during the Mandatory era, accentuates the fact that Jerusalem no longer played host only to religious pilgrims, but to a range of socially and culturally diverse visitors. They also serve to underscore the new cultural atmosphere that began to pervade the city. Under the Mandate, tourists visiting Jerusalem had more sites to choose from and, no less importantly, for the first time in the city’s history, secular tourist sites, not necessarily related to its religious heritage. A swift perusal of the first tourist maps of Jerusalem, printed during the Mandate, shows a much more variegated, heterogeneous and, thus, stimulating city.

### *Secondary Components*

The end of the Ottoman Empire saw the birth, in the area between the original town and the city’s burgeoning new neighbourhoods, of a CBD. Under the Mandate the city’s embryonic CBD rapidly expanded. Acting as the town’s service centre, it soon boasted a large number of tourist-orientated enterprises and businesses. From the end of the 1920s onwards, small and medium-sized hotels, coffee-houses, restaurants, travel agencies, souvenir shops and cinemas began to appear in the north-west of the city, mostly in and around the triangular zone formed by King George St, Ben Yehuda St and Jaffa St. Similar tourist services were found, though in smaller numbers, in east Jerusalem, just north of Damascus Gate (Kark and Oren Nordheim 2001).

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the number and type of accommodation Jerusalem had on offer was constantly on the rise. Moreover, a growing number of these establishments were located outside the city’s CBD. Thus, Jerusalem now possessed several luxury hotels on a European scale; the most famous of which was the King David. Established in 1931, it was a part of an international chain of hotels and catered primarily for foreign visitors. Considered, both at the time and since, Jerusalem’s – indeed Palestine’s, then Israel’s – most prestigious hotel, it played host to kings, queens, princes, politicians, Zionist and Arab leaders, as well as film stars and world famous authors and artists (Stead 1931; Semberg 1993; Sherman 1997). The King David and other luxury hotels, like the Palace Hotel and the, albeit less sumptuous but beautiful YMCA, all became notable Jerusalem

landmarks. Offering lectures and exhibitions as well as being the scene of many a party and tea dance they also functioned as social and cultural centres.

But Jerusalem also supported dozens of small and middling-sized hotels, catering to both the foreign and domestic market. In addition, numerous pensions and B&Bs sprang up in the city's hitherto exclusively residential neighbourhoods, for example in Beit Ha-Kerem and Rechavia – evidence of the rise of domestic tourism. The increase in the number and kinds of accommodation available, together with the fact that most of these hotels offered their guests all mod cons, helped transform Jerusalem into a western, twentieth century, tourist city.

Coffee-houses and restaurants, catering mainly for tourists, became an important part of life in Mandatory Jerusalem. Under the Mandate there was a striking rise in the number and type of catering establishments available in the city; this in marked contrast to their paucity in Ottoman Jerusalem. The growing demand for such establishments, both on the part of local residents as well as tourists, produced a perceptible change in the Jerusalem's catering industry. Not only did the number of the city's coffee-houses and restaurants increase, but there was also a remarkable variety of establishments to choose from. Initially, most of these establishments were concentrated in Jerusalem's CBD but, as the city expanded, coffee-houses and restaurants began to crop up in parts of town that had previously lacked such amenities (Reichman 1973; Shoval and Cohen-Hattab 2001)

In sum, Jerusalem under the British rule enjoyed a phenomenal increase in the amount and type of tourist services on offer, services that invariably equalled and, sometimes, surpassed those found in Europe.

### *Infrastructure Factors*

As noted, during the British mandate the number of tourist services located in areas outside the city's CBD, i.e. in Jerusalem's outlying neighbourhoods, grew significantly. This was a process, owed much to Jerusalem's new municipal road and transport systems, which linked the city's various neighbourhoods. Up and running as early as the mid 1920s, the city's public transport system, travelling along the city's recently constructed road network, allowed tourists to add sites, such as Mount Scopus in the north and the various sites in eastern Jerusalem, which until now had been off the tourist track, to their rapidly expanding itinerary. It also encouraged the establishment of small hotels and pensions in the city's outlying neighbourhoods, including Talpiyot, Bayit Vagan and Kiyrat Moshe, which offered more reasonably priced accommodation. Now, even less wealthy tourists were able to afford to stay in the city and visit its sites with relative ease. This naturally led to a rise in the number of tourists to Jerusalem, tourists from an increasingly varied social and economic background. The same principle operated with the

city's burgeoning catering industry, with the transport system encouraging the proliferation of coffee-houses and small restaurants outside Jerusalem's CBD.

As visitors began to flood Jerusalem, the number of travel agencies in the city grew apace; tourist guides doubled, even trebled, in number, while more and more tourist maps and guidebooks were printed (Lumby 1934; Matson 1946). Taken together, the above developments point to a radical, revolutionary change in Jerusalem's urban tourist infrastructure.

### **The Jerusalem Variant**

Having portrayed the growth of tourism and the tourist industry in Jerusalem under the British Mandate, it is time to discuss the degree to which these developments conform to the aforementioned theoretical models on the tourist-historic city. The question being how, if at all, did Mandatory Jerusalem deviate from these models? This, in turn, will allow a more accurate account of Jerusalem's evolution into, as well as assessment of its status as, a tourist-historic city. More generally, it will indicate how historical data can contribute to and refine the study of tourist-historic cities.

#### *Jerusalem and the Tourist-Historic Model*

In their book *The Tourist-Historic City*, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) argued that as far as these dualistic cities go, Jerusalem was 'a special case . . . a city of such remarkable longevity and particular historic significance as to warrant separate mention' (p. 97). Accordingly, in a section entitled: 'The Jerusalem Variant', the two mapped Jerusalem's evolution into an tourist-historic city on the basis of their model's four development stages.

As noted, during the first stage of the tourist-historic city all urban functions – residential, commercial and administrative – took place exclusively within the boundaries of the original town, which more often than not was surrounded by a wall. This stage usually lasted several centuries. Such was the case with Jerusalem, which many thousands of years old, had long been enclosed by a wall. According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), this stage continued from the city's inception right until 1848 (Figure 4). However, a close examination of the historical data, reveals, in Jerusalem's case, that urban activity was confined to the area within the city walls at least until the late nineteenth century.

In the second stage of the tourist-historic city model, local residents begin to move out and settle alongside the original town's walls, while a new CBD developed outside the borders of original town. According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), in Jerusalem this stage took place during the post-First World War era. Under British rule, Jerusalem fell under the influence of British urban philosophy, which underlined the need to

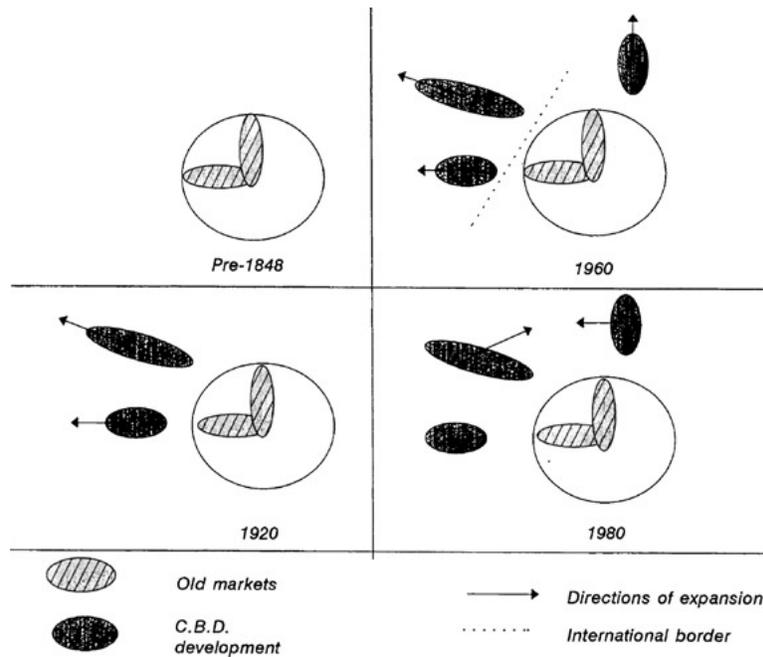


Figure 4. Changing morphology of the tourist-historic city of Jerusalem. Source: reprinted from *The Tourist-Historic City: Restrospect and Prospect of Managing the Heritage City*, by G. J. Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge (2000: 98), with permission of Elsevier.

preserve historical and religious sites. It was also during this period that Jerusalem experienced an upsurge in commercial activity. The result, the authors maintain, was 'a clearly defined spatial separation' within the city and the emergence of two business centres, one in north and the other north-west Jerusalem. However, a close examination of the historical data, reveals that in Jerusalem's case, the second stage began towards the end of the nineteenth century. This period saw a marked rise in urban activity, with the Old City's residents migrating in increasing numbers to areas outside Jerusalem's historical core. Simultaneously, a rudimentary new CBD took shape in the area adjoining Jaffa gate, along Jaffa road and its immediate environs.

Three processes mark the third stage of the development of the tourist-historic city. The first, involves a significant rise in emigration from the original town to the town's new neighbourhoods. The second, features a growing interest in local heritage, which, in turn, prompts the establishment of conservation groups and interests. During the third, the tourist town itself makes an appearance, usually on the border between the old and new sections of town. According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), Israel's war of Independence which, in 1948, divided Jerusalem into two, with the Old City

falling under Jordanian rule and the new to Israeli control, marked the beginning of the third stage of Jerusalem's evolution into a tourist-historic city. It was during these years, the authors contend, that the commercial centres in both east and west Jerusalem gained considerably strength. But, a close perusal of the historical facts show that, in Jerusalem's case, the three processes characteristic of the third stage of evolution occurred, to a greater or lesser degree, during the Mandatory era.

While, admittedly, emigration from the original town to the new was already on the rise towards the end of the Ottoman era, with several neighbourhoods springing up around the original town, this process accelerated under the Mandate. Secondly, Mandatory Jerusalem was undoubtedly the first to benefit from the activities of conservationist groups. At this point, it is worth noting that while in the tourist-historic city model urban conservation is usually a grass roots affair with conservation typically carried out 'from below', in Jerusalem the opposite was the case. In Mandatory Jerusalem, conservation was imposed 'from above'. In Jerusalem it was the British authorities who introduced new conservation norms and values into the city and were bent upon preserving its historical and religious sites. It was they who, as a rule, initiated Jerusalem's conservation programs, laid down these programs' guidelines and were largely responsible for their execution. Thirdly, there is no doubt that it was under the Mandate that Jerusalem was reborn as a tourist-historic city. For, it was while it was still under British rule that Jerusalem acquired a multitude of new tourist attractions and services, all of which were, at least initially, concentrated in the city's CBD on the border between the old and new city.

The fourth and final stage of the tourist-historic city model is marked by the transformation of the historical town into a fully-fledged tourist-historic city. During this stage, new historical and non-historical sites crop up throughout the town, which, in turn, inspires the introduction of additional tourist attractions and services in the town's old and new neighbourhoods. This stage, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) argue, took place subsequent to the Six Day War and Jerusalem's reunification. According to them, post-1967 Jerusalem exhibited 'a tendency towards a consolidation of the modern commercial city in the West Jerusalem and the increasing dedication of the Old City in recent urban plans to tourist historic uses' (p. 98). But, as the above survey of the development of Jerusalem's tourist sites and infrastructure reveals, this stage, too, took place under British rule. To wit, from the late 1920s onwards, new tourist attractions began to appear outside the city's traditional historical centre. In addition, Jerusalem's new neighbourhoods began to offer increasingly complex tourist services. But perhaps, the most compelling evidence of the rapid development of tourist and other services in west Jerusalem during the British Mandate is the development and consolidation, at the time, of the town's CBD (Figure 5).

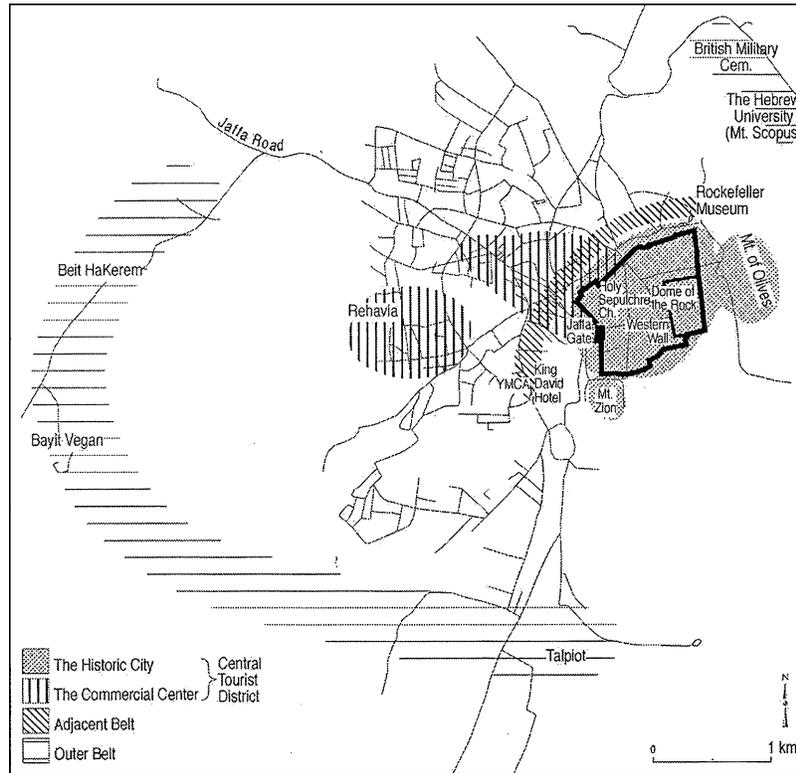


Figure 5. Urban tourist spaces in Jerusalem.

*Jerusalem and The Central Tourist District Model*

An analysis of the geographical distribution of Jerusalem's various tourist attractions and infrastructures, most of which, if not all, first appeared during the British Mandate, shows that, as far as tourism was concerned, the geographical focus remained on the Old City and its immediate environs. To wit, it was in this area that the vast majority of the city's tourist sites and principle attractions were found. At the same time, the city's burgeoning CBD, located in the triangular zone formed by King George St, Ben Yehuda St and Jaffa St, neighbouring but outside the Old City, began to offer a variety of tourist services. Combined, the Old City and the CBD formed Jerusalem's Central Tourist District.

*Jerusalem and the Accommodation Services Model*

Accommodation constitutes a key element in the crystallization of a town's Central Tourist District. A detailed study of Jerusalem's accommodation

services between 1850 and 2000 revealed that tourist accommodation in Mandatory Jerusalem, by and large matched Ashworth's model of six primary accommodation services concentrations (Shoval and Cohen-Hattab 2001).

The multitude of small hotels catering primarily to pilgrims and found within the Old City, mostly alongside the city gates, formed Ashworth's concentration A. This group of hotels, which still operated under the Mandate, marked the continuation of the city's traditional tourist accommodation, dating from the nineteenth century. As noted, Ashworth's concentration B comprised of hotels found around the city's railway station. In Jerusalem's case, concentration B was rather small, owing to the fact that the railway arrived in Jerusalem relatively late, well after the development of the town's CBD. Under the Mandate, Jerusalem also acquired an accommodation concentration type C, along the city's main transport routes both in and around its historical core. The establishment of a relatively sophisticated road network and the advent of the motor car, both of which took place under the Mandate, prompted the appearance of small and medium-sized hotels outside Mandatory Jerusalem's CBD. Mandatory Jerusalem also boasted a concentration type D, of small and medium-sized hotels located in either green or quiet residential neighbours. During the Mandatory years a host of small family-run pensions sprung up in the city's garden suburbs and other more distant and greener parts of the city. As for Ashworth's concentration E, comprised of large modern hotels in area joining the historical town to the CBD, the British Mandate saw the establishment of big luxury hotels, most notably, the King David Hotel, but also the Allenby (formerly, Fast) Hotel and the Palace Hotel, on the hills to the immediate west and north-west of the Old City. Ashworth's concentration F, consisting of hotels located in the outlying parts of the city, alongside its highways and airports appeared only in the post-Mandatory period.

#### *Jerusalem and the Tourist Town's Functional Spaces Model*

According to the Tourist Town's Functional Spaces Model, such towns contain several miscellaneous spaces that are of interest to tourists. The specific nature and character of each space is, in essence, determined by the behaviour patterns of the various groups that use them, including, of course, tourists. Jerusalem had long boasted both an historical and religious space. Mandatory Jerusalem however, saw the crystallization of several additional spaces. Newly founded establishments, such as museums and the Hebrew University, laid the foundations of the city's new cultural space. Cinemas, restaurants, coffee-houses etc., marked the birth of a recreational and entertainment space. Shops and businesses, concentrated mostly in and around the King George, Ben Yehuda, Jaffa area, formed Jerusalem's commercial space. These new spaces joined the city's traditional religious and historical

space, providing Jerusalem with a modern, previously non-existent, tourist infrastructure, transformed the city into a fully-fledged tourist-historic city.

### Conclusions

Between 1918 and 1948, Jerusalem retained its status as a holy city, sacred to all three monotheistic religions. The appearance of tourist services and other features of modern tourism did not affect the city's predominantly religious status. Its spiritual essence remained, setting it apart and ultimately distinguishing it from other historical towns, which had also experienced an upsurge in tourism. Indeed, throughout the Mandatory era Jerusalem's unique holy position served to differentiate it from other tourist-historic city.

An examination of the historical development of Jerusalem's tourist infrastructure against the background of the theoretical framework provided by the various tourist town models, reveals that it was under the British Mandate that Jerusalem joined the ranks of tourist-historic cities. It was during this period that the city acquired the various elements commonly associated with modern tourism. While these features were admittedly, and certainly initially, a by-product of the city's historical and religious status, they were not in themselves of a religious nature. Thus, Mandatory Jerusalem not only enjoyed more visitors, but visitors who were no longer solely or even mostly religious pilgrims. At the same time, the city's historical and religious sites benefited from the Mandatory authorities' emphasis on conservation, as well as from the new rules and regulations pertaining to Jerusalem's historical sites. Meanwhile, new cultural institutions, which had no direct affiliation to the city's historical and religious sites flourished under the Mandate, principally in west Jerusalem. The Mandate also saw the rise of a Central Tourist District, which offered a variety of modern and indispensable, European-style, tourist services. Finally, in order to acquaint its visitors with all that the city had to offer in terms of sightseeing, accommodation, nightlife, transportation, etc, much of which, needless to say, did not exist before, Jerusalem developed an extensive tourist information network. Clearly a revolution had taken place.

The rapid proliferation of tourism in recent years has produced numerous studies intent upon exploring the ramifications of all the important social, economic and cultural phenomena. Unfortunately, however, to date, research into the historical roots of tourism has been somewhat neglected. Yet, as this article clearly demonstrates, in order to obtain as full a picture as possible of the development and subsequent impact of tourism on historical towns, it is necessary to accompany, even fuse, the more general analyses of tourism with closely researched historical investigations, as has usually been the case in more general studies of the tourist phenomenon. Any attempt to chart a town's transformation into a tourist-historic city, based almost exclusively on theoretical models, without sufficient historical input will be, as even

the most sketchy historical survey of Jerusalem's evolution into a tourist-historic city confirms, both inadequate and inaccurate. This is not to say that the existing models are without merit. On the contrary, by providing a clear conceptual framework they help organize the mass of material on the tourist-historic city and depict its evolution in a orderly, analytically lucid, easy comprehensible manner, which still covers all bases. Moreover, historical sources, whether because they are partial or non-existent, cannot always provide a comprehensive or crystal-clear picture of the developments in this area. Hence, there is often a need to supplement the historical-geographical findings with theoretical models and approaches, in order to fill in, so to speak, the blanks. In sum, by combining the two approaches, theoretical and historical it is possible to overcome the shortcomings of each. Moreover, in the process, new, previously hidden aspects may be uncovered, while conclusions reached separately are reinforced or modified. In Jerusalem's case, combining an inductive historical approach with more theoretical methodologies revealed that the city not only assumed the characteristics of, but in fact became a fully fledged tourist-historic city under the British Mandate. This synthetic approach also unveiled several, largely neglected, aspects of tourism in Jerusalem, such as site conservation, the development of museology, the appearance of Central Tourist Districts and international standard tourist services, all of which need to be addressed in greater depth.

Further studies of tourism in Mandatory Jerusalem, but not only Mandatory Jerusalem, carried out from an historical perspective but against the setting of the more theoretical models may also help substantiate two interesting hypotheses concerning of the influence of colonial rule on the development of tourist-historic cities, in general. The first contends that conservation in tourist-historic cities under colonial rule was, at least initially, imposed from above by the colonial government. To wit, in Jerusalem it was the Mandatory authorities that instituted and were largely responsible for the city's conservation policies. This was not the case in the medium-sized European cities that served as the basis for the Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) tourist-historic city model, where urban conservation was primarily a grass roots affair, inspired and driven by local enthusiasts, so that the conservation process was typically carried out 'from below'. In Mandatory Jerusalem conservation was not part of the local culture but imported and imposed on the city by the British government. It seems likely that this was also the case in other historical cities that fell under colonial rule.

The second hypothesis concerns the colonial powers' overall contribution to the development of tourism in the cities under their control. It suggests that the Western imperial powers, by encouraging tourism and building modern tourist infrastructures, played a key role in the development of tourist-historic cities within their empires. These hypotheses require further detailed investigation, which combines a detailed historical survey and analysis with more theoretical, model-based, methodologies. Such studies of colonial tourist-historic cities may either verify or modify the above hypotheses,

but in any case will provide further insights into the development of the tourist–historic city.

### Note

- 1 Hotel is used here in the more generalized sense to cover all kinds of accommodation from the most luxurious to the most basic.

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### Notes on Contributor

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interests are the historical-geography of tourism, tourism in historical towns and the development of seaside resorts.

### **Résumé: Recherche historique et analyse du tourisme: la ville historique touristique – le cas de Jérusalem**

Les études sur les villes touristiques historiques reposent souvent sur des modèles qui décrivent le déroulement du développement temporel du tourisme dans des villes historiques. On peut citer en particulier le modèle d'Ashcroft et Turnbridge ; des modèles qui soulignent le développement du district touristique central ; le modèle des espaces fonctionnels de la ville touristique ; et le modèle des services de logement. L'article cherche à prouver qu'on ne peut utiliser de tels modèles sans, en même temps, examiner les origines et l'évolution du tourisme dans ces villes. Une telle pratique ne donnerait qu'une image partielle et parfois inexacte de la naissance, du développement et du caractère unique de la ville touristique historique. Qui plus est, comme le tourisme est un phénomène dynamique et très répandu qui touche de nombreux aspects de l'expérience urbaine humaine – social et politique, économique, etc... - l'examen de ses origines et de son évolution dans les villes historiques en éclairera certains éléments spécifiques que ces villes auront utilisés pour se transformer en villes touristiques historiques. L'article retrace, comme exemple, les origines et l'épanouissement du tourisme à Jérusalem – une des villes touristiques historiques les plus fameuses au monde - pendant la période du mandat britannique (1917–1948).

*Mots-clés:* ville touristique historique, modèles, Jérusalem, mandat britannique (1917–1948)

### **Zusammenfassung: Historische Forschung und Tourismusuntersuchung: Der Altstadt-Tourismus – der Fall Jerusalem**

Untersuchungen von Orten des stadthistorischen Tourismus gründen oft auf evolutionären Modellen, um die Entwicklung des Tourismus in Altstädten nachzuzeichnen. Bekannt unter diesen Modellen sind: Ashworth & Tunbridge's Modell des stadthistorischen Tourismus, Modelle zur Erklärung der Entwicklung eines zentralen Tourismusdistriktes, das, Tourist Town's Functional Spaces Model' und das Unterkunftsdienstleistungsmodell. Der nachfolgende Aufsatz versucht zu belegen, dass solche Modelle ohne gleichzeitige Untersuchung der Wurzeln und der Entwicklung dieses Stadttourismus in historischer Betrachtung nur ein teilweises und gelegentlich ungenaues Bild der Entstehung, der Entwicklung und des einzigartigen Charakters des jeweiligen stadthistorischen Tourismus zeichnen. Mehr noch, angesichts des Faktums der Dynamik und weiten Verbreitung des Phänomens Tourismus, welches zudem zahlreiche Aspekte der sozialen, politischen, ökonomischen und umweltorientierten menschlichen Stadterfahrungen berührt, scheint die Untersuchung der Wurzeln und des Aufstiegs des Tourismus in Altstädten Licht auf verschiedene weitere Aspekte zu werfen, die, in Altstädten besonders deutlich werdend, die letztliche Umwandlung touristische Altstädte begünstigen. Der Beitrag leistet all dies in der Verfolgung der Anfänge und des Aufblühens des Tourismus in Jerusalem, einer der weltberühmten touristischen Altstädte, während der britischen Mandatszeit (1917–48).

*Schlüsselwörter:* Schlüsselworte: Altstadt-Tourismus, Modelle, Jerusalem, Britische Mandatszeit (1917–48)